

## CULAVANISA

BEING THE MORE RECENT PORT OF THE

MAHAVARESA



\* WILLIELM GEIGER

# CULAVAMSA BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE MAHAVAMSA

To

Mr. A. M. Hocart,
Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon,

in sincere gratitude.

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### **MAHAVAMSA**

# TRANSLATED BY WILHELM GEIGER

AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

C. MABEL RICKMERS

IN TWO PARTS
PART II



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#### INTRODUCTION

Recent years have brought us two comprehensive works on the chronology of Ceylon: 1) John M. Senaveratne, "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology", JRAS. C. B. XXIII, No. 67 (1914), p. 141 ff. and 2) DMDZ. Wickremasinghe, "Ceylonese Chronology", as Introduction to vol. III of his Epigraphia Zeylanica.

Still earlier investigations dealing with a longer period are: 3) Sylvain Levi, "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde" in JAs. 1900, p. 297 ff., 401 ff., translated by John M. Senaveratne, JRAS. C. B. XXIV, No. 68 (1915—16), p. 75 ff. (with "Notes" by the Translator p. 106 ff. and 4) E. Hultzsch, "Contributions to Singhalese Chronology", JRAS. 1913, p. 517 ff.) 1

I mention further 5) H. W. Codrington, "A Short History of Ceylon" where on p. xiii there is a "Note on the Chronology of Ceylon" which deserves attention.

The numerous single investigations particularly those in the JRAS. C. B. will be quoted in their place. Their authors are: P. E. Pieris, E. W. Perera, S. De Silva, B. Gunasekara, H. C. P. Bell, E. R. Ayrton, H. W. Codbington etc.

The two first named articles (S. and Wickr.) start as I did myself in the translation of the Mahāvaṃsa from Fleet's date of 483 B. C. for the Nirvana of Buddha. Even if this date is not absolutely exact — arguments are advanced for the year 487 B. C. — it is as well to retain it for the moment. Now Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. p. 155 ff., has proved that even in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I quote the above articles as follows: 1) = S., 2) =  $W_{ICKR}$ , 3) = L., 4) = H. with the page number (in the case of 3 that of the English translation).

Ceylon itself there are traces of an era starting from 483 B.C. whereas later, almost certainly in the 7th century, 544/3 B.C. was adopted as the year of the Nirvana. Thus the most important thing is to find out the point in the chronology of Ceylon where the transition from the one era to the other takes place, where consequently we find an excess of 61 years.

Senaveratne (p. 143)<sup>1</sup> goes farthest in his assumption that the era of B. C. 483 was in use up to the close of the 15th century when a reform of the calendar took place, 544 B. C., being adopted as the year of Buddha's death, 93 instead of 61 years being erroneously added. At the same time the Saka era (78/9 A. D.) was dated back 93 years. Later, about the 18th century, with a new reform of the calendar, the Buddha era was adjusted to the difference of 61 years. S. gets rid of the surplus number by the assumption that several of the kings' names handed down by tradition for the 15th and 16th centuries refer to the same person, that others are the names of co-regents, while many are mere inventions. Parakkamabāhu VI. is identical with Parakkamabāhu IX., Bhuvanekabāhu VI. with Bh. VII., while Parakkamabāhu VII. and VIII. never existed (p. 176—177).

Senaveratne defends his thesis with great acumen and extraordinary learning. But against it there is a series of synchronisms by which we can prove that the era 544/3 must be much older than S. assumes. Moreover the simultaneous alteration of the Saka era is very unlikely. For this and other reasons Senaveratne's hypothesis was rejected during the discussion following his lecture on the subject. In spite of all the weakness and untrustworthiness of Sinhalese chronology, Wickbermasinghe is nevertheless right in taking up a more conservative attitude towards its tradition.

One cause of great uncertainty also lies in the fact that in our calculations we have to rely for the most part on the figures for the reigns of the individual kings. Here we cannot rule out the possibility that many of these reigns were at least partly contemporaneous, that it is a case of simultaneous or of joint reigns. But the means for establishing this in individual cases are wanting. We have of course to do also with round numbers. When it is e.g. said that such and such a king reigned 12 years, possibly a few extra months have been thrown in. The sum total of such additions produces however, considerable inexactitude.

The main point however, is that our sources often differ more or or less in their statements regarding the length of the various reigns, that for many of the kings in the Culavamsa and other documents figures are wanting altogether or can only be obtained approximately by calculation.

Matters are better, at least in my opinion, with the single dates for certain of the more important events, especially those starting with Buddha's Nirvana. I do not deny that some of these dates may have been got at by the authors by the simple process of adding up the years of the reigns. Nevertheless I have the impression that there was a limited number of dates which rested on ancient tradition and had as their starting-point the year of Buddha's death. There are already traces of something like a Buddha era in the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, as for instance, when it is said in Dīp. 17. 78, that Devānaṃpiyatissa was crowned 236 years after Buddha's entry into Nirvana. Or again when in both chronicles (Dīp. 6. 1, Mhvs. 5. 21) there is the remark that 218 years had elapsed between the Nirvana and the coronation of Asoka.

It is possible that in later times a chronological system was constructed out of these individual dates to which the reigns of the kings were adjusted, not of course without some violence. Then a new confusion arose when at a certain time

<sup>1</sup> See also the detailed analysis of Senaveratue's hypothesis by C. Schurhammer in "Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bähu und Franz Xavers 1539—1552" by C. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch I. (1928), p. 67 ff.

<sup>1</sup> I regard also the statement in Mhvs. 33. 80 f., that the Abhayagirivihāra was founded 217 years, 10 months and 10 days after the Mahāvihāra as an ancient tradition, though it rests on a different basis. A figure so exact cannot be obtained by mere addition.

through a misunderstanding the cause of which we do not know, the Nirvana of the Buddha was dated back 61 years. At some point or other in the list of the kings this number must be allowed for. Then it is an open question — granted an ancient tradition — whether in converting these single dates into the Christian era we are to start from 483 B. C. or 544/3 B. C.

In the face of all this uncertainty it is advisable in our chronological investigations to rely chiefly on foreign testimony regarding the history of Ceylon. There are above all the synchronisms afforded by Chinese annals and South Indian inscriptions. Then we have the confirmatory evidence of Sinhalese inscriptions, especially those of the mediaeval and modern times. Subsidiary to these are the single dates. The skeleton framed by this "foreign testimony" is indeed meagre in the extreme and the evidence is unequally distributed. A good deal remains doubtful. The blame lies partly in the method of description of the Cūlavaṃsa which conceals so much that to us seems particularly important. What a pity, for instance, that it has nothing to say about the relations with China which would seem to have been not inconsiderable. The name of China is not even once mentioned.

I come now to the fine and careful work of Wickremasinghe. When I wrote the preface to Vol. I. of my translation of the Culavamsa in which I promised an introduction to the chronology for Vol. II., I had not then seen W.'s "Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings" (EZ. III, p. 1 ff.). Later I had doubts whether a treatment of the same subject by myself might not be superfluous. I think, however, that readers of my translation will be glad to have at hand a list of the kings with their more or less probable dates. They will also like to have a more or less comprehensive survey of the material on which our calculations rest.

One thing more. Wicks. makes no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B.C. and 544/3 B.C. He is apparently convinced that this is at present impossible and wishes to avoid increasing the uncertainty by a new and

again uncertain chronology. In converting into the Christian era he starts as far No. 76 (Kumāradhātusena)<sup>1</sup> from 483 B.C. Up to No. 94 (Dappula I.) he places the two computations side by side. From No. 95 (Dāthopatissa I.) up to the interregnum after No. 124 (Mahinda V.) he places the figures of the first computation in brackets, thus treating them as less probable and from No. 125 (Kassapa = Vikkamabāhu I.) he follows only the era of 544/3 B.C.

Here I venture a step further. I believe namely that the change of the era falls in the earliest period of the Culavamsa, that is at the close of the 4th century A. D. Here accordingly is the period where we must allow for the excess of 61 years.

My theory stands and falls with the identity of Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan of the Chinese annals (L. 83, 89) with King Mahānāma, No. 5 (63). Mo-ho-nan, so it is said, sent a letter, with gifts in the year 428 A. D. to the Chinese Court. This seems to contradict another notice from Chinese sources quoted by L. 75 according to which a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (that is Śrī Meghavarman) sent an embassy to the Indian King San-meon-to-lo-kiu-to (that is Samudragupta) asking permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā as shelter for pilgrims from Ceylon. The Sinhalese king Śrī Meghavarman is without doubt Sirimeghavanna, No. 1 (59) the first ruler of the so-called Little Dynasty. Samudragupta reigned from 326—(about) 375 A. D. According to the traditional chronology the reign of Sirimeghavanna is reckoned from 362—389 A. D.

But the Culavamsa reckons 79-80 years from the death of Sirimeghavanna to Mahānāma's ascent of the throne which would thus occur at the earliest in 468 A.D. And in fact Wicke. 12 gives the date of 468-490 for Mahānāma's reign. But how does this agree with the other notice giving the year 428 for Mahānāma's embassy?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This — not Kumārādidhātusena — is of course the right form of the name. The ādi is merely periphrastic, "the Dhātusena who begins with Kumāra". See my Transl., note to 41.35, 44.6.

<sup>2</sup> I have pointed out the discrepancy Mhvs. Transl. p. XL, note 2

Wickremasinghe tries to solve the difficulty by saying: "This (i. e. the embassy) may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign." This argument is refuted by the fact that Mo-ho-nan is distinctly described as a Ts'a-li, i. e. kshatriya, as king.

The solution of the problem must be sought elsewhere. Both Chinese notices are right, but the numbers given in the Sinhalese sources for the reigns of Sirimeghavanna up to Mahānāma are wrong. Their sum total is 129 to 130 years, but they have been expanded about 60 or 61 years in order to reconcile the old era of 483 B.C. with the new one of 544/3.

It is just here indeed that the traditional dates give the impression of artificial expansion. Buddhadāsa and his two sons (Nos. 61-63) are given a reign of 92/3 years! According to the Rājāvaliya they even reigned 142 years! These are fantastic figures. Possibly my theory may throw a new light on 37. 100. Suppose we assume that Sirimeghavanna's reign after 362 A. D. was considerably shorter, that perhaps a great part of the 27/8 years allotted to it falls within the period when he was reigning along with Mahāsena or as his rival, we might perhaps follow the reading of the MSS. S. 5, 6, 7 bhata (not bhātu) tassa kaniṭṭhako according to which we should translate: "his youngest brother, Jeṭṭhatissa, still a youth, hereupon raised the umbrella of dominion in Laṅkā." It is in any case only very reluctantly that I have decided to depart from the original text.

Be that as it may, if the Chinese notices and the hypothesis I have built on them are right, we must shorten the period between Mahāsena's death and that of Mahānāma by 60 to 61 years and this gives us for Mahānāma's death the year 430 or 431 A. D. Mahānāma, if we keep to the 22 years ascribed to him by tradition, would have reigned from 409—431 A. D.

It is impossible to determine individually how the reigns of Mahānāma's predecessors were distributed. I pointed out above that we might already begin shortening these with Sirimeghavanna. Upatissa with his 42 years may be discarded entirely, it seems to me, or at least but a very small portion of his reign be allowed to stand. He may be purely fictitious or perhaps a prince who reigned along with his father and either never came to the throne himself or if so, only for a short period. Here above all when the transition from the one era to the other had been effected, there set in those efforts to adjust the balance by manipulation of the figures.

There is one thing I should like finally to point out. If we go back for the change of the era to Sirimeghavanna and his immediate successors there is an inherent probability in this. It coincides with the transition from the Mahāvaṃsa to the Cūlavaṃsa. That we have here a significant breach in the history of Ceylon, a powerful reaction in favour of the Theravāda after a period of decline can scarcely be disputed.

without seeking a solution. Cf. also J. M. Senaveratne, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 113.

#### LIST OF SINHALESE KINGS

I have made my own list of the kings of the Culavamsa, but have added Wickbemasinghe's figures in brackets. Where former lists differ from my own this has also been indicated in brackets. Thus for instance, (166. Vijayabāhu VI.) means that this king (Culavs. ed. II. 656 f.) is wanting in my list.—Udaya I. (Dappula II.) means that the king whom I call Udaya I. appears elsewhere as Dappula II.

#### ABBREVIATIONS:

M. = Mahavamsa or from No. 59 onwards Culavamsa.

Rv. = Rājāvaliya (published and translated by B. Gunasekara.)

Pv. = Pūjāvaliya (A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pūjāvaliya, Colombo 1893).

Ns. == Nikāyasamgrahaya (ed. Wickbemasinghe).

Rr. = Rājaratnākaraya (ed. Saddhananda, Colombo 1887).

Nar. = Narendracaritāvalokanapradīpikā as quoted by Wickremasinghe.

Figures in italics denote that we have to do with fictitious numbers, whereas the others rest on more or less probable calculation. Figures in bold type are single traditional dates and chiefly those from non-Sinhalese sources or from inscriptions which serve to confirm the chronology of the Mahāvaṃsa.

The figures in the last column refer to the notes following the list of the kings.

	L	ength of re	Date	Notes	
	M.	Rv.	Pv.	L'auc	
	1. Ma	hävamsa	.5		
1. Vijaya	38	38	38	483 – 445 B.C.	1
Interregnum	1	1	1	445-444	.
2. Paņduvāsudeva	30	32	30	444 - 414	
3. Abhaya	20	22	20	414-394	
Interregnum	17				1.
4. Pandukābhaya	70	70	70	394-307	
(5. Ganatissa)	1	40 — —		1)	
6. Mutasiva	60	- 60	60	307-247	
7. Devānampiyatissa	40 — -	- 40 — -	40 — —	247-207 247	2
8. Uttiya	10	_ ?	10	207-197	
9. Mahāsiva	10 — -	-   ?	10	197—187	
0. Sīīratissa¹)	10	- 10	10	- 187— <b>1</b> 77	
1. Sena	1			400 455	
2. Guttika	22 —	- 22	22 — —	- <b>177</b> — <b>15</b> 5	
13. Asela <sup>2</sup> )	10	- 10	10	- 155—145	
14. Eļāra	44	_ 44	44	- 145-101	1
15. Dutthagamanī	24	_ 24 — —	24	- 101-77	1
16. Saddhātissa	18	_ 37	18	- 77—59	1
17. Thūlathana	<b>— 1</b>	10 1 8 -	1 - 10	0 59	
18. Lañjatissa <sup>3</sup> )	9 1	15 39	- 9 8 1	5 59 - 50	
19. Khallātanāga	6 —		6	- 50 <b>-43</b>	
20. Vattagāmaņī	- 5	5 -	- 5 -	- 43 48	3
21. Pulahattha	<b>)</b>				
22. Bāhiya				*	
23. Panayamāra	14 7	_ 14	- 8 7	<b>- 43-29</b>	
24. Pilayamāra			-		
25. Dāṭhika	J		-		1
(20.) Vattagamanī	12	_ 12	- 12	<b>-   29—17</b>	3
26. Mahācūlīmahātissa	14 —	_ 50 — -	- 14	- 17-3	1
27. Coranāga	12 -	–†	12	-   3 B. C. — 9 A. D	. 4
28. Tissa	3 -	_  <b>3</b> — _	- 3	- 9-12 A. D.	

<sup>1)</sup> Rv. mentions two sons of Devānampiyatissa, 1) Sūratissa, 2) Upatissa, each of whom reigned 10 years. It then says that in the days of King Uttiya two usurpers seized the power and reigned 22 years.

<sup>2)</sup> As to the chronological difficulties regarding Asela see Wicke. p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>3)</sup> Rv. calls the successor of Tulna King Laminitissa who had slain him and reigned 39 years. Then it passes on the Valagambahu. The Pv. also calls Tul's successor Lamanitis.

<del></del>	<del></del>		<del></del>			
	Le	ngth of re	ign	Date		Notes
	М.	Rv.	Pv.			ž
29. Anulā	4 3 -	3 4 -	5 2 -	12—16 A. D	).	
80. Kuţakannatissa	22	22	22 — —	16-38		
31. Bhātikābhaya	28 — —	18 — —	18 — —	3866	i	1
82. Mahādāthikama-	'				,	
hānāga	12 — —	12	12	67 – 79		
33. Āmaņdagāmaņī	98-	9	98-	79-89		
34. Kanirajānutissa	8		3	89-92		
35. Cülābbaya	1		1	92 - 93	1	
36. Sīvalī	- 4 -		- 4 -	93	1	
87. Ilanaga 1)	9		6 — —	93-102	- 1	
39. Candamukhasiva	8 7 -		8 7 -	103-112	Ì	
89. Yasalālakatissa	7 8 -		78-	112 - 120	. 1	
40. Subharāja	6		6	120 - 126		
41. Vasabha	44 — —	44	44 — —	127-171		
42. Vankanāsikatissa	3	3 — —	3	171 - 1.74		
43. Gajabāhugāmaņī	22 — —	24 — —	22 — —	174-196		
44. Mahallanāga	6 — —	6	6 — —	196 - 202	ŀ	
45. Bhatikatissa	24 — —	24	24	203-227	İ	
46. Kanitthatissa	18 — —		18 — —	227 - 245		
47. Khujjanāga <sup>2</sup> )	2		2 — —	246 - 248		
48. Kuñcanāga	1	20	1	248-249		
49. Sirināga I.	19 — —		19 — —	249 - 268	!	
50. Vohārikatissa	22	22	22 — —	269-291	. ]	
51. Abhayanāga	8	2	8 — —	291 - 299	ľ	
52. Sirināga II.	2	2	2	300 - 302	.	
53. Vijayakumāra	1	6 — —	1	302 - 303	ł	
54. Samghatissa	4	4 — —	4	303-307		
55. Sirisamghabodhi	2	3	2	307-309		
56. Gothābhaya	13 — —	13 — —	13 — —	309-322		
57. Jetthatissa I.	10	10 — —	io	323 - 333	1	
58. Mahāsena	27 — —	24 — —	27	334-361/2	362	5

<sup>1)</sup> Wickremasinghe is I think, wrong when he says on p. 8 that I had overlooked the fact that Ilanāga was deposed in the first year of his reign by the Lambakannas. I inserted the three years (Mhvs. 35.27) dominion of the Lambakannas Mhvs. Transl. p. xxxvii, last line, as "interregnum". When W. takes the round figure of 10 years for the interregnum + Ilanāga's reign, I can only approve.

		Le	ngth of	f rei	gn		Date		E S
		М.	Rv.		Pv.		Date		Notes
		2. (	ülavai						
1. (59.) Sirimegh	avanna 28c	. — —	28 —	_	28 —	_			6
2. (60.) Jetthatis	sa II. 9		10 —		9				
3. (61.) Buddhad	āsa 29 c		80 —	_	29 —		362-409	412	7
4. (62.) Upatissa	I. 42		42	_	42 —		J		Ì
5. (63.) Mahānān	na 22		20 —		22 -		409-431	428	8
6. (64) Sotthiser	ıa —	<b>–</b> 1		1		1	431		
7. (65.) Chattaga	baka 1c		1 -		1 -	_	431 432		
8. (66.) Mittasen:	a 1		6 -		1 -	_	432-433		
9. (67.) Paṇḍu¹)	1								
10. (68.) Parinda	•			ı					
11. (69.) Khuddap	arinda 27				05	-	433 – 460		
12. (70.) Tīritara	}2"			.	27 —	_	455 - 400	İ	
13. (71.) Dāthiya				- 1					
14: (72.) Pīthiya				- 1					
15. (73.) Dhātuser	a <sup>2</sup> ) 18		18 —	_1	18 —	_	460-478		
16. (74.) Kassapa			18 —					Ì	
17. (75.) Moggallā	I		18 —						•
18. (76) Kumārad	_ 1		9 —	- 6		- 1	513-522	515	9
19. (77.) Kittisena	3)	9 —	9 —	1	9	_	522	- 1	
20. (78.) Sīva I.	·	25	25			25	<b>522</b>		
21. (79.) Upatissa	II.4) 1	6 —	1 10	_	1 6	_	522-524		
22. (80.) Silākāla			18			- 1	524-537	527	10. 11
23. (81.) Dāţhāpab		6 6		- 1		- [	537		-,
24. (82.) Moggallä			_	- 1	-	- 1	537 556		
25. (83.) Kittisirin			19 —			- 1	-	ļ	

<sup>1)</sup> For Nos. 9-14 (67-72) Rv. has also 27 years.

<sup>2)</sup> According to Rv. Bhātikatissa's successors were: 1) Kudānā (20 years),
2) Vēratissa (22 years),
3) Abāsen (2 years). Then Sirinā (= No. 52) reigned 2 years.

<sup>2)</sup> Rr. has the same number of years.

<sup>3)</sup> I do not think that Wicke. is right when he follows Rv. in giving 9 years instead of nine monihs to No. 19 (77). There are other instances of the Sinhalese sources giving years instead of the months or days of the Mhvs. (No. 20, 25, 36), people being accustomed to reckon by years. We have no example of the reverse. Moreover with regard to No. 19 (77) Pv. agrees with the Mhvs. It seems to me that it is only in cases where both Pv. and Rv. together are against the Mhvs. that weight attaches to their statements. Wicke.'s reference to the reading vassamhi in S 5 is no help. It is so isolated in comparison with the other MSS, that it is clearly a mere slip of the scribe.

<sup>4)</sup> According to Nar. 2 y. 6 m.

	Le	ngth of re	Date		Notes	
	M.	Rv.	Pv.			ž
26. (81a) Mahānāga	3c — —	3	3	556 - 5 <b>59</b>		
— (84b) Lämäni Singānā		9	9	559-568		
27. (85.) Aggabodhi I.	31c — —	30	34	568-601		
28. (86.) Aggabodhi II.	10c	10	10	601 - 611	609¦	12
29. (87.) Samghatissa		- 2 -	- 2	611	- {	
30. (88.) Moggallana III.	6	6	6	611-617		
31. (89.) Silāmeghavaņņa	9	9	9	617-626		
32.(90.) Aggabodhi III. SSB.	1	16 — —	16			
33. (91.) Jetthatissa III.		- 5 -	- 5 -	202 244		
Aggabodhi IV.	16c — —	1		626 - 641		
34. (92.) Dāthopatissa I.	J	12	12 — —	1 .		
35. (93.) Kassapa II.	9	9	9	641 650	1	
36. (94.) Dappula I. 1)	7	10	3 3 -	650		
37. (95.) Dāthopatissa II.	9c	9	9	650 - 658		13
38. (96.) Aggabodhi IV. SSB	1 * *	16 — —	16	658 - 674		
39. (97.) Datta <sup>2</sup> )	2	10 — —	2	674 - 676	·	
40. (98.) Hatthadātha	- 6 -	1 .	6 -	676		
41. (99.) Mānavamma		35 — —	35 — —	676-711		
42. (100.) Aggabodhi V.	6	6	6	711 - 717		
43. (101.) Kassapa III.	1	7	7	717-724	718	14
44. (102.) Mahinda I.	3	3	3	724-727		
45 (103.) Aggabodhi VI.SM V	1 -	40	40	727 - 766	742/6	15
46. (101.) Aggabodhi VII.	6	6	6	766 – 772		
47. (105.) Mahinda II. SMV	20	20	20 — -	- 772 - 792		
48. (106.) Udaya I.	5	5	5	792-797		
(Dappula II.)						
49. (107.) Mahinda III. SMV	r. 4 — —	7	4	- 797 - 801		ļ
50. (103.) Aggabodhi VIII.		- 11	- 11 — -	- 801 - 812		1
51. (109.) Dappula II. (III	1	1	- 16	- 812 <b>- 82</b> 8		
52. (110.) Aggabodhi IX.	3	-	8	- 828-831		1
53. (111.) Sena I. SMV.	20	-	20	- 831-851		
54. (112.) Sena II.	35 c — -	- 35	- 35	- 851-885	*	
55. (113.) Udaya II. (I.)	11	1	-   11 — -	<b>- 885—896</b>		
56. (114) Kassapa IV. SSI	1	1	17 — -			16
57. (115.) Kassapa V. SM			-   6	-913 - 923	918/9	17
58. (116.) Dappula III. (IV	7.) — 7 -	7 -	_	- 923		1
59. (117.) Dappula IV. (V	7.) 12c — -	- 12	-   12	-  92 <b>3</b> 93 <b>4</b>		1
SMV.		1		1		1

<sup>1)</sup> The Mhvs. does not count the three years' reign in Rohana.

	Lei	ngth of rei	gn	Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.	2.00	ž
(210) XII - III (II)	3 c — —	8	3	93 <b>4 - 937</b>	
60. (118.) Udaya III. (II.)	9c — —	9 — —	9 — —	937 - 945	
61. (119.) Sena III. 1)	8c — —	3 — —	8 — —		<b>48</b>   18
62. (120.) Udaya IV. (III)	8 — —	3	3 — —	953-956	-0   .0
63. (121.) Sena IV.	_	1 -	16 — —		60   19
64. (122.) Mahinda IV. SSB.		12	1	972-981	
65. (123.) Sena V.	10c — —	10	10 — —	372-361	017 20
66. (124) Mahinda V.	36c	18	48	981 - 1029	
Interregnum	12 — —	J ·		1020 1041	1
67. (125.) Vikkamabāhu I.	12c — —	12	12 — —	1029 - 1041	
(Kassapa)					j
68. (126.) Kitti	7			1041	
69. (127.) Mahālānakitti	3c — —	3	3	1041 -1014	
70. (128.) Vikkamapandu	1	8	3		046 21
71. (129.) Jagatīpāla	4	1	4	1047—1051	
72 (130.)Parakkamapandul	2	6	1	1051-1053	
73 a. (131.) Loka (Lokissara)			6	10531059	1
73 b. (132. Kassapa) <sup>2</sup> )	- 6 -		1	1059	
74. (133.) Vijayabāhu I. SSB	55 — —	80 — —	54	1059—1114	2:
75. (134.) Jayabāhu I.		3 — —	13	1114-1116	1
76.(135.)Vikkamabāhu II.(I.)	!	28 — —	28	1116-1137	
77. (136.) Gajabāhu (II.).3)	22			1137-1153	l
78. (137.) Parakkamabāhu I.	1		33 — —	1153 - 1186	2
SSB.		1 -			ļ
79. (138.) Vijayabāhu II.	1	.	1	1186 -1187	
80 (139.) Mahinda VI.	5	5	-	1	1
•	9	9	9	1187—1196	i
81. (140) Nissankamalla	$\frac{9}{-}$	1	1	1196	
82. (141.) Vīrabāhu I.	_	- s -	-3	1196	
83. (142) Vikkamabāhu III	·  - 3 -		- · -	1100	ļ.
([[.]				1196 -1197	1
84. (143.) Codaganga	9 -	- 9 -		1100 -1101	1

<sup>1)</sup> In Rājāv. the sequence of Nos. 59—66 (117—124) is as follows: 1. Dapuļu 12 y. (evidently = No. 59, Dappula IV.), 2. Udā 8 y., 3. Sen 3 y., 4. Udā 8 y., 5. Sen 9 y., 6. Sen 3 y., 7. Midelsalā 12 y., 8. Salamevan 10 y. (= No. 65), 9. Mihindu 48 y. (= Mahinda V. No. 66). — Pējāv. has 1. Dapuļu 12 y., 2. Udā 3 y., 3. Sen 9 y., 4. Udā 8 y., 5. Sen 9 y., 6. Sen 3 y., 7. Midelsalā 16 y., 8. Salamevan 10 y., 9. Mihindu 48 y.

<sup>2)</sup> According to Nar. No. 39 (97) reigned 2 y. 6 m.

<sup>2)</sup> Having regard to Mhvs. 57. 65 and 74, it is advisable to insert the Ke. sadhātunāyaka Kassapa as a distinct sovereign after Loka.

<sup>3)</sup> Rājāv. and Pūjāv. do not mention Gajabāhu at all as king.

	Length of reign						Date		Notes			
		М.		_	Rv.		-	₽v.		Date	ļ	ž
85. (144.) Līlāvatī ¹)	3		_	3		_	3	_		1197—1200		
86. (145.) Sāhasamalla	2		_	9	_	_	2		_	1200 - 1202	1200	24
87. (146.) Kalyāņavatī <sup>2</sup> )	6			6	_		6		_	1202-1208		<i>j</i> .
8. (147.) Dhammāsoka	1	_		6	_		1	_	_	1208-1209		
89. (148.) Anīkanga			17		_	17			17	1209		
Līlavatī¹)	1		_	ı	_		1	_	_	1209-1210		
90. (149) Lokissara (II.)		9	_	_	5	_		5		1210—1211	į	ı
Līlāvatī 1)	<u> </u>	7		_	4		-	7		1211		H
91. (150.) Parakkamapandu II.	3		_	3		_	3	_		1211-1214	. }	
92. (151.) Māgha	21	_		19	_		21	_	_	1214-1235		:
93. (152.) Vijayabāhu III.	4			24	_	_	24		_	1232-1236	1	١.
94. (153.) Parakkamabāhu II.	35	_		32	_	_	32	_		1236-1271	1236	25
95. (154.) Vijayabāhu IV.	2	_	_							1271-1273	ĺ	ĺ
96. (155.) Bhuvanekabāhu I.	11	_					١.			1273 - 1284	1283	26
97. (156.) Parakkamabāhu III.							١.	. 1	•	1284—1291		ļ
98. (157.) Bhuvanekabāhu II. 3								•	•	1291 — 1302		ĺ
99. (158.) Parakkamabāhu IV.4)							١.			1		ŀ.
100. (159.) Bhuvanekabāhu III.			•				١.			1302 — 1346	;	ı
101. (160.) Vijayabāhu V.				١.			١.			Į)		İ
102 (161.) Bhuvanekabāhu IV.				١.	•					1846-1353		
103. (162.) Parakkamabāhu V.							١.			1348-1360 1		
104.(163.)VikkamabāhulV.(III.)				١.			١.	:	•	1347—1375		
105. (164.) Bhuvanekabāhu V.	20		_							1360—1391	1385	1 -
106. (165.) Vīrabāhu II.		•								1391—1397	1396	1
(166. Vijayabāhu VI.)	١.					•	١.			14	0511	32
(167. Parakkamabāhu)	1.						١.				-	
107. (168.) Parakkamabāhu VI.	52			52			┨.			1410-1468	•	33
SSB.											·	
108. (169.) Jayabāhu II.	١.			١.						1468-1473	•	
109. (170.) Bhuvanekabāhu VI	7	_		7	_					1473-1480	1475	31
110. (171.) ParakkamabāhuVII.					• .		١.	•		1480-1484		
111.(172.) ParakkamabāhuVIII				20	· —	_				1484-1518		.
(173. Parakkamabāhu IX.)				22	_	_	١.			1506—1528		35

<sup>1)</sup> The first time Līlāvatī reigned along with Kitti, the second time with Vikkantacamūnakka, finally alone.

	Length of reign								Date	Notes	
		М.		Ĭ.	Rv.		1	٧.			ž
				181	 					1509 - 1521	36
112. (174.) VijayabāhuVI. (VII.)	•	•	•	21			•	٠	•	1521 - 1550	37
113. (175.) BhuvanekabāhuVII.	•	•	-	45	<b>.</b> c		•	•	•	1542 - ?	38
114. (175 d) Vīravikkama 1)	•	•		1	-		•	•	•	1521-1581	39
115. (175 b) Mãyãdhanu <sup>1</sup> )	•	•	•	70		_	•	•	•	1551 - 1597	
(176. Dharmapāla)	•	•	•		•	•	•	• •	•	1581—1593	
116. (177.) Rājasīha I.		•	•		•	•	•	•	•	1991—1995	
117. (178.) Vimaladham <b>ma</b> -										1500 1604	
suriya I.		• ,	٠	12	_	-	•	٠	٠	1592 - 1604	:
118. (179.) Senāratana	7	_	_	25			•	•	•	1604 - 1635	'
119. (180.) Rājasīha II.	52				•		•	•	•	1635-1687	:
120. (181.) Vimaladhamma-				-							
suriya II.	22	_	·—					٠.		1687—1707	İ
121. (182.) Vīraparakkama-				ì			ĺ.				i
narindasīha	33	_	_	١.						1707 - 173 <b>9</b>	!
122. (183.) Sirivijayarājasīha	8	_					•			1739—1747	
123. (184.) Kittisirirājasīha	350									1747 - 1782	4
124. (185.) Sirirājādhirājasīha	18									1780-1798	
125. (186) Sirivikkamarājasīha		_	_			v .				1798 -1815	

1) In the middle of the 16th century a number of princes reigned at the same time in different parts of the Island. The most eminent of these was Māyādhanu, the Māyādunne of Rv. The Vīrakkama of Mhvs. 92. 6 is probably identical with Kumāra Bandāra (Rv.). In addition to these Jayavīra Bandāra who wielded power in the Highlands and Rājasiha or Rayigam Bandāra are mentioned as contemporaries.

#### Residences

- 1. Mahāvamsa: Nr. 1: Tambapaņnī. Nr. 2, 3: Upatissagāma (10. 52). Nr. 4-58: Anurādhapura.
- 2. Cūlavaṃsa: Nr. 1 (59)—15 (73): Anurādhapura. Nr. 16 (74): Sīhagiri. Nr. 17 (75)—63 (124): Anurādhapura [Pulatthinagara temporary residence of Nr. 46 (104) and Nr. 53 (111); Pulatthinagara and Rohana of Nr. 65 (123)]. Nr. 67 (125)—78 b (132): Rohana. Nr. 74 (133)—92 (151): Pulatthinagara. Nr. 93 (152): Jambuddonī. Nr. 94 (153): Jambuddonī (Pulatthinagara 88. 29 ff.). Nr. 95 (154): Pulatthinagara. Nr. 96 (155): Jambuddonī (Subhagiri 90. 42). Nr. 97 (156): Pulatthinagara (90. 56). Nr. 98 (157)—101 (160): Hatthigiripura. Nr. 102 (161)—104 (163): Gangāsiripura. Nr. 105 (164)—113 (175) Jayavaddhana. Nr. 114 (175 d): Sīrivaddhana. Nr. 115 (175 b)—116 (177): Sītāvaka. Nr. 117 (178)—125 (186): Sīrivaddhana.

<sup>2)</sup> Along with Ayasmanta Camupati.

<sup>3)</sup> Reigned according to Rr. 24 years. According to Daladasirita (Wickr.) Nos. 97 and 93 (156 and 157) reigned at times together. Wickr. reckons the sum total of their reigns at 16 years.

<sup>4)</sup> WICKE. reckons the beginning of the reign as 1303 A. D.

#### NOTES

- 1. The first traditional synchronism is that of the landing of Vijaya on the Island with the Nirvana of Buddha. Mhvs. 6. 47, Dīp. 9. 40. It makes the impression of having been purposely invented that the event might thereby have a greater significance. But it would be a mistake if for that reason we were to regard as inventions those single dates referring to later kings (Devānampiyatissa and Vaṭṭagāmanī). For here we start not from Vijaya but only from the Nirvana. But the reigns of the kings between Vijaya and Devānampiyatissa seem to have been manipulated in order to obtain the synchronism Vijaya-Nirvana.
- 2. A seemingly ancient tradition makes Devānampiyatissa a contemporary of the Maurya king Asoka. There is no urgent reason for doubting the fact. According to Dīp. 17. 78, Devānampiyatissa was consecrated as king 236 years (that is in the 237 th year) after the Nirvana. This figure corresponds to the sum of the years which according to Dīp. and Mhvs. had elapsed since Vijaya. If we take the date arrived at by Fleet for Buddha's death 483 B. C. we get the year 247,6 B. C. as Devānampiyatissa's coronation year and the fact of his being a contemporary of Asoka is confirmed.
- 3. According to Ns., p. 10<sup>14</sup> Valagam Abā came to the throne 439 y. 9 m. 10 d. after the Nirvana<sup>3</sup>. This gives us 43 B.C. This agrees with the statement of Mv. 33. 80 f. as

to the foundation of the Abhaya-vihāra<sup>1</sup>. According to the statement in Mhvs. the foundation took place 217 y. 10 m. 10 d. after that of the Mahāvihāra the date of which is, according to Fleet, in May 246. Therefore the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded in March 28 B. C., after Vaṭṭagāmaṇī had had regained the kingdom.

- 4. According to Rv. a famine called biimini-saya took place under Coranaga and lasted three years. This is said to have coincided with the beginning of the Saka era 78 A. D. = 622 A. B. The statement cannot be reconciled with the other events of the chronology. It would seem that the tradition about this famine was uncertain, for it is placed by Pv. 193 in the reign of Vattagamani.
- 5. For the end of the reign of Mahāsena and therewith of the so-called Great Dynasty Rv. and Rr. agree in giving 844 y. (? Pv. 846) 9 m. 25 d. after the Nirvana. Ns. 14<sup>10</sup> reckons the beginning of the reign as 818 A. B., so that with a reign of 27 years the end would fall in 845 A. B. This² seems to me in fact one of those single dates which rest on a sure traditional basis. This is also easy to understand. The tradition was that of the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra and for them the death of Mahāsena meant the end of a period of persecution and the beginning of a new period of prosperity. In Mhvs. trsl. p. xxxviii I have calculated the year of Mahāsena's death as 352 A. D. The difference between it and that of Wickr. and S. can be adjusted by assuming that the round numbers of a reign usually include some extra months.
- 6. I refer the reader to the Chinese account mentioned on p. V which makes Sirimeghavanna a contemporary of the Indian king Samudragupta (326-375 A.D.).
- 7. Fa-hian comes to Ceylon 411-412 A.D. A thera mentioned by him is perhaps identical with the Mahādhammakathin named in Mhvs. 37. 175 (cf. note to the passage) as living

<sup>1</sup> For further details of my transl. Mhvs., Introd. p. xxxi ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also in Ns., p. 2<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. also EZ. II. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Mhvs. transl., p. xxxiv f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. also Senaveratne, JRAS. C. B. xxIII, No. 67 (1914), p. 216.

under Buddhadāsa (Ayron, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142). Of course this there may have survived Buddhadāsa, as the chronology seems to indicate.

- 8. For Mahānāma's reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428. See above p. V ff. For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvana, yields 412/3 Λ. D.
- 9. For Kumāradhātusena's (Kumārdās) reign a Chinese notice mentioned by Tennent will serve. It says: "In the year 515 on the occasion of Kumara Das raising the chatta, an envoy was despatched with tribute to China." Unfortunately Tennent does not state whether the name of the Sinhalese king is mentioned in the Chinese account. Possibly it is a deduction of his own. At any rate according to my own calculation, the year 515 would fall in the beginning of the reign of Kumāradhātusena.
- 10. A further Chinese notice quoted by L. (see p. 91 f.) offers difficulties. According to this, an embassy of the Sinhalese king Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya brought tribute to the Chinese Court in the y. 5?7 A.D. As a rule Kia-che is the transcription of the name Kassapa. But it is impossible that this could be Kassapa I. since he reigned before Kumāradhātusena (see note 9). S. Levi has already pointed out that the second name Kia-lo-ha-li-ya might refer to Silākāla (Ambaherana Salamevan). It should be noted too, that Silākāla was the son-in-law of Upatissa II. (III.) and that according to Mhvs. 41.8 ff., this king had a son called Kassapa who was Silākāla's most dangerous rival. It might therefore be assumed that the Chinese account had confused these two persons or that the Sinhalese tradition had made out of one Kassapa Silākāla two individuals.
- 11. For Silākāla we have one more single date handed down in the Ns. p. 17<sup>28</sup>: 1088 A. B. = 544/5 A. D. Accord-

ing to Wickr. this date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla Canon (dhammadhātu)<sup>1</sup> which according to Ns., Rr. and Mhvs., took place in the twelfth year of the king's reign. This does not quite agree with our chronology, for according to Ns. the beginning of Silākāla's reign would fall in 532/3 A. D. (instead of 524)<sup>2</sup>. If we might assume an error in the tradition and read 1080 instead of 1088 A. B. there would be complete agreement.

- 12. According to Mhvs. 42. 44 ff., the king of Kalinga came to Ceylon in the reign of Aggabodhi II. and entered the Order under the guidance of the Thera Jotipāla. According to H. W. Codrington (HC. p. 35, 51) this king of Kalinga had been driven out by Pulakesin II. of the Cālukya dynasty who had seized the kingdom of Kalinga. This took place according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, 609 A. D. This year must therefore fall within the reign of Aggabodhi II.
- 13. According to Mhvs. 47. 33 ff., Mānavamma tries in vain to wrest the dominion over Ceylon from King Dāthopatissa II. He is helped in this by his friend Narasīha at whose court in Jambudīpa he had taken refuge. According to H. p. 557, this is the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. who reigned 630-668 A. D. This enables us to fix an approximate date for Dāthopatisa II.
- 14. From Chinese sources (L.) we know that in the y. 718/9 a Chinese pilgrim Vajrabodhi visited Ceylon and was received with honour by King Chi-li Chi-lo. The name of the king as it is given here, may very well be an abbreviation of Siri-Silāmegha(vaṇṇa). L. suggests Mānavamma, who also had the biruda of Silāmegha. Ayron (Ceylon Notes and Queries II, Jan. 1914, p. xxvn ff.) quite rightly objects to this for chronological reasons. But his own identification with Aggabodhi VI. also offers difficulties with my calculation as well as with that of Wicke and S. I suggest Kassapa III, No. 43 (101).

<sup>1</sup> Ceylon, 2 nd ed. l, p. 596.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See my transl. Cūlavs. I, note to 41. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Rr. 1088 A. B. = 852 (sie!) after the introduction of Buddha's doctrine, was the date for Silākāla's ascent of the throne.

As we know, the biruda of Silāmegha alternates with that of Sirisaṃghabodhi. Since Kassapa III. was the second predecessor of Aggabodhi VI. who was certainly called Silāmegha (Mhvs. 48. 42), he is almost sure to have had the same surname, though this may not be expressly stated. All we know of him is that he was a very pious prince (Mhvs. 48. 20 ff.).

- 15. There is no difficulty about the two embassies of King Chi-lo-mi-kia to the Chinese Court in the years 742 and 746. That king was Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha, No. 45 (103).
- 16. Inscriptions of the 1st and 16th years (according to my calculation therefore 896, 912) of the reign of Kassapa IV., No. 56 (114) in Wickemasinghe, EZ. II. 9 ff., I. 200 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, Anurādhapura, 7th Progress Report 1891 (= S. P. xIII. 1896) p. 60.
- 17. According to Mhvs. 52. 70 ff., Kassapa V. undertakes with the Pāṇdyas an expedition against the Colas. It is unsuccessful. There is evidently an allusion to this (H. p. 525 f.) in the Udayēndiram inscription of the 15th year of the Cola king Parāntaka I. = 921 2. In it he boasts of his victory over the Pāṇdyas and over an army come from Lankā. In an inscription, discussed by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, of the 12th year of the same king's reign this twofold success is also mentioned.
- 18. Under Udaya IV. (III.) No. 62 (120), there was an incursion of the Colas into Ceylon who wished to seize the regalia of the Pāṇḍya king deposited there under Dappula IV. (V.) (Mhvs. 53. 9, 40 ff.). Anurādhapura was taken it is true, but the main object was not attained, as Udaya had taken the treasures to Rohaņa for safety. According to H. 524 f. this event took place in the last year of the reign of Parāntaka I., and R. B. Venkayya has proved that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943 4 to 947 8 that this king calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon".
- 19. According to Mhvs. 54. 11 ff. the troops of the Vallabha king made an unsuccessful incursion into Ceylon under Ma-

- hinda IV. No. 64 (122). Codriguou (HC. p. 39, 53) supposes this to be the Cola prince Parantaka II. whose general was defeated in 960. This date therefore falls in the reign of No. 64 (122).
- 20. Of Mahinda V. No. 66 (124) it is related in Mhvs. 55. 16 that in the 36th year of his reign the Colas carried off him, his queen and all his treasure to India. H. 522 ff. assumes that this king was Rājendra-Cola who boasts of having captured the crowns of the king and of the queens of Ceylon. He first mentions the conquest of Ceylon in 1017/8 but not in the inscriptions of the foregoing year. The year 1017 is therefore that of Mahinda's capture.
- 21. The Cola king Rājādhirājadeva relates (H. 520 f.) in an inscription of the year 1046 that he had deprived 4 kings of Ceylon of their crowns: a) Vikramabāhu, b) Vikramapāndya, c) Vīrašalāmegha and d) Śrīvallabhamadanarāja. This clearly refers to events related in Mhvs. 56. Here the following kings are mentioned as being at war with the Colas: 1) Vikkamahāhu, No. 67 (125) =  $a^1$ , 2) Kitti, 3) Mahālānakitti, 4) Vikkamapandu = b, 5) Jagatīpāla, 6) Parakkama. Of 3, 5, and 6 it is distinctly stated that they were slain in battle with the Colas, of 3 it is said besides that his crown fell as booty to the Damilas. Nos. 1 and 4 however, whose names are clearly recognizable in Rajadhiraja's inscription, ended otherwise: No. 1 died of a disease, No. 4 in combat with No. 5. Still their crowns may have been among the booty. At any rate the year 1046 falls in that period; the events may have reached their conclusion about 1050
- 22. For Vijayabāhu I. No. 74 (133) to Parakkamabāhu I. No. 78 (137) I refer the reader to Wickremasinghe's excellent treatment of the subject in EZ. I, p. 122 ff. and II. 205 ff.

<sup>•1</sup> I should now prefer to read in Mhvs. 56. 6 Decanagaram instead of  $d^{\circ}$  and translate "he betook himself to Devanagara (Dondra) and entered the company of the gods."

- 23. For Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Rāmanna (Mhvs. 76. 10 ff.) cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. on the Kégalla Dist., p. 73 ff. It took place in the 12th year of his reign. The Rāmanna prince Bhuvanāditta named in the Devanagala inscription, is identified by Bell with the king Narabaditsi-tsithu who reigned 1167—1204 (Phayre, History of Burma, p. 50, 281, 289).
- 24. The coronation day of Sähasamalla ist the earliest absolutely certain date in Sinhalese history. In the Polonnaruva inscription of this king (EZ. II, p. 219 ff.) the date given for the event is Wednesday (bada), the 12th day of the light half of the month Binera (August-Sept.), after the expiration of 1743 y., 3 m. and 27 days of the Buddha era. FLEET (JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331) has calculated the date as Wednesday, 23 rd August, 1200 A. D.
- 25. According to the Attanagaluvamsa Parakkamabāhu II., No. 94 (153), came to the throne in the year 1824 after the Sambodhi = 1779 A. B. = 1235/6 A. D., according to S. 155 = 1296 A. D. (reckoned from 483 B. C., not from 544/3 B. C., as the year of the Nirvana).
- 26. According to Mhvs. 90. 43 ff. the Tooth Relic came in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I., No. 96 (155), into the possession of the Pāudya king Kulašekhara. This king reigned (H.) 1268—1308 A. D. Under Bhuvanekabāhu's successor Parakkamabāhu III. the relic is restored by friendly negotiation. Codrington (JRAS. C. B. XXVIII, No. 72, 1919, p. 82 ff.) refers to Maqrīzī's account of a Sinhalese embassy to the Egyptian Court in the year 1283 A. D. and identifies the name of the Sinhalese king mentioned. in the account with that of Bhuvanekabāhu I.
- 27. For Bhuvanekabāhu IV., No. 102 (161), the Lankātilaka inscription is important. See B. Gunasekara, JRAS. C. B. X, No. 34 (1887) p. 83 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, Kégalla Dist., p. 92; Wickr. 29 f. It gives Śaka 1264 = 1342 A. D. as the year of his ascent of the throne. According to Mhvs. 90. 108 (also Ns., Nar.) 1894 Λ. B. = 1350/1 was the 4th year of his reign,

- the beginning of the reign therefore 1346.7. The difference is probably due to the fact that his appointment as yuvarāja took place in the y. 1342, this event being often reckoned as the beginning of the reign. According to Commoton (HCrp. 83) No. 102 (161) reigned at least until 1353.4.
- 28. Cf. the preceding note also for Parakkamabāhu V., No. 103 (162). According to the Hapugastenne inscription (JRAS. C. B. XXII, No. 65, 1912, p. 362) the 11th year of his reign was = Saka 1281 expired = 1359/60 A. D. The first year of his reign would be accordingly Saka 1270 = 1348/9 A. D. But at that time No. 102 (161) was reigning and his successor probably yuvarāja. In the Vegiri-devale inscription (WICKE.) Parakkamabāhu V. in 1351/2 still calls himself āpā.
- 29. The Vigulavatta inscription (H. C. P. Bell, Kégalla Dist., p. 78) gives Saka 1282 = 1360/1 A. D. as the 4th year of the reign of Vikkamabāhu IV., (III.) No. 104 (163). His reign would accordingly have begun in Saka 1278 = 1356/7 A. D. This agrees with the Niyamgampāya inscription (WICKR. 31) which gives the 17th year of his reign as 1916 A. B. = 1373/4 A. D.
- 30. For Bhuvanekabāhu V., No. 105 (164), we have several dates. Cf. S. 174 f., Wickr. 33 f. The most important are: a) according to Ns. 1929 Λ. B. = 1385/6 Λ. D. was the 14 th year of his reign which makes 1371/2 that of his coronation. b) according to Mhvs. 91. 13 (Ns. also) he is succeeded after 20 years (thus in 1391) by Vīrabāhu. c) according to the Vegiri-devale inscription, Bh. V. made an endowment in the 30 th year of his reign. He must therefore have lived at least 10 years after 1391 and claimed the royal dignity. Mhvs. 91. 13 would not agree with this if we were to assume the reading kaleko (not sāleko with Col. Ed.); for the passage would then state that only after his (i. e. Bhuvanekabāhu's) death (nitthite kāle) Vīrabāhu of the Alakeśvara family, seized the power.
- 31. Ns. 30<sup>30</sup> Council under the leadership of Dhamma-kitti 1939 A. B. expired = 1396 A. D.
- 32. Vijayabāhu VI., No. (166), is not mentioned in the Mhvs. The chronicle ignoring the tragic end of the Alagakkonāras,

jumps over to Parakkama VI. I refer the reader to the note to 91.3 of my translation. Dates according to L. (JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68, 1915-6, p. 96 ff.): 1405, arrival of the Chinese Tcheng-houo in Ceylon; 1409 Tcheng-houo comes again to Ceylon and carries the king (No. 166) captive to China. The king is set free again in 1411 or 1412, but murdered the night after his return.

33. For Parakkamabāhu VI., No. 107 (168), we have again several dates. The most important are the following: a) ascent of the throne according to Mhvs. 91. 15 as well as the inscription of Embekke-devale (H. C. P. Bell, Ceylon Notes and Queries, viii, Dec. 1916, p. cxxxi ff.): 1953 A. B. = 1409/10 A. D.) (according to other sources and to Wieke. 2 years or 5 years later).

b) Chinese accounts (in Tennent, Ceylon I, p. 600 f.), that in the year 1459 A. D. a king of Ceylon Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae Lacha had for the last time sent tribute to China. The king was evidently No. 107 (168). In the years 1416 and 1421 A. D. it is even related that the King of Ceylon brought the tribute in person.

34. With regard to the date for Bhuvanekabāhu VI., No. 109 (170), the Kalyani inscription of King Rāmādhipati of Pegu is important in that it mentions his embassy to King Bhuvanekabāhu, the son of Parakkamabāhu, in the Saka year 8:371 = 2019 A. B. = 1476 A. D. Cf. Codrington, HC. p. 93, 100; Taw Sein Ko, Indian Antiquary xxii, 1893, p. 11 ff., 29 ff. &c.

35. According to the Kelaniya inscription (AIC. No. 162) Parakkamabāhu IX., No. (173), ascended the throne in  $2051 \text{ A. B.}^2 = 1507/8 \text{ A. D.}$  The 12 th year of his reign fell according to the Munessaram Sannasa, in 2060 A. B., giving 1504 5 for his ascent of the throne, thus a difference of three years.

36. According to the Dondra inscription (H. C. P. Bell, Kégalla Dist. p. 85 f.) the Saka year 1432 = 1510 A. D. fell in the year after the 4 th year of the reign of King VijayabāhuVI.,

- No. 112 (174), his ascent of the throne would fall accordingly in 1505 A. D.
- 37. P. E. Pieris, The Date of Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII. (JRAS. C. B. xxii, No. 65, 1912, p. 267 ff.) comes to the conclusion that No. 113 (175) reigned 1521-1551 A. D.
- 38. Viravikkama, No. 164 (175 d), came to the throne (according to Mhvs. 92. 6) 2085 A. B. = 1541/2 A. D.
- 39. Māyādhanu (Mayadunne), No. 115 (175 b), died according to Rājalekhana (Wickr.), Śaka 1503 =  $1581/2 \Lambda$ . D.; Rājasīha I., No. 116 (177), according to Rv. Śaka 1514 =  $1592 3 \Lambda$ . D.; Vimaladhammasuriya I., No. 117 (178), according to Rv. Śaka  $1525 = 1603/4 \Lambda$ . D.; he came to the throne (Mhvs. 94. 5) 2135  $\Lambda$ . B. =  $1591/2 \Lambda$ . D.; Senāratana, No. 118 (179) died according to Rājalekhana (Wickr.) Śaka  $1557 = 1635/6 \Lambda$ . D. and Rājasīha II., No. 119 (180), Śaka  $1609 = 1687/8 \Lambda$ . D.; Vimaladhammasuriya II., No. 120 (181), Śaka  $1629 = 1707/8 \Lambda$ . D.
- 40. Kittisirirājasīha, No. 123 (184), ascended the throne (Mhvs. 99. 2) 2290 A. B. = 1746,7 A. D. He died Śaka 1703 = 1781/2 A. D. He sends embassies to Siam (Mhvs. 100. 59 and 91) 2293 and 2296 A. B. = 1749,50 and 1752 3 A. D. Lastly Mhvs. 100. 282 gives 2301 A. B. = 1757/8 A. D. as the date for the consecration of the rebuilt Rajata-vihāra.

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the modern Burmese era which begins in March 639 A. D. See C. Marel Duff, Chronology of India, p. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wickr. 42 would prefer to read 2049 (chan panas instead of chan panas) This would give 1505/6 A. D.

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#### Chapter 100

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#### Chapter 101.

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#### CHAPTER LXXIII

#### ACCOUNT OF THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Now when the Ruler Parakkama had accomplished his 1 consecration as king, he the wise one, best among those who understand what is good (for the people), thought thus: "By 2 those kings of old who turned aside from the trouble of furthering the laity and the Order — who through lust, hatred, fear and delusion went wofully astray, who caused great evil 3 by the gathering of immeasurable taxes and the like - has this people aforetime been grievously harassed. May it hence- 4 forth be happy, and may the Order of the great Sage long sullied by admixture with a hundred false doctrines, rent 5 asunder by the schism of the three fraternities and flooded with numerous unscrupulous bhikkhus whose sole task is the 6 filling of their bellies — (that Order) which though five thousand years have not yet passed, is in a state of decay, once more attain stability. Of those people of noble birth who here and 7 there have been ruined, I would fain by placing them again in their rightful position, become the protector in accordance with tradition. Those in search of help I would fain support 8 by letting like a cloud overspreading the four quarters of the earth?, a rich rain of gifts pour continually down upon them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chanda, dosa, bhaya, moha are called A. II. 18 cattari agatigamanani. Cf. chandagatim (dosagatim etc.) gantum D. III 133<sup>21</sup>, chanda agatim gacchati Nett. 44<sup>1</sup> etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Buddhist cosmology recognises four chief continents. Cf. Vv. 20. 10 catunnam mahādīpānam issaram yo'dha kāraye. S. V. 343<sup>20</sup> catunnam dīpānam paṭilābho. In contrast to these are the 2000 small dīpas by which they are surrounded (VvCo. 104<sup>14</sup>). In the Gal-vihāra inscription

9 All this was (for me) while with arduous struggle I sought 10 the royal dignity, the absolutely preconceived result. Now is the time to carry out what I have wished." In consideration of this he bestowed office on those who deserved it.

11 Hereupon he had the drums beaten and those in search of help called together and he allotted them yearly a large 12 alms equal in weight to his body. Then the Ruler in order to promote the furtherance of the Order, assembled the great 13 community dwelling in the three fraternities. Further he called together many distinguished teachers learned in the methods 14 of discriminating between failure and non-failure, and as he himself was the foremost among those versed in the rules of the Order and acquainted with right and wrong, he could distin-15 guish the genuine from the false ascetics. Further being in virtue of his impartiality free from liking and disliking, and as a result of his unweariedness arduously active day and

16 night, he cured like a clever, expert physician who distin-17 guishes between curable and incurable disease, those which were curable and set aside those which were incurable by the method prescribed by the rules of the Order, free in his de-18 cisions from error. From the days of King Vaṭṭagāmanī

Abhaya the three fraternities had lost their unity, despite

19 the vast efforts made in every way by former kings down to

the Buddha is compared to a rain-cloud which pours its blessing over the four continents. These continents are: Uttarakuru, Jambudīpa, Pubbavideha and Aparagodāna (Wickhemasinghe, EZ. II, p. 273, n. 3). For the Brahmanic teaching of the Dvīpas see Kiefel, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 110 ff.

1 Verses 2—10 form one sentence. It is governed by idāni kālo vidhātum etam sabbam mayā sambhāvitam. What he has aspired to is:
1) with regard to the mass of the people that they should be happy (v. 4a); 2) with regard to the Order, that it might attain stability (yathā assa addhaniyam v. 6d); 3) with regard to the nobility, that the king should again become their protector (v. 7d: pālanam must be supplemented by an assam from assa in 6d "may I be"); 4) with regard to those in want, that the king may support them (v. 8d).

<sup>2</sup> For the schism in the Order at the time of this prince see Mhvs. 33. 95 ff.

the present day. They turned away in their demeanour from one another and took delight in all kinds of strife. But the 20 all-wise Ruler who had already in past existences striven after the purification of the Order as something which must be attained, achieved its union, whereby he had to endure double 21 as much heavy toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity. And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so 22 that it could last in purity for five thousand years<sup>2</sup>.

Hereupon the best of men had a square hall<sup>3</sup> erected in 28 the middle of the town with four entrances and several large

1 P. gahitabbato is an adverbial formation from gahitabba — skr. grahitavya. It would correspond to skr. grahitavyatas. Cf. Whitney, Indische Grammatik § 1098.

2 Verses 12-22 form one sentence. The principal verb in 22 c d is akāsi (jinasāsanam khīrodakībhūtam), subject bhūpati in 21 d. The gerunds rāsīkatvā (12 c) and samnipātiya (13 d), as also samaggam katvā (21 d) are subordinate. This last is preceded by the pret. and pres. participles: patighānunayāvojjito (15 b), atandito (15 d), samupadhārento (16 c), tikicchanto and vivajjayam (17 a b), as well as anayāpetasamkappo (17 c) and anubhonto (21 c). These are all of them attributes of the subject. The object of samaggam akāsi is nikāyattitayam with the three attributes in 19 b c d of which the first has a still closer adverbial definition in 18 and 19 a ("in spite of the great efforts" etc.); payāsena must be supplemented by katena. - The brief account of our chronicle is confirmed by the Gal-vihāra inscription of Parakkamabāhu in Polonnaruva. Cf. Ed. MÜLLER, AIC nr. 54; WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 256 ff. From the contents it is even possible to establish certain connections between the inscription and the account of the Culavs., though these are of too vague a character for us to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. Both start with the schism of the church under Vattagamani. Both speak of the intention that the Order should now be secure in its stability for 5000 years. In the Culavs. the king is compared to a cloud spreading itself over the four continents just as the inscription uses this comparison of Buddha. See also note to 78.5. In chap. 78 a second and more detailed account of the reform of the church follows, Rajavalī says (trsl. by B. Gunasekara, p. 59) quite briefly: "he reconciled the religious differences which had existed since the reign of Valagam Aba." The account in the Nikayasamgraha is more detailed (p. 22 of Wickremasinghe's ed.).

<sup>3</sup> P. catussāla = skr. catuhśālā denotes a square surrounded by buildings. We must imagine therefore a square court surrounded on all sides by halls open to the interior. Cf. Mhvs. 37. 15. The word occurs as the name of a particular building in Anurādhapura in Mhvs. 15. 47, 50; 35. 88.

24 rooms and instituted a great almsgiving in which everything needful was to be had daily for many hundreds in number 25 who had kept the precepts of moral discipline1. And every year the Ruler of men had given to each of them according to his age, garments and mantles, (thus) at all times full of 26 benevolence. Thereupon he had four almshouses built in the four districts of the town and had them erected in separate 27 divisions, and therein he placed many vessels of bronce, cushions 28 and pillows, mats, carpets and bedsteads as well as cows by the thousand that gave sweet milk. Then near these (halls) 29 at a spot with pure water he laid down charming gardens adorned with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit, and 30 fair as the garden of Nandana?. Further generous as he was, he set up in their neighbourhood rich provender houses 31 supplied with money and money's worth which contained all necessities such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like. And 32 (there) he instituted for many thousands of bhikkhus from all four regions of the earth who practised moral discipline and other virtues, for Brahmans belonging to a mendicant 83 order, as well as for many other supplicants and poor travellers daily a great almsgiving, he the wise (prince), untiring, unwearying, with a heart full of love.

Hereupon the Ruler of men, filled with pity, had another great hall built for many hundreds of sick people, fitted for 85 their sojourn there, and had placed in it in the way above described, a complete collection of all articles of use. There 36 also he gave to each sick person a special slave and a female slave to prepare day and night according to need, medicines 37 and food, solid and liquid. There too he had many provender houses built in which a quantity of medicine, money and 38 money's worth and the like were collected. To discerning and skilful physicians who were quick at distinguishing various (bodily) conditions and who were versed in all the text books,

he gave maintenance according to their deserts, recognising 39 the merits in all of them and made them day and night practise the medical art in the best manner. He himself on 40 the four Uposatha days in the month, having laid aside all his ornaments and having taken upon himself the vow of the sacred day, pure with pure upper garment, surrounded by his 41 dignitaries, was wont to visit that hall, his heart cooled with pity 1. With an eye that charmed by goodness he gazed at 42 the sick. And as the Ruler of men was himself versed in medical lore2, he the all-wise summoned the physicians ap- 43 pointed there, tested in every way their healing activities, and 44 if their medical treatment had been wrongly carried out he met them with the right method, pointed it out to them as the best of teachers and showed them the proper use of the 45 instruments by skilfully treating several people with his own hand. Then he tested the favorable or unfavorable condition 46 of all the sick, let those who were rid of their illness have garments given to them and then rejoicing in good, after he 47 had taken his reward<sup>3</sup> from the hands of the physicians and given them their reward, he returned to his palace. By such 48 means year by year he being (himself) free from disease, freed the sick from all their illnesses.

Yet another miracle never before seen or heard was mani- 49 fest in him who was rich in the virtue of pity rightly exercised. To that hall there came, tortured by great pain, a crow 50 suffering from an ulcer that had formed in her cheek. As if 51

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. sīlapālānam refers as W. assumes, to monks. "Age" in v. 25 (P. yathāvuḍḍham) means then the period of belonging to the Order.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The pleasure garden of the god Indrs. E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. dayāsītalamānaso. Cf. 73. 141. The heart is hot with passion. Passion is cooled by pity. We Northerners would be more inclined to say it is "warmed".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. āyubbede = skr. āyurvede. The Ayurveda "Veda of the (Lengthening of the) Span of Life" was held to be the basis of all medical knowledge and was regarded as an upānga of the Atharvaveda. See Wintermitz, Gesch. der ind. Literatur, III, p. 542; J. Jolly, Medicin, p. 12 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Each time the expression patti is used. Employed of the king, it means the merit working itself out in the kamma. This merit is found in the healing activity of the physicians and is left by them to the king, because he is its spiritual parent. Cf. note to 42. 50. Employed of the doctors, patti means the payment for their services.

6

78.64

chained by the strong bands of his pity she sat as if with clipped wings, motionless outside the hall moaning prteously.

52 The physicians who rightly recognised her condition, caught

- 53 her and cured her at the Great King's command. Her disease cured, the King set her upon an elephant and having made her walk round the town, her right side towards it, he set
- 54 her free. Where, when and by whom was ere such exceeding great mercy even to animals seen or heard?
- Thereupon King Parakkamabāhu, the hero, to whom all right-minded people were devoted, set about the rebuilding in grandeur and beauty of the superb city of Pulatthinagara
- 56 which had reached such a state that nought but its name remained, and which no longer sufficed to make manifest his
- 57 superlatively royal glory1. The Monarch now had a high chain of walls built which on all sides enclosed the fortified
- 58 town<sup>2</sup> and was larger than the town wall<sup>3</sup> of former kings and gleamed with its coating of lime bright as autumn clouds.
- 59 Then after he had built round this three walls each in turn
- 60 smaller than the other, he laid down various streets. Then he
  - 1 For the following description compare above all A. M. HOCART, The Topography of Polonnaruva (ASC. Memoirs II. 1926, p. 3 ff.). H. W. Co-DRINGTON is certainly right in his assumption that the description in the Culavamsa proceeds from south to north. I refer the reader at once to the second and later account of Parakkamabahu's building activities in 78. 31 ff.
  - 3 By khandāvāra I understand here the inner walled part of the town in contrast to the open parts of the town lying around it. The "chain of walls" refers probably to the rampart of the town still recognisable, stretching for about a mile from north to south and half a mile from east to west. Within this rampart lies the "citadel" with the royal castle. See note to v. 61.
  - 3 The abl: purapākāracakkato shows that we must take the positive mahantam in the sense of a comparative, as is often the case. The new structure was thus more extensive than the older one.
  - 4 The Kautalīya lays down that three trenches each narrower than the other, must surround the wall of a castle. The dug out soil may have served for the construction of the "small wall". See Kaut. 2. 3. 21 (in JOLLY'S ed. p. 31; in J. J. MEYER'S translation p. 6510 in that of SHAMA-SASTRY, p. 57).

erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling a second inner wreath of walls 1 and built thereon a palace 2 61 seven storeys high, furnished with a thousand chambers and adorned with many hundreds of pillars painted in divers hues. It was richly supplied with hundreds of alcoves\* which were 62 like to the summit of the Kelasa mountain and were radiant with manifold ornaments of climbing plants and flowers. It 65 had doors and windows of gold large and small, well divided walls and stairs and offered conveniences for every season. It was ever adorned with many thousands of various beds 64 which were made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly

- 1 P. anupākāramaņdalam, lit. a secondary circle of walls.
- <sup>2</sup> The word for "palace", pāsādam, first occurs in v. 70. All the verses between contain attributes of which I have made independent sentences. There is no doubt that the palace is recognisable in the ruins which are marked "palace" on the plans. It is enclosed along with a number of subsidiary buildings by a rampart (the anupākāra of the text) "forming an oblong of roughly 440 by 264 yards" (A. M. Hocart, l. c., p. 3). The enclosed ground is now known by the name of the "citadel", and the palace stands in the southern part of the square. Cf. for the whole H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1911-12 (= S. P. III, 1915), p. 50 ff. When the Culavs. speaks of a thousand apartements and many hundreds of pillars that is of course merely the stereotyped exaggeration constantly recurring in such descriptions. At the same time there is a striking number of tiny rooms grouped round the central main part of the building in the groundfloor. There are more than fifty of them. Without doubt there were further apartments in the upper storeys. That the palace at least in its central portions consisted of one or several storeys is proved by the extraordinary strength of the walls enclosing the innermost chamber. These are more than ten feet thick. Then too a broad staircase is still standing which led from the south of this room upwards. Unfortunately our chronicle gives instead of exact figures merely the customary phrases prescribed by poetics.
- <sup>3</sup> P. kūtāgāra. Rāvaņa's palace is also described in the Rāmāyaņa 5. 9. 14 (Bombay ed. 1902) as kūtāgāraih subhāgāraih sarvatah samalamkatam. The commentary on the passage explains kūtāgāraih by guptasvalpagrhaih.
- 4 Buildings which are high, pointed and white in colour (covered with stucco), especially stūpas (78. 77), are frequently compared to the Kelāsa mountain (cf. 68. 41 and note).

65 coverings. The height of its splendour was reached in the royal sleeping apartment which was ever immeasurably re-

8

66 splendent with a thick bunch of pearls? suspended at its four corners, white as moonbeams and gleaming so that they

- 67 laughed to scorn the beauty of the divine Ganga. (The sleeping apartment) was adorned with a wreath of large golden lampstands which breathed out continually the parfume of
- 68 flowers and incense. With the network of tiny golden bells suspended here and there and giving forth a sound like the
- 69 sound of the five musical instruments, the palace made known, as it were, the rich fulness of the merits of the King. This
- 70 splendid palace, like to a matchless structure of Vissakamman 4, charming and peerless, he, the first among the protectors of the earth, built and gave it the name of Vejayanta.

For the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by the Brahmans (he built) the Hemamandira and for the recitation

- 72 of magic incantations the charming Dharanighara. For listening to the birth stories of the great Sage which were related by a teacher appointed there for the purpose, (he built)
  - 1 So I translate sanāthīkatam uttamam (cf. skr. sanāthīkī as well as below v. 152) in v. 67 d. Verses 66 b to 67 ab contain attributes of sirisayanagabbhena in 67 c, v. 65 attributes of thūlamuttakalāpena.
  - <sup>2</sup> In Ram. 5. 9. 17 it is said of Ravana's palace nistulabhisca muttabhistalenābhinirājitam.
  - 3 The kinkini(ka)jāla is one of the ornaments of the mandapas (JāCo. I. 3231; DhCo. I. 2742) and of the pasadas (D. II. 1836; Mhvs. 27. 16, 27).
  - 4 Skr. Viśvakarman, the architect of the gods, often associated and confused with Tvastar. Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 201. He is the builder of Varuna's palace (ibid. p. 118) and of the divine hall of assembly (ibid. p. 113).
    - 5 This is the name of Indra's palace. See 48. 136.
  - 6 I take hemamandira "golden house" and dhāranīghara , house of incantation" as the names of the buildings in question. Santi in a is as otherwise santikamma, to be understood in the technical sense of skr. śānti. Cf. with parivattana in c parivattanamanta JāCo. I. 20016. It is impossible now to say which of the present ruins correspond to the buildings mentioned. We should probably look for them in the various structures in the immediate vicinity of the palace.

the fair Mandalamandira. For the reception of the magic 73 water and of the magic thread given him by the yellow-robed ascetics (he built) the Pancasattatimandira?. Lastly he who 74 ever trod the path of the true doctrine, erected a sermon house<sup>3</sup>. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured curtains and adorned with costly canopies. By reason of the 75 many-hued, sweet-smelling flowers laid down here and there as offerings it had the semblance of a single nosegay. Its 76 interior was constantly lighted by lamps with scented oil and perfumed by incense of gum resin. It was gaily adorned with 77 many likenesses of the Victor (Buddha) in gold and the like and was resplendent with a garland of pictures of the Omniscient One, which were painted on stuff. When that Prince among 78 kings entered it to place with his own hand a (jewel as) eyes upon the statue of the Victor, or to honour by sacrifice the 79 Tathagata, or to listen to the unsurpassable true doctrine - (then) was it like unto a divine hall of assembly. It was 80

- 1 That is "circle house". Of course the building which was to serve for the parration of the jatakas was first erected and then an accriva appointed for the purpose. Bell (ASC. 1906, p. 10ff.; cf. EZ. II. 288ff.) regards the mandalamandira as the so-called Potgul-vehera to the south of Pulatthinagara. But I do not believe that he is right.
- <sup>2</sup> That is "the house of the seventy-five". The reason for the name is unknown. Obviously the building was meant to serve for the holding of paritta ceremonies. Water and thread play the most important part in these, as the white thread which runs through the hands of all the participating priests starts from a vessel filled with water. At the close the foreheads of the priests are sprinkled with the water.
- 3 Again verses 74 to 81 form one sentence. The attributes in 74 to 81b precede the object dhammagaram in 81c. Of these we have made independent sentences. The most important building in the neighbourhood of the palace is the "Rajamāligāva" situated to the east of it. It is an oblong structure on a terrace of three tiers. The walls of the terrace are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs. Whether indeed we may call the building a dhammāgāra is doubtful. It looks like a hall of audience or like a council-hall. Cf. ASC. 1905 (= S. P. XX. 1909), p. 3 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> The eyes of Buddha statues consisted frequently of precious stones (dark blue sapphires). Their insertion took place with specially solemn ceremonies.

graced by a wonderful peacock which drove people out of 81 their senses whenever screeching its peacock cry, it began its dance together with the dancing girl who danced there while they struck up a sweet rhythmic song<sup>1</sup>.

Parakkamabāhu I

10

Further in order to listen to the rhythmic songs of the many musicians and to behold their charming dance, the Monarch had built near the palace the Sarassatīmandapa<sup>2</sup>.

83 It glittered in every direction with its golden pillars. It was delightful with paintings relating to his (Parakkamabāhu's)

84 deeds. It was embellished by a wishing-tree offering all desired things which sparkled with all kinds of ornaments such

85 as earrings, bracelets, necklaces and the like, which was resplendent with garments of linen, silk, Chinese stuff and other

86 materials, which gleamed with its golden trunk and a row of branches, and which was adorned by a flock of numerous birds which were painted on it.

Further he had the fair mandapa erected which bore the name Rajavesibhujanga<sup>3</sup>. It was like unto the hall of the gods, called Sudhamma, which descended to earth, just as if

<sup>1</sup> The peacock was thus a mechanical toy which however existed apparently only in the imagination of the poet. "Rhythmic" is layānvita or in v. 82 layopeta. The Indians distinguish three layāḥ or tempi: druta, madhya and vilambita.

2 "Mandapa of Sarasvatī". She is the goddess of eloquence, here of the arts of the muses in general. It is impossible to identify either this building or the one following. The description is unfortunately purely formal. The fact of both buildings being described as mandapas suggests something of the pavilion kind, provisional in character. Verses 82 to 86 and 87 to 91 again form each one sentence, built up in the same way as the sentence in v. 74 to 81.

3 The name is difficult to explain. A suburb of Pulatthinagara is called thus (73. 153; 78. 79), and this name again seems to be connected with the epithet Rājavesibhujangasilāmegha applied to Ilankiya in 76. 192. The word vesī means "harlot", "prostitute". Bhujanga in addition to "snake" means the "lover of a prostitute" (BR. s. v., c). This meaning is here to be assumed in the name owing to the association with vesī. In the inscripton of Ihala Puliyankulam of the time of Parakkamabāhu I., dealt with by Codrington (JRAS. C. B. XXX, nr. 79, p. 271), he has the surname of ari-rāja-vesi-bhujanga.

the good deeds of all people were accumulated at one spot. It was three-storeyed, ornamented with coloured pictures, 88 surrounded by lines of fair vedikās¹, exquisite, adorned with 89 a costly chair beneath a wishing-tree which offered the singers and other people the wished-for objects. It shimmered with its 90 manifold precious stones like the diadem, sparkling in the sun, of that fair lady, the island of Lankā, whom he won by the force of his arms²; and it was like unto the wreath of tresses of 91 the protector of the world of men³. In the same way he 92 built the fair Ekatthambha-pāsāda⁴ that ended with a ma-

Parakkamabahu I

1 What vedikā means is not easy to determine. Noteworthy is the frequency of the phrase vedikāya parikkhitta "surrounded by a vedikā" as for instance a bathing pond, a pokkharaṇī D. II. 1797 ff. Here most probably it means a railing, since just before the same has been said of a stair case. As a staircase when it is of gold etc. has golden thambhā (that is railing gates) and sūciyo (i. c. cross-bolts), as well as an uṇhīṣa (cornice) of silver, in the same way the vedikā of the pond has it. Cf. further VvCo. 3405, where kañcanavedimissam is explained by suvaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sahitam parikkhittam. A vedikā is part of a heavenly pāsāda just as the rooms, the windows, the network of bells (Mhvs. 27. 16). The lohapāsāda had a pavāļavedikā, a vedikā of coral (Mhvs. 27. 26). There was a nānāratanavedikā round the bodhi tree (Mhvs. 30. 70). A vedikā belongs to a stūpa (Mhvs. 32. 4; 34. 41), to an image house (Mhvs. 78. 40), to a bathing-house (Mhvs. 78. 46). Cf. also note to 76. 118.

<sup>2</sup> I divide nijabāhubalā (= instr.) aruņe. For it is hardly admissible to take the whole as a parallel compound to lankanganāya.

<sup>3</sup> W. regards this as referring to Siva. The reference is suitable, since Siva wears the crescent moon in the hair over his forehead, his tresses are therefore illumined.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "one-pillar-palace". In such a one-pillar-palace, gehe ekathūnike, was Cittā the daughter of Panduvāsudeva confined, to prevent her coming into contact with any man. JāCo I. 441<sup>24–25</sup> also mentions an ekatthambhakapāsāda which serves as a king's dwelling. For an idea of what such a structure looked like, v. 94 a b is important where it is compared to a candelabra. One must therefore oddly enough imagine the pāsāda as something in the form of a dovecote. It should be remembered however, that the rooms both in the royal castle at Polonnaruva and in the Baddhasīmapāsāda were extremely small, not more than 8×10 ft. In Veherabendigala I saw something like a room just large enough for a man stretched at full length to lie down in.

73, 110

93 kara and rose aloft as if it had split open the earth. And it was adorned with a superb golden chamber that was 94 placed above on a golden column, possessed of the beauty of a cave of gold for this lion among kings, and which glittered like a candelabra on a golden foot.

Again the Ruler, the leader of earth protectors, had a private garden laid down in a region close to the kings house.

- 96 As one felt that it showed by its beauty a likeness to the (heavenly) pleasure garden Nandana, and by lavishing charm charmed the eyes of men<sup>3</sup>, it received the name of Nandana<sup>4</sup>.
- 97 Its trees were twined about with jasmin creepers and it was filled with the murmur of the bees drunk with enjoyment of
- 98 the juice of the manifold blossoms. There campaka, asoka and tilaka trees, nāgas, punnāgas and ketakas, sal trees, pā-
- 99 talī and nīpa trees, mangos, jambū and kadamba trees, vakulas, coco palms, kutajas and bimbijālakas, mālatī, mallikā, tamāla
- 100 and navamālikā shrubs and yet other trees bearing manifold fruits and blossoms rejoiced the heart of the people who went
- 101 thither. Pleasant it was, and with the cry of the peacocks and the gentle twitter (of the birds) it always delighted the
- 102 people. It was furnished with a number of ponds with be-
  - <sup>1</sup> A dolphin-like mythical animal often employed as ornament especially on balustrades of staircases.
    - <sup>2</sup> P. jātarūpanivāsena, with a dwelling-room, a habitation of gold.
  - 3 I separate thus: . . . janānam nayanā (acc. pl.) nandanā-dam nandayati. The fem. nandanā is found also S. I. 6<sup>10</sup>.
  - 4 Verses 95 to 112 are one sentence: ... he laid down ... the private garden ... by name Nandana ..., whose trees ... and it was filled ... There follow further attributes of gharuyyānam, partly in adjective form, partly as relative sentences (cf. yattha in v. 100, 109, 111; yam in v. 110).
  - <sup>5</sup> The botanical names are in the same order 1. michelia champaka, 2. jonesia asoka, 3. unknown (Skr. tilaka), 4. mesua ferrea, 5. rottlera tinctoria, 6. pandanus odoratissimus, 7. shorea robusta, 8. bignonia svaveolens, 9. nauclea cadamba, 10. mangifera indica, 11. eugenia jambolana, 12. nauclea cordifolia, 13. mimusops elengi, 14. cocos nucifera. 15. wrightia antidysenterica or nericum antidysentericum, 16. momordica monadelpha, 17. jasminum grandiflorum, 18. jasminum sambac, 19. xanthochymus pictorius, 20. a variety of jasminum sambac.

autiful banks whose chief decoration were red and blue lotos flowers and which appropriated all that was the loveliest of the lovely. It was adorned too with a large gleaming bath- 103 room<sup>1</sup> supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain 104 of cloud pouring forth rain by (reason of) the showers of water which flowed constantly from the pipes of the apparatus. and which seemed to be the crown jewel of the beauty of 105 the garden and ravished the eye. The garden was (further) 106 resplendent with an extensive palace<sup>3</sup> adorned with many columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's 107 surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an octagonal mandapa resembling an ear ornament. It was also 108 adorned with another large, fair, charming mandapa that had the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings4. There in the 109 garden the Silapokkharani pond continually captivated the King who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had attached the good without number to himself. Still more 110 delightful was the garden by (means of) the Mangalapokkharani

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. dhārāmandapa (v. 105) corresponds to the skr. dhārāgṛha. From the description it is clear that a shower bath is meant.

P. uyyānalakkhiyā. It must be borne in mind that lakkhī is at the same time the name of the goddess of beauty, Lakṣmī. Thus in the picture the garden is compared with the goddess and the "palace" with an ornament of her diadem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. vimānena. Writers are fond of using the term half mythically. By v. is anderstood mainly the abodes of blessed spirits which hover in the air. In JāCo. I. 328<sup>15</sup> a tree serves as vimāna for the devatā dwelling there. Save here and in the following the word occurs but rarely as a name for human habitations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Is the idea here pillars with baroque spirals such as are found on a structure of the so called quadrangle in Polonnaruva?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I. e. stone pond. Having regard to the two names occurring in v. 110, I prefer to take this as a proper name. W. also understands punnapokkharani in v. 111 as such. It is quite possible. We must then join sugandhivāripūrena with nandayanti "which gladdened by the fulness of perfumed water". My translation of vv. 111, 112 was determined by the circumstance that "pūrena and punna" occur next to each other.

pond, and provided with the Nandapokkharani pond it looked

14

111 like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed

112 there, filled with a stream of perfumed water, gladdening the royal moon, and it was ever fair with rich beauty and splendour, furnished with the cave called Vasanta and with bathing ponds1.

Again on land that resembled an island because the water 113 divided into two arms, the foe-subduer laid down a second

114 garden, the Dipuyyana<sup>2</sup>. There one saw the Dhavalagara<sup>3</sup> that like to the summit of the Kelasa, was made entirely of

115 stucco, wonder exciting. The garden was adorned with a Vimana which bore the name of Vijjamandapa because it was

116 built to show forth the various branches of science. And there too gleamed the beautiful, roomy Dolamandapa that was

1 The pokkharanihi ca comes in rather lamely after bathing-ponds have been already mentioned in v. 109 to 111. The question is where must the garden be looked for. In my opinion no weight can be attached to the structures in it mentioned in the text. The description is purely formal, made up according to the recipe for describing a garden. Even the enumeration of the many trees means nothing. The author is merely displaying his botanical knowledge or rather his acquaintance with literary sources like Abhp. 536 ff. Of actual facts which could be utilised little remains but that it was a gharuyyana a house arden (private garden). We must look for it therefore in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal castle and I believe therefore that it filled the northern half of the citadel. Doubtless it contained pavilions and bathing arrangements. A. M. Hocart is inclined to look for the Nandana garden to the east of the palace and outside of the citadel, mainly on account of the silapokkharani, since a bathing pond answering this description does in fact lie under the eastern wall of the citadel.

