

·CŪLAVAMSA

BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE

MAHĀVAMSA

PART II

TRANSLATED BY

WILHELM GEIGER

AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

MRS. C. MABEL RICKMERS (NÉE DUFF)

Author of "The Chronology of India"

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Pronounce *C* in Cūlavamsa and in all Pali words
as *ch* in *church*; thus: Chūlavangsa.

To
Mr. A. M. Hocart,
Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon,
in sincere gratitude.

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 LÉVI, "Les Missions de Wang Huen 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. CODRINGTON etc. * *

The two first named articles (S. and WICKR.) start as I did myself in the translation of the *Mahāvamsa* 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

¹ I quote the above articles as follows: 1) = S., 2) = WICKR., 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)¹ 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 Śaka 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 Śaka era is very unlikely. For this and other reasons SENAVERTNE's hypothesis was rejected during the discussion following his lecture on the subject. In spite of all the weakness and untrustworthiness of Sinhalese chronology, WICKREMASINGHE 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

¹ See also the detailed analysis of SENAVERTNE's hypothesis by C. SCHURHAMMER in "Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xaver 1539—1552" by C. SCHURHAMMER and E. A. VORETZSCH I. (1928), p. 67 ff.

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 Cūlavam̐sa 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 death¹. There are already traces of something like a Buddha era in the Dīpavam̐sa and the Mahāvam̐sa, as for instance, when it is said in Dīp. 17. 78, that Devānappiyatissa 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

¹ I regard also the statement in Mhvs. 33. 80 f., that the Abhayagiri-vihāra 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 Cūlavamsa 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 Cūlavamsa 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. WICKR. 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 (Kumārādhātusena)¹ from 483 B. C. Up to No. 94 (Dappula I.) he places the two computations side by side. From No. 95 (Dāṭhopatiṣṣa 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 Cūlavamsa, 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 Sirimeghavamma, 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 Sirimeghavamma is reckoned from 362—389 A. D.

But the Cūlavamsa reckons 79—80 years from the death of Sirimeghavamma to Mahānāma's ascent of the throne which would thus occur at the earliest in 468 A. D. And in fact WICKR. 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?²

¹ This — not Kumārādhātusena — 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.

² 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 Sirimeghavaṇṇa 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 Sirimeghavaṇṇa'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 *bhatu*) *tassa kaṇiṭṭhako* 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 Sirimeghavaṇṇa. 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 Sirimeghavaṇṇa and his immediate successors there is an inherent probability in this. It coincides with the transition from the Mahāvamsa to the Cūlavamsa. 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.

LIST OF SINHALESE KINGS

I have made my own list of the kings of the Cūlavamsa, but have added WICKREMASINGHE'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 (Cūlavs. 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. = Mahāvamsa or from No. 59 onwards Cūlavamsa.
 Rv. = Rājāvaliya (published and translated by B. GUNASEKARA.)
 Pv. = Pūjāvaliya (A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pūjāvaliya, Colombo 1893).
 Ns. = Nikāyasaṃgrahaya (ed. WICKREMASINGHE).
 Rr. = Rājaratnākara (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 Mahāvamsa.

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

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
1. Mahāvamsa					
1. Vijaya	38	38	38	483—445 B.C.	1
Interregnum	1	. . .	1	445—444	
2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva	30	32	30	444—414	
3. Abhaya	20	22	20	414—394	247 2
Interregnum	17				
4. Paṇḍukābhaya	70	70	70	} 394—307	
(5. Gaṇatissa)	. . .	40 — —	. . .		
6. Muṭṭasiva	60 — —	60 — —	60 — —	307—247	
7. Devānampiyatissa	40 — —	40 — —	40 — —	247—207	
8. Uttiya	10 — —	?	10 — —	207—197	
9. Mahāsiva	10 — —	?	10 — —	197—187	
10. Sūratissa ¹⁾	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	187—177	
11. Sena	} 22 — —	} 22 — —	} 22 — —	177—155	
12. Guttika					
13. Asela ²⁾	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	155—145	
14. Elāra	44 — —	44 — —	44 — —	145—101	
15. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	24 — —	24 — —	24 — —	101—77	
16. Saddhātissa	18 — —	37 — —	18 — —	77—59	
17. Thūlathana	— 1 10	1 8 —	1 — 10	59	
18. Laṇṇatissa ³⁾	9 — 15	39 — —	9 8 15	59—50	
19. Khallātana	6 — —	. . .	6 — —	50—43	
20. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	— 5 —	— 5 —	— 5 —	43	
21. Pulahattha	} 14 7 —	} 14 — —	} 3 7 —	43—29	
22. Bāhiya					
23. Panayamāra					
24. Piḷayamāra	} 12 — —	} 12 — —	} 12 — —	29—17	
25. Dāthika					
(20.) Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	14 — —	50 — —	14 — —	17—3	3
26. Mahācūḷimahātissa	12 — —	. . .	12 — —	3 B. C. — 9 A. D.	
27. Coranāga	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	9—12 A. D.	
28. Tissa					4

1) 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.

2) As to the chronological difficulties regarding Asela see Wickr. p. 5, n. 1.

3) Rv. calls the successor of Tula King Lāmaṇitissa who had slain him and reigned 39 years. Then it passes on to the Vaḷagambāhu. The Pv. also calls Tul's successor Lāmaṇitis.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
29. Anulā	4 3 —	3 4 —	5 2 —	12—16 A. D.	
30. Kuṭakapṇatissa	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	16—38	
31. Bhātikābhaya	28 — —	18 — —	18 — —	38—66	
32. Mahādāṭhikama- hānāga	12 — —	12 — —	12 — —	67—79	
33. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī	9 8 —	9 — —	9 8 —	79—89	
34. Kaṇirajānutissa	3 — —	. . .	3 — —	89—92	
35. Cūlābhaya	1 — —	. . .	1 — —	92—93	
36. Sivalī	— 4 —	. . .	— 4 —	93	
37. Iṇanāga ¹⁾	9 — —	. . .	6 — —	93—102	
38. Candamukhasiva	8 7 —	. . .	8 7 —	103—112	
39. Yasalālakatissa	7 8 —	. . .	7 8 —	112—120	
40. Subharāja	6 — —	. . .	6 — —	120—126	
41. Vasabha	44 — —	44 — —	44 — —	127—171	
42. Vaṅkanāsikatissa	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	171—174	
43. Gaṇabāhugāmaṇī	22 — —	24 — —	22 — —	174—196	
44. Mahallanāga	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	196—202	
45. Bhāṭikatissa	24 — —	24 — —	24 — —	203—227	
46. Kaniṭṭhatissa	18 — —	. . .	18 — —	227—245	
47. Khujjanāga ²⁾	2 — —	. . .	2 — —	246—248	
48. Kuñcanāga	1 — —	20 — —	1 — —	248—249	
49. Sirināga I.	19 — —	. . .	19 — —	249—268	
50. Yohārikatissa	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	269—291	
51. Abhayanāga	8 — —	2 — —	8 — —	291—299	
52. Sirināga II.	2 — —	2 — —	2 — —	300—302	
53. Vijayakumāra	1 — —	6 — —	1 — —	302—303	
54. Saṃghatissa	4 — —	4 — —	4 — —	303—307	
55. Sirisaṃghabodhi	2 — —	2 — —	2 — —	307—309	
56. Goṭṭhābhaya	13 — —	13 — —	13 — —	309—322	
57. Jeṭṭhatissa I.	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	323—333	
58. Mahāsena	27 — —	24 — —	27 — —	334—361/2	362 5

¹⁾ WICKREMASINGHE is I think, wrong when he says on p. 8 that I had overlooked the fact that Iṇanāga was deposed in the first year of his reign by the Lambakanna. I inserted the three years (Mhvs. 35. 27) dominion of the Lambakanna Mhvs. Transl. p. xxxvii, last line, as "interregnum". When W. takes the round figure of 10 years for the interregnum + Iṇanāga's reign, I can only approve.

²⁾ According to Rv. Bhāṭikatissa's successors were: 1) Kuḍānā (20 years), 2) Vēratissa (22 years), 3) Abāsen (2 years). Then Sirinā (= No. 52) reigned 2 years.

	Length of reign			Date	
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
2. Cūlavamsa					
1. (59.) Sirimeghavanna	28c — —	28 — —	28 — —	362-409 412	6
2. (60.) Jetṭhatissa II.	9 — —	10 — —	9 — —		7
3. (61.) Buddhadāsa	29c — —	80 — —	29 — —		
4. (62.) Upatissa I.	42 — —	42 — —	42 — —	409-431 428	8
5. (63.) Mahānāma	22 — —	20 — —	22 — —		
6. (64.) Soṭṭhisena	— — 1	— — 1	— — 1		
7. (65.) Chattagābha	1c — —	1 — —	1 — —	431	
8. (66.) Mittasena	1 — —	6 — —	1 — —	431-432	
9. (67.) Paṇḍu ¹⁾	27 — —	. . .	27 — —	432-433	
10. (68.) Parinda					
11. (69.) Khuddapārinda					
12. (70.) Tīritara					
13. (71.) Dāṭṭhiya	18 — —	18 — —	18 — —	433-460	
14. (72.) Pīṭhiya					
15. (73.) Dhātusena ²⁾	18 — —	18 — —	18 — —	460-478	
16. (74.) Kassapa I. ²⁾	18c — —	18 — —	18 — —	478-496	
17. (75.) Moggallāna I.	18c — —	18 — —	18 — —	496-513	
18. (76.) Kumāradhātusena	9c — —	9 — —	9 — —	513-522 515	9
19. (77.) Kittisena ³⁾	— 9 —	9 — —	— 9 —	522	
20. (78.) Sīva I.	— — 25	25 — —	— — 25	522	
21. (79.) Upatissa II. ⁴⁾	1 6 —	1 10 —	1 6 —	522-524	
22. (80.) Silākāla	13c — —	13 — —	13 — —	524-537 527	10, 11
23. (81.) Dāṭhāpabhūti	— 6 6	— 6 —	— 6 —	537	
24. (82.) Moggallāna II.	20c — —	20 — —	20 — —	537-556	
25. (83.) Kittisirimegha	— — 19	19 — —	19 — —	556	

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

²⁾ Rr. has the same number of years.

³⁾ I do not think that WICKR. is right when he follows Rv. in giving 9 years instead of nine months 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. WICKR.'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.

⁴⁾ According to Nar. 2 y. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
26. (84a) Mahānāga	3c — —	3 — —	3 — —	556 — 559	
— (84b) Lāmāni Singānā	. . .	9 — —	9 — —	559 — 568	
27. (85.) Aggabodhi I.	34c — —	30 — —	34 — —	568 — 601	
28. (86.) Aggabodhi II.	10c — —	10 — —	10 — —	601 — 611	609 12
29. (87.) Saṃghatissa	. . .	— 2 —	— 2 —	611	
30. (88.) Moggallāna III.	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	611 — 617	
31. (89.) Silāmeghavaṇṇa	9 — —	9 — —	9 — —	617 — 626	
32. (90.) Aggabodhi III. SSB.		16 — —	16 — —		
33. (91.) Jetṭhatissa III.		— 5 —	— 5 —		
Aggabodhi IV.	16c — —	. . .	. . .	626 — 641	
34. (92.) Dāṭhopatissa I.		12 — —	12 — —		
35. (93.) Kassapa II.	9 — —	9 — —	9 — —	641 — 650	
36. (94.) Dappula I. ¹⁾	— — 7	10 — —	3 3 —	650	
37. (95.) Dāṭhopatissa II.	9c — —	9 — —	9 — —	650 — 658	13
38. (96.) Aggabodhi IV. SSB.	16c — —	16 — —	16 — —	658 — 674	
39. (97.) Datta ²⁾	2 — —	10 — —	2 — —	674 — 676	
40. (98.) Hatṭhadāṭha	— 6 —	— 6 —	— 6 —	676	
41. (99.) Mānavamma	. . .	35 — —	35 — —	676 — 711	
42. (100.) Aggabodhi V.	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	711 — 717	
43. (101.) Kassapa III.	. . .	7 — —	7 — —	717 — 724	718 14
44. (102.) Mahinda I.	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	724 — 727	
45. (103.) Aggabodhi VI. SMV.	40c — —	40 — —	40 — —	727 — 766	742/6 15
46. (104.) 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.	4 — —	7 — —	4 — —	797 — 801	
50. (108.) Aggabodhi VIII.	11 — —	11 — —	11 — —	801 — 812	
51. (109.) Dappula II. (III.)	16 — —	12 — —	16 — —	812 — 828	
52. (110.) Aggabodhi IX.	3 — —	. . .	3 — —	828 — 831	
53. (111.) Sena I. SMV.	20 — —	. . .	20 — —	831 — 851	
54. (112.) Sena II.	35c — —	35 — —	35 — —	851 — 885	
55. (113.) Udaya II. (I.)	11 — —	40 — —	11 — —	885 — 896	
56. (114.) Kassapa IV. SSB:	17 — —	. . .	17 — —	896 — 913	16
57. (115.) Kassapa V. SMV.	10c — —	6 — —	6 — —	913 — 923	918/9 17
58. (116.) Dappula III. (IV.)	— 7 —	— 7 —	— 7 —	923	
59. (117.) Dappula IV. (V.) SMV.	12c — —	12 — —	12 — —	923 — 934	

¹⁾ The Mhvs. does not count the three years' reign in Rohaṇa.