<sup>2</sup> Opinion is now unanimous, I think, that the "island park" lies on the so-called "promontory" that juts out in the Topaveva west of the citadel and on which are now situated the rest house and the bungalow of the Archaeological Survey. For the ruins of the Promontory see the plan ASC. 1901 (= LIII. 1907). For the bathing-house in the Dīpuyyāna cf. EZ. II. 143.

3 I. e. "white house", to be taken as a proper name.

4 The meaning of pavivita in unknown. Skr. vivita (cf. Kautalīya 2. 2. 1) means a (fenced-in) pasture.

5 I. e. "swing pavilion".

furnished with a swing hung with tiny pretty golden bells. The garden was further resplendent with the vimana called 117 Kīļāmandapa¹ where the king at the head of the sport officials connoisseurs of the merry mood2, was wont to amuse himself. And it was for ever embellished by the so-called Sanimandapa<sup>3</sup> 118 which consisted of ivory, and again by another (mandapa), the superb so-called Moramandapa and also by the Adasamandapa 119 whose walls consisted of mirrors. There too the bathing 120 pond Anantapokkharaņī 6 with its stones whose layers resembled the coils of (the serpent king) Ananta, continually captivated the people. There the bathing pond Cittapokkharani 7 with 121 its gay pictures rejoiced the foe-subduer Parakkamabahu, the royal sage. Resplendent there was a four-storeyed, peerless 122 palace, painted with various pictures and bearing the name Singāravimāna8. The garden was adorned with tāla and 123 hintāla palms, was resplendent with naga and punnaga trees and was rich in banana, kannikāra and kanikāra trees?

1 I. e. "play pavilion" or "games pavilion".

 $^{2}$  P. hassarasa = skr. hāsyarasa. On the theory of the rasas s. note to 72. 94.

3 The name might mean "pavilion of (the planet) Saturn". The Col. Ed. reads against the MSS. Sānimaṇḍapa which would mean "carpet pavilion, pavilion of the curtains".

4 I. e. "peacock pavilion".

<sup>5</sup> I. e. "mirror pavilion".

6 Ananta is here the name of the world serpent Seşa (see Hopkins, Epic Mythology 28-24). It is also called Anantabhoga, and it would be possible to insert this name also here in anantabhogasamkāsasamnivesasilā (instead of "coils of the a"). W. seems to do this. But then it is not clearly indicated in what the comparison consists. In my opinion the steps surrounding the pond were laid somewhat in this form:

7 I. e. "picture pond".

8 P. vimānam singārasaddapubbam, lit. a vimāna in which the word singāra (Skr. śrngāra, "ornament, love, a particular rasa") stands in front (of the name). Pubba is used here instead of the customary ādi (note to 44. 6).

<sup>9</sup> The botanical names are in the same order: 1. borassus flabelliformis, 2. phoenix paludosa, 3. mesua ferrea, 4. rottlera tinctoria, 5. musa sapientum, 6. pterospernum acerialism (10 aremns edinosi (2 1515 terses

Now there was in the palace of the Monarch of all races 124 of rulers, among those belonging to the closest of his followers, a man named Mahinda. He was a worshipper of the triad

16

125 of the Jewels<sup>1</sup>, understood what was blessed and unblessed, was wise, pure in heart, versed in the means of accomplishing

126 many meritorious actions, never went astray through lust, hatred, fear or delusion, was never satiated with the fulness2 of goodness, as little as the ocean by the (streaming in of

127 the) waters. He was gifted with conscientiousness and modesty, attacked ever with brave courage and was a discerning guar-

128 dian of moral discipline. Now this man with the favour of the sublime Monarch who was ever a helper in all (good)

129 enterprises, caused a pasada to be built for the honour of the sacred Tooth Relic which was pure by its suffusion with the nectar of the eighty-four thousand portions of the doctrine.

180 The same (pāsāda) was embellished by a roofing and doors and windows of gold and was resplendent with numerous

131 paintings within and without. It gleamed with canopies of various colours like a golden mountain surrounded by a net

132 of lightning. It was resplendent with curtains which glistened in brilliancy, and with a series of couches covered with costly

133 coverings. It was like to a dwelling of the goddess of beauty, glorious as if all the grace found in each living being were

134 concentrated in one spot3. It was resplendent with its vast, charming hall of the moon, which was wonderfully beautiful, white as light, or as pearl ornaments, or as geese, or as snow,

135 or as a cloud. Banners were fixed on it, it was fair, with gilded summit, bright, calling forth delight, beautiful4.

113-123 again form one sentence which must be analysed according to note to v. 96. According to the description in this passage, the garden must have been full of buildings. That would fit the "promontory" on which there are many ruins, amongst others those of a bathing-pond.

1 See note to 46. 17.

P. oghehi lit. by the floods.

3 The sentence must be construed thus: āvāsam viya Siriyā jotantam sabbasmin dehadhārinam rāmaneyyakam (what is gracious = grace) viya ekattha pinditam.

4 The verses 124 to 135 are one sentence. The subject is Ma-

Further the King, the sole banner of the stem of the 136 nobility, possessed a dear consort who had come forth, rejoicing the eyes of the people, as the moon (rises) from the ocean, from (the house of) the great king Kittisirimegha<sup>1</sup>, 137 who loved him, the highest of rulers, as Sītā (loved) Rāma. Amongst all the ladies of the harem, many hundreds in number, 188 she was by far his best loved. She loved the triad of the 139 jewels and beyond her own husband who was like to the King of the gods (Indra), she cared for none even as much as grass whoever he might be. She did what the Lord of men wished, 140 had friendly speech, was adorned with the ornament of many virtues such as faith, discipline and the like, was skilful in 141 dance and song, possessed an intelligence (sharp) as the point of the kusa grass, her heart was ever cooled by the practice of the virtue of pity2. She, the Queen Rupavati, most 142 beauteous of beauteous women, the clever, the virtuous, pure in action, the highly-famed, mindful of the doctrine of the Victor 143 which teaches of impermanency, had learned many sayings of the great Sage and kept them in her memory, as for instance "Short is the life of the lamentable men; the pious man should 144 live as if his head were in flames; there is no escape from

hindanāmako (v. 127 c), predicate and object are kāresi pāsādam. Verses 124-127 contain the attributes to the subject, verses 130-134 (after an adverbial in 128, 129) the attributes to the object pāsādam. It is to be noted that nothing is said about the spot where this temple of the Tooth Relic was built. A. M. Hocart assumes that it must have stood in the Dīpuyyāna, since the kings used to keep the sacred relic near the palace. He says (Memoirs ASC. II. 4): "Perhaps that puzzling structure called the Mausoleum, without doors or windows may be the temple in question." V. 130 seems on the other hand to contradict this. However the Tooth Relic was in Rohana in the early times of Parakkama. Its recapture is first described in the following chapter. If then Mahinda's building was to serve for the keeping of it, its recapture was either actually expected or the structure belongs to the time after the close of the campaign described in Chap. 74. Cf. also 74. 198 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the king of that name mentioned in 41.65. The name of the queen is given in v. 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. above v. 41 with the note

73, 162

145 death". Thus as she knew the short-lived nature of beings who wander about the ocean of existences, and as she knew that there was no firm hold there that could compare with

146 meritorious works, so she was unwearied in much well-doing, and as thereby she achieved her speedy escape from the cycle

147 (of rebirths) she built in the midst of the town a vast golden thupa<sup>2</sup>, as it were a golden ship to reach the saving shore of Nirvana:

148 Further in this beautiful town the all-wise (king) had different kinds of streets laid down, many hundreds in number, adorned with many thousands of dwellings of two, three and

149 more storeys and provided with various bazaars where all wares were to be had and in which day by day there was

150 incessant traffic of elephants, horses and chariots — (streets) which were here and there enlivened by people who were ever indulging in great games.

151 Then he laid down in the vicinity three suburbs called

152 Rājavesībhujanga, Rājakulantaka and Vijita, adorned with three three-storeyed pāsādas which possessed every excellence

153 and every beauty, and crowned by three viharas which were

154 named Veluvana, Isipatana and Kusinārā3. But between the

1 The strophe is taken from Samyutta 4.9.5 (= I.108). It is worth noting that in S. the Sinhalese MSS. have in the same way as here in the Mhvs. the reading hileyyānam, whereas the parallel to the preceding strophe requires hileyya nam, which seems to be the Burmese reading. There can of course be no question of our correcting the passage, since the author without doubt followed the Sinhalese tradition, though erroneous. In its proper form the translation of the quotation runs: ... "Short is the life of man, the pious man will despise it, he will live as if etc. etc."

<sup>2</sup> H. C. P. Bell (ASC. 1909 = VI. 1914, p. 6) has already identified this with the thupa of the so-called Pabulu-vehera, situated within the ramparts, thus in the town itself and in its northeastern part.

3 In the account 78. 79 ff. the three sākhānagarā are called 1. Rājavesībhujanga, 2. Sīhapura (instead of Rājakulantaka) and 3. Vijita and the vihāras built in them are given in order as Isipatana (in 1), Kusinārā (in 2) and Veļuvana (in 3). I believe the designation Rājakulantaka ("end i. e. starting-point, of the dynasty") is an allusion to Sīhapura, for this was the name of the town founded by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu (Mhvs. 6. 35) in Lāļarattha. To identify the suburb of Vijita with the

royal palace and the three towns the monarch had built at a distance of a gavuta<sup>1</sup> from each other, charming sermon houses and image chapels<sup>2</sup> and splendid vihāras adorned with rest- 155 houses for bhikkhus from all four regions of the heavens.

In the town Pulatthi(nagara) by name furnished thus with 156 all accessories and provided with every luxury, like to a garden made beautiful by union with the joy of spring, which he 157 himself enlarged so that it was four gāvutas long and seven gāvutas broad, which bore his name — the beauteous one — 158 which possessed a splendid wreath of walls, which was resplendent with fair dwellings, which contained large as well as small streets, which was an elixir for the eyes — (in this town) 159 the Lord of men who was like to Purimdada (Indra), who was skilled in the preserving of all advantages, those not yet achieved 160 and those already achieved, had fourteen gates erected: the superb King's Gate<sup>4</sup>, the beautiful Lion Gate, the great Ele-161 phant Gate, further the Indra Gate, the gate called after Hanumant<sup>5</sup>, the lofty Kuvera Gate, the brightly painted Candi Gate, as well as the Rakkhasa Gate<sup>6</sup>, the high-towering Ser-162

town of the same name mentioned in Mhvs. 7. 45 is quite unhistorical. But it is not impossible that the suburb was named after that town. The three monasteries were called after especially sacred places: ... Veluvana after the park near Rājagaha which was given to Buddha by Anāthapindika; Isipatana after the park in Benares where Buddha preached his first sermon; and Kusinārā after the place where he entered Nirvana. For Veluvana see below note to 78.87.

- <sup>1</sup> Cf. 78. 91, 85. 20. According to the Kautalīya 2. 20 a gāvuta (skr. gavyūta or goruta) would be the equivalent of <sup>1</sup>/4 yojana (cf. note to 38. 68 and I, p. 849) that is, if the Indian yojana as is likely, is the standard of measurement, a little over two miles (according to the Buddhist yojana the half of that).
  - <sup>2</sup> P. saddhammapatimāghare = saddhammaghare patimāghare ca.
- <sup>3</sup> If we reckon the gāvuta as over two miles then what is meant here could not possibly be the city with its ramparts alone which reached nothing like these dimensions, but the outlying open town as well.
  - <sup>4</sup> For the King's Gate, rājadvāra, see note to 74. 199.
- <sup>5</sup> The monkey king, Rāma's ally in his campaign against Rāvaņa, king of Lankā.
- <sup>6</sup> For Kuvera see note to 37. 106, for the rakkhasas note to 39. 34. Candī (the same in Skr.) is a name of the goddess Durgā, wife of Śiva.

pent Gate and the resplendent Water Gate, further the Garden 163 Gate and the beautiful Māyā Gate<sup>1</sup>, the Mahātittha Gate<sup>2</sup>, and the splendid Gandhabba Gate<sup>3</sup>.

In this manner did King Parakkamabāhu who possessed the firmness of the king of the mountains, whose intelligence was sharp as the thunderbolt, make the aforetime small town of Pulatthinagara which had suffered by many wars, splendidly adorned as the city of the Tāvatimsa gods.

Here ends the seventy-third chapter, called «Account of the Rebuilding of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

1 Māyā is the name of the mother of Gotama Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> Through this gate ran in all probability the road leading to Anuradhapura and from here to the well known port Mahātittha on the western shore of Ceylon.

3 P. gandhabbā = Skr. gandharvā, denotes a group of semi-divine beings who are regarded as the heavenly musicians. They are the male counterpart of the accharā, the nymphs.

#### CHAPTER LXXIV

#### ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH RELIC

With the idea that the original capital Anuradhapura 1 which had been utterly destroyed in every way by the Cola army, was specially deserving of honour, since its soil was 2 hallowed while he lived by the feet of the Master, distinguished by the wheel with its thousand spikes and its rim, and because it was the place where the southern branch of 3 the sacred Bodhi tree (was planted) and where a dona' of relics was preserved — (with this idea) the Lord of men be- 4 gan to take in hand its restoration. Hereupon the discerning 5 Lord of men summoned a high dignitary and instructed him in accordance with his wishes. The latter accepted the charge 6 without disregarding it in any way, with bent head, made obeisance with clasped hands, betook himself to Anuradhapura 7 and himself acquainted with the appropriate action, began to carry out to the uttermost the king's command. Within the 8 compass of the capital of the former kings the skilled one restored within a short time the large and the small walls, the streets, the pasadas and the gate towers. the charming 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. mūlarājadhānī. The word mūla° has a twofold meaning, that of "original" (as for instance in mūlabhāsā "primitive language") and that of "first" (to which everything else goes back, as in mūlāmacca "first dignitary"), of "important", "pre-eminent".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to the legend the Buddha also visited the site of the future Anuradhapura during his three sojourns in Lanka. The picture of the wheel on the sole of the foot is one of the 32 great bodily marks of a mahāpurisa (see D. II. 17), who will either become a great world ruler or a Buddha.

<sup>3</sup> A measure of capacity used specially for corn. Skr. drona.

bathing-ponds and the delightful gardens as they had been formerly; also the cetiyas of the three fraternities, the Mahācetiya and the others, as well as the numerous vihāras such as the Lohapāsāda and the like, as well as the pāsāda serving him as dwelling, with its gates, bastions and towers, with its royal courtyard, and embellished with a charming moon chamber, and brought it about that the whole town furnished with these and other marvellous works was as aforetime. Thus he had the buildings set up by many former kings repaired in haste by one of his dignitaries. For all wishes are fulfilled for the wise who partake of the harvest of good deeds accumulated in many existences.

Hereupon the all-wise (Prince) laid the foundations of the town called Parakkama(pura)<sup>1</sup>. It was furnished with gates 16 and towers, with walls, moats, streets, pāsādas and shops and adorned with parks which were embellished with pāsādas, erected there for the shelter of many hundreds of bhikkhus 17 who strove after moral discipline and other virtues. It was superb, prosperous and wealthy like Ālakamandā, the town of the gods, and ever crowded with people.

Then he issued orders as to the way in which the officials appointed over the various districts of the island of Sīhala should collect without loss the taxes levied on each district without oppressing the people in their particular territory.

Turther in every month on the four Uposatha days, in ponds and all other places in the island of Lanka for all creatures

1 A Parakkamapura is mentioned in 72. 151. It must have been situated in Dakkhinadesa. If that is the town meant here, karapesi in v. 17 can only refer to its restoration and embellishment. Moreover Pulatthinagara itself bore the name of Parakkamapura. It was according to 73. 157 attanāmankita, just as under Vijayabāhu I. it was called according to the Velakkāra inscr. (EZ. II. 246), Vijayarājapura. I consider it not improbable that verses 15 to 17 also refer to Pulatthinagara and its restoration, and that the compiler who found the two names in different sources, referred them erroneously to two different towns. What he tells us of this Parakkamapura is in any case nothing more than the usual customary phrases. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. say nothing about the founding of a town Parakkamapura.

without exception, such as game, fish and the like, living on 21 dry land and in the water he commanded safety (of life), he who was himself threatened by no peril.

Now in the province of Rohana numerous vassals after 22 the death of the Monarch Manabharana, deviated from the right way1. Not knowing the character of King Parakkama, 23 and harassed in their hearts by fear they did not make their appearance before the Sovereign. As they thought again and again 24 of their own shortcomings their terror was in course of time redoubled. They knew in truth quite well that the great 25 courage of that lion-like King could not be surpassed by others: all they thought of was that not a day's life would remain 26 to them once the union of the kingdom had taken place2, but they thought not at all of the further course (of events). With speeches like this: "shall we ever permit a hostile army 27 even to set eyes on our country with its rivers, mountains and ravines?" they brought all the inhabitants of the pro- 28 vince under their influence and betook themselves to the Queenmother Sugala3. "Thy grief, o Queen, called forth by Mana- 29 bharana's death, shall not torment thy heart as it pleases. Who then so long as we are in life, shall enter this our land 30 with its many inaccessible fastnesses?" With such like and 31 similar words they persuaded the Queen and all united, they built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the 32 country, numerous fortifications, which were immovable even by elephants, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barri- 33

<sup>1</sup> P. niggatikā. The translation is uncertain. In Skr. nirgati does not occur in literature. W. "were brought to great distress... and had become utterly helpless." I start from the fundamental meaning "to go out of", i. e. the right way.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. ratthe samjātasamvaddhe. I believe that samraddha = Skr. samvaddha stands here as so often, in place of the abstract, as only in that case is the proper construction of the compound possible. The union of the kingdom consists in the incorporation of Rohana. The vassals fear that in such an event they will not escape justice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The consort of Sirivallabha (59. 45) and mother of the younger Mānābharaņa.

cades of briars sharp-pointed as iron, made the roads in-34 accessible with felled and fallen trees. Thereupon all the soldiers native to the province, thousands in number rebelled 35 and took up their place everyone in one of the big strongholds, girded for fight, well armed with offensive and defensive 36 weapons, full of violence, with strong forces1. The Queen Sugala who had not a mind capable of reflection and was 37 inclined herself by nature to evil, let the fatal words of these people influence her. She made over to them the great pos-38 sessions of pearls, jewels and the like over which she had control, as well as the rich treasures belonging to the Tooth and Alms-bowl Relics as if she were throwing them into the 39 fire, gave them office, ignorant of the right and the wrong occasion, and began herself through them to start the revolt. When the Lord of men Parakkama whose courage was hardly to be surpassed, heard of these events he smiled gaily 41 and joyously. He summoned his general Rakkha by name, a war-tried man, told him how matters stood exactly as he 42 had heard of them and spake to him (thus): "Arise in haste, quench thoroughly the forest fire of the hostile army which

strong forces.

44 Now the Sihala and Kerala (mercenaries) dwelling in Kotthasāra<sup>2</sup> banded themselves together with the Velakkāra

45 force<sup>3</sup> and took counsel together: "The Lord of men has sent forth many famous warriors together with high dignitaries to

43 has broken out with a rain shower of arrows, appoint people

whom it is necessary to appoint, to keep the country in order

aud come again quickly." Thereupon he sent him off with

1 Verses 22-35 form one sentence. The subject is sāmantā in 22 which is again repeated by yodhā in 34. The predicate is nisādimsā. All the other verbs are gerunds with which are co-ordinated participles referring to the subject, or absolute locatives.

<sup>2</sup> The place lies not far from Pulatthinagara in an easterly (south-or north-easterly) direction (see note to 61. 43). According to our passage, it seems to have been a garrison for mercenaries.

3 For the Keralas see note to 53.9, for the Velakkāras note to 60. 36. It is plain from our passage that the Velakkāras were a troop of (Dravidian) mercenaries. take Rohana; let us meanwhile take possession of Rājaraṭṭha."
And they all of one accord began the war. King Parakkama- 46
bāhu before whom every sovereign bowed, sent some digni- 47
taries who were heroes thither with fitting army and train.
He had those slain who deserved it, granted several villages 48
to those inhabitants living under a common selfgovernment,
had a number of other villages made into such as were designed for the royal use¹ and free himself from fear² of any
kind, he made an end of fear of the foe.

But after the general Rakkha had with bowed head, pro- 50 strate, received the command of the Great King he marched, the highly-famed hero, from Pulatthinagara, betook himself 51 to the locality named Barabbala<sup>3</sup> and halted there. When the 52 whole of the forces in Rohana together with the inhabitants of the province<sup>4</sup> received news, in accordance with the facts, of his gradual approach, they came to the decision: "as long 53 as we are in life we shall not permit him to cross the fron-

- 1 It is plain from this passage that certain villages had been assigned to the mercenaries for usufruct. In addition to the execution of their ringleaders (48ab) they are now punished by the withdrawal of such villages which means a decrease in their revenues. Of the villages taken away some are allotted to peasant holders as communal property (gaṇa), others are declared royal property. I do not believe therefore, that W. is right in translating gaṇa by "assemblies of monks". Gaṇa here is rather the technical, administrative term (skr. the same, cf. BR. s. v. gaṇa 3). For mediaeval village constitution in Ceylon on which this passage throws a side-light, see H. W. Corrington, H.C. p. 45 ff.
- <sup>2</sup> P. bhaya includes the two concepts: fear (subjective) and danger (objective). Cf. above v. 21.
- <sup>3</sup> H. W. Codrington discusses the campaigns described in 74. 50 ff. in his "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century" II. Unfortunately the place names mentioned in verses 50—78 cannot be determined. Later details show however, that this part of the campaign took place in the districts on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, mainly in Bintenne and the adjoining regions. Barabbala, Kantakavana, Ambalala, Sava, Divācandantabātava, Kiṃsukavatthu, Vaṭarakkhatthalī, Dāthāvaḍdhana and Sahodara are unknown.
- <sup>4</sup> P. mahācamū and raṭṭhavāsino: contrast beetween the regular army and the militia.

54 tier of our kingdom and enter here", and with great fury, recking nothing of their life, they marched to the same place 55 intent on the opening of hostilities. Thereupon the general Rakkha gave this army fearful battle, slew many soldiers, 56 broke through the trees which they had felled and flung across the road, and with large forces reached the place called 57 Kantakavana. He fought with the hostile army that had taken up its position there by the building of a stronghold, 58 broke through the fortifications formal arms.

58 broke through the fortifications, forced an entrance and after robbing many thousand warriors of their life, he marched

59 farther and came to the place called Ambalala. He offered battle to the army stationed there, broke through the strong-

60 hold there and made the whole battlefield full of flesh and blood. Then he marched from there farther, broke through

61 the strong fortification of Sava and slew many soldiers. Beyond this lay the forest Divacandantabatava hemmed in on

62 both sides of the accessible road by high mountains, and where just at its heart the road was endangered and all traffic made impossible by many huge trees which they had felled and

63 thrown down. In this forest from one to two gavutas in extent the hostile army had laid down one behind the other seven very inaccessible fortifications whose stout gates were not to

64 be shaken even by rutting elephants. Against this army that had firmly determined: "we shall in no case permit him to enter as he thinks fit into any single stronghold occupied by

65 us2" he delivered for several months day and night terrible

66 battles and while he slaughtered many thousands of warriors together with their leaders, the general Rakkha with large forces took up a position on the spot<sup>2</sup>.

1 I. e. "Thorn wood". The part. chindanto is parallel with mārento in 55 c, chinditcā is subordinate to the part. pātite. Cf. chinnapātitarukkhehi in 33 c, as also chinditvā pātitehi (rukkhehi) in 62 b.

<sup>2</sup> I should prefer here to place the full stop after  $sabbath\bar{a}$  and thus take this word in the oratio recta. For the position of iti see note to 37.114.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 55-66 form one sentence. Subj. Rakkhacamūnātho in 55 a, again repeated by camūnātho in 66 d; pred. is nisīdittha in 66 c. The construction in v. 61-65 is as follows: ... "after he in the

When the hero, the Great King Parakkama, heard during 67 his sojourn in Pulathinagara from the mouth of the messengers of Rakkha's constant battles, he gave orders to the 68 Adhikārin Bhūta who dwelt in his palace thus: "An indecisive struggle for so long a time with these wretched rebels is fitting neither for me nor for thee; smite in pieces according 69 to these my orders the whole of the fortifications along with their gates, slay the whole of the numerous army and send 70 me then speedily a true report of these doings." He assigned him numbers of soldiers and sent this man experienced in the 71 art of war, to the scene of the fight!

Hereupon Bhūta marched forth from superb Pulatthinagara 72 and joined with strong forces the commander-in-chief Rakkha. Without in any way departing from the orders of the illustrious 73 Lord of men, they both had doublets of buffalo hide made (for their men) for protection against the arrows, made the 74 great army ready for battle, offered a sharp encounter, slew numerous warriors, many hundreds in number, broke through 75 the seven strongholds, laid down as they were one behind the other, started from there again and came to the village of Kimsukavatthuka<sup>2</sup>. Here too they fought a fearful, bitter 76 fight. Then after they had set out from there and had reached Vaţarakkhatthalī, and after they had here destroyed a hostile 77

forest D. (61 d) ... (there follow the attributes 61 d to 63 a) ... with the army (65 b), which, after it ... had set up fortifications (63 b — 64 a), was firmly determined ... had fought (65 d) ..."

<sup>1</sup> It is plain that Rakkha's action in the difficult ground of the Divacandantabatava forest had come to a standstill. Bhuta is sent to his aid. Cf. further the note to v. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Here one might assume the end of the sentence, since the part. yūtā may be regarded as a finite verb. But the subject changes in the sentence. In v. 72 the sing. so is subject; but yātā must be supplemented by an nbho (after Bhūta's joining with Rakkha). Mārcnto which is the reading of all the MSS. (= skr. mārayantah) must also be taken as plural. In the continuation of the sentence there is again a change of subject. At first as we see by vattentā, the plural (ubho) remains subject. Then in v. 78 it is the singular Rakkhacamūnātho. The preceding gerundives in verses 76—78 b are to be treated as loc. abs.

army which had approached from various directions, and there78 upon offered battle at the village called Dāthāvaddhana and
had further fought an action at the village called Sahodara,
79 the general Rakkha who had large forces and train with him,
sent on many thousands of warriors of his own neighbourhood.
80 to do away with the hostile army at Lokagalla. Then he destroyed a vast hostile army that approached with the intention
meanwhile of overwhelming the commander-in-chief (Rakkha),
and retired.

The great four-membered army that had marched to Lokagalla so utterly destroyed the division there that only the 82 tidings thereof remained, took away from it all its possessions<sup>3</sup>

1 l take thapetvana in the sense of "outting aside for a particular purpose." By the removal of a considerable part of Rakkha's troops the foe is emboldened to make fresh attacks. The operations which H. W. Codernson certainly interprets aright l. c., now become topographically intelligible. Events hitherto have taken place along a line east of the Mahaveliganga. Rakkha probably follows the main road leading from Dastota by way of Mahiyangana (Alut-nuvara) to Bibile. With Codrington we may look for Sahodaragama somewhere in the region of Bibile. Here Rakkha is forced to halt, to secure in the first place his threatened right flank. The name Lokagalla without doubt corresponds to the modern Loggala. There is a small river of this name which rises on the saddle of Passara and flows northwards to the Mahaveliganga which it joins just where the river bends at right angles to the north. I am informed by Mudaliyar WANASUNDARA-Badulla that an old short cut led across the saddle of Passara from Buttala along the Loggala-oya to the Mahaveliganga. The rebels had reckoned with the possibility that the enemy might use this road for their advance and had occupied it. Rakkha however, advances farther east along the main road. A farther penetration southwards lays him open to the risk however, of being attacked in the flank from Loggala or cut off in the rear. Hence the expedition in this direction briefly described here.

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. have palāyati. I will not risk altering it. Moreover it makes good sense. Rakkha cannot for the moment advance. He is content to release himself from the foe who is pressing hard on him. Too much stress need not be laid upon the māretvā "cut up" in 80 d. It merely expresses the successful defence.

<sup>3</sup> W. translates: ... "Yet could they not completely cut off their great resources." He has misunderstood acchindivana. What we have to do

and betook itself then to the place where the commander-inchief was sojourning. The two armies joined forces, advanced 83 to Majjhimagāma¹ and here made the firm resolve: "We shall not permit the commander-in-chief in Lokagalla to seize the 84 sacred Tooth Relic and the precious Alms-bowl Relic²." At 85 the village of Kantakadvāravāta³ they fought a great battle with the hostile army, destroyed the troops of the enemy and then marched to Uddhanadvāra. With the hostile army which 86 after laying down fortifications, had taken up a position there they fought a severe action, blew up the fortifications along 87 with their gates, destroyed many of the enemy and took up a position in that village to equip army and train (anew). Queen Sugalā took the sacred relics, the Tooth and the Alms-88 bowl, and betook herself to Uruvelā⁴.

with here is not the a priv. + chind°, out the frequently used verb acchindati "to take away by force" (skr.  $\bar{a} + chid$ ; cf. PTS. P. D. s v.) The dhanajātam which has been taken away consists of course of elephants, horses, chariots, arms.

1 Now Medagama, 10 miles south of Bibile. It still lies on the highroad leading from Mahāgāma in the south to Polonnaruva. According to H. W. Codrington to the south of Medagama lately a milestone was discovered with a short inscription of Nissanka Malla (letter of 20th Dec. 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Lokagallatthasenānāthādhikārino cannot possibly be the subject of the principal sentence as W. assumes. That must be sought rather in dve senā in 83a. There is no reason either why the generals who had fought at Loggala should be so set upon the gaining of the sacred relics. In a far greater degree was this the case with Rakkha. The idea is rather this: Parakkama's generals fear that the hostile troops which had been defeated at Lokagalla might withdraw to the main army and there insist above all on safeguarding the relics, since all was already lost in the field. This Rakkha and his followers were determined at all costs to prevent.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Codrington compares this with a present Katupelella. I cannot find the name either in the Census or on the map. Sinh. pelella means "gate" = P. dvāra.

<sup>4</sup> For Uddhanadvāra see note to 61. 16. It was situated near Monaragala, thus about 10 to 12 miles SSE. of Medagama. According to 61. 25 it was the capital of that part of Rohana called Atthasahassa which was ruled by Sirivallabha. Here his widow Sugalā lived and the sacred relics were kept in her neighbourhood. Uruvelā whither she

But for the purpose of disposing of the hostile army in

90 Dīghavāpi¹ the Lord of men Parakkama had sent forth with an army the Adhikārin Kitti and the Jīvitapotthakin Kitti and yet other dignitaries with a thoroughly equipped army and

91 train<sup>2</sup>. They engaged the foe who coming from the direction of Erāhulu<sup>3</sup>, had taken up a position at the village called

92 Givulaba, in a terrible battle, broke through their fortifications there, killed many enemies, started from there again and

93 reached Uddhagāma. There they laid down fortifications, carried on war for three months and put the great army to flight.

94 With a hostile army that had erected fortifications near the locality called Hihobu, had dug trenches and spread thorn

95 bushes, and which with massed troops had taken up a position

96 ready for combat, they then fought a terrible battle. They broke through the whole stronghold together with the gates and entered by force repulsing each attack with a hail of arrows.

97 Thereupon they advanced farther and scattered as before, a hostile army that at a spot about a gavuta in extent beside 98 the village of Kirindagama had as before set up fortifications and there taken up a position, and halted with vast forces at the place called Dighavapi.

brought them for safety is identified with good reason by Cornington with Etimole which is situated about 5 to 6 miles south-east of Monaragala. What is curious is that Sugalā when she is forced to flee, does not put a greater distance beetwen herself respectively the relics, and the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> PARKER (Ancient Ceylon, p. 396) was the first as far as I know, to identify this and rightly so with Mahakandiyaveva, 25 to 30 miles NE. of Bibile and about the same distance SW. of Batticaloa. The Ratemahatmaya Bibile assured me that the old name Dikveva is still well known among the people.

<sup>2</sup> I do not believe that the expedition is only now set going after the occupation of Uddhanadvāra by Rakkha. It is far more likely that it was begun earlier by the two Kittis, probably sent of by Parakkama at the same time with Bhūta. The author is going back in his description.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington is assuredly right in identifying this with the present district Eravur, NW. of Batticaloa.

4 Lit. They made the combat one where it was difficult for anyone to come near (durāsadam).

5 The single localities mentioned such as Uddhagama, Hihobu,

The Ruler of men, Parakkama, the best of far-seeing men, 99 sent to his dignitaries who were at that place, the following message: "Shattered in combat the foe is in flight. 100 They have seized the splendid sacred relics of the Alms-bowl and the Tooth and are fain, through fear, to cross the sea. 101 So have I heard. If this is so, then the island of Lanka will be desolate. For though here on the Sihala island various 102 jewels and pearls and the like and costly kinds of various precious stones are found, yet of quite incomparable costliness 103 are the two sacred relics of the Lord of truth, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. At the cost of much valuable property and 104 by the constant amassing of well-tried and armed warriors I have freed this superb island of Lanka from every oppression, 105 3 but all my pains would be fruitless<sup>2</sup>. My head adorned with 106 a costly diadem sparkling with the splendour of various precious stones, would only be consecrated by the longed-for contact 107 with the two sacred relics of the Great Master, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. Therefore must ye all, with the same 108 end in view, with army and train and without in any way departing from the orders I give, conquer the hostile army 109 and speedily send me the splendid Tooth Relic and the sacred Alms-bowl." The Adhikarin Kitti by name who was in the 110 district of Dīghavāpi, received his message with bowed head, and with his division after assembling about him the many 111 leaders, he marched to the place which the commander-in-chief

Kirinda cannot be determined. At any rate this Kirinda is different from the place of the same name on the coast south of Tissamahārāma. Doubtless however, these events took place on a line running from north to south west of Batticaloa. Moreover the object of the whole undertaking is intelligible. By pressure on the right wing of the enemy the thrust against the main position in the centre at Uddhanadvāra was to be eased. The army columns then unite at Uddhanadvāra for the decisive blow (v. 111, 113).

P. bhinditrā in a passive sense. See Cūlavs. ed. I, Introd. p. XV.
 Lit. "These by me, the island liberator, made efforts will be perfectly (kāmam "at one's own pleasure") fruitless."

<sup>3</sup> P. pavittito (lit. "purified") with reference to uttamaigam, because this ("the head") is only a paraphrase for the person ("my head" = "I").

112 (Rakkha) was occupying. A vast army consisting of hostile divisions and inhabitants of the country1, advanced with all 113 its leaders, plentifully supplied with arms, equipped for combat, brave, a veritable host of heroes, against the village of 114 Uddbanadvara, full of lust for battle. "Of the enemy who have invaded our country we shall not let a single foe escape. 115 On the road which would be the line of retreat of the foe we shall place barricades and make the roads to an extent 116 of two to three gavutas impassable and round about the terri-117 tory occupied by the enemy cut off the supply of food. Then when the whole hostile army is weakened we shall fight an action with it in which because of our rain of arrows they 118 will have difficulty in approaching us, and destroy them." So thought the army and after it had in the way above described, put up strong barricades it took up a position, 119 keen for battle. Thereupon the Adhikarin Bhuta, the commander-in-chief Rakkha and the Adhikarin called Kitti, the 120 heroes, crushers of the hostile army, after equipping their great army on the battle-field advanced thence according to 121 orders all together and destroyed in a terrible combat a great number of soldiers so that nought but their name remained. They broke with large forces through the stronghold called 122 Maharīvara, marched thence farther, assembled all of them at the place Voyalaggamu by name and war-experienced (as they 123 were) took up a position there. The hostile army which was lying opposite in the district called Sumanagalla they destroy-124 ed in the way described above, and after they had in a terrible battle which was fought at the place called Badaguna scattered in desperate battle the entire army of the foe which stood here 125 and had also put to flight in combat the whole army which after laying down fortifications in the district called Uruvela. had 126 taken up their position there, they took possession of the

splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth and halted on the spot at the head of their mighty army.

At that time an officer of King Mānābharaṇa, the general 127 by name Sūkarabhātudeva, the foolish one, who had been placed 128 in chains by King Parakkama, had burst his fetters and had escaped to Rohaṇa. Then the Ruler of men summoned the 129 Adhikārin Mañju<sup>2</sup> and spake to him (thus): "The general Sūkarabhātu has fled to his country, thou must come up with 130 him before he has gained a hold anywhere." Therewith the Lord of men sent him off. He betook himself from Pulatthinagara to the place called Sāpatagamu<sup>3</sup>. There he fought a great battle with the hostile army. He slew many soldiers 132 and after laying down a fortification took up a position himself there at the head of his large army.

Now all the many rebels, each in his division, roused the 133 whole population of the country down to the very boys (in

<sup>1</sup> Herewith one object of the warlike operations has been attained. The actions described in vv. 119-126 must have taken place in a relatively limited territory SE. of the modern Monaragala. As the sequel shows, Parakkama's generals had obviously not yet advanced as far as Guttasālā (Buttala) (cf. v. 154, 156).

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that the MSS. have the form Mandin. Likewise 75. 152, 185. It is however beyond doubt that the same general is meant as the one mentioned in 74. 144, 75. 150 as Mañju.

- <sup>3</sup> Codernston identifies this with the modern Hapatgamuva. It lies about 8 miles NW. of Badulla in the Viyaluva Korale, on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga at the spot where it flows from west to east. This throws light on the whole episode. Since Sūkarabhātu has crossed the Mahaveliganga, it may be said that he has escaped to Rohana. His object was plainly to organise the rebellion in Malaya, in the rear and flank of Rakkha's troops. For that reason Parakkamabāhu is forced to send a new division against him. Mañju suppresses the movement in Malaya, Sūkarabhātu himself however, escapes, joins the rebels in position opposite Rakkha, and takes over the leadership here in the sequel (see v. 153). Mañju remains posted for the moment in order to safeguard the flank of the main army.
- <sup>4</sup> I believe that v. 132 closes the Sūkarabhātu episode for the moment, The sequel takes place as v. 136 shows, in front of Rakkha's army. A more exact localisation is impossible, since the individual places cannot be identified. The situation only becomes clear again in v. 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I read sapattavaggikā and believe this adjective belongs to the  $mah\bar{a}cam\bar{u}$  of the following compound. We have thus again the distinction between the regular troops and the militia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. above v. 96 and note.

74, 157

134 open revolt). With the firm resolve, even at the sacrifice of their life, not to give up the two relics of the Tooth and of

34

135 the Alms-bowl, they assembled with hostile intent, mastered

136 by insolence, at the village called Bhattasupa. Thereupon the commander-in-chief Rakkha, as also the Adhikarin Kitti and

137 the Adhikarin Bhuta and many other officers gave terrible battle to the hostile army, and skilled in war as they were,

138 let not two escape by the same way. They took, in loyal devotion to the King, the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic with them, instituted a great sacrificial festival and withdrew

139 unthreatened from any quarter. Now the whole hostile army, well equipped, having taken up arms with fury, gathered

140 together from every side1 at the place called Dematavala and

141 fought a mighty, terrible and horror-rousing battle<sup>2</sup>. By the (corpses of the) men slain in the terrible fight and (the mass of) the cast-off weapons the commander (Rakkha) and the

142 other dignitaries, left (the foe) on every side not even room to place their feet, and after taking with them the splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth, they reached the village named Sappanārukokilla.

Carried off by an attack of dysentery, the commander Rakkha now went thither in accordance with his doing — all

144 living forms are indeed transitory. The two adhikarins Manju and Kitti by name without omitting any honour due to his

1 Dematavala according to Codrington is now even the name for Okkampitiya which lies a few miles E. of Buttala. Popular tradition identifies the vihāra of Okkampitiya with the monastery where Saddhātissa found refuge after his defeat in battle by his brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. See Mhvs. 24. 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 140 a is hopelessly corrupt. According to the somewhat high-handed emendation of S. and B., W. translates "(the whole army of the enemy) that was at Vápi".

<sup>3</sup> Note that the line gahetvā pavare dāthāpattadhātubhadantake is exactly the same as v. 126 a b. Nevertheless gahetvā in the two places must be taken in a different sense. As in this passage a śloka of 6 pādas appears in the same way as these appear elsewhere, the line may be a later addition. The intention was to stress that Rakkha took the relics along with him on all his expeditions. Cf. v. 138.

4 One expects that along with Kitti Bhūta would be mentioned

rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead1. Now that the 145 wise commander was dead and the Ruler of men tarried afar off, they brought together with exceeding energy the whole 146 army of the Sovereign who was endowed with terrible courage, and while these heroes allowed no possibility of any sort for 147 any kind of panic and celebrated a great festival for the two sacred relics, they sent their report to the illustrious Ruler 148 of men and tarried yet a few days on the spot. When the 149 Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he had erected? on the spot where the commander had been burnt, a vast 150 alms-hall with four entrances, and in order to honour (the dead) by sacrifice he sent the (following) order: "Collect for 151 those bhikkhus coming from the four regions of the heavens and for the other bhikkhus a plentiful gift of alms." (Thus) he (commanded), the best among the grateful, the first among those who have attained knowledge. The two experienced 152 commanders joyfully carried out the order in fitting manner and remained on the spot.

The rebels thought, since the commander-in-chief was dead 153 and they (themselves) had gained a leader in Sūkarabhātu, they would meanwhile try for victory, and all gathered to- 154 gether in the district of Guttasālā<sup>3</sup>. When the vast, foe- 155 crushing army of King Parakkama heard that, it advanced 156 with its leaders, fighting at various places a severe action, from all sides against the district of Guttasālā. Thereupon all 157

here. Cf. the association in v.119, 136. Manju is still in position (v. 166 ff.) in the N. W., in Malaya. He had thus merely to be summoned to the funeral rites.

- <sup>1</sup> P. petakiccāni. According to the Brahmanical view as it is here and often expressed in ceremonial, the deceased before he is admitted to the world of the manes, becomes a preta a "roaming soul". The ekoddistaśrāddha is offered to the preta. HILLEBRANDT, Ritualliteratur p. 90.
- <sup>2</sup> I am now of opinion that direct speech begins first at 150 c. The gerund kāretvā is, as seems clear from 149 cd, to be subordinated to the finite verb pesesi.
- <sup>3</sup> Now the modern Buttala. See note to 51.109. The scene of the contests and the further course of the operations is now again perfectly clear.

36

74.179

the rebels gave up this village and withdrew through fear to 158 the village (and) district of Mahagama1. When the Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he of matchless bravery sent 159 a messenger with the order: "That ye fight as chance wills it, while dragging the relics about from village to village 160 pleaseth me not. Send ye both relics at once to me." When 161 the commanders of the army received this massage they with the intention of sending the sacred relics, the Tooth and the 162 Bowl to Pulatthinagara, entrusted an officer with their care, started from the village called Hintalavanagama, and after they 163 had as before fought a terrible battle with the approaching hostile army at Khīragāma2 and had put it to flight on all 164 sides, they entered Khiragama, fought here also a severe action and cut down many. Then they marched farther from that place, fighting at Tanagaluka, and Sukhagirigama, at Kata-165 dorāvāda<sup>3</sup> and Ambagalla<sup>4</sup>, as well as at Tandulapatta likewise a furious action, and after bringing hither with great pomp both relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, they sent them 166 to the Adhikarin Manju. This (officer) had at the village called Sakhapattas and at Lokagalla cut down many soldiers and brought all the dwellers in (the district of) Dhanumandala6

1 Now Magama, the old capital of Rohana (see note to 45.42) in the agricultural district of Tissamahārāma.

2 Khīragāma is the place where according to 79.71 (cf. note to the passage) a cetiya was erected to Queen Ratanāvalī who was cremated there. Corrington as he informs me by letter (20th Dec. 1927), has discovered this stupa in Badalkumbura near Alupota in the Kandukara Korale, about halfway between Buttala and Medagama. It is situated not far from the old high road. It is not impossible that we have to do in v. 162 ff. with movements of retreat in a northerly direction from Buttala, since Bhūta and Kitti were trying to get into touch with Mañju. For Hintālavanagāma see also note to 75.7.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the same as the Kanṭakadvāravāta mentioned 74.85. Thus

4 W. separates the compound Katadorāvādambagallake into Katadorārā Dambagallake which I consider impossible.

<sup>5</sup> According to Conrington the same as Sapatagamuva; certainly right. The latter form is nearer to the Sinhalese.

<sup>6</sup> The mention of Lokagalla now Loggala (see note to 74.79) shows

into his power. He was stationed there, went forth to meet 167 the relics of the Tooth and the Bowl, celebrated for them sacrificial festivals day and night, entrusted the Kammanatha 168 Añiana with the care of the relics and sent the two relics to the Great King. Thereupon he set forth, marched to the vil- 169 lage called Bokusala and held counsel, being versed in counsel, with all the dignitaries: "Our foes know their own country. 170 When we come near them they disperse on every side, penetrate then (again) into the territory that we have brought 171 into our power, in order to conquer it, and vex the people. But would our master, the world conqueror, prize as much as 172 a blade of grass, a kingdom even if it were utterly subdued, but by disregard of his commands, he who knows the course of war? Therefore will we honour the command of 173 our illustrious monarch and in order that the foe may not be able to return to the territory already subdued by us, post 174 there at different places a strong force with officers, and when thus our enemies have their roots cut off by us, we will set 175 forth to lay our heads at the foot lotus of our master." Thus he resolved who was wise among those who understand decisions. Hereupon all the dignitaries who agreed with his 176 words, set forth with the vast army, ready for battle, and 177 marched to the village of Valivasaragama in a district where many roads meet. After they had arrived there and deprived many foes of their life, they set forth thence and built a 178 fortification at the place called Balapasana. Having posted there the Lankapura' Kitti and another large army consisting 179

that Manju was still in position near the place where he had come into contact with Sūkarabhātu (74. 131 and note). From 70. 17 it is clear that Dhanumandala was a district in Malaya, approximately corresponding to the present Viyaluva division.

<sup>1</sup> The gen. vasīkatassa thānassa stands instead of the loc. governed by pavisanti. Cf. Cūlav. ed. I, Introd. p. XVI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> W. translates "Kitti and Lankapura". He takes the last-named apparently for the general of this name (76.83) often mentioned in the sequel to whom apparently 70. 218 also refers. According to the last passage this Lankapura was the son of the Lankadhinatha Kitti.

38

of the four members, all the dignitaries and leaders set forth 180 at the head of the main army with large forces to subdue from one strip of country to the other the numerous rebels in the district called Dīghavāpi'.

Meanwhile the Ruler of the kingdom, King Parakkamabahu, tarried in beauteous Pulatthinagara where there was no war 182 trouble. Endowed with the gifts of faith and insight and with the effects of many meritorious works, he the first among 183 those versed in art, spent the day in pleasant pastimes. But now when he learned that the relics were gradually drawing nearer, he spake, his heart full of the greatest satisfaction 184 and joy: "In truth a great gain for me! Blessed is my life, the finest fruit of my labours for the peace of the realm is 185 mine now that I may behold and reverence these two relics of the Monarch of sages." With these and the like exclama-186 tions he the virtuous one, went forth well bathed, beautifully clad, well anointed and beautifully adorned at the head of 187 the festively arrayed princes and dignitaries, like to the moon in autumn when it is surrounded by the stars, the distance 188 of a yojana to meet (the relics). At the first glimpse he who was honoured by the pious, honoured them with all kinds of ornaments, with the most varied kinds of precious stones and 189 pearls, with costly jewels, with all kinds of incense, with lamps 190 and sweet-smelling flowers and with many perfumes giving expression to his reverence, as if the Enlightened One were 191 still in life. Unceasingly shedding tears of joy and with tiny hairs bristling as if the inward rapture had burst forth, 192 beautifying his whole body, and with floods of the highest joy making drunk his soul, as if he possessed limbs which

1 Mañju's plan was plainly this, to suppress the revolts which were constantly breaking out in the rear of the army stationed at Guttasālā-Buttala, in the same way as he had until now covered the flank in Dhanumandala. Hence he now marched eastwards into the Dīghavāpi district. In Mhvs. 75. 3, 4 Balapasana is likewise associated with Dīghavapi. Verses 176-180 form one sentence in which the subject sabbe 'maccā (v. 176) is once more repeated by sabbe 'maccā padhānā ca (v. 179)

193 were overwhelmed by showers of the finest nectar, the stead-

fast one, the superb one bore the splendid Tooth Relic on his head, like to the Moon-bearer who bears the crescent moon upon his head. He showed all his companions the two relics 194 while well versed in the sacred writings, he proclaimed their glory, and after he the all-wise had had a great sacrificial 195 festival celebrated by them (his companions) the Ruler of men had the relics laid down on the spot?. He who kept a watch 196 over all his senses, set up a strong guard; he commanded that gifts of every kind should be offered, and then his heart filled 197 with the joy of faith, he returned with his dignitaries and his train to his abode like god Brahma to the Brahma palace.

Parakkamabahu I

Thereupon the King had erected in the middle of the 198 town for the Tooth Relic a splendid temple of fine proportions, like to the hall of assembly, Sudhammā3. From the King's 199 Gate onward\* he had the road for the distance of a yojana made perfectly level like the palm of the hand. Then he who 200 had his joy in the welfare of all beings, had erected everywhere triumphal arches with coloured pictures on them that delighted the heart of the people, and beneath these outspread 201

- 1 Name of Siva who is represented with the crescent moon in the hair above his forehead.
- <sup>2</sup> P. tatth' eva, i. e. just at the spot where he had raised the Tooth Relic to his head and showed it to his train. According to vv. 187, 199 it was about a yojana (that is about nine miles) from the southern door of the town. Here the relics are kept provisionally until their festive entry into the town.
- 3 Skr. sabhā sudharmā, the hall of the god Indra. E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 58. It is difficult to say which building in Polonnaruva is meant by this dathadhatughara. According to 73. 124 ff. Mahinda one of the king's followers, had built such a temple. Later on (78.41) the circular building in Jetavanarama is mentioned as the temple of the Tooth Relic. This one can however scarcely be meant in this passage, as it would be difficult to compare it with a sabhā. Probably the relics were changed about from place to place and this is reflected in a certain vagueness of the tradition.
- <sup>4</sup> See 73. 160. As the relics were brought hither from the south we may assume that the King's Gate lay in this direction. The loc. rājadvāramhi in place of the abl. with patthāya is explained by the influence of the metre. Likewise 75, 72.

40

canopies1 tied with garlands of all kinds of flowers in gaily-202 hued succession. The pillars of the triumphal arches he decked singly with different stuffs and the upper part he provided 203 with rows of umbrellas and whisks3, with bunches of all kinds of flowers, with fluttering cloths3 and banners and other costly 204 things fit as votive offerings. The two sides of the street he embellished with fruit-bearing trees, such as sannīras4, banana, 205 areka and coco palms and furnished them with vases filled with charming nosegays, with all kinds of banners and pennons, 206 with lamps and incenses and the like, and adorned the road, capable of distinguishing the true from the false way, like the 207 street Sudassana of the lord of the thirty gods. Then after he who understood how to win good people for himself, had speedily furnished the gate court of the temple of the Tooth Relic 208 like to (the town) Alaka6, the Monarch had a priceless jewel 209 hollowed out and filled with sweet-smelling powder. Here the Increaser of the realm placed the superb Tooth Relic, then 210 laid the jewel in a casket of precious stones and this again he placed in a costly box of gold. But the Bowl Relic he 211 placed in a costly golden mandapa that sparkled with the rays of various precious stones, that was wonderful and 212 shimmering like the rainbow, that rested on four wheels, that was indeed lovely and like to a bundle of rays of the rising sun, on a beautifully arranged seat covered with costly carpets 213 in a sweet-smelling layer of flowers. Then he capable of maintaining what has been won, made people of the clan of

1 P. vitānānam patānake, lit. "outspreadings of canopies." Vicitravannasamtane precedes. The stretching out of the canopies is described by the three derivatives of the root tan (with vi, pa and sam).

2 The whisk, camara, made of the tail of the yak, bos grunniens,

belongs like the umbrella to the insignia of royalty.

3 P. vitānehi. The word cannot mean "canopy" again hore. The instrumentals in v. 202 d and 203 are governed by sajjetvā.

4 Name of the King's cocopalm.

<sup>5</sup> P. tidasindassa. Indra or Sakra is meant. Tridasa is also in Skr. a general designation for the gods. Sudarsana is in epic poetry the name of Indra's palace (E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 55, 141).

6 The same as Ālakamandā (37. 106), town of the God Kuvera.

the Lambakannas with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their hands and other people of noble families place themselves 214 round the mandapa for its protection. Round about the 215 mandapa he placed splendidly attired dancing girls in many hundreds of (other) costly mandapas, each of these being ac- 216 companied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like in their hands and by bands of female musicians who were 217 like to the heavenly musicians 1, to do honour with their dance, their song and their music (to the relics). With all kinds of 218 flowers, with incense and various perfumes he filled the town with fragrance<sup>2</sup> and delighted the crowd of people. With the 219 light of many thousands of lamps he transformed the heavenly regions and the intermediate regions into pure glory. With 220 rows of umbrellas and whisks, with rows of coloured banners and all kinds of pennons he veiled the whole firmament. With 221 the trumpeting of elephants and the neighing of horses, with the clatter of chariot wheels and the rattle of kettledrums; with the enrapturing tone of all the festive shell trumpets, 222 with the roll of the great drums and the cries of victory of the bards; with the shouts of acclamation and loud clapping 223 of hands and the jubilant cries (of the people) he filled the regions of the heavens with noise3. The Monarch himself 224 arrayed with all his ornaments, mounted his favourite, beautiful elephant4 which was hung with coverings of gold, and sur-

- 1 P. gandhabbī. The gandhabbā, skr. gandharvāh are semi-divine beings, the heavenly musicians. They are thought of as males, their feminine counterpart are the Apsaras. A feminine gandhabbī could only arise in the Pali stage after the more general meaning "musician (pure and simple)" had been formed for the masculine alongside of the original meaning.
- <sup>2</sup> P. vāsayitvā from the denom. vāsay. Likewise in Mhvs. 5. 139 "His seat after being perfumed, used to be hung up". My translation of that passage was wrong.
- <sup>3</sup> P. sādhukāraninādena. By the constantly repeated cry of sādhu the people are accustomed to give expression to their joy and enthusiasm during festive processions. Kārento mukharā disā, lit.: "made the heavens talkative".

<sup>4</sup> P. pavaram nāgam . . . subham,

225 rounded by many dignitaries, who rode their steeds', he 226 went forth with great pomp<sup>2</sup> from the splendid town, betook himself to the sacred Tooth Relic and to the glorious Bowl Relic, reverenced them in worthy fashion with hands folded 227 on the brow, and while offering to them with his own hands sweet-smelling flowers he went on his way with both relics3. Now at an unusual time a great cloud gathered spreading herself forth4. With her hollow rumbling she increased the roll of the drums and with the bright bouquet of the rainbow 229 she adorned the space of the heavens. She made lustrous lightning quiver on all sides, an instructress for the dance 230 begun by the peacocks. Together with the dust raised by 231 the hoof-beat of the horses she made the wreath of the sun's rays disappear and veiled the whole firmament in thick darkness. 232 When the dignitaries saw all this they thought again and again: she will pour forth violent rain to disturb the high 233 festival, and their hearts filled with sore trouble, they betook themselves to the all-wise Ruler and considered what was to 234 be done. But the Great King who knew the excess of his own power and the unimaginable majesty of the great Sage, 235 spake (thus): "Be ye not troubled; here a marvellous high festival is being celebrated that captivates the hearts of men 236 and gods, and I have set forth with unapproachable courage, rich in merit, rich in wisdom, rich in glory, rich in fame. 237 What god, what Mara and Brahma would be able to hinder 238 the magnificent festival taken in hand by me? Harbour therefore no fear when ye convey the two relics, but set forth on

1 P. vāhanārūļha. The word vāhana means it is true, not merely riding animals but vehicles of every kind, also chariots.

<sup>2</sup> P. ānubhāvena mahacca seems to be a transposition of mahacca ānubhavena. D. I. 49<sup>32</sup>, M. II. 118<sup>14</sup> we have mahacca rājānubhāvena. Buddhaghosa says (Sumv. I. 148<sup>14</sup>) mahācca rājānubhāvenāti, mahatā ca rājānubhāvena; mahaccā ti pi pāli, mahatiyā ti attho; lingavipariyāyo esa.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 198 to 227 form one sentence. The principal verb is patipajji. The preceding verbs are gerunds or present participles. your way." With these words the discerning (prince) set forth. Then the great cloud while filling all the ponds and rivers 239 outside the range of the festival with floods of rain, as she 240 approached the great procession, moved along before it and rained just enough to lay the dust of the ground'. When all 241 the inhabitants of the town who had gathered together and the virtuous sons of the Sage, many hundreds in number, saw this miracle they cried: "In truth of great majesty is this 242 Ruler of men, the foe-subduer; in consequence of his high merit he has appeared in Lanka. Here is merit, here is wisdom, 243 here is pious devotion2 to the Tathagata, here is fame and glory and exceeding great sublimity." Proclaiming these and 244 other words of highest wonderment they filled all regions of the heavens with loud songs of praise. While thus the Monarch 245 accomplished such a series of wondrous things as had never been seen or heard of before, he celebrated the high festival 246 in a manner befitting his majesty, and after the wise (prince) had had the two relics brought into the temple of the Tooth Relic, the hero who was a single light for the whole world, 247 celebrated for seven nights long a festival of lamps.

Thus did the King Parakkamabāhu before whom monarchs 248 did obeisance, institute in pious fashion for the glorious relics a great festival that like none other called forth joy, rejoicing, wonder and admiration from all people who beheld it.

Here ends the seventy-fourth chapter, called "Account of the Festival of the Tooth Relic", in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 Hutvāna purato sayam must be joined "placing itself at the head". The acc. dharā-parāga-mattum is governed by pasamam nayam (pres. part. of neti) lit.: bringing to rest, stilling.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit.: A great untimely cloud came up, spreading itself out (v. 231 cd) increasing . . . decorating . . . etc. making the whole firmament veiled in a mass of darkness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Notice here the expression bhatti = skr. bhakti i. e. love, surrender in faith. The bhaktimārga as path to salvation comes in Hinduism as third after karmamārga, practice of the ritual, and after jñānamārga philosophic knowledge. The use of bhatti in this passage shows plainly the influence of Hindu ideas on Buddhism. What Viṣṇu is to Hinduism that Buddha is here—the object of bhakti (see H. Jacobi, Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern, p. 28). The word bhatti occurs again in the same sense in 85. 33 and 121 and in 93. 9, 10 in Sivabhatti which is contrasted with the Buddhist faith.

### CHAPTER LXXV

# THE CONQUEST OF ROHANA

Now all the dignitaries and leaders set forth with great forces to occupy the district of Dīghavāpimandala¹. After fighting a great battle at the place Savanaviyala and utterly destroying the stronghold there with its twelve gates, and after fighting further at the place Gomayagāma, at Chaggāma and at the stronghold Balapāsāna² a severe action and shattering the hostile army, they halted at the stronghold named Balapāsāna with army and train. Thereupon the dignitaries and leaders set out thence, fought a sharp combat in the district of Mālavatthuka, and while fighting at various places—at Vadhagāmakapāsāna, at the village called Mulutta, at Senaguttagāma, at Bolagāma, at the place Vānaragāma and at Gallambatthikagāma great battles in terrible succession, they marched from all sides against the village of Hintālavanagāma³.

1 The narrative starts immediately after 74.180 and continues the description of the operations set on foot by Mañju. Cf. sabbe 'maccā padhānā ca mahābalapurakkhatā (74.179 cd) with sabbe amaccā ca padhānā ca mahabbalā (75.1 ab).

<sup>2</sup> Balapāsāņa is already mentioned in 74.178. It must be assumed either that the place had in the meantime been abandoned by Kitti or that vv. 2, 3 are merely a repetition of 74.176 ff. Codrigoron identifies Chaggāma with the modern Sakamam, situated near the east coast at Tirrukovil.

3 It is, I believe, impossible to determine the places named in vv. 5, 6. But evidently the troops march in broad alignment throught the district of Dīghavāpi in a concentric direction — hence samantato — to Hintālavanagāma. This must be looked for according to 74 162 near Khīragāma, thus somewhat north of Buttala. In this region the troops of Kitti and Bhūta were probably standing. Thus there is evidently a plan for uniting the whole army and striking a decisive blow in the neighbourhood of Guttasālā and Mahāgāma.

With the hostile army that stood here after it had erected 8 on a space of three gavutas', a strong fortification with many entrenchments, they fought a great battle, slew numbers of 9 soldiers and took up a position on the spot, spreading fear amongst the foe. But now the rebels all set off for Digha- 10 vapimandala with the intention of (re-)taking the (already) captured province. When the dignitaries in Hintalavanagama 11 received exact tidings of this undertaking they sent off many soldiers. These covered in two nights a tract of ground of 12 twenty gavutas3, fought a great battle, cut down the foe and 13 so terrified them that they gave up trying to renew the contest. Then they returned victorious to their place4. Hereupon 14 all the dignitaries near this village having fought with the foe - who after throwing up an entrenchment at the place 15 named Adipadapunnagakhanda were standing in the district of Guttasālā — a great battle and after likewise fighting at Corambagāma, further at the village of Mūlanagāma and at 16 Kuddalamandala a severe action, set forth from the place called 17 Hintālagāma. They fought an action at Kittirājavālukagāma. further a terrible battle at the place called Ulada, at the 18 village named Valuka and after fighting an action at Huyalagāma, they halted, slaying many enemies.

- 1 Over six miles. See note on 73.154.
- <sup>2</sup> Thus the revolt breaks out again in the rear and the flank of the army. The pacification of the Dīghavāpi district had not been successful.
  - 3 More then 40 miles.
  - <sup>4</sup> I. e. to the headquarters at Hintalagama.
- of the success of single actions. It is clearly the case here of guerilla warfare. In open fight the rebels offer little resistance. But when the revolt seems to have been suppressed at one place, it at once breaks out anew in another. The accounts of "great battles" (mahāyuddha) and the "bitter or severe actions" (tumula rana) in which the hostile army is shattered and countless soldiers slain, are too much of a formula to lay claim in all their details to historical credence. Every encounter whether important or unimportant, is described very nearly in the same way. The capture of the calics was certainly an important moral success. But the main object of the whole enterprise, as it is alleged in 74. 40 ff. was not

Now to make the town Mahānāgahula which had been inhabited by former kings, a royal capital by the Great King were sent forth the Damilādhikārin Rakkha and Rakkha the Chief of the chamberlains, and they having equipped a great

21 army, set forth full of lust for battle. The Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha hereupon sent off the Kesadhātu by name

22 Devarāja, who dwelt in Pancayojana, with a great army, and after destroying numbers of foes there, he being experienced

23 in the art of war, smote the enemy who after throwing up many entrenchments at the village of Gimhatitha, in order to make it the royal capital, had taken up their stand there, so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained.

24 Then to allow the exhausted army to recover from the combats, the hero tarried a few days on the spot<sup>2</sup>.

Thereupon the enemy gathered together and driven by their heavy grief, they took grave counsel (together) as follows:

26 "The power of the Ruler of men Parakkama, which is like

achieved. Cf. below v. 149 ff. Parakkama's troops were unable to pass the Buttala line. The King realises that and develops an entirely new plan of campaign, an attack from the north-west, with Dakkhinadesa as base.

1 A curious expression meaning about the same as "to bring into his power". For the idea must be that Parakkama now risks a direct advance against the capital of Rohana. But perhaps we have to do with an old corruption of the text? Note that the pada tato kātum rājadhānim is immediately repeated in 22 c.

The military expeditions of the two Rakkhas dealt with in detail by Codrington in his Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, II., are quite intelligible as regards their plan and course. That of the Kañcukināyaka Rakkha is first spoken of. His task was to penetrate from Dakkhinadesa along the south-west and the south coast as far as Mahānāgahula situated at the mouth of the Valaveganga (cf. note to 58.40). Before he begins the advance he secures his left flank by the expedition which starts from Pañcayojana, now Pasdun-Korale, east of Kalutara (cf. note to 57.71). The hostilities then begin at Gimhatittha, now Gintota, a few miles west of Galle. Rakkha had apparently penetrated as far as this place from the frontier of Dakkhinadesa as which we may regard the Kaluganga, without encountering resistance. The rebels who were about to fortify Gimhatitha as a residence for Sugalā were evidently completely surprised.

to the fire at the destruction of the world, is hard to subdue even by the kings in the whole of Jambudipa. Even the Lord 27 of men Gajabāhu and the Ruler Mānābharaņa, these two lionlike kings, skilled in war, who prepared a great army and 28 spent much money, though they fought day and night in divers ways, when they heard the sound of his drum of triumph 29 were scattered afar. They became as glowworms at the rising of the sun, and since tortured by fear, they were not even 30 able to stay in their own country, they seeing no other way of escape, sought refuge with (the god of the dead) King Yama. Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In 31 every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore let us at all inaccessible places throw 32 up many entrenchments, make all the well-known highways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths, and when then our 33 land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle." Herewith the rebels being all of one 34 accord, marched to the mouth of the Galu river' full of the lust of battle. When the Chief of the chamberlains 35 heard thereof, he marched thither, fought a great battle with them and put them to flight. The army which had been 36 shattered in the battle joined from all sides with the foe who had his position at Mahāvālukagāma?. The Chief of the 37 chamberlains Rakkha gave his army time to breathe; then he marched farther in order to fight the foe at Mahavalukagama. He shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield (bloody) 38 as the world of the Nagas when afflicted by the Garulas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. is probably right in identifying the Gālunadī with the Ginganga at whose mouth at Gintota the troops of Rakkha had according to v. 24 halted. Gālu can scarcely have anything to do with the name of the town of Galle. It is a question, whether we should not keep to the MSS. reading of gālurajjumukhadvāram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Now Veligama halfway between Galle and Dondra. It appears that the main body of the hostile army had its position at this place. When its vanguard had been beaten by Rakkha near the mouth of the Gālu river the whole army concentrated at Veligama.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. garuļa is the skr. garuḍa. This in the singular is in the first place the name of a mythical griffin-like bird which is regarded as Visnu's

75. 39

39 He drove them thence as a panther many gazelles and the

40 victory gained, halted there himself with large forces. Then the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself versed in the consideration of advantage and disadvantage, while he sojourned

41 in Valukagama, reflected thus: "These foes perish of a truth in great numbers, like moths who know not the danger of

42 the fire and are burnt therein. But when they have perished the land will become like to a wilderness. And they know

43 not the great-heartedness of our King. From now onwards we must grant the foes who surrender, freedom from punish-

44 ment and give them protection". Hereupon he sent to some of the inhabitants of the province the message: "All those who

.45 would preserve their lives, let them come to me." Now when the merchants who dwelt in the port of Vālukagāma¹ to whom

46 their life and their money were dear, heard that, they came in great numbers and (with them) other of the inhabitants from all sides to the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha and

47 presented themselves to him, tortured with fear. Hereupon he sent his soldiers forth and made them several times fight an action with the foe at different places such as Devanagara

48 and at Kammāragāma, at Mahāpanālagāma and at the village of Mānakapitthi, at the ford called Nīlavāla and at the village

49 named Kadalīpatta2. He remained victor at all these places

50 and received graciously all who came to him. Now all the

steed. At the Pāli stage the word in the plural serves as designation of a whole group of such birds. They are the deadly enemies of the serpent spirits called Nāgas. See note to 41.80.

1 It is interesting to learn that Veligama was at that time (12 th c.) a not unimportant trading-centre, thanks probably to the spacious and sheltered bay on which it lies.

<sup>2</sup> The progress of the Kañcukināyaka along the coast is easy to follow. Devanagara is the modern Devundara (Dondra) at the southern point of the island. Kammāragāma the village Kamburugamuva halfway between Veligama and hatara which last we recognise in Nīlavālatittha, since it lies near the mouth of the Nilvalaganga. The name Matara means "great ford". The remaining names can no longer be identified. What is striking is the sequence of the narrative, since Devanagara could only be occupied after the capture of Kammāragāmā and Nīlavālatittha.

rebels made the resolve: "We shall not permit the all too 51 mighty army of the foe after crossing the river at the place Mahākhetta, to fight (with us)". They set forth and themselves full of fury, reached the bank of the river. When the 52 Chief of the chamberlains heard of this event he sent forth his army to march thither to fight with the foe. Thereupon 53 the best soldiers of the two parties fought a severe action in the middle of the river. Now raged between the two armies 54 a terrible battle like to that of the gods with the Danavas<sup>1</sup> who rose from the ocean. While now the great warriors 55 stood in battle with the hostile army, they reflected thus: "An indecisive battle with these people is the same as a defeat. 56 If not to speak of our Lord, the Chief of the chamberlains hears such tidings, that means a great humiliation. Let us 57 therefore break in pieces the foe like small sugar canes, fling 58 them into the water of the river and make them food for the fish and the turtle, otherwise it is we who shall still their hunger." They fought an exceeding terrible battle like the 59 monkeys who leapt over the ocean<sup>2</sup> in the combat between Rama and Ravana. They caused the swift river to flow with 60 flesh and blood and set forth with strong forces to take Dighāli<sup>3</sup>. The warriors marched thither and rooted out the host of their 61 foes as elephants a banana grove into which they have broken.

<sup>1</sup> The Dānavas are demon-like creatures, asuras, enemies of the Devas. This passage refers to the fight described in the Mahābhārata 1. 5. 19, in which the gods after getting hold of the amrta conquer the demons who then withdraw below the ground and into the sea. Cf. Норкіль, Еріс Mythology, р 48; Н. Јасові, Mahābhārata, р. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to the battle described in the Rāmāyana VI. 24.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to establish the locality of these battles. It is clear that Mahākhetta (v.50) and Dīghāli must be situated close together. Codrington looks for them (cf. note to 72.63) on the Nilvalaganga north of Matara. But since Rakkha has already taken Devanagara, he must stand on the left bank of this river. We must thus assume that the rebels were trying to turn Rakkha's left flank and that he was therefore forced to give up the advance eastwards and to make a change of front northwards. The identification of Dīghāli with Dikvella is difficult to maintain, since the river is absent upon and at which the fights described must have taken place.

62 There shattered, the enemy gathered together again at the place called Suvannamalaya and began the combat anew.

50

63 Then the Chief of the chamberlains also sent thither numbers of soldiers. There hailed down an uninterrupted rain of arrows

64 and after ascertaining through spies a passage leading through the forest, they penetrated the path pointed out by them,

65 slew many soldiers who had sought shelter in the various entrenchments and cleansed Suvannamalaya also from the briers

66 (of the rebels). Hereupon the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself on the way to Mālāvaratthalī, sent to the soldiers

67 who had marched to Suvannamalaya the (following) message: "I am on the march to the village of Mālāvarathalī; set ye

68 forth also on the way thither." When the people heard that, they did so, and he took them all with him and betook himself to Mālāvaratthalī<sup>2</sup>.

The war-skilled Damiladhikarin Rakkha by name, betook himself at the head of a strong force to Donivagga<sup>3</sup>. When

<sup>1</sup> Codrington says: "Suvannamalaya is Ranmalékanda situated northwest of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides West Giruva Pattu from Matara district". Kirama lies NNE. from Matara about 20 miles distant.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear from the passage that the march to Suvannamalaya was only the lateral expedition of a division detached from the main army. I do not believe therefore that Mālāvaratthalī should be looked for as in the line of march after Suvannamalaya. It lay rather on that followed by the Kaācukināyaka in his advance. As this was directed towards Mahānāgahula, thus in the direction of the lower course of the Valaveganga (see note to 58.39), I should look for Mālāvaratthalī farther south, somewhere between Viraketiya and Tangalla.

<sup>3</sup> We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Donivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimhatitha or very soon after. Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohana, from the west and the north-west. Donivagga is the depression at Pelmadulla-Opanake, about twelve miles east of Ratnapura. The name is preserved in that of the small river Denavaka which flows through the depression. As there is considerable rice cultivation in this region it is part cularly suited for the gathering of an army.

the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true tidings of the situation to the Lankapura Rakkha who was 71 in the town called Mahanagahula and sent an urgent message to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading 72 from Donivagga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let us hinder the (direct) passage into our province from there 73 at the difficult places1, and with great fury they set about beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damiladhikarin Rakkha 74 wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of the enemy, to strike a decisive blow and in his lust for 75 fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesadhatu Loka and the Sankhanayaka Natha by name and other officers. These 76 fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered 77 foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at the place Guralatthakalancha. Now the Damiladhikarin Rakkha 78 again sent forth his great army to take away this place also3.

<sup>1</sup> The passage offers difficulties. What is now called Navadun Korale (= Navayojana; cf. note to 72. 60) is mainly the region of Pelmadulla. Formerly however, Navayojana, as Coprington points out, seems to have been of greater extent. I am inclined to think that it embraced in mediaeval-times the whole region east and south-east of Pasdun Korale, i.e. Kukul Korale, Hinidum Pattu, Moravak Korale. It was in this territory that the combats described in 72.60-64 took place. Kālagiribhanda also mentioned there is probably only a part of Navayojana. The purport of our passage seems to me to be this: the rebels have no fear of being threatened from the west, from Navayojana, as in that case Rakkha would first have to cross the Rakvana mountains. He will, they thought. avoid this difficult line of march, but is more likely to advance along the direct road (ratthapavesana). This would be more or less the road leading now from Madampe south-eastward to Ambalantota at the mouth of the Valaveganga. It was here at the places fit for resistance that the rebels believed the defence should be organised. We shall see in the sequel that Rakkha later on nevertheless risked the march over the mountains. <sup>2</sup> P. mukhabhanga, see note to 63. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The name Guralatthakalañcha suggests the Atakalan Korale. With this is designated the name of the district in which Madampe lies. It is quite intelligible that Rakkha wishes to gain a footing here, in order to secure for himself access to the road leading to Mahānāgahula. The Col. Ed. reads Garulatthakalañcha as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.

52

75. 99

79 The brave warriors arose, broke through many entrenchments, even broke through the main fortifications which were provid80 ed with numerous gates and reached the place which the foe was occupying. They took whom they could alive, sent many 81 other foes straight into the jaws of death, put to flight the others who found no further support, and cleansed this place 82 also from the briers (of the foe). Then they returned (to Rakkha), and he showed them befitting favours.

Rakkha), and he showed them befitting favours.

Now in order to protect the enemy whom the king's majesty had turned to ashes, by the application of kindness, even as a cloud (shelters) the forest set on fire by the glow of the summer sun, the prudent Damiladhikarin returned to Donivagga. He appointed to every district that he had captured, the appropriate people, took those who had submitted to his dominion? under his dominion and purged this district also. The enemy who after throwing up entrenchments, had taken up their position at Pugadandakaāvāṭa⁴, renewed the fight with strong forces. The Damilādhikārin, well skilled in the game of war, thereupon sent thither also many soldiers with their officers. The brave warriors went forth and with the rain of arrows which they let rain⁵, with the rattle of the drums and the clash of swords they were like to the flashing march of a storm cloud that appears out

- 1 The fact that Rakkha returns to Donivagga and that now like his namesake, (75.41ff.) he seeks to win over the rebels by kindness shows that he has not achieved his object. The breach planned along the main road to Mahānāgahula has not succeeded, the advance has been checked at a certain place.
  - <sup>3</sup> I should expect vase yante rather than vase honte (cf. 77. 10 and note).
- <sup>3</sup> Probably Donivagga. It is to be assumed that the revolt broke out also in Rakkha's rear.
- <sup>4</sup> The place cannot be identified with certainty. If what is meant is the place Dandava lying between Kahavatta and Opanake, the rebels had advanced very near to Rakkha's base. Later on Pūgadandāvāṭa becomes Rakkha's headquarters (cf. 75. 143).
- <sup>5</sup> P. vassitā is instr. sg. for rassitena; in the same way vivattanā stands in d for virattanena.

of season. Through delight in their own heroism1 chasing away the weariness of combat, they celebrated the goddess 90 of heroes with their drums of victory. When they thereupon heard that numbers of the foe had built a stronghold at the 9: place called Tambagama and had taken their stand there, the heroes of tried valour were minded to show that nothing but heroic action pleased them, marched by night thither and invaded 91 (the place), through the sound of their war drums challenging the foe to fight. But when the rebels heard the clatter of the 95 drums they thought a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads and in the greatest panic some fled while others perished. 94 But those (victors) burned down the fortification so that nought but ashes remained and returned with strong forces to Pu- 9; gadandavata2. The Damiladhikarin Rakkha called back his own troops and sent forth to subdue the enemy who lurked 96 here and there in their district, the four-membered army with its officers. This army cut down at Bodhiavata, at Bhinnala- 97 vanagāma<sup>3</sup> and at Atarandāmahābodhikkhandha numbers of the enemy, fought also a night action and returned thence.

Now the Damiladhikārin marched at the head of strong 98 forces to the place called Sūkarālibheripāsāņa. Without 99

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P.  $v\bar{v}$ rarasa-ass $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ . Again an allusion to the Indian rasa doctrine. See note to 72.94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Again it is the case of a direct attack on Mahānāgahula, but which again did not lead to a break through. Tambagāma is without doubt the village of Tambagomuva lying about 8 miles ESE. of Madampe near the road leading to Ambalantota from which it is separated by the Rakvanaganga. The village gives its name to the district Tambagam Pattuva. (Census Ceylon, 1921, II, p. 490.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Col. Ed. reads here *Hintālavanagāmake*. In the writing this form is hardly distinguishable from the form which I have adopted. In any case this Hintālavanagāma could have nothing to do with the place of that name mentioned 74. 162; 75. 7, 11, 17, which was situated at Khīragāma not far from Buttala.

In this name are combined two neighbouring places, Sūkarāli and Bheripāsāņa. The first is the present Urubokka, the second Beralapanatara. We owe these identifications to Codrington. I had them also from the principal of the Dharmasalava in Ratnapura, Urapola Ratnapura, with whom I discussed the passages of the Mhvs. in ques-

disregarding in any way the orders of the Ruler of men (Parakkamabāhu) he restored the people who without being 100 hostile, had hidden themselves here and there, to their district as before. And after he had placed the proper officials in the 101 district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome,

101 district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome, strong army and reached the village named Sīmātālatthalī<sup>1</sup>.

102 Now the many rebels lurking in various places2, summoned

103 hither the army of the inhabitants of the country. Thus in possession of large forces, they then also summoned the Lanka-pura Rakkha whom they had themselves made commander-in-chief and who at the head of many hundreds of warriors 104 filled the world with the sound of his drums and kettledrums,

tion. The two places are only about two miles distant from one another in the Moravak Korale south of Pelmadulla-Madampe, on the other side of the Rakvana mountain range. I believe Rakkha's tactics were somewhat like this: The general has realised that a break through along the highway (now Madampe-Tambagomuva-Ambalantota) is impossible. He tries it now with an outflanking manoeuvre. With this object he crosses the mountain range to the south of Rakvana in order to attack the enemy from Moravak Korale (= Navayojana) that is just from the side where the rebels thought themselves safeguarded by the difficulty of the ground (see note to v. 73). The passage was without doubt the Bulutota pass which forms a natural saddle between the Galkanda and the Kurulukanda. It seems to me not improbable that it was already used in mediaeval times. After the crossing of the Bulutota pass Rakkha had however another parallel chain to traverse. It may be assummed that for this he made use of the deepest depression at Butkanda over which in the future the road will run which is to meet the Bulotota road from the south (Deniyaya). It is here that the footpath now runs which joins Rakvana with Deniyaya. Codrington's comparison of the Mahabodhikkhanda mentioned in v. 97, with Butkanda has now greater significance. It must be assumed that the expedition described in v. 96-97 had the character of a reconnaissance.

<sup>1</sup> RATANAJOTI told me of a village Hintalgoda in Moravak Korale but I cannot find the name either in the list of place names in the Census (vol. II.) or on the map.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently as sentries on the look-out. Verses 102 and 103 show what surprise and terror the appearance of Rakkha in Moravak Korale caused among the rebels. First the militia are called out to help and then the commander-in-chief himself who according to v. 70, was at that time in Mahānāgahula.

and so advanced to Nadībhandagāma1. When the Damilādhi- 105 karin heard of this undertaking, the prudent one summoned his soldiers and held with them the following speech: "Here 106 shall ye now show your devotion to your Lord (the king) and I shall be witness to your heroism. Think not: this is 107 bad ground, the foe are very dauntless, but believe without doubting in the winning of the victory on the battlefield 108 through the majesty of our Lord and Master. But go first and occupy the right place for the battle." Thereupon these 109 set forth with great determination and occupied full of daring, a position near Mahāsenagāma<sup>2</sup> in order to fight. Now the 110 warriors on both sides flung themselves on to the battlefield. With the sparks born of their arms as they beat against each other, starring the whole firmament as it were by day, and 111 with the outpouring of their rain of arrows filling all regions of the heavens, they began the battle, letting their battle-cry sound forth. But the Damiladhikarin, the mighty one, won 112 the head of the Lankapura Rakkha together with his heroism. Then did the rebels melt away irretrievably as the tide of 113 the waters of the ocean when it has passed its shores<sup>3</sup>. The 114 battlefield there was full of crows, vultures and the like, but the Damiladhikarin who had won the victory by combat held 115 high festival and surrounded by the divisions of his army, he the highly-famed took possession of the town of Mahanagāhula 4.

Now the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha marched forth 116 from Mālāvaratthalī<sup>5</sup> and betook himself in haste to the town

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Codrington has recognised this in the present Obada (Sinh.  $\bar{o}$ , oya is always rendered by  $nad\bar{\imath}$ ). As Obada lies below Urubokka, about nine miles distant as the crow flies, on the river of that name in West Giruva, it proves that Rakkha in his advance followed the valley of the Urubokka-oya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We may assume that the place where the decisive battle took place was not far from Obada.

<sup>3</sup> The rebels dispersed as the surf of the sea disperses on the shore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In this section the MSS. give the name as Mahānāgakula, otherwise -hula or -sula.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See above v. 68.

117 Mahānāgahula. He sought out the Damilādhikārin and the latter discerning and aware of the favorable as of the un-118 favorable occasion, took counsel with him as follows: "In accordance with the commands of our Lord we have taken the town of Mahanagahula, yet still there are many foes left 119 alive. These robbed of all resources, have withdrawn to Khandavagga. But that our soldiers just after they have 120 gained the victory, should march in haste thither pleaseth me not. Where our Lord sets his foot there is our refuge." For 121 that reason they remained on the spot 1, and while they let the people who without being enemies had hidden themselves here and there, come to them and appointed each to his own district again, they spent the time even there in the town of 122 Mahānāgahula. But the many rebels who had betaken themselves to Khandavagga, stirred up the inhabitants of the 123 district with the wish to renew the war. They gathered themselves all together at the place called Khandavagga. The 124 Damiladhikarin thought that now was the right time for the contest, he advanced from the town of Mahanagahula and began 125 a fearful battle in Bakagalla2-Uddhavapi. The skilful (general) beat them all and then returned. Several of the enemy came 126 hereupon to Samghabhedakagāma; but the general Sūkarabhātudeva took his soldiers and came thirsting for the fight to

¹ The word ettha here is curious, especially in conjunction with tatth' era in 121 c. The final words of Rakkha's speech are also obscure. Possibly we have to do with a corruption of the text. I believe that the words tasmā ettha nisīdiya belonged originally to the oratio recta and that after that something with which the speech ended and which made the foregoing sentence more intelligible has been lost.

<sup>2</sup> Codernation successfully identifies Bakagalla with the present Koggala (sinh. kokā "crane" is rendered by p. baka which has the same meaning) which is situated only 5 miles North of Ambalantota, that is about the same distance NE. of the ancient Mahānāgahula. This proves the fact that even the capture of the capital does not discourage the rebels. They withdraw just so far as to place the Velaveganga between themselves and the enemy and renew hostilities. The actions which follow (vv. 125—110) are only so many attempts on Mahānāgahula. Though in single skirmishes Parakkama's troops are victorious, no lasting success is achieved.

Mahāgāma<sup>1</sup>. Now the Damilādhikārin himself called his soldiers 127 together and sent them first to Samghabhedakagama. The 128 brave heroes betook themselves now to the battlefield and after they had in the fire of the majesty of the illustrious Ruler of men destroyed numbers of the foe, they returned to the 129 town of Mahanagahula and held there in fitting manner high festival. But in order also to get the general (Sūkarabhātu) 130 into his power, the Damiladhikarin sent off the Lankapura Deva and many other soldiers to fight against him. They 131 betook themselves to the battlefield and with arrows sent unceasingly covering the whole heaven and raising their thunder- 132 ing battle-cry they dashed forward to the battlefield, slew the general and shattered the foe. Then these brave warriors 133 too came to Mahagama with the sound of their victorious drums making joyful the Damiladhikarin. Thereupon an elder 134 brother of the Lankapura Rakkha who had seized the leadership of the army, gathered together the many foes whom 135 death had spared and marched for a combat such a rebels fight<sup>4</sup>, to the town of Mahānāgahula<sup>5</sup>. The Damiļādhikārin 136 now also sent soldiers thither, they shattered him after slaying many of the enemy. The shattered soldiers came to a 137 place called Kuravakagalla. The Damiladhikarin Rakkha marched from the town Mahanagahula, shattered them all and re- 138 turned. Now there came together from all sides to Mahāgāma the Lokagalla Vikkama by name and many other foes in order 139 to fight with the Mulapotthakin Mana. But in this fight 140

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Sükarabhātudeva see 74. 127 ff. Where Saṃghabhedagāma lies is uncertain. Mahāgāma is doubtless Magama in the territory of Tissamahārāma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. gajjantā. The comparison which it is impossible for us to render sufficiently exactly, is borrowed from the storm. The mass of the arrows are the cloud darkening the heavens, the battle-cry is the thunder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> One expects here Mahānāgahula instead of Mahāgāma and on the other hand in v. 135 instead of Mahānāgahula rather Mahāgāma. Have we not to do here with a mistake of the compiler's?

<sup>4</sup> P. corayuddhāya, corresponding more or less to our guerilla warfare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. above note to v. 133.

along with the life of the foe the Mulapotthakin Mana by name speedily won the victory.

Now the Damiladhikarin took counsel with the dignitaries: 141 "When we see the destruction of the foe in every single fight 142 and the panic of those fleeing hither and thither, then we think the enemy has lost the courage for renewing the war and yet one does not perceive that they are wholly rooted 143 out. Let us give up the middle of the province and when here and there hidden (rebels) have come into the middle of the province, defeat them'." With that the prudent one, the 144 highly-famed returned to Pugadandavāta. But the rebels who had not seen through his plan, streamed together from everywhere out of the wilderness into the middle of the province. 145 When the Damiladhikarin received true tidings of these events, he started thence at the head of his men, fought with the 146 numbers of foes at the village of Bodhiavataka, as well as with the foe everywhere else - at the place called Sūkarālibheri-

148 and robbed them of their life. Then he penetrated to the middle of the province, sent his army also thither in various 149 directions and rooted them out all and sundry. Hereupon he received a message which came to him from the leaders stand-

147 pāsāņa and at the stronghold called Madhutthala — great battles

1 In consideration of the sequel I should assume that cajitvana is subordinate to the principal verb hanissama rather than to the part. nilīnesu. Rakkha's plan is clear and proves successful. By ratthamajjha is meant the agricultural country on the right bank of the Valaveganga with Mahānāgahula. That is it is true, in his power, but the rebels have withdrawn into the inaccessible wilderness surrounding it on all sides. In order now to entice them into the open country where he hopes to defeat them decisively, he ostensibly abandons the captured territory and withdraws to his original base near Donivagga. For it is here we must look vor Pūgadaņdāvāţa (cf. above v. 86, 95). This explains also why in the following combats with the rebels wo are in fact taken in by Rakkha's manoeuvre, the former names Bodhiavata (v. 97) and Sūkarālibheripāsāņa (v. 98) recur. The Madhutthala named along with them must also be situated near Sūkarāli = Urubokka. All these places are situated on the border of the ratthamajjha into which he finally penetrates to annihilate the enemy.

ing in Huyalagāma and marched to Kumbugāma<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon 150 the general stationed in Huyalagama by name Manju, and the two generals called Kitti and Bhuta came surrounded by 151 numbers of heroic officers, to the same place, holding high festival of joy. The general by name Manju's, hereupon, 152 showing honour to the Damiladhikarin Rakkha, spake the following words: "So long as the many foes which have 153 broken away from your country and are hidden in the various inaccessible places have not got a footing, let us slay them 154 all, while the enemy who has sought refuge in the wilderness of Atthasahassaka and the Queen Sugalā we will take captive3. 155 But if the many foes who sojourn in the wilderness are hard for you to overcome, we shall send off soldiers." The Damiladhi- 156 kārin agreed with these words. He advanced in haste with his army into the region of the Vananadi<sup>4</sup> and son came near 157 to the foe who in order to reach the mountain wilderness, had speedily betaken themselves to Malavaratthali. When they 158 heard that Rakkha was on the march 5, they withdrew, tor-

- ¹ We have seen above in v. 19 that the generals Mañju, Kitti and Bhūta after vain attempts to reach Mahāgāma by Guttasālā, halt at Huyalagāma. Now they try to get into touch with Rakkha. As Huyalagāma cannot have lain far from Buttala, we may look for Kumbugāma somewhere on the road leading along the southern base of the mountains.

  ² Cf. note to 74. 129.
- <sup>3</sup> Atthasahassaka (cf. note to 61.24) is the territory east of the Valaveganga. Thus Maāju and his generals undertake the operations in eastern Rohana, Rakkha those in the western part of the province.
- <sup>4</sup> There is scarcely a doubt that with Vananadi is meant the Valaveganga. The ger. pavessa must be = pavissa. A causative form is impossible since the object belonging to it is wanting. Saha senayā agrees only with a pavisati. But perhaps we might render vananadī-passam pavessa by: "he advanced along the V." That would make excellent sense. The rebels have evidently occupied Mahānāgahula after Rakkha's withdrawal. In order now to cut them off from communication with eastern Rohana, Rakkha marches from Kumbugāma down the Vananadī. His plan succeeds. The rebels turn westward by way of Mālāvaratthalī (see note to v. 66) to the mountains of Dvādasasahassaka, the present district of Giruva (note to 61. 22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> That is in further pursuit of them.

75, 184

tured by fear, into the great forest and sought refuge on the 159 Mahāpabbata. The Damiladhikarin surrounded the mountain, fought a great battle with them and utterly destroyed them. 160 Then after occupying Dvadasasahassaka thus set free from the briers (of the rebels), he considered what should be done with 161 the many foes taken alive and had many hundreds of the 162 enemy impaled in villages and market-towns. Likewise round about the village of Mahanagahula the mighty one had num-163 bers of the foe impaled, several too hanged on the gallows and burnt to ashes and after taking up his abode in the vil-164 lage of Mahanagahula, he had under a favorable constellation the drums of government of the illustrious Ruler of men 165 beaten in villages and market-towns. After sending a messenger announcing these events to the Ruler of men and receiving 166 from the Great King a mark of honour, he took up his abode, the discerning, the highly-famed (general), in that same Dvadasasahassaka, pondering over the needful measures.

All the chief dignitaries in Kumbugāma reflected (thus):
168 "From the time that we set forth to war in Rohana the soldiers sent forth by us have here and there in great battles
169 covered the earth with the bones of the foe, and even all the brave warriors who dwell in Jambudīpa would not be able to
170 withstand these soldiers. Why then should we henceforward

think to carry on war with the foe hidden here and there 171 through fear? Queen Sugalā is the cause of these people

172 becoming rebels and has led them into the wilderness<sup>2</sup>. Therefore we must get the Queen alive into our power." With such resolve the discerning (generals) marched from Kumbugāma

173 and came to Harītakīvāta. After they had there in various places posted good soldiers, known as courageous people, in

174 the necessary numbers, they advanced thence fully armed to Kanhavāta and when at the place called Vanagāma, they

caught sight of the hostile army with whom was the Queen, 175 they fought there a great (and) fearful battle. With the sound of their drums of victory cleaving open, as it were, the earth, they seized the Queen and all her treasures of many a kind. 176 Having appointed for the guarding of the treasure the necessary chamberlains, they brought the war game begun there to an 177 end and after covering the earth with the hands and feet and heads of the foe and taking those alive to whom this had to 178 happen, they made the province of Rohana everywhere free from the briers (of the rebels).

Now by some kind of wile, taking with them a few sol- 179 diers, the three Phālakālas who were near the end of their life, and the two Lankāpuras by name Taddhigāma and Pabbata, 180 had escaped out of the hand of the foe<sup>3</sup> and were in flight tortured by fear. But the two brothers, the generals<sup>3</sup> and 181 the Lankāpura known by the name of Kadakkuda, as well as many other officers with their soldiers, having reached Ud- 182 dhanadvāragāma<sup>4</sup>, shattered them in a great battle and then reached Nigrodhamāragalla<sup>5</sup>. Hereupon the great dignitaries 183 with their officers pursued the enemy, sent the head of the Phālakāla to the highest dignitaries<sup>6</sup>, captured the Lankāpura 184

<sup>1</sup> The narrative now deals with the operations in eastern Rohana which we may imagine as taking place simultaneously with the events related in vv. 156-166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Owing to the presence of the obj. te the part. pres. pavisant must be taken in a causative sense (see Cūlavs. ed. I, Introduction p. XIV).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The place where the capture of Sugalā took place is not yet determined. The name Valgama or Valagama to which the P. Vanagāma would correspond, occurs frequently in Ceylon. A Valagama is situated in the Bintenna Pattu. It is however very doubtful if this can be the one meant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The enemies from whom Phālakāla and the others had escaped were of course the troops of Parakkamabāhu.

For the dve bhātaro daṇḍanāthā see note to 70. 279. They are mentioned here for the last time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See note to 61.16. Uddhanadvāragāma was the capital of eastern Rohana (Aṭṭhasahassaka).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Verses 179-182 form one sentence. The subjects are in v. 181. The principal verb is *upāgamum* to which the gerunds samāgantvā, pabhinditvāna are subordinate. The accusatives in v. 180 are governed by pabhinditvāna as objects. As attribute they have the pres. part. palāyante to which mucchitvā and gahetvāna are again subordinate.

<sup>6</sup> That is Manju together with Bhuta and Kitti who had not personally taken part in the pursuit of the Phalakalas.

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75. 204

Pabbata by name, alive and destroyed the foe so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained1.

Thereupon the clever Adhikarin Manju2 made the following 185 proposal: "From the time when we began to conquer this

186 Rohana we have never — apart from<sup>3</sup> the boundless terrorinspiring destruction of our enemies in battle through the

187 majesty of our Lord — treated the foe with sternness so as to teach the people what evil results treason to the king brings

188 about. Therefore those deserving of harshness let us treat harshly and let us be ever kind to those who deserve kindness,

189 and in this way in accord with the commands of our Lord and Master, win them over to ourselves." All agreed with

190 zeal to his proposal. They caused many foes to whom severity was due, to be brought before them, and at villages and market-

191 towns they had numbers of stakes set up on which they impaled many hundreds of the enemy. Many other foes they

192 had hanged on the gallows and burnt and showed forth in every way the majesty - hard to subdue, scarcely to be surpassed, arousing astonishment - of the Ruler of men Pa-

193 rakkamabāhu. Then while they showed due grace to those who were accessible to kindness and were worthy of being treated with kindness, they brought peace to the province, as clouds in the rainy season to a forest burnt by fire.

When the Ruler of men Parakkama heard tidings of these 194 events he sent an exceeding gracious message of the following 195 content: "In the first place send hither all the dignitaries

196 taken alive and the Queen Sugalā. The burden of the whole administration there is to be given over to the Adhikarin Bhūta. Then along with the whole of the four-membered army

197 sent forth from here, preceded by the numerous bhikkhu community dwelling there, after leaving the necessary garrison

198 in the various districts, under a constellation regarded as fa-

vorable, the whole of the dignitaries shall assemble and present themselves before me."

The dignitaries all carried out his orders without omitting 199 anything. They marched from Rohana and reached at the 200 head of their large army, Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers in Pulatthinagara, who played music, shouted with joy, clapped their hands in applause, waved cloths a 201 thousandfold again and again and let their cries of victory resound - they drew near to the superb royal palace and cleans- 202 ed their heads with the blossom dust of the foot-lotus of the 203 illustrious King of kings enthroned (there) in splendour.

Thus had this Ruler of men, pursuing the path of politi- 204 cal wisdom and of virtue, with exceeding terrible majesty 1, more powerful than a forest conflagration, of keen understanding, together with his heroes made Rohana free from the briers of the foe.

Here ends the seventy-fifth chapter, called «The Conquest of Rohana, in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy. and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> I prefer to join the two padas karimsu as far as sapattake with v. 184 instead of with v. 185. Sabbam is to be taken in an adverbial sense as emphasising sabbathā.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 74. 129.

<sup>3</sup> I take the ger. hitrana in this sense in this passage.

<sup>1</sup> The word that I here translate by "majesty" is the P. tejo. As this has the original meaning of "glow", the comparison with the forest conflagration has also a linguistic connection. The compound must be separated thus: dava-dahana-uggatara-atibhima-tejo.

# Chapter LXXVI

## ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF RAJINA

- 1 While now the Monarch gifted with insight, day and night strove unweariedly for the furtherance of the laity and of the
- 2 Order, there banded together in the eighth year of the reign of the illustrious Ruler of men all the inhabitants of the pro-
- 3 vince of Rohana and stirred up by an all too foolhardy villain, they revolted anew, to cruel destruction foredoomed.
- 4 When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these events he sent
- 5 once more a great army with dignitaries thither; and as he fought at all the villages and market-towns named aforetime
- 6 ever renewed battles and made the enemy as fuel for the fire of his own majesty, he shortly freed the whole province of Rohana from the briers (of the rebels).
- 7 In the sixteenth year of this King of kings, in the pro-8 vince immediately bordering on Mahātittha<sup>2</sup> several people dwelling in that province, who were near the end of their life<sup>3</sup>, stirred up a revolt and began the war which seemed to
- 9 them the better (lot)4. Thither also the (prince) gifted with discernment, sent a four-membered army and destroyed the foe so that they became as dust.
- Between the countries of Lanka and Ramanna there had never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people
  - <sup>1</sup> I incline to take *kenapi pāpakammena* as referring to a person, pāpakamma thus to be taken like the skr. pāpakarman (cf. BR. s. v. as a bahuvrīhi compound.
    - <sup>2</sup> See note to 48. 81.
    - 3 The fate to which they are doomed tempts them to the foolish revolt.
    - <sup>4</sup> Better (vara) than subjection to Parakkamabāhu's dominion.
    - <sup>5</sup> That is Pegu in Lower Burma.

who held the true faith. The rulers of the island of Lanka 11 and the monarchs of Ramanna were both in like manner true disciples of the Sugata1. Hence all former monarchs in both 12 countries in deeply-rooted trust, filled with friendly feeling<sup>2</sup> were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this 13 way for a long time to maintain intercourse without dissension. Also with King Parakkamabāhu the Monarch of Rāmañña 14 kept up friendly relations even as former rulers who had for a long time held firmly to him. But once upon a time the 15 deluded one hearkened to the words of slanderers, of certain messengers who came back from our land, and deprived the 16 envoys of the Sovereign of Lanka who came into his own country, of the maintenance formerly granted. Furthermore 17 he issued the order that elephants which had (hitherto) been sold by many (traders) to foreign countries<sup>3</sup> were no longer to be sold. Further with evil intent he made the restriction 18 that elephants which had formerly been sold there for a hundred or a thousand silver nikkhalas must (henceforth) be 19 sold for two or three thousands. He also did away with the 20 age-old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts were conveyed. When he caught sight of a letter 21

- <sup>1</sup> P. paramasogatā. Cf. skr. saugata from sugata, a frequent name of the Buddha which designates him as the guide on the path of salvation. R. O. Franks in his translation of the Dīghanikāya renders sugata by "he who completes the path".
- <sup>2</sup> Dalhasamrūlhavissambhā and sahitā are attributes of bhūpālā, and the instr. cittena hitā (this last for hitena) belongs to sahitā.
- <sup>3</sup> We see thus that Burma in the Middle Ages traded in elephants with foreign countries.
- <sup>4</sup> An unknown coin. The word is without doubt connected with the P. nikkha or nekkha = skr. niska which likewise denotes a weight and a coin.
- <sup>5</sup> VV. 18, 19 seem to be in contradiction to v. 17. I think however that in v. 17 the emphasis is to be placed on *nekattha nekehi*. It is the free trade in elephants that according to v. 17 the king makes an end of, putting in its place a royal monopoly. This is immediately followed by an enormous rise in prices.
- <sup>6</sup> Evidently from foreign sovereigns, in the first place the king of Lankā with whom according to v. 13 such exchange of gifts had fre-

written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext 22 that they were envoys sent to Kamboja<sup>1</sup>, or saying something of that kind, had the envoys of the Sovereign of Lanka after taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a 23 fortress in the Malaya country. And although he learned exactly how his own envoy Tapassin by name, had had every 24 distinction conferred on him by the Ruler of Lanka, he nevertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away from the envoys of the Monarch of Lanka: their money, their 25 elephants and their vessels, had blocks of wood fastened to their feet to their greatest torture, and employed them in the 26 work of sprinkling water in the prisons. When once upon a time a prince of Jambudīpa Kassapa by name, sent costly gifts 27 along with a letter on gold, he forbade his people to land and in an insulting manner made them take the letter back to their 28 town. One day he had the Sīhala envoys summoned to him and declared to them: "Henceforth no vessel from the Sihala 29 country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writing the declaration that if (messengers) from there are again sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come 30 here, no blame of any kind will attach to us3. If ye give not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return. 81 home." After he had made them sign this, so that in the event of a transgression they should not return again to their 32 country4, he took the paper from their hand. The teacher

quently taken place. The King of Rāmañña does not put an end to the intercourse but alters it in a way which shows unfriendliness.

- <sup>1</sup> Name of Western Siam.
- <sup>2</sup> Malaya denotes as in Ceylon and in Southern India (see 76. 195) the mountainous regions of the country.
- In the original direct discourse: "if... are sent here... in case ye slay... no blame will attach to you".
- <sup>4</sup> The passage is doubtful. I believe that sa-rattha-anāgamāya is meant to express the intended result. The prince wishes by means of the signature to have the possibility of ridding himself of all undesirable people from Lankā. W's translation fails because it assumes āgama instead of anāgama.

Vagissara and the scholar Dhammakitti<sup>1</sup> he sent off in a leaky vessel into the open sea. Once upon a time he took from 33 the hands of the messengers the gifts and goods which the Ruler of Lanka had sent in order to buy elephants, with the 34 promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver money<sup>2</sup>, but he told merely lies and gave them nothing. Further they seized by force a princess whom the Ruler of 35 Lanka had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabahu heard of these many insults 36 committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest indignation: "Where in the whole of Jambudīpa is there a king 37 who would be capable of treating my envoys in such a manner?" He summoned his ministers and spake: "Either the capture 38 or the slaying of the king of Arimaddana's must be effected." Hereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public 39 accounts, the Damiladhikarin by name Adicca, with clasped hands — he wished himself to undertake the enterprise — to 40 the King thus: "It is not necessary to entrust\* the chief dignitaries with this task. If I do not stray a single step from 41 the path of thy order it will be for me, if I undertake the task - even should I be quite alone - in very truth not diffi- 42 cult to carry out in successful fashion the commands of my lord whose commands are hardly to be transgressed." When the 43 King heard that he was content. He placed under him the troop leaders who were to be sent and commanded him to depart speedily. Then the highly-famed one gave the order 44 without delay to make ready ships of various kinds, many hundreds in number. Now all the country round about the 45

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These were evidently the envoys from which the written declaration had been wrung. They reached home in spite of the leaky ship, otherwise their death would without doubt have been mentioned. They escaped it as by a miracle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the original again the or. recta: "We shall give you &c." The goods are therefore paid partly in cash partly with elephants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For this capital of Burma see M. Bodz, Sāsanavamsa, Dissertation, p. 20 and passim.

<sup>4</sup> P. yojetvālam stands for yojetu(m) alam.

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coast was one great workshop fully occupied with the build-46 ing of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste 47 at the port of Pallavavanka. Then endowed with vast royal power<sup>1</sup>, he had provisions supplied<sup>2</sup> for a whole year such as 48 rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour and the like; further gokannaka arrows3 of iron with sharp points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against 49 elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned 50 arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country; 51 also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has 52 broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women -53 everything in complete fashion4. After he versed as none other in the right measures, had made a strong force -54 numbering many hundreds of thousands - embark, the Ruler sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms 55 and filled with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage of ships all at the same time's sailed forth in the midst of 56 the ocean it looked like a swimming island. Subdued by adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted 57 on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had embarked in one of the vessels landed on the Crows' island. 58 They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants of the island alive, brought them then to the King of Lanka and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength 59 who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Ramanna in the port called Kusumi<sup>1</sup>. These doughty soldiers with the 60 Nagaragiri Kitti at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Ra- 61 mañña country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and ' while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many 62 coco palms and other trees and set fire to the villages, they laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship on which the 63 Damiladhikarin Adicca commanded, landed in the territory (of Rāmañña) at the port of Papphālama, and while at once the 64 people with the Damiladhikarin at the head, fought a gruesome, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many 65 people living in the country, they plunged the Ramañña kingdom into sore confusion. Thereupon the Sihalas with terrible 66 courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the Monarch of the Ramanas. When they had 67 subdued the Ramanas and brought their country into their. power, the great heroes2 mounted a splendid white elephant. They rode round the town free from all fear turning the right 68 side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Lanka3.

<sup>1</sup> P. mahārājiddhisamyuto in v. 52 d.

<sup>2</sup> P. pațipādes: in v. 52 c.

<sup>3</sup> Gokarna in Skr. also means a particular type of arrow. The elephants (vāranā) against which they are to serve as defence (vārana) are of course the war elephants of the enemy. The MSS are more favorable to the form of the word gokantaka which might easily be a synonym for gokarnaka.

<sup>4</sup> Anūnam is associated as adverb with paṭipādesi and refers to everything that has gone before.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> So I understand the P. samam.

<sup>6</sup> P. Kākadipa. Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidently the Kusima(tittha) frequently mentioned in the Sasanavamsa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably Adicca and Kitti are meant.

<sup>3</sup> The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken their country. The description in the Mahāvamsa is without doubt very much exaggerated. The fact of a successful campaign against Rāmañña is, however, confirmed by the important inscription of Devanagala in the Kegalla district, Galboda Korale, Meda Pattuva, whose significance H. C. P. Bell was the first to recognise (Report on the Kégalla District, ASC. 1892, p. 73 ff). According to this inscription — one of Parakkamabāhu I. — the war against Aramana was determined on in the 12th year of the King's reign. The reigning king of Aramana at that time is called Bhuvanāditta. The inscription also mentions the town of Kusumi (cf. v. 59) and tells finally of the granting of land to Kit-Nuvaragiri (= Kittinagaragiri v. 60) evidently

Then overwhelmed by fear the people in the Rāmañña land, seeing no other protection, gathered together and held counsel. With the instructions: "Year by year must we from now onwards send elephants to any amount as tribute from 1 our property — in order that the Monarch of Lankā may not

72 lay on us intolerable (burdens), ye must influence him<sup>1</sup> and

73 thereby at all times full of pity, have mercy on us all"—
they sent in haste their messengers with letters in their hand
to the bhikkhu community<sup>2</sup> dwelling in the island of Lankā.

74 Through the friendly words of the community living in the three fraternities, the Ruler of Lanka was moved to kindness,

75 and while the Ramanas sent him yearly numbers of elephants, they made anew with the Lanka Ruler who kept his treaties faithfully, a pact of friendship.

Now the Pandu king by name Parakkama, in the town of Madhura<sup>3</sup>, when his capital was besieged by the war-loving,

77 hostile king named Kulasekhara who had come thither with an army, had found in the territory of Jambudīpa no king

78 with whom he might have taken refuge. He sent messengers to the Monarch of Lanka with the message: "O Thou with

79 whom I may take refuge, thy two feet shall be for me who

as reward for his services. The Damiladhikarin Adicca is not mentioned. He appears to have died soon after the campaign, as he does not occur again in the Culavamsa.

1 Thus I translate the phrase anusāsanim vad.

The sense of the passage in on the whole clear. The Ramanas try through the medium of the Church to obtain favorable terms of peace from Parakkamabāhu. The details offer difficulties. Line 71 a b is hopelessly corrupt. Since the MSS. all agree, the corruption must be traced to the archetype. The emendation tried by S. and B. is hardly successful. Three words acchiddam, anhākam, . . . īdisam seem certain. Verses 71 c to 72 d if translated literally would be rendered by: "we all must be taken pity on (dayitabbā) by you, reverent masters (bhadantchi), in that ye persuade (vadantchi tassa anusāsanim) the King that he does not have done (to us) (kāreti) what is heavy to be borne."

<sup>3</sup> For the South Indian people called Pandu and their capital of Madhurā (now Madura in the south of the province of Madras), see 50. 12 and note. V. A. SMITH, Early Hist. of India, p. 336.

am a moth in the fire of the majesty of my foe, a cage of diamond". When the sovereign of Lankā heard their speech, he spake thus: "If the distress of him who has placed him-80 self under my protection be not removed, how would my name of Parakkamabāhu¹ be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard 81 to vanquish by a foe, be he who he may. From what foe among the brutes is the hare in peril who has fled to the moon²? General Lankāpura, slay Kulasekhara, establish the Pandu 82 king in his realm and then return." The general by name 83 Lankāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of war, a forest fire for the wide(-spreading) wilderness of the 84 foe, received with the words "Be it so!" the King's command like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many warskilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible 85 in battle and came to Mahātittha.

King Kulasekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Pandu 86 king with his wife and children and captured the town Madhurā by name. Lankāpura received from the Great king who had 87 heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom and make it over to a scion of the house of Parakkama. He set forth for the port Taladilla by name on the opposite coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of 88

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the names Lankapura and Parakkama the original has pronouns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The name means "arm of courage, possessed of courageous arms". Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Southern India is confirmed by Cola inscriptions (Inscr. of Arpakkam near Kāñcī) according to which the result for the Sīhala troops was not so brilliant as the Mhvs. would have us believe. After initial successes they were forced to retire. Cf. for further details V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 340; H. W. Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, p. 62, 74. To the name Kulasekhara corresponds Kulottunga in Indian inscriptions (El. VII, p. 170 ff.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Hindu thinks he sees the picture of a hare in the disk of the full moon, just as we speak of a "man in the moon". The moon is therefore called in P. sasin = skr. śaśin, from sasa = śaśa "hare".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The MSS have all *Taladilla* or *Talandilla*, in v. 92 only the first form. The Col. Ed. reads *Talabbilla* with the variant *Talavvilla*, I do not know with what authority.

ships, started off and sailed a day and a night on the back 89 of the ocean. When he caught sight of the coast, since a hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put 90 on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep water and because with a landing just at this spot, the 91 armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size2. Then when the rain of arrows from the Damilas standing on 92 the coast, came flying, he had shields fashioned of leather set up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows and so landed in the Pandu kingdom at the port called Ta-93 ladilla. After putting to flight the Damilas at the port and capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought 94 with vast forces four battles. When the five officers, Vadavalattirukka-nādāļvāra³, Kuņdayamutta-rāyara, Villava-rāyara⁴, 95 Ancukoţţa-nadalvara and Narasihadeva by name, advanced to 96 fight<sup>5</sup>, he fought also with these, slew many Damilas, took 97 away their horses, put to flight the great army and occupied Rāmissara6. He fought with them while he was posted there,

1 P. agādhe samnivattanabhāvato. The meaning is this. The coast was so flat that the ships could not lie close to the shore. They had to turn (sam-ni-vatt) at some distance in deep water (agādhe) and embark the troops in boats (see the following note).

<sup>2</sup> P. ekadonināvā. Doņī must be taken here in the sense of a particular measure of volume, otherwise eka would be unintelligible. Skr. dronī means "boat" as also a measure of volume.

3 According to O. Schrader (private letter 22 XII 23) nādāļvāra is derived from the popular Diavidian nādu "land, district" and āļ "man" (Canarese āļu "soldier"). A Nādāļvāra would thus be the leader of the troops of a particular district.

4  $R\bar{a}yara$  is a title which according to O. Schrader, corresponds to skr.  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}nah$ . Canarese  $r\bar{a}yaru$ .

5 Of the five officers four are also mentioned several times later on; (Kundayamutta, 76. 177; Villava 76. 163 ff.; Añcukoṭṭa 76. 98, 191, 239, 247, 300; Narasīhadeva, 76. 174). Only the first mentioned does not occur again. It is significant that Añcukoṭṭa occurs as a place name in 76. 235, the Nādāļvāra probably taking his name from the locality. See also note to v. 180.

6 Skr. Rāmeśwara, situated on a sandy island which joins the Indian mainland with Adam's Bridge, with a famous temple often described but belonging to a later period (15 th to 16 th cent).

five combats and after fighting nine battles1 he fought2 in the tenth against the six officers Silāmegha, Naratungabrahma- 98 mahārāja, Ilankiya-rāyara, Ancukotta-rāyara, Phaludhiya-rāyara 99 by name and him called Panasiyarajas, as well as the five 100 officers named above who had advanced with great forces. He bore away the victory, seized many horses4, slew the Damilas 101 and penetrated from Ramissara a distance of four gavutas to Kundukāla which lies between the two seas. The many 102 Damilas who had fled through fear, took refuge in the forest; he captured several of them and had them impaled there. Some of these, at the command of the Ruler of Lanka who 103 thought to have all the cetiyas formerly destroyed by the Damilas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Lanka and the 104 work of restoration begun on the Ratanavaluka-cetiya6. The 105 Sovereign of Lanka had the thupa which had been destroyed by the Damilas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate the festival of the crowning ornament, he betook himself 106 with his ministers and the court to Anuradhapura and assembled

1 That is besides the five combats the four mentioned in v. 93.

<sup>2</sup> The verb governing the accusative in vv. 59-100 is yuddham katvā in v. 100 c which is treated as in 38.36, as a transitive verb.

<sup>3</sup> In the Col. Ed. the names Naratungabrahmamahārājavhayo in 98 and Panasiyarājavhayo are changed contrary to all the MSS. into Naratungabrahmahā rāyaravhayo and Panasiyarāyaravhayo. Apparently the editors wanted to avoid the wrong close of the verse °rājavhayo, but in v. 95 we have just as wrong a °devavhayo which is not corrected in Col. Ed. Mentioned again later are Sīlamegha(ra) 76. 238, 299; 77. 90 and Ilankiya 76. 191 f. For Añcukotta see above.

<sup>4</sup> The organization of the Damila army evidently differed materially from that of the Sīhalas in the greater number of its eavalry. In all accounts of victories gained (see already above v. 96) horses are always mentioned as the principal booty.

5 That is about 8 miles. Kundukāla was situated on the tongue of land jutting out from the continent to the island of Rāmeśvara.

6 Name of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura corresponding to what is now known as the *Ruvanväli*. It is used here for the first time. The allied designation *Hemavālukacetiya* occurs already in 51.82.

<sup>7</sup> P. thūpikāmaha. By thūpikā is understood the pointed cone resting on the cube-like structure which forms the apex or finial of the thūpa.

107 the great bhikkhu community on the island of Lankā. He provided the community with the four articles of use and when the fourteenth day had arrived he had made known in 108 the town by beat of drum: "The town shall be decorated; and provided with perfumes, flowers and other offerings shall the people come to the place of the Mahāthūpa." After he had then on the day of the full moon performed in right 109 manner all the old customs, he himself came as the shadows grew longer from the royal palace. In divine beauty he was

manner all the old customs, he himself came as the shadows grew longer, from the royal palace. In divine beauty he was adorned with costly ornaments, with crown, necklace, bracelets

110 and the like, (all) richly set with jewels. In front of him went the ladies of the court many hundreds in number, with the

111 grace of heavenly nymphs, their bodies decorated, and there followed him<sup>4</sup> numbers of distinguished officers with richly

112 decorated garments and resplendent in bright clothing. With the mass of the elephants and horses gleaming with their golden harness, doing reverence<sup>5</sup> to the cetiva with a gift of

113 lamps distributed over their bodies, and with the burden of the mass of human beings he pressed as it were, the earth together. With umbrellas, whisks and banners he veiled in

114 a sense the countenance of the firmament. With the sound of the manifold instruments of music he cleft asunder the mountain ravines, with the splendour of his majesty he comple-

115 tely bewitched the eyes of the laity and with the beams of

<sup>3</sup> P. mālā means like skr. mālā also necklace, neck-chain.

the golden utensils, chests, banners, vessels, fans, jars and the like he steeped the place in radiant glory. Thus on he came 116 and took his place with the splendour of the King of the gods in the court of the cetiya. Many hundreds of bhikkhus who 117 had come hither, surrounded the cetiya, closing it round, as it were, with a railing of coral. The King then had the 118 golden point placed on the thūpa and showed the world therewith the beauty of the Kelāsa mountain with the sun on its summit. On this day too there reigned in the town also dur-119 ing the night great brightness with the lamp festival of the King and because of the point placed upon the thūpa. When 120 thus the Monarch Parakkamabāhu had celebrated the great festival of the sacred thūpa, he betook himself again to Pulatthinagara.

But the general (Lankāpura) had a strong camp called 121 Parakkamapura built at Kundukāla, and as he wished to make it last long, he erected three high walls of stone, two thou- 122 sand, four hundred cubits long<sup>3</sup> and twelve gate towers, and a 123 building with a hall square<sup>4</sup> and three trenches in such a way that the waters flowed from ocean to ocean<sup>5</sup>. While he tarried 124 in this stronghold he subdued officers like Kancakudiyarāja<sup>6</sup> by name, Colaganga and others. Since in this way the power 125 of the Sīhalas waxed from day to day, King Kulasekhara sent again Sundarapandurāja<sup>7</sup> and Pandurāja by name and 126

<sup>1</sup> That is the full-moon day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is the final sentence, taken up from v. 116 a b. In 116 d we have the finite verb atthāsi of the whole sentence beginning with v. 107 which I have split up into its component parts, translating the participles and gerunds by principal verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In v. 110 and 111 purakkhato and anvito are in opposition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> W. seems not to have taken account of the feminine form pūjentīhi. It proves that the part must be referred to hatthiassaghatāhi. It is thus the elephants and the horses not "worshippers" who wore the lamps. These were probably fastened to the bodies of the animals (sabbangadīpa) by means of ribbons or by a framework.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Of "tears of joy" there is nothing in the text; haramharam is a duplication of intensity.

<sup>1</sup> P. pinjaram karam "making ruddy, light-coloured".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. parālavedikāya. Here vedikā has again clearly the meaning of railing. Cf. note to 73. 88. The coral colour is supplied by the reddish yellow colour of the monks' robes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As ratana means the same as hattha (see 37.172) that is roughly about 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ft. thus the wall was 3600 ft. in extent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See note to 73. 23. Here there were evidently as W. supposes, barracks for the soldiers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The fortifications were spread right across the whole of the peninsula and thus safeguarded it and the camp from the mainland. Tathā belongs of course to kāretvā parikhātayam and yathā (gacchanti) refers to tathā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> We have to read here and in v. 130 So Kañcakudiya°; so refers each time to Lankāpura. Cf. note to 76, 170,

<sup>7</sup> Is mentioned again 76. 174.

127 many other officers with troops to drive them thence. Lankapura fought with them three combats, put them to flight and

128 took the village called Carukkatta. And he set out from there and fought with these same officers as well as with the Damila

129 Alavandapperumala a great battle, carried away the victory and captured the villages by name Koluvura and Maruthupa.

130 In the district Kancakudiya and in the district named Kolūru

131 the general subdued the soldiers called Maravara<sup>2</sup>. In the district of Viraganga the mighty (general) plundered many villages and market towns such as Kunappunallura and others,

132 and after subduing the powerful officer called Māļava-rāyara<sup>3</sup> and thousands of Damilas, he took up his abode there.

133 Thereupon he returned and betook himself to Parakkamapura

134 to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay<sup>4</sup>. On the march thither he gave battle to Alavanda who had his position at the village called Vadali and slew him.

Since now the powerful king Kulasekhara — who possessed the courage of a lion, whose great army was war-tried,

136 who well understood the expedients of war — although he had sent forth his great dignitaries with big army and train had not been able to win the victory, he himself set forth

137 to fight. Malava-cakkavattin, Malava-rayara by name, Pa-

138 rittikkundiyāra<sup>5</sup> and Tondamānāraya by name; Tuvarādhipati-

1 ls mentioned again 76. 134, 145, 223, 232.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the caste or rather tribe of the Marāvar living in the district of Madura (See Imperial Gazetteer of India s. v. Madura), where with the Vellālar and the Kallar (= Kallara in 76.246) they are characteristic. They seem to be descended from the aborigines and were known in early times as fearless soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below in v. 137 Māļava-cakkavattin and Māļava-rāyara. The first name again in 76. 235, 265, 274, 284; 77. 27, the second 76. 210, 267 f. Māļava is the name of a tribe. See Epigraphia Indica VII, Appendix,

nr. 10, 64, 409.

<sup>4</sup> A veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Lankapura was faced during his advance. Note too that the place Vadali named in v. 134 is later on again occupied by him (see v. 169) and that only after severe fighting.

<sup>5</sup> For Malava see note to 76. 132. Parittikkundiyara is again mention-

velāra, Vīrapperaya-rāyara, Senkundiya-rāyara and Nigaladharāyara by name, Karummalatta-rāyara and Nakula-rāyara, 139 Punkonda-nādālvāra and Karamba-rāyara by name, Kundiyūru 140 and Athalayuru-nadalvara1 by name, Kangayara, the two Vīragangas, Muva-rāyara, Alatturu-nādalvāra, the three Manna- 141 ya-rāyaras, Kaļavaņdiya-nādaļvāra and Keraļasīhamuttara --these and other officers, as well as those named above he 142 took with him, further the remaining troops in the province of the Pandu King Parakkama, the whole forces of his mother's 143 brothers in the two Kongu districts and the whole of his own forces in the kingdom of Tirinaveli2. Also Niccavinodavanava- 144 rāyara3, Paţţi-rāyara, Tankuttara-rāyara and Tompiya-rāyara by name, Alavandapperumāļa, him called Coļakonāra as well 145 as Tāngipperūmāļa and Aļakhiya-rāyara by name, him called 146 Manabharanamaharaja, Avandiya-rayara, Munayadha4-rayara by name and the Damila Vittara: also these officers with vast 147 army and train he took with him and marched near to Pa-

ed in 76. 221. As regards the other names mentioned in 137—141, Tondamānāraya occurs again in 76. 315, 77. 1 ff., Tuvarādhipati again in 76. 315, 77. 67; Vīrapperaya again in 76 316, 77. 6 f., Senkundiya 76. 221, 77. 7, 35; Nigaladha again 77. 16 ff.; Karummalatta again 76. 216; Punkonda again 76. 240, 273 ff., 77. 57, 92; Athalayūru again 76. 260, 77. 27; Kangayara again 76. 260, 316, 77. 15; Vīraganga again 76. 131, 179 ff.; Muva again 76. 216; Alattūru again 76. 184, 214 ff., 305; Mannaya again 77. 7, 35 (cf. note to 76. 220); Kalavandiya again 76. 267, 316, 77. 10 ff.; Keralasīhamuttara again 77. 7. Nakula, Karamba and Kandiyūru do not occur again.

- 1 The Col. Ed. has contrary to the MSS. otha'anduru.
- <sup>2</sup> Now Tinnevelli, the district filling out the extreme south-east corner of the Indian peninsula. The correct form of the name is Tirunelvēli. See Imp. Gazetteer of India s. v.; W.'s note to the passage. The two Kongu districts are according to 76. 288, Tenkongu and Vadakongu.
- $^3$  Of the officers named here Niccavinodavanava occurs again in 77.76. For  $\bar{\Lambda}$  avandapperumāļa see note to 76.128; a Colakonāra is mentioned again 76.163, 181, 188, 77.77, 86. Tāngipperumāļa 76.190; Munayadha 77.40. The other names are only mentioned here
- <sup>4</sup> Again the Col. Ed. changes the name, contrary to the MSS. into Mundiya.

76. 172

79

148 rakkamapura. "Only when I shall have cut off the heads of the Sihalas shall this time my sacrifice to the gods in holy

149 Ramissara take place!" Letting such lion-like cry sound forth, he occupied a strong encampment at the village of Erukāṭṭa

150 and Idagalissara. Now in order to destroy the strong encampment of Parakkamapura, Kulasekhara sent forth a great army from the land side and another embarked in numbers of ships

151 from the ocean. When thus the mighty force coming from different sides began the fight it was as if two seas overflowed their

152 shores. Lankapura made his great army put on their armour, advanced from his strong encampment and began the battle

153 with the others. But the army of the Damilas suffered fighting in the battle (heavy loss by) sword blows and arrow shots.

154 It weakened, turned tail and withdrew to its own stronghold. In this way it fought in the offensive three and fifty actions.

155 But when King Kulasekhara saw this disaster in every combat,

156 he himself set forth and sent out his troops to fight. Lankapura had all the gates opened and placing his army like a

157 great mountain in front of him, he came forth. He slew in combat numbers of Damilas1, took away their horses, gained

the victory and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurum-

158 bandanakali. While he was beginning here to build a strong encampment2, Kulasekhara gathered together his great army

159 which had been shattered in the fight, took also his picked troops whom he cherished as his life, marched hither himself

160 and opened fight awaking terror among the foe. With thousands of fish, namely the (glittering) swords, with hundreds of waves, namely the horses, with the mass of the waters, namely the infantry, with the lines of surf namely the um-

161 brellas\*, with the flowing of the streams, namely the arrows,

1 Of course we must read Damile 'neke.

with the clamorous din, namely the drums, the whole buttlefield was terror-striking like the ocean. When thus the great 162 battle was fought, the Sīhalas endowed with great courage, stilled the twitching in their arms. They slew Villava-ravara 163 by name and Colakonāra and the mighty officer, Yadhava2rāyara, many hundreds of soldiers and officers of the king; 164 also they wounded the horse on which King Kulasekhara was riding. Kulasekhara with his army turned to flee in order 165 therewith to give the Sihalas, as it were, occasion for yet more furious sword strokes. When in fight he fled, he not 166 only surrendered his courage but also his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments and all else. Lankapura marched to the fortress 167 called Erukkāvūra where his enemy King Kulasekhara had resided, burned it down and then after erecting a new strong- 168 hold, Lankapura3 tarried there some time. Then he set forth and marched to Vadali4. Thence he advanced farther and 169 hereupon took Deviyapattana by force. Then he betook him- 170 self to Siriyavala and after completely vanquishing in bitter combat the well-armed Khuddakancakunda-rayara commanding 171 the stronghold named Koluvukkotta, he put to flight in battle numbers of dignitaries of King Kulasekhara, captured also 172 this strong place and burned down seven and twenty large villages in (the district) Dantika. Hereupon he fought with

the ocean. The comparison of the combat to the raging sea is described exactly in accordance with the rules of Indian poetics.

- 1 They had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for fighting.
- <sup>2</sup> The first two names occur already in 76. 94, 145, but are also mentioned again later on (Villava 76. 173, 185; a Colakonāra 76. 173, 181 and 188, 77. 77 and 86, also a Yadhava 76. 173, 177). Cf. note to 76. 180. Yadava is a South Indian clan name. See El. vii. Appendix, nr. 331, 332, 334 etc.
- 3 All the MSS, have here lankāvidū which should be adopted on principle in the text. W. supposes it might be a corruption of kālavidū. Not impossible.
  - <sup>4</sup> See above note to v. 133.
- <sup>5</sup> The same as Cullakañcakunda "the small Kañcakunda" in 76. 185 ff. 217 ff. The name is most closely connected with that of the district Kancakudiya 76. 130, this again with the proper name Kancakudiyaraja, 76. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Loc. abs. It must be supplemented by tena. "When by him (Lankapura) was begun the building of a strong encampment."

<sup>3</sup> P. sārabhūtam mahāsenam. By sāra is meant the duramen (heartwood) of a tree.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The white umbrellas are the badges of the officers.

<sup>5</sup> P. apaganipatena. What is meant are the streams flowing into

173 the Lamila Pandiyandara dwelling in Koluvukkotta who was of terrible courage, with both Colakonaras, with the officer

80

174 Yādhava-rāyara and with Villava-rāyara, with the Damila Kalinga-rayara with Sundarapandu-rayara, with Narasihadevara

175 and with Paudiya-rayara as well as with the (officers) in the village of the brahmanas, shattered them and slew many

176 Damilas. He took (as booty) many horses and armed with troop and train, took up a position at the place named

177 Kundayamkotta. He brought into his power the three Damila officers, Kundayamutta-rayara, Kadiliya-rayara and Yadhava-

178 rayara and took up a position at that place, well understanding right places. Further the great hero brought into his

179 power Pandiya-rayara in the fortress of Vikkamacolappera

180 and the three, Pandimandala-nadalvara, Vīraganga-rayara and Kangakondapperayara, who were in Kāmānākkotta and advanced to Maruthukotta with the object of fighting a decisive battle2.

1 Only occurs here. For Colakonāra see note to 76.144, for Yādhava note to 76. 163, for Villava ibidem; for Sundarapandu note to 76. 126. Kālinga is mentioned again 76. 214 ff., 77. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 170-180 form one sentence. The principal verb is  $p\bar{a}y\bar{a}si$ (180 c), subordinate to it are the gerunds in 170-172 and the gerunds and pres. part. in 175-6 as well as those in 178 and 180 a. The nominatives in 172 c-174 d, in 177 a-c and in 178 c-179 c are independent of the construction of the sentence and are summed up with iti (icc-etchi 175 a, iti samante tayo 177 cd, icc-ete tayo 179 d). Note how in the account of the contests in Southern India the names of the Damila officers repeat themselves. Only once in this passage are Kadiliya, Pandiyamandala and Pandiyandara mentioned, as well as Kangakondapperayara, with which Kangakondakalappa 77.75 may be compared. Pandiya-rayara is mentioned twice in this passage but not otherwise, Yadhava here in v. 173 and 177, before in v. 163. In v. 163 a Colakonāra, a Villava and a Yādhava are mentioned as having fallen. Possibly these may often be place names as above in the case of Añcukoțța (see v. 235) rather than names of persons, Villava-rāyara meaning for instance, the rayara of Villava (see note to 77.9). Kundayamutta and Narasihadeva occur already in 76. 94-95, Vīraganga already in 76, 131, 140 and and later repeatedly (76, 181 ff.). Sundarapandu 76. 126. It is expressly stated that there are two Colakonaras (76. 173). It is the same below with Tondriya (181). The same with Alatturu-nadaļvāra (184, 214) and with Vīraganga (140). In v. 141 three Mannayarayaras are mentioned.

There he gave the Colakonara, the other Tondriva, the otncer 181 Suttāndāra, the Damila Vīragangara, Kuttāndāra and others a 182 severe combat. He robbed Tondriva of his life, took his horses 183 away from him, slew many Damilas and occupied besides the fortress known by the name of Kangakondana. Then he set 184 from there, took up a position at the place named Paniva, fought there with the two Alatturu-nadalvaras, with Pandriyarāyara, Villava-rāyara and Cullakancakuņda-rāyara a great 185 battle, shattered them and captured Panivakkotta. Then he 186 turned and betook himself to Kangakondana where he had stood formerly. Hereupon he marched to Valakkotta<sup>3</sup> to fight 187 there, fought there against Kandadevamālava-rāyara, against the two Vīragangaras and the Damila Colakonāra a great battle, 188 shattered them all and slew numbers of Damilas, seized from 189 them many horses and captured with this fortress (Valakkotta) also (the fortress) Netturu4. He himself took up a position there, brought Kuttanda(ra), Vîraganga and Tangipperumala 190 and the Damilas dependent in him, many Lundreds in number, as well as Ilankiya and Ancukotta-rayara under his influence, 191 gave them earrings and other ornaments. But on Ilankiva-192 rāyara he conferred the well-known and coveted title of Rājavesibhujanga-Silāmegha6.

Meanwhile Lankapura learned that the very youngest son of 193 the Pandu King Parakkama, Prince Viranandu by name, at the 194 murder of his unhappy royal father — who had fallen with wife and child into the power of the enemy - by some wile or other 195

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See above v. 170 and note.

<sup>2</sup> W. translates paccavutto wrongly by "he proceeded to . . ." Its meaning is far rather "he returned to . . ." Cf. skr. prati-a-vart. Evidently the attack on Paniva had not the wished-for success.

<sup>3</sup> The text here is very corrupt, but the name Valakkotta is assured

<sup>4</sup> W. suggests, though doubtfully, Nellore. That is quite impossible Nellore lies north of Madras. The scene of the combats described lay between Ramisseram and Madhura. Cf. v. 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. above v. 182.

<sup>6</sup> The gerund datvā in 192 b shows that the sentence here is not finished. The principal verb is pesesi in 196 a. For the title Rajavesibhujanga see note to 73. 91 c d (p. 10, n. 3).

82 had been saved from the hands of the foe and now, since through fear he dared not come near, was sojourning in the province of

196 Malaya1. He (Lankapura) sent a messenger to him: "I have here in war again and again completely vanquished Kulasekhara

197 together with his dignitaries and am now standing, after capturing a part of the realm, not far from Madhurā at a distance

198 of two or three gavutas2. But my Master who had in view the protection of thy royal father, has since the murder of

199 this Ruler by his foes, at the tidings of this, given me the following charge: 'he has placed himself under my protection, if now he has been slain by the hostile king, ye shall now

200 slay the latter and make over the realm of the Pandu King

201 Parakkama to a scion of his house, if such there be'. Therefore come without fear in haste hither, and take over the dominion in thy father's kingdom." Thus ran the friendly

202 message in accord with the truth3. When the Prince heard of this matter in the right manner, he betook himself to him

203 without delay. Hereupon Lankapura sent a letter to Lanka

to the Great king with the news that the prince had arrived 204 destitute. When the Great king had attentively heard this

report, he sent joyfully many golden and silver vessels worthy

205 to eat from, as well as many gold and silver lamp-stands and exquisite garments from his own stock, worthy to clothe

206 himself with, earrings and chains and bangles set with jewels

207 and the like as a gladdening gift. And the Prince accepted the whole of the heart-ravishing gift reverently making obeisance in the direction in which the King was.

Hereupon Lankapura fought with great might against 208 Kandadevamālava-rāyara in Mundikkāra, drove him from this 209 place and brought the Damilas into his power in the two districts Kilamangala and Melamangala while he tarried there. Then by restoring Mundikkāra to Māļava-rāyara — whose 210 heart was overwhelmed with fear and who bereft of all defiance, had placed himself under his protection — he placed 211 him in his (old) position and appointed him chief of the two districts of Mangala. When then Lankapura, while tarrying 212 in Anivalakotta, had appointed the colonel Gokannananda who was in Mundannanamkotta as chief?, he set forth from there 213 and surprised Netturu. He fought with the officers quartered in Manaviramadhura, with the two Alatturu-nadalvaras, with 214 Kālinga-rāyara and Kalikāla-rāyara a great battle. The 215 mighty one slew many Damilas, as well as Kalikāla-rāyara and brought Madhura into his possession. He brought here- 216 upon many Damilas, as well as Muvaraya and Karumbulattarāyara<sup>5</sup> into his power, marched then with his troops to the 217 castle of Alatturu-nadalvara, fought hard to subdue, with Kālinga-rāyara and Cullakancakunda-rāyara a great battle, 218 drove them with terrible courage from this place, and after 219 he had then burnt down many well-known villages, the great hero betook himself again to Netturus. Now there came 220 from the south hither Cullakancakunda-rayara, the two Aļattūru-nādaļvāras, Mannāya-rāyara7, further Parittikundiyāra 221

<sup>1</sup> As in Ceylon and Pegu (76. 22) also in Southern India name for the mountainous country. Cf. the name of the Malayalis who live in the districts of Arcot and Salem, that is in the mountains west of Pondicherry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> About four to six miles. See note to 73. 154.

<sup>3</sup> The words ti vatvā saccam vaco mudu in v. 201 d refer to dūtam pesesi in v. 96, comprehending the contents of the message.

<sup>1</sup> Upper and Lower Mangala (W.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The loc. Anivalakkotte (cf. below note to v. 235) belongs equally to vasam and to (nāyakam) katvā. The supplementing of the word nāyakam is to be inferred from gokannanandanayakam and nayakam vidhaya in v. 211. W. has quite a different rendering but hardly a correct one "and made him (the Māļava-rāyara) chief of Gokaņņanādu in Muņdānaņkonda."

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned already in v. 189, a proof that the fighting went on with alternate vicissitudes round about Madhura.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For this name see 76. 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. for these names 76, 140 and 139.

<sup>6</sup> Verses 208-219 form one sentence. They show how rapidly one event followed another. Netturu formed, as is shown also by verses 285-7, 294, 303 ff., henceforth a main centre for Lankapura's operations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Perhaps the same as the Mannaya-rayara mentioned in 76.141, 77.7 and 35. For the other names in 221-223 see note to 76.170 (Cullako); n. to 76. 180, 181 (Al-n), 76. 137 (Par. and Senk.).

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and Senkundi-rayara and many other war-skilled Damilas, 222 officers from the immediate retinue of King Kulasekhara: 223 Kālinga-rāyara, Tennavanappalla-rāyara and Āļavandapperumāļa', all people hard to vanquish who after equipping their army, 224 came to the place Patapata by name, their heart full of fury 225 and firmly determined this time to conquer the foe. When Lankapura heard of the matter he, the expert, sent officers 226 thither with a big army and train. They marched thither, invested the fortress from all sides, burned down a score of 227 large villages near the stronghold and after making their report, sent a messenger to Lankapura to ask if they were 228 to take the fortress or not. At such tidings Lankapura once more sent forth a great army and gave the charge to capture 229 the fortress. When now they received the command sent to 230 them, they began all of them to open a fearful fight. There raged between the two armies a battle - hardly bearable, awful, exasperating - like to the raging of the storm at 231 the destruction of the world. Damilas thousands in number they deprived of life, besides that the Tennavanappalla-rayara 232 from the immediate retinue of the King. When Alavandapperumala after receiving a wound, took flight, they slew the horse he had mounted and seized this and many other steeds, 233 and while they brought joyous laughter to the lotus countenance of the goddess of fortune of heroes, the Sihalas shatter-234 ed with a lion's courage the army of the Damilas. After Lankāpura had taken possession of Pātapata he later on brought the troops standing there over to his side. Lankapura betook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikotta2 235

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235 Lankāpura betook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikotta<sup>2</sup>
236 and subdued Mēļava-cakkavattin in Ancukotta. After he had
in like manner captured Tondi and Pāsa<sup>3</sup>, he advanced to
Kurundankundiya to clear the region lying northwards of the

enemy. After he had there subdued Valutthi-rayara, he 237 bestowed on him as a gift of favour, a golden bracelet and the like. Then he marched thence and betook himself to 238 Tirivekambama1. Here he subdued Silameghara, Kanasiyarāyara and Ancukoţţa-nādāļvāra and showed them all 239 marks of favour as before (to Valutthi). Thereupon the great 240 hero whose word was to be trusted3, sent a message to Punkonda-nādālvāra4 in order to bring him under his influence. But when the latter without showing himself, went to 241 Semponmari, Lankapura betook himself thither in order to capture Semponmāri. To capture this fortress a Cola army 242 had once upon a time marched hither and could not take it in spite of a four days' fight. This inaccessible stronghold 243 the Sīhalas with their lion-like courage, captured 5 without allowing more time than half a day to pass. After they had 244 broken through two outerwalls and four gate-towers, they penetrated like singly marching elephants into the interior of the fortress, slew there the Damilas, many thousands in 245 number, and conquered thus in a moment the stronghold Semponmari. Thereupon (came) the troop of the Kallaras, the 246 Maravaras, as also the Golihalas and the Kuntavaras, the army 247 of Vallakkuttara and the troop of Ucena, as also the mighty army in the district of Ancukotta: these exceeding brave, hot- 248

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kālinga above 76. 173 note; Āļavandapperūmāļa 76. 128, 232, Tennavanappalla falls in battle according to v. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably the same as above in v. 212, Anivalakkotta. The place is repeatedly mentioned below v. 276 ff. Cf. note to v. 238.

<sup>3</sup> The two places must have lain very near together since their names 77.81 are formed into the compound Tondipasa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Is also mentioned in v. 266 and 276 in close connection with Kurundańkuṇḍiya or Anivalakki.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kanasiya is only mentioned here. For the two others see above notes to v. 95 and 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. saccasaṃdho. This is specially stressed. Evidently Laṅkāpura had guaranteed Puṅkoṇḍa's safety. Puṅkoṇḍa nevertheless does not risk presenting himself to Laṅkāpura, as he distrusts his promises.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See note to 76. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Duggam must be supplemented by the verb gahesum from v. 245 c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> W. "one by one like unto so many elephants." I think however, that we must take paccekahatthino in the same sense as 72.248 ("solitary elephants, rogue elephants"). Cf. the note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. above note to 76. 130. The troops mentioned in v. 246-7 are those belonging to particular tribes or those drawn from the men of certain districts who are capable of bearing arms.

headed forces of the Damilas, numbering some fifty to sixty 249 thousand, surrounded thereupon the fortress occupied by the Sihalas and opened at once a most embittered fight. Then 250 the Lankapura Deva<sup>1</sup> and the Lankagiri Sora opened the gate 251 by the southern tower, accompanied by their troops (and) with a courage scarcely to be surpassed, robbed Damilas thou-252 sands of them, of their life, shattered with lion-like courage the unruly Damila army come from that direction hitherward, 253 as lions a herd of elephants. From the southern door there broke forth at this moment the general Gokanna and the 254 Kesadhātu Loka by name, slew many soldiers of the enemy on the battlefield and shattered to the last man the hostile 255 forces which remained over from the slaughter. From the northern tower-gate came the mighty Kesadhatu Kitti and the officer named Jagadvijaya for which scarce any man was 256 a match. The heroes shattered in no time the Damila army 257 after robbing many Damila warriors of their life. Thus the Sīhalas destroyed at once in a moment the whole forces of 258 the Damilas, put them to flight, captured many steeds and found themselves - the victory gained, famous by reason of many deeds of heroism - again together in the fortress far-259 famed under the name of Semponmari. Thereupon he subdued2 the Kuntavaras, the soldiery of the Kallaras, the army of the 260 Golihalas and the troop of the Maravaras, the army of Vallakkuttara and the following of Ucena, the Athalayuru-261 nādāļvāra and Kangayara<sup>3</sup> and their shattered army, the dwellers in Talayurunadu, the army in Kalahayinadu and the 262 dwellers of Athalayunnadu and those of Kakannadu4: all these Damila forces all that lay (in a line) from the village 263 of Cellaru up to the frontier of the Cola region he brought 264 into his power and bestowed on them favours as before. He accepted the gifts which were brought him by the Vessas and

the Yavanas¹ and distinguished these people also by countless marks of favour. To Māļava-cakkavattin who placed himself 265 under his protection he restored Semponmāri and appointed him to his (former) post. Then he set forth from there 266 and came again to Tirivekambama and starting hence he reached Kurundankundi³.

Now Kaļavaņdi-nādāļvāra had in battle with great forces 267 wrested Mundikkāra from Māļava-rāyara. Then seeing no 268 other aid, Māļava-rāyara approached Lankāpura: "be thou my protection". Lankāpura at once summoned his best 269 officers, the two Kesadhātus, known to the people as Kitti and Loka, and the general Gokanna and charged them as 270 their commander, to open hostilities and restore Mundikkāra to Māļava-rāyara. These betook themselves to the spot, began 271 a combat hard to withstand, drove the foe from Mundikkāra, slew many Damiļas and after they had placed Māļava-rāyara 272 once more in his former position, they returned thence to Lankāpura.

Another officer, Punkonda-nādāļvāra by name, betook 273 himself to the place called Siriyavala, fought while there a 274 great battle with Māļava-cakkavattin, put him to flight and took the village known by the name of Jayankondāna and 275 immediately after that Semponmāri itself. When the hero Lankāpura, best of steadfast men, heard of this event, he set 276 forth himself at once from the fortress Anivalakki and advanced, in order to take Semponmāri, to Tirivekambama When 277 Punkonda-nādāļvāra learned of this event, he left Semponmāri and betook himself from there to Siriyavala. Thereupon the hero 278

<sup>1</sup> Already mentioned in 75. 130. Cf. further 76. 310 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I anticipate here the finite verb vasam ānesi occurring in v. 263 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For these two names see note to 76. 137.

<sup>4</sup> The names of districts (nādu) in v. 261, 262 do not occur otherwise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. vessa = skr. vaisya is the name of the third caste. Yavana does not necessarily mean the Greeks (Ionians) but all westerns living in India, more especially those of Arabian origin. See E. R. Ayaron, Ceylon Notes and Queries, I, 1913, p. VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note to 76. 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. 75. 210-211. For Kalavandi note to 76. 137.

<sup>4</sup> See above note to 76. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The continued recurrence of place names previously mentioned (cf. 76. 170; 76. 241, 258; 76. 212, 235; 76. 238, 266) shows again that all these contests were waged within a fairly circumscribed area.

Lankapura marched to Semponmari and when now Punkonda-279 nādālvāra came thither with the intent to surrender, but without presenting himself, betook himself again to the place Siriyavala, Lankapura also marched to the village of Siriyavala 280 and began from all sides an embittered combat. Now Punkonda-281 nādāļvāra sent the following message: "I will submit to thee, if safety is vouchsafed me, since I am mastered by great fear; 282 if not, I dare not come." At the tidings of this Lankapura who was himself free from fear, sent a return message with 283 the purport that he should come. At the message of the hero Lankapura whose word was to be relied on, the former 284 free of all dread, betook himself to him. Thereupon Lankapura bestowed on him many favours, summoned also Mala-285 va-cakkavattin to him, reconciled the two and after he had placed them both in their former positions, the great hero 286 betook himself to Netturu. The two villages which had been laid waste, Rājasihamahāļa and Vāļugāma by name he rebuilt 287 and after he had dammed up two tanks in Siriyavala and two tanks also in Perumpalaya, he had the tilling of the fields taken in hand.

The Ruler Kulasekhara took the troops in Tirinaveli<sup>1</sup>, as well as the troops of the two brothers of his mother in Ten289 kongu and Vadakongu<sup>2</sup>, and versed in the various expedients of statecraft, such as the distribution of honours and the like, he made deserters of many Damilas who had already been 
290 subdued and began now, equipped with forces to march forth to battle. When the prudent Lankāpura heard trustworthy 
291 tidings of this he destroyed the traitorous Damilas root and branch, true to the command of his Lord whose task it was to subdue the miscreants.

Thereupon there came sent by the Great king to cover his rear, the hero Jagadvijaya<sup>3</sup> by name whose courage ex293 ceeded that of the whole world, accompanied by many foot

soldiers and steeds to Anivalakki after crossing the ocean. The far-famed Lankapura likewise left Netturu and betook 294 himself to Anivalakki. He sought out the newly-arrived (Jagadvijaya), embraced him and having conversed with him 295 in heartfelt and friendly manner, the foe-crusher returned to Netturu. Setting forth from there, he came, having knowledge 296 of the right places, to the place known by the name of Mundrannaddhana and took up far-famed for his courage, his position there. At the place called Kilakotta and at the place 297 by name Mangalama 1 he fought with the Damilas, slew many soldiers, took such foes as one was obliged to seize, alive and 298 captured many horses which had been left on the battlefield. Then he set forth from there, came to Orittiyurutombama and 299 endowed with a surplus of invincible courage, he fought with Punkonda-nadālvāra, Silāmeghara and Ancukotta-nadalvāra<sup>2</sup> 300 a great (and) terrible battle. After cutting down many Da- 301 milas he betook himself to Siriyavala, burned down the twostoreyed palace of Punkonda-nādāļvāra who had not submitted 302 to him and marched from the place Tirikkanappera farther. The general Jagadvijaya now advanced from Anivalakki to 303 Netturu, set forth from there and shattered, himself un- 304 approachable, the fortresses called Madhurammanavira, Pattanalluru and Sorandakkotta. Returned to Netturu he tarried 305 there and brought the two Alatturu-nadalvaras and Cullakancakunda-rayara4 to submission. When once the hero with great 306 forces came to Pattanalluru, he sent to Lankapura the following message: "Thou must come with greatest haste to the 307 river called Vayiga; I must needs see thee, there is something to report." When the hero Lankapura received these 308 tidings, he set off with all speed thence and began the march with large forces. The hostile army which was standing at 309

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See 76. 143 with the note. <sup>2</sup> Cf. 77. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As he is already mentioned in v. 255 in the struggle for Semponmari, it may be assumed that Lankapura had sent him to Lanka for reinforcements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. below note to 77. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The three named here belonged to those chieftains who having submitted to Lankapura (v. 280 ff., v. 238) had since deserted (v. 289).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pun on dugge—duggamo, the latter referring to the subject. The skr. durgama is an epithet of Siva.

<sup>4</sup> See above v. 220 and note.

the place called Tirippāļuru, saddled its numerous horses, came hither and halfway began to fight a terrible combat with the Lankāpura Deva and the other heroes who were present in the battle. Thereupon the heroes dispersed the great army even as the beams of the sun spreading forth (disperse) the mass of the darkness. Thus did Lankāpura whose bravery was as the fire of the last day, capture in a moment Tirippāļuru and took up his abode there. The officer by name Jagadvijaya, versed in good counsel, shattered the great army for Damilas dwelling in Pannaṭṭānkoṭṭa, capable of starting a battle on the battlefield, brought the fortress into his power and halted there.

King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvarādhi-jativeļāra, as well as Toudamānara, Vīrapperayara and

King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvarādhi-315 316 pativeļāra, as well as Toudamānara, Vīrapperayara and Nigaya-rāyara, Kaļavandiya-nādaļvāra and the other Kanga-317 yara<sup>1</sup>, made his many soldiers ready for battle and betook 318 himself, his loins girt for battle, to Rajina. The great general of terrible courage charged his terrible army to give battle 319 to Lankapura. The hero Lankapura thereupon, expert in 320 affairs, explained the affair to Jagadvijaya: "In order together with me to put to flight the Monarch Kulasekhara, thou must so as to attack from the one side, make thy troops ready for 321 battle and come hither with all haste." After he had sent him a message of such purport and had at the same time 322 equipped his own strong army, he set forth from there and fought a great battle with the Damilas. They were van-323 quished, withdrew at once to Rajina, closed the tower-gates with the small and the great gates and the Damilas now with their Monarch kept to the centre of the town. 324 Thereupon the heroes at the head, the general Gokanna, the 325 Kesadhātu named Loka and the Lankāpura Deva, who had

<sup>1</sup> Nigaya is mentioned again in the sequel (77.69). As regards the

other names see note to 76. 137.

arrived at the west gate, began to tear down the walls and 326 to blow up the tower-gates. The Lankapura Deva and the general Gokanna after shattering walls and tower-gates, pene-

by name, thought: by the way the others went I go not; he slew numbers of heroic warriors, brought down many steeds, 328 blew up the southern gate and at once penetrated within. Thereupon Kulasekhara fled, his heart overwhelmed with fear, 329 no longer even master of the clothes he wore, by the postern of the eastern tower-gate<sup>1</sup> which he had had opened, and by a lucky chance he escaped out of the hands of his foes. These all cut down numbers of soldiers of the Damilas, took 331 away many horses and much treasure of many a kind, and 332 shaking their garments, dancing around, clapping their hands and rejoicing, they celebrated the festival of victory. Thereupon Lankāpura and the general Jagadvijaya entered Rājinā along with the other heroes.

Thus thrives ever more and more the state of those who 384 have done good, who are endowed with a keen understanding, who understand statecraft and moral discipline, whose riches are their terrible majesty, whose manliness fails not, even as the moon in the light half of the month (waxes) from day to day.

Here ends the seventy-sixth chapter, called «Account of the Capture of the Town of Rajina», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The loc gopure stands for the gen. gopurassa; pācīnadvārā gopure means the same as pācīnagopuradvārā.

#### CHAPTER LXXVII

## THE CONQUEST OF THE PANDU KINGDOM

1 The Monarch Kulasekhara who had fled thence through fear found again a firm footing in Tondamāna's¹ mountain fortress.

2 The forces of Viranukkara and other (soldiers) from Kakkola,

3 the forces of Madhuraddhamakkāra<sup>3</sup> came to Rājinā, related the whole story of King Kulasekhara and persuaded Lankā-

4 pura to betake himself at once to Madhura. Thereupon Lankapura and the general Jagadvijaya equipped with great luck,

5 set forth for the town of Madhura, gave over to the Prince Virapandu the dwelling of his royal father, which was his

6 birthplace, and took up their abode in the town. They had summoned to them the three Vīrapperayaras: him called Sirivallabha, Rājā Nārāvana, and him called Parakkamapandu.

7 (further) the officer Mannaya-rayara and Senkundi-rayara, the

8 other Vīrapperayara Keraļasīhamuttara<sup>3</sup> and bestowed on them ornaments and the like. To Colagangara who had submitted.

9 they made over the supreme direction of the district Parittikkundi<sup>4</sup> formerly administered by him, and restored him to his

10 former position. Kalavandiya-nādālvāra came indeed with the intention of submitting, but when he had entered Madhurā,

he thought: I fear to let myself be seen, and returned without 11 presenting himself, to his place. Thereupon Lankapura marched into his district to take it. The unrivalled one, equipped 12 with great power and courage, offered him battle, defeated him and captured Alagvanagiri. Kalavandiya-nādalvāra and 13 another named Sūradeva submitted and besought the general for (the restoration of) his district; at his request Lankapura 14 handed over to him the district. Then the far-famed betook himself to the district of Kurumba-rāyara and after he had 15 also subdued Kurumba-rāyara and likewise brought Kangayara in Niyama into his power, the hero betook himself later to 16 the place called Tiripputtūru in order to make subject to himself also Nigaladha-rāyara.

Nigaladha-rayara gathered together his own army, took 17 with him also the Cola officers, Akalanka-nādālvāra and Kañcamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Kiccārattarayara<sup>2</sup> as 18 well as their numerous troops and the many horses in their 19 possession, marched thence and began a combat hard to withstand. But the army of the Sīhalas transformed the 20 hostile host together with steeds and infantry — stretching 21 three gavutas wide3 from Tiripputturu to Ponaamaravatī, along the highway between the two places - into a single mass of flesh. After it had shattered these vast forces it came to 22 Ponaamaravati, burned down the three-storeved palace built there, and after setting fire to many other houses and well- 23 filled granaries of rice, the hero (Lankapura) in order to rob the inhabitants of their fear, had the drums beaten, took the 24 people who were settled in the district under his own dominion and returned to Madhura4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. above 76. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidently local troops which had voluntarily submitted to the victor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vīrapperayara is clearly a title here. Cf. 76.138 and 316. Of the other names Mannaya is mentioned 76.141, 77.35, Senkundi 76.138 (q. v.) and Keralasīhamuttara 76.141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Colaganga (ra) is mentioned 76. 124. The place name Parittikkundi is met with in Parittikkundiyāra 76. 137 and 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See 76. 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> P. vase hessam as or. recta. Cf. a similar phrase 75.85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of the names mentioned in vv. 13—16 those of Süradeva and Kurumba do not otherwise occur. For Kalavandiya see 76. 141, for Kangayara see 76. 140, for Nigaladha 76. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Akalanka, Mayalappa and Kiccarattarayara are mentioned again later (77.55 ff)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The front extended thus over a distance of something like six miles (cf. 73. 154 and note).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The subject changes in this sentence. In the principal sentence

94

25 Now the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) whose commands stand firm, sent the order to hold the festival of the coronation for 26 Prince Virapandu. When Lankapura heard of this command of the King's which could not be gainsaid, he set about mak-27 ing the preparations for the consecration. He then charged the 28 Lambakannas Mālava-cakkavattin, Mālava-rāyara and Athalayūru-nādāļvāra to carry out the duties of the Lambakannas1, had then as one whose commands are scarcely to be evaded, 29 the drums beaten in the kingdom and gathered together all the officers in the Pandu realm at the head of their own 80 troops and adorned with all their ornaments. Then in a temple of the deities to the north of the palace of former kings, 31 adorned with the drums of victory captured aforetime, the highly-famed one carried out the consecration of the Prince and made him in accord with tradition, walk round the town, his right side turned towards it.

Meanwhile the Ruler Kulasekhara who had fied to the mountain fortress of Tondamāna, had brought Tondamāna 33 round to his side. He took his army as well as his own troops, and together with Anujīvisamiddha, a man of terrible 34 courage, he set forth from that hill fortress and reached the important stronghold called Mangalama into which he entered. 35 With Mannaya-rāyara and Senkundiya-rāyara who had sub-36 mitted to the Sīhalas he fought a great battle; he captured their fortress and took up a position there. When Lankāpura heard of the matter and how it had happened, he thought: 37 "Only when I shall have driven the hostile Ruler from this

(v. 24)  $v\bar{\imath}ro$  is the subject and  $\bar{a}ga\bar{n}chi$  the finite verb. The gerunds occurring in vv. 21-23 have as subject  $sen\bar{a}$   $Sihal\bar{a}dh\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$ . They are thus again treated as absolute locatives. Cūlavs. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI.

1 We learn two things from this passage: that a Lambakanna clan existed also in Southern India and that the members of this clan performed particular functions at the festival of the king's consecration. For the three names see notes to 76. 132 and 137.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to 77.7. It must be assumed that the Tondamāna named in v. 32 who figures in 76.315 as one of Kulasekhara's followers, had submitted to the Sīhalas, but under Kulasekhara's influence had again deserted them.

place and cleansed this district so rich in mountain and forest strongholds shall I return." He left the town of Madhura, 38 put up a stronghold near Mangalamkotta1 and took up his position there. With mighty forces they fought a great battle 39 with the three brothers of the wife of Tondamana: Kallakka- 40 velāra, Munayadha-rāyara and Kālinga-rāyara2, captured the 41 fortress, slew many Damilas and after later on taking Sīvaliputturu also the highly-famed ones took up a position there. 42 Thereupon the hostile Monarch Kulasekhara gathered together the troops standing in Tirinavelia, sent also to the two brothers 43 of his mother a message and took the troops in Tenkongu and Vadakongus and after the great general had brought 44 this whole army together, he gave the order to halt at the fortress called Santaneri. Now Lankapura and the general 45 Jagadvijaya immediately set forth on the way to take this stronghold. To bar the way to the enemy Kulasekhara versed in the 46 right expedients, had the great tank pierced. When the hero 47 Lankapura heard tidings of this he said: "When one goes forth to fight a decisive battle with the foe the sight of a pierced 48 tank on the way is not good." So the mighty one immediately had it dammed up again. Thereupon he advanced with great 49 forces and courage against yonder strong fortress, fought a bitter fight, broke quickly into it, slew him called Kallakka- 50 velāra and many other Damilas and captured numbers of horses of the Damilas. Then they pressed forward into the two vil- 51 lages belonging to Tondamana, called Tirimalakke and Kattala, burned down the village called Tirimalakke so that nought 52

<sup>1</sup> Of course the same as the fortress Mangalama mentioned in v. 34, and which also occurs in 76. 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the two last names cf. 76.146 and 76.174 ff. The first occurs again 77.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Instead of the sing. (Lankāpuro v. 36 c) the new sentence (from v. 39 a b) has the plur. What is meant are Lankāpura and his generals. Sīvaliputtūru is the present Srivillipatur (cf. also W.) in the Tinnevelli District not far from the borders of Travancore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See 76. 143 and 288 and notes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See 76, 288,

but its name remained, because it was there that the Pandu 53 king Parakkama had been murdered. Then he set forth from there and after reaching the village Colakulantaka the highly-

- 54 famed one tarried there for some time<sup>2</sup>. King Kulasekhara now took the two brothers of his mother, also the troops of
- 55 the twain and their many horses, further Akalanka-nādālvāra,
- 56 and Pallava-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara, Kandamba-rāyara and Kiccārattarayara who was endowed with great power and courage, and with all these Cola officers and their numerous
- 57 army as also with Kalavandiya-nadalvara and his troops and
- 58 with Punkonda-nādālvāra<sup>3</sup> at the head of his army, the mighty one came himself to the place called Palankotta and ordered
- 59 his great army to Pandunādukottāna and the place called Ūriyeri<sup>4</sup>, this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of
- 60 the foe. Thereupon Lankapura and the general Jagadvijaya
- 61 went forth from the village of Colakulantaka to battle. They so planned it that the hostile army which had occupied the two great fortresses, were disinclined for giving battle in the open
- 62 field, had then a great entrenchment made at the village of Uriyeri above the tank and took up a position there during
- 63 the night. But the hostile army which had occupied the two fortresses, dispersed and went thither where the Ruler Ku-
  - <sup>1</sup> W.'s happy suggestion of ettha hato is certainly correct. I may remark that all the MSS. have etthă gato; etthāgato as read by the Col. Ed. occurs nowhere.
  - <sup>2</sup> There is a change again in number, this time from the plur. (pavitthā) in v. 51 c to the sing. (nisīdittha) in 53 c.
  - <sup>3</sup> For Akalanka see 77. 17, for Malayappa 77. 18, for Kalavandiya 76. 141 and Punkonda 76. 139. All these names occur again later. The same with Pallava and Kandamba who have so far not been mentioned.
  - 4 The locatives Pandunādukoṭṭāne and Uriyerivhaye ṭhāne are directly dependent on niyojesi. The skr. niyojayati is also used with the locative of that to which anyone is determined or commanded. In 72. 207 we have the same as in this passage Kyānagāme niyojetvā. Cf. further 77. 82. It is therefore quite unnecessary to change ṭhāne into ṭhātuṃ as is done by the Col. Ed. Palankoṭṭa (see also W.) is the present Palam-kotta in the Tinnevelli District.
    - <sup>5</sup> That is Paṇḍunāḍukoṭṭāna and Uriyeri.

lasekhara was standing. Now Lankapura and the general 64 Jagadvijaya well discriminating between favorable and unfavorable places, marched to Palankotta. The heroes fought 65 a terrible battle with the hostile sovereign, slew many warriors captured many steeds, put the Monarch Kulasekhara at once 66 to flight and took Palankotta. Then they set forth from there, came into the domain of him called Tuvaradhipativelars and 67 received the horses and elephants supplied by him1. But when 68 they heard: the Monarch Kulasekhara has come to Madhurā2, they in order to drive him from this place, hereupon marched 69 to Adharatteri, subdued there Nigaya-rayara and showed him many marks of favour. Now when they again set forth from 70 this place the Ruler Kulasekhara smitten with fear, betook himself to the Cola country. Hereupon Lankapura charged 71 the dignitary by name Jagadvijaya, to take up a position at the place called Pattanalluru. He himself went at the head 72 of his troops to Tirikkanappera. But King Kulasekhara had meanwhile by various entreaties won over the Cola King to 73 his side and at the command of this king he took the army and the many horses of him called Pallava-rayara, also 74 him called Inandapada together with Tondamana, the rayara called Rājarājakalappa, further Kangakondakalappa-rāyara, as 75 well as the Nakāranibilupa-rāyara, the hero Niccavinodavāņava- 76 rāyara, Narasīhapadmara and Sekīrapadma-rāyara, Rājinda- 77 brahmamahārāja and Mādhava-rāyara . . . as also Colakonāra, Janabrahmamaharaja and Colatirikka-rayara — these troop 78 leaders in Uccankuttha he took with him, with these he took also 79 Niyaraya and Kappincimpekula, further Madhava-rayara and Kanduvetti, further Kongamangala-nādāļvāra, Akalanka-nādāļ- 80 vāra and Kandamba-rāyara, as also Kilamangala-nādālvāra, Visālamutta-rāyara<sup>3</sup> and their many horses and sent them to 81

<sup>1</sup> The context shows that Tuvaradhipativelara (for whom see 76.138,

3 Of the numerous names mentioned here six occur earlier: Pallava

<sup>315)</sup> had submitted voluntarily.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Kulasekhara can dare to attack Madhurā which was formerly (see v. 38) in Lankāpura's hands, shows that so far he had suffered no overwhelming defeat. He even succeeds in enlisting the Colas in his cause.