²⁾ According to Nar. No. 39 (97) reigned 2 y. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date	
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
60. (118.) Udaya III. (II.)	3c — —	8 — —	3 — —	934—937	
61. (119.) Sena III. ¹⁾	9c — —	9 — —	9 — —	937—945	
62. (120.) Udaya IV. (III)	8c — —	3 — —	8 — —	945—953	948 18
63. (121.) Sena IV.	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	953—956	
64. (122.) Mahinda IV. SSB.	16c — —	12 — —	16 — —	956—972	960 19
65. (123.) Sena V.	10c — —	10 — —	10 — —	972—981	
66. (124.) Mahinda V.	36c — —	48 — —	48 — —	981—1029	1017 20
Interregnum	12 — —				
67. (125.) Vikkamabāhu I. (Kassapa)	12c — —	12 — —	12 — —	1029—1041	
68. (126.) Kittī	— — 7	. . .	. . .	1041	
69. (127.) Mahālānakitti	3c — —	3 — —	3 — —	1041—1044	
70. (128.) Vikkamapaṇḍu	1 — —	3 — —	3 — —	1044—1047	1046 21
71. (129.) Jagatīpāla	4 — —	1 — —	4 — —	1047—1051	
72. (130.) Parakkamapaṇḍu	2 — —	6 — —	1 — —	1051—1053	
73 a. (131.) Loka (Lokissara)	6c — —	. . .	6 — —	1053—1059	
73 b. (132.) Kassapa ²⁾	— 6 —	. . .	. . .	1059	
74. (133.) Vijayabāhu I. SSB	55 — —	80 — —	54 — —	1059—1114	22
75. (134.) Jayabāhu I.	. . .	3 — —	13 — —	1114—1116	
76. (135.) Vikkamabāhu II. (I.)	21 — —	28 — —	28 — —	1116—1137	
77. (136.) Gajabāhu (II.) ³⁾	22 — —	. . .	. . .	1137—1153	
78. (137.) Parakkamabāhu I. SSB.	33. — —	32 — —	33 — —	1153—1186	23
79. (138.) Vijayabāhu II.	1 — —	. . .	1 — —	1186—1187	
80. (139.) Mahinda VI.	— — 5	— — 5	— — 5	1187	
81. (140.) Nissankamalla	9 — —	9 — —	9 — —	1187—1196	
82. (141.) Vīrabāhu I.	— — 1	. . .	— — 1	1196	
83. (142.) Vikkamabāhu III. (II.)	— 3 — —	— 3 — —	— 3 — —	1196	
84. (143.) Coḍaḡaṅga	— 9 — —	— 9 — —	— 9 — —	1196—1197	

¹⁾ In Rājāv. the sequence of Nos. 59—66 (117—124) is as follows: 1. Dapuḷu 12 y. (evidently = No. 59, Dappula IV.), 2. Udā 8 y., 3. Sen 3 y., 4. Udā 3 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). — Pūjāv. has 1. Dapuḷu 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.

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

³⁾ Rājāv. and Pūjāv. do not mention Gajabāhu at all as king.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
85. (144.) Līlāvati ¹⁾	3 —	3 —	3 —	1197—1200	
86. (145.) Sāhasamalla	2 —	9 —	2 —	1200—1202	1200 24
87. (146.) Kalyāṇavati ²⁾	6 —	6 —	6 —	1202—1208	
88. (147.) Dhammāsoka	1 —	6 —	1 —	1208—1209	
89. (148.) Anikaṅga	— — 17	— — 17	— — 17	1209	
Līlavati ¹⁾	1 —	1 —	1 —	1209—1210	
90. (149.) Lokissara (II.)	— 9 —	— 5 —	— 5 —	1210—1211	
Līlāvati ¹⁾	— 7 —	— 4 —	— 7 —	1211	
91. (150.) Parakkamapaṇḍu II.	3 —	3 —	3 —	1211—1214	
92. (151.) Māgha	21 —	19 —	21 —	1214—1235	
93. (152.) Vijayabāhu III.	4 —	24 —	24 —	1232—1236	
94. (153.) Parakkamabāhu II.	35 —	32 —	32 —	1236—1271	1236 25
95. (154.) Vijayabāhu IV.	2 —	. . .	. . .	1271—1273	
96. (155.) Bhuvanekabāhu I.	11 —	. . .	. . .	1273—1284	1283 26
97. (156.) Parakkamabāhu III.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1284—1291	
98. (157.) Bhuvanekabāhu II. ³	. . .	. . .	. . .	1291—1302	
99. (158.) Parakkamabāhu IV. ⁴⁾	} 1302—1346	
100. (159.) Bhuvanekabāhu III.	. . .	. . .	. . .
101. (160.) Vijayabāhu V.	. . .	. . .	. . .
102. (161.) Bhuvanekabāhu IV.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1346—1353	1350/1 27
103. (162.) Parakkamabāhu V.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1348—1360	1354 60 28
104. (163.) Vikkamabāhu V. (III.)	. . .	. . .	. . .	1347—1375	1360/1 29
105. (164.) Bhuvanekabāhu V.	20 —	. . .	. . .	1360—1391	1385 30
106. (165.) Vīrabāhu II.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1391—1397	1396 31
(166. Vijayabāhu VI.)	. . .	. . .	. . .	1405—11	32
(167. Parakkamabāhu)	. . .	. . .	. . .
107. (168.) Parakkamabāhu VI.	52 —	52 —	. . .	1410—1468	33
SSB.					
103. (169.) Jayabāhu II.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1468—1473	
109. (170.) Bhuvanekabāhu VI.	7 —	7 —	. . .	1473—1480	1475 34
110. (171.) Parakkamabāhu VII.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1480—1484	
111. (172.) Parakkamabāhu VIII.	. . .	20 —	. . .	1484—1518	
(173. Parakkamabāhu IX.)	. . .	22 —	. . .	1506—1528	35

¹⁾ The first time Līlāvati reigned along with Kittī, the second time with Vikkantacamūnakka, finally alone.

²⁾ Along with Āyasmanta Camūpati.

³⁾ Reigned according to Rr. 24 years. According to Daḷadāsīrita (WICKR.) Nos. 97 and 93 (156 and 157) reigned at times together. WICKR. reckons the sum total of their reigns at 16 years.

⁴⁾ WICKR. reckons the beginning of the reign as 1303 A. D.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
112. (174.) Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.)	. . .	18? —	. . .	1509—1521	36
113. (175.) Bhuvanekabāhu VII.	. . .	21 —	. . .	1521—1550	37
114. (175 d) Vīravikkama ¹⁾	. . .	45? —	. . .	1542—?	38
115. (175 b) Māyādhanu ¹⁾	. . .	70 —	. . .	1521—1581	39
(176. Dharmapūla)	. . .	. . .	. . .	1551—1597	
116. (177.) Rājasīha I.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1581—1593	
117. (178.) Vimaladhamma-suriya I.	. . .	12 —	. . .	1592—1604	
118. (179.) Senāratana	7 —	25 —	. . .	1604—1635	
119. (180.) Rājasīha II.	52 —	. . .	. . .	1635—1687	
120. (181.) Vimaladhamma-suriya II.	22 —	. . .	. . .	1687—1707	
121. (182.) Vīraparakkama-narindasiha	33 —	. . .	. . .	1707—1739	
122. (183.) Sirivijayarājasīha	8 —	. . .	. . .	1739—1747	
123. (184.) Kittisirirājasīha	35c —	. . .	. . .	1747—1782	40
124. (185.) Sirirājādhirājasīha	18 —	. . .	. . .	1780—1798	
125. (186.) Sirivikkamarājasīha	18 —	. . .	. . .	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 Vīravikkama of Mhvs. 92. 6 is probably identical with Kumāra Baṇḍāra (Rv.). In addition to these Jayavīra Baṇḍāra who wielded power in the Highlands and Rājasīha or Rayigam Baṇḍāra are mentioned as contemporaries.

Residences

1. Mahāvamsa: Nr. 1: Tambapaṇṇī. — Nr. 2, 3: Upatissagāma (10. 52). — Nr. 4—58: Anurādhapura.
2. Cūlavamsa: 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 Rohaṇa of Nr. 65 (123)]. — Nr. 67 (125)—78 b (132): Rohaṇa. — Nr. 74 (133)—92 (151): Pulatthinagara. — Nr. 93 (152): Jambuddoṇī. — Nr. 94 (153): Jambuddoṇī (Pulatthinagara 88. 29 ff.). — Nr. 95 (154): Pulatthinagara. — Nr. 96 (155): Jambuddoṇī (Sabbagiri 90. 42). — Nr. 97 (156): Pulatthinagara (90. 56). — Nr. 98 (157)—101 (160): Hatthigiripura. — Nr. 102 (161)—104 (163): Gaṅgūsiripura. — Nr. 105 (164)—113 (175) Jayavaḍḍhana. — Nr. 114 (175 d): Sirivaḍḍhana. — Nr. 115 (175 b)—116 (177): Sītāvaka. — Nr. 117 (178)—125 (186): Sirivaḍḍhana.

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 Vaṭṭagāmaṇi). 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 contemporary¹ of the Maurya king Asoka. There is no urgent reason for doubting the fact. According to Dīp. 17. 78, Devānampiyatissa was consecrated as king² 236 years (that is in the 237th 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. 10¹⁴ Vaḷagam Abā came to the throne 439 y. 9 m. 10 d. after the Nirvana³. This gives us 43 B. C. This agrees with the statement of Mv. 33. 80 f. as

¹ For further details of my transl. Mhvs., *Introd.* p. xxxi ff.

² Also in Ns., p. 2¹⁹.

³ Cf. also EZ. II. 205.

to the foundation of the Abhaya-vihāra¹. 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 regained the kingdom.

4. According to Rv. a famine called *būmiṇi-saya* took place under Coranāga 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 Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.

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. 14¹⁰ 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

¹ See Mhvs. transl., p. xxxiv f.

² Cf. also SENAVERATNE, JRAS. C. B. xxiii, No. 67 (1914), p. 216.

under Buddhādāsa (AYRTON, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142). Of course this there may have survived Buddhādāsa, 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 A. D.

9. For Kumāradhātusena's (Kumārdās) reign a Chinese notice mentioned by TENNENT¹ 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. 527 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 (Amba-heraṇa 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. 17²⁸: 1088 A. B. = 544/5 A. D. Accord-

¹ Ceylon, 2nd ed. I, p. 596.

ing to Wickr. this date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla Canon (*dhammadhātu*)¹ 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)². 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 Pulakeśin 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 Dāṭhopatissa II. He is helped in this by his friend Narasiha at whose court in Jambudipa 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 Dāṭhopatissa 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(vappa). L. suggests Mānavamma, who also had the biruda of Silāmegha. AYRTON (Ceylon Notes and Queries II, Jan. 1914, p. xxvii 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 WICKR and S. I suggest Kassapa III, No. 43 (101).

¹ See my transl. Cūlavs. I, note to 41. 37.