77, 103

82 Tondi and Pasa1. When Lankapura heard of the matter he was minded to so destroy them that only their name should remain. The hero ordered the general Jagadvijaya by name to Madhura, he himself then set forth from Tirikkanappera 83 and marched to the town of Kilenilays situated on the borders of Madhura. Now the mighty Cola army opened the great 84 combat. For a distance of four gavutas? he filled the road with corpses, he also slew many soldiers who had flung them-85 selves into the sea and dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe3. He took (as booty) many horses 86 and captured many Damilas alive - Rājindabrahmamahārāja and Nandipadmara<sup>4</sup>, Narasīhapadmara and Colakonāra — and again 87 with great forces, burned to the ground Vadamanamekkundi, 88 Manamekkundi and Mancakkundi. Then having laid waste by fire a strip of the Cola country seven gavutas in extent<sup>5</sup> and 39 thus quelled the Colas, he returned thence, and when he came to the village called Velankundi under the dominion of Nigaladha-rayara6, he sent to him the message to appear 90 before him. But as Nigaladha-rāyara was at that time under the sovereignty of King Kulasekhara he took the Monarch 91 Kulasekhara, as well as Silāmeghara, and Akalanka-nādāļvāra

77. 55, Tondamāna 76. 187, Niccavinodavāņava 76. 144, Coļakonāra 76. 145, Akalanka 77. 17, Kaņdamba 77. 55. Cf. the accompanying notes. The name Mādhava-rāyara is twice mentioned. Three occur later: Narasīhapadmara 77. 86, Rājindabrahma 77. 86, and Visālamutta 77. 91. Cf. with Kangakondakalappa, Kangakondapperayara 76. 180 note; with Kīļamangala-nādāļvāra, the name of the district Kīļamangala in 76. 209; and with Kanduveţţi the name of Narasīha's capital Kanduveţhī in 47. 7.

and Kandamba-rayara, Malayappa-rayara and Visalamutta-

- 1 P. Tondipāsam. Cf. note to 76. 236.
- 2 About 8 miles.
- 3 The description is extraordinary. From what has gone before the battle must have taken place in the neighbourhood of Madhurā, therefore not near the sea.
  - 4 Nandipadmara is not mentioned in the list given in v. 73 ff.
  - 5 About 14 miles.
  - 6 For Nigaladha cf. 76. 138, 77. 16 f.

rāyara, Kalavandi-nādālvāra and the troops of Tirinaveli, and 92 Punkonda-nadalvara, and with mighty forces he came to Ponaamarāvatī<sup>1</sup> to fight a decisive battle. When Lankāpura 93 received tidings of these events he set forth with great forces from Velankundi to vanquish the hostile ruler. The hostile 94 army which advancing from five sides2, began the battle he shattered in a moment with fearsome courage, slew Damilas 95 thousands in number, took (as booty) many horses and put the Ruler Kulasekhara to flight. Nigaladha-rayara thereupon sent 96 in his terror the message: "Thou shalt have the whole of my treasures and my many horses, and shalt pardon my of- 97 fence, but thou must by no means prepare my destruction3." When Lankapura heard that he sent a return message: "Thy .98 treasures and thy horses are of no use to me, fear not and 99 come in person and present thyself". When he heard that, he came to seek out Lankapura. When the latter saw him 100 he showed him favour, assigned him the province and gave him abundant money with which to rebuild his palace which had been burned down. Then the far-famed one started forth, 101 came to Niyama and freed the whole province from the briers (of the enemy). He introduced into the country everywhere 102 for trade kahāpanas which were stamped with the name of the Ruler Parakkama. To Prince Virapandu he made over 103

¹ According to 77. 20 ff., Lankāpura had already fought with Nigaļadha for Ponaamarāvatī. In the list enumerated in v. 78 ff. the following of Nigaļadha's allies are not mentioned: Silāmeghara (cf. note to 76. 99), Malāyappa (77. 18, 55), Kaļavaņdi (76. 141) and Punkonda (76. 189). For Tirinaveli see 76. 143. — Vv. 84—92 form in the original one sentence. The subject however, changes. The subject belonging to all the gerunds in 84-89 (up to pahinitvāna) is Lankāpuro, from v. 90 onwards it is so (Nigaladha-rāyaro). We must therefore again assume that the preceding gerunds are treated as locative absolutes (Cūlavs. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI) S. and B. try to overcome the difficulty by emendation, they change pahinitvāna (v. 89 c) into pahinitha.

<sup>2</sup> W. refers agamma to the subject (Lankapuro) bhimarikkamo but it is really subordinate to pavattita in pavattitamahahavam sattusenam.

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt. I have tried to help matters by a conjectural rendering (vināsanam) which seems to me not quite so far-fetched as the emendations of the Col. Ed.

the government and sent with speed to Sīhala the many horses, men and elephants captured from the Cola country and from the Pandu land<sup>1</sup>.

Now King Parakkamabāhu that lion among royal princes, founded in memory of the conquest of the Pandu country the splendid village Panduvijaya by name, which prospered through all time. But to the Brahmans he whose joy was in giving, gave an alms.

Parakkamabāhu, the first in the race of rulers of the earth, whose mind was endowed with discrimination between what was statesmanlike and what was unstatesmanlike, who was an abode of every virtue, gifted with the gracious beauty of the god of love ruled a long time alone over the ocean-bounded earth.

Here ends the seventy-seventh chapter, called "The Conquest of the Pandu Kingdom", in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The narrative ends abruptly. One is faced by a series of questions which remain unanswered. What becomes of Kulasekhara? What of the great coalition of South Indian princes Colas and Pandus described in v. 72 of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Vīrapandu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulasekhara did not fall in battle he will scarcely have left his rival in peace. What is Lankapura's after fate? It is curious that his return to Ceylon is never mentioned and that there is no word of the distinctions bestowed on him by Parakkamabahu. It is pretty clear that the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success. The ideal figure of Parakkama which he has in mind, must not be dimmed by association with any misfortune. South Indian inscriptions relate that Lankapura was defeated and that his head with those of his officers was nailed to the gates of Madhurā. In the 4th year of Kulottunga Cola III (1181-2) Vīrapandu was driven out and the Sinhalese troops finally defeated. H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 62. See also note to 76. 80.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII

## THE BUILDING OF VIHĀRAS

Now after the sovereign of Lankā, Parakkamabāhu who 1 had received consecration as king, who was experienced in statecraft, had thus made peaceful the land of Lankā, he 2 cherished, full of zeal, the wish to further the advancement of the Order of the Master for which he had striven when attaining the royal dignity, since it was a most excellent merit. Since he perceived that the few loyal bhikkhus — apart 3 from the maintenance of wives and children and so forth by the community in the villages belonging to the community, in 4 which they saw their sole duty, beyond which there was none — did not wish to have ceremonies in common, nor even to see one another, he desired even before the purification of 5

1 The sentence is difficult. I think the meaning is this that the attitude of the few loyal bhikkhus (susile keci bhikkhavo) who would not hear of intercourse and of common action with the others, shows the evil conditions existing in the Samgha. The dussila bhikkhavo were in the majority, the sustla were isolated. As regards the construction of the sentence, I believe that puttadārādiposanam is governed by thapetvā (4 a) and ekakammādim dassanam pi by n'ākankhante. By samghagama are meant the villages in which the men were active as ārāmikā. Wives and children of the ārāmikā were supported by the monastery and this was the only duty from which the susīlā bhikkhavo did not absolve themselves and the one which brought them into contact with the others. W's version according to which the priests had only thought of the feeding of their (former) wives and children I consider impossible. The text reads: samghassa puttadārādiposanam. But one cannot say that the Samgha has children and wives. Only the individual bhikkhu has these. Thus the gen. samphassa does not belong to puttadārādi but to posanam. Note too the ādi. This refers to sick

78. **6** 

the Order¹, for the purpose of furthering the Order of the Victor, to achieve unity² among the bhikkhus of the three 6 fraternities. Even as the Ruler of men Dhammāsoka (with) Moggaliputtatissa, so he entrusted the Grand thera Mahā-7 kassapa by name, with the task — an experienced man who knew the Tipiṭaka and was exceedingly well versed in the Vinaya, a light of the race of theras, conciliatory, long since 8 consecrated. He made the thera Nāṇapāla in Anurādhapura together with his pupils and the bhikkhus in the province 9 of Sapara³ come to Pulatthinagara, further together with the thera Moggallāna, the thera Nāgindapalliya and all the other 10 bhikkhus in the province of the Yuvarāja⁴, as well as those belonging to the three fraternities in Rohaṇa after he had placed at their head the distinguished thera Nanda who dwelt

people and those incapable of work who must of course also be looked after in the samphagāma of the monastery.

1 P. ādo is used as a preposition and governs the following accusative.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the church reforms of Parakkamabahu is found already in 73. 12-22. That this should be followed by a second detailed account is probably due to the fact that the compiler of the Culavamsa had two different sources both of which he employed for his narrative. In a similar way the building activities of the king are dealt with twice over (in 73. 23 ff. and 78. 28 ff.). As regards the reform of the Order I have already referred in the note to 73. 22 to the Gal-vihāra inscription of Parakkama and to certain similarities in form between it and the account of the Culavs. A further similarity occurs in the second narrative (78. 2ff.). The name of the Grand thera Mahākassapa is mentioned as spokesman in the negotiations in which capacity he is also mentioned in the inscription. Then too in both sources a parallel is drawn between King Dhammasoka and the head of the Third Council, Moggallana (Mhvs. 5. 228 ff.) on the one hand, and Parakkamabanu and Mahākassapa on the other. According to the inscription, Mahākassapa was an inmate of the Udumbaragiri-vihāra, that is Dimbulāgala, now Gunner's Quoin Hill on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga about 5 miles SSE. of Mahagantota near Polonnaruva. Cf. Wickeemasinghe, EZ. II. 184 ff.; the same, Catal. of Sinhalese Mss. in the Brit. Museum, p. XV.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the present province of Sabaragamuva.

4 That is in Dakkhinadesa. The bhikkhus mentioned in vv. 8-10 are not named in the inscription.

in the Selantara monastery. Hereupon the Ruler sent a summons 11 to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra for (bringing about) the mutual concord.

Since the shamelessness had passed all bounds and the 12 schism had lasted a long time, many bhikkhus would hear nothing of conciliation. Many began departing to foreign lands, 13 others left the Order, some wished for a sitting in the secret court of justice1. Hereupon one approached the great (and) 14 exceedingly difficult task: conciliation seemed as difficult as the hurling of the Sineru<sup>2</sup> mountain. But the Ruler, impartial, 15 firm in his resolves and just, encouraged the bhikkhus and with great pains persuaded them to agree. He had the single 16 points in dispute as they arose settled by the bhikkhus among whom Mahākassapa was the oldest. He was himself present 17 as protector of the court together with those lions among teachers who knew the three Pitakas, and while according to 18 precept he led those bhikkhus capable of being cured to purification, he established harmony among the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra. But the undisciplined he excluded from the Order, 19 and that they might not by striving after gain do harm to the Order, he assigned them lucrative positions. After he had 20 thus with great pains purified the Mahāvihāra, he set about bringing the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri - who since the 21 time of Abhaya<sup>3</sup> had formed a separate group — as well as

¹ I have kept as much as possible to the reading of the MSS. and believe that linavinicchayamandala denotes a secret judicial process in contrast to the official dhammakamma of the Order (see note to 39.57). For the meaning "hidden, concealed" for lina cf. Mhvs. 75. 153 where however, it is combined with a loc., as well as linavuttika, 47.3, "leading a solitary, hidden life". The Col Ed. reads icchum eke nisajjam pi na vinicchayamandale and W. translates accordingly: "and many wished not even to sit (with their brethren) in the hall of judgement".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. note to 54. 43. One may compare sinerukkhipanam with sakkharākhipana "the hurling of stones" (as an accomplishment, sippa, JaCo. I. 418<sup>30</sup>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vattagāmanī Abhaya. The story of the separation of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra from those of the Mahāvihāra is related in Mhvs. 33. 95 ff.

78. 40.

the inmates of the Jetavana - who had separated themselves 22 from the days of the Ruler of men Mahasena, (they) who gave out as Buddha's word the Vetulla-Pitaka and the like which were no words of Buddha and who had turned away 23 from religious duties — into concord with the inmates of the Mahāvihāra who were rich in all virtues, even as glass stones 24 with jewels. But as they lacked inward virtue as moral dicipline and the like, they came even through the influence of the Great community and of the King to no joyful ac-25 ceptance of the Buddha teaching. And while the just King together with people versed in the right method held the trial, he found not a single member of the Order that had 26 kept himself unspoiled3. He caused many ascetics to be received as samaneras, the undisciplined he dismissed and gave them 27 lucrative positions. While thus within a short time achieving purification and unity, he with great pains established again the community as it had been in Buddha's time.

Every year he brought the Great community to the river bank<sup>4</sup>, made them take up their abode in a garden there 29 while he with his dignitaries paid them respect. Then after firmly anchoring ships in the stream he had a charming 30 mandapa of beautiful proportions erected on them. Then when he had given to the bhikkhus costly robes and all kinds of articles of use, the wise Prince made them hold the ceremony of admission into the Order<sup>5</sup>.

Now for the bhikkhus increased in this manner to many 31 hundreds the King was desirous of building in goodly fashion large vihāras, suitable for dwelling in. He (therefore) founded 32 the great monastery by name Jetavana<sup>1</sup>, making as it were visible to the eye the beauty of the Jetavana (in Savatthi2). For the theras dwelling there in the sacred district, firmly 33 persevering in discipline, he built eight costly pasadas, three storeys high. For the thera named Sariputta who persevered 34 firmly in discipline, he erected a vast (and) glorious pāsāda with rooms, terraces and chambers. Also nine incomparable, 35 three-storeyed image houses (he built) furnished with all appurtenances and diversely adorned with images. For the 36 seventy-five parivenas (he built) as many long pasadas with charming figures (painted), two storeys high; (further) one 37 hundred and seventy-eight small pasadas, thirty-four gate-towers and two houses for books; huts, grottoes, halls and many 38 sleeping-houses with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods, Brahmas and the like. Creating out of 39 brick and stucco an elixir for the eyes4 (he built) the Tivanka house for the Tivanka image<sup>5</sup>, shimmering with rows of figures 40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Mhvs. 37. 32 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the heretical Vetullavada to which the Dhammarucika monks living in the Abhayagiri monastery adhered, see Mhvs. 36. 41, 110 ff. and 37. 1 ff.; Nik. s., p. 12. A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. I, 1924, p. 15 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. pakatatta, lit. "with the original self (being, character)". In Vin. I. 280<sup>12</sup> the word means "in the original condition, restored, cured"; In JaCo. I. 236<sup>29</sup> it has a similar meaning to that in our passage as attribute of bhikkhu along with sīlavā vipassanāya yuttapayutto.

<sup>4</sup> On the bank of the Mahaveliganga.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Even to-day the monks in Ceylon in order to be quite undisturbed, are fond of performing their rites in a pavilion built on piles in a sheet of water about a stone's throw from the bank.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> What is meant here is without doubt the group of monastic buildings within the city to the north of the citadel, on the so-called Quadrangle. Cf. above all H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1903 (= LXV, 1908), p. 6 ff., as well as A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. II, 1926, p. 4 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The monastery was like its namesake in Anuradhapura, called after the celebrated park in Sāvatthī which Anāthapindika presented to the Buddha and the Order. See Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 166; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For pativatta as substantive in the meaning of "equipment, articles of clothing or of general use", cf. Mhvs. 29. 22. The alteration by the Col. Ed. into sattatimatte I cannot approve of. The numeral adj. is nava in navāppatisammate—as is proved by all the MSS.—which S and B likewise felt obliged to alter. The Col. Ed. treats the text too arbitrarily. I believe that pativatta here means all the ornaments and garments belonging to a Buddha image with which it is decked out on festive occasions. Cf. note to 38. 64 (towards the end) and to 38. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The beauty of the building acted on the eyes like an elixir (rasā-yana). In my edition I have joined the sentence to the preceding. But I think now that it belongs to the following one.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say what is meant by tiranka in t-ghara and

41 of lions, kinnaras<sup>1</sup>, geese and the like, with many diversely perforated balustrades<sup>2</sup> and with railings. (Further he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic<sup>3</sup>, adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls<sup>4</sup> and

42 so forth. (Further the built) three sermon halls, a cetiya5,

43 eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks and one hundred and seventy-eight privies.

t-patimā. Mr. PARANAVITANE, the epigraphist of the ASC. (letter of 25-4-28) assumes that the term means the same as tribhanga. This is the name given in Indian Iconography to a statue with "three bends". that is in the posture in which Visnu or the Nagas are often represented. He refers to Selalihinisandesa 68, where there is a mention of Tivanka images in the Kelani vihara and believes that this passage in the Mhvs. refers to these very statues in Kelaniya. It cannot be a Buddha image which is meant in this case. It seems to me certain that the tivankaghara of our passage refers to a building in Pulatthinagara and in the Jetavana-vihāra. But cf. note to 85.66. The most likely seems to be the Heta-dage, an image house on the Quadrangle with three Buddha figures (cf. Hocarr, l. l., p. 5) or that building known as the Thuparama also situated there. The first seems however, to be a work of Nissanka-Malla (80.19 and note), while the other belongs to the time before Parakkamabāhu. The expression tivanka remains however in both cases inexplicable.

1 Mythical beings represented with human bodies and heads of horses. I may remark that W. joins v. 40 to the following as description of the dāṭhādhātughara.

2 P. jālakavāta, lit. net-enclosure.

- 3 Without doubt the Vaṭa-dā-gē situated on the Quadrangle opposite the Heṭa-dā-gē. Bell, l. l., p. 21 ff. and Rep. ASC. 1904, p. 5 ff. Hocart, l. l., p. 4. It is a circular building consisting of two concentric terraces. On the upper terrace was a cetiya in which the relic was preserved. In an inscription on the outer stairs Nissanka Malla boasts that he has had the building made. It is however evidently a case of restoration. The outer staircase is indeed of later origin.
- 4 I take bhiti "outer wall" to mean the railings leading round the terraces.
- 5 There is no stupa in the domain of the Jetavana. One must assume therefore that the terraced tower Sat-mahal-pāsāda on the Quadrangle was built as a cetiya. It could not serve as a dwelling, for it is as massive as a dagoba with nothing but a tunnel-like circular passage in the basement.

After he had thus by cleansing the Order, cleansed the 44 inward impurity of the bhikkhus, in order to cleanse the outward impurity, that one might be able to bathe in great heat he had eight bath-houses of stone erected, named 45 Vaṭṭanahānakoṭṭha, Guhānahānakoṭṭha, Padumanahānakoṭṭha, Bhaddanahānakoṭṭha¹ and so forth, adorned with pillars, 46 staircases and railings. There also the Great king had many walls built. Thus there were in Jetavana in all five hundred 47 and twenty buildings. With the distribution of abundant articles of use, he made the community take up its abode there.

Further the Prince had built there the Ālābana-pariveṇa<sup>3</sup> 48 which had all the distinguishing marks (belonging to such a building), being not too far away and the like, and which was universally acknowledged as beautiful. There he built for 49 the thera a splendid pāsāda with rooms and terraces, with a choice of various apartments, embellished by turrets, three storeys high. Further forty long pāsādas and as many privies, 50 eight small pāsādas and six gate-towers, thirty-four fire-houses 51 and two larger outer walls, the Subhaddā-cetiya and the Rūpavatī-cetiya<sup>3</sup>; besides that a charming image house of five 52 storeys for which — as it was adorned with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods and Brahmas 53 and embellished with buildings, with turrets, grottoes, apartments

- 1 The "round bathing-house", "cave-", "lotus-b.-h." and the "bathing-house of happiness". The temple on the Quadrangle popularly known as the Thūpārāma is not mentioned among the buildings of the Jetavaua, probably because it already belonged to the time before Parakkama-bāhu. Hocart, l. l., p. 5.
- <sup>2</sup> H. W. Codrington is certainly right when he says that the description in the Mhvs. proceeds from south to north. In chap. 73 the secular buildings in the citadel and its immediate neighbourhood are mentioned. In chap. 78 follow the monastic foundations joining it on the north. The Ālāhana-parivens is therefore probably the group of buildings lying outside of the city which is now popularly but wrongly called the Jetavanārāma.
- <sup>3</sup> To the group of buildings which we assume formed the Āļāhana-pariveņa there belonged in fact several stūpas. The largest of these is popularly known as the Kiri-vehera. More to south lies the Rankot Dagoba. This has, however, nothing to do with the Āļāhana-pariveṇa,

and halls¹— the name of Lankātilaka was befitting². In this (temple) he had erected a standing image which was an elixir for the eyes², which had the size of the living Buddha⁴, by which (likewise) was called Lankātilaka. (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Uposatha-house which bore the name of Baddhasīmāpāsāda, which was furnished with numbers of turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places². To determine the boundary 6

but is identical with the Ratanāvalī-cetiya built or completed by Nissanka Malla (80. 20). The Mhvs. expressly states that this King adorned it with a surannatthūpikā, "with a golden pointed cone" The name Rankot means "golden point".

1 The buildings form the immediate surroundings of the temple enriching its beauty.

- 2 The name still sticks to the image house of the Aļāhana group. It is proved besides by an inscription on the building itself in which Parakkamabāhu is named as its builder. See H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1910—11 (= X. 1914), p. 80 ff. Lately an exact description of the plan of the building has been given by A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. II, 1926, p. 11 ff. This plan agrees on the whole with that of the Thūpārāma (see above note to v. 45). As regards the name of the temple, tilaka means "a patch of coloured stuffs worn on the forehead as ornament... or as emblem of a sect" (BR.); at the end of a compound it means "ornament of something", here therefore "ornament of the Island of Lankā". The construction of the sentence is as follows: yattha in v. 53a stands for the loc. yamhi (patimāgehe) and to this then belong the locatives "rūpini and sobhite in v. 52.
  - 3 See above note to v. 39.

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- 4 According to Bell's calculation (l. l., p. 36) the statue in the Lankatilaka temple when intact, measured 41 ft. in height (roughly 12.5 m.).
- be found in the so-called "priory" situated in the domain of Alahana-parivena and remarkable for its quantity of small and narrow cells (pañjarageha "cage"!). Cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1911—12 (= III. 1915), p. 81 ff.
- 6 P. bandhāpetum tahim sīmam. By sīmā is meant the boundary line enclosing the monastic buildings within which alone ecclesiastical acts could legally be performed. The regulations for establishing such a  $s\bar{s}m\bar{a}$  are to be found in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga 2. 6 ff. (= I. 106 ff.). Cf. with our passage Mhvs. 15. 188—194, where it is related of King

there the King betook himself, adorned with all his ornaments, with the dignitaries and the ladies of the court, with a vast 57 army and with his train in the splendour of the King of the gods, to the great vihara. At the invitation of the Great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the 58 Monarch - with the tune of songs of praise, with the sound of musical instruments and the noise of the shouts of greeting filling the four regions of the heavens, surrounded by many people bearing golden and other jars and baskets and many 59 banners and umbrellas - took with great solemnity the golden 60 plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and went forth ploughing the furrow1. To remove2 all scruples 61 regarding landmarks formerly drawn at this spot, the bhikkhu community took up a position at different points, after pre- 62 viously by a solemn act, bound to bring full success, removing in due order the ancient landmarks and made known to the King the landmarks along the furrow (which he ploughed). The King drew three partial boundaries and a main boundary. 63 The boundary stones set up in the eight regions of the heavens, east and so forth, were distant (measured) with a staff five cubits in length from the Lankatilaka temple forty- 64

Devānampiyatissa how he draws in person the sīmā of the Mahāvihāra, just as Parakkamabāhu that of the Āļāhana pariveņa. The two desciptions have a considerable resemblance to each other even in the wording (cf. 78. 56-7 with 15. 189; 78. 58 with App. B, v. 6 of my edition of the old Mahāvaṃsa). This may be due either to the stereotyped character of all these descriptions or to Dhammakitti's conscious borrowing from the older work.

- 1 Cf. mahāchaṇamhi vattente . . . kasanto bhūmipo agā with mahatā chaṇapūjāya kasanto bhūmipo agā in Mhvs. App. B. (to 15.191), v. 7 c d. This comparison shows that mahāchaṇamhi not mahājanamhi, is the right reading.
- <sup>2</sup> It was strictly forbidden to encroach on an existing boundary by a new  $sim\bar{a}$ . The old boundary had first to be removed by a kammarācā (v. 62 d), that is a solemn act of the community. Cf. note to 37. 56.
  - 3 I think that the two lines of v. 62 should be reversed.
- <sup>4</sup> P. pañcahatthāya yaṭṭhiyā. For hattha see note to 37.172. The standard of measurement had thus a length of  $(5 \times 18 \text{ in.})$  roughly

four, forty-nine, thirty-eight, thirty-six, thirty-five, fifty-seven,

Parakkamabāhu I

- 65 forty-five, sixty-six staves respectively. The boundary stone set up in the southern region of the heavens was distant from
- 66 the Gopala rock1 fifty-eight staves2, and the boundary stone that was set up in the northern region of the heavens, was
- 67 fifty staves from the Vijjādhara cave3. These stones served for the marking of the main boundary. At the Baddhasīmāpasada there was a fixed boundary of thirty-five staves in
- 68 length and breadth4. At the sacred space called Khandasīmā5 the boundary was fixed at fifteen staves in length and six
- 69 staves in breadth6, and at the pasada of the thera the fixed boundary was eighteen cubits in length and twenty cubits in
- 70 breadth7. This vihara the King dedicated to the bhikkhus along with the (necessary) articles of use.

In the same way the Ruler of men had the foundations

 $7\frac{1}{2}$  ft. (= 2.55 m). The distances were thus successively 330, 367 $\frac{1}{4}$ , 285, 270, 2621, 4271, 8371, 495 ft. Cf. for this A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. II. 1926, p. 5-7. By "main boundary" (mahāsīmā) is meant that enclosing the whole of the buildings belonging to the Alahana-parivena. Inside this there were according to 67c to 69, three smaller sections which were marked off by "sub-boundaries" or "part-boundaries" (khandasīmā). This distinction corresponds to the description of the fixing of the boundary of the Mahavihara Mhvs. 15. 193 which speaks of  $nimitt\bar{a}ni$ "boundary marks" pure and simple and simantaranimittani "inner boundary marks".

1 This is probably the rock lying between the Baddhasimapāsāda and the Rankot stūpa. According to the popular idea the chasm served as an abode for those bhikkhus who wished to give themselves up to meditation.

- <sup>2</sup> Therefore 435 ft.
- 3 That is 375 ft. from what is now called the Gal-vehera. Cf. below note to v. 73.
  - 4 Therefore  $262\frac{1}{2}$  ft.  $\times 262\frac{1}{2}$  ft.
- 5 Just as the main building took its name from the fixing of the main boundary (baddhā sīmā) so one of the sub-sections from that of the sub- or part-boundary.
  - <sup>6</sup> Therefore  $112\frac{1}{8}$  ft.  $\times$  45 ft.
- 7 Thus with the cubit (hattha) calculated at 18 in. only about 27 ft. × about 30 ft.

laid of the Pacchimarama1. Here in the parivenas, which 71 were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many twostoreyed long pasadas and twenty fire-houses, forty-one 72 two-storeyed small pasadas as well as thirty-five privies and 78 two cloisters; one sermon hall and ten gate-buildings. He dedicated this vibara along with the (necessary) articles of use also to the bhikkhus.

Likewise the Ruler of men had the Uttarārāma<sup>2</sup> built. By 74 breaking down the rock not far from the Great thupa he bringing into play every kind of skilled work, had three 75 grottoes made by expert craftsmen, namely the Vijjadhara grotto, the cave with the image in sitting posture and the grotto with the recumbent image.

The Ruler also had the Mahathupas erected which bore 76 the name of the Damilathupa because it had been built by

1 The "West Monastery". Hocarr (Mem. ASC. II, p. 6) supposes this building to be the unexcavated ruins adjoining the remains of the Alāhana-pariveņa on the west.

2 There can be no doubt that what is meant is the so-called Galvehera. The front of a rock rising about 30 ft. above the surrounding region is polished. It stretches from SW. to NE. gradually sloping away on either side. The rock is about 16 chains (roughly 320 m.) distant from the Great Thupa situated farther north. Hewn out of the rock wall just about its centre, is a grotto, 26 ft. wide, 12 ft. 9 in. deep and 9 ft. 9 in. in height. The massive rock above the cave is still some 12 to 13 ft. thick. This rock ceiling is supported on two pillars on the front side of the cave. In the background of the cave there is an image of the Buddha sitting on a throne. This cave is the Vijjādhara $guh\bar{a}$  of our passage. To the left of it from the spectator's point of view, there is the figure of a sitting Buddha 15 ft. high, hewn out of the solid rock. To the right, also hewn out of the solid rock, there is a colossal figure of a recumbent Buddha about 49 ft. long, at its head the upright figure of Ananda grieving over his dying master. It is probable that both the statues of the sitting and of the recumbent Buddha were originally contained in a grotto or niche made of rock and brickwork. These were the nisinnapatimalena and the nipannapatimāguhā. These figures now stand uncovered in the open air. For the whole matter cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1907 (= V. 1911), p. 7 ff.

3 The "Great stūpa" evidently borrowed its name from the Mahathūpa (Ruvanveli Dagoba) in Anurādhapura. In its present state it is

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77 Damilas who had been brought hither after the conquest of the Pandu kingdom. It had a circumference of one thousand three hundred cubits and was the largest of all thupas, like to a second Kelasa, and (built) without the miraculous power of arahants and without the miraculous power of the gods,

alone by kingly miraculous power.

Also he had built in the suburb called Rajavesibhujanga the Isipatana-vihara which was a delight for the ascetics.

80 There (there was) one relic shrine and three three-storeyed image houses with costly images and resplendent with brightly

81 coloured painting, further a two-storeyed pasada whose ornaments called forth delight, two long pasadas and four gate-

82 buildings, eight small pasadas, a sermon house, a cloister as

88 well as eight fire-houses and six privies, a fine bathing-house wholly of stone, a boundary wall and a garden which belonged to the bhikkhu community.

Furthermore in the suburb of Sīhapura the Ruler (gifted)
with a lion's courage had the Kusinārā-vihāra erected. There
(there was) a relic shrine, three image houses of three storeys,

86 six long pāsādas, a sermon hall, a cloister, sixteen small pāsādas, three gate-buildings, eleven privies and six fire-houses.

87 In the suburb called Vijita King Parakkamabahu also

a great heap of ruins overgrown with jungle, looking like a natural hill over which run the paths of the wild elephant. The name of Damilathupa has been preserved to the present day in the name Demalamahaseya which is however, erroneously given to another building (see note to v. 87).

1 P. ratana = hattha = roughly 18 inches (according to Fleet, JRAS. 1912, p. 237). The circumference was therefore roughly 1950 ft. The circumference of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura is 929 ft. (Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 286, 806), that of the Abhayagiri 1115 ft.

2 See note to 68. 41.

3 For the three sul rbs and their monasteries cf. the earlier account in 73. 151-5. It does not quite agree with ours. If we follow it, the monasteries would be distributed thus: Rājavesibhujanga: Veļuvana—Rājakulantaka (= Sīhapura): Isipatana—Vijita: Kusinārā, so far as importance can be attached to the order in which they are given.

built the Veluvana-vihāra1. Therein (there were) three three- 88 storeyed image houses with beautiful images, gleaming with brightly coloured paintings, a thupa and a cloister, a two- 89 storeyed pasada, four gate-buildings, four long pasadas and eight small pasadas, one refectory and one sermon hall, further 90 seven fire-houses and twelve privies. Gavuta on gavuta2 (along 91 the road) the Ruler of men had vihāras3 erected, furnished with charming image temples, with gate-buildings, outer walls and sermon halls. For such bhikkhus as loved solitude 92 and had taken upon them the whole of the duties of the ascetic, he had the Kapila-vihāra built as a good abode. There (there was) a costly two-storeyed pasada, four long 93 cloisters and four long two-storeyed pasadas, further a dwelling- 94 house of brick with diverse coloured painting and adorned with turrets, built in honour of the sage Kapila, four small 95 pāsādas and three privies. Also these vihāras he dedicated along with the (necessary) articles of use to the bhikkhus.

Now in order to rebuild the vihāras in Anurādhapura 96 formerly destroyed by the Damilas and which many kings had not restored because it was so difficult, he sent an official 97 and completed the three thūpas aforetime destroyed by the Damilas, the Ratanavāluka-thūpa<sup>4</sup> one hundred and twenty

<sup>1</sup> Some distance to the north of the Great thupa there lies an image temple similar in plan to the Thuparama and the Lankatilaka, famous for the fresco paintings on its inner walls. I was told there that the priests frequently called this temple the Veluvana. If one could trust this tradition we should have a clue to the position of the Vijita suburb. See however, A. M. Hocart's objections, Mem. ASC. II. 1926, p. 6. He calls the structure "the Northern Temple". The popular name of the building is Demalamahaseya which however originally must have belonged to the Mahāthūpa or Damilathūpa. I am also inclined to regard the Potgul-vihāra situated to the south of the city, as one of the suburb monasteries of Pulatthinagara. According to an inscription discovered there (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 238 ff.) it was originally built by Parakkamabāhu, and it would be curious if such an important structure were not to be mentioned at all in the Mhvs. Cf. on the subject H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1906 — XX. 1910, p. 14 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. for this 73. 154 f. and note. <sup>3</sup> Lit.: Gāvuta-vihāras.

<sup>4 =</sup> Mahāthūpa. Cf. note to 76. 104. There are four thūpas mention-

115

98 cubits high, the Jetavana-thupa one hundred and forty cubits high, the Abhayagiri-thupa one hundred and sixty cubits high,

Parakkamabāhu I

99 as well as the great Maricavatti-thupa1 eighty cubits high. These

100 were (all) overgrown with great trees, bears and panthers dwelt there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a

101 foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. After having the forest hewn down and (the thupas) built in the proper fashion, and faced with stucco, he also cleared the courtyard of the cetiya.

The Lohapasada destroyed by the Colas - which measured 102 in every direction one hundred cubits2, one hundred in length and breadth and as much in height, which was adorned with

103 many hundreds of apartments, with fine turrets and with rows of cells4 and which had several storeys, whose embellishment

104 called forth admiration - the Ruler of men restored by raising

105 again its thousand and six hundred pillars. Sixty large pasadas (like) the one named Sepannipuppha, as also the

106 destroyed pasada called Mahindasena he had renewed, also boundary walls and numbers of parivenas, and after erecting a house for alms he celebrated a great festival for the offering

107 of alms. In the ancient parivenas, the Thuparama and others, he saw to the restoration of whatever was decayed or had

ed in the text, not three, and it looks as if the Maricavatti had been added later.

1 Taking the four stupas in the order of their size (cf. above note to v. 77) we have for the Abhayagiri 240 ft., for the Jetavana 210 ft., for the Mahathupa 180 ft. and for the Maricavatti 120 ft. According to SMITHER, Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura, p. 52, 47, 27 in his time the height of the three first thupas lying in ruins was: 1) Abhayagiri (wrongly called Jetavana by Sm.) 245 ft., 2) Jetavana (by Sm. Abhayagiri) 232 ft., 3) Ruvanveli (= Mahāthūpa) 198 ft. The Maricavațți-thūpa measured then (p. 20) over 80 ft. It is now restored.

2 = 150 ft. The surface area of the Lohapasada is in reality rather more than  $231 \times 232$  ft. as is proved by the pillars still standing in the basement. P. M. Burrows, The Buried Cities of Ceylon, p. 29.

3 So I understand hatthasatūrukam in contrast to uccato tattakam.

4 P. sīhapañjara "lion's cage". The cells of the Baddhasīmā-pāsāda are also called pañjara in v. 55.

5 That is in fact the number of the foundation pillars still standing.

fallen in. On the Cetiyagiri¹ he had sixty-four thupas rebuilt 108 and had restored on the old buildings whatever was decayed or had fallen in.

What sensible man when he has thus realised that the 109 pure-minded, even if they live in the greatest happiness, find their supremest bliss in meritorious works - would grow weary in the works of virtue which procure every happiness in the world?

Here ends the seventy-eighth chapter, called «The Building of Viharas», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The Mihintale mountain. See note to 38.76.

## Chapter LXXIX

## THE LAYING OUT OF GARDENS AND THE LIKE

As the King wished to make all articles (of food) needed 1 by the townspeople easily attainable, he laid out gardens at 2 different places. He who was the delight of his subjects, laid out the garden called Nandana which was adorned with 3 hundreds of trees bearing fruit and blossom. The King planted coco palms, mango and bread-fruit trees, areka and Palmyra 4 palms and other trees, a hundred thousand of each kind and laid out in this way with great pains a large garden destined for the community, which because the name was appropriate, 5 was known generally as the Lakkhuyyana. For the bathing of the bhikkhus in the hot season he had two charming ponds 6 made there beneath hollow rocks. The Monarch also laid out the Dipuyyana 1 resplendent in beauty which was to be glorified 7 by his own continual presence during the day; further the Mahāmeghavanuyyāna, the Cittalatāvana, the garden called 8 Missaka and that called Rajanarayana; the garden called Lankatilaka and the garden called Tilokanandana, that called Va-9 narakara and that called Nayanussava; the garden Manohara by name and the Nimmitapura, the Janghabhara and the

10 Punnavaddhana by name; the garden of the name of Samsāraphala and that called Phārusaka, that called Sālipota and

11 that called Somanātha; the Thānakonkana and the Uttarakuru by name, that called Bharukaccha and that called Pulacceri;

12 the gardens called Kilākara, Paṇḍavāvana and Rāmissara, as well as the Sāmisaṃtosuyyāna, the Cintāmaṇuyyāna and the Pacuruyyāna.

In Rajarattha the King had ninety-nine new thupas built 13 in many villages and market towns. On seventy-three relic 14 shrines the Ruler had what was decayed or fallen in repaired and the coating renewed. He restored six thousand 15 one hundred decayed image houses and built three hundred new image houses. He had four hundred and seventy-six 16 divers kinds of images made and ninety-one Bodhi Trees planted. For the community hailing from the four regions of the 17 heavens he had built as an abode for them when coming and going two hundred and thirty dwellings. He erected fifty-six 18 sermon halls, nine cloisters, as well as one hundred and fortyfour gate-buildings; one hundred and ninety-two chapels with 19 altars for flowers, sixty-seven outer walls and thirteen temples for the gods 1. For the bhikkhus coming from foreign lands 20 he had twelve parks (laid out) and two hundred and thirty rest-houses built. Further the Ruler saw to the restoration 21 of twenty-nine sermon halls, thirty-one grottoes and five parks; 22 likewise of fifty-one rest-houses and of seventy-nine decayed temples to the gods.

To put away the sufferings of famine from living creatures 23 that most excellent of men had many tanks and canals made in divers places. By damming up the Kāragangā by a great 24 barrier between the hills and bringing its mighty flood of waters hither by means of a vast canal called the Ākāsagangā, 25 the Ruler created that king of reservoirs continually filled with water and known by the name of Parakkamasamudda 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See above 73, 96 ff. 113 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. devālaya, thus sanctuaries for Hindu deities. Numerous temples to Viṣṇu and Siva were discovered in Polonnaruva.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. āgantukasālā "house (or hut) for strangers".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> So I understand mahatā girisetunā. W's translation "stone wall" I consider inadmissible, since "giri" is always "mountain" never "stone".

<sup>4</sup> Skr. Akāśagangā, name of the Ganges river which is conceived as flowing in space until it descends to earth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Parakkamasamudda mentioned here is different from the reservoir of the same name named in 68.40. This as we saw (note to the passage) is situated in Dakkhinadesa and was formerly known as Pandavāpi the corresponding name for which is now Pandaveva. The Parakkamasamudda of 79.26, which belongs to the river system of the

in which there was an island resplendent with a superb royal
27 palace and which was like to a second ocean. He also built
the great tank Parakkamatalāka with a sluice of a hundred
28 cubits, and which was made fast by stone construction. Further
the Ruler of men built the Mahindatalāka and the Ekāhavāpi

Kāragnigā, is described in more detail in v. 40 ff. A canal starting from it waters the Mahāmegha park. In 79.7 this park is named immediately after the Dīpuyyāna in Pulatthinagara among the parks laid out by Parakkamabāhu I. A sluice of the reservoir was situated according to v. 45 near the Caṇḍī gate. This name appears in 73.161 among the gates of Pulatthinagara. One must therefore look for the Parakkamasamudda of 79. 26 at Polonnaruva and it is evidently identical with the Topaveva. This was formerly far more extensive than now and was connected with the Dumbutuluveva situated farther south. See on the whole subject A. M. Hocart CJSc. G I, p. 161. In 79.57 a Parakkamasāgara is mentioned. As it was also connected with the Kāragangā, its name is probably merely a variant of Parakkamasamudda. But in v. 28 c Parakkamasāgara is mentioned along with the Parakkamasamudda and next to a Parakkamataļāka. It is therefore possible that there were more than two reservoirs called after the King.

1 That paṇālī means the sluice or the outflow from the tank is clear from v. 42, 43. The mātikā, the water canals (called äla now in S.nh.) start from the paṇālī. In Skr. praṇādī or praṇālī means according to BR. a "drainage canal". The term paṇālī is explained by the construction of the sluices of the old tanks in Ceylon, as described by Parker (Ancient Ceylon, p. 373 ff.). They consist of a walled culvert of about 2-4 ft. in breadth which runs across the whole dam. and is only slightly raised above the base of the dam. To this culvert there leads on the slightly sloping inner side of the dam a square shaft also walled in This is called in Sinhalese bisō-kotuva. The shaft serves for regulating the wooden apparatus (p. āvaraṇa "lock", see v. 69 with note) by the raising and dropping of which the culvert is wholly or partially closed or opened and thus the outflow of the water regulated or completely shut off. The shaft with the lock thus divides the culvert into an inflow and an outflow channel.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore about 150 ft. The number can only apply to the length of the culvert.

3 P. dugga. I believe that here we must take the adjective in the meaning of "sure, fast" which has developed out of the meaning "difficult of access". In the same way the substantive dugga (originally "a place difficult of access") has become "a strong place", then a "fortress".

4 A Mahindatata was already mentioned in 42.29 as a work of

tank, as well as the Parakkamasāgara whose flood-escape was walled up¹; also small tanks at different places a thousand 29 four hundred and seventy-one (in number). At three hundred 30 tanks the Monarch had as many stone sluices built. Ancient 31 tanks which had burst he again dammed up in great number: the great tank Maṇihīra, the Mahādāragallaka, the tank called 32 Suvaṇṇatissa and that called Dūratissa, the Kālavāpi tank and the one Brāhmaṇaggāma by name, the tanks called Nālikera-33 mahāthamba, Rahera, Giritalāka and Kumbhīlasobbha; the 34 Kāṇavāpi, Padīvāpi and the tank called Kaṭi, the Pattapāṣāṇavāpi and the tank called Mahaṇṇa; the tanks with the names 35 Mahānāmamatthaka, Vaḍḍhana, Mahādatta and Kāṇagāma; the tanks Vīra, Valāhassa and Suramāna and the tanks called 36 Pāsāṇagāma and Kālavalli; the tank by name Kāhalli and 37 that called Aṅgagāma, the Hillapattakakhaṇḍa and the Madagu².

Aggabodhi I. If the Mahindatalaka is identical with this, it can only have been a restoration.

<sup>1</sup> P. kotthabaddhanijjhara. By nijjhara (originally "waterfall") are meant the flood escapes or "waste-weirs" (Parker l. l. p. 374) serving for the overflow of the water when the reservoir is too full. The weir of the Parakkamasāgara is walled in (kotthabaddha). Note that in Skr. kosthaka may also mean an encircling wall, and on the other hand that the corresponding Sinhalese word kotura (see above v. 27 note) is also used in connection with waterworks. In Mhvs. 68. 16 Kotthabaddha is the name of a causeway on the Jajjara-nadī.

<sup>2</sup> Of the tanks enumerated here six (Valāhassa, Mahādāragalls, Mahādatta, Kumbhīlasobbha, Pattapāsāṇa and Kāṇa) are mentioned in 60.50 as having been restored by Vijayabāhu I. Cf. note to the passage. The Maṇihīra is the work of Mahāsena (Mhvs. 37. 47), likewise the Suvaṇṇatissa (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 28, called Rantisa in the Medirigiriya inscr.) and the Mahādāragalla (37. 47); the Dūratissa, one of Saddhātissa (Mhvs. 33. 9); the Giritatāka, one of Aggabodhi II. (42. 67; cf. note to 70. 312). Rahera is frequently mentioned now as locality, now as mountain apparently situated not far from Anurādhapura, (Mhvs. 21. 5; 41. 44; 44. 7), also as an irrigation canal (41. 31). Kāṇagāma was a place in Rohaṇa (45. 43) and Hillapattakakhaṇḍa is in 72. 41 the name of a ford of the Mahaveliganga. The remaining names occur only in this passage. Of these Padīvāpi (v. 34) might be identical with the Padaviya tank in the north-east corner of the North Central Province, 40 miles from Anurādhapura. Cf. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 202.

38 These decayed tanks the Ruler had restored to their original state and in the same way four hundred and sixty-seven small 39 tanks which had been destroyed. In many tanks the King well aware of the right moment, had breaches (a total of) one thousand three hundred and ninety-five (in number) 40 dammed up so that they were firm again. The King also had a canal constructed, called Gambhīrā (the deep), which started at the flood-escape called Makara of the Parakkama-41 samudda. (He also constructed) the great canal by name Hemavatī which branched off from the same (tank) in 42 the direction of the Mahameghavana; in the same way the canal known by the name of Nilavahini which started 43 from the sluice called Malatipuppha of the same (tank) and the canal Salalavatī by name which branched off from the 44 Kīļākaruyyāna sluice; further the great canal called Vettavatī which took its start from the sluice known by the name of 45 Vettavatī; the canal Tungabhaddā coming from the Dakkhiņā sluice and the canal Mangalaganga which branched off from the sluice called Mangala, as well as the canal called Campa 46 from the sluice near the Candi gate. (He built) also the Sarasvatī (canal) which branched off from the Toyavāpi and led to Punnavaddhanavapi and the Venumati (canal) from its 47 western side; further the (canal) Yamuna which branched off from the Punnavaddhana tank to the west and the Sarabhū 48 (canal) which ran northwards; also the canal called Candabhaga which flowed through the centre of the Lakkhuyyana, and the Nammada (canal) which branched off in the domain of the 49 Jetavana-vihāra; further the canal named Neranjarā which flowed from that tank in a northerly direction, and the 50 Bhagirathi, which started from the Anotatta tank; as also the (canal) called Avattaganga which branched off from there to the south and the Tambapanni (canal) which flowed from 51 the Ambala tank towards the north; the Aciravati (canal) which ran westwards from the Mahāvālukagangā, fitted for 52 many a long year to prevent famine, and the Gomati (canal) which branching off from there flowed eastwards, and the 53 Malapaharani (canal) running northwards; also the canals flowing eastwards from the Aciravatī: the Sataruddhā, Nibbindā, Dhavala and Sīdā; further the Kālindī canal which flowed 54 in a southerly direction from the southern overflow of the vast Manihīra tank; as also the canal called Kāverī which 55 flowed from the Giritalaka tank to the Kadduravaddhamana tank, and the Somavatī canal running from the Kaddura- 56 vaddhamana tank to the Arimaddavijayaggama (tank). The 57 Monarch also constructed the Godavari canal which branched off from the Karaganga and flowed to the Parakkamasagara.1 (Lastly) the Prince had the ruined canal called Jayaganga 58 restored. It branched off from the Kālavāpi and flowed to Anuradhapura. Five hundred and thirty-four small canals he 59 had constructed and three thousand three hundred which had been destroyed he restored to what they had been before. In 60 the province of the Yuvarāja (Dakkhinadesa) the discerning Sovereign had numerous works of various kinds constructed at numbers of places. On the site of the house where he was 61

1 The names mentioned in vv. 40-57 show how strong was the tendency to call new buildings and the like after ancient and sacred places. Mahameghavana and Jetavana are of course called respectively after the park and the monastery in Anuradhapura. Hemavatī is the skr. Haimavatī, a name of the Ganges. Sarasvatī and Yamunā are well known rivers in Northern India. Vetravati is a tributary of the Yamuna, now called Betwa. Kalindi (v. 54) is a frequent name for the Yamunā (see BR. s. v.). Nammadā is the skr. Narmadā, now the Nerbudda whose valley bounds the Vindhya mountains in the south. Tungabhadra is the name of a river in the Dekkan, likewise Kaveri, Godavarī and quite in the south in Tinnevelli, the Tamraparnī. The Bhagīrathī (v. 49) is the name of one of the sources of the Ganges, and the Gomati is a left tributary of the same stream. The Aciravati is so named after a river which flows past Savatthi = skr. Śravasti, now the Raptī. The Neranjarā is called after the river at the sacred place where Buddha received Enlightenment (OLDENBERG, Buddha, p. 129). Campa (v. 45) is the name of an old Indian town in Anga near the present Bhagalpur in Bengal. Candrabhāgā, Āvartakā, Veņumatī are Indian river names (BR. s. v.). Nibbinda (v. 53) corresponds perhaps to the Nirvindhyā named in Meghadūta 28. Anotatta (v. 49) which was situated in the country of the mythical Uttarakurus was made sacred according to Vin. I. 28° by a visit of the Buddha.

2 Now Yodi Ela.

79.62

born in Punkhagāma¹ he erected the Sūtighara-cetiya one
62 hundred and twenty cubits high. He had twenty-two relic
shrines erected, thirty-seven Bodhi Trees (planted), one hundred
63 image houses, fifteen caves, twenty-one dwellings for the
community in the four regions of the heavens and eighty64 seven rest-houses for strangers. He put up chapels with altars
for flowers, twenty-nine in number, seven sermon halls as well
65 as five outer walls and forty-three images of divers kinds.
66 He restored twenty-four ruined image houses. The Mahāgallaka
tank² and the Tālaggallaka tank, the Rājinī weir³, the weir
67 called Telapakka, the weir on the Jajjarā⁴ and the Vilattākhanda
(weir) the Monarch made fast for the flourishing of the harvest

68 in the land. Three hundred and fifty-eight damaged places

69 in tanks and the stone sluices on thirteen tanks as well as one hundred and sixty locks and small tanks which were damaged, thirty-seven in number — these the Monarch had repaired.

70 Also in the province of Rohana the King who had delight in meritorious works, had divers buildings erected in villages 71 and market towns. On the site of his mother's pyre in Khīra-

gama<sup>6</sup> the Monarch (erected) the Ratanavali-cetiya, one hundred 72 and twenty cubits<sup>7</sup> in height. Further (he founded) sixteen

1 See note to 61. 26. The height of the tope was roughly 180 ft.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mhvs. 68. 34 and 43.

<sup>3</sup> P. nijjhara. See note to v. 28. What is here called nijjhara is probably the same as vāri(saṃ) pāta Mhvs. 48. 148; 68. 35, 37.

<sup>4</sup> Probably an allusion to the great irrigation works described in Mhvs. 68. 16 ff. which needed repair. In the case of a river nijjharu means the dam (setu) built in it through which a part of the water is conducted into a lateral canal. If the river has a large volume of water, it flows over the dam and forms a "fall" like the flood-escape in a tank.

<sup>5</sup> P. avarane. I believe this is meant for the shafts and the apparatus for regulating the outflow of the water at the sluices (see note 1 to v. 27).

6 See note to 74. 163.

<sup>7</sup> That is 180 ft. The size (āyāma) probably refers to the height. According to H. W. Codrington (letter of 1-4-28), the measurement of the tope of Badalkumbura gave a circumference of 926 ft. which would in fact give a height of about 180 ft.

relic shrines, seven Bodhi Trees and also vast Bodhi temples and seventy Bodhi Tree terraces and two-storeyed image 73 houses forty-three in number, two sermon halls and seventyfive images, thirty-seven dwellings for the community from 74 the four regions of the heavens, forty-seven outer walls and twenty gate-buildings; also fifty-nine rest-houses for guests, 75 four parks and three statues of the Metteyya. After the 76 Sovereign had then built five dancing-halls, he had everything here and there which was broken down and decayed restored. Thirty-seven thupas, twenty-two Bodhi Tree terraces, two 77 hundred and seventy-four large image houses, one relic temple, 78 seven temples for images in recumbent posture, forty caves and four brick houses; four long pasadas, and six three-storeyed 79 pāsādas, twenty-nine sermon halls and three cloisters, one 80 hundred and twenty-six dwelling-houses, one hundred and twenty-eight houses for books and four rest-houses for guests, twenty-four temples to the gods, one hundred and three 81 tower-gates, one hundred and twenty-six outer walls these all the Sovereign had restored. The Ruler also made 82 fast two hundred and sixteen leaking tanks belonging to the community, like the great Uruvela tank and the Pandukolamba tank and others, further eighteen decayed sluice locks and two 83 hundred and five ruined small tanks. On ten tanks he repaired 84 the stone sluices and here and there he had forty-four canals dug.

By constructing in this way beautiful vihāras, gardens, 85 tanks and the like he adorned with these numerous (works) the whole of Lankā.

Thus Parakkamabahu, the Ruler of men, by whom were 86 performed divers and numerous kinds of meritorious works, who continually found the highest satisfaction in the teaching

<sup>1</sup> P. bodhikotthake. Here also kotthaka (see above note to v. 28) is used in the sense of walling up. It is a usual custom to surround the sacred trees with a terrace, even if it consist merely of stones heaped together.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This verse ends the first continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa ascribed to Dhammakitti. See my edition of the Cülavaṃsa I. Introd. p. III.

of the Master, who was endowed with extraordinary energy and discernment, carried on the government for thirty-three years.

Here ends the seventy-ninth chapter, called «The Laying out of Gardens and the Like», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The same number of years in Pūjāv. and Rājaratn. Rājāv. 32 years.

## CHAPTER LXXX

## THE SIXTEEN KINGS

Thereupon the sister's son of this Great king, the wise 1 poet sovereign King Vijayabāhu¹, became monarch in Lankā. When he had received consecration as king the prudent one 2 in his great mercy released from their misery those dwellers in Lankā whom his uncle, the Sovereign Parakkama, had 8 thrown into prison and tortured with stripes or with fetters. By restoring at different places to various people their village 4 or their field he increased the joyfulness² of them all. As 5

<sup>1</sup> In Polonnaruva there is an inscription of Vijayabahu II. which supplements the account of our chronicle (Wickremasinghe EZ. II. 179 ff.). In it he also describes himself as sister's son of Parakkamabahu. We know three sisters of this king, but I doubt if any of these three was the mother of Vijayabāhu II. Wickremasinghe thinks she was Bhaddavatī, the wife of Gajabāhu, who would in fact be the most likely. But in 70. 333 (cf below note to v. 31) we have the distinct statement that Gajabāhu had no son. This is not easy to get over. I am inclined to think that there was a fourth unnamed sister of Parakkamabāhu's married to a Kalinga prince. Then it would be intelligible (cf. below, note to v. 18) that Vijayabāhu, the son of this prince and of a sister of Parakkamabahu, should in his turn, appoint a Kalinga prince as his successor, and that the latter should describe him as head of the clan. The inscription relates further that Vijayabāhu was in Simhapura, the capital of Kalinga, when Parakkama summoned him to Lanka. Parakkama's relations with the Kalinga dynasty are intelligible. He had himself Kalinga blood in his veins through his grandmother Tilokasundarī whom Vijayabāhu I. fetched from this dynasty to secure the continuance of his house (Mhvs. 59. 29 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 3 and 4 show Parakkamabāhu in a curious light. According to this account, he was a severe if not cruel ruler, who made his subjects slave that he might gratify his love of splendour. Vijayabāhu II. grants an amnesty at his accession.

80, 20

Alaka for (the god) Kubera and Amaravatī for Sakka, so was 6 Pulatthinagara for him the royal city. He himself composed in the Magadha tongue a most excellent letter, sent it to the 7 monarch living in Arimaddana1, concluded with this beloved

(prince) a friendly treaty as aforetime his great grandfather

8 Vijayabāhu<sup>2</sup>, and (being) highly famed, to increase the joy of the bhikkhus in the land of Lanka and Arimaddana, he made

9 the Order of the Buddha lustrous. As the Ruler departed not from any precept of the political teaching of Manu, he rejoiced the people through the four heart-winning qualities.

10 Endowed with kindness, purity and other virtues, he found his highest satisfaction in the triad of the jewels, Buddha and

11 the like. Of most excellent character he, ever joyous in spirit,

12 provided the bhikkhus with the four articles of use. Manifesting great exertion, he like a wise Bodhisatta, everywhere

13 in every way interested himself in all beings. Shunning the four wrongful paths3 he in his great insight, practised in the exercise of justice, towards good and evil favour and severity.

14 Thus this Monarch respected by the laity and the Order, performing many meritorious works, carried on the government for one year4.

Now after a traitor, Mahinda by name, of the Kulinga clan5, who had won as his spouse a cowherd's daughter, Dī-

<sup>1</sup> The capital of Rāmañña (Lower Burma, Pegu). Cf. Mhvs. 76. 38. We see from this passage that the Magadha tongue, that is Pali, was the medium of international intercourse, in the same way as Latin in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Vijayabāhu I. is called not quite correctly, the grandfather (pitāmaha) of Vijayabāhu II. For his relations with Rāmañňa see Mhvs. 60. 5 ff.

3 See note to 37. 108.

4 The same length of reign in the Pūjāv. in which the King's name is given as Pauditavijayabāhu. He has the same name in the Nik.-s. and Rajaratn.

<sup>5</sup> W. translates "Mahinda of Kalinga" and gives a wrong colouring to the affair. The MSS, have Kulingo and also the Col. Ed. The clan name of the Kulinga occurs already in Mhvs. 19. 2. Pūjāv. calls the usurper Kilinkesdā Mihindādipāņo (kesdā is kesadhātu). Rājaratn. and

pani by name, had treacherously slain the Monarch, (he) the 16 deluded one without gaining the consent of the generals, of the warriors, of the indignant inhabitants of the country and 17 of the whole of the dignitaries, carried on in most evil fashion the government in Lanka for five days.

After his murder the Uparaja of King Vijayabahu, born in 18 Kalinga, Kittinissanka by name<sup>1</sup>, became king. After he had 19 received royal consecration he had built in superb Pulatthinagara a beautiful temple of stone for the Tooth Relic2. He had the 20 lofty Ratanavali-cetiva made firm and embellished the splendid

Nik.-s. Kilinkesdā Mihindu, and Rājāv. merely Kilinkesdā. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. like the Mhvs. give him a reign of just five days.

1 King Nissanka Malla has left many and ample inscriptions. Ed. MÜLLER has edited 15 of them in the AIC (nr. 143 ff.) WICKRE-MASINGHE 18 in all, EZ. (I. 121 ff., II. 70, 84, 91, 96, 98, 123, 125, 128, 130, 134, 137, 143, 146, 148, 153, 157, 165 ff.). Their contents are very similar. With regard to his descent we learn (for ex. in the famous Galpota inscription in Polonnaruva, EZ. II. 98 ff.) that he was born in the Kalinga country in the town of Simhapura as son of the King Jayagopa and the Queen Parvatī. The Great king of Lanka the Chief of the clan (kula-jețu) - without doubt Vijayabāhu II. is meant had summoned him thither to take over the government. He had been at first prince and viceroy and had then ascended the throne in virtue of the law of succession. This right is frequently stressed in the inscriptions and justified by his descent from Vijaya, the first king of Lanka. Without doubt this right was much disputed and it looks as if the bombastic style of Nissanka Malla's inscriptions had the object of increasing the prestige of the new Kālinga dynasty in Ceylon.

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions (for ex. Galpota-I., C, line 1) and the Heta-da-ge portico inscr., 1. 19; EZ. II. 89 and 113) Nissanka Malla claims to have built the dalada-geya, which was named after him, as well as the vatageya. This last is evidently the so-called Vata-da-ge on the Quadrangle which was, however, in reality, a work of Parakkamabahu I. and probably only restored by Nissanka Malla. See note to 78.41. What the daludā-geya was and where it was situated is not certain. One is inclined to think first of the Heta-da-ge situated opposite the Vata-da-ge. That is according to the inscriptions on the building itself, apparently a work of Nissanka Malla. But in spite of its traditional title, it was probably not a  $d\bar{a}$ - $g\bar{e}$ , a "relic shrine" but an "image house". Cf. the note to 78.39. As dā-gē the Sat-mahal-pāsāda might merit consideration, unless this is a work of Parakkamabahu I. (note to 78. 42).

80.21

- 21 structure with a golden point1. After building the vihara2 adorned with a hundred pasadas which bore his name, he made it over to the bhikkhu community and supported it.
- 22 The Jambukola-vihāra resplendent with walls and pillars shimmering in gold and silver, where the floor was of red
- 23 lead and the bricks of the roof were of gold, the wise (Monarch) had rebuilt and placed therein seventy-three golden statues of
- 24 the Master<sup>3</sup>. With the four-membered army the Ruler full of pious devotion, went forth to the Samantakuta and performed
- 25 there his devotions4, and everywhere on the island of Tambapanni<sup>5</sup> he had flower gardens and fruit gardens and numbers
- 26 of houses for the community laid down 6. While in this way
  - 1 The tope is therefore called even to-day, the Rankot-Dagoba "Golden point dagoba". It has nothing, however, to do with the Mahāthūpa in Polonnaruva with which it is associated in the index to my edition. The Rankot lies to the south of the Alahana-parivena. The height is given in the Galpota inscription C, line 2 as 80 cubits (= 120 ft.). The Rankot-Dāgoba Gal-āsana inscr. (EZ. II. 134 ff.), belongs to the time at which that Dagoba was built. The expression bandhapeti "has made fast or firm" is, as a rule, employed of the restoration of old buildings.
    - 2 Not vet identified.
  - 3 The famous cave temples of Dambul are situated about 47 miles north of Kandy on the road to Anuradhapura. There is an inscription on the rock wall there of Nissanka Malla (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 121 ff.) in which at the end, he boasts of having constructed or embellished these caves and of having given them the name of Suvarnagiriguhā. The 73 statues set up by the king are also mentioned in the Prītidānakamandapa inscr. line 30 (EZ. II. 173).
  - 4 The inscriptions mention repeatedly the journeys of the King to the sacred places of the Island. Adam's Peak (Samantakūta = Sinh. Samanala) is expressly mentioned in the inscription on the vestibule wall of the Heta-da-ge (1. 3 EZ. II. 94).
  - 5 The ancient name for Ceylon, originally of that part in particular where Vijaya landed. See Mhvs. 6. 47, 7. 38 f., 41.
  - 6 In the inscriptions the King also boasts repeatedly of successful campaigns against the Colas, Pandyas and other peoples in Southern India. It is almost impossible to disentangle the historical facts from the exaggerations. In the kingdom itself he claims to have increased the prosperity of the people by lightening taxation, by the laying out of gardens and tanks and by a generous giving of alms. He claims also to have reformed the Church. The mention of the fixing of the

day by day the Ruler accumulated many a merit, he carried on the government for nine years in most excellent fashion.

His son, the King known by the name of Vīrabāhu<sup>2</sup>, 27 hereupon ruled for one night and then fell into the power of death.

Thereupon the younger brother of that same king Kitti- 28 nissanka, King Vikkamabāhu³, enjoyed the royal dignity for three months. He was slain by the Ruler Codaganga, 29 a sister's son of King Nissanka, who carried on the government for nine months. Thereupon the powerful general Kitti had 30 the eyes of this king put out, deposed him and had the government carried on for three years without mishap by 31 Līlāvatī, the first mahesī of the sovereign Parakkamabāhu.

gāvuta and of the setting up of milestones is interesting (Inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Heta-da-ge, line 12; EZ. II. 94). Mr. H.W. Codrington has actually discovered a number of such gavuta stones with inscriptions (letter of 1-4-28). They stand along the ancient high road (Mahagama-Kataragama-Buttala-Medagama-Bibile-(Mahiyangana).

- <sup>1</sup> The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. These and the Rājaratn. ascribe the same merit to Nissanka Malla as the Mhvs. The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish like the inscriptions, between the temple of the Tooth Relic and the circular building. The number of the statues set up in the Dambul-vihāra is given in the Pūjāv. as 72, in the Rājaratn. as 63.
- <sup>2</sup> In the Galpota inscr. B, line 1-2 (EZ. II. 111) he is called the son of Nissanka Malla. Pūjāv. also mentions that his reign only lasted one night.
- 3 Mentioned in the inser, of the vestibule wall of the Heta-da-go line 13-14 as apa "prince". Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him the same length of reign as the Mhvs.
- 4 The same in Pūjāv. In Rājāv. Codaganga is mentioned as the general who carried on the government for three years for Lilavati. Kitti is therefore not mentioned at all here.
- <sup>5</sup> Pūjūv. like the Mhvs., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. enumerates only the names Vīrabāhu, Vikkamabāhu, Codaganga, Līlāvatī without other details. Līlāvatī was the daughter of Sirivallabha and Sugalā. Codaganga (in the form of Colaganga) and Vikkamabāhu (Vikkantabahu) are named as princes (rajaputta) who lived at the court of Gajabāhu (70. 238), but were not his sons (cf. 70. 333).

Thereupon King Sāhasamalla of the race of Okkāka, a lion in courage, carried on the government for two years.

33 Then having deposed this Monarch, the general Ayasmanta<sup>2</sup>, a man of almost unsurpassable courage, a supporter of his

- 34 royal family, prudently had the government carried on with wise policy for six months by Kalyānavatī, the first mahesī
- 35 of Kittinissanka<sup>3</sup>. This Queen Kalyānavatī, who was devoted to the Order of the Master, had a vihāra called after her,
- 86 built in the village Pannasalaka by name, for love of the village, and assigned it villages, fields, articles of use, slaves,
- 37 gardens and so forth. With her consent, the general Ayasmanta, who administered the government in all Lanka, who came of
- 38 the Khandhavara family, sent the Adhikarin Deva to charming Valliggama, had a vihara erected there and assigned to the
- 39 Great community. He built the parivens known by his name
- 40 of Sarājakulavaddhana<sup>5</sup> and caring for its support, he assigned

1 Pūjāv. the same. In Rājāv. there is only mention of a king of the Okkāka family (without the name) who reigned 9 years. There is an inscription of Sāhasamalla in Polonnaruva with the exact date of his coming to the throne in the Buddha era (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 219 ff.), according to which Fleet has calculated the event as occurring on Wednesday, the 23 rd of August, 1200 A. D. (Fleet, JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331). This is the first absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon. See E. Hultzsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 518; Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 123, note 4; II. 220; H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 67. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Pūjāv. and Rājāv. call him Elaļu Ābō Senevirat. This is the same general who appears in inscriptions as Lak Vijayasingu Senevi Ābōnāvan Tāvurunāvan (EZ. II. 112, line 15; 226, l. 19). Wickeemasinghe EZ. II. 191 shows that probably Āyasmanta is the same as the Kitti mentioned in v. 30 who calls himself in an inscription Lag Vijayasingu Kit Seniviyan and describes himself as the minister of Līlāvatī (E. Müller, AlC. Nr. 157).

<sup>3</sup> Kalyāṇavatī is mentioned in inscriptions of Nissanka Malla (for ex. EZ. II. 94, line 13 and 111, l. 2) under the form Kalyāṇa. A short inscription of hers is also preserved in Bopitiya (EZ. II. 190 ff.) in which she calls herself Kalyāṇavatī. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give her a reign of 6 years.

<sup>4</sup> See 90. 96.

5 That means "furtherer of his royal family". See v. 33. I am now inclined to believe that there and here we should read with W. sarā-jakulavaddhana (= svarāj°) not sa r°.

it villages and fields surrounded by parks and the like and which could scarcely be visited by a bad harvest, together with articles of use and slaves male and female. Having 41 scrupulously separated the four castes who had become impure through mixture, he bent on doing good, had a text book compiled which had law as its subject.

Thereupon there reigned for one year a royal prince 42 Dhammāsoka by name, who on coming to the throne was aged three months. The Mahādipāda Anīkanga came at the 43 head of a great army from the Cola kingdom, slew the ruler in Pulatthinagara, Prince Dhammāsoka, together with the 44 general Āyasmanta and reigned seventeen days. But the 45 general, Vikkantacamūnakka, the villain, slew the Monarch Anīkanga and had the government carried on for a year by 46 the first consort of King Parakkamabāhu, Līlāvatī by name, who had already reigned before.

Now came King Lokissara by name, who had been 47 wounded in the shoulder by a spear, with a great Damila army from the opposite shore, brought the whole of Lanka 48 under his sway and reigned, dwelling in Pulatthinagara, nine months. Hereupon the general Parakkama, the best among 49 men of decision, endowed with great power and courage, belonging to the family of the Kālanāgaras, consecrated the 50 Mahesī Līlāvatī<sup>5</sup> who came of the dynasty of the Sun and Moon, in the royal dignity, she who afterward shone in royal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pūjāv. the same. In Rājāv. it is expressly stated that it was Āyasmanta who raised the prince to the throne. The prince's age at his ascent of the throne is given as 5 months, the length of Āyasmanta's regency as 6 years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the general is called Manakkā Senevi. The length of the regency is given as one year.

<sup>4</sup> Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 5 months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Līlāvatī thus enjoyed the royal dignity nominally at least three times (v. 30 f., 45 f., 49 f.). For inscriptions of this queen see EZ. I. 176 ff., II. 192 ff., 238 ff. The last named was found at Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruva and says that the queen had this building restored. It was one of the foundations of Parakkamabāhu I. For the general Parakkama see Dāṭhāvaṃsa v. 4.

51 splendour. When then a space of about seven months had passed for the Mahesi, there landed with a great Pandu army 52 from the Pandu kingdom the glorious Pandu King Parakkama, 53 deposed the Queen and her general Parakkama and after he had cleared Lanka from the briers (of revolt), he ruled the realm in superb Pulatthinagara for three years2, without 54 transgressing the political precepts of Manu. But since in consequence of the enormously accumulated, various evil deeds 55 of the dwellers in Lanka, the devatas who were everywhere entrusted with the protection of Lanka, failed to carry out 56 this protection, there landed a man who held to a false creed, whose heart rejoiced in bad statesmanship, who was a forest fire for the burning down of bushes in the forest of the good, 57 — that is of generosity and the like — who was a sun whose action closed the rows of night lotus flowers - that is the good doctrine - and a moon for destroying the grace of the groups 58 of the day lotuses — that is of peace — (a man) by name Māgha, an unjust king sprung from the Kālinga line, in 59 whom reflection was fooled by his great delusion, landed as leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kalinga 60 country and conquered the island of Lanka. The great scorching fire - King Magha - commanded his countless flames of fire - his warriors - to harass the great forest - the 61 kingdom of Lanka3. While thus his great warriors oppressed the people, boasting cruelly everywhere: "We are Kerala 62 warriors", they tore from the people their garments, their ornaments and the like, corrupted the good morals of the 63 family which had been observed for ages, cut off hands and feet and the like (of the people), destroyed many houses and tied up cows, oxen and other (cattle) which they made their 64 own property. After they had put fetters on the wealthy and rich people and had tortured them and taken away all

their possessions, they made poor people of them. They wreck- 65 ed the image houses, destroyed many cetivas, ravaged the vihāras and maltreated the lay brethren. They flogged the 66 children, tormented the five (groups of the) comrades of the Order1, made the people carry burdens and forced them to do heavy labour. Many books known and famous they tore 67 from their cord and strewed them hither and thither. The 68 beautiful, vast, proud cetiyas like the Ratanavalī(-cetiya) and others which embodied as it were, the glory of former pious kings, they destroyed by overthrowing them and allowing 69 alas! many of the bodily relics, their souls as it were, to disappear. Thus the Damila warriors in imitation of the 70 warriors of Mara, destroyed in the evil of their nature, the laity and the Order. Hereupon they completely invested 71 Pulatthinagara and captured Parakkama, that man of great might and valour. They put out the Monarch's eyes and 72 plundered all his treasures, pearls, jewels and so forth. Then 73 the leaders of the soldiers with Manabharana at the head, consecrated the Kalinga Magha to the glorious royal dignity of Lanka.

Now after the Ruler Māgha had in this manner taken 74 possession of the kingdom and attained the royal dignity, he dwelt in Pulatthinagara. The Monarch forced the people to 75 adopt a false faith and he brought great confusion into the four sharply divided castes. Villages and fields, houses and 76 gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to the Sīhalas he had delivered up to the Keralas. The vihāras, the 77 parivenas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or other of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to 78

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same in Pūjāv.; Rājāv. 4 months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The same in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

<sup>3</sup> In verses 56-60 the compiler gives specimens of his intimacy with the rules of Indian poetics — alamkāra. The comparisons belong to the species rūpaka. Cf. Dandin, Kāvyādarša 2.66 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. sahadhammike, that is the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, the novices, sāmaņerā, of ma'e and female sex, and the young girls who were being prepared for the profession of nuns (sikkhamānā).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here for the first time the now customary name (Sinh. Ruvanväli) is used for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "their life" (jīvitam).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> V. 41 ab must be compared with 75 c d. The "false faith" was Hinduism.

the Buddha and were the property of the holy Order he seized and thus committed a number of sins in order to go to hell.

79 In this fashion committing deeds of violence, the Ruler Magha held sway in Lanka for twenty-one years.

Thus in Lanka this and that ruler out of great lust for power, have slain this and that lord of men, but have themselves in consequence of these deeds, attained to no good old age, and even when they had achieved the kingly dignity, they could not alas! enjoy it for long. Hence the wise man should refrain from the destruction of living beings and renounce wanton lust for power.

Here ends the eightieth chapter, called «The Sixteen Kings», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The same in Pūjāv. According to Rājāv. 19 years. The description of Māgha's reign in both chronicles agrees entirely with that of the Mhvs. Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. continue their enumeration of the names (cf. note to 80.31). In the first: Sāmagalla (read Sāhasamalla), Kalyāṇavatī, Dharmāśoka, Nekaṅga, Änilīlāvatī, Lokeśvara, Līlāvatī, Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu; in the second: Sāhasamalla, Kalyāṇavatī, Dharmāśoka, Āniyaṅgana Līlāvatī, Lokeśvara, Līlāvatī, Parākramapāṇḍi. Then there follows in Rājaratn. the account of the tyrannical reign of the Kāliṅga Megha. Nik.-s. has the form Māgha.

## CHAPTER LXXXI

#### THE REIGN OF ONE KING

During this alien rule¹ several virtuous people had founded 1 on divers of the most inaccessible mountains a charming town (or) a village² and dwelling here and there protected the laity 2 and the Order so that they were in peace. On the summit of the Subha mountain³ hard to ascend by the foe, the Senāpati 3 Subha had founded a town, as Vessavaņa the town Ālakamandā, and dwelling here and fending off the Keraļa devils, he protected 4 the (surrounding) country and the Order. On the summit of the Govindamala⁴ hard to reach by the rebels, the Ādipāda 5 ruler Bhuvanekabāhu by name, whose courage was known to the world, had founded a town and by dwelling there, he 6 protected the province of Rohana, the community of the bhikkhus and the Order⁵.

- <sup>1</sup> P. rājantara (cf. 87.46) formed like desantara. The translation "interregnum" is also permissible, since no lawful kings reigned.
- <sup>2</sup> P. nagaram gāmam. When in the sequel the buildings on the rocks are designated as nagarāni the reason is probably that larger settlements arose at the foot of the rock fortresses and under the protection of these. The word nagara is associated with the idea of a permanent stronghold.
- <sup>3</sup> Subhapabbata, now Yāpahu (= yahapavu = P. yasapabbata), an isolated rock like Sīgiri, not far from Maho. Cf. H. C. P. Bell, ASC-1910-11 = X. 1914, p. 52 ff.; 1911-12, p. 60 ff.; F. H. Modder, JRAS. C. B. XIII, nr. 44, 1893, p. 97 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> This form of the name is hardly right. The Col. Ed. has altered it into Govindācala. I should rather propose Govindasela, since its name to-day is Govindahela. The Govindahela is known by the name of "Westninster Abbey". This imposing rock rises 20 miles west of Tirukkovil, south of the village of Bovala in the Mahavedirata Korale (Census, 1921, II, p. 460). Cf. F. Lewis, JRAS. C. B. 1908, nr. 61, p. 167 ff.; 1914, nr. 67, p. 279 ff.
- <sup>5</sup> When bhikkhusangha and sāsana are named together here, the first means the persons, the second the thing, that is the doctrine and the free practice of it in the Order.

7 In the same way again the general called Sankha founded in the district Manimekhala by name, on the lofty mountain

8 Gangādoni a superb town and while dwelling there, gave as little heed to the infamous army of the Ruler Māgha, though

9 it was but two yojanas away, as to a blade of grass and protected without fear that district and the Order.

Now at that time there was a king known by the name of Vijayabāhu, belonging to the line of King Samghabodhi<sup>1</sup>, a

11 man of splendid courage who after he had through fear of the foe withdrawn to divers inaccessible forests and had long dwelt there, attained the dignity of a king of the Vanni.

12 The mighty one brought all the dignitaries of the Sīhalas

13 under his influence, marched forth with a Sihala army and destroyed the whole of the four-membered forces of the foe which were armed for battle, as a mighty name of fire<sup>3</sup>

14 (destroys) the darkness. All the Damila warriors who dwelt as they pleased in the single villages and houses he drove

15 forth. After he had freed superb Mayarattha from the briers (of the foe), the Ruler built on the lofty summit of the

16 Jambuddoni<sup>5</sup> mountain a splendid town with fine walls and gate-towers, resided there in happiness and carried on the government as capable monarch.

1 Sirisamghabodhi I. See Mhvs. 36.73 ff.

- <sup>2</sup> Here the tribe of the Vanni is mentioned for the first time. The name does not occur in the older Mahāvamsa nor in the Cūlavamsa of Dhammakitti. The Vannis live to-day, but a few hundred in number, in small villages on the northern frontier of the North-Central Province. They go in for agriculture and preferably for hunting. Their origin is unknown. The surrounding inhabitants call them Veddas as a rule, and the Census of 1921 evidently includes them among these. They themselves repudiate all connection with the Veddas on whom they look down with contempt. Cf. H. Parker, The Vanniyas, The Taprobanian, Feb. 1887, p. 15 ff.; and Ancient Ceylon, p. 36 ff.
  - <sup>3</sup> I'. tejakkhandha, synonym for aggikkhandha.
- <sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that in this second continuation of the Cūlavaṃsa the names Dakkhinadesa and Rājarattha vanish and are replaced by Māyārattha and Patiṭṭhāratṭha. Cf. note to 81.46.
- <sup>5</sup> Now Dambadeniya, about 18 miles south-west of Kurunegala. Cf. F. H. Modder, JRAS. C. B., XV, nr. 48, 1897, p. 23 ff.

And further: during these disturbed times all the Grand 17 theras with Vacissara at the head, had carried away from Pulatthinagara the Almsbowl Relic and the Tooth Relic of the Master, had gone forth, had betaken themselves to 18 Māvārattha and there on the mountain Kotthumala in a safe 19 region had buried both the relics carefully in the earth and so preserved them<sup>1</sup>. Now some of these Grand theras with 20 Vācissara at the head, who sought that protection for Lanka on which depended the continuance of the Order, had crossed 21 the vast ocean, despite its raging waves, had betaken themselves to the lands of the Pandus, Colas and other (peoples). Now 22 Vijayabāhu sending forth his great dignitaries, summoned all these theras who were a mine of mercy back from there. When 23 the Grand theras arrived he greeted them with reverence and asked them: "Where are the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl preserved"? At their answer, "In such and such a 24 place", the Monarch's whole body was filled with a fivefold joy3. Led by the crowd of the Grand theras, the Ruler set 25 forth with his army for the Kotthumala mountain. After he 26 had performed a great sacrificial festival round about the mountain, he beheld there gazing with his whole soul's, the

- <sup>2</sup> Ye karunākarā cannot refer to Vijayabāhu, but only to te mahāthere.
- <sup>3</sup> Lit. "one whose whole body was filled with..." The five kinds of joy are according to Childens (P. D. s. v. pīti) khuddakā p. "slight joy", khanikā p. "momentary joy", akkantikā p. "joy that comes like a sudden shock", ubbegap., "transporting joy" (that will make you leap into the air) and pharanap., "all-pervading joy".
- <sup>4</sup> The King marches round the mountain with his attendants as a pilgrim walks round a holy place and has sacrificial ceremonies performed at the four cardinal points.
- <sup>5</sup> P. cakkhumano. W's translation "with great delight" is too weak. We have here a formation like himsamano Dh. 390 (DhCo. IV. 148 = kodhamano) "whose intention was the eye, that is gazing".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn. agree with the Cūlavamsa as regards the rescue of the two relics from Pulatthinagara and the bringing of them to Māyāraṭṭha. The chronicles call the mountain Kotmalaya. The thera Vācissara is not mentioned. In our passage khemaṭṭhānamhi in v. 19 b must be understood as appositional addition to padesamhi.

81, 27

27 two relics of the Tooth and of the Almsbowl. With a heart as full of joy as if he had found a jewel like the wheel and the rest or a great treasure, or as if he had attained Nirvana, 28 the Sovereign took unto himself the two relics and blessed like Mandhatar<sup>2</sup>, he bore them with great celebrations from 29 village to village, from town to town and brought them to the beautiful city of Jambuddoni where the pious people began 30 a great and splendid festival. Now while the wise King day by day celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the relics, 31 he thought thus: "In order that if in future time another interregnum<sup>8</sup> occurs, no evil from alien enemies shall befall 32 these relics of the Sage, I will carefully provide for them a still 33 more inaccessible place, fast and sure." Thus pondering he had the Billasela (mountain) made fast on every side with walls, gate-34 towers and the like, that save by the gods in the air, it could not be trodden by any human foes. And on the summit of the rock he built a superb temple for the Tooth Relic, 35 ravishing as a divine palace descended from the world of the gods. Around this he laid out a park for the community with 36 divers pasadas and mandapas, delightful for taking an airing when passing the day or when passing the night therein, 37 provided with lakes and bathing-ponds. In this relic temple the wise (monarch) had the two relics, Tooth and Bowl, carefully 38 placed with great solemnity. After making over the park for the community to the faithful theras who were charged with

<sup>1</sup> P. cakkādiratanam. This refers to the seven jewels which belong to the cakkavattin or world ruler (cf. Childens, s. v. ratana); the first of these is cakka the wheel, as symbol of world dominion.

<sup>2</sup> See 37. 53 and note.

the care of the relics, he decreed a regular offering of alms.

Also he commanded that a sacrificial ceremony of surpassing 39 kind should be performed for the relics day by day in most perfect fashion.

Vijayabāhu III

Now in his faith the Sovereign set about rendering helpful 40 service to the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. If one asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply 41 grieved in his heart that on the island of Lanka so many books that dealt with the true doctrine had been destroyed by the alien foe, the Ruler called together laymen endowed 42 with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and 43 along with these, many other writers of books and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions 44 of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with the number of the divisions the like number of gold kahāpaņas1. 45 He also performed a sacrificial festival for the doctrine and thus heaped up a fulness of merit. The theras and the middle-aged 46 and young (bhikkhus) and also the samaneras in Tisīhala who had taken on themselves the burden of a life of discipline, all these protectors of the teaching of the Master he gathered 47 together and made harmony where there had been discord. And then the Monarch pondered thus: "The ceremony of 48 admission to the Order<sup>3</sup> is the foundation of the prosperity of the Order. How would it be if I had it performed now in the right way?" And joyful at heart, he endowed the whole vast 49 reunited community richly with the eight articles of necessity4 and made them hold for seven days the ceremony of admission 50 to the Order which was preceded by offerings and honours

<sup>3</sup> Should we not read puna instead of pana in 31 b, or is pana used with the same meaning?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Now Beligals (so Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn.). This is the name of a hamlet in the Otara Pattuva of the Kegalla District and of a Korale in the same district. The Beligala Korale is mentioned in the Kadaim-pota (H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 2) as well as in the Siri Laka-kadayuru (H. Nevill, The Taprobanian, June 1888, p. 55, 60). The rock of Beligala on which the relics were hidden resembles in isolation and steepness that of Yāpahu (cf. Bell, l.1, p. 25 ff.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This account is extremely significant for the history of the tradition of the sacred texts in Ceylon. It is found also in Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This expression which refers to the threefold division of the Island into Patittharattha, Māyārattha and Rohana and which frequently recurs, is used here for the first time. Cf. note to 81.15.