² According to Rr. 1088 A. B. = 852 (sic!) 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 WICKREMASINGHE, 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 Pāṇḍyas an expedition against the Coḷas. It is unsuccessful. There is evidently an allusion to this (H. p. 525 f.) in the Udayēndiram inscription of the 15th year of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I. = 921/2. In it he boasts of his victory over the Pāṇḍyas and over an army come from Laṅkā. 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 Coḷas 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 Rohaṇa 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). CODRINGTON (HC. p. 39, 53) supposes this to be the Coḷa prince Parāntaka 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 Coḷas carried off him, his queen and all his treasure to India. H. 522 ff. assumes that this king was Rājendra-Coḷa 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 Coḷa 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) Vikramapāṇḍya, c) Vīraśālāmegha and d) Śrīvallabhamadanarāja. This clearly refers to events related in Mhvs. 56. Here the following kings are mentioned as being at war with the Coḷas: 1) Vikkamabāhu, No. 67 (125) = a¹, 2) Kittī, 3) Mahālānakittī, 4) Vikkamapaṇḍu = b, 5) Jagatīpāla, 6) Parakkama. Of 3, 5, and 6 it is distinctly stated that they were slain in battle with the Coḷas, of 3 it is said besides that his crown fell as booty to the Daṁḷas. Nos. 1 and 4 however, whose names are clearly recognizable in Rājādhirāja'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 Parakkama-bāhu 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.

¹ I should now prefer to read in Mhvs. 56. 6 *Devanagaram* instead of *d°* and translate "he betook himself to Devanagara (Dondra) and entered the company of the gods."

23. For Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Rāmañña (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 Rāmañña prince Bhuvanāditta named in the Devanagala inscription, is identified by BELL with the king Narabaditsi-tsi-thu who reigned 1167—1204 (PHAYRE, History of Burma, p. 50, 281, 289).

24. The coronation day of Sāhasamalla 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 (*badā*), 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, 23rd 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 Pāṇḍya king Kulaśekhara. 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 Maqrizi'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 Laṅkā-tilaka 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 A. B. = 1350/1 was the 4th year of his reign,

the beginning of the reign therefore 1356/7. 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 CORNINGTON (HC. p. 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. XII, No. 65, 1912, p. 362) the 11th year of his reign was = Śaka 1281 expired = 1359/60 A. D. The first year of his reign would be accordingly Śaka 1270 = 1348/9 A. D. But at that time No. 102 (161) was reigning and his successor probably yuvarāja. In the Vegiri-devale inscription (WICKR.) Parakkamabāhu V. in 1351/2 still calls himself āpā.

29. The Vigulavatta inscription (H. C. P. BELL, Kégalla Dist., p. 78) gives Śaka 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 Śaka 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 A. B. = 1385/6 A. D. was the 14th 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 Virabāhu. — c) according to the Vegiri-devale inscription, Bh. V. made an endowment in the 30th 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 (*niṭṭhite kāle*) Virabāhu of the Alakeśvara family, seized the power.

31. Ns. 30³⁰ Council under the leadership of Dhammakitti 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 WICKR. 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 Śaka year 837¹ = 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 A. B.² = 1507/8 A. D. The 12th year of his reign fell according to the Munessarām 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, Ké-galla Dist. p. 85 f.) the Śaka year 1432 = 1510 A. D. fell in the year after the 4th year of the reign of King Vijayabāhu VI.,

¹ Thus according to the modern Burmese era which begins in March 639 A. D. See C. MABEL DUFF, Chronology of India, p. 51.

² WICKR. 42 would prefer to read 2049 (*ekun panas* instead of *ek panas*) This would give 1505/6 A. D.

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. xii, 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. Māyāddhanu (Mayadunne), No. 115 (175 b), died according to Rājalekhana (WICKR.), Śaka 1503 = 1581/2 A. D.; Rājasīha I., No. 116 (177), according to Rv. Śaka 1514 = 1592/3 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya I., No. 117 (178), according to Rv. Śaka 1525 = 1603/4 A. D.; he came to the throne (Mhvs. 94. 5) 2135 A. B. = 1591/2 A. D.; Senāratana, No. 118 (179) died according to Rājalekhana (WICKR.) Śaka 1557 = 1635/6 A. D. and Rājasīha II., No. 119 (180), Śaka 1609 = 1687/8 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya II., No. 120 (181), Śaka 1629 = 1707/8 A. 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.

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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 astray¹, 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 upscrupulous 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 earth², a rich rain of gifts pour continually down upon them.

¹ *Chanda, dosa, bhaya, moha* are called A. II. 18 *cattāri agatigamanāni*. Cf. *chandāgatiṃ (dosāgatiṃ etc.) gantum* D. III 133²¹, *chandā agatiṃ gacchaṭi* Nett. 44¹ etc.

² The Buddhist cosmology recognises four chief continents. Cf. Vv. 20. 10 *catunnaṃ mahādīpānaṃ issaraṃ yo'dha kāraye*. S. V. 343²⁰ *catunnaṃ dīpānaṃ paṭilābho*. In contrast to these are the 2000 small dīpas by which they are surrounded (VvCo. 104¹⁴). 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 it¹.
- 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 Vattaḡamaṇi
 Abhaya² 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 (WICKREMasinghe, EZ. II, p. 273, n. 3). For the Brahmanic teaching of the Dvīpas see KIRFEL, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 110 ff.

¹ Verses 2—10 form one sentence. It is governed by *idāni kālo vi-
 dhātum etaṃ sabbaṃ 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 addhaniyaṃ* v. 6d); 3) with regard to the nobility, that the king
 should again become their protector (v. 7d: *pālanaṃ* must be supple-
 mented by an *assaṃ* from *assa* in 6d "may I be"); 4) with regard to
 those in want, that the king may support them (v. 8d).

² For the schism in the Order at the time of this prince see
 Mbhs. 83. 95 ff.

the present day. They turned away in their demeanour from one another and took delight in all kinds of strife. But the all-wise Ruler who had already in past existences striven after the purification of the Order as something which must be attained¹, achieved its union, whereby he had to endure double as much heavy toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity. And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so that it could last in purity for five thousand years².

Hereupon the best of men had a square hall³ erected in the middle of the town with four entrances and several large

¹ P. *gahitabbato* is an adverbial formation from *gahitabba* = skr. *grahī-tavya*. It would correspond to skr. *grahītavyatas*. Cf. WHITNEY, Indische Grammatik § 1098.

² Verses 12—22 form one sentence. The principal verb in 22 c d is *akāsi* (*jīnasāsanam khīrodakābhūtam*), subject *bhūpati* in 21 d. The gerunds *rāsikatvā* (12 c) and *saṃnipātiya* (13 d), as also *saṃaggaṃ katvā* (21 d) are subordinate. This last is preceded by the pret. and pres. participles: — *paṭighānunayāvajjito* (15 b), *atandito* (15 d), *saṃupadhārento* (16 c), *tikicchanto* and *vivajjayaṃ* (17 a b), as well as *anayāpetasaṃkappo* (17 c) and *anubhonto* (21 c). These are all of them attributes of the subject. The object of *saṃaggaṃ akāsi* is *nikāyattitayaṃ* 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 Cūlavs., 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 Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Both speak of the intention that the Order should now be secure in its stability for 5000 years. In the Cūlavs. 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, Rājāvali says (trsl. by B. GUÑASEKARA, p. 59) quite briefly: "he reconciled the religious differences which had existed since the reign of Vaḷagam Abū." The account in the *Nikāya-saṃgraha* is more detailed (p. 22 of WICKREMASINGHE's ed.).

³ P. *catussāla* = skr. *catuṣśālā* 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 bronze, 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 Nandana². 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
 33 order, as well as for many other supplicants and poor tra-
 vellers daily a great almsgiving, he the wise (prince), untiring,
 unwearying, with a heart full of love.

34 Hereupon the Ruler of men, filled with pity, had another
 great hall built for many hundreds of sick people, fitted for
 35 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,

¹ P. *sīlapālānam* refers as W. assumes, to monks. "Age" in v. 25 (P. *yathāvuddham*) means then the period of belonging to the Order.

² The pleasure garden of the god Indra. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 141.

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
 pity¹. 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 reward³ from the hands of the physicians and
 given them their reward³, 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 exercis-
 ed. 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

¹ P. *dayāsīṭalamāna*so. 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".

² 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 *upāṅga* of the Atharvaveda. See WINTER-
 NITZ, *Gesch. der ind. Literatur*, III, p. 542; J. JOLLY, *Medicin*, p. 12 f.

³ 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.

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

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?

55 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 town² and was larger than the town wall³ of former kings
and gleamed with its coating of lime bright as autumn clouds.
59 Then after he had built round this three walls⁴ 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 Polonnaruwa* (ASC. Memoirs II. 1926, p. 3 ff.). H. W. COBRINGTON is certainly right in his assumption that the description in the *Cūlavamsa* proceeds from south to north. I refer the reader at once to the second and later account of Parakkamabāhu's building activities in 78. 31 ff.

² 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. *purapākārarakkāto* shows that we must take the positive *mahantaṃ* in the sense of a comparative, as is often the case. The new structure was thus more extensive than the older one.

⁴ The *Kaṭṭaliya* 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 *Kaṭṭ.* 2. 3. 21 (in JOLLY's ed. p. 31; in J. J. MEYER's translation p. 65¹⁰ in that of SHAMASASTRY, p. 57).

erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling a second inner wreath of walls¹ and built thereon a palace² 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 alcoves³ which were like to the summit of the Kelāsa⁴ mountain and were radiant with manifold ornaments of climbing plants and flowers. It 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 which were made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly

¹ P. *anupākāramaṇḍalaṃ*, lit. a secondary circle of walls.

² 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 Cūlav. speaks of a thousand apartments 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.

³ P. *kūṭāgara*. Rāvaṇa's palace is also described in the Rāmāyaṇa 5. 9. 14 (Bombay ed. 1902) as *kūṭāgaraiḥ śubhāgāraiḥ sarvataḥ samalaṃkatam*. The commentary on the passage explains *kūṭāgaraiḥ* by *gupta-svalpaḡṛhaiḥ*.

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 splendour¹ was reached in the
 royal sleeping apartment which was ever immeasurably re-
 66 splendent with a thick bunch of pearls² suspended at its four
 corners, white as moonbeams and gleaming so that they
 67 laughed to scorn the beauty of the divine Gaṅgā. (The sleep-
 ing apartment) was adorned with a wreath of large golden
 lampstands which breathed out continually the perfume of
 68 flowers and incense. With the network of tiny golden bells³
 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 Vissakamman⁴,
 charming and peerless, he, the first among the protectors of
 the earth, built and gave it the name of Vejayanta⁵.

71 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 Dhāraṇīghara⁶. For li-
 stening 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 uttamaṃ* (cf. skr. *sanāthīkṛ* as well as below v. 152) in v. 67 d. Verses 66 b to 67 a b contain attributes of *sirī-sayanagabbhena* in 67 c, v. 65 attributes of *thūlamūttakalāpenā*.

² In Rām. 5. 9. 17 it is said of Rāvaṇa's palace *nistulābhiśca muttā-bhīstalenābhinirājitam*.

³ The *kiṅkiṇī(ka)jāla* is one of the ornaments of the maṇḍapas (JāCo. I. 32³¹; DhCo. I. 274²) and of the pāsādas (D. II. 183⁶; Mhvs. 27. 16, 27).

⁴ Skr. *Viśvakarman*, the architect of the gods, often associated and confused with Tvaṣṭar. Cf. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 201. He is the builder of Varuṇa'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 *dhāraṇīghara* "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 Maṇḍalamandira¹. For the reception of the magic 73
 water and of the magic thread given him by the yellow-robed
 ascetics (he built) the Pañcasattatimandira². Lastly he who 74
 ever trod the path of the true doctrine, erected a sermon
 house³. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured cur-
 tains 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) eye⁴
 upon the statue of the Victor, or to honour by sacrifice the 79
 Tathāgata, 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 narration of the jātakas was first erected and then an *ācariya* appointed for the purpose. BELL (ASC. 1906, p. 10ff.; cf. EZ. II. 238ff.) regards the *maṇḍalamandira* as the so-called Potgul-vehera to the south of Pulatthinagara. Bāt I do not believe that he is right.

² 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 parittā 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 *dharmāgāraṃ* in 81c. Of these we have made independent sentences. The most important building in the neighbourhood of the palace is the "Rājamāligāva" 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 *dharmāgāra* is doubtful. It looks like a hall of audience or like a council-hall. Cf. ASC. 1905 (= S. P. XX. 1909), p. 3ff.

⁴ 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 song¹.