<sup>3</sup> P. upasampadā.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 60. 71.

51 instituted by himself. After the Ruler had laid out the park known to the world by his name of Vijayasundara and destined

52 for the community<sup>1</sup>, he made it over to them. In his charitableness the Ruler thought: "Bhikkhus and sāmaņeras who

- 53 study the Tipitaka in faith and lead in every way the pious life that springs from it, must never be troubled about their
- 54 livelihood. They shall come to the gate of my house and receive whatever articles of use they are in need of." And he invited them full of reverence, and gave to the many
- 55 bhikkhus who came to the portals of his palace excellent and
- 56 costly offerings, well versed in giving. Then the King ordered further for all ascetics who had reached the rank of thera or
- 57 grand thera, regular maintenance. Thus in doing good to the Order the Monarch naturally honoured thereby the triad of the jewels Buddha and the others.
- In Vattalagama the King had built for the bhikkhus in a perfect manner the vihara called after his own name
- 59 Vijayabāhu. In the vihāra Kalyānī by name, the Ruler had the vast and splendid cetiya which had been destroyed by the
- 60 Damila soldiers, made fast again and a golden finial put upon it,

<sup>1</sup> This monastery is also mentioned in Pūjāv. and Rājaratn. as a foundation of Vijayabāhu. In Mhvs. 85. 90 it is called Sirivijayasundara. It was situated in Jambuddoni.

<sup>2</sup> In the Rajaratn. which is particularly concerned with Vijayabahu the following strophe is quoted in praise of the generosity of the King.

Cātuddisāyātajinatrajānam āpānabhūtam gharam āsi tassa yadicchitappaccayalābhahetu devaddumo vāsi mahānubhāvo.

"For those sons of the Victor who came from the four regions of the heavens his house became the refuge, because there they received all articles of use as they wished. Like a heavenly tree was the sublime one". The "heavenly tree" is of course, the "wishing tree" (skr. kalpadruma).

<sup>3</sup> The building of the Vijayabāhu-vihāra is also related in Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn. The village of Vattala lies on the right bank of the Kelaniganga, a little above its mouth. Thus it is not far from the Kelani-vihāra whose restoration is also mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles.

as well as a gate-tower on its eastern side. There too he restored 61 whatever was decayed in the image houses, the encircling wall and the like and on all other (buildings). The King also gave 62 the order that all pāsādas, image-houses, vihāras, parivenas, and likewise cetiyas, mandapas, outer walls, gate-towers 63 and the like which were in Māyārattha, should be put into the condition in which they were formerly, and that new buildings should be erected.

Now as the King wished to accomplish himself still more for 64 the furtherance of the laity and of the Order, he reflected thus: "At a time when I had already reached a great age and 65 youth had vanished, I gained the good fortune of the royal dignity and have until now enjoyed it. Now after the destruction 66 of all the evil foes who still remain over after the conquest and thereby to protect my people and after renewing the 67 structures of the destroyed and decayed viharas to bring about the furtherance of my people — for that I have now but a short time." With such considerations the discerning Monarch 68 together with those people versed in the lore of signs, tested the (bodily) signs of both of his own sons Parakkamabāhu 69 and Bhuvanekabāhu and attained this knowledge: "The signs on Parakkamabahu are such that he will in accordance there- 70 with accomplish through the majesty of his power the destruction of the enemy and will unite all Lanka under one umbrella, so that none shall be above him; and that he will 71 further the spotless Order of the Omniscient one; will spread his fame over the chief and the intermediate regions of the heavens; will receive from the most divers countries gifts as princesses for 72 his women's apartments and the like, and will be for long a world ruler on the Island." When he realised this, with eyes 73 filled with tears of joy, he made him sit on his knee and kissed him on the head. Then he gazed again and again full of love 74 on the younger prince, who stood near, gave them twain much excellent advice, made them by training practised in all arts, 75 accomplishments and the like. Then the Ruler entrusted of 76 the twain his elder son to the assembled community at whose head stood the Grand master known by the name of Sam- 77

gharakkhita. And again he entrusted the same (thera) with the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl of the Sage, 78 as also with the whole Great community and also with the people dwelling in Lanka and ruled this himself in perfect fashion 1.

After the Sovereign had in this manner sowed the royal 79 seed in the wide field of Lanka, he entered heaven after a

reign of four years2.

Even as this Ruler of men, Vijayabahu, protected the entire world of the laity and the Order of the Victor, so should all future rulers of Lanka protect both, bestowing on them security.

Here ends the eighty-first chapter, called «The Reign of One King, in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The meaning is that the King made Samgharakkhita Head of the Church and entrusted him with the education of the heir to the throne. As head of the Order Samgharakkhita had to look after the spiritual welfare of the people over whom the King exercised secular dominion.

<sup>2</sup> According to Rājāv. the King had reigned 24 years. But according to v. 65 he only came to the throne at an advanced age.

## CHAPTER LXXXII

## THE EXHIBITION OF THE MIRACLE OF THE TOOTH RELIC

After the death of his father King Parakkamabahu 1 united the whole of the people who were in Tisīhala, adorned 2 the fair town and as if he were the peer of the King of the gods, he first of all had the ceremony of the royal consecration performed. On account of his learning he himself received 3 the famous name of Kalikala-sahicca-sabbañnupandita1. On 4 his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu he conferred the dignity of yuvaraja and made over to him a part of the kingdom. With the thought: I will make the maiden Lanka my own, 5 to no other (shall she belong), he turned his proud spirit to the destruction of the alien foe. He thought: in the first 6 place I will perform a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic of the Sage, then will I go forth to war against the Damilas, and with great pomp and ceremony he brought 7 the Tooth Relic from the Billa mountain to the splendid town of Jambuddoni<sup>2</sup>. "I have the desire at every moment when I 8 think of it to worship the Tooth Relic with devotion at the three periods of the day" - so thought the Ruler and had built 9 near his palace a fair and costly temple for the Tooth Relic. In the midst of this the King had a splendid throne set up 10 and decked with a costly covering. Out of a large precious 11

<sup>1</sup> That is "the scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age". The expression sahicca "art of poetry, literary work" = skr. sāhitya, was until now absent from the dictionaries. The Kali Age (kalikāla, kaliyuya) is the last of the four ages, the one in which we are living.

<sup>2</sup> Thus too Pūjāv. According to Rājāv., the king had brought the relic from Jambuddoni to Samiddhipura.

stone the Ruler had a casket fashioned for the Tooth Relic 12 and again as receptacle for this a large, superb, costly jewel-13 case of bright, valuable precious stones. Then for five thousand gold nikkhas<sup>1</sup> he had as receptacle for this case a second

gold nikkhas, he had as receptacie for this case a second 14 splendid chest fashioned, and then again for twenty-five thousand

- 15 silver nikkhas a third chest. Now when the King starting with the relic temple, had adorned the town, and had devoutly
- 16 celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the Tooth Relic, he took the Tooth in the lotus of his hand and spake in the midst of the Great community the following solemn declaration:
- 17 "Our sublime Buddha, god of the gods, the Sage, strong in miraculous power visited this island of Lanka three times,
- 18 and that most supreme of men went away, having sojourned here and there and having made of sixteen prominent places
- 19 spots hallowed by his use. Therefore it is that Lanka is not under the power of kings of a false faith, but under the power of kings of the true faith it flourishes in the right manner.
- 20 Aforetime also on this island the Ruler of men by name Asela, son of the Ruler Mutasiva, wise in statecraft, conquered
- 21 the Damilas Sena and Guttaka who carried on horse-dealing
  - <sup>1</sup> P. nikkha or nckkha = ved. niska, is a weight with which the precious metals are weighed. According to Abhp. 480, 888 it seems to be equal to 5 suvannas. This would agree with the Indian reckoning which makes one niska (= 1 pala = 4 or 5 suvannas) equal to 56.875 gr. The figures in our passage are certainly a fantastic exaggeration.
    - <sup>2</sup> A frequent rūpaka. Cf. Dandin 66 (note to 80.60) pāņipadma.
    - <sup>3</sup> P. saccakriyam akā. See note to 51. 56.
  - <sup>4</sup> P. pāribhogika. This is in the first place a term for relics which are reverenced as articles of use belonging to a saint, such as the almsbowl of the Buddha. In contrast to these are the bodily (sāririka) relics, as for instance the Tooth Relic. Here places are called pāribhogika because the Buddha by use (paribhogena), by sojourning there had hallowed them. The legend of Buddha's three visits to Lankā is related in Mhvs. 1. The 16 places where according to tradition he sojourned on these occasions, are given by W. in his translation p. 277, note. The nost important are Mahiyangana, Kelaniya, Adam's Peak, the sites of the various topes in Anurādhapura, Tissamahārāma etc.
  - <sup>5</sup> P. assanāvikaputte dve. W. translates "sons of the horse merchant" which is also possible. But putta may better be taken as a mere paraphrase as in kammāraputta etc. Cf. on the whole Mhvs. 21. 10 ff.

by sea, and held sway while sheltering the Order of the Victor. Then the famous Great king Dutthagamani Abhaya 22 vanquished Elara of the Cola country and protected the laity and the Order. Again the Monarch Vattagamani 23 vanquished in combat five very cruel Damila princes and protected the laity and the Order. Then the Ruler of men, 24 Dhatusena, subdued six Damila kings with their countless great warriors, and sheltered the laity and the Order. Again 25 the great Vijayabahu put to flight in battle the Colivas and the Damilas and protected the laity and the Order. Now I 26 too have the wish to vanquish the insolent Damilas who have destroyed vihāras and other buildings and also the Order of the Master and still have their abode in Patittharatthar, 27 the twain, King Magha and Jayabahu<sup>2</sup>, and to further the laity and the Order. That is a true word and yet more I say: 28 the highly virtuous, far-famed monarchs with the Kosala king 29 at the head, heard from the mouth of the Master while he lived, the preaching of the doctrine and saw many a miracle and their wishes were (thereby) fulfilled. Rulers mighty in 30 miraculous power like Dhammasoka and the others who were born when the fully Enlightened One no longer lived, beheld 31 divers miratles like the figure of the perfectly Enlightened One<sup>2</sup> produced (in miraculous manner) and the like, and made each his life thereby rich in fruit. But when the Guide of 32 the worlds, having fulfilled the task of a Buddha, in the region of the Mallas, outstretched on the couch of great

See note to 81.15. The Sinhalese form of the name is Pihitirata.
It is clear that the reign of Vijayabāhu III. and the beginning of his son's reign fall within the 21 years assigned to Māgha in 80.79.
The usurper Jayabāhu has so far not been mentioned, both names are in the Pūjāv. however.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> What is meant are miracles such as that described in Mhvs. 31. 96 ff. As Dutthagāmanī is about to replace the relics in the Mahāthūpa the casket in which they are contained, rises in the air, opens of itself and the relics assume the form of the Buddha and perform the miracle which was performed by the Master under Ganda's mango tree in Sāvatthī. For the so-called yamakappātihāriya see DhCo. III. p. 206 ff.

33 Nirvana, came, as regards miracles, to the five great resolves, then assuredly the Exalted One came also to lesser resolves.

34 From that day to this all the relics which exist, those of the body, as those associated with articles of use, perform through

35 the power of the Master miracles here in this our world. When therefore the Guide of sages, coming to this and that

36 resolve, saw (in spirit) in the five thousand years' duration of his Order, the future monarchs who take upon themselves

37 the burden of faith and of moral discipline, then I think not that the Exalted One will not with the eye of omniscience have seen me also among them. But if I have been seen by

38 the Incomparable One<sup>2</sup>, if even I have been added to the number of these great men and rulers of antiquity — loyal to

39 the faith in every respect — if I after destroying the alien foe in terrible war, may accomplish the furtherance of the laity

40 and the Order, then may the Tooth Relic now perhaps make manifest to me a fair miracle." After these words he became lost in contemplation.

At this moment the Tooth Relic rose from the lotus of his hand, like to the crescent moon, in the air, assumed the

42 glorious form of the Prince of the wise, diffused clusters of rays of light sixfold in hue, illumined the whole town,

43 manifested thus a glorious miracle, enraptured the Ruler of men, returned from the air and settled again on his hand.

44 With the shouts of applause and the songs of praise of the great crowd of people and above all of the Great community

45 who rejoiced at the sight of the superb miracle of the relic, the whole town was at this time everywhere full of intense

46 excitement. "This day I have gained life, this day my life has become of worth; this day hurrah! my life has become

47 perfectly fruitful. Having by the power of my merit beheld to-day such a miracle and having also seen the blessing

of merit richly earned by the people<sup>1</sup>, I now have been enrolled 48 among those earlier rulers of men, famed for the fulness of their virtues in this Order of the Sage." With these words 49 the Great king, great in insight and miraculous power, gave forth a lion's roar in the midst of the vast assembly.

After the Ruler with the whole of his sixty-four 50 ornaments<sup>2</sup>, such as the diadem, the bracelet and so forth had made an offering to the Tooth Relic, he laid it carefully 51 in the jewel-casket and after placing this lustrous (casket) in the golden chest he again placed this carefully in the fair 52 and costly chest fashioned of silver.

The Tooth Relic thus preserved in the best way in three 53 chests one within the other, he then placed in his relic temple. For seven days long he celebrated with the (offering of the) seven kinds of precious articles, with great wreaths and perfumes and with all kinds of food solid and liquid a great sacrificial festival.

Here ends the eighty-second chapter, called «The Exhibition of the Miracle of the Tooth Relic», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

- 1 The blessing consists in the sight of the miracle taking place before the eyes of all and of the effects which proceed from it. The MSS. have sambhatam puññasampadam and so has my edition. The Col. Ed. alters it to obhatā opadā, but obhatam opadam is acc. case and depends, like pāṭihāriyam on disvā. By the power of his merit the King has seen the miracle and he has also seen the blessing of the people's merit which shows itself therein that they were found worthy of the same vision as the king.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. for this E. W. Perera, Ceylon Notes and Queries, III. April 1914, p. XXXVI ff., where the enumeration of the regalia in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa is discussed.
- <sup>3</sup> P. ratanehi sattahi. The seven ratanāni are: suvaņņa (gold), rajata (silver), muttā (pearls), maņi (precious stones like sapphire and ruby), veļuriya (a semi-precious stone (?) like cat's eye), vajira (diamond), parāļa (coral). See Симдевs, s. v.

<sup>1</sup> For the mahādhitthānapaňcaka see Mhvs. 17. 46 ff. In vv. 51—52 the miracle mentioned in the preceding note is foretold here. The lesser resolves refer to other miracles not included in the five great resolves, such as that expected now by the king.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. tādinā "of him who is so as he is and no other".

## CHAPTER LXXXIII

# THE STORY OF THE SUBJUGATION OF THE HOSTILE KINGS

Since all the inhabitants of Lanka had seen the effect of the merits of the King, they lived from that time onward filled with still greater reverence towards him, in fear, in joy and in love, never were they capable of transgressing his commands. All the sovereigns of the divers countries sent the King gifts, since their hearts were inclined to admiration of

his majesty.

People whose heads were to be cut off he punished only in stern fashion with dungeon and fetters and then set them free again. But for such people as deserved prison the Ruler to

- whom pity was the highest, ordained some lighter punishment<sup>2</sup>
- 6 or other, and reprimanded them. But on people who should have been banished from the country the Ruler who might be likened to Manu, laid but a fine of a thousand (kahāpaṇas).
- 7 But on all those who deserved a fine, he looked with indignation and with all sorts of words of rebuke he made of them honest men.
- Then all these people, the forces of the foe in Lanka who abiding in forest strongholds and elsewhere, had become unconquerable by his father, the hero vanquisher of foes, the King set about subjugating by the power of his majesty and
  - 1 Kārāgārabandhanamattato cannot be joined to parimocayi. In this case puna would be quite unintelligible. It belongs far rather to nigganhitvāna.
  - <sup>2</sup> I think that niggaham ka'vā as well as nigganhitvāna in v. 4 must mean a punishment and not a mere admonition. This is expressed by oradi in v. 5 c. But the punishment was always less severe than the guilty person had deserved. The same also in v. 6 and 7. In niggaha-

by the might of his loving spirit<sup>1</sup>. The Sībala kings in the 10 land of the Vanni who were equipped with army and train, he brought completely under his influence, sitting merely on his lion's throne<sup>2</sup>. All the Sībalas with their lion-like courage who 11 dwelt in Tisībala<sup>3</sup>, these all the Ruler of men assembled around him and made them content. Then he dared to overthrow 12 the great Damila warriors who building great fortresses, had settled here and there in the country. Of all the Sībalas who 13 on the field were as lions against rutting elephants — the enemy — he sent some hither, others thither. The great 14 Sībala warriors wherever they came, harassed the Damila warriors as the Garulas the Nāgas<sup>4</sup>.

At that time the Damila kings, Māghinda and Jayabāhu<sup>5</sup> 15 had set up fortifications in the town of Pulatthi(nagara), famous for its wealth, in the village of Kotthasāra<sup>6</sup>, in Gangātalāka<sup>7</sup>, in the village of Kākālaya<sup>8</sup>, in the Padī district 16 and in Kurundi<sup>9</sup>, in Mānāmatta, in Mahātitha and in the harbour of Mannāra<sup>10</sup>, at the landing-place of Pulacceri and 17 in Vālikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu district, at Madhupādapatitha and at Sūkaratitha<sup>11</sup>: at these 18

vācā (v. 7c) niggaha it is true, means "rebuke". That is after all the mildest punishment.

- <sup>1</sup> Thus by force or by kindness. As regards the construction of the sentence, paripanthinam balam should probably be taken as in apposition to sabbe vanaduggādinissite.
- <sup>2</sup> Without recourse to force, merely by his prestige as sovereign. For the Vanni cf. note to 81.11.
  - 3 See note to 81.46.
  - <sup>4</sup> See note to 75. 38. <sup>5</sup> Cf. 82. 27.
  - <sup>6</sup> Situated not far from Pulatthinagara. See note to 61. 43.
  - 7 Now Kantalai, see note to 70. 286.
  - 8 "Crow's Home". The name does not otherwise occur.
- <sup>9</sup> The two names appear again in 88.64 next to each other. In the Siri Laka-kadayuru (The Taprobanian 1888, p. 55) they are noted among the districts of the Pihiţi-raţa (Patiţthā-raţtha).
  - 10 Now Mantai and Mannar. See notes to 48.81 and 61.39.
- once more. It may be assumed that like the foregoing places, they were all situated in Northern Ceylon.

19 and other places, and committing all kinds of violent deeds, had 20 stayed there a long time. Their forty and four thousand soldiers, Damilas and Keralas, who hard pressed by the spear-21 armed Sihala warriors, were unable to resist, came terrorstricken to Pulatthinagara and held counsel thus as to their 22 future conduct: "King Parakkamabahu is of high majesty and has miraculous power. Who in the world is strong enough 23 to neglect his commands? Even the monarchs of foreign lands 24 have now come under his influence, also all the Sīhalas. Even some of us Damilas are his followers. What is the use of 25 words about others? But what, what shall we people do? Now we have all become dim like glow-worms at the rising of the 26 radiant sun. Therefore in the future it is impossible for us to take up our abode on the Sihala island, we will go to 27 another country." They took all their elephants and horses, as well as their pearls and costly precious stones, the royal 28 diadems and all the beauties of the harem, all ornaments, cloths, mantles, baskets and every kind of valuable with them 29 in their fear and began to leave the town. But owing to the

action of the King's merit they mistook the regions of the 30 heavens. They thought it was the eastern gate and marched 31 out through the western gate<sup>2</sup> and came to Kālavāpi where

the army of the Sihalas had set up an entrenched camp.

32 With all their goods they had alas! also to sacrifice their life

by each giving his to the Sīhala warriors, thus carrying out 33 themselves what the King had only thought. And all the Sīhalas

taking from them their accumulated treasures, became from this time onward rich people<sup>3</sup>, as in ancient times all the dwellers

1 Vv. 15-21 form one sentence. The construction is as follows: The 40000 soldiers of the two Damila kings who after erecting fortifications in such and such places, had been settled there for a long time, came and held counsel.

The mistake of the Damilas is, of course, nothing but a fiction of the compiler. The intention of the mercenaries was to reach the western coast with their booty and there cross to India. At Kālavāpi the Sīhalas intercepted them. Pūjāv. gives the same account of the occurence as the Cūlavs.; Rājāv. a different one.

<sup>3</sup> P. sampannā of pregnant significance in allusion to the sampadam following in v. 31.

in Mithilā who gained the wealth which the kings a hundred in number, had through fear flung away<sup>1</sup>. After thus ac- 35 complishing by his power the crushing of the alien foe, he set himself to bring about the prosperity of all Lankā.

When the eleventh year of the reign of this King had 36 arrived, a king of the Javakas known by the name of Candabhanu landed with a terrible Javaka army under the 37 treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha?. All these wicked Javaka soldiers who invaded every landing- 38 place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they 39 caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Lanka. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place 40 destroyed by lightning with flames of fire3, so Lanka which had been harassed by Magha and others was ravaged anew by the Javakas. Then the King sent forth his sister's son, 41 the heroic Prince Vīrabāhu, with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas. The fearful Rāhu, namely Vīrabāhu, with his terrible appearance 42 completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candabhanu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle4. He placed his 43

- ¹ Cf. W., note to this passage. The story alluded to here is related in the Ummaggajātaka (Fausböll, Jāt. VI. 389 ff.). Through the eleverness of the Bodhisatta the inhabitants of Mithilā capture the possessions of 101 kings against whom they had been fighting. Cf. Jāt. VI. 409²4: tato paṭṭhāya ca kira Mithilavāsino sahiraññā jātā. To get the proper construction in our passage the words yathā purā must be joined to the following and not to the preceding as is done by W., for which an iva or yathā in v. 34 would be indispensable.
- <sup>2</sup> P. sogatā, followers of the Sugata, the guide to the path of salvation. The Pūjāv. also mentions Candrabhānu as the leader of the Jāvakas. According to Rājāv. his soldiers were Damilas.
- <sup>3</sup> The pāvakāsanī and the nīrāsanī are contrasted. Both are devastating thunderstorms. In the one case it is the kindling flashes of lightning that cause the destruction, in the other the floods of rain causing inundations. W's translation "fury of a flood of water" and "fire and lightning" seems to me weak, as it takes asanī at first in its derived and the second time in its original signification.
- <sup>4</sup> A picture suggested by the name of Candabhānu ("Moonshine"). Rāhu is the demon who causes the eclipses. We have again to do with

heroic Sīhala soldiers here and there and began to open fight 44 with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sīhala warriors, sure in aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed 45 arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing

against them with their poisoned tips which were shot swiftly one after the other by the Javaka soldiers from a machine.

46 Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Vīrabāhu slew

47 numbers of Jāvakas, as Rāma (slew) the Rakkhasas. The Veramba wind<sup>2</sup>, namely Vīrabāhu, possessed of great vehemence, shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the

48 Jāvaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Jāvakas in combat, he freed the whole region of Lankā from the foe.

49 Hereupon he betook himself to Devanagara, worshipped there the lotus-hued god<sup>3</sup> and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice.

50 He had erected there a privena that was intended for the Order; it received the name of Nandana<sup>4</sup>, since it was the

51 delight of the people. Thereupon he turned and came to the town Jambuddoni, he sought out Parakkamabāhu, and he was overjoyed.

compounds of the rūpaka order (skr. Vīrabāhur eva Rāhuḥ). See notes to 80.60, 82.16. According to the Rājāv. however, it was not the sister's son but the younger brother of the King, who vanquished Candrabhānu.

<sup>1</sup> P. yantamutte (bāṇe). Something apparently like the ancient catapult. Mhvs. 72. 251 mentions huge stones being hurled from such machines.

<sup>2</sup> Veramba is the name given to strong winds which blow in great heights (cf. PTS. P. D. s. v.). The corresponding word in Skr. is vairambha. A synonym for verambavāta is kālavāta.

<sup>3</sup> That is "the blue-coloured". Name of Viṣṇu. Cf. 85.85 ff. Devanagara (or-pura) is the present Dondra, Sinh. Devundara. The place has been already mentioned in 60.59 and 75.47, but here for the first time we have a notice of the shrine of Viṣṇu celebrated in the Middle Ages. According to tradition it was built in 790 A.D. It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588 A.D. See P.E. Pienis, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (== P. 2) p. 109 f. It is significant that Vīrabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hiudu sanctuary. At the same time however, he builds a parivena for the Buddhist Order, thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to-day a Hindu devālaya and a Buddhist vihāra stand side by side in Dondra.

4 That is "joy, delight, ecstasy"

Now after he had thus carried on divers great wars and 52 after he had scattered the terrible crowd of all his foes, the great and mighty Sovereign Parakkamabāhu attained the fume of victory<sup>1</sup>.

Here ends the eighty-third chapter, called «The Story of the Subjugation of the Hostile Kings», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> South Indian inscriptions give an essentially different picture of the reign of Parakkamabāhu II. from our chronicle. According to these, Ceylon was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas about the middle of the 13th century. They say that of the kings of Ceylon one was killed and another forced to pay tribute. This shows that Parakkama never united the whole island under his dominion. H. W. Codrington, HC. p. 77, 87.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV

#### THE SERVICES RENDERED TO THE ORDER

Thereupon the Ruler, versed in the ordinances of Manu. caused to be determined to what families the villages, fields, 2 houses and so forth long since seized by the alien foe, belonged by heredity, and had them returned to their aforetime owners 3 as before. Then he caused to be determined which villages, parks and the like were the property of the Buddha and the Doctrine, which (were) the assigned maintenance villages (for 4 ordinary needs), which the villages belonging to the Chapters, which the villages which were personal possessions, which (were) the villages of the eight sanctuaries and the villages 5 of the parivenas and had them given back. Further he appointed the five groups of menials and the ten groups of menials belonging to the royal household and determined their rank?. 6 While the Ruler made all the inhabitants of Lanka wealthy and possessors of fortune, he took care that the whole country 7 had abundant food. All the corrupt groups (of bhikkhus) who since the Interregnum lived only for their own desires, following forbidden occupations, with senses ever unbridled, he sought 8 out rigourously, dismissed them (from the Order) and thus 9 purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then the King sent many gifts to the Cola country and caused to be brought over to Tambapanni many respected Cola bhikkhus who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Pitakas 10 and so established harmony between the two Orders.

Then when the Ruler learned that among the many high- 11 principled bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambaratthas there was a Grand thera, Dhammakitti by name, radiant in 12 the glory of moral discipline, and that once when this thera was on his mendicant round, a lotus flower had blossomed on 13 his path, he was filled with admiration and sent a religious gift, incense, sandal-wood, food and the like which had been in contact with the Tooth Relic and likewise a choice and 14 princely gift4 to Tambarattha. He made the Grand thera 15 come to the island of Lanka, rejoiced again and again, as if he had beheld the Perfect One, celebrated for him a great 16 sacrificial festival and provided him who was a (worthy) vessel for offerings and honours, in careful manner with an offering of the four necessaries. Now in order to provide 17 for the protection of the Order furthered by him, the Great king built round about his capital for the eight Grand theras 18 who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries and for the discerning theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. aṭṭhāyatanagāmake. It is difficult to say what is meant by this. For the explanation we must look above all to v. 17 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Mhvs. 67. 58 and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Professions which are not fitting for the samana are enumerated in Digha-Nik. I. 1. 10 (= I. p. 5) Cf. R. O. Franks, Digha Transl. p. 7, n. 2,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The same account in Pūjāv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These are the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. The first school had its principal seat in the Mahāvihāra, the second according to Mhvs. 78. 21 ff., in the Abhayagiri and Jetavana vihāras. Cf. also W., note to the passage. See now S. Pabanavitans, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II. 1, p. 35 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably a province in Southern India. Phjäv. has instead Tambalingum. It would appear from the Rājāv. that Candrabhānu came from Tambalingum. So also H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The name of Dhammakitti recurs several times. According to Wickermasinghe, Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the Brit. Mus. p. 21 b, 35 b, the Dhammakitti of this passage was the compiler of the first continuation of the Mahāvamsa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> W's translation "and other royal gifts" is incorrect. Here dhammapābhata and rājapābhata are contrasted with one another.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Not as W. has it: "as if he had seen an Araha". Pūjāv. has budun rahatan duṭurā sē.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pūjasakkārabhājanam belongs to tam in 16 d. For the figurative meaning of obhājana cf. note to Mhvs. 44. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See above note to v. 4.

19 many communal monasteries, suitable for dwelling in, extensive embellished with divers pasadas, provided with various mandapas, 20 furnished with divers bathing-ponds, adorned with cloisters which were places of sojourn by day and by night, surrounded by 21 a series of flower parks and tree parks and granted them to them. Further he celebrated with all articles of equipment a 22 great sacrificial festival. Thereupon the King gathered together the Great community of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in villages and in the wilderness of the forest and chose out all those who strove continually for the keeping pure of moral discipline, 23 those who took upon themselves pious duties and were tried in the leading of their life in the strictest way1, who were endowed with the virtues of renunciation and so forth and 24 were steadfast in the precepts for the conscientious. He built for them on the heights of the Putabhatta2 rock a forest dwelling, assigned it to them and supported them therewith. 25 As they made of the strictest conduct a reality, he made Lanka through them in his days as it were, an abode of 26 arahants. With the reflection that theras who were acquainted with the sacred texts were rare in the Island, he had all books 27 brought from Jambudīpa, had many bhikkhus instructed in the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy, grammar and the like and thus made of them cultivated people. 28 In this manner furthering conduct and learning, the wise (prince) honoured with such a religious sacrifice the Guide to 29 the path of salvation (Buddha). The Ruler caused his younger royal brother, Bhuvanekabahu by name, to be in-30 structed, so that he was versed in the three Pitakas. He made him carry out the precepts for the theras and hold lectures of instruction thereon. But to the many bhikkhus who 31 hearkened he granted in the midst of the Great community their appointment as theras, and presenting them with all articles of equipment, he celebrated an offering for the theras. 32 Seeking for an occasion fraught with blessing, in order to

reach by the noble eight-fold path the saving shore from the ocean of re-births1, he had built in the third and sixth, then 33 again in the eleventh, twelfth and seventeenth, as also in the 34 twenty-first, twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of his reign thus eight times, a vast hall (resting) on sixty pillars2. Round 35 about it he erected a great and splendid mandapa. This again he had adorned with divers coloured stuffs and made numerous 36 groups of bhikkhus abide there by turn for the purpose of rest. Day by day full of zeal, he did them honour with a 37 great festival of gifts in his name and granted to many samaneras admission to the Order. Then following on this, he 38 conferred on bhikkhus the highest rank, namely the dignity of a thera, Grand thera and the like3, and accumulating many 39 important wares4 of great value and many beautiful articles of equipment even to the measure of a king of elephants, 40 the Ruler first presented to those who had attained the rank of a Grand thera, articles of equipment worthy of a king and then allotted to all the ascetics who were theras and to 41 those who had been dismissed from the dependance on a teacher<sup>5</sup>, and to the others in their order, the eight articles of equipment6.

84.41

P.  $l\bar{u}khappatipatti$ , cf. v. 25. The compound is missing in the PTS. P. D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Pūjāv. Paļābatgal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The section v. 32 to 41 is absent in the Pūjāv. The atthangikamagga consists of the eight members: sammāditthi "right insight", sammāsamkappa "right thought", sammāvācā "right speech", sammākammanta "right doing," sammāājīva "right gaining of livelihood", sammāvāyāma "right endeavour", sammāsati "right deliberation", sammāsamādhi "right spiritual concentration."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The same 89. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> W. renders āyatanādīka as title along with thera and mahāthera "incumbent of temple". But this seems to be contradicted by v. 40 mahātherāyatanatthāna "rank of a Grand thera." Ayatana must therefore be combined with thera and mahāthera in v. 38.

<sup>4</sup> P. garubhanda also 85. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. nissaya. By this is understood the relation between an older bhikkhu, the *upajjhāya* and a younger, the antevāsin. The first has to instruct the second in all details of the monastic life and the younger must take the older as his model. He who has finished his course of instruction is nissayamutta.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 60. 71.

Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated every seven days the great and superb festival of the eight bestowals<sup>1</sup>, 43 and later celebrating several times over the festival of admission

into the Order, he made the Order of the Victor prosperous.

Thus the King by granting it in this way manifold support, caused as the moon<sup>2</sup> the ocean, the good Order of the Tathagata—the king of the true doctrine—to grow in perfect fashion.

Here ends the eighty-fourth chapter, called «The Services Rendered to the Order», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The expression atthopasampatti must refer to the offering of the attha parikkhārā (v. 41). Upasampatti is not the same as upasampadā "admission to the Order". It is to this festival which took place later (pacchā) that v. 43 alludes. In 89. 50 upasampatti is also used in connection with the distribution of articles of use to the bhikkhus, while the celebration of the upasampadā takes place later (v. 63).

<sup>2</sup> P. sudhākara, skr. the same, lit. "mine of nectar". Cf. for this verse E. W. Perera, The Sinhalese and Spring Tides. in Ceylon Notes and Queries I, Oct. 1913. p. XVI.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

#### THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Hereupon the Ruler of men built in the splendid, incomparable, glorious town, by name Sirivaddhana<sup>1</sup>, his birthplace,
a vihāra exceeding rich and vast<sup>2</sup>. It was furnished with 2
pāsādas and mandapas and with high walls and gate-towers,
adorned with bodhi trees, with cetiyas, with groves and image
houses, bright with all kinds of paintings<sup>3</sup> and embellished 3
over and over with ornaments. Then he had the stretch of 4
road from the town of Jambuddoni to the town of Sirivaddhana
levelled in the length of half a yojana and the breadth of an
usabha<sup>4</sup>, so that it was fair as the surface of a drum, and 5

1 It is now generally recognized that this Sirivaddhana has nothing to do with Kandy (cf. Copleston, The Identification of the Sirivaddhanapura of Mahawansa, Chap. LXXXV., JRAS. C. B. XII, Nr. 43, 1892, p. 206 ff.). It was situated according to v. 4 only half a yojana from Jambuddoni-Dambadeniya. All my MSS. have in v. 4 addhayojana°, not atthayojana° which must be assumed, if we adopt W's translation: "about eight yojanas". If the yojana of the Mhvs. is the usual Indian yojana, then the distance between the two towns is about 4 1/2 miles. Pūjāv., if the printed text can be relied on, has atayodanak.

<sup>2</sup> P. visālavibhavam ("possessing great riches") mahāvihāram. There is just a doubt whether we have to take the subst. as appellative or with W. as a proper name. I adopt the former and that with reference to the Pūjāv. where we have rajamahaveherak "one great King's Monastery". Thus we must of course read in v. 56 not Mahā° but mahā°.

3 P. nānākammavicitta; cf. cittakamma "varied painting".

In the line dighavitha ato addhayojanusabhamathake the addhayojana refers evidently to digha and usabha to vitthara. The first is the length, the second the breadth of the road. An usabha is equal to 20 yatthi = 140 ratana or hattha, (roughly = 18 inches), thus 210 ft. = 64 metres. The Pūjāv. gives a very detailed description of the festival of the transference of the relics to the new monastery.

caused it to be strewn throughout its length with fine white 6 sand and adorned on both sides with many flags and pennons strung high by which the sun's rays were warded off, with 7 rows of banana stems and with numbers of filled jars which contained decorations of flowers and were fair with their 8 bright painting. On the whole of this free tract he had erected 9 at a distance of every five cubits a royal arch and at a distance of every ten cubits an arch of stuff as well as at a distance of every hundred cubits 1 a large pasada covered with variegated 10 painting, with a high point, three-storeyed and furnished with 11 an image of the perfectly Enlightened One 2. Then he decorated the vihara3 round about the walled-in district of the monastery 12 with many and vast arches which were fair by reason of their variety and gleamed with the grace of the arch of the King of the gods4, - further with white umbrellas which resembled 13 the picture of the full moon, - with banners five-fold in hue and of divers form, which were fair as heavenly dancers who 14 dance in the court of the atmosphere - with rows of mandapas set with jewels that sparkled everywhere, which possessed the beauty of a series of many palaces descended from the world 15 of the gods - with rows of figures of Brahma, that danced in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because 16 they were worked by a mechanism<sup>5</sup>, — with divers-hued mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with

1 Thus at distances of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , 15 and 150 ft. Torana means the arch spanning the street on festive occasions. As to pattatorana we must think of the framework of bamboo stalks as being covered with coloured stuffs. We are not told what the rajatorana looked like.

<sup>2</sup> From tato (end of v. 3) to v. 10 one sentence. Pred. and subj. are at the end. The King erected 1) rājatoraṇaṃ, 2) paṭṭatoraṇaṃ, 3) mahāpāsādaṃ on the levelled surface (samīkatatale) between J. and S. To the loc. tale belong the attributes in 5 cd and in 7 d (alaṃkate); to this last belong the instrs. in v. 6 and 7. In v. 8 the loc. samīkatatale is rendered collective by etasmiņ vipulokāse.

- 3 I anticipate obj. and pred. in 19 d.
- <sup>4</sup> The rainbow is considered Indra's weapon. Stress is once more laid on the variegated colouring of the toranas.
  - 5 Lit. "beautiful by the contrivance of a machine".

hands folded before the brows, - with rows of mechanical 17 figures of horses which ran hither and thither and possessed the grace of rows of raging waves of the sea, - with elephants 18 wearing the ornaments of elephants, which were (likewise) mechanical figures feigning to be clouds descended to the earth: - with all these and other votive offerings which called 19 forth ecstasy in people he embellished the vihara. Then again 20 he made the whole of the inhabitants in Lanka take up their position in a circle round the vihāra, filling the space of a gāvuta<sup>1</sup> and giving forth shouts of praise, and glorified the 21 virtues of the perfectly Enlightened One. To these (he added) 22 the bhikkhus and the samaneras as also the lay brethren and the lay sisters, bearing flowers destined as offerings for the festival of the Buddha and (lastly) all the other men and women who 23 were acquainted with the merits of the three (sacred) objects2, with votive offerings in their hands, adorned with all their ornaments. Thereupon the Monarch himself decked out in all 24 his ornaments, accompanied by his four-membered army, urged by his faith, placed the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, on 25 a costly chariot, adorned with every kind of chariot ornament. Then one by one he had displayed before him<sup>3</sup> divers votive offerings, such as flags of gold and flags of silver, golden 26 vessels and silver vessels, fly-whisks of gold and fly-whisks of silver, chests of gold as also silver chests, golden fans and 27 charming silver fans, golden bowls with lotus flowers and 28 bowls of silver with lotus flowers, filled jars which were 29 fashioned of gold and such as were fashioned of silver and so on; and afterwards holding a great sacrificial festival with 30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See note to 73, 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note to 37. 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. purato pantiso (v. 29), that is in single groups or divisions before he himself started.

<sup>4</sup> P. pokkharaṇī, i. e. "lotus-pond". We must imagine the basins in which the flowers were borne as being oblong in form like small bathing-ponds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In the punnakalasā which are either carried or set up on festive occasions one sees now specially often the yellow-gold blossoms of the areca palm.

31 these divers (offerings)1 ever and again to the sound of the five musical instruments2, he by degrees brought (the relics) on this decked out road to the town of Sirivaddhana. After 32 carefully laying them down in the midst of the vihara in a spacious mandapa on a covered Buddha seat, he set about 33 making the various people<sup>3</sup> celebrate a sacrificial festival. In the morning all people who had a true thirst for meritorious works, adorned with their ornaments, venerated the Tooth 34 Relic and the Bowl Relic in religious devotion<sup>5</sup>, with divers kinds of flowers, such as jasmin, campaka blossoms, the blossoms of the ironwood trees and the like, distinguished by their colour and perfume, and which were mingled with flowers of 85 gold. They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice which gleamed like a collection of the long since amassed fame of 36 the Great king. They venerated them with divers kinds of fruits, such as bananas, bread-fruit, mangoes and so forth, which were quite ripe, fragrant, lovely in colour, perfectly 37 sweet. Then afterwards when the King himself had venerated the two most holy relics with all kinds of votive offerings, he 38 likewise, true to the good custom, provided the bhikkhu community carefully with food and drink, with dishes solid and tender, with drinks that one sips and with those one 39 drinks7. Thereupon the Ruler, joyful in heart, distributed to many hundreds of bhikkhus the eight articles of equipment

1.P. tehi tehi (possibly pantiso also) belongs to the following kārāpento mahāpūjam.

<sup>2</sup> The five instruments are enumerated in Abhp. 189 ff. They are atata, vitata and atatavitata, drums stretched "on the one side", "on the two sides" and "wholly with leather", susira, "flute, pipe", and ghana "cymbal".

3 The various groups of people enumerated in v. 21-28.

4 P. puññasonda. The word sonda "drunkard" used here in a figurative sense, as also in dhammasondatā, Jāt. V. 482<sup>17</sup> (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

5 P. bhattiyā, see note to 74. 243.

6 P. jāti, jasminum grandiflorum, campaka, michelia champaca, nāga, mesus ferrea.

<sup>1</sup> Khajjabhojjehi is the more detailed explanation of anna and leyyapeyyehi that of pāna in the compound annapānehi.

in great abundance. After that throughout the three watches 40 of the night he had the whole space round about the vihāra lit up with many hundreds of thousands of lamps burning fragrant oil, with lovely festoons of numberless, tiny, camphor 41 lamps (so that it was) like to the starry firmament. The 42 Monarch instituted a sacrificial for the Buddha<sup>1</sup>. The festival was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and 43 songs of the dancers who on splendid stages erected here and there, performed while assuming different characters. divers dances and sang various songs. The noise of the 44 festival was increased by the sound of the five musical instruments which produced the illusion of the roar of the 45 great ocean of his meritorious works that was so strong that it surpassed the booming of the sea, while the drums shamed the thunder-claps of Pajjunna<sup>8</sup>. The feast resounded with the 46 pious voices of the preachers of the good doctrine who placing themselves on the preachers' seats carefully spread at divers spots by the faithful, laid hold of the beautiful fans? and 47 preached the good doctrine that went straight to the heart of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Subj., pred. and obj. mahīpālo buddhapūjam pavattayi stand at the close of the whole sentence in v. 51 cd. The preceding verses contain attributes to the object buddhapūjam, namely manoharam (v. 42-3), vivaddhitam (v. 44-5), ghositam (v. 46-7), manditam (v. 48-9), pasattham (v. 50-51).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. rangamandala = sinh. rangamadala.

<sup>3</sup> What is meant are the different parts they play. The dances are always mimic in character.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The term "noise" must be supplemented from the foregoing. In the text itself there is only vivaddhitam directly related to pājam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See above note to v. 80-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Very doubtful. I take *bhama* to mean "error, illusion", which is also the meaning of the skr. *bhrama*. W's translation cannot be reconciled with the text.

<sup>7</sup> Skr. dürikaroti can also mean "leaves behind it, surpasses".

Skr. Parjanya the God of rain and of the storm. Cf. Jat. I. 331<sup>21</sup> ff.;
 D. N. II. 260<sup>25</sup>; Mhvs. 21. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> During solemn ceremonies the priest holds a fan in his right hand and great importance is attached to its being held in a dignified way.

48 their hearers. It was made beautiful by the jubilant cries<sup>1</sup> of the four retinues (of the Buddha)<sup>2</sup> who ever giving grateful

49 expression to their joy, went hither and thither praising unceasingly with cries of applause the merits of the three (sacred)

50 objects with the words: O Buddha! O Doctrine! O Order! Its praise was proclaimed by the elders (of the clan) of the

51 Balibhojakas arrayed in all their ornaments, who taking their stand at the divers regions of the heavens after the custom of a Nandin procured without ceasing the blessing of the Buddha.

52 With the thought: even in the highest heaven the Prince of the gods celebrates such a festival for the Buddha, the Ruler

53 had that same ceremony manifested here (on earth), and as former kings also, rulers of Sihala, had in their miraculous power held even such a sacrificial festival for the Enlightened

54 One, so he showed it likewise at the present time to the dwellers in Sihala. And so with the words addressed as it

55 were to all men: of such kind is the fruit on the wishingcreeper of the paramitas of the omniscient (Buddha), he celebrated seven days long even such a great sacrificial festival

56 for the three (sacred) objects. Then in making the great

1 P. sādhukāra. Cf. note to 74. 223.

<sup>2</sup> These are the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay brethren and lay sisters.

3 See note to 38.13.

4 P. buddhasantim karontehi. The expression santim kar (skr. śānti) shows that the task of the people was to fend off all influences emanating from evil spirits which might disturb the course of the festival. Nandividhipurassaram is in keeping with this, for in the Indian drama the nāndin has in the prologue to deliver the introductory prayer (nāndī) which is fraught with blessing. Cf. Sten Konow, Das Indische Drama, p. 24. We can understand too why the elders of the Balibhojaka clam were entrusted with this office. The name signifies these animals, birds in particular, such as the crows that live on the bali, the daily sacrifice offered to the spirits. Such spirits are embodied in these birds and the sacrifice satisfies and conciliates them so that they do no harm.

<sup>5</sup> Also in Skr. kalpalatā along with kalpavrksa etc. of the tree of Paradise on which grows everything that gives joy and delight to mankind.

6 See note to 87.180.

vihāra¹ the property of the community and in giving it over to the Order, he filled himself with merit and fame. Thereupon 57 the King erected a parivena that was called by his name Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty pāsādas, granted the vihāra² the divers objects of use suited to it, as well as 58 several rich maintenance villages, and celebrated a great sacrificial feast.

The King made his yuvarāja erect in the Billasela-vihāra 59 the parivena called Bhuvanekabāhu after him, embellished 60 with pasadas, mandapas and the like and then celebrated in the town called Sirivaddhana in the manner described, with 61 all votive offerings with care seven days long a great sacrificial festival for the three (sacred) objects. But also in the splendid 62 town of Hatthigiripura4 the King made the same (yuvarāja) erect a vast vihāra, and after having built in his name a superb 63 parivena, called Mahāmahindabāhu, he celebrated a great feast of sacrifice and gathered thereby merit. He restored the decayed 64 five-storeyed pasada built long before in the splendid town of Kalyani by King Yatthalatissa, and in repairing what was 65 destroyed by having it coated with stucco, he made it again as it had been originally. There too he restored in similar 66 fashion the temple of the recumbent statue of the King of sages and the temple of the Tivanka image. There too 67 the Ruler had the spacious, four-square courtyard of the great cetiya laid with great stone slabs, making of it a perfectly 68

85.68

<sup>1</sup> See note to 85. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Namely the vihāra in which the Parakkamabāhu-pariveņa was erected. *Pariveņa* and *vihāra* are thus not used synonymously as W. thinks.

<sup>3</sup> That is his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu, see 82.4.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. "Elephant mountain town", now Kurunegala.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> He was the son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devānampiyatissa and founder of the dynasty of Rohaga, whence arose in the fourth generation Dutthagāmaņī. (Mhvs. 22. 2 ff., 10 ff.). For Kalyāņī see note to 61. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. note to 78.39. The images named here are the same as those mentioned in the Selalihinisandesa 68, to which PARANAVITANE has already called attention. According to the Ss. there were two of these.

level surface, and then he erected in front of the (cetiya) a
69 large mandapa. Further the Ruler with great and religious
devotion held several times in that vihāra a sacrificial feast for
70 the Bodhi tree, the cetiya and the Enlightened One, with votive
offerings of flowers, lamps and food — magnificent, abundant,
spreading joy among the people, and acquired thereby merit.

71 Thereupon the King granted to the vihāra for the purpose of holding a daily sacrificial festival of lamps, a large, fair,

72 delightful garden of cocopalms which he had had laid out in his own name in the immediate neighbourhood of the vihāra.

73 Then the two-storeyed, circular relic temple in the vihāra called Hatthavanagalla<sup>1</sup>, erected<sup>2</sup> by the monarch Gothābhaya,

74 by name, on the spot where King Sirisamghabodhi gave his

75 head as gift to the poor man<sup>3</sup> — this temple the best of kings had repaired and provided with a golden point and made three

76 storeys high. In the selfsame monastery he built on the spot where the corpse of his royal father had been laid down<sup>4</sup> a superb

77 cetiya. There too he had erected an octagonal image house and had

78 a stone image of the Buddha set up in it. The glorious King heard that of that son of the Enlightened One<sup>5</sup>, the Thera Mahākassapa,

79 who had received during the lifetime of the Enlightened One—
the Guide to the path of salvation—the Master of the worlds—
his most holy garment of rags as heritage<sup>6</sup> and after his death

80 had taken over the spiritual kingship and protected it — (that) of this Mahākassapa a single relic, a tooth, (existed and) in

<sup>2</sup> Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa 9.7 (p. 32 of the edition by Alwis). Here the building is described as bhavanaṃ vaṭṭulaṃ.

<sup>5</sup> Buddha's disciples are described as his spiritual sons.

course of time had come to Tambapannī and was now preserved 81 in the vihara of Bhimatitha in the province of Pancayojana1. Thereupon the King in whom there sprang up religious devotion, 82 love and highest veneration towards that Thera2, betook himself, surrounded by his four-membered army to the great monastery 83 and after he had beheld there the splendid (relic), he celebrated full of joy with an immeasurable quantity of beautiful kinds of fragrant flowers and likewise with lamps and incense and 84 heaps of rice, with great care for three days a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. Then when the Monarch learned 85 that in the sacred town of Devanagara which was a mine of meritorious works, the shrine long since erected to the lotushued god - the King of the gods, had now fallen into decay, 86 he betook himself to the superb town and in rebuilding the 87 dwelling of the King of the gods like to the heavenly mansion of the King of the gods3, he made of it an abode of all riches. Then the best of men nad the town filled with all 88 splendours even as the beauteous city of the gods4. Hereupon 89 he determined to celebrate every year in the town an Āsāļhī festival<sup>5</sup> for the god.

Now the Great king betook himself to the splendid town 90 of Jambuddonī. Here he had built round the Sirivijayasundara- 91 vihāra erected by his royal father, a high wall and gate-towers and then had the three-storeyed relic temple restored. 92

<sup>1</sup> Now Attavanagalla on the small river of the same name, about 18 or 20 miles north-east of Colombo.

<sup>3</sup> Mhvs. 36. 91 ff. should be compared with this. The history of Sirisamghabodhi's end is told in greater detail in the Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa 8 (p. 25 ff. of the ed.) and embellished with many miraculous tales.

<sup>4</sup> Namely on the pyre. The corpses of the kings were disposed of by burning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. for this Samyutta 16. 11. 28 f. (II. 221), and the remarks to my translation of the S. N. II, p. 270 and 284.

<sup>1</sup> Now Bentota on the coast between Colombo and Galle. For Pañcayojana see note to 57,71.

That is towards Mahākassapa. W. erroneously associates there with "the elder who had the charge thereof".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The word devarājālaya is twice used here. The temple of the King of the gods (Viṣṇu) in Devanagara is made as beautiful as the palace of the King of the gods (in this case Indra) in heaven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. devanagaram viya in allusion to its namesake, the town of Vișnu's shrine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. āsālhā, -lhī is the name of the month June-July. The day of the full moon of this month was one of high festival even before the time of Buddha (Jāt. I. 50). Buddha was born on that day.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above 81.51 where the monastery is called Vijayasundarārāma.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. with this 82. 9 ff.

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There he placed the Tooth Relic of the Great Sage on a raised 93 throne of great value and celebrated in the order described above, for seven days a great sacrificial feast for the three (sacred) objects which procure every conceivable blessing. With 94 the wish to have daily before his eyes a figure of the Guide to the path of salvation, as rejoicing to the heart as the 95 figure of the living Master, the Lord of men had portrayed 1 by numbers of specially skilled painters on a great tablet a splendid 96 Buddha figure, showing<sup>2</sup> the Exalted One as he took when alife an airing in a large jewelled cloister set with divers precious 97 stones. Hereupon the King of high renown gathered together the whole Order of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of 98 Lanka as well as a multitude of people and celebrated in the town of Sirivaddhana in the manner described earlier, for seven days a great festival for the Buddha.

Now when the Great king heard that unimaginable blessing attaches to a kathina offering, he thought, joyful of 100 heart in faith: "In honour of the eighty greatly glorious disciples4 of him who is alone the bridge over the shoreless terrible ocean of the circle of rebirths, who alone is the banner of the Sakya clan5, whose dignity is venerated by the 101 people of the whole world, the Wise, the King of the wise, the Master, the preserver of the world, the seer, who is master (of his senses), the kinsman of the world 6, the kinsman of

1 P. mahācittapate . . . lekhāpesi. Probably the picture was painted on a piece of stuff. In the Pūjāv. where the picture is also described, the expression petikada is used, according to CLOUGH, "piece of cloth on which an image of Buddha is painted". Mhvs. 27. 18 ff., relates that the picture after which the Lohapāsāda was built, was designed on a paṭa.

2 Lit. a Buddha figure like the Exalted One walking . . . taking an airing in a cloister. The ca in 95 c is disturbing. Perhaps one should read va (= eva).

3 See note to 44. 48. Parakkamabāhu's kathina offering is also related in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

4 See note to 37. 176.

5 Round the banner (ketu) the clan gathers; the word is therefore used figuratively for "leader, chief, the highest". Cf. skr. manuvamsaketu, Raghuvamsa 2.33. The Buddha represents the acme of the Sakya clan. 6 P. lokabandhu. So called on account of his world-embracing love.

the sun1 - (in honour of his eighty disciples) I will give a 102 great and splendid kathina offering of eighty (robes)." The wise 103 (prince) then called together the whole of the men and women dwelling on the island of Lanka and made them all carry 104 out in the shortest time the whole of the work (for the making) of (these) garments beginning with the preparation of the 105 cotton. And on one day he gave away together with all the useful and important wares2, the eighty kathina robes. But 106 after he had prepared all this and versed in offering, had distributed it among all the theras dwelling in Tambapannia, he held for the eighty great disciples, for each one of them, 107 on the same day, eighty great sacrificial feasts. In this way 108 he often bestowed many kathinas on the Great community and increased thereby his great merit.

And the King thought several times with longing joyful 109 through faith: "I will dedicate to the Enlightened One the royal dignity of Lanka." He adorned in fitting manner his 110 royal palace like the palace of the Lord of the gods and the town like the city of the gods. Then he placed the Tooth 111 Relic of the Great Sage (Buddha) on a costly lion's seat which he had fashioned in the royal abode, and with divers fly- 112 whisks and umbrellas, with divers jewelled crowns, with divers ornaments and robes, with divers heaps of jewels, with divers 113 elephants and steeds, with divers infantry and chariots, with divers beatings of drums and divers sounds of shell trumpets, 114 with divers flags and pennons, with divers rows of banana trees, with divers bowls of milk4, with divers trees in blossom, with divers splendidly fragrant wreaths, with divers superb 115

<sup>1</sup> P. bhānubandhu. Because like the sun he illumines the whole world, at the same time also because (cf. W., note), the princely house of the Sakya is said to belong to the dynasty of the sun. The synonym ādiccabandhu is a frequent name of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa explains it in Suttanipata 915 by adiccassa gottabandhu (Helmer Smith, Paramatthajotikā, p. 562).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See 84. 89 and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See note to 80, 25,

<sup>4</sup> P. khīrataṭāka. Lit. "ponds of milk". The explanation is similar to that of sonnapokkharant in 85.28. See the note.

116 palanquins, with divers kinds of excellent rice, with divers splendid kinds of cake, with divers superb lamps, frankincense and perfumes — with all these and other votive offerings

117 worthy of a king, he celebrated with care, after assembling the Great community of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of Lanka for seven days a great sacrificial feast.

118 The best of kings also betook himself with his fourmembered forces to the Samantakūţa¹, this forehead jewel of

119 the rock mountains. There he venerated the foot-print — to be venerated by gods and other beings — of the highest God

120 of gods<sup>2</sup>, the King of truth, the Master. Round about the monarch of the mountains he granted to the extent of ten gāvutas<sup>3</sup> the land rich in various precious stones and thickly

121 peopled with men and women, in religious devotion to the sacred foot-print and sacrificed to it again with ornaments of jewels.

Thus did the discerning King who had faith in the Buddha, amass a great quantity of meritorious works as bridge for the crossing of the ocean of the circle of rebirths, or as ladder with which to reach the highest heaven.

Here ends the eighty-fifth chapter, called «The Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is mentioned in the Pūjāv.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI

# INCITEMENT TO THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Thereupon the King thought: "Since I now wield the royal 1 dominion over all Lanka, it is indeed for me a heavy burden1 to make pilgrimages hither and thither and to venerate 2 according to one's desire the hallowed places, to perform daily meritorious works and to care for the welfare of the world. But which of my dignitaries has the capacity to accumulate 3 a blessing of merit which would be equal to my aspiration and to care (likewise) for the welfare of the world? Now 4 there is my dignitary Devappatiraja by name, a true believer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community. When he 5 striving after the dignity of a Guide to the path of salvation, made the firm resolve2, straightway there sprang from the three 6 eyes of a coconut planted by him three shoots. Once when he beheld a poor man he to whom mercy was the highest, gave him all his possessions together with children and wives 7 and uttered the wish: I will be a Buddha. Therefore when 8 he shall have heard my wish he will fulfil it." So thinking, he had him summoned and spake to him thus: "By swamp, 9 mountain and wilderness as though created by the powerful3,

<sup>1</sup> P. bhāra. The idea is this: the meritorious tasks which I have taken upon myself are too much for me alone. I must look round for helpers who will work with and for me with the same ideas and objects.

<sup>2</sup> Namely that the miracle described in 5 cd and 6 ab should be manifested as sign of the fulfilment of his wish to become one day a Buddha. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119 and notes.

<sup>3</sup> P. vasavattin. As epithet of Māra, also in Thūpavamsa 65<sup>13</sup>, with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The title devatideva for the Buddha which already occurs in Mhvs. 1.57, points again to a later stage of development. Cf. note to 50.65.

<sup>3</sup> That is about 20 miles.

unwelcome Mara, the road leading to the Sumana mountain 1 10 is at many places obstructed, (made) inaccessible and causes difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make 11 a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by venerating the footprint of the Sage. Do thou therefore make 12 it accessible. Further: I have heard that in the vihara called Hatthavanagalla2, at the spot where a Grand thera gifted 13 with miraculous powers, making through the majesty of his merit earth and air to resound with thunder, attained the 14 dignity of an arahant, a five-storeyed pasada with a roofing of golden bricks erected by King Upatissa<sup>3</sup>, has in the course 15 of time fallen into decay, so that now nought but the pillars 16 remain. Do thou also restore this in my name. And just as King Nissanka laid out a garden of fruit-trees in the Bhīma-17 titthavihāra4, do thou also plant in the same manner in my name a large garden full of cocopalms and other trees". With these words he entrusted him with each single meritorious undertaking 5.

Devappatirāja agreed with "aye!" and betook himself in the first place to Gangāsiripura. There he had fashioned a 19 magnificent image of Sumanadeva furnished with all the fair bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and 20 jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūta. He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in

reference to the  $paranimmitar as a vattide v\bar{\alpha}$  who are Māra's retinue and are themselves described as Māras.

- 1 Name of Adam's Peak.
- 2 See 85. 73 and note.
- <sup>3</sup> We do not know which Upatissa is meant, for neither the first king of this name (37.179 ff.) nor the second (41.6) has such a building ascribed to him.
- 4 See 85.81 and note. There is an account of the parks laid out by Kittinissanka in 80.25 (and in the Rājāv.).
  - 5 We must of course write tamtampuññakriyāsu.
- 6 According to Pūjāv. = Gampala, now Gampola situated about 11 miles to the south of Kandy. Cf. 88.48, 90.107.
  - 7 The local guardian spirit of Adam's Peak. See Mhvs. 1. 33.
  - 8 = Sumanakūţa. See note to 60.64.

festive procession1, set forth, betook himself first to the village 21 Bodhitala and began from here to build bridges. Here at the 22 mouth? he made a large and magnificent bridge of thirty-five cubits, and over the Khajjotanadī one of thirty cubits, likewise at Ullapanaggama one of thirty-six cubits, at Ambaggama 23 one of thirty-four cubits in length3. (The bridges were) very 24 strong and good so that elephants, horses, cattle and buffaloes could pass over them. And above each single embankment of 25 the bridges he had fair houses built, adorned with lofty pillars and the like, had invitations sent to numbers of bhikkhus, 26 gathered them together at different places, distributed among them abundant alms and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He built rest-houses, finished the building of bridges, laid 27 down at the remaining places frequent stepping-stones4, had 28 the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built. Then he betook himself to the Samantakuta, showed veneration to the sacred footprint, set up in the courtyard of the cetiya 29 of the sacred footprint the image of the god (Sumana) and erected a mandapa for the holy footprint. Round about it he 30 had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the mandapa fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to 31

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- 1 P. ussavena saha. Pūjāv. has peraharin "with a procession".
- <sup>2</sup> P. mukhadvāramhi. The mode of expression is not quite clear. W. translates: "and nigh unto the mouth of the Khajjota river he built a bridge ... and ... across the same river". This is indeed difficult to reconcile with the original text. We have to think of these bridges as causeways between the rice fields (cf. setubandha in v. 25). The numbers are, taken in order, roughly 52, 45; 54, 51 ft.
- <sup>3</sup> Devappatirāja proceeds from Gampola up the left bank of the Mahaveliganga. Ullapanaggāma is the modern Ulapana (4 m from Gampola as the crow flies). Ambaggāma is the present Ambagamuva (6 m from Ulapana). The Khajjota river is called in Pūjāv. Kaṇamädirihoya (we have to read thus instead of haya). Sinh. kaṇamādiri means "glow-worm", like the P. khajjota. It is curious that the farther course of the road is not described. It probably led over to the valley of the Kadalīgāma river and then ascended this valley. See note to 60.66 and below v. 41.
- <sup>4</sup> At marshy spots where no causeway could be built, to give firm foothold.

secure it, and then again he sacrificed for three days to the 32 sacred footprint with lamps and the like. He himself placed on his head a lamp with fragrant oil, and venerating again 33 and again in the name of his Master the Great king and walking round the sacred footprint with his right side towards 34 it, he spent the whole night. Hereupon he had this whole occurrence in its true sequence from the beginning written 35 down on a lofty stone pillar and had this monument of the glory of the Great king of kings Parakkamabāhu set up 36 with rejoicing. Thereupon he informed the King of the whole occurrence by the mouth of a messenger and sent (the message) off, since his wishes had been completely carried out.

After that Devappatirāja betook himself to the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the
 manner commanded by the King, a three-storeyed pāsāda with a lofty point and gave it over to the Grand master¹, the wise

39 Anomadassin by name. Then he celebrated according to the order of the Great king, an almsgiving and had a stone inscription put up.

Thereupon the High dignitary betook himself to the landing-place Bhīmatittha and built at the mouth of the Kālanadī a bridge of eighty-six cubits<sup>2</sup>. Then after building at Kadalīsenagāma<sup>3</sup> a bridge of a hundred staves<sup>4</sup> and over 42 the river of Sālaggāma one of forty staves<sup>4</sup> and over the

<sup>1</sup> P. mahāsāmin. Cf. with this note to 53.23. Anomadassin was the Superior (abbot) of the monastery.

<sup>2</sup> The Kālanadī is the present Kaluganga. The length of the bridge is about 129 ft., the mouth of the Kaluganga is however considerably wider than that.

<sup>3</sup> If Kadalīsenagāma is the same as Kadalīgāma in 60.66, the building of the bridge was a continuation of the road to Adam's Peak. The identity of the two is however very questionable. W. suggests Kehellenava in the Kalutara District, Rayigam Korale. Pūjāv. has Kēlsēnāva.

<sup>4</sup> The calculation according to yatthi "rod, measuring rod" here is curious. According to 78. 63 (cf. the note to the passage) a yatthi equals 5 hattha. The two measurements in v. 41 would accordingly be 750 and 800 ft. respectively.

Salapadapa swamp one of a hundred and fifty cubits<sup>1</sup> and in addition to these other bridges here and there at difficult places, and numerous parks and sermon halls, he celebrated 43 once more a great festival of almsgiving.

And again the High dignitary of the King had laid out 44 from the Bhīmatitha-vihāra as far as the landing-place (of the Kālanadī)<sup>2</sup> on a space a yojana broad, a great garden of 45 cocopalms, called after Parakkamabāhu, beautifully shady and rich in fruit. Then having all the work in the different 46 districts, such as the spinning of the cotton and so forth, undertaken and finished in a day, the highly-famed one 47 presented the bhikkhu community with six and twenty kathina robes and celebrated therewith a great sacrificial festival. Giving in like manner, he wandering around here and there, 48 presented the bhikkhu community once again with sixty-six kathina robes.

Then he had the whole of the vast forest called Ma-49 halabujagaccha<sup>3</sup> cleared by the roots, a fine village built there and in its neighbourhood a large grove of jack-trees<sup>4</sup> planted. 50 Then he erected there in the name of the King an image house of three storeys, surrounded by bodhi tree, cetiya, park 51 and encircling wall and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Having thus performed in the name of his royal Master<sup>5</sup> much 52 meritorious work, he informed the King of everything on his return.

Now was the King filled with great affection for him. He 53 made the village called Mahālabujagaccha and other villages built by him his hereditary property and granted them to 54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Roughly 225 ft. W. gives the number as "fifty". He has overlooked the sata in satahatthakam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kālanadītittha, now Kalutara. Cf. 56. 12 and note. The distance between Bentota and Kalutara is 12 miles. The breadth of the plantation would be 9 miles, if the Indian yojana is meant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pūjāv. Mahadelgas namvū mahavanaya. Sinh. del is the name of the bread fruit tree artocarpus incisa. — P. labuja.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pūjāv. kosvanayak. Sinh. kos is artocarpus integrifolia. - P. panasa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. rājannamato stands here in the same sense as mahārājassa nāmato in v. 32 or mahārājaniyoyato in v. 39 or rājanāmena in v. 51.

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him. Thereupon he betook himself with him to the temple 55 of the Tooth Relic and spake thus in the midst of the community: "This my most excellent dignitary has at all times been true of heart to me and to the three (sacred) objects.

56 Therefore because activity for the welfare of the Buddha and of the King was for him the highest, is he dear to me and 57 precious. Therefore will I with a gift dear to me make a sacrifice to the Tooth Relic". And he dedicated the excellent dignitary with wife and children to the Tooth Relic of the Sage.

In such wise did the protector of the middle world from 58 that times make that same most excellent Devappatiraja celebrate continually with many costly votive gifts, sacrificial festivals to the world-extolled Triad of the jewels.

Here ends the eighty-sixth chapter, called «The Incitement to the Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVII

### THE HANDING OVER OF THE BURDEN OF DOMINION

Now once upon a time when through the influence of evil 1 planets a great heat arose in Lanka by which everything was burnt up, when the corn withered and a famine was inevitable 2 and the whole of the people dwelling in Lanka were filled with the greatest anxiety, the King gave orders for a splendid 3 festival to be held for the three (sacred) objects, for the cetivas and the bodhi trees and for the protectors Metteya and other miracle-working highest deities who were to be venerated by 4 various offerings, and even to turn the whole of Lanka into one great festival\*. After antecedent sacrificial ceremonies, he 5 gathered together the Great community of the bhikkhus, caused them recite the Paritta<sup>3</sup> and bear the Tooth Relic of the 6 Great sage round the town in fitting manner, the right side turned towards it, and made (in firm faith) the resolve: the heavens shall rain. Thereupon great clouds gathered on 7 every side, flashing with lightning and again and again thundering, so that it was bliss for the ears of all people, 8 and they began to rain, destroying the glowing heat, making 9

<sup>1</sup> For devātideva used here of the future Buddhas at the head of whom stands Metteya, cf. note to 85, 119,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The construction is difficult. W. merely translates freely according to the sense. We must take the words kārāpetvāna and mahussavam twice, first uttamam mahussavam kārāpetvāna (namely for the things and persons mentioned in 3 and 4) and then sabbam Lankam ekam mahussavam karapetvana. For this last cf. idioms like vadho yev' eko "pure murder and bloodshed", M. II. 2443; ekobhāsā disā sabbā vidhāya, Mhvs. 74, 219, JāCo. V. 1945 etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See note to 46.5.

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joyful the people, driving away the famine, beautifying the country and reviving the corn 1.

Parakkamabāhu II

"By the power of the Buddha do these rain-clouds pour 11 forth such rain, making joyful our hearts. Who therefore among gods, brahmas and men is capable of understanding how great 12 are these excellent qualities of the Buddha? But our King also is mighty and strong in miraculous power, a king like 13 to him there has not been and there will not be." With such words ever and again repeated, the dwellers in Lanka praised the excellence of the Monarch of sages and also the excellence of their King.

While in this wise the King protecting Order and laity in 14 15 justice and filling with precious contents his own character, enjoyed for long the good fortune of the royal dignity, he on one occasion summoned to him along with his sister's son, Vīra-

- 16 bāhu, his five capable sons Vijayabāhu, Bhuvanekabāhu<sup>2</sup>,
- 17 Tibhuvanamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu and began in
- 18 this wise to give these six advice: "Dear ones, hearken to my words: there are here in the world these three (kinds) of sons: the low kind, those of like kind, those of higher kind\*.
- 19 Now those who know not how to enjoy at its true worth the wealth of their parents which has come to them as a family
- 20 heritage, but destroy it, as monkeys a wreath of flowers, and now live without wealth - the pious ancients have called 'sons
- 21 of a low kind'. But those who enjoy such possessions as they have received them in like manner as their fathers, protecting them as a family heritage, these ye must know are the '(sons)

of like kind.' But yet another kind I name - those who 22 besides the possessions taken over as family heritage, acquire thereto many other possessions and as prudent people enjoy 23 in happiness — these are known as the 'sons of higher kind'. From my father I have inherited alone (the province of) 24 Mayarattha but have now again conquered the two other provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under 25 one umbrella. All the Damilas who were for him invincible, I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni<sup>2</sup> dwelling 26 here and there in mountain and wilderness I have brought over to my side. Having spread my fame everywhere also in 27 foreign lands, I have for long held sway in just fashion. I 28 have brought hither king's daughters from Jambudīpa with gifts and thereby made the nobles in the foreign land your kinsmen. The heroes of the Pandus and the Colas, the kings 29 sprung from the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, have sent me diadems and ornaments. Also have I gathered together 30 without ceasing a mass of jewels which can be enjoyed not only by all of you here, but even in future time by seven generations of my descendants, even as the (god) Kubera 31 (gathered together) his nine treasures, the shell and the rest3. I have put down the evil-doers and protected the honest and 32 brought unanimity to the Order of the Enlightened One. Therefore have I become for my royal father a higher born 33 son, be ye also my sons, like me, higher born sons. As in 34 days of old the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara4 of the race of Okkāka, built as many towns, divided all land in 35

<sup>1</sup> The removal of a drought by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic is also described in the Rajav.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The two brothers Vijayabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu are mentioned together in an inscription found in Yapahu. H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1911-12 = S. P. III. 1915, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "lower (similar, higher) born or become". Cf. skr. apajāta and anujāta. The three kinds are distinguished in the same way in the Itivuttaka, p. 631, 646. For avajāta cf. also DhCo. I. 1782.

<sup>4</sup> P. gunanurodhato. W's translation "by a virtuous life" is too weak and too general. The idea is: they are not conscious of how valuable is the heritage that has come to them, they squander it frivolously.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See notes to 81, 15 and 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note to 81. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The nine treasures of Kubera are, according to Apte (Skr. Eng. Dict. s. v. navanidhi; cf. also Amarakosha, ed. W. L. Shastri Pansikar, v. 142): 1) mahāpadma "great lotus flower", 2) padma "lotus flower", 3) śankha "shell", 4) makara "dolphin", 5) kacchapa "tortoise", 6) mukunda "a particular precious stone", 7) kunda "jasmine", 8) nīla "sapphire", 9) kharna "dwarf". The names are also personified as names of genii who are guardians of the treasures in question. Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the legend of the Sagaras, see Mahabharata, III. 106 ff.

**87.36** 

Jambudīpa into sixty thousand parts and held sway each for 36 himself in harmony; — further as aforetime the ten brothers, the kings, divided Jambudīpa into ten parts and ruled in wise 37 fashion: so shall ye, my sons, divide this Lankā and supporting 38 one another as is fitting, hold sway in able fashion, but never expose a weakness to the enemy." In this wise he admonished his own sons and his sister's son.

38 one another as is fitting, hold sway in able fashion, but never Hereupon he summoned the Great community in great numbers<sup>2</sup> and the King asked them: "Which of these six 40 princes, my sister's son and my own sons, is worthy of the royal crown?" When the Great community heard these words 41 of the King, they expressed themselves thus: "O Great king thy princely sons and this thy sister's son are all capable 42 men and well instructed; they are all practised in fighting, crushers of the alien foe and worthy of the royal crown as 43 protectors of the laity and the Order. But thy eldest son Vijayabāhu has from childhood believed with joy in the triad 44 of the jewels. His heart was ever set on the care of infirm bhikkhus, he was trustworthy, grateful, gifted with the merits 45 of faith and discernment. He was a support for such as had no support, ever abounding in pity for aged people and 46 suffering creatures. Many kinsmen by marriage of the bhikkhu community who had become enslaved during the period of 47 alien dominion3 and many other people he freed from their slavery by the gift to their masters of gold, precious stones 48 and other valuables. Many thieves who had committed thefts even in the royal palace, turned to him when punishment

1 The reading of the MSS.  $y\bar{a}yant\bar{a}$  ought not to be changed into  $s\bar{a}sant\bar{a}$ . I assume that  $y\bar{a}yati$  has here a causative meaning "to make go, to further, to support".

Not "the chief priests and the people", as W. has it. Mahājanam is in apposition to mahāsamaham. The "people" have nothing to do with the question of the succession. In the sequel it is the priesthood alone who give the answer. Cf. also v. 71.

3 P. rājantara. See note to 81.1. It is the time of the reign of Māgha (and of Jayabāhu, 82.27, 83.19) that is meant. W. has misunderstood the passage in translating "when he took the government into his hands".

overtook them. They gave up their anguish and their fear 49 and unharmed, without suffering the loss of a limb1, their lives were spared. When O King! he beheld the people who 50 went forth to each village to collect2 the taxes due to the King, he gave his own money, freed thus from various dues 51 all people in distress and protected them continuously, versed in the protection of subjects. Also many of the Sihala kings 52 of the Vanni whom thou wast desirous of subduing, sought him out first and then only did they fearless pay their visit to thee. > Ye must henceforth serve for ever with devotion 3 Vijayabahu 53 who will in the future protect the continuation of our race, < 54 thus are the wives in the families of the dignitaries wont in all reverence to admonish their husbands. When fathers and 55 mothers, fain to listen to the sweet infant voices of their two year and three year old children, ask them: . Whom do ye 56 serve? they say: > We wish to serve Vijayabahu . Children 57 beaten in wrath by father and mother come to him and tell their woe. Then Vijayabahu makes the parents come to him, 58 exhorts them in his pity to beat their children no longer and 59 lets them have from his own storehouse the necessary food for their various children. How canst thou O King, - even 60 as a man who gifted with seeing eyes, looks at the heavens where the full moon stands and yet asks where is then the full moon? - knowing as thou dost that in Vijayabahu the 61 merits dwell which constitute the ornament of the royal dignity, yet ask the Order? Learn then O Great king! that he 62 possesses the lucky signs to hold sway not only over Lankadīpa but even over Jambudīpa."

After the Ruler had heard of these and his many other 63 merits from the mouth of the community, his eyes became moist with tears of joy thereat. Full of contentment he 64 summoned to him his son Vijayabāhu, made him sit on a seat

<sup>1</sup> P. angahāni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wrongly translated by W. It is not a case of people embezzling the taxes, but of the revenue officers who wished to collect them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. sambhattā. Cf. with this the term bhatti = skr. bhakti. - to 74. 243.

65 (like his own) near him, and then the Great king informed him of all that must still be carried out for the laity and

66 the Order and which had not yet been done by himself. "The Ratanāvalī-cetiya¹ destroyed by alien foes, thou shalt restore

67 and adorn it with a golden point. Pulatthinagara, that splendid ornament of all towns,\* which was the ancient royal city of

68 the Sīhala sovereigns, do thou restore as it was of yore, with high walls and gate-towers, with four gates well distributed,

69 and surrounded by a deep trench; and do thou bring thither to the former relic temple, fair as a heavenly palace, the two

70 relics of the Tooth and the Bowl. In this royal city of former kings I wish myself to celebrate the high festival of the royal

71 consecration. But do thou bring the whole bhikkhu community in great number<sup>3</sup>, dwelling in the three Sīhala pro-

vinces, to Sahassatittha<sup>4</sup>, let them there after antecedent 72 sacrifice, celebrate in the Mahāvālikagangā the festival of admission to the Order and thus make the Order of the Victor

prosperous.

After speaking thus and otherwise of all that was to be done for the laity and the Order, he gave over the burden of government into his hands.

And further the King entrusted him with the five remaining sons of the royal house, and the two sacred relics of the holy Sage, the Tooth and the Bowl, as also with the host of the ascetics, with the group of all the dignitaries and also the land of Lankā.

Here ends the eighty-seventh chapter, called «The Handing over of the Burden of Dominion», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 See note to 80, 68.

3 For bhikkhusamgham mahājanam cf. note to v. 39.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVIII

#### THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Fearless in heart, King Vijayabāhu gave his consent and 1 took over the burden of the government. Now he thought: 2 "I will show my father so long as he is in life, that I am a son of the higher kind." And he probed ever further: "Who 3 is there now fitted to be the element 'friend' among the seven elements of government, as ruler, minister, friend and the like1: trustworthy, a clever counsellor, a comrade in misfortune, who 4 speaks the truth, who is good to me?" And he realised: 5 "There is the Adipada Virabahu, the son of my father's sister, well-bred, adorned with virtues, skilled in all tasks. Since the time when we played (together) in the sand till 6 to-day he has showed the highest confidence in me and in (all) good people. He cannot bear to stand anywhere if he 7 does not see me, and I also cannot bear to take a seat without seeing him. He is at pains even as I, to further the laity and 8 the Order, richly dowered with mental and bodily power. Therefore is he fitted for the element friend". He summoned 9 him to him and entrusted him with the position of a devoted friend.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. sabbapurītilaka. The word tilaka ("badge of a sect") has here (as so often also skr. tilaka) a figurative meaning "ornament, adornment".

<sup>4</sup> Now Dastota, a ford over the Mahaveliganga south of Polonnaruva. That the bhikkhus were fond of performing their ceremonies in a building erected in the water at some distance from the bank is well known. Dastota was at that time a spot considered especially sacred where such ceremonies were performed with great pomp, as is shown also in 89. 47 ff.

¹ The satta rajjangāni are enumerated in Abhpd. 350. They are: sāmi "ruler, monarch", amacca "minister", sakhā "friend", koso "state treasure", duggam "fortress", vijūam "land, kingdom" and balam "army". In the Kautalīya, they are enumerated at the beginning of Book 6 as the (sapta) prakṛtayaḥ: svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadandamitrāni. Why J. J. Mever in his translation should have left out kośa (p. 397) I cannot understand. Cf. ib. p. 399 20, as well as R. Shamasastey, Kautilya's Arthaśástra, trsl., p. 319. In Subhūtī's Abhidhānappadīpikāsūci a verse is quoted from Kāmandaki in which the same terms are grouped together.

Then he thought: "Now I must perform a meritorious work — splendid, sublime, rejoicing the heart. I was entrusted with the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl. For these I must now build a new temple. On the other hand, the ancient relic temple erected by my royal forefathers, has fallen into decay. This I will restore." With this consideration, he had fetched from all parts many groups of artists experienced in every branch of art and many other workmen; and erecting new structures doubly as fair to look at as the former buildings, he completed the whole temple of the Tooth Relic, so that it was beauteous as a heavenly palace; placed there the two relics of the Enlightened One and ordered his own guard to institute day by day a great sacrificial festival richer than aforetime, for the relics. From this time onward the King succeeded in making the love of his royal father (for him)

increase continuously, twofold and threefold.

Thought the Ruler: my royal father shall have no grief arising from the separation from his sons, and he made his two younger brothers, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu, dwell continually near their father. Hereupon he summoned his younger brother Tilokamalla and placed under his command all the Sīhala troops quartered in the space between the town of Jambuddoni and the southern sea and made him take up his abode in Mahāvatthalagāma², to protect his royal father on the south. Then he reflected: "In the north, foes coming from the opposite coast are wont to land in Khuddavāligāma. Who is so fitted to protect this side — perilous, since it is here that fighting is wont to begin — as my brother, the Prince

1 P. piturājūhi. W. translates "by the King, my father". He evidently regards rājūhi as a plur. maiest. I believe however, that the term applies to Vijayabāhu III. and Parakkamabāhu II. What is meant is the relic temple in the Vijayasundara-vihāra in Jambuddoni which is said in 85.91-2 to have been built by Vijayabāhu III. and renewed by Parakkamabāhu II.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps identical with Vattalagams mentioned in 81.58. The difference in the writing may possibly be explained in this way that vattala is the pure Sinhalese form, while vatthala is adapted to the Pāli.

Bhuvanekabāhu?" The Ruler summoned him therefore, made 25 over to him the great army that stood in the north and 26 commanded him to take up his abode in Sundarapabbata<sup>1</sup>, in order to protect his royal father from this quarter. But the 27 King himself armed, marched with Vīrabāhu hither and thither, crushed all villains, made Lankā free from the briers (of the 28 enemy) and after getting his father's permission, he set forth with the intention of restoring Pulatthinagara.

Now at this time the Great king Parakkamabahu, as if 29 borne on the great wave of his love for his son, set about accompanying his son, full of sympathy, travelling everywhere 30 after him, although the son did not wish it. Then the son ever 31 and again forced his father in reverent manner to return, he himself going on his way. Then his father issued the order: 32 "All people who cherish love for my son let them accompany him." When they heard these words of his, then all the high 33 dignitaries of the King and all the generals, all the great 34 hero warriors and all the elephant drivers, all the riders and all the charioteers were filled with the greatest joy. "Now our 35 Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu<sup>2</sup> sets forth to restore the royal city of Pulatthinagara. If he goes we shall go with him at once." Thus 36 they spake and started forth well equipped to accompany him. When a certain number of dignitaries, soldiers and others, 37 out of laziness, were not minded to go, their wives said to them: "Ye, our lords, may come with us or not, at any rate 38 we are going with the King who seeks the best, and we shall 39 dwell with him in the newly restored, splendid town". And they set forth therewith on their way before them. Even 40 children deserted their fathers, if they would not go with them and followed the King. When the King beheld the great 41 crowd of people setting forth, each deserting his village, his house and his comfortable possessions, he persuaded them 42 again and again in his great anxiety, and induced all those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same as Subhapabbata or Subhagiri = Yāpahu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The influence again of the Mahāyāna. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119, 86. 5. Also in Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. the King is called Bōsat Vijayabāhu.

88, 70

88. 43

43 whom it was right to induce, to return. Then he betook himself with the four-membered army in the desired strength,

44 to the great and loftily situated fortress of Vatagiri<sup>1</sup>. After building a splendid royal palace on the summit of this mountain,

45 surrounded by an extraordinarily high wall, he stored there in case of need, the whole of the great treasure given over

46 to him by his royal father. Thereupon he built on the same high rock a fine monastery for the community, invited the

47 Grand thera, the head of the Mahanettappasada-shrine<sup>2</sup>, made over to him the splendid monastery, celebrated a great sacrificial festival and established a regular offering.

48 Hereupon the King went forth to Sumanakūţa, venerated the footprint of the Sage (Buddha) and betook himself there-

49 after to Gangāsiripura<sup>3</sup>. There in the ancient vihāra that bore the name Nigamaggāmapāsāda, he saw to the restoration of

50 what was ruinous and decayed, established for the bhikkhus dwelling there a regular almsgiving and came thereafter to

51 Sindhūravāna. Here the King erected the vihāra called Vanaggāmapāsāda and after building there in the name of his

52 royal father the parivena called Abhayarāja, he granted it the various articles of equipment, villages, fields and so forth.

53 Then the Monarch betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiripura. While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle

54 (Bhuvanekabāhu), he gazed along with Prince Vīrabāhu<sup>6</sup> and his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot

55 where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and gained there again and again the inner conception of imper-

manency<sup>1</sup>. Hereupon he erected there a splendid, three-storeyed 56 image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, 57 he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler 58 assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the 59 name Bhuvanekabāhu-parivena, using for it the name of that (uncle). Then after he had settled the town (Hatthigiri) densely 60 with men and women, he had it enclosed with wall, moat and so forth. Thereafter the brave King set forth and marched 61 with the vast four-membered army to Subhagiripura<sup>2</sup>.

At that time the Lord of men Candabhanu, formerly beaten 62 after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pandus and Colas and elsewhere many Damila soldiers, 68 representing a great force, landed with his Javaka army in Mahatitha. After the King had brought over to his side the 64 Sihalas dwelling in Padī, Kurundia and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and 65 sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisīhala5; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the 66 royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight." Thereupon 67 Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler Vīrabāhu, took counsel with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: "Hurrah, 68 to-day both of us shall see the strength of our arms." Then the two set forth7, surrounded the great army of Candabhanu on 69 all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rama. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and 70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vākirigalla in the Kegalla District. Cf. note to Mhvs. 58. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A Mahanettapabbata is mentioned in Mhvs. 50. 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gampola. See 86. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The parivena is not called after his father Parakkamabāhu II. Here it is the case of a patti (see note to 42.50). The merit is transferred to the dead king.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kurunegala. See 85. 62 where mention is made of the building of the Vihāra by Bhuvanekabāhu, the younger brother of Parakkama-bāhu II.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 88. 41 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. aniccalakkhaṇa. This is a term drawn from the technique of jhāna, meditative absorption. See Heiler, Die buddistische Versenkung, p. 18 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I. e. Yāpahu.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 83. 36 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 83. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See note to 81.46.

<sup>6</sup> Vīrabāhu has here and in v. 90 the title of mahīpati, just as Bhuvanekabāhu in v. 79 has the title of rājan.

<sup>7</sup> Note the change of subject in the case of vatvana and nikkhamitva.

weaponless the soldiers of the foe wandered around, prayed 71 and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled, begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of 72 terror. In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest,

73 others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After Vijayabāhu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent

74 the Lord of men Candabhanu flying defenceless. But the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses,

75 the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of victory, the banner of victory — all these he sent to his father.

Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the province and won the victory, he united Lanka under the umbrella of his dominion.

Hereupon he had this town (Subhagiri) also surrounded by a high rampart and a trench and built there a superb
royal palace. Having finished it, he established then in that town a regular almsgiving for the great bhikkhu community. Then he
spake encouragingly to his younger brother King Bhuvanekabāhu and made him take up his abode as before in Subhapabbata.

Now the Ruler betook himself to Anuradhapura and there round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places

1 he had the mighty forest — that was like a stronghold created by Māra — felled and a wall erected which was as a bridge

82 over the stream of his hopes. Then after the Ruler had had these sacred places embellished by new buildings, he celebrated

83 a great sacrificial festival. But as he wished to complete the work of restoration on the Ratanāvalī-cetiya, begun but not

84 finished by his royal father, he assembled with the greatest speed all people dwelling in the town from the places where

85 individuals sojourned, ordered numbers of skilful workmen hither and having established for the community at whose head

86 stood the chief Thera of the Senānātha-pariveņa a regular

almsgiving<sup>1</sup>, he appointed the Thera to look after the work of restoration. Thereupon the Monarchs of the Vanni who 87 were living in Patitthārattha, sought out the Ruler, bringing him many gifts. He (on his part) presented them with rocking 88 chairs, white umbrellas, fly-whisks and other insignia for the great kings of the Vanni people. Therewith he made them 89 all contented, charged them to protect the town (Anurādhapura) and betook himself from there to Pulatthinagara.

There the Monarch summoned to him the ruler Vīrabāhu: 90 "We shall embellish this town, originally the royal city, and fill the universe with the camphor perfume of the exuberant 91 abundance of our glory." After these words he took counsel with him and spake thereupon: "In the town called Pulatthinagara 92 there are now pasadas, image-houses, viharas, parivenas, cetivas and relic temples, walls, gate-towers, houses of the addhayoga 93 and of the hammiya kind, mandapas, sermon halls, temples to deities and other buildings. Some of these stand erect, covered 94 with grass, trees and whatever else has grown upon them. Others have collapsed without support as the whole of their . pillars perished; others again alas! will fall, bending under 95 the weight of walls cracked from top to foot, because other support is wanting. Some of these, through decay and old age 96 are like greybeards, and unable to stand erect, they become more bowed from day to day. With many the joists are broken and 97 their pinnacles destroyed, with others the roofs have decayed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Veribhațā tadū in 71 d takes up again the tadā veriyodhā in v. 70 a b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See 87. 66.

<sup>3</sup> This is the building erected by the general Kutthaka under Udaya II. and called in Mhvs. 51. 88, Senasenāpati-parivena.

<sup>1</sup> Nitthapeti means here "to fix, to establish", the object danavattam being governed by it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I leave the two terms addhayoga and hammiya (skr. harmya) untranslated. Both are names for particular types of dwelling-houses which we are unable to describe further.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. chinnatulāyatthī. I believe that tulāyatthi (lit. balance-beam) means the horizontal beams, while gopānasī (v. 98; cf. 87. 141) means the beams of the rooftree. The construction of the compound is: "many are such in which . . . are broken off.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. natthavitankakā. The original meaning of vitanka which is omitted in the PTS. P. D. is according to Abhp. "dovecote".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. vidhastavalabhī. This is an interesting voucher for valabhi which

98 and the bricks are broken. In others by the breakage of the damaged rooftree the bricks of the roof have fallen and only

99 walls and pillars remain. In others again the gates have fallen in and the hinging of the gate-posts destroyed; in others again the steps have become loosened and the railings have fallen

100 in. Of many all that can be seen are parts still hanging together of the original foundation wall: of many not even

101 the place where they once stood is now to be seen. Of what use are many words? This town which has lost all its glory we shall again make glorious. The Ruler must give his consent.

102 Then later he may celebrate the royal consecration in the splendid city." With this charge he sent a messenger to his father.

When the King heard these tidings, his heart was full of joy, and as he himself had cherished the wish to restore the

104 original royal town, he summoned the circle of the great dignitaries from every quarter, and issuing his commands to all the

105 inhabitants of Lanka, he brought together the workers in iron,

106 the turners, bamboo workers, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the candalas who understood

107 work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters

108 and the guilds of masons, and in addition to these all blacksmith's tools, such as bellows, hammers, tongs, sledge-hammers, anvils, as well as many sharp saws, axes, hatchets, (wedges)

109 for splitting trees and for crushing stones, knives, chisels<sup>3</sup>, shovels, mats, baskets and so forth. All these appliances he 110 gave carefully to the people and also much money, such as

occurs in the canon (M. I. 175<sup>16</sup>, 177<sup>22</sup>), only in the compound valabhīratha which must be translated "covered-in carriage".

pearls, precious stones and the like and sent it with the people 1 to his royal son. Thereupon in the devastated land, long desolate, King Vijayabāhu, happy at heart, had the water 111 system - tanks, ponds, dykes, pools and the like - in 112 which the embankments had given way, and which were deprived of their deep water, dammed up as before, filled with 113 deep water, covered with divers lotus blossoms and stocked with all kinds of fish. Then he had many valuable fields 114 which had always been ground on which grew every kind of corn, newly planted, had all kinds of crops grown here and 115 there and made the whole fair land prosperous. And the Ruler 116 restored superb Pulatthinagara as it had been aforetime, surrounded by a moat, deep as the sea, with a fine chain of walls like to the Cakkavala mountains, provided with divers viharas, 117 surrounded by various monastic parks with divers bathing-ponds, filled with a variety of cetiyas, sprinkled with various addha- 118 vogas\*, adorned with divers pasadas, built over with a variety of hammiyas, embellished with divers mandapas, provided 119 with all sorts of temples to deities, resplendent with every kind of gate-towers, fair with the rows of divers houses, 120 boasting a variety of streets, with four well-distributed gates, with fine squares and road-crossings.

In this fashion the King had the town of Pulatthinagara 121—comparable to the city of Indra<sup>4</sup>—restored, so that it surpassed Mithilā, subdued Kancīpurī, laughed to scorn Sāvatthī, subdued Madhurā, turned to shame Bārāṇasī, reduced Vesālī to nothing and made Campāpurī<sup>5</sup> tremble with her glory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thus I translate nibandhana. In Skr. it means figuratively at least a joint of words, a compound.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the Samyutta Comm. (I. 19319 of the Siamese ed.) veņakule is explained by vilīvākule.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. koţisa. In skr. koţisa means "harrow" according to BR., but this cannot be the case here. Some kind of pointed instrument must be meant (cf. koţi "point").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. saha senāya. Senā means here the staff of workers raised by the King.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These are the mountains which are supposed to surround the earth which is conceived of as a disk. Cf. Skr. cakkabāla, -vāḍa, BR. s. v. 2; W. Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> For addhayoga and hammiya see above note to v. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Amarāvatī, see 80.5. The town is described in the Mahābhārata, III. 1714 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A series of the most famous Indian towns. 1) Mithilā, capital of the Videhas, now northern Bihār; 2) Kāñcipurī, in Southern India

Here ends the eighty-eighth chapter, called «The Restoration of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

on the Coromandel Coast, one of the seven sacred towns of India.

3) Śrāvastī, capital of the Kośala country in present Nepal (T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 40); 4) Madhurā, here probably the town Mathurā on the Jumna, chief locality of the Śūrasena, mentioned AN. II. 57 (BR. s. v. madhura 3 c); 5) Bārānasī, now Benares; 6) Vaisālī, in the Videha country, in Buddhist times the chief locality of the Licchavi clan, like Sāvatthī often mentioned in the sacred Canon; 7) Campā, in the territory of the Angas, now Bhāgalpur on the Ganges, Bihār. Note the sacred number seven. See also the two notes to 89. 4.

### Chapter LXXXIX

# DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION AND OTHER FESTIVALS

The King spake: "This Pulatthinagara is now thus restored 1 as before, dowered with all that belongs to a city. This town is 2 now radiant with happiness, splendour and beauty. She has surpassed Jetuttara and will now surpass Sāgalā. After van-3 quishing Suṃsumāragiri, what need hath she to care for Sāketa? Ha! even Rājagaha she wishes to capture as it is. She 4 has destroyed Saṃkassa and now scorns Indapatta. She dares to challenge Kapilavatthu. Therefore shall the King, the 5

- 1 P. samkhyam ussahate kattum. I think that samkhya here is = skr. samkhya and means "fight" (BR. s. v. 4). The Col. Ed. reads sakhyam and W. translates: "seeketh friendship with K." This I think is not so good, as ussahate has then no meaning. It looks as if the author here as also in 88. 121, by the accumulation of synonyms for the term "surpass", wishes to show his intimacy with the rules of alamkāra. Cf. the expressions in Dandin's Kāvyādarsa 2. 62 ff. with those used in this passage.
- <sup>2</sup> The author returns here, repeating himself, to the idea already treated in the final strophe of chap. 88. He displays his geographical knowledge which he apparently borrows from the Abhidhānappadīpikā where in v. 200 and 201 all the towns named by him are enumerated: 1) Jettutara, often mentioned in the Jātakas as the capital of the Sivi country (skr. śibi). Cf. Fausböll Jāt., Index; 2) Sāgalā, abode of the King Milinda (Milp. ed. Trenckner, p. 1); 3) Sumsumāragiri, according to M. I. 95, II. 91; S. III. 1, IV. 116; A. II. 61 etc. a town in the country of the Bhaggas (skr. Bharga); 4) Sāketa, name of the town Ayodhyā (now Oudh) in the Kosala country. M. I. 149 and often otherwise in the Nikāyas and the Jātaka book; 5) Rājagaha, capital of Māgadha; 6) Saṃkassa (skr. Sāṃkāśya), mentioned in the Jātakas, according to JāCo. IV. 265<sup>28</sup> thirty yojanas from Sāvatthī, was situated

chief of kings, even as Sakka, the overlord of the gods, did
6 in the city of Sakka<sup>1</sup>, enter this city in all his majesty to
celebrate the festival of the royal consecration." Therewith
7 he sent a messenger to his father. When the King heard
from the mouth of the messenger the uninterrupted narrative,

he rejoiced greatly and betook himself at the head of his 8 army with all the mighty pomp worthy of a king, from the town of Jambuddoni to the chief capital (of the kingdom).

9 And King Vijayabāhu went the distance of a gāvuta towards him and accompanied the Great king to the royal capital.

10 For seven days he celebrated in the town the high festival of the royal consecration and carried it out in the (right)

11 sequence to the end. But after he had made over the Northern province<sup>3</sup> to Vīrabāhu and made him take up his abode in

12 the prosperous royal city, he declared: I shall bring the relics of the Sage to this royal city, and betook himself with his royal father to the town of Jambuddoni.

Hereupon the King gathered together a great multitude of the inhabitants of Lanka and had the great highway from

14 the town of Jambuddoni to splendid Pulatthinagara, five yojanas wide made level and throughout, always at a distance

15 of half a yojana, he had a costly rest-house built, gracefully (adorned) with festive banners, rows of bananas, triumphal

16 arches and the like. Thereupon he placed the two relics of the great Seer, Tooth and Bowl, on a high chariot which was

17 fair in its splendour as a heavenly chariot. With numerous

to the west of Kanyakubja (now Kanauj) between the Ganges and the Jumna (cf. Vin. II. 299); 7) Indapatta (skr. Indraprastha), town in the Kuru territory on the site of the present Delhi; 8) Kapilavatthu, capital of the Sākyas in the territory of the present Nepal, birthplace of Buddha.

- <sup>1</sup> See note to 88. 121.
- <sup>2</sup> About two miles.
- <sup>3</sup> The expression is rattham uttamam, quite in the sense of Rajarattha or Patittharattha.
- <sup>4</sup> According to the context, this would be the whole distance from Jambuddon to Pulatthinagara. But the distance is much greater, about 75 miles, as the crow flies (5 y. = 45 miles).

groups of the bhikkhu community who, paying homage, encircled on every side the incomparable, splendid, festive chariot, of the sacred relics, as if they were the hosts of the Brahmas 18 who surround the sacred chariot of Brahma, he set forth from the superb city, great Jambuddoni. The sacrificial festival which he arranged? was beautified by the people entrusted 24 with the various duties3 who letting unceasingly their cries of Hail! resound, went before or followed after and bore with them for the sacrificial festival umbrellas of gold and pearl, 19 golden fly-whisks, inlaid with pearl, banners of gold and pearl, wreaths set with gold and pearl, further golden and silver 20 jars, fans of gold and silver, golden and silver vases, golden and silver shells, golden and silver bowls, golden and silver 21 urns, golden and silver basins, golden and silver mirrors, golden and silver banana trees, tiny shells of gold and silver, 22 golden and silver horses, golden and silver elephants, as well 23 as countless silver and golden lamp-stands and the rest. The festival was surrounded by rows of elephants excellent by 25 reason of the elephant ornaments by which they were o'erspread 6, by rows of steeds worth seeing for the abundance of every kind of equine ornament, by the ranks of heroic warriors 26 who with divers weapons in their hands and wearing warlike ornament, played their war games, by the ranks of princes, 27

- <sup>2</sup> This is taken from v. 36 a mahāpūjam pavattento. The following accusatives are attributes of mahāpūjam: manoharam (v. 24 d), parisevitam (v. 27 d), manditam (v. 28 d), parivāritam (v. 30 d), parighositam (v. 32 d), pasamsitam (v. 34 b), thomitam (v. 34 c) and parisevitam (v. 35 d).
- <sup>3</sup> F. tam-tam-dhurā-niyuttehi (v. 24 c). The people meant are those who have particular functions to perform at a sacrificial festival.
- <sup>4</sup> Taken from vv. 23-24, purato pacchato pi ca... gacchantehi... manussehi. Gahetvā in v. 23 c by which the accusatives in v. 19 to 23 a b are governed, is subordinate to gacchantehi. The people carry their votive offerings with them in the procession.
  - 5 Should not the reading here be -kumbhe pi rather than -kumbhehi?
  - <sup>6</sup> Lit.: "by the outspreading (vitthāra) of the elephant ornaments."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thus I translate samantā sevamānehi. This sevamānehi is like the attribute to bhikkhusaṃghagaṇehi, also to brahmasamūhehi and governs the acc. rathaṃ in 17 a as well as in 17 d.

28 nobles and councillors who wore festive clothing and flaunted manifold ornament. The glory (of the festival) was enhanced 29 by the cries of people who thirsting for merit shouted O hail! 30 O hail! O hail! The festival was surrounded by serried rows of lay sisters and lay brethren who led pure lives and who in their zeal each for himself pressed forward bearing flowers 31 and the like as offerings. Around it raged the uproar of sturdy palace servitors who were ever and again now here 32 now there, well beaten in fun by other sturdy palace servitors as if they were people fighting out a mighty quarrel with one 33 another. It was filled with the songs of praise 1 of the bards. who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments 34 fine music which spread abroad and charmed the hearers, also with the songs of the minstrels who again and again let 35 their praises resound. In devotion there surrounded it the dancers and the actors who performed dances and sang songs 36 delightful to see and to hear. Thus performing by degrees in perfect order the high sacrifice, he was wont when in mov-37 ing along the decorated road, he came to the previously erected rest-houses, to set up the relics in each of these, (he) performed each time a high festival, started again from each 38 (rest-house), continued ever on his way and so brought by degrees the relics of the Prince of the wise to the royal capital3.

Then after the King had turned the whole city into a single great place of festival — at a favorable moment when to constellation, day and hour were auspicious, in the ancient, decorated relic temple, fair as the palace of the King of the to gods — most splendid of all temples — he solemnly and in careful manner placed the two relics on a costly throne emtering the splendid by all manner of jewels. From that time onwards,

day by day more, with the four kinds of perfume<sup>1</sup>, with fine, fragrant incense, with divers kinds of blossoms of the punnāga, 43 nāga, pūga<sup>2</sup> and other trees, with countless camphor lamps of precious stones giving a brilliant light, with rows of cande-44 labra on which burned fragrant oil, with dishes full of the finest rice prepared with sweet milk, with heaps of food 45 composed of sweet-smelling rice like to the Kelāsa<sup>2</sup> mountain, with all hard and soft foods and with all that can be drunk or sipped and other (things) the wise Prince celebrated for 46 another three months a world-rejoicing sacrificial festival for the relics, amid the clang of the shell trumpets<sup>4</sup> and thus brought (the festival) to a close.

Then spake the Ruler: "Let us perform in Sahassatitha 47 a blameless festival for admission to the Order." He first sent 48 the Monarch Vīrabāhu thither. There he made him erect besides several thousand rooms of sojourn for the community, a lofty 49 house of festival resting on sixty pillars, which gleamed with manifold ornament and possessed arches covered with cloth. Hereupon he had prepared the divers objects for the ceremony 50 of admission to the Order and all the four articles of use. And then after the Vanni kings who in this and that province, 51 in Patithārattha, in Rohana and so forth, had collected with great care, much rice with the divers ingredients such as fish, 52 meat and the rest, (had gathered together) great loads of grain, sour and sweet milk, butter and so forth, also honey, 53 treacle, thickened sugar juice, raw sugar, lump sugar and the like, as well as all things fitting for an offering to the Great

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "was praised by . . . and belauded by . . . "

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. savanīyataram, lit. "very well worth hearing".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vv. 16-38 form one sentence. The principal verb is ānayi (v. 38 d with the immediately preceding gerunds). The gerunds samthapetvā v. 16 c and nikkhamitvā v. 18 c are subordinate to pavattento mahāpūjam (along with the attributes belonging to it; cf. notes to vv. 18 and 24/19).

<sup>1</sup> According to Abhp. 147, the catujjātigandhā are 1) kunkuma "saffron"; 2) yavanapuppha (?); 3) tagara = skr. tagara tabernae-montana coronaria and a fragrant powder prepared from the blossoms of the shrub; 4) turukha = skr. turukka "incense".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rottleria tinctoria (kamala tree), mesua ferrea (ironwood tree), areca catechu (areca palm).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See note to 69. 41. The tertium comparation is the white colour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit.: "together with the shell trumpet festival".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See above note to 87.71. <sup>6</sup> P. samghārāma.

<sup>7</sup> P. satthitthambhamahalaya as in 84. 84.

<sup>8</sup> P. pattatorana as in 85. 9.

54 community, King Vijayabāhu betook himself thither. He issued the invitation: "Let us take in hand the arrangement

55 of a festival for admission to the Order. Let all the Grand theras, all the middle-aged and the youthful who have trust

56 in their hearts towards us, the lords among the ascetics not fail to come to Sahassatittha," and (he) sent messengers

57 everywhere (with the invitation) 1. When all the individual groups of ascetics settled in Tambapannī heard this news, they

58 rejoiced greatly and set forth on their way from every quarter, without allowing even the administrator of their provisions to

59 remain behind, and in haste the heroes among the ascetics

60 assembled by degrees well prepared in Sahassatittha<sup>2</sup>. The King who again and again<sup>3</sup> surveyed Sahassatittha surrounded

61 as it was with ascetics felt a befitting joy, and in abundant measure the Ruler supplied the Great bhikkhu community as

62 was seemly, with excellent food and drink. Then celebrating day by day here in Sahassatittha a great sacrificial festival,

63 he made those bhikkhus who were called thereto, perform the ceremony of admission for those who were desirous of entering the Order, and celebrated the ceremony of admission

64 to the Order for half a month. Thereupon the King granted the rank of a Grand Master<sup>5</sup>, the rank of a Chief Thera<sup>6</sup>, the rank of a Grand Thera and the rank of a Parivena-Thera<sup>7</sup>

65 to such (bhikkhus) who because they had brought about the prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank.

<sup>2</sup> P. āgantvā (with the acc. of the place) samnipatimsu is merely periphrastic.

<sup>3</sup> P. muhum, used in the same way as the double muhum muhum. The same in Jā. V. 32<sup>27</sup> kim mam muhum pekkhasi hatthalomo (muhum being explained by the commentary as punappuna).

<sup>4</sup> P. sulabha. Cf. skr. sulabha, BR. s. v., 1 b. The joy corresponds to the great number of bhikkhus who have put in an appearance.

<sup>5</sup> P. mahāsāmipada. Cf. note to 53.23.

6 P. mūla(thera) pada. Cf. 69.34 mūlāmacca.

Then having bestowed on them the eight articles of use, fair, 66 worthy of a king, to the value of a thousand (gold pieces), and also to the other ascetics in succession, costly articles of 67 use, he sent many remaining articles of use to the bhikkhus settled in the Pandu and Cola countries. Then when all his 68 wishes had received fulfilment, he guided by right knowledge<sup>1</sup>, sent a messenger to his father and announced to him: "All 69 meritorious works which I have performed I have performed in the name of my royal father."

Thus in granting admission to the Order to numerous 70 ascetics at the great ford of the Vālikā river called Sahassa, in the correctly drawn<sup>2</sup> boundary, known as the 'throwing up of the waters'<sup>3</sup>, he made lustrous the nine-fold doctrine<sup>4</sup> of the sublime Buddha.

After he had for a long time made over the burden of 71 government<sup>5</sup> to his own world-famed son, this most excellent

- <sup>1</sup> P. ñāṇapubbangaman katvā, "placing right knowledge at the head." He was conscious that he was only his father's representative. W. uses the words in the oratio recta and translates: "What-soever merit hath been performed by me with a pure mind."
  - <sup>2</sup> P. parisodhita, lit. purified.
- <sup>3</sup> P. ukkbepasīmā, a term difficult to explain and occurring again 94. 17 and 97. 12. It has reference to the ceremony being performed in a building erected in a lake or in a river (see above note to 87. 71). The boundary which must enclose the space set apart for ecclesiastical functions must thus be drawn in the water. In fixing it water would have to be "thrown up" (skr. kṣip with ud), just as the earth is thrown up in fixing a boundary on land. W's note gives a correct definition: "a space in a sheet of water, duly defined, for purposes of ordination and other ecclesiastical functions". But this does not explain the etymology of the expression.
- <sup>4</sup> P. navangikam sāsanam. The nine "members" (angāni) of the holy scriptures are 1) sutta "discourse"; 2) geyya, the same with an admixture of verse; 3) veyyākaraṇa "exposition" without verse (chiefly the Abhidhamma); 4) gāthā "stanza"; 5) udāna; 6) itivuttaka; 7) jātaka, the well known three books belonging to the tipiṭaka; 8) abbhutadhamma "discourses relating to mysterious conditions"; 9) vedalla, title of some special suttas.
- <sup>5</sup> P. bhūbhāra, lit. "burden of the earth". Cf. skr. bhūbhartr "prince, ruler".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vv. 47-56 form one sentence which opens with three loc. abs.  $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ -pite (49 a),  $snjj\bar{a}_{i}$  itesu (50 c) and  $\bar{a}n$  itesu (53 c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> P. therapariveṇādikaṃ padaṃ seems to mean "the rank where the word parivena precedes thera."

King Parakkamabāhu who as described<sup>1</sup>, performed through his son an abundance of meritorious works, entered heaven when he had attained his thirty-fifth year (of reign)<sup>2</sup>.

Here ends the eighty-ninth chapter, called Description of the Festival of the King's Consecration and Other Festivals, in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

#### CHAPTER XC

# THE HISTORY OF THE EIGHT KINGS, OF VIJAYABAHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Now in the second year of King Vijayabāhu¹ who after 1 Parakkamabāhu's death, held sway over all Lankā, one of his 2 generals, Mitta by name, a faithless friend², won over as associate a slave belonging to the immediate entourage of the King. Out of lust for dominion the recreant made him whom 3 he had bribed by gifts, slay the Ruler at night. Now when 4 the younger brother of the King, the King Bhuvanekabāhu³ 5 heard of this event, he left the town of Jambuddouī, mounted in his fear a covered litter⁴ and sped on his way to the fortress of Subhācala⁵. But people who had received gifts 6 from the hands of the evil general Mitta, and were therefore bound to him from the outset, nine wicked, brutal brothers 7 from the clan of the Monasīhas⁶, pursued him and pitilessly pierced the Monarch's litter so fiercely with their pointed spears 8 that everything — seat, girths and the like² were in tatters.

- <sup>1</sup> Rājāv. jumps from Vijayabāhu IV., passing over his immediate successors, to the history of Alakeśvara and the Chinese invasion. See note to 91.14.
  - P. dummitta with reference to the general's name mitta "friend".
- <sup>3</sup> Räjaratn. calls him Lokekabāhu Bhuvanekabāhu, Nik.-s. Mahābhuvanaikabāhu.
- <sup>4</sup> P. yana, used of every kind of conveyance. W's translation "litter" is undoubtedly right.
- <sup>5</sup> Subhācala is like its synonyms: Subhagiri, Subhapabbata, Sundarapabbata, the name for the present so-called Yāpahu.
  - 6 See note to 38. 13.
- <sup>7</sup> P. andolipatiakādikam. The seats of these litters were evidently suspended in girths to counterbalance the shaking. Hense the expression andoli "swing", while pattaka means the girths.

<sup>1</sup> evam evam even in this way.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Rājāv. 82 years, Pūjāv. 33 years. The number given in the Mhvs. includes those years when Vijayabāhu carried on the government. The latter is called Bōsat Vijayabāhu by the Nik.-s. as well as by the Rājaratn.

90. 39

9 He (Bhuvanekabāhu) sprang to the ground from the litter and betook himself in haste, unharmed, to the village of Kāla10 gallaka<sup>1</sup>. Here from a stall where elephants were tethered<sup>3</sup>,
11 he took a specially good elephant, mounted it and having

again crossed the great Kolabhinna river then in flood, the King reached that selfsame Subhagiri.

Now the Senāpati Mitta forced his way into the town of Jambuddoņī, into the palace of the Great king, seated himself

13 on the splendid lion throne of the Great king, and showed himself, the recreant, to the whole army his person adorned with

14 the royal ornaments. But now all the dignitaries who sup-

15 ported him, came together, one following the other. They thought: "We must under all circumstances win over by (means of) proper pay the whole army, that part belonging to our

16 own country as well as the alien part." They began in the first instance, to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya

17 warriors at the head of whom was Thakuraka. But these declared: "We have at all times been people who one felt must be won over. Now ye must under all circumstances,

18 first of all by good pay win over the Sīhala warriors and make them contented." And none of them now accepted the

19 pay. "Be it so", answered the others. They paid all the Sīhalas their money and then called upon the Āriya to take

20 their pay. But again they refused with the words: "Our pay

21 shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now." So although all the ministers ever and again urgently pressed

22 them to accept their pay, the well-armed Ariya knights

<sup>1</sup> Probably Kalugallagama in the Kudagalboda Korale, NNW. from Kurunegala.

<sup>2</sup> P. gajabandhaniyam is the loc. of -dhani (fem. of -dhana).

3 In contrast to the Sīhalas, these must be South Indian mercenaries. The reader is referred to the tribe of the Ariya mentioned in 61.86 and 63.15. This (not āriya) would be at any rate the correct form of the name according to the phonetic rules of Pāli. See also below v. 44.

<sup>4</sup> P. nibandham karoti "makes an urgent petition". Cf. VvCo. 260<sup>18</sup> devi punappunam nibandham karoti "the queen urged him again and again (to fulfil her wish)."

5 P. sajjitā. This is obviously meant to call attention to the

declared: "We shall say everything in the presence of the King." They betook themselves to the King's abode and when 23 they saw the Senapati Mitta sitting on the lion throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Tha- 24 kuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment 25 swiftly struck off the Senapati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the 26 town, all the Sihala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Ariya soldiers with Tha- 27 kuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhu- 28 vanekabāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words: "Be 29 it so", all the Ariya and Sīhala warriors united and brought the King, their lord, Bhuvanekabāhu from the town of Subha- 30 giri to the town of Jambuddoni and with reverence consecrated him King.

From that time onward the King made the whole double 31 army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like, drove back all the Damila foes, like Kālingarāyara, 32 Colagangadeva and the rest who had landed from the opposite coast, as also the Vanni kings in Sīhala, Kadalīvāṭa, Āpāna, 33 Tipa, Himiyānaka and so on, and freed Lankā from the briers 34 of the foe. He took up his abode for several years in the town of Jambuddonī, betook himself thereupon to the town 85 of Subhagiri, had built here an extensive royal city, gleaming in the beauty, and abode there.

As he then won over all his subjects by a just policy, he 36 was a just king and a believing adherent of the Doctrine. He 37 bestowed on the skilful scribes of the sacred books abundant money and had the whole of the Tipitaka copied by them, 38 had it preserved here and there in the vihāras of Lankā, and thus the Lord of men caused the dissemination of the sacred texts. Several times, too, the Ruler caused the festival 39

threatening aspect of the situation. The Ariyas are fully armed throughout the negotiations.

<sup>1</sup> P. pālidhamma could also mean "the Doctrine in the Pāli tongue".

of admission to the Order - which is a festival for the world - to be so celebrated that it was radiant with the splendid 40 offerings made, and thus he brought growth and prosperity to the Order of the Sage — the Order whose sublime greatness must be reverenced by the (inhabitants of the) three 41 worlds. He celebrated daily a great sacrifice for the Tooth Relic and he provided the bhikkhu community with the four articles of equipment.

In this wise he wrought good, while dwelling in Subhagiri and after carrying on the government for 11 years, he entered heaven.

43 Once when (here in Lanka) a famine arose, there landed, sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held 44 sway in the Pandu realm, a Damila general known by the name of Āriyacakkavattin who though he was no Āriya2 was

45 yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction and entered the proud stronghold, the town

46 of Subhagiri. The sacred Tooth Relic<sup>3</sup> and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Pandu

- 47 kingdom. There he made over the Tooth Relic to King Kulasekhara who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pandus.
  - <sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the text here. Of v. 43a the MSS. have only chātasmim, five syllables are therefore wanting. The Col. Ed. supplements jāyamānasmim. I should prefer chātasmim idha jātasmim, because the similarity of the first and third words would make the slip of the writer of the archetype easily intelligible.
    - <sup>2</sup> See above, note to v. 16.
  - 3 According to 89. 41 Vijayabāhu had deposited the Tooth and Bowl Relics in Pulatthinagara. Evidently his successor had brought them back to Subhagiri to the town built by him there, a theory supported by 90. 41. The Sinhalese kings liked to keep the palladium of the kingdom in their immediate neighbourhood. It is remarkable how in the later parts of the Mhvs. the pattadhātu is relegated to the background — it is only just mentioned again in 90.72 — and how the whole religious and political interest centres in the dathadhatu.
  - 4 Kulasekhara reigned 1268-1308 (H. W. Codbington, HC. p. 80). His general Āriva Cakravartin is mentioned in a South Indian inscription (No. 110 in Annual Report of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras Government, 1903 according to Codrington, l. c. p. 87).

Hereupon the son of the Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu¹ and grand- 48 son of the mighty King Parakkamabāhu (II.), Parakkama- 49 bahu by name, became king and raised aloft — as if to fend off like a cloud the heat from the people who dwelt in 50 Lanka - the umbrella (of-dominion), the emblem of its proud kings - fair through the cool shade (it gave) and like to the disk of the full moon. And he reflected: "That Tooth Relic 51 which was taken to the Pandu kingdom - that relic of the Prince of the wise, our highest protecting deity, worthy of veneration by our race, how shall I bring it back from there?" 52 And as the Ruler saw no other means but friendly negotiation, he set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook 53 himself to the Pandu kingdom and sought out the Ruler of the Pandus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably, received from the hands of the King the Tooth Relic, returned 54 to the Island of Lanka and placed the relic in superb Pu- 55 latthinagara in the former relic temple. Then the Ruler took 56 up his abode in this city and began to carry on the government without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings. The King performed daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and 57 accumulated unweariedly a great abundance of meritorious works. He-provided the bhikkhu community with robes and 58 the other articles of use and thus having furthered the laity and the Order, he fell under the power of death

The son of Bhuvanekabahu, the ruler of the town of 59 Subhagiri3, Bhuvanekabāhu became king in Hatthigiri-

<sup>1</sup> See 88. 35 and note. The Mhvs. tells us nothing of the fate of the younger brothers of Bhuvanekabāhu L.: Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (88. 19-20). Evidently they died before Bhuvanekabāhu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. rajantti. W's translation "laws of Manu" is too restricted.

<sup>3</sup> With reference to a fragmentary interpolation in three MSS after the line 59 ab see my edition as well as W's note on p. 316. The translation would run as follows: "With the constant thought: the son of Bhuvanekabahu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, the prince by name Bhuvanekabahu, cherishes the desire for (usurping) the royal dignity at a future time, the King Parakkamabahu ordered a barber with the help of the king's people to put out both his eyes although

60 pura1. The Lord of men wishing to acquire merit, rejoicing in generosity and other good deeds, instituted permanently a 61 regular alms of food for the bhikkhu community. Every year the King celebrated in a manner worthy of the highest kingly power, the festival of his coronation and in conjunction with 62 that in the Jetthamula month, after an opulent sacrificial festival, he had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus he made the Order of the Victor shine 63 brightly. After having performed these and many other meritorious works in manifold ways, the second<sup>3</sup> Bhuvanekabahu also fell a victim to impermanence.

Parakkamabāhu IV

His still more eminent son, Parakkamabāhu4, wise and dowered with courage, was (thereupon king) in the superb 65 city. With the love of faith in the three (sacred) objects, he assembled the bhikkhus and made them perform several times 66 over the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the royal courtyard he erected in careful fashion a temple for the Tooth Relic, fair with its walls and pillars, painted with bright-hued 67 pictures, provided with golden spires, with gate posts of 68 gold, splendid, three storeys high. There he set up a canopy 69 of coloured stuffs, strips of cloth and the like. This he decorated

he was his younger brother (cousin) . . . ." The last words are unintelligible because the sentence has been left unfinished.

1 The text here has like 99.77 the synonym Hatthiselapura (Kurunegals). The Nik.-s. calls the king Vat-himi-bhuvanaikabāhu.

- <sup>2</sup> June—July. 3 The Col. Ed. has dutive and W. translated accordingly: "in the second year of his reign." Codeingron (C. A. L. R. X. 2, p. 91) emended this into dutiyo and this emendation is confirmed by all the MSS. known to me. Codrington, (HC. p. 82), points out quite rightly that according to the Dalada-sirita the King must have reigned at least 9 years. The wording of v. 61 points also to a longer reign. Rajaratn. gives the number of years reigned and the number of the coronation festivals as 24.
- 4 Nik.-s. and Rajaratn. call him Panditaparakramabahu. For asi in 64 d 91.9 with note should be compared. The ascent of the throne by Parakkamabāhu IV. took place according to the Daladā-sirita in the Saka year 1247 = 1325/6 A.D. (Codeington, l. c.).

<sup>5</sup> P. singa = skr. śrnga, BR. s. v. 1 f. Cf. 90. 90.

with garlands of gold, silver and pearl which hung down on all sides and he attached to it a wall of silken curtains adorned 70 therewith 1. Here (in the tent) he spread a seat, radiant with coloured draperies, and decorated it on every side with rows 71 of golden and silver vases and with rows of candelabra of silver, gold and precious stones. On this seat he then full of 72 reverence, placed the casket with the Tooth Relic and the casket with the Bowl Relic. Hereupon he set about performing 75 day by day a great sacrificial festival in worthy fashion for the relics of the Master — a festival glorious with flowers 73 and perfumes and with lamps and incense, provided with all foods soft and solid and with all that one drinks or sips, beautified by the reverberating<sup>2</sup> sound of the five musical 74 instruments, fair through the dances and songs performed by the dancing girls and the actors, preparing delight for the world. With villages and fields, women slaves and men slaves, 76 with elephants, cattle, buffaloes and other gifts he celebrated a sacrificial festival for the relics. With the reflection: "What 77 the daily ceremonial was in the lifetime of the Enlightened One, the highest guide of the whole world, that of the Tooth Relic shall be from this day henceforth," the King composed 78 in the Sihala tongue a work expounding this, with the title "Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic" and in keeping with it he 79 performed daily a daily ceremony for the relic\*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the description of a kind of tent. First its ceiling (up to 68 c) is described and then the side walls. The instrumentals in 68 d and 69 ab must belong to the gerund alamkariya, but at the same time to sobhitam through the medium of olambamānāhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. vijumbhamāna, otherwise as a rule vijambh. Cf. skr. jrambh, jrmbhate.

<sup>3</sup> P. dathādhātucāritta, rendering of the Sinh. daladāsirita. The work - it was mentioned above, note to 90.63 - still exists. See Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The passage is significant. It shows that in Ceylon just as in the temples of Egypt a daily ritual was observed wherein the relics (and the images, cf. the allusions in 38.56, 53.30) took the place of the living and present Buddha. See Arthur A. PERERA C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f., and above Culavamsa I, p. 359; note 4. Cf. also below 97. 33, 101. 4.

To the office of royal teacher the King appointed a Grand thera from the Cola country, a self-controlled man, versed in

81 various tongues and intimate with philosophic works. Ever and again he heard from him continuously all the Jatakas,

82 learned them (by heart) and retained their contents. Then he rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful

83 Jātakas from the Pāli tongue into the Sīhala speech. He recited them in the midst of the Grand theras who were

84 intimate with the three Piţakas, and after correcting them, he had them written down and distributed throughout Lankā.

85 And these Jātakas he made over to a wise thera, Medhamkara by name, whom he had gained for the purpose, that they

86 might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and thereby handed down still further. Then after having built

87 for him a parivena with the King's own name, he assigned him the four villages of Purāṇagāma, Sannīrasela, Labujamandaka

88 and Moravanka. In the vihara of Titthagama where the big,

89 long pāsāda forty-five cubits in size erected by the great Vijayabāhu<sup>3</sup>, had fallen into decay, King Parakkamabāhu

90 himself built a beautiful, long pāsāda of thirty cubits in size, two storeys high, provided with lofty spires, glorious with

1 This translation of the Jātakas bears the Sinhalese title Pansiya-panasjātaka. See Geiger, l. c. p. 6. Probably the king was not himself the author of the Jātaka translation. But he may have started the work, and it was an act of courtesy on the part of the translators that they ascribed it to the king. Cf. Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinh. Manuscr. in the Br. Mus., p. 118 ff.; Malalasekera, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Without doubt this is the present Totagamuva, about a mile north of Hikkaduva not far from the coast in the Galle District. Śrī-Rāhula Thera, the author of the Sāļalihini-sandesa is called after it.

3 Vijayabahu IV. with the epithet of Bodhisatta, thence called "The great" here.

<sup>4</sup> In the description of the architectural works of Parakkamabāhu I in Pulatthinagara dighapāsādā and cūlapāsādā are constantly contrasted with each other (see 78. 36, 37, 50). We have evidently to do with particular architectural terms.

5 See above note to v. 66.

bright-hued painting, and assigned it then to the venerable 91 Grand thera Kāyasatti who dwelt in the Vijayabāhu-pariveņa1. He also granted him a village, called Sālaggāma, on the banks 92 of the river forming the boundary (of the monastery), making it a possession of the parivena. In fair Titthagama he had a 93 park laid down, provided with five thousand cocopalms. In 94 Devapura<sup>3</sup> he built a long temple consisting of two storeys, provided with four pairs of gates for the image of the recumbent lion4. To this temple he assigned the grove-encircled village 95 Ganthimana by name which he proclaimed as the property of the Buddha. In the vihāra of Valligāma<sup>5</sup> the Ruler erected a 96 long pasada, consisting of two storeys, which after his own name, was called Parakkamabāhu(-pāsāda), and granted it the 97 (village) Sāligiri by name as a large maintenance village belonging to the Great community. In fair Viddumagama, not far 98 from the town of Rajagama he had a splendid vihara built, connected with the Sirighanananda-parivena, with a bodhi tree 99 and an image-house and assigned it to his teacher, the Grand thera from the Cola country?. Thereupon he founded in the 100 charming district of Mayadhanu8 a new town with fine walls and gate-towers. There he had a fair temple erected to 101 the gods with lofty spires and two storeys, provided with walls and gate-towers, placed there a glorious statue of 102

90. 102

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. 81. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> All the MSS. have upa sīmanadītīram. Sīmanadī might also be the name of the river. The emendation of the Col. Ed. into Gimhanadī (now Ginganga; cf. 75. 22, gimhatitha = Gintota) is certainly tempting, but I do not venture a departure from the uniform reading of the MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Devapura or Devanagara = Devundara, Dondra. See 60. 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I. e. the recumbent Buddha who is always compared to a lion at rest.

<sup>5</sup> See 80, 38

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> W. points to *Elgiriya*, a village in the Veligama Korale, 6 miles NNE. of Veligama and 10 miles NW. of Matara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See above v. 80 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The territory whose centre was Sītāvaka about 25 miles E. of Colombo.

90. 109

the lotus-hued King of the gods (Visnu) and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.

After performing such and other good deeds for the laity 103 and the Order and many meritorious works, he fell under the power of death.

Gifted with the power of meritorious works which he had 104 performed formerly, he after attaining worthless wealth, renounced desire and did nought but good, finding above all pleasure in doing his best1. Thinking of what is best for you and on universal impermanance, decide, O ye pious people, whose wealth is faith, for meritorious works amongst which generosity and moral discipline have first place3.

After his death Vannibhuvanekabāhu was king and 105 106 after his death came King Vijayabahu. But after the death of these kings the all-wise Bhuvanekabāhu4, the fourth, was ruler in Gangasiripura situated in the charming vicinity

1 The acc. attattham must be governed by rato. This, it is true, is otherwise construed with the loc.

2 P. katvā ganhatha is a verbal combination witnessing to Sinhalese influence. The equivalent in Sinh. for which however, I have no example in the literature, would be kotagannarā. Since gannarā gives a reflective sense to the verb to which it is attached, katvā ganhatha means "do for yourselves what is for your advantage".

3 With verse 102 or 101 the second part of the Culavamsa which begins with chapter 80, comes to an end. The MSS, also indicate this. Cf. my ed. I. p. IV of the Introd., as well as the notes to the passage. If we assume that it closed originally with v. 102, which is indicated by two of the MSS., then there was added later a summarizing sloka and then a strophe in artificial metre. Exactly the same thing occurs at the close of the first part (79.84). The addition was evidently intended to veil the break in the text and lead over to the new part.

4 (Vanni-) Bhuvanaikabāhu, Vijayabāhu and the fourth Bhuvanaikabahu are also mentioned by the Nik.-s. and Rajaratn., as successors of Parakkamabāhu IV. The inscription of the Lankātilaka-vihāra belongs to Bhuvanekabāhu IV. (see B. Gunasekara, JRAS., C. B. X, nr. 34, 1887, p. 83 ff.). He built this and the Gadaladeniya-vihāra. See note to 91. 30. The King's minister Senālankādhikāra who is named in the inscr., is also mentioned in Nik.-s.

of the Mahavalukaganga - a religious man, a mine of fair vir- 107 tues. He who gives heed to tradition, let him know that in 108 the fourth year of his reign, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-four years had elapsed since the Nirvana of the Sage1.

When ye have understood how in antiquity the most ex- 109 cellent men when they had experienced the time hard to experience's of a Buddha, did good unweariedly without ceasing, such as almsgiving and so forth, so ought ye in perfect fashion to perform all good (deeds).

Here ends the ninetieth Chapter, called «The History of the eight Kings, of Vijayabahu and his Successors», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 I. e. 1350 A.D. The same in Nik.-s., but Rajaratn. has the figures 1896 = 1352 A. D. Both numbers are approximative. According to the Lankātilaka inscription Bhuvanekabāhu IV. ascended the throne already in 1266 of the Saka era, i. e. 1344-5 A.D. For the whole subject see. H. W. Codrington, HC. p. 83. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Dullabbhaniyam atidullabha- is merely tautological, labbhaniya is furthermore a spurious form, made to suit the metre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gampola, see 86. 18.

## CHAPTER XCI

# HISTORY OF THE FOUR KINGS, OF PARAKKAMABAHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Now after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu there were two kings, Parakkamabāhu¹ and the discerning Vikkamabāhu².

2 There lived then at the time of Vikkamabāhu in the fair town known by the name of Peraddoņī<sup>3</sup>, situated in the charming

3 neighbourhood of the Mahā(vāluka)gangā, an eminent prince, sprung from the Giri family, the discerning Alagakkonāra4

4 by name, adorned with majesty, faith and other virtues, full of the desire to further the laity and the Order, of great might.

The town of Kalyānī shines with her palaces, bodhi trees, her superb cloisters and mandapas, with walls, halls, image temples and cetiyas, with her gorgeous shops, her splendid gate-towers and arches." Now to the South of this town Kalyānī which is described in such words, which

1 According to the Hapugastenna inscr. (JRAS., C. B. xxII, nr. 65, p. 362, Codrington, HC., p. 89) Parakkamabāhu V. ascended the throne simultaneously with Bhuvanekabāhu IV. in the year 1344/5. He reigned for a time (probably till 1356/7) with him and after that along with Vikkamabāhu IV. (III. according to C.).

<sup>2</sup> For insers. of the time of Vikkamabāhu IV. see Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 78. According to the inser. of Vigulavatta (not far from Gampola), the fourth year of the King's reign coincides with the end of the Saka year 1282 = 1360 A. D., his ascent of the throne falls therefore in 1356/7 A. D.

3 I. e. Peradeniya not far from Kandy on the Mahaveliganga.

4 Our chronicle makes short work of the undoubtedly eminent personality of this man. There is a good deal more about the founder of Jayavaddhana in the Rājāv., the Rājaratn. and the Nik.-s. What is above all important is that Alagakkonāra succeeded in breaking the power of the Jaffna king which was then at its height. Cf. also below note to v. 9. For the Kitsirimevan inscription of Kelani and the Alagakkonāra mentioned in it see C. A. L. R. I, p. 152; II, p. 149, 182.

was visited by the great Sage, in a place where pious people dwelt, who were devoted to the Buddha and so forth, on the great lake not far from the spacious village of Dārugāma 7, 7 he built the famous town of Jayavaddhanakoṭṭa 8, embellished with great trains of walls, with gateways, bastions and the like. While he dwelt in the town, the mighty one, craving 8 for meritorious works, performed many good deeds, such as the furthering of the Order and the rest. In that town the 9 fifth Bhuvanekabāhu 4 was (king), religious, venerating with constant reverence the Buddha and the other (sacred) objects.

1 The single words in this compound are placed with great freedom. Buddhādiyuttajanakappitasādhuṭhāne stands evidently for buddhādi-yutta-sādhu-jana-kappita-ṭhāne. Buddhādi stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha. Yutta means in the first place "joined with something", then "hanging on, adhering to something"; kappita means "provided with something".

<sup>2</sup> The village is called so in the Rajaratn. Thus Darūrugāma° in the Mhvs. stands instead of uru-Dārugāma°.

3 Later simply called Cotta by the Portuguese. The town covered what are now the eastern districts of Colombo.

4 As in 90.64, āsi, thus ahu must be supplemented by rājā, or else ahu (āsi) has the more pregnant meaning "he lived, he reigned". I do not believe that the Mhvs. considers Bhuvanekabāhu to be the name under which Alagakkonara reigned. This opinion is found only in the Rajaratn., when it says: Alagakkon nam mantrisvarayano Bhuranekabāhu-nam mahāraja-ra Gangasiripura rājyasrīya-ta pāmiņa devalova giyêya "The great minister Alagakkon by name who had become king under the name of Bhuvanekabāhu went, after enjoying in Gangāsiripura the good fortune of the royal dignity, to the world of the gods." But in the Mhvs. we should, in this case, expect an iti or ti namena after Bhuvanekabhujo. The assumption that Alagakkonara and Bhuvanekabahu are one and the same has now been given up (cf. JRAS. C. B. XXIV, nr. 68, p. 103, note \*) above all because in the Attanagalu-vihāravamsa it is said that the work was translated in the Saka year 1304 (= 1382/3) in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, at the instigation of Alakesvara (or Alagakkonāra). — The tradition followed by the Rājaratn. probably confuses Alagakkonāra with his son Vīra Alakesvara who (under the name of Vijayabahu) is said to have reigned a number of years as king, though after Vīrabāhu's death. For further particulars see E.W. Perera, Alakéswara: his Life and Times, JRAS. C. B. xviii, Nr. 55 (1904), p. 281 ff.; H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 85, 89. Cf. below, note to v. 14.

10 To the community he dispensed in abundant measure regular repasts and other alms and to achieve the furtherance of the

11 Order, he gathered the bhikkhus together, ascertained those who lived immoral lives and had them cast forth from the Order, but he showed favour to the conscientious obtained for them the precedence and so made the Order of the Victor

12 shine. For seven thousand pieces of silver he had a casket fashioned, preserved in it the Tooth Relic and sacrificed to it in lasting reverence.

13 When the time of this King — after he had held sway for twenty years — had expired, a man called Vīrabāhu 14 attained the royal dignity, did likewise all (that was good) such as furthering the Order and fell under the power of the King of death.

1 The 20th year of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V. falls in the year 1391/2 A.D., the beginning of the reign accordingly in 1372/3. It seems, however, that he reigned for some time, if only in name, together with Vīrabāhu. Cf. S. DE SILVA, Vijaya Báhu VI., JRAS. C. B. XXII, no. 65, p. 316 ff.; H. W. Codrington, HC. p. 89. In the inscription on the Alampundi plate (see V. Venkayya, El. III, p. 224 ff.) King Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, boasts that he had vanquished the kings of the Tundīra, Coļa and Pāndya as well as the Simhala. The inscr. is dated in the Saka year 1305 for 1307 = 1383/4.

<sup>2</sup> The Mhvs. passes over here a very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon the knowledge of which we owe above all to Chinese sources. (Cf. J. M. Senaveratne according to Sylvain Lévi, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, nr. 68, p. 98 ff; further xxviii, nr. 73, p. 81 ff.) and to the Rajav. From the different sources we gather that the son of the great Alagakkonāra, Vīra Alakesvara, under the name of Vijayabāhu (VI.) seized the royal dignity in battle with his brother Vīrabāhu. During his reign in Jayavaddhanakotta a Chinese expedition of the Emperor Yung-lo under the leadership of Tsheng-huo came to Ceylon. The Chinese came into conflict with the Sinhalese ruler who is called A-le-ko-na-r (Alagakkonāra) and took the king away with them as prisoner. The Rajav. calls the leader of the Chinese Mahā-Cīn-Dosraja, the king taken prisoner by him, Vijayabāhu. Here then instead of the family name, the adopted name is given. Now it seems to me that by confusing this Vijayabāhu (VI) with V. IV. the above discussed gap in the Rajav. is explained (note to 90.1). The probability of a mistake is supported by the fact that the Rajav. speaks of four younger brothers of King V. who are said to

Then at a later time, in the year one thousand nine 15 hundred and fifty-three after the final Nirvana of the holy Enlightened One, came King Parakkamabāhu¹, an abode 16 of wisdom and manly virtue, a scion of the race of the Sun, in the charming town named Jayavaddhana — to the incomparable, sublime fortune of the royal dignity and with faith in the three (sacred) jewels, he set about the holding of a festival. For the tooth of the Prince of the wise the Ruler 17 built a three-storeyed, splendid pāsāda which offered a superb sight. Then he fashioned a golden casket, fair, beautifully 18 set with the nine precious stones, and another casket in the form of a shell, gleaming in manifold splendour and set with the most exquisite jewels and which held the first casket; and yet another golden casket into which he also put the second. Finally the King who strove after salvation in the present as 19

have been murdered. Now Vijayabāhu IV. had in fact four brothers according to Mhvs. 87. 16-17. According to the Rājāv. the capture took place A. B. 1958 = 1404 A. D. For the whole see Codrington HC. p. 85 f., 89. If one accepts this Vijayabāhu who is omitted in the Mhvs., as the sixth of the name in the list of the kings, then instead of Vijayabāhu VI. (92.4) one must read Vijayabāhu VII.

1 The Mhvs. has nothing to say about the events which preceded the reign of Parakkamabahu VI. Cf. for this H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 85 ff., 89. The date given in the Mhvs. for the beginning of the reign 1953 A.B. = 1409 A.D. is also found in the Saddharmālankāraya. In another passage however in this work the date is given as 1958 A.B. = 1414 A. D. The same in the inscr. of Pepiliyana (see below, note tov. 24). It may be assumed as probable that Parakkamabāhu VI. came to the throne in 1412, remained three years in Rayigam (District Kalutara, Census of Ceylon 1921, II, p. 44) and removed in 1415 to Jayavaddhana where the coronation took place. The Mhvs. has hardly anything of historical value either to tell us about the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI., except perhaps in v. 24, that his mother's name was Sunettā. It is a great pity that the compiler of the third part of the Culavs. restricts himself almost entirely to stereotyped descriptions of festivals for the Tooth Relic. Our knowledge of modern events is gained from quite other sources. In the first place there is the Rajavali, also in the version given by Valentyn (Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol. V); further Do Couto and DE BARROS (see D. FERGUSON, The History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A.D. as related by de Barros and do Couto,

in future existences1, made a (fourth) large, incomparably magnificent casket which he covered with gold of the finest lustre, and in these four superb caskets he placed the tooth. 20 Then calling to mind all the festivals in Lanka celebrated by kings who were filled with pure reverence for the sacred Order of the Enlightened One, he thought: "I too will in like manner venerate him unweariedly with all the produce of my king-21 dom<sup>2</sup>." With such reverential thoughts he celebrated in his faith sacrificial festivals in all manner of ways for the relics and the like. To the community he dispensed regular repasts, 22 together with the eight articles of equipment, month by month, as well as every year sacrificial offerings and a gift 23 of kathina robes for the bhikkhus in the three provinces and a great almsgiving in pious fashion and garments every year and thereby he, the highly famed, who longed for merit, laid 24 up merit. In memory of his mother the meritorious (King) had erected in the Pappata grove<sup>3</sup> in her name the Sunetra-25 parivena4 and a monastery for the community and granted it many villages and fields. Then putting down in that selfsame 26 place an abundant alms destined for the community, to be distributed for three days among the ascetics who had come

JRAS. C. B. xx, nr. 60 (1909), p. 1 ff.). For the reign of Parakkama-bāhu VI. I refer the reader besides Codrington, l. c. p. 90 ff., 99 f., to E. W. Perera, The Age of Srí Parákrama Báhu VI., JRAS. C. B. xxii, nr. 63 (1911), p. 6 ff. For inscriptions of this king see E. Müller, AIC. no. 160; H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 81 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the meaning of bhavavibhava. Cf. below v. 36.

<sup>2</sup> In these last paricchedas the language is treated with extraordinary arbitrariness. The construction of the compounds and the position of the words in them is often quite contrary to rule. The translation can therefore only give the general meaning of such passages.

<sup>3</sup> The name is preserved in that of the Pepiliyana-vihāra not far from Colombo (Census, 1921, vol. II, p. 36). An inscription in this monastery is dated in the 39th year of the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. The date of his ascent of the throne is given as A. B. 1958 = 1514.

<sup>4</sup> Sunetrā or Sunetradevī, the wife of Vijayabāhu (VI.) who is supposed to be the father of Parakkamabāhu VI., was a Kālinga princess.

<sup>5</sup> Gāmakhette is governed by pūjetvā in 25 c. Thus in my edition the comma must be placed after pūjetvā, not after tapassinam.

from the three provinces, he laid up in pious fashion an abundance of merit. He had the sacred three Pitakas together with the 27 commentaries and the tīkās copied and caused a summary of the teaching of the Buddha<sup>1</sup> (to be made). He also granted 28 villages and the like to the scribes, that they might copy day by day the books of the true doctrine. Whatever had fallen 29 into decay on the Mahiyangana-cetiva and other cetivas everywhere he had renewed and the plaster coating repaired. In 30 the same way he had all the stucco work and so forth carried out on the Gandaladoni monastery and on the Lankatilaka? and others. While celebrating a great feast and a great 31 sacrificial festival he repeatedly had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus the wise Lord of men having 32 taken on himself the burden of government and wrought good for fifty and two years3, bestowed on the bhikkhu community, 33 serving it in faith, twenty-six thousand one hundred and forty times the three garments and other articles of equipment and 34 three thousand four hundred and thirty-two kathina robes. Piously devoted to the three (sacred) objects he who greatly 35 venerated the Order of the Victor, dispensed immeasurable wealth and in this wise did all kinds of good.

Dowered with faith, discernment and charitableness, a superb 36 jewel of virtue, he recognizing the worthlessness of acquired riches, performed in such wise, continually, unweariedly meritorious works. When ye have understood that, ye as those who know and are striving after salvation in this existence and in future existences, should also continually and in the

<sup>1</sup> I take buddhassa sāsanasamgaham akā to mean this and refer the reader to titles of books like Abhidhammatthasamgaha, Paccayasamgaha, Saddhammasamgaha etc. W. gives a totally different rendering. He takes samgaha in the sense of "kindliness, protection, favour" and translates: "encouraged the religion of Buddha". It seems to me, moreover, that in vv. 27 and 28 special stress is laid on the literary activity of the King. Of course he only suggested the work.

<sup>2</sup> Both vihāras, Gadaladeniya and Lankatilaka are situated not far from Kandy.

<sup>3</sup> Rājāv. and Rājaratn. have the same.

4 See above note to v. 19.

right way do a quantity of meritorious works<sup>1</sup> which bestow you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-first chapter, called «History of the Four Kings, of Parakkamabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

### CHAPTER XCII

# HISTORY OF THE SEVEN KINGS, OF JAYABAHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After his death, his grandson Jayabāhu<sup>1</sup> became king; 1 then Bhuvanekabāhu, after he had murdered him (Jayabāhu). After obtaining the royal consecration, he lived seven years. 2 After his death Parakkamabāhu known on account of his learning by the name of Pandita, was king in that fair town, 3 and hereafter Vīraparakkamabāhu. On his death Vijaya-4

1 The kings in vv. 1—5 are numbers 108 (169) to 113 (175) of my list. Parakkamabāhu VIII. had two sons: Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.) and (Dharma)pakkamabāhu IX. Both seem to have been made co-regents by their father in the year 1509. But Parakkamabāhu IX., although he lived at least till 1528, was apparently of no great influence. He is not at all mentioned in our chronicle. — The Rājāv. makes Vīra-Parakkamabāhu, not Jayabāhu, the successor of Parakkamabāhu VI. The same name appears again however later as that of Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu's successor. The Rājaratn. inserts a king Vīrabāhu before Jayabāhu to whom a reign of 12 years is ascribed. The list of the kings (= Mhvs. 92. 1-5) in the Sinhalese chronicles is as follows:

Rājāv. Vīra-Parakkamabāhu Rājaratn. Vīrabāhu (12 yrs.)
(1468—1472/3) Jayabāhu

Rhuvanekabāhu (VI) (7 yrs.) Bhuvanekabāhu

Bhuvanekabühu (VI) (7 yrs.) (1472/3--1480/1)

Paņdita-Parakkamabāhu (VII) 1480/1—1484

Vīra-Parakkamabāhu (VIII) (20 yrs.) , ? 1484—1518

Dharma-Parakkamabāhu (22 yrs.) 1509—1528

Vijayabāhu (VI) 1509—1521

Buvanekabāhu (VII) 1521—1551 .

bāhu

bāhu

Bhuvanekabāhu

Pandita-Parakkama-

Vikrama-Parakkama-

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<sup>1</sup> For katvā ganhātha cf. 90. 104 with the note.

bāhu was king whose adornment was his virtue, and after 5 his death Bhuvanekabāhu was king. And after these kings, each according to his faith and his power, had achieved the furtherance of the laity and the Order, they went thither in accordance with their deeds.

- Now Vīravikkama a mighty man, sprung from the line of Sirisamghabodhi<sup>1</sup>, became king in the year two thousand and eighty-four after the final Nirvana of the Enlightened One<sup>2</sup>.
- 7 Dwelling in the town of Senkhandasela-Sirivaddhana, beautifi-
- 8 ed by the course of the Mahāvālukagangā, he gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and undertook in
- 9 his faith meritorious works. The fair relic of the Prince of the wise he brought to a piece of land charmingly situated

10 not far from his royal palace. Then he built a cetiya and

The years of the reigns are given according to Codernaton (HC., p. 93 ff.) Inscriptions: Bhuvanekabāhu VI.: inscr. of Dedigama, Bell, Report of Kegalla Dist., p. 83 ff.; Vijayabāhu VI., ibid. p. 85 ff. (on the Kelani inscr. and Dharma-Parakkamabāhu, ibid. p. 86); Bhuvanekabāhu VII., JRAS. C. B. XXII, no. 65, p. 267 ff. See further below, note to 95. 5. The history and chronology of Ceylon at the end of the Middle Ages suffer particularly from the fact that the island was not under one dominion but was split up into several kingdoms. Thus kings who were contemporaries are represented as succeeding one another. The kings in the above list reigned in Koţţe (Dharma-Parakkamabāhu perhaps in Kelani). Then in addition to these there are the dynasties of Sītāvaka and Kandy. Vīravikkama (v. 6) is according to Wickremasinghe (EZ. III. p. 44) probably identical with Kumāra Bandāra, the son of Vijaya Bandāra who reigned in Kandy at the time of Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.) and Bhuvanekabāhu VII.

- <sup>1</sup> Mhvs. 36. 78 ff.
- <sup>2</sup> = 1540 A. D. Rajaratn. has 2085 A. B. = 1541 A. D.
- I. e. Kandy. The account evidently goes back here to the rise of the kingdom of Kandy, the high country (uda-rata) that did its utmost to preserve its independence as against the kings in Kotte and Sītāvaka until it fell under the power of Rājasīha in 1580. It is regrettable that the compiler has no interest in political questions, but considers only the relations of the kings to the Order. To judge by the number of figures contained in his narrative, it looks as if he had consulted a puññapotthaka (cf. Mhvs. 32. 25 ff.) i. e. a book in which the meritorious works of the king are inscribed.

near to it a two-storeyed house for the Uposatha1 ceremony, as well as round about the town eighty-six dwellings for the 11 community furnished with a roofing of brick and so forth, made the bhikkhus take up their abode here and there, granted them maintenance and heard preached the true doctrine of the Victor. After celebrating a magnificent sacrificial 12 festival, he hearkened in faith to sifty-five sermons of the doctrine the preaching whereof lasted the whole night. On 13 thirty thousand leaves he had (sacred) books written down and to the Tipitaka he made an offering of sixty thousand (gold pieces). He had one hundred and eighty images made 14 of the Enlightened One and one hundred and thirty caskets for the placing therein of relics and so laid up a store of meritorious works. He left his town, wandered on foot2 for 15 a day a distance of seven gavutas and venerated Mahiyangana 16 by celebrating with divers fragrant flowers, with lamps, frankincense and the like, a great festival. The Ruler of men 17 betook himself also in one day to the Sumanakuta4 and sacrificed there by pouring one hundred jars of oil into a lamp fifteen cubits in girth and five cubits high. [Since his desire was fixed 18 on the highest path6, he had the impassable road7 put in

1 P. dvibhūmakam uposathamālakam is curious. Mālaka is otherwise only an enclosed open space, a courtyard, serving for the holding of certain ceremonies. Dvibhūmaka as attribute of mālaka is unsuitable. In other instances moreover, we have only uposathagga, uposathāgāra, uposathāghara, showing that a house is meant. If this were not the case in our verse we might have here a structure of the type of a "double platform", E. R. Ayron, Memoirs, ASC. I. p. 18 ff.; A. M. Hocart, ibid., p. 57 ff.; the same in Codrington, HC. p. 186.

2 Lit. with the power of his own feet.

3 I. e. about 14 miles. Mahiyangana, now Alut-nuvara, is 24 miles distant from Kandy as the crow flies. The King's pilgrimage is of course to the Mahiyangana-thūpa.

4 Adam's Peak cannot be reached in one day from Kandy.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the passage is clear, but the language incorrect. The circumference of the bowl into which the oil was poured, would be about 22 ft. the height about 7 ft.

6 I. e. on the road leading to the highest perfection, to salvation, the path of good works.

7 Of course the road up to Adam's Peak.

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an offering of two thousand one hundred and eighty-two garments. Spending five hundred and eighty-seven thousand 28 pieces of money, the King had meritorious works performed therewith. Sixty and two elephants and horses and four 29 hundred and fifty head of cattle and buffaloes did the Ruler of men offer in sacrifice. Striving thus and in many other 30 ways after good, he performed many meritorious works and made himself a pathway to heaven.

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Thus he performed in faith, steadfast, rejoicing in the 31 welfare of others, after discerning the worthlessness of acquired corporeal existence and other (possessions), in pious manner many meritorious works which bring many a happiness. If ye then have discerned this, as people who have great fear of the terrible evil of the cycle of rebirths, then must ye, remembering what is of true worth, relinquish all desire for corporeal existence and the like (possessions) and strive unweariedly after meritorious works.

Here ends the ninety-second chapter, called «History of the Seven Kings, of Jayabahu and his Successors, in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Capital of the Maurya dynasty, now Patna in the province of Bihar on the Ganges.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. vatthusuddhim karitvāna, lit. "after he had carried out the cleansing of a piece of ground." Field cultivation is considered the purest and noblest work. An offering of that which has been acquired by such work, an offering of field products is therefore characterized as suddhadāna (v. 26).

<sup>3</sup> The town Madhurā or Mathurā on the Yamunā (Jumna), to distinguish it from the South Indian Madhurā (51. 33 etc.) is called the "Northern Madhura".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Vv. 23-26 are one sentence; dinnadanam in v. 26 is a object directly governed by sutvāna. The preceding verses with Mahāseno as subject are however, so constructed as if it were dānam adāsīti sutvāna. The author fails in the construction.

#### CHAPTER XCIII

# HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS, OF MAYADHANU AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR

1 At his death there resided in the province bordering on the sea-coast, in the fair and renowned Jayavaddhanakotta 2 (and elsewhere) here and there kings sprung from the race of the Sun. Amongst these there was one, the illustrious Ruler 3 of men, Māyādhanu<sup>1</sup> by name. His son was the mighty Rājasīha by name. He went forth, fought here and there

1 It is characteristic of the attitude of the author of this part of the Culavamsa and of his indifference to the significant events happening in the plains, that the Portuguese are not yet mentioned. They landed in 1505 or 1506 (cf. D. Ferguson, The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, JRAS. C. B. XIX, No. 59 (1907), p. 284 ff.) and had their chief seat in Colombo, in the fort which they had built there. It is just as characteristic that a man of the importance of Mayadhanu (Mayadunne) is dismissed with the mention of his name. He was the youngest brother of Bhuvanekabahu VII., and at the division of the kingdom in A. D. 1521, had received the region between the coast land and the mountains with Sītāvaka as capital. Sītāvaka is the present Avisavella about 26 miles east of Colombo, situated on a left tributary of the Kelaniganga. In a series of severe and fluctuating struggles with his brother and his successor, as well as with the Portuguese, for the supreme dominion in Ceylon, Māyādunne maintained himself successfully till his death in 1581. Dharmapala (1550-1597) the feeble successor of Bhuvanekabāhu VII. who was completely dependent on the Portuguese, adopting Christianity (about 1557) in order to maintain himself with their help - is not even mentioned in the Mahavamsa. As a historical source our chronicle is now hardly of any value at all. Of native sources there is only the Rajavali left and it has many defects. Our main information now comes from the Portuguese accounts, above all Joao Ribeiro, Fatalidade historica, Lissabon 1836 (translated into English by P. E. Pieris under the title "The Historic Tragedy of Ceiluo", Colombo

and won the victory. The victor, the great fool, even slew 4 his own father 1 and brought the royal dignity into his power, the deluded one. In the town of Sītāvaka the King known 5 by the name of Rājasīha, for a time did good, devoted in faith to the Order. But one day the King, after he had brought 6 a gift of alms, asked the Grand theras full of anxiety: "How can I undo the crime of my father's murder?" Then the wise 7 theras expounded him the doctrine 2, but could not win over the wicked mind of this fool. They spake: "To undo the 8 committed crime is impossible". Full of fury like some terrible poisonous snake which has been struck by a stick, he asked 9 the adherents of Siva 2. The answer they gave him that it

1925. 3rd ed.) and FERNÃO DR QUEIROZ, Conquista temporal e spiritual de Ceylão, Colombo, Government Press, 1916. These sources have been utilized by P. E. Pieris. Taking up the work begun by D. Ferguson (cf. above, as well as note to 91. 15), Pieris published in the JRAS. XXII. No. 65, p. 267 ff., first the important article "The Date of Bhuvanekabāhu VII.", the result of which was a complete transformation of the chronology of Ceylon in the 16th century. Then there appeared "Ceylon, the Portuguese Era" in 2 vols. Colombo, 1913-14 and "Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505-1658", Ceylon, 1920. (Cf. with this S. G. Perera, the 'Conquista de Ceylão' by Fernão de Queyroz, S. J. in C. A. L. R. II, p. 158 ff.; 263 ff.; H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 94 ff.). Then for a part of the 16th century there are the lately published Portuguese archives: "Ceylon in the time of King Bhuvanekabāhu and Franz Xavere 1539-1552", published and annotated by G. Schurhammer and E. A. VORRETSCH, 2 vols. Leipzig. 1928. Again "Ceylon and Portugal", pt. I.. Kings and Christians 1539-1552, from the original documents at Lisbon. by P. E. Pieris and M. A. H. Fitzler. Schurhammer's Introduction to the first volume of the work mentioned above, gives a complete bibliography, a sketch of the history of the Island 1539-1552 from the Portuguese documents and a detailed analysis of the narratives hitherto existing.

- 1 Whether Rājasīha who was a magnificent general and had distinguished himself at the age of 11 by his bravery, was really his father's murderer, may be doubted. Cf. note below to v. 9.
  - <sup>2</sup> I now prefer to read tassa dhammam instead of tass' adhammam.
- <sup>3</sup> The motives alleged here for Rājasīha's conversion to Hinduism scarcely accord with the facts. The real reason for it was that the Buddhist priesthood who had always been favoured by him and his father Māyādunne, actually joined a conspiracy got up against him by

was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with 10 ashes and adopted the religion of Siva. He annihilated the Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus,

11 burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus barred his way to heaven. Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the

12 cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith. He placed miscreant ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūta to take for them-

13 selves all the profit accruing therefrom. In this way the impious fool as he did not know what he should accept and accepted what he should not have accepted, brought great evil upon himself.

14 At that time through fear of the King, bhikkhus left the Order; those among them who were swayed by fear of the cycle of rebirths, went hither and tither.

Harming the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in

16 virtue of merit formerly acquired. Dowered with sovereign might, the criminal brought the whole island of Lanka into his power and carried on the government.

Thus this monarch, equipped with royal might, manifested his sovereign power; but after heaping up every kind of crime, he fell under the dominion of Mara. When one thus perceives the misfortune that meets one who through sinful and false belief has become the victim of delusion, one should in fear, free from all inclination to carelessness, bring about much blessing.

Here ends the ninety-third chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Māyādhanu and of his Successor», in the Mahā-vaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Portuguese. To justify their treacherous conduct, these clerics may also have invented the murder of Rājasīha. Cf. Pieris 2, p. 94. See also W. F. Gunawardhana, Raja Sinha I., Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS. C. B. XVIII, Nr. 56 (1905), p. 382 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is given by the Rājāv. as 1514 of the Śaka era = 1592/3 A. D. How great was the admiration of the people for this "last great king of the Sinhalese race" is shown by the fact that even to-day he receives divine honours under the name of Ganegoda Deviyo. Piers 2., p. 114.

#### CHAPTER XCIV

### HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1 Gangāsiripura had betaken himself to the harbour of Kolamba¹. As he did not receive permission to remain there, he went to 2 the province of Gova. After he had dwelt here a long time, he slew a mighty and famous chieftain by name Gajabāhu². 8 After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4 returned to Lankā. The mighty one brought the troops of the five districts of the highland country over to his side and after the death of (Rājasīha) the slayer of his father,³ 5 when the year two thousand, one hundred and thirty-five from the nirvana of the Master⁴ had arrived, he (the prince), 6 full of faith, mighty by reason of his merit, became king under the name of Vimaladhammasuriya, highly famed, in the town of Sirivaddhana.

- <sup>1</sup> Konappu, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Virasundara who belonged to the royal house. Vīrasundara was partisan of Rājasīha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (Kolambatittha) to the puppet king Dhammapāla. Later he was banished to Goa (Govarattha) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. Pieris 2, p. 92 f., 112; Codrington, HC., p. 105.
- <sup>2</sup> It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the Rājāv. (p. 92 of B. Gunasekara's translation). Konappu's success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.
- <sup>3</sup> Rājasīha is called *pitughāta* here not on account of the murder of his father Māyādhanu, but on account of that of Vīrasundara.
  - <sup>4</sup> A. B. 2135 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.

He surrounded the whole of the vast city with a massive 8 wall on the heights of which he had placed at intervals eighteen tower structures. Then to ward off the foe, he posted sentries, 9 freed the whole kingdom of Lanka from all oppression and after he had raised a princess of equal birth to the rank of 10 first mahesī and had received his consecration as King, this famous (prince) who in his faith desired meritorious works, 11 set about furthering the laity and the Order. The Ruler of men reflected where the tooth of the Enlightened One could be, and when he heard it was in the Labujagama-vihara1, he 12 rejoiced greatly. He had the Tooth Relic which had been brought to Labujagama in the province of Saparagamu<sup>2</sup> fetched 13 (thence) and in order to venerate it day by day in his own fair town and to dedicate a ritual to it, the wise (prince) had 14 a two-storeyed, superb relic temple erected on an exquisitely beautiful piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the royal palace. Here he placed the tooth and in lasting devotion brought offerings to it.

As there were no bhikkhus in the island of Lankā on whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed, the King sent officials to the country of Rakkhanga, invited Nandicakka and other bhikkhus, had them brought to the island of Lankā, made them take up their abode in the noble city of Sirivaddhana and cared for them in reverent manner. Then in the Mahāvālukagangā, at the landing-place called Ganthamba, within a boundary drawn in the water, he had

<sup>1</sup> I. e. Delgamuva, not far from Kuruvita, north of Ratnapura. The relic was preserved before that in Kotte. Cf. 91. 17 ff. Why it was taken from there to the monastery in Delgamuva is not known. Probably the idea was to save it from the Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sabaragamuva. The province which stretches in front of the south-western slopes of the central mountains, bounded on the West by the West province and on the South by the South province.

<sup>3</sup> The cause of this decay of the Buddhist Church was in all probability due to the hostile attitude of Rājasīha towards it. Rakkhanga is the name of a district in Lower Burma, now Arakan. Cf. for this Pieris 2, p. 141.

4 P. udakukkhepasīmāyam. For this term see note to 89.70.

a fine building erected and thither in the year two thousand, 18 one hundred and forty after the nirvana of the Victor1, he led the bhikkhus, had the ceremony of admission to the Order 19 performed in this Great bhikkhu community on many of the sons of good family and thus protected the Order of the Enlightened One. And he also made many sons of good birth 20 submit themselves to the ceremony of renunciation of the world and provided them also abundantly with the four articles of use, and after he had in this and many other ways, striving 21 after good, performed many meritorious works, he cleared himself a pathway to heaven. Later the selfsame wise King 22 made his younger brother? who had gone through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and (as member) was in the Order of the Buddha, leave the Order, entrusted him with the burden of the government and then passed away in accordance with his deeds3.

In this wise the Monarch equipped with kingly power, 23 after performing many meritorious works, adorning the Order of the Victor, made manifest a blameless sovereign

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  2140 A. B. = 1596 A. D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Senāratana was Vimaladhammasuriya's cousin. We know however (see note to 63.51) that cousins who are brother's sons call themselves brothers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rājāv. gives as the year of his death 1525 of the Saka era = 1603/4 A. D. Of the mighty events which took place during the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya I. the Mahavamsa says not a word. The whole period was filled with wars against the Portuguese and their protegé Dharmapāla which were carried on both sides with the greatest bitterness and even cruelty. In A. D. 1594 the Sinhalese destroyed a Portuguese force which had advanced to Kandy. Three years later Dharmapala died after reigning nominally in Kotte 47 years. In his will he left his kingdom to the King of Portugal. The Portuguese solemnly took possession of the lowlands in the name of their sovereign. The kingdom of Kandy maintained its independence. During the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya the Sinhalese came for the first time into contact with the Dutch through the embassy under Joris van Spilbergen which coming from the east coast of the Island in 1602, visited the court of Kandy. For the whole subject cf. Pignis 2, p. 112-155; Codrington, HC., p. 105 ff.

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power<sup>1</sup>. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion<sup>2</sup>, fell under the power of Māra: when one has once realised the permanent condition of misery and of all other (suffering), one must find his joy in unwearied striving.

Here ends the ninety-fourth chapter, called «History of King Vimaladhammasuriya», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The first two lines of the strophe resemble in wording the final strophe of 93.

<sup>2</sup> The sing caturo saddhādhano tādiso must be referred to mahipo; iti is, as so often, placed within the sentence, instead of behind tādiso.

#### CHAPTER XCV

### HISTORY OF KING SENĀRATANA

After Senāratana by name had received consecration as 1 king, dowered with meritorious works, such as generosity and the rest and at all times full of reverence, he inclined his 2 subjects to him by the four heart-winning qualities. He celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic and a great almsgiving. The mahesī of the (late) king who had been his elder 3 brother he made his own first mahesī and dwelt in that same town (of Sirivaddhana).

At that time merchants in the seaport of Kolamba who 4 had sojourned there a long time, had become puffed up with pride<sup>2</sup>. They were, all of them, the so-called Parangi<sup>3</sup>, he-5 retical evil-doers, cruel and brutal. They spread themselves over several fair provinces, laid waste fields and gardens, 6 burned down houses and villages, destroyed the noble families and in this wise brought ruin on Sihala. They broke into 7 the towns, into the relic shrines and monasteries, destroyed the image houses, Bodhi trees, Buddha statues and so on, did 8 great harm to the laity and the Order, built at various places

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The wife of Vimaladhammasuriya I. (see note to 94.22) Dona Catherina, who was considered the rightful heiress to the kingdom of Kandy. Vimala had married her to give his reign a semblance of legitimacy. PIRBIS, 2, p. 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. ussannaka. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I. e. Franks, designation of the Portuguese who are mentioned here for the first time at a period when their power was declining. What is said in the sequel about the Portuguese agrees with what we know about Azavedo's procedure.

10 tains and rivers, made people dwell there who were entrusted with the preservation of the relic and thus protected the Tooth

11 Relic well, showing it the usual reverence. Then he left the city (Sirivaddhana). Movable goods, the sons of the former

12 king and the admirable Mahesī, excellent by wealth and virtue, who was pregnant, he took carefully with him in a litter

13 and betook himself to Mahiyangana<sup>5</sup>. While he sojourned in this town the Queen bore under a particularly favorable con-

14 stellation, a splendid son 6, dowered with brilliant marks. At that time the leader of the foe saw at night a terror-stirring dream. From the east 7, from that town (Mahiyangana) there

15 came a spark of the size of a glow-worm. Growing ever bigger it came to the centre of Kolamba, waxed here to unmeasured

16 size and burned up everything at once. On that day in consequence of its splendour, the enemy who had penetrated to Sirivaddhana, took flight with the haste of those who are

17 threatened with peril. The Ruler of men guarded his son

<sup>1</sup> P. balakottake bandhitvā. Cf. the name of the town Jayavaddhana-kotta (91.7), called Kotte for short.