82 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 Sarassatīmaṇḍapa².
 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 de-
 sired things which sparkled with all kinds of ornaments such
 85 as earrings, bracelets, necklaces and the like, which was re-
 splendent 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.

87 Further he had the fair maṇḍapa erected which bore the
 name Rājavesibhujāṅga³. It was like unto the hall of the
 gods, called Sudhammā, which descended to earth, just as if

¹ 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 "Maṇḍapa 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 maṇḍapas 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 Rājavesibhujāṅgasailāmegha applied to Ilaṅkiya in 76. 192. The word *vesī* means "harlot", "prostitute". *Bhujāṅga* 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 inscription 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-ṛāja-vesi-bhujāṅga*.

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 *vedikās*¹, 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 Laṅkā, 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-pāsāda*⁴ that ended with a ma-

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 *pokkharani* 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 *unhīsa* (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 sahitaṃ 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 *pavāḷavedikā*, a *vedikā* of coral (Mhvs. 27. 26). There was a *nānāratānavedikā* 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.

² I divide *nijabāhubalā* (= instr.) *aruṇe*. For it is hardly admissible to take the whole as a parallel compound to *laṅkāganāya*.

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

⁴ Lit. „one-pillar-palace”. In such a one-pillar-palace, *gehe ekathūnike*, was *Cittā* the daughter of *Paṇḍuvāsudeva* confined, to prevent her coming into contact with any man. JāCo I. 441²⁴⁻²⁵ also mentions an *ekatthambhakapāsāda* which serves as a king's dwelling. For an idea of what such a structure looked like, v. 94a 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 Polonnaruwa and in the *Baddhasīmāpāsāda* 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.

- 93 kara¹ and rose aloft as if it had split open the earth. And
 it was adorned with a superb golden chamber² 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.
- 95 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 men³, it received the name of Nandana⁴.
- 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 ṭali and nīpa trees, mangos, jambū and kadamba trees, vakulas,
 coco palms, kuṭajas and bimbijālakas, mālatī, mallikā, tamāla
 100 and navamālikā shrubs⁵ 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-

¹ A dolphin-like mythical animal often employed as ornament especially on balustrades of staircases.

² P. *jātarūpanivāsena*, with a dwelling-room, a habitation of gold.

³ I separate thus: . . . *janānaṃ nayanā* (acc. pl.) *nandanā-daṃ nan-dayati*. The fem. *nandanā* is found also S. I. 61⁰.

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 *gharuyyānaṃ*, partly in adjective form, partly as relative sentences (cf. *yattha* in v. 100, 109, 111; *yam* in v. 110).

⁵ 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 suaveolens*, 9. *Nauclea cadamba*, 10. *Mangifera indica*, 11. *Eugenia jambolana*, 12. *Nauclea cordifolia*, 13. *Mimosa elengi*, 14. *Cocos nucifera*, 15. *Wrightia antidysenterica* or *Nerium antidysentericum*, 16. *Momordica monodelpha*, 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-
 room¹ supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows
 of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain
 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
 the garden² and ravished the eye. The garden was (further)
 resplendent with an extensive palace³ adorned with many
 columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's
 surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an
 octagonal maṇḍapa resembling an ear ornament. It was also
 adorned with another large, fair, charming maṇḍapa that had
 the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings⁴. There in the
 garden the Silāpokkharāṇī⁵ pond continually captivated the
 King who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had
 attached the good without number to himself. Still more
 delightful was the garden by (means of) the Maṅgalapokkharāṇī

¹ P. *dhārāmaṇḍapa* (v. 105) corresponds to the skr. *dhārāgr̥ha*. From the description it is clear that a shower bath is meant.

² P. *uṃyānalakkhiyā*. 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.

³ P. *vimānena*. Writers are fond of using the term half mythically. By *v.* is understood mainly the abodes of blessed spirits which hover in the air. In JāCo. I. 328¹⁵ 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.

⁴ Is the idea here pillars with baroque spirals such as are found on a structure of the so called quadrangle in Polonnaruwa?

⁵ 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 *puṇṇapokkharāṇī* in v. 111 as such. It is quite possible. We must then join *sugandhivāripūreṇa* with *nandayantī* "which gladdened by the fulness of perfumed water". My translation of vv. 111, 112 was determined by the circumstance that °*pūreṇa* and °*puṇṇa*° occur next to each other.

pond, and provided with the Nandāpokkharanī pond it looked like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed 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 divided into two arms, the foe-subduer laid down a second garden, the Dīpuyyāna². There one saw the Dhavalāgāra³ that like to the summit of the Kelāsa, was made entirely of stucco, wonder exciting. The garden was adorned with a Vimāna which bore the name of Vijjāmaṇḍapa because it was built to show forth the various branches of science. And there too gleamed the beautiful, roomy⁴ Doḷamaṇḍapa⁵ that was

¹ The *pokkharanī* 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 *gharuyyāna* a house-garden (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 *śīlāpokkharanī*, since a bathing pond answering this description does in fact lie under the eastern wall of the citadel.

² 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 *pavivāta* is unknown. Skr. *vivāta* (cf. Kauṭaliya 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 vimāna called 117 Kīlāmaṇḍapa¹ 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 Sanimaṇḍapa³ 118 which consisted of ivory, and again by another (maṇḍapa), the superb so-called Moramaṇḍapa⁴ and also by the Ādāsamaṇḍapa⁵ 119 whose walls consisted of mirrors. There too the bathing 120 pond Anantapokkharanī⁶ with its stones whose layers resembled the coils of (the serpent king) Ananta, continually captivated the people. There the bathing pond Cittāpokkharanī⁷ with 121 its gay pictures rejoiced the foe-subduer Parakkamabāhu, 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 nāga and punnāga trees and was rich in banana, kaṇṇikāra and kaṇikāra trees⁹.

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".

⁵ I. e. "mirror pavilion".

⁶ Ananta is here the name of the world serpent Śeṣa (see HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology* 23—24). It is also called Anantabhoga, and it would be possible to insert this name also here in *anantabhogasaṃkāsasaṃnivesasilā* (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 singārasaddapubbaṃ*, lit. a vimāna in which the word *singāra* (Skr. *śṛṅgāra*, "ornament, love, a particular rasa") stands in front (of the name). *Pubba* is used here instead of the customary *ādi* (note to 44. 6).

⁹ The botanical names are in the same order: 1. *borassus flabelliformis*, 2. *phoenix paludosa*, 3. *mesua ferrea*, 4. *rottlera tinctoria*, 5. *musa sapientum*, 6. *pterosperrum acerifolium*, 7. *premna spinosa* (?). — Verses

124 Now there was in the palace of the Monarch of all races
 of rulers, among those belonging to the closest of his followers,
 a man named Mahinda. He was a worshipper of the triad
 125 of the Jewels¹, 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 pāsāda 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.
 130 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.

² P. *oghehi* lit. by the floods.

³ The sentence must be construed thus: *āvāsaṃ viya Sīriyā jotantaṃ sabbaṃsmañ dehadhāraṇaṃ rāmaṇeyyakam* (what is gracious = grace) *viya ekaṭṭha piṇḍitaṃ*.

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

Further the King, the sole banner of the stem of the nobility, possessed a dear consort who had come forth, re-joining the eyes of the people, as the moon (rises) from the ocean, from (the house of) the great king Kittisirimegha¹, who loved him, the highest of rulers, as Sītā (loved) Rāma. Amongst all the ladies of the harem, many hundreds in number, she was by far his best loved. She loved the triad of the 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, had friendly speech, was adorned with the ornament of many virtues such as faith, discipline and the like, was skilful in 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 Rūpavatī, most beauteous of beauteous women, the clever, the virtuous, pure in action, the highly-famed, mindful of the doctrine of the Victor 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 live as if his head were in flames; there is no escape from

hindanāmakō (v. 127^c), predicate and object are *kāreṣi pāsādaṃ*. Verses 124—127 contain the attributes to the subject, verses 130—134 (after an adverbial in 128, 129) the attributes to the object *pāsādaṃ*. 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 Dipuyyāna, 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 Rohaṇa 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.

¹ This seems to be the king of that name mentioned in 41. 65. The name of the queen is given in v. 142.

² Cf. above v. 41 with the note.

145 death"¹. 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
 thūpa², 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 Rājavesībhujāṅga, Rājakulantaka and Vijita, adorned with
 three three-storeyed pāsādas which possessed every excellence
 153 and every beauty, and crowned by three vihāras 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 *hileyyānaṃ*, whereas the parallel to the preceding strophe requires *hileyya nāṃ*, 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."

² H. C. P. BELL (ASC. 1909 = VI. 1914, p. 6) has already identified this with the thūpa 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. Rājavesībhujāṅga, 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 Veluvana (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 Lālaratṭhā. To identify the suburb of Vijita with the

royal palace and the three towns the monarch had built at a distance of a *gāvuta*¹ from each other, charming sermon houses and image chapels² and splendid *viḥāras* adorned with rest-houses for bhikkhus from all four regions of the heavens.

In the town Pulatthi(nagara) by name furnished thus with all accessories and provided with every luxury, like to a garden made beautiful by union with the joy of spring, which he himself enlarged so that it was four *gāvutas* long and seven *gāvutas*³ broad, which bore his name — the beauteous one — 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) the Lord of men who was like to Purimḍada (Indra), who was skilled in the preserving of all advantages, those not yet achieved and those already achieved, had fourteen gates erected: the superb King's Gate⁴, the beautiful Lion Gate, the great Elephant Gate, further the Indra Gate, the gate called after Hanumant⁵, the lofty Kuvera Gate, the brightly painted Caṇḍi Gate, as well as the Rakkhasa Gate⁶, the high-towering Ser-

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: ... Veḷuvana after the park near Rājagaha which was given to Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍika; Isipatana after the park in Benares where Buddha preached his first sermon; and Kusinārā after the place where he entered Nirvana. For Veḷuvana see below note to 78. 87.

¹ Cf. 78. 91, 85. 20. According to the Kaṭṭaliya 2. 20 a *gāvuta* (skr. *gavyūta* or *goruta*) would be the equivalent of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *yojana* (cf. note to 38. 68 and I, p. 349) 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).

² P. *saddhammapaṭimāghare* = *saddhammaghare paṭimāghare ca*.

³ 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.

⁴ For the King's Gate, *rājadvāra*, see note to 74. 199.

⁵ The monkey king, Rāma's ally in his campaign against Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā.

⁶ For Kuvera see note to 37. 106, for the rakkhasas note to 39. 84. Caṇḍi (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 Gate¹, the Mahātittha Gate²,
 and the splendid Gandhabba Gate³.

164 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 aforesaid small town
 of Pulatthinagara which had suffered by many wars, splendidly
 adorned as the city of the Tāvatisa gods.

Here ends the seventy-third chapter, called «Account of
 the Rebuilding of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvamsa, com-
 piled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

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

² Through this gate ran in all probability the road leading to Anurā-
 dhapura and from here to the well known port Mahātittha on the western
 shore of Ceylon.

³ P. *gandhabba* = 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 capital¹ Anurādhapura 1 which had been utterly destroyed in every way by the Coḷa army, was specially deserving of honour, since its soil was 2 hallowed while he lived² 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 doṇa³ 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 Anurādhapura 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 pāsādas and the gate towers. the charming 9

¹ 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".

² According to the legend the Buddha also visited the site of the future Anurādhapura during his three sojourns in Lankā. 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.

³ A measure of capacity used specially for corn. Skr. *droṇa*.

bathing-ponds and the delightful gardens as they had been
 10 formerly; also the cetiyas of the three fraternities, the Mahā-
 cetiya and the others, as well as the numerous vihāras such
 11 as the Lohapāsāda and the like, as well as the pāsāda serving
 him as dwelling, with its gates, bastions and towers, with its
 12 royal courtyard, and embellished with a charming moon
 chamber, and brought it about that the whole town furnished
 13 with these and other marvellous works was as aforetime. Thus
 he had the buildings set up by many former kings repaired
 14 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.

15 Hereupon the all-wise (Prince) laid the foundations of the
 town called Parakkama(pura)¹. 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.

18 Then he issued orders as to the way in which the officials
 appointed over the various districts of the island of Sihala
 19 should collect without loss the taxes levied on each district
 without oppressing the people in their particular territory.
 20 Further in every month on the four Uposatha days, in ponds
 and all other places in the island of Lankā 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, *kārāpesi* 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 *attanāmaṅkita*, just as under Vijayabāhu I. it was called according to the Velakkūra inser. (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 Rohaṇa numerous vassals after 22
the death of the Monarch Mānābharāṇa, 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 Queen-
mother Sugala³. "Thy grief, o Queen, called forth by Mānā- 29
bharāṇa'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

¹ 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.