<sup>2</sup> P. yujjhamānā thitā, a periphrastic formation corresponding to the Sinh. combination of the present gerund in min with the verb sitinavā. See Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen § 63 a. The root thā expresses a continuous state.

3 1. e. Pansiyapattu or Dumbara, NE. of Kandy.

4 P. yoggena, no doubt rightly explained by W.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 1611 A. D. the Portuguese general de Azavedo advanced as far as Kandy. He found the town deserted and placing a garrison in Balane to secure the entrance to the mountains, he returned to Colombo. This is connected no doubt with what is related in v. 11-12. The date of the prince's birth must have been 1612 (see next note).

6 This is the son of Senāratana and Dona Catherina, the widow of his predecessor. He was called Mahā-Āsthāna and later as king called himself Rājasīha. His stepbrothers Kumārasīha and Vijayapāla were the Queeu's sons by her first marriage. See below v. 22.

<sup>7</sup> P. puratthimadisābhāgā. Wrongly translated "from the western side" by W.

who grew by degrees like another moon, and the other (sons) with the greatest care, and when he saw that the right time 18 had come, he took all his possessions and returned to the city of Sirivaddhana. When his sons, namely the sons of the former 19 king and his own son, were grown up he, because his heart clung to them in love, was minded to divide amongst them 20 his mountain-girt provinces, had (their names) properly written on three leaves, laid the leaves near the Tooth Relic<sup>1</sup>, led the 21 princes thither and made them take their choice. Then when 22 the Ruler beheld the leaves which fell in this wise: to the eldest Kumārasīha the province Ūva, to Vijayapāla the province Mātula and to the youngest Rājasīha the five highland 23 provinces had fallen to his own son, rejoiced greatly and he said: "He hath great merit."

The Ruler of men thus gave over the divers provinces to 25 his sons. Then, giving alms and performing other meritorious works according to his capacity, for the furthering of the people and the Order, he lived (yet) seven years<sup>3</sup>.

The Ruler who out of love had divided the provinces 26 among his own and his other sons in order to protect Lanka and this our Order was doomed then to inevitable death.

Here ends the ninety-fifth chapter, called «History of King Senāratana», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The lottery becomes in this way a sacred action, an oracle. The division of the Kandy kingdom took place in 1628.

<sup>2</sup> P. uddha pañca ratthakā. These are districts lying round about Kandy, the most important parts of the kingdom with the capital. Uva embraces the eastern, Matale the northern districts. It should be noted that the form Mātula for Matale is only found in the latest part of

the Cülavamsa (96. 4, 98. 65); in 66.71 we have Mahātila.

3 The year of his death is therefore 1635 A.D. The Rājāv. gives 1555 of the Saka era = 1638/4 A.D. One must assume that from 1628 to 1635 Rājasīha was reigning along with his father. Kumārasīha had died before Senāratana, as is pointed out by the Rājāv. The struggles with the Portuguese lasted with fluctuating success throughout Senāratana's reign. Of importance are the negotiations of the Sinhalese King with the Dutch which began in the year 1612. For a time (in 1620) the Danes tried to get a footing on the island. For the whole subject see Pieris, 2, p. 171-221; Codrington, l. c., p. 109 ff.

#### CHAPTER XCVI

## HISTORY OF KING RAJASIHA

Now while these Rulers of men, sojourning in different places, enjoyed for a short time the pleasures of the royal dignity in harmony, they carried on war against the Parangis and gained here and there victories. But then they quarrelled among themselves, the three brothers, the Lords of men. One of them, the renowned Rājasīha by name, dispossessed the older brothers and made them his vassals. After one (Kumārasīha) had been put to death by poison, the other (Vijayapāla who dwelt) in Mātula, mounted a chariot, and started off with one man whom he took with him and betook himself after 5 crossing the frontier of the province, abroad. But the other, Rājasīha, a man whose commands were not lightly to be

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1630 A. D. the princes won a brilliant victory at Randenivela in lower Uva over the Portuguese who had occupied Badulla and had plundered and set fire to the town. The Portuguese general, Constantino de Sa y Noronha fell himself in the battle. Four years later (1634) Kumārasīha was removed by poison, and to this time belong the first disagreements between Vijayapāla and Rājasīha. There must however, have been a reconciliation, for Vijayapāla took part in the battle of Gannoruva in 1938 and the victory of the Sinhalese was largely owing to him. The Portuguese under the leadership of their captain-general Diogo de Mello had occupied and destroyed Kandy, but they evacuated the town and on their retreat were surrounded and annihilated. See below note on v. 22. The successes in war of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese are glorified in the poems Kostantinuhatanē and Mahahatanē. See A. de Silva, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> For Vijayapāla's tragic fate according to Portuguese documents, see P. E. Pirris. The Prince Vijayapāla of Ceylon, 1684—1654, Colombo 1928.

3 Or perhaps "the second (aparo) Rājasīha".

slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like courage, took possession of the kingdom as it had at the 6 beginning belonged to his father; as if he had been created by gods, pious in the faith, for the furthering of laity and Order, he was mighty, dowered with the bravery of warskilled heroes.

Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went 7 a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse, himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along 8 the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and courageous, the powerful (prince) sprang aloft, swung himself 9 on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the 10 Gangā, which is called Suvannatthambha<sup>1</sup>, he sprang from the rock on this side and reached the rock on the opposite bank.

After manifesting in this and in many other ways, his 11 strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every 12 kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open the fight, the battle-equipped Sihalas and set forth under a 13 favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of Sirivaddhana with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with 14 great warriors and so on, with great dignitaries and so on, with foot soldiers who bore bows, swords, spears and other weapons, in front the music with drums, kettledrums and 15 other instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving of alms and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha<sup>2</sup> with him, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the 16 war drums resound like the terrible clash of thunder and fearless began the fight. At first he fought a great battle 17 with the foe in the five highland provinces, slew many of

96, 17

<sup>1</sup> Now Ranten-tota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I. e. bhikkhus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. pañcuddharatthagehe. Here we have another example of the influence of the Sinhalese language. -gehe is equivalent to the Sinh.  $g\bar{e}$ , the genitive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning. As to the beginnings of such forms in an inscription of the 10 th century see Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 182.

96.18

18 the miscreants and drove the powerful wretched enemies from every place; breaking down their strongholds, the Ruler of 19 men remained victorious. The foes fled, looking on every side (for safety), tortured with fear, flung themselves from the

20 mountain precipices, sprang into the mountain gorges and were scattered as cotton in the wind, when he rushed into the battle-field like a terrible lion that has broken into a herd

21 of elephants<sup>1</sup>. After fighting again and again in different places with the foe and killing and putting to flight numbers

22 of people on the side of the enemy, he conquered several provinces, freed them from oppression, destroyed the strongholds and so manifested his great power?

There were however, many of the enemy who tortured by fear, had hidden themselves and escaped. They stayed for a 24 time in the fortresses at the various places near to the sea,

then these heretical villains began again and again to plunder

25 the different provinces. When Rajasīha whose commands were not lightly to be slighted, heard thereof, he betook himself

26 to Dīghavāpi<sup>3</sup> which lies to the East. While he, experienced in all the statecraft taught by Manu, sojourned there, he

27 received news of the Olandas4. He thought that good, sent

¹ The language of the passage is in the form in which the MSS. have it and as I have adopted it in my edition, absolutely incorrect. It is however very doubtful whether we are justified in altering it, as the fault may lie with the author. The Col. Ed. alters migarājā va nibbhayo into -rāje va nibbhaye. I should nevertheless prefer to keep these words and to read sampatto in v. 20 a instead of sampatte, which may be influenced by yūthamhi.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the preceding verses refer to the victories of the Sinhalese arms mentioned in the note to v. 2. But the events are described in quite general terms.

3 For the district Dīghavāpi see 74. 89 and note.

<sup>4</sup> Vimaladhammasuriya I. had already been in touch with the Dutch (see note to 94. 22). Under Rājasīha II. Dutch envoys already appeared in 1937, and the King on his part sent three of his own people to Admiral Westerwold, who lay with his vessels at Goa, to blockade it. Dutch vessels appeared at Batticaloa where a Portuguese garrison lay, and the united forces of the Sinhalese and the Dutch forced the Portuguese to surrender the fort (18th May, 1938). A treaty was made with

two dignitaries to their fair land, had a number of people fetched from there in many ships and when these arrived in 28 the rich, prosperous, thickly populated coast lands near Dīghavāpi, he showed them favour. As he wished to display to them 29 the military forces of his Lankā, he sent them the command to look quietly on. Then he began the fight with the foe 30 stationed near, slew a great mass of the foe and captured the stronghold. The Ruler of men made over the place to the 31 inhabitants of Olanda and showed them many other favours and made everyone contented.

From this time onward the Ruler of Lankā began at the 32 head of both armies¹, to carry on war by land and water on every side. He destroyed the fortresses situated at different 33 places and protected by massive stone walls, slew the enemy, erected in the whole of Lankā strongholds garrisoned by strong 34 forces and after absolutely annihilating the foe who had ravaged so long (in Lankā) and freeing (the country) from their 35 oppression, he in order to ward off the enemy, charged the inhabitants of Olanda with the protection of Lankā in the places situated on the sea. After arranging that these were 36 to appear before him every year with presents of divers kinds, the Ruler of men returned, like Vajirapāṇi² when he had 37 conquered in the battle against the Asuras, with his retinue to his town (of Sirivaddhana)³.

Westerwold which was ratified in Batavia whither Rajasīha sent two envoys. It enabled the Dutch to gain a firm footing on the island. These are the events to which vv. 25 ff. refer. The narrative describes in one-sided fashion — not surprising in chroniclers — the achievements of the Sinhalese. That they alone conquered Batticaloa is not in accordance with the facts. The chief merit belongs to the Dutch guns. Pieris 2, p. 227 ff.; Codrington, HC., p. 117 ff.

- 1 That is the Sinhalese and the Dutch.
- 2 Name of Indra: "who carries the thunderbolt (vajira) in his hand."
- 3 Here again in the Mhvs. only the one-sided Sinhalese standpoint is given. In diplomacy the Dutch were without doubt superior to King Rājasīha, while on the other hand, he was a very unreliable ally for them. Rājasīha's reign was not so void of friction after the treaty with the Dutch as one might assume from our chronicle. It was disturbed

Now while the Ruler of men, Rājasīha, dwelt here in safety, the wise (prince) sought out in fitting manner those people who were worthy of a position and granted them various positions 39 such as that of senāpati and the like. Villages, fields and so on, everything that had belonged to the Buddha and the gods, in accordance with tradition, the Ruler of men gave 40 back as it had been formerly. He brought kings' daughters hither from the town of Madhurā, and after holding sway 41 powerfully for fifty and two years', the mighty Monarch Rājasīha, who had guarded as his own eye in the best way the Order of the royal Sage of the line of the Sun and the laity, he the best of men went over to the king of death.

Thus this exceeding mighty King, the ruler, who understood how to annihilate hostile forces, was yet unable with his strength and his other qualities to gain the mastery over death. When the discerning have grasped from the first, at the very beginning this superiority of Māra, they must with great zeal continually do meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the rest.

Here ends the ninety-sixth chapter, called «History of King Rājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

internally by risings, as in 1641 by that plotted by Vijayapāla. The struggles between the Portuguese and the Dutch went on, the luck being sometimes on the one side sometimes on the other. Finally the Dutch triumphed. With the capture of Colombo (A. D. 1656) the fate of the Portuguese dominion was sealed. Immediately after that there was a breach between Rājasīha and the Dutch. The conflicts of the years which follow were multiplied for Rājasīha by inward strife. Lasting peace was not achieved, in spite of a peace favorable to the Sinhalese being signed in the year A. D. 1677, until the death of the King ten years later. Pieris 2, p. 228-290; Pieris 3, p. 1-35; Codrington, HC., p. 118 ff., 133 ff.

<sup>1</sup> From A. D. 1635 (death of Senāratana) till A. D. 1687. Rājāv. makes the mistake of giving 1614 of the Saka era = 1692/3 A. D. as that of Rājasīha's death.

#### CHAPTER XCVII

# HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS, OF VIMALADHAMMA AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Now his son Vimaladhammasuriya became king whose 1 ornament was his faith and other virtues, who was a friend of the three jewels. As his first mahes he took the daughter 2 of the mahes in the town of Madhur who had been fetched thence, gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and protected uninterruptedly in peace and justice 3 the realm of Lanka as a lord of men whose ornament was his virtue.

Having attained his consecration as king, the King in pious 4 faith in the doctrine of the Victor, prepared in divers ways everything needful for a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. In 5 honour of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise he erected a fair, three-storeyed pasada, resplendent with all kinds of (artistic) work, and for the sum of five and twenty thousand 6 silver pieces he had a reliquary made which he covered with gold and ornamented with the nine precious stones. In this 7 great reliquary that resembled a cetiya of precious stones, he laid the Tooth of the Victor.

As the Ruler thought to hold the festival of admission to 8 the Order, he prepared fair garments and other articles of use, five hundred of each kind, made everything over with 9 gifts and the like, together with a royal letter to prudent officials. These he sent to the country of Rakkhanga and 10 invited the bhikkhu community with the thera Santāna at

<sup>1</sup> The embassy to Rakkhanga (= Arakan, see note to 94.15) took place in the year A. D. 1697. The Dutch supplied the vessels for conveying the monks from Burma to Ceylon, which contributed not a little

11 the head. Thus he brought thirty-three bhikkhus to the beautiful town of Sirivaddhana, made them amid tokens of

12 respect, take up their abode there and provided them with the four necessaries. Then after he had erected in the right way, as formerly, a building at the landing-place of the

13 Ganga, within a boundary drawn in the water, he brought the bhikkhu community thither, had the ceremony of admission performed on thirty-three sons of good family and

14 so helped the Order of the Victor to attain new glory. Then full of faith he had one hundred and twenty sons of good

15 family appointed to the position of samaneras, provided them abundantly with the four necessaries, had them instructed in the true doctrine and thus laid up a store of merit.

Thinking of the great merit that lies in the use of the feet<sup>1</sup>, he betook himself to the Sumanakūţa and celebrating 17 with jewels, pearls and the rest, with offerings of gold and precious stones and with divers stuffs and so forth, a great festival, he tarried there seven days.

He sheltered with a great umbrella of silver the foot-print of the Sage which was stamped on the Sumanakūţa and celebrated a great festival.

Day after day he listened to (the sermon of the) doctrine and since even on days which were not uposatha days, he

20 kept the ordained fasts, he did much good. In this and many other ways, longing for good, he day and night unweariedly

21 did much good. The King having thus cared for the welfare of the laity and the Order, fell under the power of death after a reign of twenty and two years?

to the friendly relations established between them and the court of Kandy. The ceremony of the upasampadā took place again (pure viya) at Ganthambatittha (Getamba). The description in v. 8 ff. has a great resemblance also in the wording to that describing analogous circumstandes under Vimaladhan nasuriya I. (94. 15 ff.). Compare for instance, v. 12 cd with 94. 17 cd, v. 15 ab with 94. 20 cd.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the merit of the pilgrimages. See 92. 15 ff. where the pilgrimages of Vīravikkama to Mahiyangana and to Adam's Peak are described.

Generous in all that is good, as in the giving of alms and 22 the like, with great wisdom, full of devotion he helped the excellent teaching of the excellent King of the wise, the one and only guide of the world, to attain glory. Help ye, therefore also evermore and unweariedly the excellent doctrine to attain glory.

Thereupon his son Sirivīraparakkamanarindasīha be- 23 came king. This King who was an abode of discernment and manly virtues, in order to protect the royal dignity in Lanka, 24 fetched princesses from the town of Madhura and made them first mahesis. He performed meritorious works such as the 25 giving of alms and the like, celebrated daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and thus laid up a store of merit. He showed 26 care for the bhikkhus who had been admitted to the Order during his father's life, had many sons of good family submitted in faith to the ceremony of world-renunciation and thus furthered the Order. In order to venerate the Mahiyangana- 27 cetiva that was erected already in the lifetime of the Buddha, the mighty King betook himself thither, sacrificed to the cetiva 28 with all kinds of coloured stuffs and while celebrating a sacrificial festival with silver and golden flowers, abundantly 29 with divers fragrant blossoms of the kind that grow on land and in water, with food solid and soft, he laid up much merit.

At the head of a great army he went forth twice to the 30 same Mahiyangana and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.

Twice the Lord of men went in faith to Sumanakūta, sacrificed 31

extraordinarily pacific compared with his predecessor. Although at first he had again and again to remonstrate with the Dutch about the non-fulfilment of obligations to which they had pledged themselves in the treaty of 1677 (see Cornington, HC., p. 135; Pirris 3, p. 46 f.) and although the Dutch managed to put the King off, there was no war during this whole period.

¹ The compiler must have had something of the sort in his mind. But I am doubtful if we should simply change -jātake bāhum into -jākehi ca, as does the Col. Ed. It might be better to assume an obscure expression on the part of the author. His knowledge of Pāli was by no means excellent. It is also hard to imagine that the second reading, if it did stand there originally, could have been corrupted into the first.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vimaladhammasuriya II. reigned from A. D. 1687-1707. He was

32 there and so laid up a store of merit. At the head of a great retinue he left the great city, went forth to the great (city)

33 Anuradhapura and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He had a robe made the size of the robe of the Deliverer and sacrificed to the Tooth of the Deliverer in divers ways with

34 articles befitting the sacrifice. Not far from the capital2, on the fair bank cliff of the Ganga, the Lord of men laid out

35 in a great cocopalm plantation a suburb by name Kundasālā and dwelt there3. And there at that self-same spot he had dwelling huts put up in fitting manner and made samaneras take up their abode in them. He performed day by day many

36 good works like the giving of alms and the rest, had books copied and when he saw that the temple which his royal

37 father had erected in the capital for the Tooth Relic, had fallen into decay, his heart was grieved. The Lord of men

88 had the beautiful (temple) rebuilt, two-storeyed, splendid; he provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of brilliant ornaments, made it so that with its stucco coating it

39 resembled a mountain of silver, provided it with a graceful roof and had thirty-two jatakas depicted in coloured painting on the two walls of the courtyard: the Vidhurajātaka5, the

40 Guttila- and Ummaggajātaka; the Dadhivāhana-, Mahākanha-, Sutanu- and Chaddantajātaka, the Dhammaddhaja-, Dhamma-

41 pāla- and Mahājanakajātaka; the Padamānava-6. Dhammasonda-, Mahānāradakassapa-, Mahāpaduma-, Telapatta- and

42 Cullapadumajātaka; the Sattubhatta-, Andabhūta-, Campeyya-

1 P. sugata, lit. "he who has gone well" who has gone ahead on the path to deliverance. R. O. Franke translated the word by "Pfadvollender" the "path finisher" or "path accomplisher".

<sup>2</sup> P. mūlapura. Sirivaddhana (Kandy) is meant. The Gungā is, as

often, the Mahaveliganga.

3 Kundasale about four miles E. S. E. of Kandy, situated on the Mahaveliganga. The popular name for the King was Kundasala after this place which was his favorite residence.

4 I am anticipating the words ime dvattimsajātake vicittacittakammena kārāpetvāna in v. 44 d, 45 a.

5 The Vidhurapanditajātaka, no. 545 of the Faussoul edition.

6 Padakusalamanavajataka, no. 432 of Fausboll.

and Sasajātaka, the Visayha-, Kusa-, Sutasoma-1, Sivi- and 48 Temajātaka2; the Culladhanuddhara-3 and the Saccamkiraka- 44 jātaka, the Dummedhajātaka and the Kālingabodhijātaka; the Silavajātaka4 and the Mandavyajātaka5, as well as the Vessantarajātaka. While thus having these thirty-two jātakas 45 faultlessly represented in coloured painting, the Lord of men laid up an immeasurable store of merit.

In the midst of the town he had erected round the great 46 Bodhi tree, the cetiyas and the temple of Nathasura -- enclosing them on all sides - a fine wall of stone, massive, 47 lofty, brilliant in its coating of stucco, like to a necklace of pearls adorning the necks of the ladies of the town and created thereby for himself an abundance of renown.

Among the samaneras who lived at his own time (was one) 48 who was dowered with the virtue of a moral life, who ever rejoiced in unweariedness, in the many works of elucidation 49 and in the words of the Enlightened One, a poet, one learned in the scriptures, ready of speech, teacher of a host of disciples, renowned, who devoted his life to his own and to others' weal, 50 who shone like the moon in the heaven of the Order in Lanka. For this samanera, Saranamkara by name, who was an abode 51 of faith and of knowledge, rejoicing in unweariedness, the Ruler - distinguishing him again and again by honours 52 spiritual and secular - had a reliquary made one and a half cubits high for preserving the relic of the King of the 53 wise, the Enlightened One, the highest Protector of the world. He covered it with gold, set it with 700 jewels and made over the shimmering casket to the samanera together with 54

<sup>1</sup> There are two jatakas of this name, the Maha- and Cullasutasomajataka, no. 537 and 525 of FAUSBÖLL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Temiya- or Mügapakkhajātaka, no. 538 of Fausboll.

<sup>3</sup> Culladhanuggahajātaka, no. 374 of FAUSBÖLL.

<sup>4</sup> Sīlavanāgajātaka, no. 72 of FAUSBÖLL.

Apparently the Kanhadīpāyanajātaka in which the ascetic Mandavya plays the chief part. No. 444 of FAUSBÖLL.

<sup>6</sup> Like Nathadeva (100. 248) the name of Visuu as the protecting deity (nātha) of the island.

the relic as well as many books about the true doctrine and 55 so distinguished him. The Lord of men granted him clothing and other necessaries as well as numerous people for service and honoured him thus with secular gifts.

To procure a long existence for the true doctrine, the Lord of men invited (that same) Saranamkara in befitting manner 57 and had composed by this discerning samanera who strove after pure enlightenment, that work on the true doctrine entitled the Saratthasamgaha, furnished with eleven thousand sections<sup>1</sup>, further a commentary in the tongue of Lanka on 58 the Mahābodhivamsa<sup>2</sup>, as well as a commentary on the work Bhesajjamanjusas which was composed at the time when the former King Parakkamabāhu held sway in the town of 59 Jambuddoni by that discerning thera, assiduous in well-doing who was head of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in the Pancapari-60 vena5, with the wish that thus those who have devoted them-61 selves to the spiritual life should be spared illness. After the wise (prince) had performed these and many other meritorious works and had carried on the government for thirty and three years, he fell into the power of death.

<sup>1</sup> P. gantha. The meaning "section" is uncertain. In no case are we justified in referring to Wilson, as does W., according to whom the skr. grantha denotes a distinct number of syllables (32), because Wilson is speaking of a metre, which however W. himself admits.

<sup>2</sup> For this see Geiger, Pāli, p. 25, no. 29. 2; Malalasekera, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 156 ff. Whether by Saranamkara's "commentary" (atthavaṣṇanā) the Eļu-Bodhivamsa is meant seems doubtful.

- 3 "Medicine-chest". Probably a collection of recipes of the character of the Indian Bhaisajyaratnāvalī (Jolly, Medicin, p. 2).
  - 4 Parakkamabāhu II. is meant.
- <sup>5</sup> A monastery called Pancaparivenamula is mentioned 67. 61. One could also translate: "of the bhikkhus living in the five parivenas".
- <sup>6</sup> The Chronicle concerns itself solely with the king's relation to the Church and is fulsome in its praise of his merits. It does not mention a single word about the conspiracy which nearly cost him his life. As little does it mention the very unsatisfactory conditions existing for the most part in the territories occupied by the Dutch nor the conflicts, arising out of questions of commercial policy, between the people of

After the King had attained the highest bliss on the is- 62 land of Lanka, he left behind his kinsfolk, his friends and his life, and went to that state where all that is left behind. When ye have grasped that, ye remembering the truth of the oral admonitions of the highest Sage, should practise meritorious doing that surpasses all else, that brings the bliss of deliverance, that grants the bliss of the world of the gods.

Here ends the ninety-seventh chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Vimaladhamma and his Successor», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Kandy and the foreigners. Like his predecessor Narindasīha he kept the peace. At any rate the Dutch understood by occasional gifts to keep him in good humour. Pieris 3, p. 52—65.

#### CHAPTER XCVIII

#### HISTORY OF SIRIVIJAYARĀJASĪHA

After Narindasiha's death the younger brother of the Mahesī of this king2 became king, adorned with the ornament 2 of virtue. Known by the name of Sirivijayarajasīha, he was after the attainment of his consecration as king, piously 3 attached to the Triad of the jewels. He was diligent in hearkening to the sermon of the doctrine, unwearied, discerning, ever full of zeal intent on intercourse with pious and 4 good people. To establish his own dynasty he fetched princesses from the town of Madhura and made them his chief 5 mahesis. He won over the people in Lanka in the best manner possible by the four heart-winning qualities and took up his 6 abode in the fair town (Sirivaddhana). The Mahesis of the King, too, gave up the false faith to which they had been long attached, and adopted in the best manner possible the 7 true faith which confers immortality. They heard the incomparable, true doctrine of the Buddha, the highest Protector of the world and thus adored with constant devotion the 8 Buddha and the other (sacred) objects. In their faith they

<sup>1</sup> In  $kanitthabh\bar{u}ta$  I see the influence of the Sinhalese on the Pāli of the chronicler,  $v\bar{u}$  being added in Sinhalese at the end of attributive adjectives.

<sup>2</sup> According to 97. 24 (cf. 98. 4!), Narindasīha's Mahesī was a princess from Madhurā. With the ascent of the throne by her brother a foreign dynasty is thus introduced into Lankā. The series of Sinhalese kings ends with Narindasīha. The succession of Vijayarājasīha meanwhile, was not undisputed. A strong party at court supported the claims of Unambuva, a son of Narindasīha's by a concubine. It seems however, that he voluntarily renounced the throne. Later on he lived safe and sound at the court of Kandy.

worshipped the Tooth Relic day by day with sacrifice, with jasmine and other blossoms and with all kinds of flower festivals, with sweet betel mixed with camphor and other 9 things, with lamps with fragrant oil, with sweet-smelling sandal wood and so forth, with divers kinds of fragrant in- 10 cense, with sugar and honey and with other drugs, with garments, ornaments and so on, with silver and golden bowls 11 which were abundantly filled with all that one can chew, eat, sip, drink and taste, with curtains, carpets and the like, with 12 many articles of use and with costly robes - and thus and otherwise laid up a store of merit. They kept constantly 13 the five moral commandments1 and the uposatha vows even on days that were not uposathas, diligent in hearing the (sermon of the) true doctrine. Even as the yak cows (protect 14 their tails)2, so they preserved the memory of the Buddha and the other (sacred objects). They worked for their perfection, had sacred books copied. They strove after the bless- 15 ing that lies in generosity. They understood to perfection the regular offering of food and other (occasional) distribution of food to wandering or sick (bhikkhus). They were not 16 attached to acquired wealth but dispensed (it in) continual feeding and the like. They made young people renounce the world, showed them favour of many kinds. They had good in- 17 struction given in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures and of pious duties and by dispensing always what was desired they were like to a wishing-tree. Kind beyond measure and 18 very full of pity they thought of all people in Lanka as a mother of her children, and were merciful and mines of virtue. They had images and reliquaries fashioned in the best manner 19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. pañcasīlam. Cf. with this Mhvs. trsl. 1. 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. with this passage Buddhavamsa 2.121 f. yathāpi camarī vālam kismici paṭivilaggitam | upeti maranam tattha na vikopeti vāladhim || tatheva catūsu bhūmīsu sīlāni paripūriya | parirakkha sabbadā sīlam camarī viya vāladhim ||— an allusion to the legend that the yaks would rather die than have any harm happen to their greatest ornament, their tail.

<sup>\*</sup> There are six different anussatiyo — Buddha-, dhamma-, samgha-, sila-, cāga- and devatā-anussati.

possible and always fearing every sin and ever rejoicing over 20 every meritorious deed, adorned with the ornament of such and many other virtues, they were highly regarded in the 21 whole island of Lankā. The King had dwelling-places erected here and there and made the sāmaņeras take up their abode 22 in them and pious as he was, he showed them full of zeal, much favour with garments and other necessaries, heard the 23 splendid true doctrine from these sāmaņeras and revered (especially) the sāmaņera Saraņamkara by name who strong in faith dwelt in the Uposathārāma, who was a mine of virtues. 24 He invited him and had a commentary on the four bhāṇavāras¹ made by him in the language of Lankā and thus protected the knowledge of the sacred scriptures.

Since the Lord of men had heard from foolish people outside (of the Buddhist Order) that great evil would befall if 26 he were to place the relic in a new relic temple, he gave orders that this should be done by other people 2 and betook himself thence to another town. While he sojourned there 27 the dignitaries assembled and together with the caretakers 3 and other people, they tried with all their might to open the 28 reliquary. But although they tried the whole night long they did not succeed. The dignitaries went thither and told the 29 matter to the Great king. When the King heard that, he came in haste to the splendid town and after the Ruler had reverently made offerings with all kinds of fragrant flowers, 30 with lamps, incense and the like and shown his reverence,

<sup>1</sup> For purposes of recitation the whole of the Tipitaka is divided into bhāṇavāras, sections of equal length. There are said to be 2547 of these (Children, s. v.). It seems to me, however, as if the word in our passage is used instead of nikāya. The commentary would then have embraced Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Samyutta- and Anguttara-Nikāya.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is wrongly rendered by W. Annam puram is not governed by kātum in 26 b, it belongs to gantvā, but kātum must be supplemented by the object ("it") from the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> Vattakārakā (meaning literally "fulfilling the duty or the task") refers I believe, to the guardians who were appointed just at that time, to look after the shrines and see that they were kept in proper condition. See Pieris 3, p. 70.

he took hold of the lock and at once opened the reliquary without difficulty. Then after opening one after the other the 31 caskets inside it, he beheld the Tooth of the Enlightened One. "It is accomplished, with success" uttering these joyful words, 32 he assembled the inhabitants of the town, prepared a great feast and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. As he gazed 33 on the wonderful (relic) the Monarch was transported with joy and enthusiasm. As offerings he presented an elephant and a horse, jewels, pearls and the like, took the sacred Tooth 34 of the Prince of the wise in the lotus of his hand, showed it forth and so caused all to rejoice in perfect fashion. The 35 relic temple built in the time of former kings he furnished with all kinds of stuffs interwoven with gold, lit lamps with 36 divers-smelling oils, had filled jars placed about, and then in this gaily decorated temple, like to a heavenly temple, he 37 placed on a silver throne the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. He arranged a great festival, made a sacrifice to the relic and 38 after cleansing the whole town in a worthy manner and strewing it with sand he placed during this festival of the 39 Tooth Relic, round about the temple, within in the court and without on the terrace, further in the royal court and in all 40 the streets on either side with lofty poles placed upright, an unbroken series of festive arches, bound thereon banana stalks 41 and adorned them fair with areca and coconut blossoms and other flowers. With the brightly hued, gleaming and shimmer- 42 ing streamers tied bunch-wise to the points of the poles, the sky above the town looked pleasant as if it were filled with flights of 43 cranes. Here and there he placed in due order filled jars and 44 in the mandapas in a circle in front of the temple terrace he fastened canopies shimmering with silver and golden and other embroideries, hung thereabout brightly gleaming curtains, 45 spread there in fair fashion carpets resplendent with many a 46 work of art and also strewed around the five kinds of flowers, laja and the like1. Then after the Ruler had put the whole 47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. lājapancamakam, lit. "that in which lāja is the fifth". See for this PTS. P. D. s. v. lāja. This is the name for the blossom of the

city in order so that it looked as if the former kings of Lanka were celebrating a festival with the thought that in like 48 fashion the King of the gods makes a feast in the city of the gods, he himself with royal ornaments adorned, gathered

49 together in that town the samaneras who dwelt in Lanka, further the lay brethren and lay sisters, all the inhabitants of the town and the people who dwelt outside in the provinces.

50 Out of mercy towards them<sup>2</sup> the Ruler of the earth for whom pity was the highest, flung himself on the ground in most

51 humble posture<sup>3</sup> and so worshipped the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. Then the King took it in the lotus of his hand

52 and his heart filled with the highest joy, he left the relic temple. With silver umbrellas, with a golden casket, with

53 row upon row of fair fly whisks, with manifold offerings of flowers, consisting of silver, golden and other blooms, with

54 divers jewels and pearls, with robes, ornaments and many other sacrificial articles, with the fivefold music he celebrated a great sacrificial festival, like to a stream flowing on uninter-

55 ruptedly. Then the King, the Ruler of Lanka betook himself

dalbergia arborea. W's version is quite different (note to the passage). He takes  $l\bar{a}ja$  in the sense of "roasted rice" and remarks "Paddy when roasted bursts and the grain inside the husk expands in the shape of a beautiful white flower. These are used on public occasions and festivals as a mark of respect, for showing the ground whereon a shrine is taken or on which a high person walks over."

<sup>1</sup> The style is extremely stilted. Literally the passage should be translated thus: "showing the town in such a way that one would be obliged to say: in such wise did the former princes of Lanka celebrate a festival, whereby they thought: thus doth the King of the gods etc. etc." The idea is this: the King has adorned the city as magnificently as the kings of yore were wont to do on like occasions, and the splendour they displayed was due to the fact-that they imitated divine models.

<sup>3</sup> He will not rob the people of the purifying spectacle of the sacred relic.

<sup>3</sup> P. pañcapatithitango, lit. with a body in which five (parts of the body) lie fast. Children thus explains the term: "to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead, elbows, waist, knees and feet rest on the ground."

4 See note to 85.30.

to the mandapa outside (in front of the temple) which was adorned with divers bright ornament and standing here, displayed the sacred Tooth. Having thus given the greatest joy 56 to the mighty multitude gathered round, he brought the Tooth Relic back to its place. Thus by bringing full contentment 57 to all as if by the sight of the Buddha in person, he laid up a store of much good.

Now after the Lord of men had offered abundantly with 58 all kinds of ornament, such as gold, jewels, pearls and the like, with sacrificial offerings like elephants, horses, slaves 59 male and female, with flowers like jasmine, campaka1 and other blossoms, with fragrant sandal wood and the like, he 60 bethought himself of the great blessing inherent in a sacrifice of lamps. Hence the Lord of men issued the command that in their own town and in the cetiyas in the divers provinces on one and the same day2, people should make an offering 61 of lamps, and in that selfsame night he gathered together the people and celebrated a sacrifice of lamps with seven hundred 62 and ninety thousand, six hundred lamps. Thus with burning 63 lamps the Ruler of Lanka made the land of Lanka like to the star-strewn firmament. With an offering of three hundred 3 64 thirty and three thousand, eight hundred flowers he laid up a store of merit.

This King rich in virtue who found joy in causing images 65 of the Buddha to be made, had erected in Alokalena and other vihāras in the province of Mātula, as well as here and there in the rock temples of the various (other) provinces, Buddha 66 statues in life-size, in recumbent, standing and sitting posture and new cetiyas which bring happiness to living creatures, and he had many decayed image houses restored and increased 67 thereby showing favour to the people, the quantity of his merit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Michelia champaka; Sinh. sapu-mal.

<sup>2</sup> The words ekāhe va must be taken in the oratio recta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For koti which here probably means 100,000, see PTS. P. D. s. v. In has the general meaning of an extremely high number.

<sup>4</sup> Now the Alu-vihāra not far from Matale situated in the cleft of a mighty primeval landslide.

In the town of Sirivaddhana the Lord of men did away with the royal palace and many other buildings that had been founded formerly but had meanwhile fallen into decay.

In place of these the Lord of men built new houses which

70 excelled by reason of their mason work and the like, made fine gates 1 and erected a magnificent gate-building furnished with iron gateways, adorned with ornaments 2 of divers form and consisting of two storeys.

While he resided in this town, he full of zeal when listening to the sermon of the doctrine, had mandapas erected

72 within the royal courtyard. He furnished them completely with coloured arches and the like, put up canopies, spread

73 seats, brought then with great ceremony<sup>3</sup> many preachers of the true doctrine thither, made them be seated and lay hold

74 of their white fans. Then he hearkened to the good, heartpenetrating doctrine as it was preached by them along with enlightening explanation and the like, and filled with pious

75 joy the Ruler honoured it with gold and silver, with lamps, incense and the like, with divers coloured stuffs, (in short)

76 with sacrificial articles of every kind, the Monarch himself in common with the dignitaries and the troops and so on many occasions laid up a store of abundant good.

77 Now when the King heard through the true doctrine that spiritual offerings are a great thing, he intent on the wel-

78 fare of the people dwelling in the various provinces, had dwellings and sermon halls erected here and there in places

79 fitted for the assembling of a great multitude of people. Then the Lord of men sent to the various places numerous preachers of the doctrine and others, had the people gathered together and the true doctrine preached to them and in this way he offered a spiritual offering.

The infamous Parangis, the infidels, the impious ones who 80 at the time of King Rājasīha had still remained behind in the town and now dwelling here and there, rich in cunning, 81 endeavoured by gifts of money and the like to get their creed adopted by others, led a life without reverence for the doctrine 82 (of the Buddha). When the King heard thereof he became vehemently indignant, issued commands to his dignitaries, had 83 their houses and their books destroyed and banished from the country those who did not give up their faith.

On the Sumanakūţa made sacred by the footprint of the 84 Enlightened One the Ruler celebrated a sacrifice of lamps and all other festivals. In Anurādhapura, in Mahiyangana and in 85 other places he likewise celebrated a great sacrificial festival. To east and west (of the town) where water made the road 86 impassable, he had stone bridges put up for the comfort of those coming and going.

When the Monarch realised that the Order of the Victor 87 was declining because a bhikkhu community was not to be had in Lankā he was greatly moved. As he was minded to 88 invite a bhikkhu/community, he considered in every possible way where the Order of the Sage could possibly still exist. Then he heard from the Olandas the welcome news that the 89 Order still existed in various countries, in Pegu, Rakkhanga,

<sup>1</sup> The King's measures are thus directed against the Roman Catholic Church and against the Portuguese still settled in the country. For the Catholic mission in Ceylon at the time of the Dutch settlement and its ultimate suppression see Pieris 3, p. 70 f.

One is tempted here to join cārudvārāni yojetvā with the following ayodvārasamāyutam, but for its giving a scarcely tolerable tautology.
 P. latākamma. lit. "creeper work".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. mahussavena, not as W. translates "with much trouble". That would be mahussāhena.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. dhammadāna, every kind of religious instruction. The opposite is āmisadāna "secular offering" (food, clothing etc.).

The only passage where Vijayarājasīha's relations with the Dutch are noted. If in spite of the friction caused by trade, these relations led to no open rupture, this was largely due to the easy going and at times really feeble policy of the Dutch. Their forbearance was met by increased claims on the part of the court of Kandy. An embassy to Pegu was first sent off in the year 1740. The Dutch Company placed a vessel at its disposal which was however wrecked off the coast of Pegu. A second embassy seems to have gone to Siam in 1741. Envoys of the Sinhalese king came also in 1746 to Siam and succeeded in persuading a number of bhikkhus to undertake the journey to Ceylon. Vijayarājasīha however, died 1747 before their arrival. See Codrington, HC. p. 139 f. and especially p. 154; Pieres 3, p. 71 ff.

90 Saminda<sup>1</sup>. Now in order to test the condition of the Order of the Sage in these various countries, the King had letters

91 carefully written in the sacred language<sup>2</sup>, gave them over to ministers and other dignitaries and sent these forth singly. When the Lord of men heard the news that in the kingdom

92 of Ayojjhas the Order existed in all its purity and in the best condition, in order to bring from that same country sons of

93 the Victor to Lanka, he sent dignitaries thither to whom he gave a writing together with many gifts and sacrificial implements.

For the placing therein of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise the Monarch had a fair, golden reliquary made one and a half cubits high and encrusted with costly jewels and pearls.

But before it was finished his merit was exhausted after he had reigned eight years.

This prince who was adorned with the ornament of faith and of many other virtues, who was at pains to purify to the utmost the splendid Order of the Buddha, that best of men after he had done much good, went finally thither to Namuci.

In this wise did the King of Lanka whose joy was in the welfare of others, who worked for his own and others' salvation, carry on the government, as best among the best, the Ruler of men who loved virtue. Ye who wish for your prosperity in this world and for abundant happiness in the world heyond must therefore wholly give up indolence and do a multitude of meritorious works which will bring you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-eighth chapter, called «History of Sirivijayarājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Name of Siam.

#### CHAPTER XCIX

# ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION AND OF OTHER FESTIVALS

After the passing of this Monarch dowered with splendid 1 virtues, his brother-in-law<sup>1</sup> became king of kings. Gifted with physical beauty (he was) a delight to the eyes of the people, filling the whole superb island of Lankā with splendour, a prince of glorious grace.

When in the island of Lanka the year two thousand, two 2 hundred and ninety since the nirvana of the Enlightened One had come<sup>2</sup> this Ruler of men whose joy was the welfare of 3 Lanka, comforted his subjects who were afflicted by their parting from the Great king. This whole people racked by 4 suffering, like to the darkness (which sets in) when the sun after it has illumined the whole world, goes down - the far- 5 famed King made free from grief, like to the (newly) rising sun which illumines the whole world (afresh) and having taken 6 over the royal dignity of Lanka, he made everyone joyful to the utmost. After attaining his consecration as king, the Lord of men who was devoted in faith to the Triad of the 7 jewels, Buddha and the others, strove unweariedly after merit. The highly famed one had the whole town (of Sirivaddhana) 8 cleansed and decorated with stuffs, triumphal arches and the like. Then he gathered together the whole of the inhabitants of Lanka completely in the fair, glorious town and moving 9 along with royal magnificence, the Great king whose merit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. mūlabhāsā "fundamental or main language", i. e. Pāli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ayodhyā, now Ayuthya, name of the old capital of Siam, north of Bangkok, situated on the banks of the Menam. Cf. J. Dahlmann, Indische Fahrten (1927) I. 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The punna in virtue of which he had attained the royal dignity. For "reigned" the original has thito "lived (as king)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Skr. namuci is the name of one of the demons slain by Indra. In Pāli Namuci is a designation of Māra (S. I. 67<sup>10</sup>; A. Il. 15<sup>20</sup>) specially of Kilesamāra (Jāt. V. 455<sup>10</sup>), in our passage of the god of death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The brother of Vijayarājasīha's Mahesī who according to 98.4, came from Madhurā. He had come to the court of Kandy with his sister and with his father Narenappa Nayaker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> = A. D. 1746. The right year for Vijayarājasīha's death is 1747.

was now having its effect1, marched round the town, his right side turned towards it, thus making known that the realm of 10 Lanka bereft of its king had again a king. The Lord of men dowered with abundant merit, resided in Sirivaddhana. 11 The virtuous one had (already aforetime) made the firm resolve<sup>2</sup> to shelter the Order of the Sage and now under the name of Kittisirirajasīha he ruled gloriously this our Lanka. Enjoying the good fortune of the royal dignity of Lanka, full of discernment, recognizing that his wealth consisted in faith, he mindful of what things are of worth and of what things are worthless, prepared in piety a festival. 12 for the three sacred objects, Buddha and so forth3. He gave up evil friends and enjoyed intercourse with the learned people; he passed his time with the good and hearkened to 13 the incomparable doctrine. Pious and wise as he was, the Lord of men distinguished between what should be done and what should not be done. What should not be done he avoided, 14 but to that which should be done he held fast. By the four heart-winning qualities he made all people well disposed to 15 him and he was worthy of the praise of the learned. Hearing that reward lies in a spiritual offering and success in the hearkening to the true doctrine and merit in the copying of works of the true doctrine, as also in sacrificial festivals for 16 the doctrine he thought: that which is in accordance with the true doctrine must be done. He had mandapas erected in

1 For puñnodaya - here used as an adjective - see note to 37.139.

many places for sermon, made canopies therein of stuff of 17 varied colours, furnished them in every possible way with arches and other ornaments, lit lamps and spread seats, brought 18 thither with worthy service and honour preachers of the true 19 doctrine, invited them full of reverence, made them sit down on the well prepared seats, made these preachers recite parts 20 of the true doctrine and listened with devotion the whole night long to many suttantas, such as the Dhammacakka Suttanta 1 and others. Since he recognized the worthlessness 21 of body, life and wealth as worthlessness and the worth of listening to the true doctrine as worth, he was pious and 22 joyful and celebrated in common with the dignitaries and the troops, a great festival with articles of sacrifice of every kind. For the welfare and blessing of the multitudes dwelling within 23 and without the town the Lord of men repeatedly had spiritual 24 offerings offered and thus performed a meritorious work consisting in spiritual offerings.

Full of reverence towards the bhikkhu community<sup>2</sup> who 25 had come from Rakkhanga, towards the bhikkhus of Lankā and towards the many sāmaneras, who had renounced the world, the Lord of men showed them favour with offerings 26 of robes and other necessaries and had the Paritta and other salutary texts recited by them. Thus on many occasions he 27 furthered the true doctrine, made offerings of necessaries and so increased the store of his merit.

At a cost of nine thousand, six hundred (kahāpaṇas) he 28 in his piety had a magnificent golden book made. On its 29 golden leaves he had many Suttantas inscribed such as the

<sup>2</sup> P. paṇidhayo katvāgato. I regard katvāgato again as a compound verb formed under the influence of the Sinhalese, of the type geṇenavā: geṇāvā. The King had already made the resolve in a former existence. The effect in the present of his meritorious kamma is that he becomes king of Lankā (P. patvāna Lankaṃ imaṃ), and he can now carry out his resolve.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> V. 6c to the close of v. 11 is a single sentence. The construction is however, quite inorganic and it is impossible to translate the sentence as a whole. It is the same with the following.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 98.77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. saddhammato must be understood adverbially. Cf. skr. dharmalas "according to law or rule, lawfully."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> What is meant is the story of the Buddha's first sermon in Baranasī to the pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū, the companions of his earlier period of asceticism. The account is given in the Vinaya, Mahavagga I. 6. 10 ff. (= I. 8 ff.). Cf. S. V. 420 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bhikkhus from Rakkhanga had come to Ceylon under Vimaladhammasuriya I. (91.15) and under the second king of this name (97.10). Kittisiri had some brought from Siam. This is narrated as a kind of appendix in 100.54 ff. In all probability the Siamese monks are to be considered as included in this passage.

30 Dhammacakka Sutta and others and had these recited by preachers of the true doctrine the whole night long. Honouring them with many articles, he listened repeatedly to the 31 incomparable doctrine. The Lord of men called scribes together, made them copy out in one day the Dīgha-Nikāya¹, showed 32 them much favour and then had the sacred text preached the whole night long in the right manner. He celebrated a great 33 sacrificial festival, listened to (texts) and recited himself. In his piety he had the Samyutta-Nikāya and many other books 34 copied and gave the scribes money. People who had renounced the world and inhabitants of houses² had other sacred books carefully copied and when these were shown to him he was 35 highly pleased, showed them with money and other gifts much favour and thus in his pious zeal took a share in the merit of other dwellers in Lankā.

Yearning for merit the Lord of men betook himself with his retinue to superb Anurādhapura. Here the King sacrificed to the Bodhi tree and the sacred cetiyas with elephants, and horses, with gold, silver and the like, and thus in divers ways laid up a store of pious works. Then too in royal splendour the highly-famed Lord of men visited the Mahiyangana-cetiya and the superb Nakhā-cetiya and reverenced them by the celebration of a great festival and so laid up a store of merit.

39 In order to honour with sacrifices the beautiful cetiyas and vihāras erected by the Lord of men Parakkama in superb Pu-

40 latthinagara, the highly famed King rich in faith, betook himself thither with a great retinue and sacrificed to them in

41 the right way. Endowed with faith and other virtues the King also honoured the Rajata-vihāra<sup>3</sup> and brought together a store of merit.

42 After a sacrificial festival for the lotus-hued patron god and other deities such as was popularly recognized as bringing luck even in the days of former sovereigns of Lanka1, he had for the purpose of a military display2, the whole town 43 without exception put in order like the city of the gods. He gathered together all the inhabitants of Lanka and in the town 44 he had the people from the individual provinces separated and made them dwell in different places, provided with standards. 45 Then he had the symbols in the temples of the gods placed on the back of an elephant. He had the elephant surrounded4 46 by divers beaters of the drum and the tambourine and by crowds of dancers, by various groups of elephants and divers groups of horses, by people wearing the Brahman dress of 47 various stuffs and with (divers) ornaments, by people carrying divers umbrellas and divers fly-whisks; by various groups of 48 women and various groups of dignitaries, by people carrying divers shields and divers swords, by such as carried divers 49 spears and various symbols6, by such as carried various stuffs

1 Something of this sort must have been in the mind of the chronicler when he wrote this passage with its absolutely confused style. Manyalasammatam must be taken as attribute to pūjā contained in the compound which follows (42 cd). The Col. Ed. tries at least to smoothe away the difficulties by reading instead of the obhūpālā of the MSS. bhūpā va. I fear this amounts to a correction of the author.

<sup>2</sup> P. senangadassanatthāya. W. does not give the full sense of this expression. That a military tournament is meant is clear from verses 44-45 ab. The assembled people are divided according to the individual local contingents of which the army is made up. Each contingent has its special flag. The army thus forms the main element in the festive procession.

<sup>3</sup> P. devatthāna-āvudhāni. Skr. āyudha means besides "weapon", "implement" in general. W. translates quite correctly "the emblems of the gods that were in the temples".

4 Anticipates hatthim parivāriya in v. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. dīghāgamam; āgama is synonym for nikāya. The same in 33 samyuttāgama.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. pabbajitā and gahaṭṭhā, i. e. priests and laymen. The sentence in 34-35 is linguistically quite incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Now Ridi-vihāra, north of Kurunegala.

<sup>5</sup> The compound is not in the least clear. Maddalakehi at the end seems to be an adjective form; samkinna might be used substantively as is often the case with the past part = "accumlation". The wearisome repetition of  $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  in the sequel is probably meant to express the endlessness of the procession. The same occurs in 85. 112 ff. and 88. 117 ff. The words sonna and  $r\bar{u}piya$  are repeated in the same way in 85. 26 ff. and 89. 19 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Here again āvudha is used. I should prefer here to take the word

99.50

- 50 and various banners; by people who had come from various regions and who understood the different tongues; by such as were practised in the various arts and by divers artisans —
- 51 with such and many other people he had the elephant surrounded, ordering them to go immediately in front or behind.
- 52 Thereupon the King set forth, like to the Prince of the gods, with great (and) royal splendour and marched round the whole town, his right side turned towards it. Finally they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank?.
- When our King of kings<sup>3</sup>, dowered with faith, wisdom and other virtues, was wont every year to hold the Āsāļhi<sup>4</sup>
- 54 festival, he was minded beforehand to celebrate a sacrificial festival for the Buddha. He had a canopy fastened on the
- 55 back of the royal elephant beautifully ornamented with gold embroidery. Then he had the elephant whose tusk was as
- 56 the bright moon, decorated with ornaments and then surrounded by (other) elephants whose riders held in their hand silver umbrellas and fly-whisks and flowers of every kind, by

in the same sense as in v. 45, as "weapons" are already mentioned in the foregoing.

<sup>1</sup> P. nitthite used as adverb, as also in v. 58.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is a good example of the utter neglect of style where the subject so rājā (nikkhamitvā, katvā) in the same verse is followed by the plural predicate pavisanti.

- <sup>3</sup> P. amhākam rājarājānam. The expression "our King" is particularly noteworthy. In the whole of the Mahāvamsa it occurs only here under Kittisirirājajasīha (cf. also v. 133 and 163, as well as 100. 228) and seems to prove that our section was composed under this king and during his lifetime, cf. v. 76 ff. and note to 100. 300. The construction of the sentence is again quite confused. The subject stands in the acc.; guṇādayo which I regard as a transposition of -ādiguno, is changed by the Col. Ed. into -guṇodayo. But does this help us much? The sentence remains in disorder.
- <sup>4</sup> The āsāļha month corrsponds to June-July. The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season. H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.
- <sup>5</sup> P. subbha-candi-radam. I separate the compound thus, candi seeming to me to stand for skr. candra or candrin. The explanation is however, uncertain.
  - 6 The acc. rajatacchattacamare is governed by gahaka in the follow-

people having in their hand articles of sacrifice and wearing garlands of flowers, by people with various banners and pennons 57 and by such as wore divers garments, by various royal dignitaries and by people come hither from various regions. Finally 58 the Lord of men placed the splendid sparkling casket of gold in which the bodily relic<sup>1</sup> of the Buddha was contained 59 carefully under the canopy and by the strewing of flowers let a rain of flowers rain (upon it). With the shouts of the 60 cries of "Hail"!, with the sound of the shell trumpets and the cymbals and with the rattle of the various drums celebrating high festival2, good and pious people their hearts filled 61 with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before the brow, paid lasting reverence (to the relic). But the Lord 62 of men had the Tooth Relic reverenced with all kinds of particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the 63 head the relic which holds the first place among all things worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered 64 all the rest, such as gods<sup>8</sup> and men to follow behind. He himself in royal splendour to the strains of hymns of praise which promised happiness, set forth in all the majesty of a Great king, with great magnificence showing men how even 65 thus the King of the gods in the city of the gods is wont to celebrate high festival for the relics.

Dowered with faith and many other virtues, devoted to 66 the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, collected, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, ever performing meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the like; distinguish-67 ed by splendid virtues, piety, wisdom, mercy, shining over the

ing compound. Thus we have again to do with a compound resolved into its component parts (= rajatacchattacāmarapuppphagāhakaārūlhahatthāhi).

<sup>1</sup> Not "relics" (W.); it is only a case of the Tooth Relic.

am inclined to think that kārento which might be the direct equivalent of the skr. kārayantas, belongs to the following janā pājenti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> By surā are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.

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island, with faith in the Enlightened One, living according to the good doctrine of the Sage, dowered with the ten powers<sup>1</sup>, ever giving alms and performing other meritorious works unweariedly and full of zeal, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, he ever acted in this way for the welfare of all men.

welfare of all men. With great ceremony he instituted day by day a great festival for the Tooth Relic, reverential towards the triad of 69 the jewels. His own community which had been received into the Order in his own time, he provided in pious reverence 70 from his own property with the four articles of use. Devoted in piety to the true doctrine he listened again and again to (the preaching of the) doctrine and accumulated in pious re-71 verence numerous meritorious works. He furthered as during the lifetime of the Buddha the Order of the Victor and in-72 creased the happiness of the people dwelling in Lanka. When he heard of the doings of former kings, of Parakkamabahu and others, he recognized it as right and imitated their doings. 73 He learned the duties of a king, was filled with reverence for kingly duties, shunned the (four) false paths, schooled himself in the four heart-winning qualities, showed his brothers and 74 others all favour by befitting action, made them contented and won their hearts by caring for them in the right way. In this manner the Sovereign of Lanka, the Lord of men, whose joy was in the welfare of others sheltered in the best way, ever unweariedly the Order of the Master as likewise the laity, and when he learned the history of the many rulers of men who had formerly been kings in Lanka, he mused on their deeds and made the resolve: "I also will fulfil the duties

76 of a king." In making this resolve he thought of the work,

77 is narrated in the form of verses, from Mahasammata to (the

entitled Mahavamsa2, in which the ancient history of the

kings of the great dynasty as of those of the lesser dynasty

kings of) Hattiselapura<sup>1</sup>. And the King of Lankā caused an 78 examination to be made in due order of this book existing on the island of Lankā and of the same chronicle of the kings of Lankā brought from the Sāminda country — of these two 79 books separately — and when he heard that the Mahāvaṃsa 80 was deficient, he also caused the unknown history of the kings of the latter time — beginning with Parakkamabāhu up to the kings of the present time — to be written down and to be continued (thus) the royal chronicle.

Thus while he neither transgressed the commandments (laid 81 down) for a king nor the precepts of religion, the Lord of men carried on the royal government in justice and peace. In 82 accordance with the duties of a king he daily did good, such as almsgiving and the like, mindful of the sublime religion, practising the four heart-winning things, practising generosity 83 and friendly speech and care for the welfare of others, and constant in condescension. To show the world that he respected 84 his royal brothers<sup>2</sup> as himself he assigned the two uparājas vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, made them 85 thus completely contented and thus showed forth in the best way the fourfold heart-winning qualities. These two who 86 in this wise attained distinction, celebrated each for himself a great festival for the Tooth Relic. They had books copied

1 I. e. Kurunegala. According to this passage the chronicle came down to the time of Parakkamabāhu IV., who resided in Kurunegala. The MSS. confirm this where after 90.102 a new section begins. The mode of expression in this passage (v. 80) is only in so far inexact as the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV. does not begin the new part but stands at the close of the old. That the Siamese Mahāvaṃsa goes further than the original Mahāvaṃsa of Mahānāma is not expressly stated. The Mahānāyaka of the Malvatu-vihāra in Kandy, Tibbatuvava, was entrusted by the King with the task of comparing the two chronicles and of completing the Sinhalese Mahāvaṃsa (cf. P. E. Pieris, 3, p. 142). In all probability, therefore, he was the author of chapters 90.104 to 100 of the Mahāvaṃsa.

<sup>1</sup> See PTS. P. D. s. v. bala.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For this passage see my edition of the Cülavamsa, I, Introduction p. IV-V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The King had two brothers of whom the one was brought with him and his sister to Ceylon by their father Narenappa Nayaker (Pieris 3, p. 78) while the youngest was born there.

87 and gave the scribes money. They invited the bhikkhu community and each for himself continually gave them alms, such 88 as constant maintenance and the like. By listening to the pious doctrine they learned to distinguish between what should be done and what should be left undone, abhorred sinful 89 actions and were full of zeal for meritorious deeds. By testing they discovered the ablest, most skilful and most pious samaneras; and to these samaperas they presented as gift the eightfold necessaries1, so that they were worthy of a king, had the 90 ceremony of admission to the Order performed for them and took care that they were rightly instructed in the precepts of monastic discipline and in the suttantas. Then they had dwellings erected which was a great blessing2 (for themselves), 91 made the monks dwell therein caring for them meanwhile in a worthy fashion full of reverence. They considered in every 92 way what should be done for the laity and the Order, developed in accordance with the intentions of the King, kindness towards the good and sternness towards the bad, according to 93 their deserts, strove in this wise and with other means after good and acted according to the intentions of the King as good friends of the laity and of the Order.

Many former kings for the sake of gaining the royal dignity or for other reasons did not look on each other as 55 brothers or otherwise (as friends), but fought one another and as a result of their discord their subjects were even so minded. But these three (brothers) who had yet attained such royal power, shunned all discord and showed no weaknesses. They dwelt together in one town and were ever friendly with one 37 another as their own shadows. Thus there was never the least enmity among them on account of the royal dignity and they developed the virtues of the Bodhisatta in the Silavajātaka.

The Licchavis too of Visālā carried on the government in 98 harmony and without discord and won thereby the victory. Rulers of men of little discernment, infatuated by the beauty 99 of the maiden Lankā, did what they ought not to have done and fell in consequence into much misfortune. But rulers of 100 great discernment, made happy by the beauty of the maiden Lankā, did what they ought and were thereby happy and famous. As rulers of this kind have these three Lords of men 101 held fast to harmony, and I say: that was wonderful.

When the Great king, rich in virtue, saw his brother to 102 whom he had granted the umbrella and other distinctions enter (in pomp) with royal retinue, he rejoiced, gazed at him 103 again and again and realized thus in himself the unique, sublimest spiritual perfection?

As the highest in the dynasties of the princes of the earth, 104 as supporting pillars of the Order, possessed of immeasurable virtue, living according to the pious doctrine, shunning to follow the path of evil, associating with pious friends, desirous of reaching the road to the salutary path of delivrance - thus 105 these Rulers dowered with pious virtue, who saw in faith their highest good, did honour with sacrifice in piety to the Tooth of the blessed Enlightened One and to the Doctrine and the Order, accumulated abundant merit assuring the fullest salvation and piously sheltered the Order of the Sage and this stainless Lanka. For ever (therefore) shall one honour this 106 Ruler of Lanka, distinguished by virtue, who ever remembers the fulness of valuable qualities of the Sage, the sole Lord protector of the world, having piously accepted them in his heart, and who then further remembers3 his sublime doctrine and his Order4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See note to 60.71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On account of the merit, the puñña, inherent in such performances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Mahāsīlavajātaka (Nr. 51), FAUSBÖLL I. 261 ff. The point of the comparison lies in the fact that the Bodhisatta as King Mahāsīlava of Benares, although his position was threatened by the Kosalaking, undertakes no deed of violence in order to preserve his kingdom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Visālā, name for Vesālī (note to 37. 80). Our verse alludes to the fact that the Licchavis were able to maintain themselves against the advancing Kosalas while the Sakiyas succumbed to them. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 259—60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. bhāvayī. . brahmabhāvanam ekakam. W. translates freely "only turned his mind to contemplate the virtue of benevelence to all men."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I translate anussarantam thus in contrast to the preceding sarantam, the former being a necessary corollary of the latter.

<sup>4</sup> Dhammaganam is a dvandva compound and gana = samgha.

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Thus this Monarch dowered with great royal power, the great King of kings, protected the Order of the Sage and this stainless Lanka in pious fashion; making men of all countries contented and dispensing to them great happiness he made gods and men beam with joy, discerning, strong in merit, miraculous power and dominion.

While the highly famed Great king, dowered with great power, resided in the great town and protected the laity and 109 the Order, the powerful Olandas, sea merchants who had been entrusted with the protection of Lanka at the time of King Rajasiha<sup>1</sup>, fulfilled the task of envoys to the kings who ruled

110 in Lanka. Every year they were wont to bring with great reverence and great ceremony as gifts and lay before the King

111 various stuffs, made in different countries, along with many other articles, fitted for the use of a king, which they had

112 carefully chosen out. In consequence of former actions of the inhabitants of Lanka or in consequence of their neglect of the deities and so forth who were entrusted with the care of

113 the laity and the Order, they were now angered in the highest degree and in every way cruelly tortured the inhabi-

114 tants of Lanka. When the highly famed Great king heard of these events he thought this was not as it should be, and

115 sent dignitaries forth. The dignitaries set forth with the people living in Lanka, fought a fearful battle with the Olanda

116 people, destroyed the foe, burned down his strongholds and terrified him in every possible way.

Now when the enemy were thus tortured by fear a cruel treacherous man<sup>3</sup> placed himself at their head, low-minded,

<sup>1</sup> Rājasīha II. Cf. 96. 35.

a villain, the end of whose life was near, and with a great 118 following consisting of Javakas and many other people he laid waste in every (possible) way the various provinces and villages, the viharas and the temples of the gods, the bridges, rest-houses and the like. The dignitaries charged by the Ruler 119 of Lanka fought here and there in every way with their warskilled troops, but although they defeated the foe in various 120 places, the enemy were not to be warded off, and they advanced against the town. The war-equipped high dignitaries 121 hindered the foe on the way by every means, took up a frontal position against them and checked their gradual advance. The discerning Great king, the Ruler of Lanka, who 122 understood the conditions of the time, thought: it is impossible to stop the advance of the foe who are like a forest fire, and he entrusted the two uparajas with the sacred Tooth Relic, 123 the Mahesi, his sister and all valuable treasures, to watch over them well and sent them to a province which was 124 scarcely passable owing to mountains, forests and difficult roads. Thereupon the hostile hosts like cruel armies of yakkhas, 125 forced their way into the town and destroyed the sacred books and everything else. Surrounded by his great digni- 126 taries like the senapati and others, and by war-skilled heroes who knew the right occasions from the wrong, the Great 127 king took up a position at the head of his great army here and there in the suburbs situated not far from the capital, and invested the town on every side. The people dwelling 128 in Lanka who had remained true to the teaching of the Buddha adopted the plans of the King and cut down here and there many of those who had gone over to the enemy, whomever 129 they caught sight of, but the envoys of the King and the other officials and the community of the bhikkhus they took under their protection. The bold warriors gifted with heroism 130 who were on the King's side played the war game, and as their aim was the protection of the Order of the Victor, they fought 131 surrounded by their warlike men in every way with the enemy who were posted at various positions on the road, put them 132 to flight, began then to fight also with those who lay in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The meaning is this: The inhabitants of Lanka have obviously failed in their duty to the deities who like Visnu are the protectors of the country; they have neglected their worship. To punish them the offended deities rouse the wrath of the Dutch for the oppression and injury of the people of Lanka in every possible way.

<sup>3</sup> Baron van Eck is meant here. He succeeded Schreuder as governor of Ceylon in 1762. The word khīnāyu is an allusion to the fact that van Eck died suddenly, immediately after the unfortunate campaign against Kandy. Cf. v. 135.

133 town and repeatedly caused them great losses. I think it was no wonder that men adopted the plans of our King: the 134 deities did the same. Hence after a short time the greatly deluded leader of the enemy was smitten with fear, horror and delusion which came over him owing to the might of the 135 gods and owing to the power of the merit (of the King). He left the fair town, fled without prestige and landed in the 136 fire of death. Victims of the power of infatuation all the hostile armies who had advanced, were helpless and shelterless, 137 and came to a bad end. Some were visited by illness, some tortured by hunger and disease, some were slain in fight, some had lost themselves in mountain and wilderness: thus were the miserable people on the enemy's side destroyed. 138 "Protected in such wise by gods, men and others", one said, "this Monarch is certainly of great power: he is rich in 139 merit. Who in the world will be able to neglect the commands of so mighty a king who is so rich in merit?"

<sup>1</sup> Verses 130—132 describe the guerilla tactics employed by the Sinhalese. The attacks are directed first against the communications in the rear, the positions in the line of march. The troops in Kandy are thereby isolated and so exposed to attack.

<sup>2</sup> The whole section vv. 108-139 (cf. vv. 159 ff. and note) is perhaps historically the most valuable part of the latest Culavamsa. It refers to the military events of the year 1765 (see H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 142 f.; P. E. Pieris, 3, p. 118 ff.). The causes of the conflict again lay in the sphere of trade policy. The King wanted to secure his share in the areca and elephant trade, and to compel the Dutch to yield this he harmed and hindered the business of the Dutch Company in every possible way, particularly in their export of cinnamon which was for them specially important. At first the Dutch sought to keep the peace by weak surrender. It was not until 1763 under the Governor van Eck that they decided on warlike measures. Their first venture in this year was a failure. Two years later the Dutch troops entered Kandy, but suffered so under the perpetual attacks of the Sinhalese that they were soon obliged to evacuate the town and withdraw with the severest losses to Colombo. Three facts are passed over by the chronicle in silence: 1) There was a conspiracy in 1761 against Kittisiri, important so far as it was obviously the work of the nationalistic circles at Court and was directed against the Dravidian dynasty. 2) At the beginning of the hostilities the King started negotiations with the

When after the hosts of the enemy had been done away 140 with, the Great king no longer beheld a hostile army, the Ruler had the fair town cleansed as formerly and in fitting 141 manner the temple of the Tooth Relic and the other sanctuaries specially beautifully decorated. He was filled with 142 pure reverence towards the sublime doctrine of the Enlightened One, meditated ever on the sublime words of the Enlightened One, was filled with remembrance of the virtues of the sons of the Enlightened One and ever reverenced the Tooth of the Royal Enlightened One. The Ruler of men who in such wise 143 was completely devoted to the three sacred objects, could not bear the pain accruing to him from his separation from the Tooth Relic. So the Great king, strong in faith, betook himself with his retinue to the most impassable part of the province, and when there he caught sight of the reliquary, 144 he reverenced it piously, his heart full of astonishment and admiration. He bent his head to the ground, worshipped (the 145 relic) with his head, greeted reverently the community of the bhikkhus and so chased away his pain. Filled with good 146 comfort, he raised the casket with the relic to his head, held a great feast and celebrating with the sound of the cries of 147 "Hail"! and the fivefold musical instruments a great ceremonial festival, he entered into his town. Then when the 148 people of Lanka saw the Ruler with the relic, they rejoiced greatly and sent forth their cries of "Hail!". He brought 149 the relic into the former Tooth temple and instituted all the former festive customs in increased measure.

The Samgharaja and many other sons of the Buddha in 150

British, which however, led to nothing. The British emissary to the Court of Kandy was Pybus. 3) A famine in his own country caused by the neglect of agriculture during the war forced Kittisiri in 1766 to make a peace treaty with the Dutch very unfavourable to himself. By this treaty he made over to the Dutch the whole coastal district of the island, so that the kingdom of Kandy was completely cut off from the outer world and absolutely dependent on the good will of the Company.

one expects of course a gantra to govern the acc. mahādugyam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was the Saranamkara mentioned in 97.51 and 98.23. The

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all the monasteries of the town who saw that the danger of 151 the cycle of rebirths is far greater than the danger of the foe, had not given up the monastic life but had departed 152 with books, relics and articles of use, and dwelling outside of the country had protected the Order. The King of kings 153 brought them all speedily back to the town, had the monasteries in the town cleansed and made the bhikkhus take up their abode in them. Then he sought out from among those who were charged to school themselves in the study of the scriptures and in the carrying out of the commandments, 154 the appropriate preachers, invited them and listened ever and again to the Rajovada and other portions of the sacred scriptures.

The many Olanda people who had been our foes thought 155 156 of the custom of the country. They all came together, took counsel with one another and said: "to capture the whole of Lanka is impossible." After they had finally realised this 157 they consulted ever and again: "The people here who rebelled against the King, the ruler of Lanka have gone to perdition; 158 it will be the same with us. It is fitting therefore, that we dwell here in the town with humility, love and reverence 159 towards the sovereign of Lanka." Together with gifts for the King they took full of reverence the beautiful, empty 160 silver reliquary which had been carried away by the great fool and which sparkled like a cetiya, as well as the golden 161 canopy?. They thought: we shall seek pardon for the wrong

title of samgharāja borne by the head of the whole priesthood but which had fallen into disuse since the 15th century, had been conferred on him by Kittisiri in 1750. P. E. PIERIS 3, p. 76.

1 I. e. "Admonishing of the King" Perhaps this is the same as the Rājavagga of Anguttara, III. 147 ff.

When the Dutch under van Eck advanced on Kandy the Sinhalese secured the Tooth Relic (v. 123 f.), but the karandaka, in which it was preserved and the  $sivik\bar{a}$  erected over it in the temple fell into the hands of the enemy. Van Eck took them with him on his retreat to Colombo. His successor however, J. W. Falck, returned these highly sacred objects. The result of this prudent and conciliatory policy was

committed by our countrymen and shall from now onwards live (in peace), betook themselves to the Ruler, praised him, showed him reverence and spake many friendly words. The 162 King, the sovereign of Lanka, pardoned them their great wrong and showed them distinction in every way. In this 163 wise by friendly negotiations our King achieved with them firm and lasting 1 friendly relations. The Olanda people also 164 became thoroughly reconciled with the King of Lanka and were wont every year to present him along with valuable gifts, the products of various countries, with a royal letter which had been handed to them. But the Ruler had the 165 sacred casket which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. After having 166 thus made its beauty like to that of the sun2 he had the Tooth Relic placed therein and reverenced it as the King of the gods.

Thus was the pride of the wicked hosts of the infidel foe 167 destroyed. Ha, (so great was) the power of the merit of the pious, believing Ruler of the Sīhalas. Thinking of this astonishing, wonderful thing, people should devote themselves full of reverence to the virtue of the true faith which is incomparable, praised by the good, splendid.

Since at that time there was not a single bhikkhu on the 168 fair island of Lanka, he had after taking over the burden of government, residing in Sirivaddhana, made many samaneras 169 and as many sons of good family go through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and of admission to the Order. Of these bhikkhus some were preachers of the doctrine and 170 acquainted with the precepts of monastic discipline, some led a life of contemplation or that of hermits. After he had thus 171 ordained so many hundreds of bhikkhus dowered with this and other virtues3 he beautified the whole of Lanka (formerly)

that the beleaguered garrison left behind in Kandy and reduced to sore straits, was granted a free passage.

- 1 P. thiram katvāna must, I think, be referred to mettibhāvam.
- <sup>2</sup> P. sataramsi, the "hundred-rayed", name of the sun.
- 3 Pada a is of course defective. We expect evamādigunayutte. But

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172 bereft of bhikkhus. Day by day he performed meritorious works, invited the community and dispensed to it daily food and food for the sick, mindful of the welfare of the bhikkhu community.

173 For bhikkhus and samaneras there were two kinds of disease, such as had to do with the body and such as affected the mind. To cure mental disease the best of men had the Vinaya

- 174 texts and the Suttantas preached. After he had had the bhikkhus instructed in the Vinaya and the Suttantas which are the cause of the removal of desire and other diseases among mental
- 175 diseases, the Ruler when suffering arises through bodily disease it is difficult for the bhikkhus to school themselves in the study of the scriptures and in the carrying out of the
- 176 commandments<sup>1</sup> to calm disease like fever<sup>2</sup> and the like for this reason invited the community. He appointed for them
- 177 two physicians, well schooled in the medical art, and nurses.

  To these he granted villages and fields and facilities in the
- 178 way of garments, ornaments and the like, and as price for medicines he gave them yearly a hundred (money pieces) from
- 179 the royal treasury. In the various monasteries the Ruler asked after the health or ill-health of the samaneras and the bhikkhus and gave them the requisite care.

In this wise also the King of kings dispensed gain for the community. "Of all gains the gain of health is the highest

181 and best", thus the Buddha taught and therefore even he also dispensed it. He furthered in the best way the Order of the Enlightened One by making it lustrous.

emendation is inadmissible. The fault is the author's, the MSS. are not to blame.

- 1 V. 175 is a kind of parenthesis. In correct language the sentence would be accompanied by an iti or iti cintiya as a reflection of the King's. Cf. note to 100. 52.
- <sup>2</sup> W. is probably right in connecting jara here with skr. jvara (not P. jarā "age").
  - 3 Note that lābha means a gain or advantage of an external kind.
  - 4 Apūjayi is here used as synonym for dāpayi in 180 b.

Formerly the rulers of Lanka, the best of most excellent 182 men, the supports of the Order, removed the infidelity of the hosts of the foe and then bore the burden of the royal dignity. When the King heard thereof and himself compassed in spirit the doctrine revealing itself to him and fraught with immeasurable blessing, he performed continually meritorious works, unweariedly, a support of the Order<sup>1</sup>.

Here ends the ninety-ninth chapter, called »Account of the King's Consecration and of Other Festivals», in the Mahā-vaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The panegyric character of many strophes occurring in this chapter of the chronicle seems again to prove that it was composed when the king Kittisirirājasīha was alive. The poet flatters him with the conventional phrases.

#### CHAPTER C

## THE HISTORY OF KITTISIRIRAJASIHA

The highly famed Lord of men¹ honoured the Tooth Relic with constant reverence even as (a world ruler) his wheel² and worshipped it in every way sacrificing³ with all kinds of flowers, such as sumana, campaka, punnāga, nāga, kaṇikāra, ketakī⁴, white and blue lotus flowers and the like, as well as with perfumes of every sort, such as sandal and aloe wood; with divers kinds of fragrant incense, with sugar, honey and so forth and with delicious remedies like betel nut, camphor and betel leaves; with various prepared dishes such as sweet food, rice and cake, with golden bananas and rose-apples, with bread fruits, mangoes and phārusa fruits⁵, with date plums⁶, oranges⁻ and sweet mundakas, with yellow and green

- 1 I anticipate the subject mahāyaso (v. 8c) and janindo (v. 12a). The sentence goes on to v. 22 in which the first finite verb appears. Various gerunds occur before this and the subject "the King" is repeated several times.
- <sup>2</sup> P. cakka. This is the first of the seven jewels (ratanāni) peculiar to the rājā cakkavattī, the world-ruling king (cf. for this D. II. 172 ff., III. 61 ff.; M. III. 172; PTS. PD. s. v. ratano), a marvellous chariot that carries him victoriously over all countries.
  - <sup>3</sup> I anticipate pūjetrā in v. 8.
- 4 The botanical names are successively: 1) jasminum grandiflorum,
  2) michelia champaka, 3) rottleria tinctoria, 4) mesua ferrea, 5) pterospermum acerifolium, 6) pandanus odoratissimus.
  - <sup>5</sup> Cf. also Mhvs. 89. 43 and note.
- <sup>6</sup> P. timbarūsaka a kind of diospyros. The fruit called timbaru is compared in Ja. VI. 457<sup>1</sup> to the youthful female breast. We do not know what the phārusa is.
- <sup>7</sup> P. nāranga = skr. nāranga which is borrowed from the Persian nārang. Mundaka again is unknown.

coconuts, with ripe pomegranates, with dates, grapes and various 6 other fruits, with many fine roots and sprouts of every kind. With such and other offerings, with the five kinds of musical 7 instruments, with many of the things taken over from former kings and with new thereto he worshipped the Tooth Relic 8 day by day, thereby intent on merit, increasing the store of his meritorious works. With gold and silver, with fair precious 9 stones and pearls, with countless, brightly embroidered. gleaming stuffs; with canopies, curtains and robes, with many 10 articles of use and manifold ornaments, with many elephants 11 and steeds, as well as with cattle and buffaloes, with many slaves male and female and with numerous villages and fields he sacrificed full of zeal to the Tooth of the Enlightened One 12 and when the Prince of men beheld it he was filled with pious joy. He was minded to have the golden casket completed 18 which had been begun under former kings but had never been finished. After a splendid, jewel-encrusted2 casket had 14 been made for two thousand suvannas and seven nikkhas3. the Lord of men ever intent on meritorious action, had a 15 costly, splendid, magnificent, large diamond placed on the point; one hundred and sixty-eight beautiful, costly, splendid (smaller) 16 diamonds, well worth seeing, and one hundred and seventyone topazes4 he had put on it, further he had it set with 17 five hundred and eighty-five blue sapphires and four thousand 18 eight hundred and eighty rubies, also he had it set with seven 19 hundred and seventy-eight pearls, and when the costly casket

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. sādhukandehi. The word kanda "root" (skr. the same) is missing in Childers and also in the PTS. P. D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. manivanna. The word vanna does not meam "colour" here, but "beauty, ornament", as is often the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Suvanna as well as nikkha, as also skr. suvanna and niska denote a weight and a coin. The nikkha is = 15 suvanna (PTS P. D. s. v.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. puppharāgamaņiratane. It is true that puppharāga by itself means "topaz" (= skr. pusparāga). What is expressed however, is the fundamental meaning "flower coloured". Thus we have in the same way nīlamaņi "blue gem" (17 d) for "sapphire" and rattamaņiratana "red gem" (18 c d) for "ruby".

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20 was finished he had two further caskets made in which to place it and had these also set with costly splendid, beautiful

21 jewels. The Ruler of men had the casket made by the famous

22 King Vimaladhammasuriya1 overlaid with gold. Then the Ruler of men, celebrating a great festival, placed the Tooth

23 of the Sage in these same (caskets). Full of pious joy the Ruler dedicated a large village, Akarabhanda by name, to the Tooth of the Prince of the wise.

At the festival of the relic the Ruler in his mercy thought 25 to show the Tooth Relic to the inhabitants of Lanka. After the Ruler had had the whole town of Sirivaddhana carefully cleansed and decorated throughout with arches of many-

26 coloured stuffs, with rows of arches of banana leaves, with bunches of coco blossoms and with all kinds of flags and

27 pennons, he gathered together in the town all the people of Lanka. The Ruler of men himself, adorned with all the royal

28 ornaments, like the King of the gods, betook himself after he had previously celebrated many great sacrifices of all kinds, to the temple of the Tooth Relic, sacrificed to it in every

29 possible way, worshipped it, he the Ruler by throwing himself

in humble posture2 to the earth out of reverence for the 30 Tooth Relic of the King of the wise. Then he took the

golden lotus flower together with the Tooth in the lotus of

31 his hand and went forth from the temple with it. With sacrificial ceremonies, celebrated with silver umbrellas and flywhisks of yak tails4, with golden and silver flowers, with the

32 five kinds of flowers, laja and so forth, with many jewels and pearls, with gold and silver, with various coloured stuffs

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 98. 50 and note.

3 P. kāriyamānapūjāsu in v. 34 c.

and many kinds of ornaments, with divers fragrant flowers, 33 with many lamps and incense, and amid the sound of the five musical instruments, the shell trumpets, the cymbals and the rest, and amid the noise of the many thousandfold cries of 34 Hail! — it was like foam-crowned billows — the highly 35 famed King marched in procession like a world ruler in his chariot<sup>2</sup>. In the superb, beautiful mandapa, decorated with 36 all kinds of brightly embroidered cloths, like a heavenly mandapa stood the King, the Ruler of men, like the King of 37 the gods at the head of the company of the gods, and then the King showing the multitude of the people the sacred beautiful Tooth of the Prince of the wise, right hard to attain in hundreds of thousands of world ages, filled them all with 38 bliss, heaped up a store of merit and laid (the relic) again in the casket.

In this wise, feeling every kind of bliss, as at the sight 39 of the living Buddha, the multitude also increased the store of their merits.

Intent on good, he repeatedly exhibited the Tooth Relic 40 in the same way and so stored up much good. Of villages 41 and fields devoted by former kings of Lanka to the Tooth Relic he took not away the very least. Day by day holding 42 a great sacrificial festival in joyful faith, he dedicated many elephants and horses and in the same way bulls and buffaloes. as well as a prosperous, populous village by name Rajakatthala, 49 and another large village by name Muttapabbata3 and gained thereby for himself the value of meritorious works.

He was mindful of the purity of the Order. Amongst the 44 bhikkhus who were formerly present on the splendid island of Lanka, and amongst all the samaneras who had undergone

<sup>1</sup> In Mhvs. 91. 11 ff. it is related that he brought the Tooth Relic from Labujagama to Kandy. Nothing is said in the passage about the making of a karanda.

<sup>4</sup> P. camarīcāmarchi. The fem. camarī is also employed in Skr. (BR. s. v. camara). See above 98. 14, as well as Jat. IV. 256 camarinanguttha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. 98. 46 and note.

<sup>1</sup> P. kallolamāliūmi va stands quite independently of the construction of the sentence, as a kind of parenthesis. It refers to the whole procession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note to 100.1, Note 2.

<sup>3</sup> There is a village Radagoda in the Kandy District, Medapalata Korale, a village Mutugala in the Kurunegala District, Udukaha Korale West (Census 1921, II, p. 60, 328).