² P. *ratthe samjātasamvaddhe*. I believe that *samvaddha* = 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 Rohaṇa. The vassals fear that in such an event they will not escape justice.

³ The consort of Sirivallabha (59. 45) and mother of the younger Mānābharāṇa.

34 cades of briars sharp-pointed as iron, made the roads accessible with felled and fallen trees. Thereupon all the soldiers native to the province, thousands in number rebelled and took up their place everyone in one of the big strongholds, girded for fight, well armed with offensive and defensive weapons, full of violence, with strong forces¹. The Queen Sugulā who had not a mind capable of reflection and was inclined herself by nature to evil, let the fatal words of these people influence her. She made over to them the great possessions 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 fire, gave them office, ignorant of the right and the wrong occasion, and began herself through them to start the revolt.

40 When the Lord of men Parakkama whose courage was hardly to be surpassed, heard of these events he smiled gaily and joyously. He summoned his general Rakkha by name, a war-trying man, told him how matters stood exactly as he had heard of them and spake to him (thus): "Arise in haste, quench thoroughly the forest fire of the hostile army which has broken out with a rain shower of arrows, appoint people whom it is necessary to appoint, to keep the country in order and come again quickly." Thereupon he sent him off with strong forces.

44 Now the Sihala and Keraḷa (mercenaries) dwelling in Koṭṭhasāra² banded themselves together with the Velakkāra force³ and took counsel together: "The Lord of men has sent forth many famous warriors together with high dignitaries to

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

² 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 Keraḷas 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 Rohapa; let us meanwhile take possession of Rājaraṭṭha." And they all of one accord began the war. King Parakkama-
 bāhu before whom every sovereign bowed, sent some digni-
 taries who were heroes thither with fitting army and train. He had those slain who deserved it, granted several villages
 to those inhabitants living under a common selfgovernment, had a number of other villages made into such as were de-
 signed 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-
 strate, received the command of the Great King he marched, the highly-famed hero, from Pulatthinagara, betook himself
 to the locality named Barabbala³ and halted there. When the
 whole of the forces in Rohapa together with the inhabitants of the province⁴ received news, in accordance with the facts, of his gradual approach, they came to the decision: "as long
 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 (48a b) 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. CODRINGTON, H C. p. 45 ff.

² P. *bhaya* includes the two concepts: fear (subjective) and danger (objective). Cf. above v. 21. .

³ 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, Kaṇṭakavana, Ambalala, Sava, Divācandantabātava, Kiṇṣukavatthu, Vaṭarakkhatthalī, Dāṭhāvaḍḍhana and Sahodara are unknown.

⁴ P. *mahācamū* and *raṭṭhavāsino*: contrast between 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 Kaṇṭakavana¹. He fought with the hostile army that had
 taken up its position there by the building of a stronghold,
 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. Be-
 yond this lay the forest Divācandantabāṭava 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 gāvutas 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 spot³.

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

² I should prefer here to place the full stop after *sabbathā* and thus take this word in the *oratio recta*. For the position of *iti* see note to 37. 114.

³ 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 Pulatthinagara from the mouth of the mes-
sengers 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 fight¹.

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 Kimsukavattthuka². Here too they fought a fearful, bitter 76
fight. Then after they had set out from there and had reached
Vaṭarakkhatthali, 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) ..."

¹ It is plain that Rakkha's action in the difficult ground of the
Divācandantabāṭava forest had come to a standstill. Bhūta is sent to
his aid. Cf. further the note to v. 90.

² Here one might assume the end of the sentence, since the part.
yātā 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 *ubho* (after Bhūta's joining with Rakkha). *Mārento* which is the
reading of all the MSS. (= skr. *mārayantaḥ*) 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 sub-
ject. 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 there-
 78 upon offered battle at the village called Dāṭhāvaḍḍhana 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 neighbourhood¹
 80 to do away with the hostile army at Lokagalla. Then he de-
 stroyed a vast hostile army that approached with the intention
 meanwhile of overwhelming the commander-in-chief (Rakkha),
 and retired².

81 The great four-membered army that had marched to Loka-
 galla so utterly destroyed the division there that only the
 82 tidings thereof remained, took away from it all its possessions³

¹ I take *ṭhapetvāna* in the sense of "putting 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. CODRINGTON certainly interprets aright i. e., 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 Mahiyaṅgaṇa (Alut-nuvara) to Bibile. With CODRINGTON we may look for Sahodaragāma 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.

² 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.

³ W. translates: ... "Yet could they not completely cut off their great resources." He has misunderstood *acchinditvāna*. What we have to do

and betook itself then to the place where the commander-in-chief 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 Kaṇṭakadvāravāta³ 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*^o, but the frequently used verb *acchindati* "to take away by force" (skr. *ā* + *chid*; cf. PTS. P. D. s. v.) The *ghanajātāṃ* 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 Polonnaruwa. 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).

² *Lokagallatṭhasenānādhikārino* cannot possibly be the subject of the principal sentence as W. assumes. That must be sought rather in *dee 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.

³ 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*.

⁴ 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 Rohaṇa called Aṭṭhasabhassa which was ruled by Sirivallabha. Here his widow Sugalā lived and the sacred relics were kept in her neighbourhood. Uruvelā whither she

89 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 Jivitapoththakin Kitti and
 yet other dignitaries with a thoroughly equipped army and
 91 train². They engaged the foe who coming from the direction
 of Erābūlu³, 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 arrows⁴.
 97 Thereupon they advanced farther and scattered as before, a
 hostile army that at a spot about a gāvuta in extent beside
 98 the village of Kīrindagāma had as before set up fortifications
 and there taken up a position, and halted with vast forces at
 the place called Dīghavāpi⁵.

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

¹ 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 Ratamahatmāya Bibile assured me that the old name Dikveva is still well known among the people.

² 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 off by Parakkama at the same time with Bhūta. The author is going back in his description.

³ 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 Uddhagāma, Hihobu,

The Ruler of men, Parakkama, the best of far-seeing men, 99
 sent to his dignitaries who were at that place, the fol-
 lowing message: "Shattered¹ 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 Laṅkā 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-trying and armed warriors I
 have freed this superb island of Laṅkā from every oppression, 105
 but all my pains would be fruitless². My head adorned with 106
 a costly diadem sparkling with the splendour of various precious
 stones, would only be consecrated³ 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 Adhikārin 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).

¹ P. *bhīnditvā* in a passive sense. See Cūlav. ed. I, Introd. p. XV.

² Lit. "These by me, the island liberator, made efforts will be perfectly (*kāmaṃ* "at one's own pleasure") fruitless."

³ P. *parittito* (lit. "purified") with reference to *uttamaṅgaṃ*, 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 Uddhanadvāra, 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 gāvutas 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 us², 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 Adhikārin Bhūta, the com-
 mander-in-chief Rakkha and the Adhikārin called Kittī, 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 Badaguṇa 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 Uruvelā, had
 126 taken up their position there, they took possession of the

¹ I read *sapattavaggikā* and believe this adjective belongs to the *mahācamī* of the following compound. We have thus again the distinction between the regular troops and the militia.

² Cf. above v. 96 and note.

splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth and halted on the spot at the head of their mighty army¹.

At that time an officer of King Mañjaraṇa, the general¹²⁷ by name Sūkarabhātudeva, the foolish one, who had been placed¹²⁸ in chains by King Parakkama, had burst his fetters and had escaped to Rohaṇa. Then the Ruler of men summoned the¹²⁹ Adhikārin Mañju² and spake to him (thus): "The general Sūkarabhātu has fled to his country, thou must come up with¹³⁰ him before he has gained a hold anywhere." Therewith the Lord of men sent him off. He betook himself from Pu-¹³¹ latthinagara to the place called Sāpatagamu³. There he fought a great battle with the hostile army. He slew many soldiers¹³² and after laying down a fortification took up a position himself there at the head of his large army.

Now⁴ all the many rebels, each in his division, roused the¹³³ whole population of the country down to the very boys (in

¹ 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 Gutta-sālā (Buttala) (cf. v. 154, 156).

² 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.

³ CODRINGTON identifies this with the modern Hapatgamuva. It lies about 8 miles NW. of Badulla in the Vyaluva 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.

⁴ 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.

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
 135 the Alms-bowl, they assembled with hostile intent, mastered
 136 by insolence, at the village called Bhattasūpa. Thereupon the
 commander-in-chief Rakkha, as also the Adhikārin Kitti and
 137 the Adhikārin Bhūta 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 Demaṭavala and
 141 fought a mighty, terrible and horror-rousing battle². 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 taking³ with them the splendid
 relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth, they reach-
 ed the village named Sappanārukokilla.

143 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 adhikārins Mañju
 and Kittī by name⁴ without omitting any honour due to his

¹ Demaṭavala 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 Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. See Mhvs. 24. 39 ff.

² 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 Vāpi".

³ Note that the line *gahetvā pavare dāṭhāpattadhātubhadantake* 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 Kittī Bhūta would be mentioned

rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead¹. Now that the
 wise commander was dead and the Ruler of men tarried afar
 off, they brought together with exceeding energy the whole
 army of the Sovereign who was endowed with terrible courage,
 and while these heroes allowed no possibility of any sort for
 any kind of panic and celebrated a great festival for the two
 sacred relics, they sent their report to the illustrious Ruler
 of men and tarried yet a few days on the spot. When the
 Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he had erected²
 on the spot where the commander had been burnt, a vast
 alms-hall with four entrances, and in order to honour (the
 dead) by sacrifice he sent the (following) order: "Collect for
 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
 commanders joyfully carried out the order in fitting manner
 and remained on the spot.

The rebels thought, since the commander-in-chief was dead
 and they (themselves) had gained a leader in Sūkarabhātu,
 they would meanwhile try for victory, and all gathered to-
 gether in the district of Guttasālā³. When the vast, foe-
 crushing army of King Parakkama heard that, it advanced
 with its leaders, fighting at various places a severe action,
 from all sides against the district of Guttasālā. Thereupon all

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

¹ 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
ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha is offered to the *preta*. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur* p. 90.

² I am now of opinion that direct speech begins first at 150 c. The
gerund karetvā is, as seems clear from 149 c d, to be subordinated to
 the finite verb *pesesi*.

³ Now the modern Buttala. See note to 51. 109. The scene of the
 contests and the further course of the operations is now again per-
 fectly clear.

the rebels gave up this village and withdrew through fear to
 158 the village (and) district of Mahāgāma¹. 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 message 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 Hintālavanagāma, 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 Khīragāma, fought here also a severe action
 and cut down many. Then they marched farther from that
 place, fighting at Tanagaluka, and Sukhagirigāma, at Kaṭa-
 165 dorāvāda³ and Ambagalla⁴, as well as at Taṇḍulapatta like-
 wise a furious action, and after bringing hither with great
 pomp both relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, they sent them
 166 to the Adhikārin Mañju. This (officer) had at the village
 called Sākhāpatta⁵ and at Lokagalla cut down many soldiers
 and brought all the dwellers in (the district of) Dhanumaṇḍala⁶

¹ Now Magama, the old capital of Rohaṇa (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. CODRINGTON as he informs me by letter (20th Dec. 1927), has discovered this stūpa in Badalkumbura near Alūpota 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 Kittī were trying to get into touch with Mañju. For Hintālavanagāma see also note to 75. 7.

³ Perhaps the same as the Kaṇṭakadvāravāta mentioned 74. 85. Thus CODRINGTON.

⁴ W. separates the compound Kaṭadorāvādambagallake into Kaṭadorāva Dambagallake which I consider impossible.

⁵ According to CODRINGTON the same as Sāpatagamuva; certainly right. The latter form is nearer to the Sinhalese.

⁶ 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 Kammanātha 168
 Añjana 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, pene-
 trate 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 territory¹ 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 de-
 cisions. 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 Vālivāsaraḡāma 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 Balapāsāṇa. Having posted
 there the Laṅkāpura² Kitti and another large army consisting 179

that Mañju 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 Dhanumaṇḍala was a district in Malaya, approximately correspond-
 ing to the present Viyaluva division.

¹ The gen. *vasikatassa thānassa* stands instead of the loc. governed
 by *pavisanti*. Cf. Cūlav. ed. I, Introd. p. XVI.

² W. translates "Kitti and Laṅkāpura". 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 Laṅkāpura was the son of the Laṅkādhinātha Kitti.

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 Dīghavāpi¹.

181 Meanwhile the Ruler of the kingdom, King Parakkamabāhu,
 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
 193 were overwhelmed by showers of the finest nectar, the stead-

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 Dhanumaṇḍala. Hence he now marched eastwards into the Dīghavāpi district. In Mhvs. 75. 3, 4 Balapāsāṇa is likewise associated with Dīghavāpi. Verses 176—180 form one sentence in which the subject *sabbe 'macca* (v. 176) is once more repeated by *sabbe 'macca padhānā ca* (v. 179)

fast one, the superb one bore the splendid Tooth Relic on his head, like to the Moon-bearer¹ 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 spot². 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 Brahmā to the Brahma palace.

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 onward⁴ 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 Śiva who is represented with the crescent moon in the hair above his forehead.

² 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 *dāṭhādhatughara*. 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 Jetavanārāma 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.

⁴ 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. *rā-jadvāramhi* in place of the abl. with *paṭṭhāya* is explained by the influence of the metre. Likewise 75. 72.

canopies¹ tied with garlands of all kinds of flowers in gaily-hued succession. The pillars of the triumphal arches he decked singly with different stuffs and the upper part he provided with rows of umbrellas and whisks², with bunches of all kinds of flowers, with fluttering cloths³ and banners and other costly things fit as votive offerings. The two sides of the street he embellished with fruit-bearing trees, such as sannīras⁴, banana, areka and coco palms and furnished them with vases filled with charming nosegays, with all kinds of banners and pennons, with lamps and incenses and the like, and adorned the road, capable of distinguishing the true from the false way, like the street Sudassana of the lord of the thirty gods⁵. 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 like to (the town) Alakā⁶, the Monarch had a priceless jewel hollowed out and filled with sweet-smelling powder. Here the Increaser of the realm placed the superb Tooth Relic, then 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 placed in a costly golden maṇḍapa that sparkled with the rays of various precious stones, that was wonderful and 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 in a sweet-smelling layer of flowers. Then he capable of maintaining what has been won, made people of the clan of

¹ P. *vitānānaṃ patānake*, lit. "outspreadings of canopies." *Vicitra-vannasamīāne* precedes. The stretching out of the canopies is described by the three derivatives of the root *tan* (with *vi*, *pa* and *saṃ*).

² The whisk, *cāmara*, 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 here. The instrumentals in v. 202 d and 203 are governed by *sajjetvā*.

⁴ Name of the King's cocopalms.

⁵ P. *tidasindassa*. Indra or Śakra is meant. *Tridaśa* 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 Lambakappas with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their hands and other people of noble families place themselves round the maṇḍapa for its protection. Round about the maṇḍapa he placed splendidly attired dancing girls in many hundreds of (other) costly maṇḍapas, each of these being accompanied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like in their hands and by bands of female musicians who were like to the heavenly musicians¹, to do honour with their dance, their song and their music (to the relics). With all kinds of flowers, with incense and various perfumes he filled the town with fragrance² and delighted the crowd of people. With the light of many thousands of lamps he transformed the heavenly regions and the intermediate regions into pure glory. With rows of umbrellas and whisks, with rows of coloured banners and all kinds of pennons he veiled the whole firmament. With 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, with the roll of the great drums and the cries of victory of the bards; with the shouts of acclamation and loud clapping of hands and the jubilant cries (of the people) he filled the regions of the heavens with noise³. The Monarch himself arrayed with all his ornaments, mounted his favourite, beautiful elephant⁴ which was hung with coverings of gold, and sur-

¹ P. *gandhabbā*. The *gandhabbā*, skr. *gandharvāḥ* are semi-divine beings, the heavenly musicians. They are thought of as males, their feminine counterpart are the Apsaras. A feminine *gandhabbā* could only arise in the Pāli stage after the more general meaning "musician (pure and simple)" had been formed for the masculine alongside of the original meaning.

² P. *vāsayitvā* from the denom. *vāsay*. Likewise in Mbvs. 5. 139 "His seat after being perfumed, used to be hung up". My translation of that passage was wrong.

³ P. *sādhukārāninādena*. By the constantly repeated cry of *sādhū* the people are accustomed to give expression to their joy and enthusiasm during festive processions. *Kārento mukharā disā*, lit.: "made the heavens talkative".

⁴ P. *pavaraṇṇā nāgaṇṇā . . . subhaṇṇā*.

225 rounded by many dignitaries, who rode their steeds¹, he
 226 went forth with great pomp² from the splendid town, betook
 himself to the sacred Tooth Relic and to the glorious Bowl
 Relic, revered 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.
 228 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 Māra and Brahmā would be able to hinder
 238 the magnificent festival taken in hand by me? Harbour there-
 fore no fear when ye convey the two relics, but set forth on

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

² P. *ānubhāvena mahacca* seems to be a transposition of *mahacca ānubhāvena*. D. I. 49³², M. II. 118¹⁴ we have *mahacca rājānubhāvena*. Buddhaghosa says (Sumv. I. 148¹⁴) *mahacca rājānubhāvenāti, mahatā ca rājānubhāvena; mahaccā ti pi pāli, mahatiyā ti attho; līṅgavipariyāyo esa*.

³ Verses 198 to 227 form one sentence. The principal verb is *paṭipajji*. The preceding verbs are gerunds or present participles.

⁴ Lit.: A great untimely cloud came up, spreading itself out (v. 231 c d) increasing . . . decorating . . . etc. making the whole firmament veiled in a mass of darkness.

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 ground¹. 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 Laṅkā. Here is merit, here is wisdom, 243 here is pious devotion² to the Tathāgata, 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 Mahāvamsa, 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-mattam* is governed by *pasamaṃ nayaṃ* (pres. part. of *neti*) lit.: bringing to rest, stilling.

² Notice here the expression *bhakti* = 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 *bhakti* 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 *bhakti* occurs again in the same sense in 85. 33 and 121 and in 93. 9, 10 in *Sivabhakti* which is contrasted with the Buddhist faith.

CHAPTER LXXV

THE CONQUEST OF ROHAṆA

1 Now all the dignitaries and leaders set forth with great
 2 forces to occupy the district of Dīghavāpimaṇḍala¹. After
 3 fighting a great battle at the place Savanaviyala and utterly
 4 destroying the stronghold there with its twelve gates, and
 5 after fighting further at the place Gomayagāma, at Chaggāma
 6 and at the stronghold Balapāsāṇa² a severe action and shattering
 7 the hostile army, they halted at the stronghold named
 8 Balapāsāṇa with army and train. Thereupon the dignitaries
 9 and leaders set out thence, fought a sharp combat in the
 10 district of Mālavatthuka, and while fighting at various places
 11 — at Vadthagāmakapāsāṇa, at the village called Mulutta, at
 12 Senaguttagāma, at Bolagāma, at the place Vānaragāma and at
 13 Gallambaṭṭhikagāma great battles in terrible succession, they
 14 marched from all sides against the village of Hintālayanagāma³.

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 a b).

² Balapāsāṇa is already mentioned in 74. 178. It must be assumed either that the place had in the meantime been abandoned by Kittī or that vv. 2, 3 are merely a repetition of 74. 176 ff. CODRINGTON 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 through the district of Dīghavāpī in a concentric direction — hence *samantato* — to Hintālayanagāma. This must be looked for according to 74. 162 near Khīragāma, thus somewhat north of Buttala. In this region the troops of Kittī 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 gāvutas¹, 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 Digha² 10
 vāpimaṇḍala with the intention of (re-)taking the (already)
 captured province³. When the dignitaries in Hintālavanagāma 11
 received exact tidings of this undertaking they sent off many
 soldiers. These covered in two nights a tract of ground of 12
 twenty gāvutas³, fought a great battle, cut down the foe and 13
 so terrified them that they gave up trying to renew the con-
 test. 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 Ādipādapunnāgakhapḍa were standing in the district
 of Guttasālā — a great battle and after likewise fighting at
 Corambagāma, further at the village of Mūlānagāma and at 16
 Kuddālamaṇḍala 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 Uladā, at the 18
 village named Vāluka and after fighting an action at Huyala-
 gāma, they halted, slaying many enemies⁵.

¹ Over six miles. See note on 73. 154.

² Thus the revolt breaks out again in the rear and the flank of the army. The pacification of the Dighavāpi district had not been successful.

³ More than 40 miles.

⁴ I. e. to the headquarters at Hintālagāma.

⁵ One must not be misled by the accounts 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 raṇa*) 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 relics was certainly an important moral success. But the main object of the whole enterprise, as it is alleged in 74. 40 ff. was not

- 19 Now to make the town Mahānāgahula which had been
 inhabited by former kings, a royal capital¹ by the Great King
 20 were sent forth the Damiḷādhikārin 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 Pañcayojana, 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 Gimhatittha, 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 spot².
 25 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 Dakkhiṇadesa 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 Rohaṇa. But perhaps we have to do with an old corruption of the text? Note that the pāda *tato kātuṃ rājadhāniṃ* is immediately repeated in 22 c.

² 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 Dakkhiṇadesa 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 Dakkhiṇadesa as which we may regard the Kaluganga, without encountering resistance. The rebels who were about to fortify Gimhatittha as a residence for Sugala 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 Jambudīpa. Even the Lord 27 of men Gajabāhu and the Ruler Mānābharāṇa, these two lion-like 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 Gālu river¹ 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 Mahāvālukagāma². The Chief of the 37 chamberlains Rakkha gave his army time to breathe; then he marched farther in order to fight the foe at Mahāvālukagāma. He shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield (bloody) 38 as the world of the Nāgas³ when afflicted by the Garuḷas³.

¹ W. is probably right in identifying the Gāluṇadī 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 *gāluṛajjumukhadvāram*.

² 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.

³ P. *garuḷa* 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 Viṣṇu's

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 Vālukagāma, 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 Mānakapitṭhi, at the ford called Nilavāla and at the village
 49 named Kadalipatta². He remained victor at all these places
 50 and received graciously all who came to him. Now all the

stead. 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 (12th c.) a not unimportant trading-centre, thanks probably to the spacious and sheltered bay on which it lies.

² 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 Matara which last we recognise in Nilavālatittha, 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 Kammāragāma and Nilavālatittha.

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 them-
selves 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 Dānavas¹
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 ocean² in the combat between
Rāma and Rāvaṇa. They caused the swift river to flow with 60
flesh and blood and set forth with strong forces to take Dīghālī³.
The warriors marched thither and rooted out the host of their 61
foes as elephants a banana grove into which they have broken.

¹ 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 amṛta conquer the demons who then withdraw below the ground and into the sea. Cf. JACOBSON, *Epic Mythology*, p. 48; H. JACOB, *Mahābhārata*, p. 5.

² Refers to the battle described in the Rāmāyaṇa VI. 24.

³ It is not easy to establish the locality of these battles. It is clear that Mahākhetta (v.50) and Dīghālī 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 Dīghālī 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 Suvannamalaya¹ and began the combat anew.
 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 Mālāvaratthalī; 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 him-
 self to Mālāvaratthalī².

69 The war-skilled Damiḍādhikārin Rakkha by name, betook
 70 himself at the head of a strong force to Doṇivagga³. When

¹ 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.

² 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 Kañcukināyaka 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.

³ We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Doṇivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimhatittha or very soon after. Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohaṇa, from the west and the north-west. Doṇivagga 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 particularly suited for the gathering of an army.

the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true tidings of the situation to the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who was in the town called Mahānāgahula and sent an urgent message to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading from Dopivagga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let us hinder the (direct) passage into our province from there at the difficult places¹, and with great fury they set about beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of the enemy, to strike a decisive blow² and in his lust for fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesadhātu Loka and the Saṅkhanāyaka Nātha by name and other officers. These fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at the place Guralatṭhakalañcha. Now the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha again sent forth his great army to take away this place also³.

¹ 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 CODRINGTON 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. Kālagiribhaṇḍa 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 (*raṭṭhapavesana*). 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.

² P. *mukhabhaṅga*, see note to 63. 30.

³ The name Guralatṭhakalañcha 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 *Garulatṭhakalañcha* as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.