100. 66<sup>§</sup>

the ceremony of world renunciation, were some who had fear 45 of evil, respected the true doctrine, living in good moral discipline, in pure fashion. Others cherished evil, were of 46 bad moral living, followed false doctrine, took pleasure in the maintaining of women and children and in domestic duties and devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as astrology, medical activity and the like.

logy, medical activity and the like. When the Ruler heard tidings of such unprincipled (bhikkhus) he sought out2 with care from among the pious 48 (bhikkhus) who were on the side of the high principled, the respected samanera, named Saranamkara, who led a pure life, dwelt in the wilderness, took pains for the furthering of the Order of the Victor, was careful of moral discipline, virtuous, 49 well instructed, experienced in the interpretation of the words 50 of the Enlightened One. With the reflection that this was the right thing to do, the Ruler with his support, ordered according to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against 51 them and had them seriously admonished that from now onwards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and 52 should foster<sup>3</sup> the study of the words of the Buddha. As the King was minded to further the Order which had fallen into 53 decay, he strengthened the influence of the high principled, 54 and in many ways gave the Order support. The Ruler was appalled at the thought that with the lack of bhikkhus on whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been per-

55 formed, the pure Order of the Victor should perish on the

whole island, and with the reflection: if a Ruler like myself carries on the government in the island of Lanka, then the 56 Order of the Victor ought not to perish, - further with the reflection: the furtherance of the Order which was not attained in the time of former rulers in spite of their sending 57 hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass, the Ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he de- 58 sired a long continuance of the Order of the great Seer, when 59 the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after the final nirvana of the Prince of the wise 1 had come - sent messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and 60 many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb town of Ayojjhā2, to fetch hither sons of the Buddha. In 61 this wise the Ruler of Lanka who was minded to purify the Order of Buddha, began the furtherance of the Order of the Prince among victors.

The dignitaries took the royal letter and the rest and 62 started with great ceremony and with great zeal on their way. With the Olanda people who were entrusted with the pro-63 tection of Lankā, they embarked and sailed to the land of Sāminda. When the town of Ayojjhā was reached the Ruler 64 of men in that country accepted the royal letter and the rest, as was the custom. In best fashion the prudent one showed 65 the dignitaries the honour befitting them and took note of the excellent royal letter. When the Ruler of men Dhammika 66 by name, who striving after the dignity of a Buddha, fulfilled the ten pāramīs and took the Order under his protection,

<sup>1</sup> That is the activity of the kapurāla, the sorceror or devil-priest whose help is sought in cases of illness and for warding off the harmful influence of the planetary deities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. sammā vijānitvā cannot belong to pavattim, as W. seems to think, but must govern the following accusatives. For Saranamkara cf. above 97. 51, 60; 98. 23; as well as note to 99. 150. The Samgharāja died in the year 1778.

<sup>3</sup> The construction of the sentence is quite wrong. It would be right if instead of rakkhitum in 52 b we had rakkhantūti whereby vv. 51 and 52 ab would be characterized as oratio recta.

<sup>1 = 1749</sup> A. D. What is meant is the time of the close of the embassies to Siam which had already begun under Kittisiri's predecessor Vijayarājasīha. We have an interesting account of these embassies by a member: "An Account of Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka, 1750 A. D., published by P. E. Pieris in JRAS. C. B. xviii, nr. 54, 1903, p. 17 ff. I see no reason to doubt the genuine character of the document. The relations established by the coming of the bhikkhus from Siam are potent in their influence even to-day. The Siamese sect is the wealthiest and the most influential in the island of Ceylon. For the vicissitudes experienced by these embassies see Pieris 3, p. 71, 73, 75 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note to 98. 91. <sup>3</sup> See for this note to 37. 180.

67 heard the news of the decline of the Order of the Victor in Lanka, and of the other (evils) he was most deeply moved.

68 The Ruler thought: "I will be a helper in order to achieve there the furtherance of the Order of the Enlightened One."

69 He summoned the Samgharāja in the Sāminda country and many other well instructed Grand theras, versed in the doctrine and acquainted with the rules of the Order, who had for a

70 long time renounced the world, who were capable of carrying out the business of the Order and took counsel with them

71 carefully about the matter. He called together a Chapter consisting of a group of ten, (bhikkhus), an abode of virtues, easily satisfied and content, dowered with the virtues of a life of piety and discipline, and besides the Thera Upāli as head.

72 These the Ruler who was well inclined to the Great king on the island of Lanka — like to King Vessantara — sent to

73 Lanka, to the splendid relic temple of the Victor and (with them) books on the doctrine and on monastic discipline which

74 did not exist in the island of Lanka, further a golden image (of the Buddha) and a superb golden book, a magnificent royal letter, gifts of various kinds and dignitaries of the King of

75 Ayojjhā (as envoys). The great vessel which after the golden image and the other gifts had been put in order, was sent off came without disaster over the sea rich in perils, hiding many

76 a disaster, to the fair, splendid island of Lanka and reached

77 the harbour of Tikonamāla. When the Great king, the Ruler of Lankā had tidings of this, he had all the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> The last human incarnation of the Bodhisatta; cf. Vessantarajātaka (Nr. 547; VI. 479 ff. in Fausböll's edition).

3 Three in number according to the narrative.

the town of Sirivaddhana called together. In joyful faith the 78 Ruler of men celebrated a great feast. From the sea as far as superb Sirivaddhanapura he had the road put in order and 79 rest-houses 1 erected at various places. Then the Ruler sent forth the Mahasenapati and other dignitaries and made them fetch 80 in the right order the golden image and the sacred books, the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great 81 pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached the vicinity of the Mahavalukaganga which comes down from 82 the Sumanakūţa, the Ruler of the town Sirivaddhana, the Ruler 83 of men desirous of gaining the reward accruing from the festive reception of the three sacred objects2, the highly famed Great king intent on merit, went forth with the army in piety to meet 84 them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverence to the august Grand thera and to the others and at the same 85 time greeted the great community. Having exchanged with them in the best way possible the customary speeches of welcome, he came with the three sacred objects at the head, to 86 his town. In the fair Puppharamas, in a graceful brick-roofed building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he made 87 the august community of monks take up their abode. Then he provided them in fitting manner with the necessaries and 88 charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter 89 sent by the King of Ayojihā and he made the royal envoys who 90 had arrived and the other officials take up their abode in a fitting place and showed them all the distinction to which they were entitled. In the year two thousand two hundred and 91 ninety-six after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One4,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> All the accusatives in vv. 71-74 are governed by apeses, to those in v. 71 must be added the gerund nimantayitvāna. The gifts, among them the golden image, are enumerated in the narrative quoted above (note to v. 59). The number of the theras with Upāli at their head, is however given as twenty-one, with eight sāmaneras in addition.

<sup>4</sup> The subject nāvā in 75 c is repeated with mahānāvā in 76 d. The language in the whole section is extremely careless.

<sup>5</sup> P. gambhire, used substantively and supplemented by samudde.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. Trincomalee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. ārāme, thus buildings which were specially intended for the sojourn of the monks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the train of the envoys from Siam there were 1) a golden figure of the Buddha (*Buddha*), 2) sacred books (*dhamma*) and 3) the bhikkhus with Upāli at the head (*saṃgha*).

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Flower monastery" the now so-called Malvatu-vihāra situated immediately on the lake of Kandy.

 $<sup>^4 = 1752 \</sup>text{ A. D.}$ 

100, 115

92 in the month Asalha when it was full moon, the all-powerful 93 Great king, dowered with vast royal power, betook himself to the monastery. He had seats carefully spread in the middle 94 of the fine Uposatha house contained therein. Then he invited the Grand thera Upali, dowered with the quality of a life led in moral discipline, experienced in all clever methods, who 95 had his pleasure in the welfare of all beings, and second to him the Thera Āriyamuni2 together with the (rest of the) community and bade them be seated. Then with the cele-96 bration of a great festival the Ruler of men, the Ruler of Lanka, made these perform on the most distinguished of the sāmaņeras of Lankā the ceremony of admission to the Order. From that time onwards he was wont to fetch hither sāmaņeras and others who were versed in the linguistic textbooks on the sacred scriptures, and have performed on them 98 the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the same way he sought out rightly all those who were worthy of the ceremony of world renunciation and of admission to the sublime 99 Order of the Enlightened One and had the ceremony of world renunciation and of admission performed on them according to precept. Among the bhikkhu communities who thus had become 100 numerous in Lanka, he again sought out those bhikkhus who

were full of lasting zeal in preserving the study of the sacred scriptures and of the rules of monastic life and who were 101 qualified for and worthy of the position of a teacher, and charged them to take instruction from the brethren of the Order who had come from Ayojjhā. Now among those high principled bhikkhus who carried out the commands of the

102 Victor, there was one who had long been at pains to make

lustrous the Order of the Sage which for a long time had been on the verge of ruin in Lanka, - who in accordance 108 with his insight, as far as possible untiringly, day and night, made lustrous the sacred scriptures of the Prince of the wise and his rules for monastic life - who also instructed as dis- 104 ciples many others in the sacred scriptures and the rules for monastic life and thus in worthy manner brought splendour to the Order, - who striving for his own salvation and that 105 of others, with the wish to obtain long continuance for the Order of the Sage, ever took pleasure in a pure life, - who 106 as regards virtue, discipline and devotion to duty was as a mirror for all the sons of the Victor in Lanka who were intent on their salvation, - who during the time that he was a 107 samanera was called Saranamkara: this son of the Victor living in pious discipline now that he had been admitted to the 108 Order, he (the King) invested with the dignity of a Samgharāja1. Amongst the bhikkhus who had joined him, he sought out in both monasteries? such as were skilled and well versed in the carrying out of the duties of the Order of the 109 Master and assigned them positions of rank. Explaining to them: ye all who live out the doctrine of the Victor, should 110 act in harmony, day and night unweariedly, in accordance with the rule of the Order and according to the sacred scriptures, the Ruler showed them much favour and in this wise made 111 the Order lustrous so that it should continue for long in Lanka.

The royal envoys too, arrived from the Sāminda country, 112 and the others sought out the King, handing over to him the royal letter and the other gifts. The Great king, the Ruler 113 of Lankā, accepted everything, and after the Monarch had made a close inspection of the superb royal document he highly 114 pleased, had favours conferred on them. Now the Ruler who for his own good, the good of others and the good of the Order, had again and again performed meritorious works, who 115

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The month June-July.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the narrative (p. 34) quoted above (note to v. 59) the Grand thera Āriyamuni is mentioned as second to Upāli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> All the relative sentences beginning with yo in vv. 102-107 refer to tam in v. 107 c. This part of the long-winded sentence is but loosely connected with the preceding which ends with niyojiya. If we might alter niyojiya into niyojayi and put a full stop after it, the construction of the sentence would be all right.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See above note to 99. 150 and to 100. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the Malvatu and the Asgiriya-vihāras in Kandy, which are the seats of the two mahānāyakas, the heads of the Church of Ceylon.

cetiyas in Sirivaddhana and other towns. Then he had sacred 129 boundaries 1 fixed, and intent on the good of the bhikkhus, Uposatha houses and dwellings erected here and there. Devoted 130 in faith to the bhikkhu community he had in three years monasteries founded and made bhikkhu communities take up their abode in them. In the periods of the rainy season<sup>2</sup> he 131 provided the fitting maintenance, listened to the sermon of the true doctrine and kept the uposatha fasts. When the 132 bhikkhus were presented with the various necessaries he gave them in addition to the otherwise customary robes, kathina robes 5. In the course of these three years he had the cere- 133 mony of admission to the Order performed on seven hundred persons in the august community, and for three thousand sons 134 of good families he caused the granting of the ceremony of world renunciation as samaneras for the good of mankind.

For the good of the world the King, the Ruler of men, 135 effected the furtherance of the Order: for that reason must all gracious Brahmas, Suras and Asuras grant the Monarch happiness and long life!

In the year that bears the name of Sukara the Ruler of 136 men Dhammika the sage, who had helped so much to further the Order in Lanka, since he strove after the dignity of a Buddha, sent once more from the town Ayojiha a group of 137

(in Badulla), 8) Tissamahāvihāra (Tissamahārāma in Mahāgāma, Rohana) 9) the Bodhi tree, 10) Maricavaţţi-cetiya, 11) Ratanavāluka (Mahāthūpa), 12) Thūpārāma, 13) Abhayagiri, 14) Jetavana, 15) Selacetiya (9 to 15 in Anurādhapura), 16) Kājaragāma (Rohana).

- 1 P. kāretvā baddhasīmāyo, lit. "he had fixed boundaries made". The expression simam bandh is used for the fixing of the territorial boundaries of a monastery which was carried out with particular ceremonies (Mhvs. 15. 131 ff.; 78. 61 ff).
- <sup>2</sup> P. antovassesu. That is the rainy period lasting three or four months which the bhikkhu along with his companions, must spend in a settled abode (in the monastery).
- 3 P. pavāritesu. What is meant is the Pavāraņā ceremony held at the end of the rainy season.
- 4 P. parivāracīvarehi. Parivāra here has the sense of "ingredient accessories" (PTS. P. D. s. v.).
  - <sup>5</sup> Sec note to 41. 48.

100.116 Kıttisirirajasiha 284 was devoted to the true doctrine, a light of the Order, greatly 116 wise was wont to visit the monastery and to test in every way in the midst of the community, the means for long continuance of the Order. As he wished to make lustrous the 117 Order, he invited in fitting manner the Grand thera Upāli and listened with believing heart from the Dīgha-Nikāya, the 118 Samyutta-Nikāya, the Saddhammasamgaha and from various other books, the (sections on the) tenfold royal duties and the 119 four heart-winning qualities. To faith awakened, of deep discernment, he thus learned to distinguish between what ought and what ought not to be done, between what is meritorious action and what is sin, what is blameworthy and what is not 120 blameworthy, and he left undone all things which should not be done, which are sinful and blameworthy, and strove as best he could after the things which ought to be done and 121 are not blameworthy. Almsgiving and other meritorious works he performed day by day, and after he had had the whole 122 town decorated as formerly he full of reverence invited the dignitaries who had come from Ayojiha and all the people of

Lanka, the Grand thera (Upali) with the other bhikkhus (from

123 Sāminda) as well as the bhikkhus from Lankā, the sāmaņeras and all the others, and celebrating as formerly with royal

- 124 ornaments and all kinds of other sacrificial gifts a great festival he exhibited the Tooth Relic for the salvation, blessing and happiness of them all.
- Since the royal envoys wished to do reverence to the 125 Mahiyangana-cetiya and the other cetiya places, he sent them
- 126 in the company of Lanka officials, to the various places, let them as they desired, perform their devotions and sent them
- 127 home after showing them to the utmost befitting favours. In the same way giving them sacrificial articles and appointing officials (charged with their care), he enabled the bhikkhu
- 128 community with Upali at the head, to visit the sixteen sacred places1 in Lanka, Mahiyangana and so forth, as well as the

<sup>1</sup> According to W. these were: 1) Mahiyangana, 2) Nagadipa, 8) Kalyāņī, 4) Samantakūta, 5) Divāguhā, 6) Dīghavāpi, 7) Mutiyangaņa

more than ten priests with two theras at the head -- the Grand thera Visuddhācariya1, who was an abode for the virtue of a life lived in discipline, whose ornament were faith and 138 the other virtues, who was a mine of virtue, and the capable, 139 learned second thera Varañāṇamuni — to Laṅkā for the further-140 ance of the Order in Lanka. When this community arrived the highly famed King of Lanka accompanied them as for-

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141 merly with great honours into the town, made them take up their abode in the Puppharama and dispensed to them daily regular food and everything else as formerly.

After accumulating a store of merit the distinguished Thera 142 Upāli who during these three years unweariedly day and night 143 had done all that was to be done for the furtherance of the Order, was severely troubled by a disease of the nose which

144 befel him. The Sīhala Ruler had the best medical treatment given to the incomparable Grand thera (thus) seized by ill-

145 ness. Again and again the highly famed King went to the monastery, visited the Grand thera and when he learned, his

146 heart deeply moved, that the disease was incurable he celebrated with sacrificial objects of every kind, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha and ascribed the merit of it? to him (the

147 Grand thera). When the Thera was dead the Ruler of men had the corpse with great ceremonial laid in a covering of

148 fine stuff, had many sacrificial ceremonies performed, the corpse brought to the pyre and the prescribed rites carried out and thus accumulated merit.

The King was aware of how helpful the Ruler of men, 149 Dhammika, the sovereign of the Saminda country, had been in the furtherance of the Order of the King of the wise in Lanka, by twice sending a pious bhikkhu community and by 150 bringing about the presence of many hundreds of bhikkhus, whereas formerly there had not been a single bhikkhu on the

island of Lanka and by sending books of every kind which 151 were lacking. He thought: "To a man like that who has 152 given me so much help I will also pay in befitting manner 153 fitting honours." He ordered ministers forth to whom he gave a model of the Tooth of the Sage fashioned out of a costly jewel and many varied gifts such as a likeness of the 154 Victor, a shell curved towards the right and other things, and also a splendid, specially artistic royal letter, and sent 155 with them the bhikkhu community who wished to return to their own country (Saminda). With great reverence all the 156 dignitaries received this and journeyed forth to the country of Saminda. When they arrived? there King Dhammika was 157 joyful in heart. He gazed to his hearts content at the likeness of the Tooth of the Sage and at the rest, and full of joy as 158 if he had (himself) received the Tooth of the Enlightened One, he celebrated day by day a great festival. Then when he heard and had taken note of the many words expressed in 159 the royal letter: the transference<sup>3</sup> of the merit of the furtherance of the Order and so forth, he put glad confidence in the King of Lanka. He gave over (to the envoys) many books 160 which were not in Lanka, a beautiful likeness of the sacred footprint4, as sacrificial gifts for the Tooth of the Victor golden 161 canopies and umbrellas and all kinds of beautiful and splendid presents, suitable for the royal use, as well as a royal letter 162 in which expression was given to the share in all merits as his own admission to the Order<sup>5</sup> and the like, wherein the

<sup>1</sup> As regards the word mahāvisuddhācariyattheram we must I think, join the mahā with theram in order to get the counterpart to anutheram in 138 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For pattidana see note to 42.50. In this case the patti is transferred to a dying man, not one already dead.

<sup>1</sup> Such shells are very rare and precious. Their possessor is supposed to be exceedingly lucky. Shells of this kind are mentioned among the gifts exchanged between King Devanampiyatissa and King Asoka (Mhvs. 11. 22, 30).

The acc. pl. sampatte is governed by apeses in v. 163 c. Vv. 156-163 certainly form a most clumsy sentence.

This refers to what is related in v. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. with this the note to v. 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I assume that attūpasampadā means that Dhammika belonged himself, if only for a time, to the Order, as is customary even to-day in the royal family of Siam. With this he had acquired great merit. a part of which was to accrue to Kittisirirājasīha.

163 reasons for the friendly relations between the two kings found expression, and sent all that to fair, holy Lanka.

All this the highly famed King of Lanka accepted. When he beheld the books of the good doctrine and the gifts like

165 the footprint of the Sage, he rejoiced greatly and paid great honour to the gifts. He celebrated a great festival and showed

166 them to all the people. Then when he had looked at the royal letter and taken note of the many words expressed in it, such as the transference of merit and the like, also the

167 friendly relations mentioned, the Ruler of the Sihalas was filled with the highest bliss by satisfaction at the transferred

168 merit<sup>1</sup>. He thought: "The reward accruing from the meritorious works like furtherance of the Order I have experienced in this

169 life, what shall one say of that which may be perfectly enjoyed in a future existence?" In this wise the Ruler believed

170 firmly in the three sacred things. The Ruler of Lanka betook himself to the monastery and heard the sermon of the true doctrine preached by the Grand theras who had arrived the

171 second time. He charged those bhikkhus who had been admitted into the Order by the chapter of monks who had arrived first, to take instruction from the bhikkhu chapter at whose

172 head Visuddhacariya<sup>2</sup> stood, and had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed in proper fashion by those theras on numerous sons of good family.

173 Of the bhikkhus in Lanka some whose ornament was their virtue, learned with the Grand Thera by name Visuddha-

174 cariya, absorption which is the way to nirvana; others learned

175 with the second Thera Varañānamuni the content of the doctrine and monastic rules, as well as linguistic knowledge. Thus the King pledged the bhikkhus of Lankā to the study of the

176 sacred scriptures and to the practice of moral discipline and so sheltered the Order of the Enlightened One. And the

177 bhikkhus of Lanka were zealous and discerning. Received into

the branch of those ascetics who are without wants, who have taken upon themselves a life of discipline, unwearied, never indolent, they made of the doctrine of the Victor a reality. zealous by day and night, absorbed in difficult texts; and the 178 King showed them honour by the dispensing of dwellings and the like. The chapter of bhikkhus which had come the second 179 time and wished to return to their own country he sent away with Olanda merchants. On a firmly fixed rock situated on 180 a beautiful spot not too far to the east of the town of Sirivaddhana he had hewn out by skilful workers, masons and 181 others a splendid standing image of the Victor nine cubits1 high and he had the radiant, shining stone image overlaid 182 with gold plates so that it resembled the living Sage. Round 183; about this Buddha statue he had erected a lofty, massive, beautiful stone wall and superb stone pillars placed and a 184 splendid, beautiful two-storeyed temple built fair to look at, as well as a roomy court, outer walls, mandapas and so forth 185 set up in the best way. Then he put thereon canopies and curtains of all kinds of coloured stuffs. Round about he placed 186 arches one after another and provided them in every way with much ornament. Here and there he set up various flags 187 and pennons and on the day of the sacrificial festival of the eyes" he lit a row of lamps, placed filled jars (about) and 188 carried out in blameless fashion the various customs prescribed for festivals. To the people who supplied the coloured paint- 189 ings, he dispensed abundantly robes, ornaments and the like and satisfied their wishes in every way. Then he made the 190 splendid loud clang of the musical instruments, like shell trumpets, kettledrums and so forth resound, like the roar of the wide sea, and under a good constellation, at a good hour, 191 on a good day determined as favourable he put in the eyes and celebrated a great festival. Numerous silver bowls and 192 many silver vessels, costly necessaries and valuable monks'

<sup>1</sup> P. pattānumodanena stands as is shown by the preceding verse, for patti-anumo.

<sup>3</sup> Sec above v. 136 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I. e. 13-14 ft.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> What is meant is the putting in of the eyes in the Buddha statue which always took place with quite special ceremonies.

193 robes, banners, white umbrellas, shields, fly-whisks and fans -194 all these and other fair objects of sacrifice the Ruler offered, mindful of the reward accruing from a sacrifice to the Buddha, with the thought that it was as if it took place in the pre-195 sence of the still living Prince of the wise, with a heart full of the joy of faith, intent on merit. Many and manifold foods 196 also such as sweet di-hes, rice, solid dishes and others, sugar, honey, betel, lime, camphor and so forth, also remedies and 197 perfumes of every kind like sandal and the like, beautiful flowers, like jasmine, campaka blossoms and others — all these 198 and other objects of sacrifice he offered in pious fashion. The makers of the Buddha image and the other people he rejoiced by an offering of many animate and inanimate things, elephants, 199 cattle, buffaloes and so forth. If one reckons the sums spent in the making of the Buddha statue and the other offerings 200 on the occasion of this vihara festival according to their money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred

money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred and fifty (kahāpaṇas).

201 The large, beautiful vihāra, well worth seeing, which is known as Gangārāma because it was built on a fair spot near 202 the Mahāvālukagangā was founded by the King under the 203 name of Rājamahāvihāra. This vihāra, thus superbly furnished with glory and splendour, was also destroyed by the enemy 2 204 who had penetrated into the town. The King had it in the best way restored to its original condition, and just as he had 205 held a solemn ceremony at the former eye festival, so (now) he held another eye festival. After the Ruler of men had dispensed in great abundance to the painters and so forth 206 garments, ornaments and other articles and had sacrificed with many sacrificial gifts, he erected near by a fair monastery

1 I think sāragandha should be taken in this sense like the corresponding skr. word.

for the community and made a chapter of bhikkhus who 207 devoted themselves with lasting zeal to the study and the fulfilment of moral duties, take up their abode there, providing 208 them in every way with what was necessary. Then by holding in the way described formerly, full of reverence for the Triad of the jewels, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha, and 209 at the same time sacrificing to the chapter of the bhikkhus, he increased the fulness of merit for himself and the laity.

Now in order that this beautiful fair vihāra, worthy to 210 be seen, that was erected in this manner, and all the numerous sacrificial ceremonies inaugurated there and the many meri- 211 torious works such as the offerings to the community — should be continued for a long time in the right way, the Ruler determined a village situated near the vihāra by name Arup- 212 pala, and many other villages and fields, and gardens also, as well as the large, populous village by name Udakagāma¹ 213 in the district of Māyādhanu and granted them (to the monastery). And the King confirmed this in perpetuity by 214 having an inscription graven on the beautiful mountain (in the stone).

In this way the King of kings dowered with splendid 215 virtues, since he realised the worthlessness of acquired wealth, in his piety had sacrificial festivals celebrated for the Buddha and sacrificial festivals for the community of the excellent sons of the Victor and so performed perpetually all valuable, meritorious works<sup>2</sup>. Therefore should ye all also perpetually perform without wearying, meritorious works.

In the fair, splendid suburb by name Kundasālā, the Ruler 216 of men had erected in a charming garden a vihāra fair to look on, supplied in the best way possible with outer walls 217 and mandapas, and brought thither relics and images of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thus we learn here that all these festivities described in the foregoing took place before the capture of Kandy by van Eck in 1765, that on this occasion the Gangārāma founded by the King, was also destroyed, but as related in the following, restored after the destruction of the Dutch expedition, when the change of name possibly took place

<sup>1</sup> Now Diyagama. Three villages of this name might be the one in question: 1) Diyagama in the Kalutara District, Vaddubadda; 2) Diyagama in the Magul Otota Korale, Kurunegala; 3) Diyagama in Deyaladahamuna Pattuva, Kegalla (Census 1921, Ii, p. 48, 282, 514).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lit. "the full value of meritorious action" (sāram in contrast to asāram in a).

218 Sage. Then he dedicated (to the vihāra) the garden that was adorned with bread-fruit trees, mango trees, cocopalms and other fruit trees, as well as many fields and villages and people

219 for the service of the monastery, and celebrated, intent on merit, day by day all sacrificial ceremonies, such as offerings of food and the like.

The wicked king known by the name of Rajasiha in the 220 town of Sītāvaka1 who had committed parricide and destroyed the Order of the Victor, as he could not distinguish what it

221 was right to do, had adopted a false faith, was devoted to the adherents of the false faith and ordered them to take for themselves the income accruing from the worship of the sacred

222 footprint of the Enlightened One on the Sumanakūța. From that time onwards the adherents of the false faith destroyed

223 everything there. When the highly famed Great king heard of these things he realised, reverently devoted to the En-

224 lightened One, that this was unseemly. He commanded the adherents of the false faith from now onwards not to do so. and charged the sons of the Buddha to carry out in the right

225 way the many sacrificial ceremonies which should be performed there. He dedicated the flourishing, populous, large village

226 named Kuttāpiti to the sacred footprint and to shield it from the heat of the sun, he erected above it a mandapa with cur-

227 tains, adorned with an umbrella on the point, fastened it with iron chains and accumulated much good by the celebration of sacrificial ceremonies. But the income accruing therefrom he assignéd to the Order.

In this manner did our happy, sublime? Sihala Ruler in 228 the knowledge that what that deluded king had done, because he knew not the virtues of the sublime Sage - was unseemly, put away all the wrong and by entrusting the spotless bhikkhu community of the sublime sons of the Buddha therewith, he celebrated a ceremonial festival for the Buddha which granted sublime immortality.

Kittisirirajasihu

The Majjhavela-vihāra built by the ruler, King Vatta- 229 gāmaṇī, which had fallen into decay, and the cetiya belonging 230 to the vihara he had rebuilt in the finest way and granted it the village called Singatthala2 that had been long separated from it. Day by day he celebrated there in the right way a 231 sacrificial ceremony and so smoothed the road to heaven which he would have to tread in the future.

To the Dutiyasela-vihāra3 the Ruler of men granted the 232 village by name Ratanadoni4, having learnt from the record of a stone inscription that it had formerly belonged to it but 233 had been severed from it, and he the highly famed, intent on merit, celebrated a sacrificial festival.

For the restoration of the Majjhapalli-vihara the Ruler 234 conferred distinction on the bhikkhu Samgharakkhita in pious fashion. He caused a great recumbent image (of the Buddha) 235 to be made and finally he had a great festival celebrated there and the festival of the eyes held. In order also to perform 236 the (customary) sacrificial ceremonies he dedicated the village called Malagama6 (to the monastery) and had a sacrificial festival celebrated daily according to rule. To the samanera 237 called Siddhattha the Ruler granted the large Rajata-vihāra? erected by King Dutthagamani when inspired by the wish 238

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for this 93.3 ff. especially v. 12. Line 220 a agrees in wording with the line 93.5 a.

<sup>2</sup> Note that in this strophe the word pavara occurs in each of the four lines.

<sup>1</sup> W.: Medavela-vihāra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably Singagoda, Kinigoda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 514).

<sup>3</sup> W.: Devanagala-vihāra.

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps Ruvandeniya, Galboda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 520).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> W.: Meddepola-vihāra.

<sup>6</sup> The Census 1921, II, p. 298, 363 mentions a village Malagamuva and another Malgomuva. Both are situated in the Kurunegala District, the first in the Galboda Egoda Korale, the second in the Medapattu Korale East. The latter seems to be meant here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See note to 99. 41.

<sup>8</sup> P. patthetvā āyatena is a composite verb formed after the Sinhalese model (genenarā, genārā).

294

for the august position of a chief disciple of Metteya1, the 239 King of the wise. After the Ruler of Lanka had caused the ceremony of admission to the Order to be performed on him, he granted this bhikkhu and all the sons of the Victor dwelling in the Uposatharama rank and showed them favour in 240 every way. Then in order to restore this vihara which had long been in the state of a ruined house, the Ruler of men 241 in Lanka assigned it divers artisans, painters and others, as well as much fine gold wherewith to gild the Buddha images, 242 and all handiwork and so forth. That prince among ascetics - Siddhattha - accepted all this and removed in the best 243 possible way everything that had been destroyed by age. He had a lofty, massive stone wall and a fine plaster floor built 244 in the house, and outside a mandapa, as well as (a picture) the figure of the Buddha in combat with Mara above on the rock face. Then when he had caused creeper work of flowers 245 to be applied in the best manner possible and had caused a vast image of the recumbent Buddha to be fashioned out of good bricks, lime and clay and also many sitting and standing 246 images of the Victor, he had represented in the best way possible in painting on the beautiful inner wall, enlightened 247 ones like Muhuttamuni<sup>2</sup>, a thousand in number. And at the foot of the vast statue of the recumbent Buddha he had placed 248 one after the other beautiful images, that of the Buddha's constant servant and protector of the true doctrine3 - Ananda, that of the Bodhisatta Metteya, that of the sublime patron 249 deity (Vişuu), and that of King Gamaui. He overlaid the five 250 great images of the Buddha with gold, and when he had thus in every possible way finished the works which were to be

made in the inside (of the shrine), he had pourtrayed also outside on the wall a series of glorious figures of gods and Brahma figures with flowers in their hands, which looked as 251 if they had appeared for worship. Then too he caused a great, beautiful triumphal arch to be made, well worth seeing, further 252 two lion figures on either side of the portal and in the empty interstices of the wall figures of demons. Also he had pictures 253 pourtrayed in coloured painting of the sixteen holy places1, Mahiyangana and the others, further of the famous foot-print 254 on the Saccabaddha mountain2, of the ten paramis2, of the three forms of (right) action4, as well as of many jatakas in which subjects like the five great renunciations are treated of. In the mandapa he had all kinds of figures introduced, 255 series of lions, series of elephants, series of geese and creeper work of flowers. In the delightful cave above in the same rock 256 he built a vast image house, well worth seeing, splendid, beautiful with many sculptures fashioned to perfection and so forth. 257 There he had a beautiful, vast, life-like sitting Buddha made splendid was this figure and fair to look at - and on either 258 side well fashioned, upright standing statues of the Bodhisatta 259 Metteyva and of the lotus-hued god6. He also caused many other figures to be set up: figures of sages, figures of many 260 hundreds of the perfect, the four and twenty Buddhas, the

100. 260

<sup>1</sup> Metteya is the future Buddha. Each Buddha has two pre-eminent disciples ascribed to him (aggasāvakā). Those of the historical Buddha were Sāriputta and Moggallana.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know who is meant here. W. omits the name in his

translation. 3 Saddhammarakkhino refers to Ananda. It is he who according to Vin. II. 287, was questioned as to the dhamma, by Mahakassapa at the first Council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See note to 100, 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is a sacred mountain in Siam, called Saccabandhana in the narrative (p. 31) mentioned above (Note to 100. 59). There was a footprint of the Buddha on it which had come there miraculously. King Dhammika had sent a model of this footprint along with other gifts to the King of Lanka.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See note to 37, 180.

<sup>4</sup> P. tidhā cariyam. The three forms are lokatthacariyā, ñātatthacariyā and buddhicariyā "action for the advantage of the world, for the advantage of one's kinsfolk and for one's (own) enlightenment." See DhCo. III. 44110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. pañcamahāpariccājā. The surrender of the five precious possessions, the wife, the children, the royal dignity, life, limbs. DhCo. l. c. CHILDERS, PD. s. v. pariccaga. 6 See note to 83. 49.

<sup>7</sup> P. asekkha "he who no longer undergoes training", synonymous with arahant.

261 whole of the Bodhi trees in the same number, the four and twenty intimations, the sixteen holy places, fair forms of spiritual beings and others, the five great Councils, and yet 262 divers other beautiful pictures well worth seeing. Then he 263 brought thither relics of the Sage and had a cetiya erected, adorned with a golden finial. In the image house itself he 264 had placed on the lofty vaulted, ceiling a sitting figure of the Sage surrounded by his five hundred followers, Sariputta 265 at the head. In the court he had walls and mandapas erected at different places, as well as several gate-buildings and here 266 and there stairs and other fine buildings, partly the restoration of much that had suffered by age, partly also many new (buildings).

All these fine structures the King dedicated (to the mo268 nastery) at the festival of the eyes by dignitaries whom he
had sent<sup>4</sup>, and in addition clothing, ornaments and much else.
He had rows of various triumphal arches without gaps put
269 up, placed on them the necessary ornament, gave orders for
270 the sacred ceremonies and while celebrating in worthy fashion
a great rite, he carried out the festival of the eyes under a
lucky star and at a favourable hour.

1 Each of the 24 Buddhas who according to the legend, precede the historical Buddha — they are enumerated Mhvs. 1.5 ff. — has his special sacred tree under which he attains enlightenment. To each in a former existence on a particular occasion, a Buddha gives the intimation (ryākaraṇa) that he too shall in time attain the dignity of a Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> The Mahāvaṃsa 3, 4 and 5. 268 ff. gives an account of the three first Councils (dhammasaṃyīti) in Rājagaha, Vesālī and Pāṭaliputta. Of the two other Councils the one is the Church reform under Parakkamabāhu I (Mhvs. 78. 1 ff.), the other perhaps that under Parakkamabāhu II (Mhvs. 84. 7 ff.). We get an idea of what the representation of such a council might have looked like from a fresco from Qyzil near Kutscha (Central Asia) the subject of which is the first Council. See A. von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien VI. p. 79 und Tafel 14.

3 P. uddham pabbhāra-m-uttame. Very likely a picture on the ceiling.

<sup>4</sup> The construction of the sentence is quite irregular. It seems to me, however, that *pesite 'macce* is acc. pl. which like the preceding accusatives is made to depend on datrāna.

From that time onwards there came hither many inhabitants of the whole kingdom from all quarters, like the 271 sea when it overflows the land. When all the people who had gathered there beheld the many golden and other works 272 of art which had been carried out, there their hearts were filled with joy, as if they saw the Enlightened One at the miracle of the double appearances1. In joyful and high spirits 273 they celebrated amid cries of Hail! a great festival and thus paved their way to Heaven. At that festival he invited the 274 bhikkhu community of the vihāra, had seats prepared in the inner room of the vihara, made bhikkhus who were preach- 275 ers of the true doctrine sit down thereon, and had the Mahāmangalasutta<sup>2</sup> and other sacred texts worth hearing re- 276 cited by them and thus celebrated in worthy manner a sacrificial festival of the doctrine. All the people who saw and 277 heard this, in that they at one and the same time beheld the Enlightened One<sup>4</sup> and heard the true doctrine, were filled 278 daily in every possible way with the highest joy and ecstasy, as if by a sermon of the living Sage. Thus he made manifest 279 both: the beauty of his form and the charm of his sermon.

Outside in the court he placed pillars of stone, erected a mandapa, spread seats therein and after establishing the great 280 multitudes gathered round the mandapa in the five major and other commandments relating to moral discipline, he made 281 them listen daily to abundant texts. Full of reverence he also invited the preachers of the doctrine to preach the doctrine repeatedly during the three watches of the night.

4 I. e. the images of the Buddha in the Rajata-vihāra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The yamakan pāṭiheran is often mentioned, as is the case in the ancient Mahāvaṃsa (See my translation, note to 17.44; cf. DhCo. III, p. 199 ff.; Samantapāsādikā, ed. Takakusu I, p. 88 ff).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the Suttanipata, Culavagga, Sutta 4 (ed. by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, p. 46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. dhammapūjā. The dhamma itself is the pūjāvatthu, the "object of sacrifice", because the sacred texts are recited.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The subject from v. 274 onwards is throughout the King. W. quite unnecessarily takes Siddhattha (see v. 238) as the subject of nimantiya in 281 b.

which bore the name of Sūkara<sup>1</sup>, an image house of the Victor, erected by a dignitary who was charged therewith by the King. There the councillor Suvanuagama setting up 296 stone pillars, built an Uposatha house and dedicated it to the sons of the Sage. He also had supplies of wood collected 297 for pillars and the like and numerous dwellings built there. To the bhikkhus to whom dwellings had been assigned there, 298

100.301

the Lord of men devoted many villages, fields and so on for the provision of what was necessary. After that Ruler of men 299 had caused all this to be brought about he kindly dedicated it to that prince of ascetics, Dhammarakkhita.

After the Ruler of men had in such wise stored up divers 300 kinds of merit he passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign from this world thither in accordance with his deeds.

When one reflects on the worthlessness of wealth and of the 301 life of the flesh one utterly rejects the yearning thereafter. Ye also, revering the Triad of the sacred things, ought to perform good works such as spiritual exertions and the like  $^2$ .

Here ends the hundredth chapter, called «The History of Kittisirirājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The Col. Ed. reads sūkarārātanāmamhi instead of the sūkaravhayanāmamhi of my MSS. W. gives Varávaļa as the modern name of the monastery.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the hundredth chapter has the character of a supplement to chapter 99 and treats especially of the services of the King to the Church. It repeatedly alludes to events which have been touched upon in the foregoing (cf. 98. 91 with the note to 100. 59, also the note to 100. 203). I have already pointed out (note to 99. 53) that Tibbotuvave's contribution to the Cülavamsa (see note to 99. 76) which deals with the reign of Kittisirirājasīha is composed in praise of this king and completed during his lifetime. This is the case too with the greater part of the hundredth chapter. Here too in v. 228 we meet with the expression amhākam Sīhalindo and the benediction in v. 135 sounds as if it were addressed to a living person. At the end however Kittisiri's death is mentioned. The last part of the hundredth chapter must thus have been added later, whether by Tibbotuvave himself or by another author. The break cannot be fixed with certainty, it might possibly be at v. 228.

283 Rajata restored and the great festival celebrated. He then thought of repairing the splendid cetiya erected on a clear.

284 fine large slab of rock to the south of the vihāra but which was so dilapidated that it resembled a heap of dust. Therefore he had fetched from all quarters lime, bricks, stones and so

285 forth. Hereupon he had a fine, square throne built of stone in the best possible manner whereon he placed a relic of the

286 sublime Enlightened One. At the restoration of the cetiya, he erected on a neighbouring, particularly beautiful piece of land for the community whom he invited thither in

287 fitting manner for the purpose, setting up a marked out boundary, a monastery with an Uposatha house and other

288 (buildings) provided with a brick roof and so forth. On the land round about he laid out beautifully a large park adorned with divers blossoming trees, with divers blossoming creepers,

289 with divers fruit trees and the like, and where there were many bathing-ponds. And full of zeal as he was, he piously made the sons of the Victor dwell there and devote themselves to study and religious exercises.

In such wise was the place restored by royal power, visited (in days of yore) by great saints and honoured by the

291 former rulers of Lanka. When the highly famed King heard thereof he fixed the boundary of the vihara solemnly in the

292 same way (as before), performed there all the solemn ceremonies, arranged in still more abundant measure (than before) for an almsgiving to the community and the like and laid up

293 a store of merit. Near the Dohala mountain<sup>2</sup> adorned with rows of trees like puga, punnaga, naga<sup>3</sup> and others, resound-

294 ing with the sweet twitter of all kinds of birds, provided with cool, spotless white stone slabs, enlivened with herds of 295 divers animals, there was in the fair monastery situated there

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 1757 A. D.

In the year two thousand three hundred and one after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One<sup>1</sup> he had the vihāra called

<sup>.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mentioned in 44. 56. See note to the passage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the tree names cf. 73, 98, 74, 204, 79, 3.

#### CHAPTER CI

#### SUPPLEMENT 1

On his death, his younger brother Sirirajadhirajasiha2 2 received consecration as king in Lanka. After attaining his consecration as king, he devoted himself with pious joy to the Triad of the Jewels, zealous in listening to the true doc-3 trine, unwearied, discerning. The Ruler of men continued, as formerly without abatement that furtherance of the laity and 4 the Order which his brother had carried out. The highly famed offered meat and drink and so on as before to the sublime Tooth 5 Relic without depriving it of anything. He commanded that the regular almsgiving which had been established for the sons of the Victor should be given to them in the order in-6 troduced by the (former) king. The bhikkhus who with the Thera Upāli at their head had arrived from Sāminda, came to the 7 town of Sirivaddhana. Here those bhikkhus who had come from there, with the Thera Upāli at their head, established a sacred boundary to the south of the town in the so-called Kusumā-8 rāma<sup>3</sup>, according to the nattidutiya process<sup>4</sup>. When he saw

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 101 of the Mhvs. has been composed and added to their edition of the chronicle (1877) by H. Sumangala and Batuwantudawa. See Malalsekera, Pali Literature, p. 142. No MS. however of those which I could examine, reaches beyond v. 292 of ch. 100, and I do not know on which authority the vv. 100. 293—301 are based,

<sup>2</sup> Reigned 1780-1798 (cf. v. 18). It was during the reign of Rā-jādhirājasīha that the capitulation of Colombo took place (15 th Feb., 1796) and with that the passing of the dominion from the Dutch to the British. Cf. Pieris 8, p. 142 ff.; Corrigton, HC., p. 133 ff.

3 Synonym for Pupphārāma 100. 86, 141, now the Malvatu-vihāra.

<sup>4</sup> This is a particular form of a samphakamma or ecclesiastical act. See Vin II. 89<sup>3</sup> and 91<sup>37</sup> (= Cullav. 4. 14 2 and 11).

that the Uposatha house built formerly by King Kittisiri, was decayed, the Ruler of men who was intent on merit, first of 9 all raised the ground on all sides and then by the adding of 10 still more stones he put up the walls inside the boundary. He put up stone pillars and so built the Uposatha house 11 which the Ruler made over 1 to the community from the four regions of the heavens.

The King was acquainted with various literary works, works 12 in Pāli and Sanskrit, he rejoiced in the continuous giving of alms, was in form like the god of love<sup>2</sup>. As expert in the 13 text books relating to language he made a poem in the Sīhala tongue out of the Asadisajātaka<sup>3</sup> and had it written down. With a heart full of faith he reverenced<sup>4</sup> the Tooth Relic in 14 faith with a hundred thousand lamps which he had lit in a single night. Hearing of the great merits of a kathina offer-15 ing over all gifts of alms, he every year presented kathina<sup>5</sup> robes to the community. He had an image of the Angirasa<sup>6</sup> 16 made in bronze in the proportions of the King and since he strove after the dignity of a Buddha, he erected in the 17 monastery called Gangārāma which was held to be pious, a graceful cetiya well worth seeing.

- <sup>1</sup> The description of the building is obscure. V. 9 seems to refer to the securing of the whole base, v. 10 to the laying down of a walled terrace and v. 11 a b to the building of the house itself.
- <sup>2</sup> P. makaraddhaja = skr. makaradhraja "whose badge is the makara, the dolphin".
  - 3 Jataka nr. 181 in Fausboll II. p. 86 ff.
- <sup>4</sup> I believe that here we should read sammānesi instead of samānesi as the meaning of the latter can hardly be harmonized with dāthādhātum. The instr. dipasatasahassena would also not fall within the construction of the sentence. We must, it is true, put up with a slight disturbance of the metre, when reading sammānesi.
  - <sup>5</sup> See note to 44.48.
- 6 Angiras in the Rigveda is the designation of "beings half gods half men who act as intermediaries between the two, as sons of Heaven, as ancestors of men, as those who impart to mankind the gifts of the gods" (Grassmann). The expression angirasa is already used of Buddha, Therag. 1252 (quoted S. I. 196). Cf. also A. III, 239<sup>25</sup>; Jā. V. 144<sup>1</sup>.

After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in accordance with his deeds.

The sister's son of Rājādhirājasīha, the Lord of men, Sirivikkamarājasīha<sup>1</sup>, the discerning ruler of the country

20 hearkened to the doctrine preached by the Victor. The Ruler found pleasure therein and sacrificed to the sacred Tooth Relic

21 jewels, pearls and other (valuables) and many villages and fields. To the community whose head is the Buddha, he

22 dispensed often delicious foods and so strove after eternal happiness. These and other merits the Ruler accumulated.

23 But as he indulged in intercourse with impious people he changed (for the worse). He had the chief councillors, the

24 great dignitaries and many other officials gathered together and destroyed his subjects like a devil. He had the people,

25 many hundreds in number, brought to different spots and had them impaled, merciless as death. Much wealth that had

26 come to the people by inheritance, the King had confiscated like a thief that robs villages. And because the Ruler com-

27 mitted in this way many evil deeds the Sīhalas and the inhabitants of the town of Colombo<sup>2</sup> rebelled. They all came

28 hither, captured the criminal king alive when the eighteenth year after his consecration had passed, and brought 1 m to

29 the opposite coast<sup>3</sup>. After they had brought the King, the torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingirīsi by name seized the whole kingdom.

## End of the Mahāvaṃsa May there be prosperity!

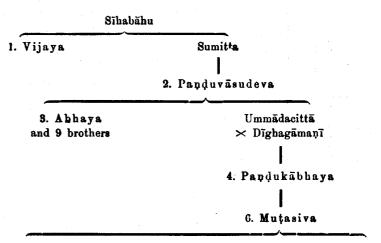
<sup>1</sup> Reigned 1798-1815. For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see Codrington, HC. p. 155 ff., where also on p. 169 f., 182 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject.

· <sup>2</sup> This means the British.

### Genealogical Tables

#### A The Oldest Part of the Mahavamsa

## I From Vijaya to Asela

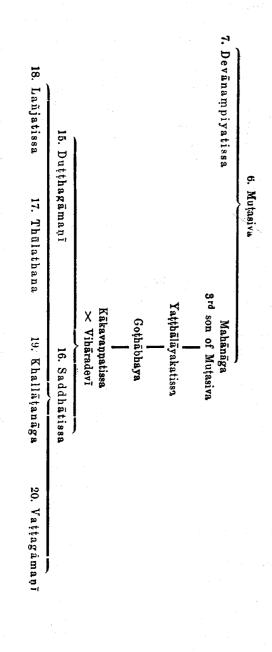


7. Devānam- 8. Uttiya 9. Mahāsiva 10. Sūratissa 13. Asela piyatissa

Asela's predecessors are the Damila usurpers Sena and Guttika (11, 12), his successor is Elāra (14).

<sup>3</sup> I. e. To the Indian mainland.





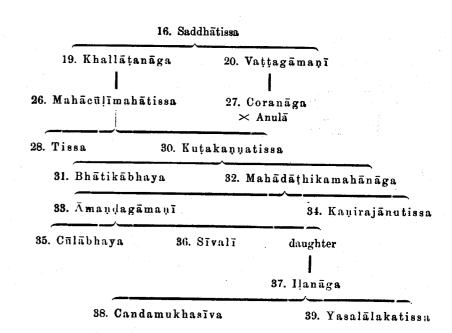
his descent and his successors

Dutthagāmaṇi,

I

#### Ш

## From Mahācuļimahātissa to Yasalālakatissa



The successors of Tissa (27) are the paramours of Queen Anulā 1. Siva, 2. Vatuka, 3. Dārubhatikatissa, 4. Niliya and Anulā herself (29). — Yasa-lālakatissa's successor is the usurper Subharāja (10).

IV

#### From Vasabha to Mahasena

1.

41. Vasabha, a Lambakanna

42. Vankanāsikatissa

43. Gajabāhukagāmaņī

2.

44. Mahallanaga father-in-law of 43

45. Bhātikatissa

46. Kanitthatissa

47. Khujjanāga

48. Kuñcanāga

3.

49. Sirināga I. brother of the consort of 48

50. Vohārikatissa

51. Abhayanāga

52. Sirināga II.

53. Vijayakumāra

4.

54. Samghatissa, a Lambakanna

55. Sirisamghabodhi,

56. Gothābhaya,

57. Jetthatissa 58. Mahāsena

B The Oldest Part of the Culavamsa.

See Cülavamsa trsl. I, p. 351 - 358.

## C The Later Parts of the Culavamsa

I

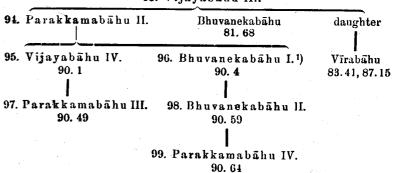
#### From Kittinissanka to Codaganga

Kālinga Prince		
81. Kittinissanka = Nissankamalla	83. Vikkamabāhu III.	daughter
82. Vīrabāhu I.		84. Codagaņga

II

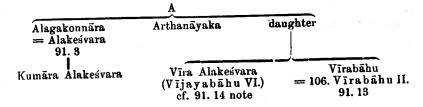
## From Vijayabāhu III. to Parakkamabāhu IV.

93. Vijayabāhu III.



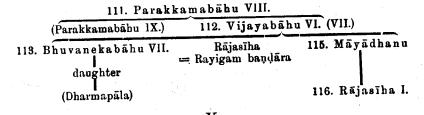
<sup>1)</sup> Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II. are Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 16 f.)

III
The family of Alagakkonara

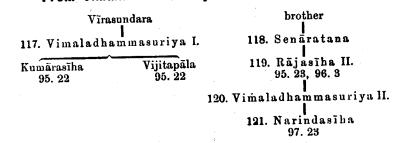


#### IV

## From Parakkamabāhu VIII. to Rājasīha I.



## From Vimaladhammasuriya I. to Narindasiha



#### VI

## From Vijayarājasīha to Vikkamarājasīha

122. Vijayarājasīha brother-in-law of 121 123. Kittisirirājasīha brother-in-law of 122

124. Rājādhirājasīha Sister of 124 brother of 123 | 125. Vikkamarājasīha

#### Indices

The indices refer not only to the Cūlavaṃsa but also to my edition and translation of the old Mahāvaṃsa so that the whole chronicle is comprised within. The abbreviations are: M. ed. = The Mahāvaṃsa, edited by W. G., PTS. 1908. — M. tr. = The Mahāvaṃsa, translated by W. G., PTS. 1912. — C. ed. I = Cūlavaṃsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa, vol. I, PTS. 1925. — C. ed. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1927. — C. tr. I = Cūlavaṃsa &c., translated by W. G., vol. I, PTS. 1929. — C. tr. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1930.

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4. Duties of the bhikkhus, vihāra-life. Dasasīlam 18. 10. — Scholarly studies 90. 80; 100. 178. tepitaka 5. 84, 275; 27. 44; 78. 7. — Performing of ecclesiastical acts: dhammakamma 39. 57 (cf. VI, E, 5); kammavācā 5. 207. — Recitation of sacred texts 3. 33, 36; 41. 58 f. gapasajjhāya 31.86; 32.11,63; 34.49. preaching of the doctrine (dhammadāna 98. 77 ff.; 99. 15, 24): dhammadesanā, -desaka, -kathika &c. 14. 22, 58; 15. 4 &c.; 32. 45; 35. 92; 60. 20; 85. 46 f.; 98. 73, 79; 99. 18 f., 170; 100. 275 (mandapas erected for the preachers 98.72; 99.16. seats prepared for the pr.s 4.51; 99. 18. fans in the hands of the pr.s 85. 46; 98. 73). kulūpaka, -ga 30. 40; 36. 116. — Ceremonies performed by the bl.s: vassa, antovassa 1. 14; 3. 15; 16. 8; 17. 1; 18. 2; 100, 131. uposatha 5, 235, 273; 13, 14, 18; 29, 63; 32, 41; 35. 76; 36. 16; 51. 83; 53. 29; 74. 20; 100. 131 (pāṭihariyapakkha 37. 202) (cf. IX, C, 3: uposathaghara). pavāraņā 5. 235, 280; 17. 1; 20. 24; 34. 62; 37. 90; 100. 132. kathina 44. 48; 85. 99 ff.; 86. 46 ff.; 91. 34; 100. 132. paritta 46. 5; 51. 80; 52. 80; 62. 31; 87. 5; 99. 26. — Ceremonies performed in buildings erected in water (udakukkhepasīmā) 78. 28 ff.; 87, 71; 89, 47, 70; 94, 17; 97, 12. — Higher attainments. upanissaya (marks of future holiness) 5.45, 172, 194. padhāna 36, 105; 42, 46 (cf. IX, C, 3: padhānaghara). kammatthana 5, 148. meditation, trance (jhana) 5, 123, 220; 15. 209; 23, 63; 35, 104; 88, 55. vipassanā, -ssaka 5, 152; 19. 16; 99.170; 100.174. — The path of salvation (sotapatti &c.) 13. 17; 15. 18; 23. 61; 27. 44; 29. 68; 31. 101. anāsava, khīnāsava 5. 112; 20. 54 f.; 28. 24; 29. 6. arahant, -hatta 1. 14; 5. 46, 172, 214; 14. 14, 33; 16. 11, 17; 19. 46, 65 f.; 23. 63; 25. 104; 26. 5; 29. 68 f.; 31. 95, 100; 84. 25; 86. 13. tadin 34, 49, iddhi 1, 37; 5, 174; 12, 15; 13, 19; 14, 14; 30. 99; 32. 15. abhinnā 4. 12; 5. 152, 275; 13. 4; 14. 14; 22. 34; 52. 38. — Theras as soothsayers 15. 169 ff. miracles performed by this 5, 258 ff.; 12, 10 f., 49 f.; 13, 19; 14, 35; 15. 38 ff.; 31. 85; 32. 15. nirvana of th.s 5. 219, 226 f.; 20. 33. 5. Cult. Inauguration of a monastic building 26. 14 ff.; 36. 130. music and dance at festival occasions 5.181; 34.60.

Vesākha-festival 1. 12; 32. 35; 34. 59; 35. 100; 36. 40, 109, 130: 44. 46; 51. 84. āsālha-festival 99. 53. abhiseka (nettapujā, nettamaha, akkhipujā) 5. 94; 38. 58; 39. 7; 100. 187, 191, 204 f., 235, 267. Cf. EZ. II, p. 254. — traces of a temple ritual: the Buddha-image or a relic of the B. is treated as the living master (buddhupatthana 34.61) 38.64; 52.26; 53. 30; 78. 35; 90. 77 ff.; 97. 33; 100. 182. — Relic-cult (sārīrikā dhātuyo 17. 12; 80. 69; 99. 58. paribhogikā dh. 55. 17; 82. 18, 34): dāthādhātu 17. 14; 37. 92 ff.; 38. 8, 70 f.; **42**, 33; **44**, 45; **51**, 22; **54**, 5, 45; **57**, 22; **60**, 16; **61**, 56, 61; **64.** 30; **70.** 266, 310; **72.** 304; **73.** 128; **74.** 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 183 ff., 193, 198 ff., 226, 246; 81. 17 ff., 26 ff., 33 f., 77; 82. 6 ff., 40 ff.; 84. 13; 85. 25, 33, 92, 111; 86. 54 ff.; 87. 5, 69, 74; 88. 10, 15, 65; 89. 16-46; 90. 41, 46 f., 54 f., 67, 72, 77; 91. 12, 19; 92. 9; 94. 11 ff.; 95. 2, 9 ff., 21; 97. 4 ff., 25, 52; 98. 8, 25, 37 ff., 94; 99. 58, 63, 68, 86, 105, 123, 141, 143 ff., 166; 100. 1 ff., 12, 22 ff., 40 ff., 124 (an image of the d. 100, 153, 157). pattadhātu **17**. 12; **20**. 13; **33**. 48, 55; **37**. 192; **61**. 56, 61; **64**. 30; **70**. 266, 310; 72. 304; 74. 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 188 ff., 210, 226; 81. 17 ff., 77; 85. 25, 33; 87. 69, 74; 88. 10, 66; 89. 16-46; 90. 72. dakkhinakkhakadhātu 17. 14, 20, 24, 37 ff., 50; 37, 207 N.; 42, 53 ff.; 64, 30. kesadhātu 39. 49 ff.; 44. 45; 50. 71; 54. 41; 64. 30. gīvatthidhātu 20. 19; 64. 30. — the relics of the Mahathupa 17. 51; 31. 16 ff., 45 ff. relics of theras 20. 44; 85. 80. — Miracles performed by relics 17. 25 ff., 43, 51 f.; 31. 97 ff.; 82. 41 ff. — Reliquaries (cangota, karandaka) 31. 77, 87 f.; 50. 71; 76. 115; 85. 27; 89. 21; 90. 72; 91. 18 f.; 92. 14; 97. 6, 53 f.; 98. 27 ff., 94; 99. 160, 165; 100. 13 ff. — Relic feasts 88. 16; 90. 41, 57, 75; 95. 2; 97. 25; 99. 68; 100. 8 &c.

6. History of the Samgha. The three councils 3.5 ff.; 4.9 ff.; 5.228 ff. Buddhist sects 5.1 ff. (cf. M. tr., p. 276 ff.). theravāda, ācariyavāda 5.2; 37.227; 52.46; 54.46 f. &c. vibhajjavāda 5.271 f. mahāsaṃghikā 5.4; 59.68. — Schisms in C. 33.95 ff.; 37.2 ff. — church-reforms see VI, E, 5. — tayo nikāyā 41.97 and N.; 44.131; 45.16; 46.16; 48.73; 51.14,

64, 133; **52**. 10, 12, 35, 80; **54**. 4, 27; **55**. 20; **60**. 10, 13, 56; 70. 181, 328; 73. 5, 12, 20; 76. 74; 78. 5, 10. dve nikāyā 46. 15. dhammarucikā 5. 13; 38. 75; 52. 17 f. vetullavāda 36. 41, 111; 42. 35; 78. 22. sāgalikā 5. 13; 39. 41; 42. 43; 52. 7. dhammadhatu 41. 37-40. sassataditthi 5. 269. ubhayasasana (= hīna- and mahāyāna) 84. 10 (cf. IX, B, 2). — Ascetic groups of bh.s in C: paṃsukūlino 47, 66; 48.4; 49.80; 50. 63, 76; 51. 52; 52. 21, 27; 53. 25, 48; 54. 18, 24, 25; 61. 59. lābhavāsino 54. 27; 60. 68, 72. vantajīvakā 60. 69. tapovanavasino 41. 99 N.; 52. 22; 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20. — Bhikkhus in the Cola and Pandu country 36. 112 ff.; 89. 67; 90. 80. foreign bh.s fetched to C. 60. 5 f.; 84. 9, 11 ff.; 94. 15; 97. 10; 98. 89 ff.; 100. 58 ff., 122 ff. - Persecution of the order by Rajasīha I. 93. 10 ff.; 100. 220 ff. by the Parangis 95. 7 ff. by the Olandas 99. 112 ff., 125. — Non-buddhist sects: titthiyā 5. 74. jațila 1. 16. niganțha 10. 97 ff.; 33. 43, 79; 39. 20. paribbājakā 7. 6; 8. 11; 10. 101. tāpasā 7. 11; 66. 135 f. ājīvakā 10. 102.

7. The laity (upāsaka, -sikā 89. 30). ariyā: puthujjanā 5. 113. conversions 1. 32, 33; 12. 19 ff., 27 ff.; 14. 23, 40, 58, 64; 19. 46. saraņa, sīla 1. 32, 62; 14. 23, 40; 22. 69; 25. 110; 35.75; 36.73; 54.29; 98.13; 100.280. uposatha vows 17. 6; 35. 76; 37. 202 f.; 39. 18; 48. 10; 60. 21; 97. 19; 98. 13; 100. 131. padakkhinam kar 18. 36; 29. 48; 31. 94; 37. 196; 72. 328. — Sacrificial offerings to the community or to a sanctuary: pūjā, dāna 17. 62; 32. 35; 34. 57, 59; 35. 74 f.; 44. 46; 54. 37, 39; 64. 15; 70. 193 ff.; 85. 26, 70, 112-6; 89. 19 ff.; 90. 73 ff.; 97. 29 ff.; 98. 52 ff., 58 ff., 76; 100. 211, 225 &c. pujopakaranāni 70. 193 f., 198; 98. 93 (sankha 70. 194; 100. 190. pancaturiyani 70. 194; 98. 54; 100. 7, 33, 190. setacchatta &c. 70. 194; 98. 52; 99. 55; 100. 31, 193. dhajapatākā 70. 194; 99. 57; 100. 187. puņņaghatā 29. 48; 30. 90; 32. 4; 98. 36; 100. 188. Cf. also VI, C, 9). pūjāvatthūni 97. 33; 98. 54, 75; 99. 22, 56; 100. 124, 146, 197, 205 f. (food, garments, carpets &c. 30. 36 f.; 31. 113; 32. 35, 39; 33. 72; 34. 62; 35. 77 ff., 92 ff.; 36. 100, 131; 51. 61; 85. 116; 90. 73; 92. 27; 97. 29; 98. 10 f., 15; 99. 26; 100. 10, 195, 205 &c.

Cf. catupaccayā, atthaparikkhārā, ticīvara, chacīvara in IX, C, 2; kathina in IX, C, 4. salākabhatta (cf. salākagga IX, C, 3); 27. 11; 34. 64; 48. 73. — medicaments 22. 30, 37; 60. 70; 98. 10; 100. 3, 196. — flowers, perfumes, incense 15. 27 f.; 22. 30, 37; 30, 27; 85, 70, 83; 90, 73; 92, 16; 97, 29; 98, 8 ff., 64, 75; 99, 56; 100, 3, 33, 197. — valuables, gold, jewels &c. 17. 62; 36. 125 f.; 61. 56; 85. 121; 97. 28; 98. 11, 33, 53; 99. 37; 100. 9, 31 f. — elephants, horses, cattle, buffalos 90. 76; 92. 29; 98. 33; 99. 37; 100. 42. — slaves, male and female 46, 10, 20; 80, 36, 40; 90, 76; 100, 11, — lamps and oil 32.41; 92.16 f.; 98.75; 100.33. lamp-feasts, illuminations **32**. 37; **35**. 79; **76**. 119; **85**. 40 f., 70 f., 84, 116; **86**. 31; **98**. 60 ff., 84). — Festival processions in honour of a sanctuary see VII, C, 10. Covering of a thup a with costly stuffs 33. 10 f.; 34. 42, 46 ff., 74; 44. 44; 54. 37, 42. — Donations of land, tanks and fields 34. 63; 35. 83, 117 f., 120; 36. 3; 85. 120 f.; 88. 52; 90. 76 &c. maintenance villages (bhogagāma) 46. 14 f.; **49**. 21, 26 ff.; **52**. **46**; **53**. 31; **60**. 66 ff., 72 f.; **61**. 54; **84**. 3 ff.; 85. 58; 90. 87, 97 &c. — Ceremonies connected with donations 15. 25; 26. 18; 27. 46. — Pilgrimages 66. 136; 80. 24; 85. 118; 86. 1, 9 ff.; 88. 48; 92. 15-8; 97. 16, 27 ff.; 99. 36 ff.; 100. 125 ff. the sixteen sacred places in C. 1. 77 ff.; 100. 128, 253. the sacred foot-print on the summit of the Samanakūta 1.77; 60.64; 85.118 ff.; 86.10, 28 ff.; 88.48; 97. 18; 98. 84; 100. 221 ff. the same in Siam 100. 160, 253;

#### **Additions and Corrections**

# I. Mahavamsa ed.

- 2. 11. Put; after Okkākā, and read pavuttā instead of paputtā.
- 4. 30 d. Read: tampakkhagāhim.
- 5. 169. Put comma instead of full stop at the end of the verse.
- Read: tassa tassa and put full stop after nāmato.
   Pāda c begins Yācitvā.
- 19.3 c. Read: seninam.
- 19. 70 d. Read: vidu.
- 23. 11 c. Read: sahodham.
- 33. 8 c. Read: Velangavitthikam.
- 35. 11 a. Read: sahodhe.
- 35. 13 a. Read: Gonakanadītīre.
- 35. 113 a. Read: Gonanadiyā.
- 36. 7 c. Read: Ratanapāsādam (proper noun).
- 37. 45 b. Expunge the comma after so.
- p. 337, col. 2, line 30. Read Kukkuţārāmo, a monastery ...
  I. 5. 122; in C. 37. 15.
- p. 339, col. 2, line 10. Add Gonakanadī 35. 13, 113.
- p. 344, col. 1, line 29. Add 14. 44 after Pathamo thupo.
- p. 349, col. 1, line 20. Add Ratanapāsādo, a building in A. 36. 7.
- p. 350, col. 1, line 25. Add Vattaniya, a monastery in I. 29. 40.
- p. 350, col. 1, line 44. Read: a monastery in I. (instead of C.).
- p. 353, col. 2. Expunge the last article Honakanadī.
- p. 356, line 19. Read: sahodham ganhati cf. skr. sahodha.

# II. Culavamsa ed. I

- 37. 79. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.
- 37. 103. Put: after ratanamandapam.
- 37. 114 d. Read: »nāgo rogīti nicchayam.«
- 37. 202 ab. We have probably to read: catuddasim pancadasim ya ca pakkhassa atthamī.
- 37. 206 b. Read: coram rattiyam, uggate &c.
- 38. 3 b. Read: chattagāhakajantuno.
- 38. 29 cd. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi, tatiye tassa bhatuko &c.
- 38. 60 d. Read: attana instead of attano.
- 38. 65. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumangalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno &c.
- 38. 77 b. Read: kamsalohajam.
- 38. 79 cd. Read: ko hi nāma samattho? ti mukhamattam nidassitam.
- 38. 88 c. Read: rajakule.
- 41. 82 cd. Read: gahetvā khipi; tīh' evam angulīhi sa tam chupi.
- 41.89 b. Expunge the comma after vasatn.
- 41.96 b. Read: Uttare instead of uttare.
- 44, 51 b. Add the note: oviharakam all MSS. and Ed.
- 44. 56 b. Read Janapadam (it is proper noun).
- 44. 90 b. Read: sakkā hantum ti dārakam«.
- 44. 123 c. Read: 'parajjhitva.
- 47. 66. Read p. 892: tatth' eva.
- 48. 20 d. We have probably to read: pubbavuttito instead of -no.
- 49. 17 d−18. Read: paṭimāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c'eva &c. with full stop after anappake.
- 49. 78 d. Expunge the full stop after avalokiya.
- 49.81 b. Expunge the comma after sadhukam.
- 50. 34 a b. Read: Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaņņam satthubimbakam.
- 50. 48 d. Read: 'samo instead of samo.

- 51. 88 d. Read: Kutthakao instead of Tutthakao.
- 54. 57 a. Read: tam rajam.
- 56.6 c. Read: Devanagaram (it is proper noun).
- 59. 2 a. Read: »Abhisekamangalattham pāsādādim &c.
- 59. 49 b. Read: Sundarivham.
- 61. 4 d. Read: 'khila instead of khila.
- 61. 36 a. We have probably to read: Ariyadesiso.
- 61. 51 c, Note. Read: tha instead of tha.
- 61. 53 d. Read: 'khīņatosā instead of khīņao.
- 65. 6 c. Read: Patiladdhao.
- 66. 26 c. Read: kumāram.
- 66. 56 a. Perhaps we should read: Nanahassarasañnu sa.
- 66. 59 d. I propose to read ten' ato instead of te tato.
- 66. 80 d. Read: Ranamburam.
- 66. 143 a. Read: oppayao instead of oppayao.
- 70. 54 a. Read: Rajarattham (it is proper noun).
- 70. 98 d. Read: Ambavanam instead of Ambuo.
- 70. 103 a. Read: Janapadam.
- 70. 112 d. Read: gangāpasse instead of Gangão.
- 70. 120 a. Read: gangājalam instead of Gangā°.
- 70. 181 c. Read: vasī karitasamdhāno.
- 72. 58 a. Read: Ārakkhao instead of ārakkhao.
- 72. 106 d. Expunge »« before and after savadharanam.
- 72. 121-2. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » before Billavhayamhi.
- 72. 127 b. Expunge » before sakalārātivāhinī.
- 72. 170 d. Read: Kālavāpiyam.

# III. Culavamea ed. II.

- Introd. p. III, l. 6. Read: anxious.
- 73. 96 cd. Read: nayanā nandanādam.
- 73. 145 d. Expunge the comma after natthitam.
- 74. 46 a. Read: Rajarattham.
- 74. 64 d. Read: na dassāmāti sabbathā« &c.
- 74. 149 c. Expunge » before yasmim.
- 74. 150 c. Put » before cātuddisikadīnānam.

- 74. 206 d. Read: maggamaggavicakkhano.
- 75. 24 b. Read: yuddhakilantakam.
- 76. 124 c. Read: So Kancakudiyao.
- 76. 130 a. Read: So Kañcakudiyaº.
- 76. 157 a. Read: Damile neke.
- 76. 190 b. Read: opperumalam.
- 76. 192-3. Read: vissutam || etth' antare &c.
- 76. 223 a. Read: opperumalo.
- 76. 232 a. Read: °pperumale.
- 76. 316 a. Read: Vīrapperayaram.
- 77. 52 b. Read: jhāpetvā.
- 78.38 d. Put; at the end of the verse.
- 78. 39 b. Expunge; after akkhirasāyanam.
- 80. 33 d. Read: Sarājakulavaddhano.
- 80. 37 c. Read: Khandhāvarao.
- 80. 39 b. Read: Sarājakulavaddhanam.
- 82. 37 ab. Read: passanto > bhagavā ñāṇacakkhunā tesu mam pi ca &c.
- 85. 56 a. Read: mahāvihāram, not Mahā°.
- 86. 17 d. Read: tamtampuññakriyāsu.
- 86. 18 b. Read: Gangāsiripuram.
- 88. 22 b. Read: dakkhinasmim disantare.
- 90. 82 b. Expunge the comma after tadanantaram.
- 91. 24 d. Read: Sunettaparivenakam.
- 91. 25 cd. Put comma after pujetvā and expunge it after tapassinam.
- 93. 7 a. Read: tassa dhammam instead of tass' adhammam.
- 97. 18 a. Read: °kūţācala°.
- 98. 61 a. Expunge « after karont and insert it after ekahe va.
- 98. 95 d. Expunge the full stop after thito.
- 99. 29 d. Expunge the comma after so.
- 99. 80 d. Read: vav' etarahi.
- 99. 89 d. Read: parikkhārāni.
- 99. 107 b. Read: Lankam.
- 100.15 d. Put comma after narādhipo.
- 100. 16 b. Expunge the comma after varam.

- 100. 44 a. Insert; after so.
- 101. 14 c. Read: sammanesi.
- p. 601, col. 1, ult. Read: 73. 62, 114; 78. 77; 89. 45.
- p. 609, col. 2, Devanagara. Add: 56. 6.
- p. 612, col. 1, line 29. Add: Pajjunna, the Hindu rain-god 85. 44.
- p. 612, col. 2, line 13. Add: Pandiyāndāra, a D. chief 76. 173.
- p. 613, col. 2, line 12. Expunge 18 and insert 88.18 on the following line after 87.16.
- p. 620, col. 1, Mahāvālukagangā. Add: 78. 28.
- p. 623, col. 2, line 4 from below: Ratanāvalicetiya. Add: 80. 20; a thūpa in Khīragāma 79. 71.
- p. 624, col. 1. Expunge the article Rajakulavaddhana.
- p. 624, col. 1, Rajarattha. Add: 74. 46.
- p. 630, col. 1. After Sarassatīmaņdapa insert the article Sarājakulavaddhana, a pariveņa built by Āyasmanta 80. 39 (cf. 80. 33).
- p. 632, col. 2. Add after Sudhammā the article: Sunetraparivena, a monastic building erected by Parakkamabāhu VI. 91. 24.
- p. 632, col. 2. Expunge the article Sunārī and add after Sundarapabbata: Sundarī, a Kālinga princess 59. 49.
- p. 642, line 31. Add: \*tithima, s. m., the moon 95. 17. Cf. skr. tithiprant.
- p. 644, line 4. Add: +dhani, s. m. sound, noise 99. 60. skr. dhvani, Ch., Abhp. 128.
- p. 650, line 19. Add: \*rakkhin, adj., protecting, guarding; saddhamma° 100. 248. skr. rakşin.
- p. 652, line 5. Add: +vipphulinga, s. n. a spark of fire 72. 84; 75. 110; 95. 14. skr. visphulinga, Ch., Abhp. 35.
- p. 654, line 27. Add: \*sāhicca, s. n. art of poetry 82. 3. skr. sāhitya.
- p. 657. To make agree this list of kings with that in C. tr. II, Introduction expunge the separate numbers 90 and 92 of Līlāvatī's second and third reign, and then read 90 instead of 91, and 91, 92, 93 &c. up to 125 instead of 93, 94 &c. up to 127.

#### IV. Mahayamsa, tr.

Introd. p. XXXVI ff. WICKREMASINGHE'S Chronological Table of Ceylon kings in EZ. III, p. 4 ff. differs somewhat from my list of kings. As nr. 5 he adds after Pandukābhaya the name of Ganatissa which does not occur in the Mhvs., and therefore nrs. 6-28 in W.'s list correspond to 5-27 of my list. Instead of nrs. 28-32 Wicke. has only nr. 29 Anulā, omitting the names of the paramours of this queen. Nrs. 30-58 correspond to 33-61 of my list. In Cülavamsa trsl. II, Introduction I accepted Wicke.'s table.

- 2.11. Translate the verse thus: and sixteen even unto Okkāka. These (kings) who are mentioned in groups reigned in due order, each one in his capital and add the note: We must with the Tīkā read pavuttā instead of paputtā.
- 5. 69. The note 4 on page 31 is indeed misleading (Wickre-Masinghe EZ. II, p. 276). Read thus: Upajjhāyassa. Eyery novice on his entrance into the order chooses an upajjhāya "spiritual preceptor" and an ācariya "teacher". The former instructs him in the rules of the monkish life, the latter in the study of the holy scriptures. In his relation to the upajjhāya the novice is called saddhivihārika, and antevāsika in his relation to the ācariya.
- 5.139. Read: after it had been perfumed, instead of for better care thereof.
- 7. 43. Page 58, note 3 read Malvatu-oya inst, of Malvatte-oya.
- 9. 23. Read Citta instead of Citta.
- 10.53. The note 1 on page 72 is wrong. Read thus: According to v. 62 foll. not far from the Kacchakatittha (see note to v. 58), on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga. The Dhūmarakkhapabbata is also mentioned Mah. 37. 213. It is identical with the Dimbulāgala (anciently Udumbaragiri, cf. Cūlav. tr. II, p. 102, note to 78.5), the so-called "Gunner's Quoin". H. Storer, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register III, p. 229).
- 10. 90. To Yonas add the note: See E. R. AYRTON, Ceylon Notes and Queries I, Oct. 1913, p. VIII.

- 11. 10 ff. As to yatthi Professor N. Law (letter of 3 rd April 1930) calls my attention to skr. yasti in the meaning "necklace", occurring in the Kautalīya Arthasāstra 2. 11. 29 (p. 76 of Shama Sastray's edition). Accordingly we should translate thus:
  - (10) At the foot of the Chāta mountain there appeared¹) three cane-like necklaces of the size of a chariot whip. (11) Of them one was a creeper-necklace of bright silver: on this might be seen brilliant delightful creepers of golden colour²). (12) One was a flower-necklace³): on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. (13) At last, one was a bird-necklace⁴) whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of various colours, as if they were living.

Notes: 1) P. jatā. — 2) Perhaps suvaņņapaņņā "with golden leaves". — 3) P. kusumayatthi, commonly called puspahāra, a string made of golden flowers. — 4) I. e. a necklace formed by a string of birds made of gold and other precious metals. Cf. also the description of the various necklaces in the Kautalīya l. l.

- 11. 22. Here we should translate: Those three kinds of precious stones and the three chariot-like<sup>1</sup>) necklaces : &c.
   with Note <sup>1</sup>): Refers to rathapatodena samānā parimānato in v. 10.
- 11. 26. Read: the rank of general, instead of the rank of staff-bearer and add the note: In dandanayaka the word danda means "army", and nayaka "leader". Cf. Culav. tr. I, p. XXVI.
- 15.4 (p. 96, N. 2). The note should run thus: I. e. "the discourse of the fool and the wise man" = Majjhima, Nr. 129 (III. 163).
- 15. 38 (p. 100, l. 12). Read mango-fruit instead of mango-tree.
- 17.31 (p. 118, l. 25-6). Read: was covered with kadamba-puppha- and ādāri-creepers and add in note 3 after This creeper: (skr. kadambapuspā; the name seems to prove that the flowers of this creeper remind those of the kadamba-tree).

- 19. 73, 75 (p. 134, l. 11 and 17). Read Kadambapuppha-thicket.
- 22. 7. Expunge in note 3 the words: Tradition seems &c., and add: Cf. on Yatahalena H. C. P. Bell, Kégalla-District, p. 35-6.
- 24. 22 (p. 165, N. 5). The note should run thus: According to local tradition the battle took place near Yudagannava 1½ miles NNW. of Buttala. The spot is marked by a thupa (now in ruins).
- 24.39. To came to a vihāra (p. 167, l. 18) add the note: According to popular tradition this vihāra was that of Okkampitiya, about five miles East of Buttala.
- 25. 48 (p. 173, l. 28). Read: surrounded by a kadambapupphathicket.
- 25. 99 (p. 177, l. 16). Read: sitting on the throne, instead of in the royal chamber.
- 30. 84 (p. 206, note 2). Add: Cf. Suttanipāta 976 foll.
- 32. 40 (p. 224, N. 2). Jāla-pūva means "net-cake". I was told in Ceylon that even now cakes of a peculiar shape are prepared there for which such a denomination would be befitting.
- 33. 43 (p. 232, l. 6) Read: 'The great black Sihala is fleeing'.
- 33.85 (p. 235, l. 22). Read: concealed herself in a kadamba-puppha-thicket.
- 35. 104 (p. 254, l. 6). Read: in a kadambapuppha-thicket.
- 35.116 (p. 255, l. 2). Read: on the place of the kadamba-puppha-thicket.
- 36. 6. Add to note 1, p. 256: In Sinhalese inscriptions he is called Malu Tissa. See H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1896, p. 47-8.
- p. 274, l. 12. Read: Sum. I, p. 258 ff.
- p. 288, l. 12. Read: south-east of Anuradhapura, instead of south-west of A.
- p. 289, l. 31—290, l. 2. (See above note on 10.53). The passage should be corrected thus: Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10.53, 57, 58. We must look for it on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. It is the Dimbulāgala rook, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", as Mr. H. Storer has shown.

# V. Culavamsa, tr. I

Introd. p. XXII, l. 7. To bhāgineyya add the note: Mr. A. M. Hogar, C. J. Sc. II, p. 34, refers to the part played by the sister's son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur. "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer."

Introd. p. XXV, line 9. Add the note: The inscriptions of King Nissanka Malla's "Council Chamber" in Polonnaruva supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king's right hand there sat 1) the mahādipāda (p. XVIII), 2) the adipādas (p. XVI), 3) the senāpati (p. XXVI), 4) the adhikarins (p. XXV), 5) the Chief secretary (mahālekha, p. XXVIII); — and on his left side 1) the Governors of the provinces (maṇḍalika, p. XXV f.), 2) the eighty-four chiefs of smaller districts (sāmanta, p. XXV), 3) the heads of the merchants (setthin). The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 sāmantā appointed by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhinadesa (Mhvs. 69. 16). See H. W. Codrington, JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1924, p. 304 ff.; the same, HC. p. 68.

- 37. 175 (p. 16, N. 5). The identification of Mahādhamma-kathin with *Ta-mo-kiu-ti* is doubtful as -kiu-ti would correspond to a -gutta rather than to a -kathin.
- P. 17, 18, 19, 20 top. Read Upatissa I. instead of Upatissa II.
- 37. 213 (p. 22, N. 4). Read: right bank, instead of left bank.
- 38. 68 (p. 36, N. 4). Add at the end of the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvaṃsa not the Buddhist yojana, but the common Indian yojana is meant which has the double length. See Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.
- P. 52, top. Read Upatissa II. instead of Upatissa III.

- 41. 89 (p. 60, N. 5). Add at the end of the note: But we may also take vasam as part pres and assume that the sentence extends to v. 92 with pāhesi as finite verb.
- 42.67 (p. 73, N. 2). Add in the note: Cf. note to 70.286 and 312.
- 48. 66 (p. 116, N. 4). Add in line 8 of the note after \*gehāni: (Cf. C. J. Sc. G. I, p. 145 ff.).
- 56. 6. The translation should run thus: he thought it not the time to carry on war and came suddenly into the company of the gods when he just had visited (the town of) Devanagara.
- 59.7. The translation is not precise enough. It should run thus: After the wise (prince), that best of men, had held the position of a yuvarāja seventeen years he caused (this number of years) to be written down (in the annals). Add the note: Sattarasavassāni refers as adverbiale to yuvarājapadam sito santo and is at the same time object of likhāpayi.
- 60. 64 (p. 220, N. 2). On line 13 of the note read thus: The Jambukola-vihāra is the monastery erected by Devānam-piyatissa at the landing place Jambukola (Mhvs. 20. 25) and Jambukolalena the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale with its celebrated rock temple.

# VI. Culavamsa, tr. II

- 74.151. My translation of the verse is wrong. It is based on a reading cātuddisikaādīnam, but the cātuddisikadīnānam of the MSS. is quite correct and we must translate: "Collect for the poor (bhikkhus) from the four regions of the heavens a plentiful gift of alms."
- 81. 67 (p. 141, l. 17). Read: after that, instead of for that.