79 The brave warriors arose, broke through many entrenchments,
 even broke through the main fortifications which were provid-
 80 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.

83 Now in order to protect the enemy whom the king's
 majesty had turned to ashes, by the application of kindness,
 84 even as a cloud (shelters) the forest set on fire by the glow
 of the summer sun, the prudent Damiḷādhikārin returned to
 85 Doṇivagga¹. He appointed to every district that he had
 captured, the appropriate people, took those who had sub-
 mitted to his dominion² under his dominion and purged this
 86 district also³. The enemy who after throwing up entrench-
 ments, had taken up their position at Pūgadaṇḍakaāvāṭa⁴,
 87 renewed the fight with strong forces. The Damiḷādhikārin,
 well skilled in the game of war, thereupon sent thither also
 88 many soldiers with their officers. The brave warriors went
 forth and with the rain of arrows which they let rain⁵, with
 89 the rattle of the drums and the clash of swords they were
 like to the flashing march of a storm cloud⁶ that appears out

¹ The fact that Rakkha returns to Doṇivagga and that now like his namesake, (75. 41 ff.) 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 Maḥānāgahula, has not succeeded, the advance has been checked at a certain place.

² I should expect *vase yante* rather than *vase honte* (cf. 77. 10 and note).

³ Probably Doṇivagga. It is to be assumed that the revolt broke out also in Rakkha's rear.

⁴ 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 Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa becomes Rakkha's headquarters (cf. 75. 143).

⁵ P. *vassitā* is instr. sg. for *vassitena*; 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 91 place called Tambagāma 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 92 (the place), through the sound of their war drums challenging the foe to fight. But when the rebels heard the clatter of the 93 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 Pū- 95 gadandāvāṭa². The Damiḷādhikārin 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 Bodhiāvāṭa, at Bhinnāla- 97 vanagāma³ and at Atarandāmahābodhikkhandha numbers of the enemy, fought also a night action and returned thence.

Now the Damiḷādhikārin marched at the head of strong 98 forces to the place called Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa⁴. Without 99

¹ P. *vīrasa-assaḍā*. Again an allusion to the Indian rasa doctrine. See note to 72. 94.

² 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.)

³ 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.

⁴ In this name are combined two neighbouring places, Sūkarāli and Bheripāsāṇa. The first is the present Urubokka, the second Beralapanatara. We owe these identifications to CODRINGTON. I had them also from the principal of the Dharmasālaya in Ratnapura, URAPOLA RATANAJOTI, 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 hostile, had hidden themselves here and there, to their district as before. And after he had placed the proper officials in the district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome, strong army and reached the village named Sīmātalatthali¹. Now the many rebels lurking in various places², summoned hither the army of the inhabitants of the country. Thus in possession of large forces, they then also summoned the Laṅkā-pura Rakkha whom they had themselves made commander-in-chief and who at the head of many hundreds of warriors 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 assumed 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 Bulutota road from the south (Deniyaya). It is here that the footpath now runs which joins Rakvana with Deniyaya. CODRINGTON's comparison of the Mahābodhikkhanda 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.

¹ 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.

² 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 Nadibhaṇḍagāma¹. When the Damiḷādhi- 105
 kārīn 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 Mahāsenagāma² 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 Damiḷādhikārīn, the mighty one, won 112
 the head of the Laṅkāpura 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 shores³. The 114
 battlefield there was full of crows, vultures and the like, but
 the Damiḷādhikārīn 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 Mahānā-
 gāhula⁴.

Now the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha marched forth 116
 from Mālavaratthalī⁵ and betook himself in haste to the town

¹ CODRINGTON has recognised this in the present Obada (Sinh. *ō*, *oya* is always rendered by *nadī*). 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 Uru-bokka-oya.

² We may assume that the place where the decisive battle took place was not far from Obada.

³ The rebels dispersed as the surf of the sea disperses on the shore.

⁴ In this section the MSS. give the name as *Mahānāgakula*, otherwise *-hula* or *-sula*.

⁵ See above v. 68.

117 Mahānāgahula. He sought out the Damiḷādhikārin 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 Mahānāgahula, yet still there are many foes left
 119 alive. These robbed of all resources, have withdrawn to
 Khaṇḍavagga. 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 spot¹, 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 them-
 selves to Khaṇḍavagga, stirred up the inhabitants of the
 123 district with the wish to renew the war. They gathered
 themselves all together at the place called Khaṇḍavagga. The
 124 Damiḷādhikārin thought that now was the right time for the
 contest, he advanced from the town of Mahānāgahula and began
 125 a fearful battle in Bakagalla²-Uddhavāpi. The skilful (general)
 beat them all and then returned. Several of the enemy came
 126 hereupon to Saṃghabhedakagāma; but the general Sūkara-
 bhātudeva took his soldiers and came thirsting for the fight to

¹ The word *ettha* here is curious, especially in conjunction with *tatth' eva* 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.

² CODRINGTON successfully identifies Bakagalla with the present Kog-gala (sinh. *koka* "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—140) are only so many attempts on Mahānāgahula. Though in single skirmishes Parakkama's troops are victorious, no lasting success is achieved.

Mahāgāma¹. Now the Damiḷādhikārin himself called his soldiers together and sent them first to Saṃghabhedakagāma. The 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 town of Mahānāgahula and held there in fitting manner high festival. But in order also to get the general (Sūkarabhātu) into his power, the Damiḷādhikārin sent off the Laṅkāpura Deva and many other soldiers to fight against him. They betook themselves to the battlefield and with arrows sent unceasingly covering the whole heaven and raising their thundering² battle-cry they dashed forward to the battlefield, slew the general and shattered the foe. Then these brave warriors too came to Mahāgāma³ with the sound of their victorious drums making joyful the Damiḷādhikārin. Thereupon an elder brother of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who had seized the leadership of the army, gathered together the many foes whom death had spared and marched for a combat such a rebels fight⁴, to the town of Mahānāgahula⁵. The Damiḷādhikārin now also sent soldiers thither, they shattered him after slaying many of the enemy. The shattered soldiers came to a place called Kuravakagalla. The Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha marched from the town Mahānāgahula, shattered them all and returned. Now there came together from all sides to Mahāgāma the Lokagalla Vikkama by name and many other foes in order to fight with the Mūlapotthakin Māna. But in this fight

¹ For Sūkarabhātudeva see 74. 127ff. Where Saṃghabhedakagāma lies is uncertain. Mahāgāma is doubtless Magama in the territory of Tissamahārāma.

² 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.

³ 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?

⁴ P. *corayuddhāya*, corresponding more or less to our guerilla warfare.

⁵ Cf. above note to v. 133.

along with the life of the foe the Mūlapotthakin Māna by name speedily won the victory.

- 141 Now the Damiḷādhikārin took counsel with the dignitaries:
 "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 them¹." With that the prudent one, the
 144 highly-famed returned to Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa. But the rebels who
 had not seen through his plan, streamed together from every-
 where out of the wilderness into the middle of the province.
 145 When the Damiḷādhikārin 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 Bodhiāvāṭaka, as well as
 with the foe everywhere else — at the place called Sūkarālibheri-
 147 pāsāṇa and at the stronghold called Madhutthala — great battles
 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-

¹ In consideration of the sequel I should assume that *cajitrāna* is subordinate to the principal verb *hanissāma* rather than to the part. *nilīnesu*. Rakkha's plan is clear and proves successful. By *raṭṭhamajjha* is meant the agricultural country on the right bank of the Valayeganga 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 for Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa (cf. above v. 86, 95). This explains also why in the following combats with the rebels we are in fact taken in by Rakkha's manoeuvre, the former names Bodhiāvāṭa (v. 97) and Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa (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 *raṭṭhamajjha* into which he finally penetrates to annihilate the enemy.

ing in Huyalagāma and marched to Kumbugāma¹. Thereupon the general stationed in Huyalagāma, by name Mañju, and the two generals called Kitti and Bhūta came surrounded by numbers of heroic officers, to the same place, holding high festival of joy. The general by name Mañju², hereupon, showing honour to the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha, spoke the following words: "So long as the many foes which have broken away from your country and are hidden in the various inaccessible places have not got a footing, let us slay them all, while the enemy who has sought refuge in the wilderness of Aṭṭhasahassaka and the Queen Sugalā we will take captive³. But if the many foes who sojourn in the wilderness are hard for you to overcome, we shall send off soldiers." The Damiḷādhikārin agreed with these words. He advanced in haste with his army into the region of the Vananadī⁴ and soon came near to the foe who in order to reach the mountain wilderness, had speedily betaken themselves to Mālāvaratthali. When they heard that Rakkha was on the march⁵, 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.

³ Aṭṭhasahassaka (cf. note to 61. 24) is the territory east of the Valaveganga. Thus Mañju and his generals undertake the operations in eastern Rohaṇa, Rakkha those in the western part of the province.

⁴ There is scarcely a doubt that with Vananadī is meant the Valaveganga. The ger. *pavessa* must be = *pavissa*. A causative form is impossible since the object belonging to it is wanting. *Sahasenayā* 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 Rohaṇa, Rakkha marches from Kumbugāma down the Vananadī. His plan succeeds. The rebels turn westward by way of Mālāvaratthali (see note to v. 66) to the mountains of Dvādasa-sahassaka, the present district of Giruva (note to 61. 22).

⁵ That is in further pursuit of them.

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

167 All the chief dignitaries¹ in Kumbugāma reflected (thus):
 168 "From the time that we set forth to war in Rohaṇa the sol-
 169 diers sent forth by us have here and there in great battles
 170 covered the earth with the bones of the foe, and even all the
 171 brave warriors who dwell in Jambudīpa would not be able to
 172 withstand these soldiers. Why then should we henceforward
 173 think to carry on war with the foe hidden here and there
 174 through fear? Queen Sugalā is the cause of these people
 175 becoming rebels and has led them into the wilderness². There-
 176 fore we must get the Queen alive into our power." With such
 177 resolve the discerning (generals) marched from Kumbugāma
 178 and came to Haritakivāta. After they had there in various
 179 places posted good soldiers, known as courageous people, in
 180 the necessary numbers, they advanced thence fully armed to
 181 Kaphavāṭa and when at the place called Vanagāma, they

¹ The narrative now deals with the operations in eastern Rohaṇa which we may imagine as taking place simultaneously with the events related in vv. 156—166.

² Owing to the presence of the obj. *te* the part. pres. *pavisanti* must be taken in a causative sense (see Cūlav. ed. I, Introduction p. XIV).

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 kind¹. 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 Rohaṇa everywhere free from the briars (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 Laṅkāpuras by name Taddhigāma and Pabbata, 180 had escaped out of the hand of the foe² and were in flight tortured by fear. But the two brothers, the generals³ and 181 the Laṅkāpura known by the name of Kaḍakkuḍa, as well as many other officers with their soldiers, having reached Ud- 182 dhanadvāragāma⁴, shattered them in a great battle and then reached Nigrodhamāragalla⁵. Hereupon the great dignitaries 183 with their officers pursued the enemy, sent the head of the Phālakāla to the highest dignitaries⁶, captured the Laṅkāpura 184

¹ The place where the capture of Sugala took place is not yet determined. The name Valgama or Valagama to which the P. *Vana-gāma* 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.

² The enemies from whom Phālakāla and the others had escaped were of course the troops of Parakkamabāhu.

³ For the *dve bhātaro daṇḍanāthā* see note to 70. 279. They are mentioned here for the last time.

⁴ See note to 61. 16. Uddhanadvāragāma was the capital of eastern Rohaṇa (Aṭṭhasahassaka).

⁵ Verses 179—182 form one sentence. The subjects are in v. 181. The principal verb is *upāgamuṃ* 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.

⁶ That is Mañju together with Bhūta and Kittī who had not personally taken part in the pursuit of the Phālakālas.

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

185 Thereupon the clever Adhikārin Mañju² made the following
 186 proposal: "From the time when we began to conquer this
 186 Rohaṇa we have never — apart from³ the boundless terror-
 inspiring 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 im-
 paled 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 sur-
 passed, 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.

194 When the Ruler of men Parakkama heard tidings of these
 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 Adhikārin
 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-

¹ I prefer to join the two *pādas karimsu* as far as *sapattake* with v. 184 instead of with v. 185. *Sabbaṃ* is to be taken in an adverbial sense as emphasising *sabbathā*.

² See note to 74. 129.

³ I take the ger. *hitrāna* in this sense in this passage.

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 Rohaṇa 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 majesty¹, more powerful than a forest conflagration, of keen understanding, together with his heroes made Rohaṇa free from the briers of the foe.

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

¹ 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-atibhīma-tejo*.

Chapter LXXVI

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF RĀJINĀ

- 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 Rohaṇa and stirred up by an all too foolhardy vil-
 lain¹, 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
 Rohaṇa from the briers (of the rebels).
- 7 In the sixteenth year of this King of kings, in the pro-
 8 vince immediately bordering on Mahātitttha² several people
 dwelling in that province, who were near the end of their
 life³, 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.
- 10 Between the countries of Laṅkā and Rāmaṇṇa⁵ there had
 never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people

¹ I incline to take *kenapī pāpakammena* as referring to a person, *pāpakamma* thus to be taken like the skr. *pāpakarman* (cf. BR. s. v. as a bahuvrīhi compound).

² See note to 48. 81.

³ The fate to which they are doomed tempts them to the foolish revolt.

⁴ Better (*vara*) than subjection to Parakkamabāhu's dominion.

⁵ That is Pegu in Lower Burma.

who held the true faith. The rulers of the island of Laṅkā 11 and the monarchs of Rāmañña 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 feeling² 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 Laṅkā 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 countries³ 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 nikkhalas⁴ must (henceforth) be 19 sold for two or three thousand⁵. He also did away with the 20 age-old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts⁶ were conveyed. When he caught sight of a letter 21

¹ P. *paramasogata*. Cf. skr. *saugata* from *sugata*, a frequent name of the Buddha which designates him as the guide on the path of salvation. R. O. FRANKE in his translation of the Dīghanikāya renders *sugata* by "he who completes the path".

² *Daḥhasamrūḥavissambhā* and *sahitā* are attributes of *bhūpālā*, and the instr. *cittena hitā* (this last for *hitena*) belongs to *sahitā*.

³ We see thus that Burma in the Middle Ages traded in elephants with foreign countries.

⁴ An unknown coin. The word is without doubt connected with the P. *nikkha* or *nekkha* = skr. *niṣka* which likewise denotes a weight and a coin.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Evidently from foreign sovereigns, in the first place the king of Laṅkā 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 Kamboja¹, or saying something
 of that kind, had the envoys of the Sovereign of Laṅkā after
 taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a
 23 fortress in the Malaya country². And although he learned
 exactly how his own envoy Tapassin by name, had had every
 24 distinction conferred on him by the Ruler of Laṅkā, he ne-
 vertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away
 from the envoys of the Monarch of Laṅkā: 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 Sīhala
 29 country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writ-
 ing 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
 31 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.

¹ Name of Western Siam.

² Malaya denotes as in Ceylon and in Southern India (see 76. 195)
 the mountainous regions of the country.

³ In the original direct discourse: "if ... are sent here ... in case
 ye slay ... no blame will attach to you".

⁴ The passage is doubtful. I believe that *sa-ratṭha-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 Laṅkā. W's translation fails because it assumes *āgama*
 instead of *anāgama*.

Vāgissara and the scholar Dhammakitti¹ 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 Laṅkā had sent in order to buy elephants, with the 34 promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver money², but he told merely lies and gave them nothing. Further they seized by force a princess whom the Ruler of 35 Laṅkā had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these many insults 36 committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest indignation: "Where in the whole of Jambudipa 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 Arimaddana³ must be effected." Hereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public 39 accounts, the Damiḷādhikārin by name Ādicca, with clasped hands — he wished himself to undertake the enterprise — to 40 the King thus: "It is not necessary to entrust⁴ 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

¹ 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.

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

³ For this capital of Burma see M. BODE, *Sāsanaṃsa*, Dissertation, p. 20 and passim.

⁴ P. *yajetvālam* stands for *yajetu(m) alam*.

coast was one great workshop fully occupied with the building of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste at the port of Pallavavaṅka. Then endowed with vast royal power¹, he had provisions supplied² for a whole year such as rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour and the like; further *gokaṇṇaka* arrows³ of iron with sharp points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women — everything in complete fashion⁴. After he versed as none other in the right measures, had made a strong force — numbering many hundreds of thousands — embark, the Ruler sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms and filled with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage of ships all at the same time⁵ sailed forth in the midst of the ocean it looked like a swimming island. Subdued by adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had embarked in one of the vessels landed on the Crows' island⁶. They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants

¹ P. *maḥārājiddhisamyuto* in v. 52 d.

² P. *paṭipādesi* in v. 52 c.

³ *Gokaṇṇa* in Skr. also means a particular type of arrow. The elephants (*vāraṇa*) against which they are to serve as defence (*vāraṇa*) are of course the war elephants of the enemy. The MSS. are more favorable to the form of the word *gokaṇṇaka* which might easily be a synonym for *gokaṇṇaka*.

⁴ *Anūnaṃ* is associated as adverb with *paṭipādesi* and refers to everything that has gone before.

⁵ So I understand the P. *samaṃ*.

⁶ P. *Kākadīpa*. Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands?

of the island alive, brought them then to the King of Laikā and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Rāmañña in the port called Kusumi¹. These doughty soldiers with the Nagaragiri Kitti at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Rāmañña country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many 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 Damiḷādhikārin Ādicca commanded, landed in the territory (of Rāmañña) at the port of Papphālama, and while at once the people with the Damiḷādhikārin at the head, fought a gruesome, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many people living in the country, they plunged the Rāmañña kingdom into sore confusion. Thereupon the Sihalas with terrible courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the Monarch of the Ramaṇas. When they had subdued the Ramaṇas 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 side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Laikā³.

¹ Evidently the Kusima(tittha) frequently mentioned in the Sāsana-vam̐sa.

² Probably Ādicca and Kitti are meant.

³ The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken their country. The description in the Mahā-vam̐sa 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 Kegalla District, ASC. 1892, p. 73 ff). According to this inscription — one of Parakkamabāhu I. — the war against Aramaṇa was determined on in the 12th year of the King's reign. The reigning king of Aramaṇa 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

69 Then overwhelmed by fear the people in the Rāmañña
land, seeing no other protection, gathered together and held
70 counsel. With the instructions: "Year by year must we from
now onwards send elephants to any amount as tribute from
71 our property — in order that the Monarch of Laṅkā may not
72 lay on us intolerable (burdens), ye must influence him¹ 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 community² dwelling in the island of Laṅkā.
74 Through the friendly words of the community living in the
three fraternities, the Ruler of Laṅkā was moved to kindness,
75 and while the Ramaṇas sent him yearly numbers of elephants,
they made anew with the Laṅkā Ruler who kept his treaties
faithfully, a pact of friendship.

76 Now the Paṇḍu king by name Parakkama, in the town of
Madhurā³, 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 Laṅkā 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 Damiḷādhikārin Ādiṣṭa is not mentioned. He appears to have died soon after the campaign, as he does not occur again in the Cūlavam̐sa.

¹ Thus I translate the phrase *anusāsaniṃ vad*.

² The sense of the passage is on the whole clear. The Ramaṇas 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 *ucchiddaṃ*, *amhākaṃ*, . . . *īdisaṃ* 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 (*bhādantehi*), in that ye persuade (*vadantehi tassa anusāsaniṃ*) the King that he does not have done (to us) (*kāretī*) what is heavy to be borne."

³ For the South Indian people called Paṇḍu 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 Laṅkā heard their speech, he spake thus: "If the distress of him who has placed himself under my protection be not removed, how would my name of Parakkamabāhu¹ be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard 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 Laṅkāpura, slay Kulasekhara, establish the Paṇḍu king in his realm and then return." The general by name Laṅkāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of war, a forest fire for the wide(-spreading) wilderness of the foe, received with the words "Be it so!" the King's command like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many war-skilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible in battle and came to Mahātittha.

King Kulasekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Paṇḍu king with his wife and children and captured the town Madhurā by name. Laṅkāpura received from the Great king who had heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom and make it over to a scion of the house of Parakkama³. He set forth for the port Talaḍilla⁴ by name on the opposite coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of

¹ The name means "arm of courage, possessed of courageous arms". Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Southern India is confirmed by Coḷa inscriptions (Inscr. of Arpakkam near Kāñci) according to which the result for the Siḥala 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 Kulottuṅga in Indian inscriptions (EI. VII, p. 170 ff.).

² 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".

³ Instead of the names Laṅkāpura and Parakkama the original has pronouns.

⁴ The MSS. have all *Talaḍilla* or *Talaṇḍilla*, in v. 92 only the first form. The Col. Ed. reads *Talabbilla* with the variant *Talavilla*, 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
 water¹ 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 Damiḷas 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 Paṇḍu kingdom at the port called Ta-
 93 laḍilla. After putting to flight the Damiḷas 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, Vaḍa-
 valattirukka-nāḍālvāra³, Kuṇḍayamutta-rāyara, Villava-rāyara⁴,
 95 Aṅcukoṭṭa-nāḍālvāra and Narasīhadeva by name, advanced to
 96 fight⁵, he fought also with these, slew many Damiḷas, 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 saṁnivattanabhāvato*. The meaning is this. The coast was so flat that the ships could not lie close to the shore. They had to turn (*saṁ-ni-vatti*) at some distance in deep water (*agādhe*) and embark the troops in boats (see the following note).

² P. *ekadoṇṇācā*. *Doṇṇi* must be taken here in the sense of a particular measure of volume, otherwise *eka* would be unintelligible. Skr. *droṇi* means "boat" as also a measure of volume.

³ According to O. SCHRADER (private letter 22 XII 23) *nāḍālvāra* is derived from the popular Dravidian *nāḍu* "land, district" and *āl* "man" (Canarese *ālu* "soldier"). A Nāḍālvāra would thus be the leader of the troops of a particular district.

⁴ *Rāyara* is a title which according to O. SCHRADER, corresponds to skr. *rājānaḥ*. Canarese *rāyaru*.

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

⁶ Skr. *Rāmeśvara*, 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 (15th to 16th cent).

five combats and after fighting nine battles¹ he fought² in the tenth against the six officers Silāmegha, Naratūṅgabhrahma- 98 mahārāja, Ilaṅkiya-rāyara, Aṅcukoṭṭa-rāyara, Phaludhiya-rāyara 99 by name and him called Panasiyarāja³, 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 Damiḷas 101 and penetrated from Rāmissara a distance of four gāvutas⁵ to Kundukāla which lies between the two seas. The many 102 Damiḷas 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 Laṅkā who 103 thought to have all the cetiyas formerly destroyed by the Damiḷas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Laṅkā and the 104 work of restoration begun on the Ratanavāluka-cetiya⁶. The 105 Sovereign of Laṅkā had the thūpa which had been destroyed by the Damiḷas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate the festival of the crowning ornament⁷, he betook himself 106 with his ministers and the court to Anurādhapura and assembled

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

² The verb governing the accusative in vv. 99–100 is *yuddham katva* in v. 100 c which is treated as in 38. 36, as a transitive verb.

³ In the Col. Ed. the names *Naratūṅgabhrahmamahārājahayo* in 98 and *Panasiyarājahayo* are changed contrary to all the MSS. into *Naratūṅgabhrahmahā rāyarahayo* and *Paṇasiyarāyarahayo*. Apparently the editors wanted to avoid the wrong close of the verse °*rājahayo*, but in v. 95 we have just as wrong a °*devahayo* which is not corrected in Col. Ed. Mentioned again later are Silāmegha(ra) 76. 238, 299; 77. 90 and Ilaṅkiya 76. 191 f. For Aṅcukoṭṭa see above.

⁴ The organization of the Damiḷa army evidently differed materially from that of the Sihalas in the greater number of its cavalry. 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 *Ruvanvāli*. It is used here for the first time. The allied designation *Hemavālukacetiya* occurs already in 51. 82.

⁷ *P. thūpikāma*. 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 Laṅkā. He provided the community with the four articles of use and when the fourteenth day¹ 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 palace². In divine beauty he was adorned with costly ornaments, with crown, necklace³, 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 him⁴, 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 reverence⁵ to the cetiya 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 completely bewitched the eyes of the laity⁶ and with the beams of

¹ That is the full-moon day.

² 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.

³ P. *mālā* means like skr. *mālā* also necklace, neck-chain.

⁴ In v. 110 and 111 *purakkhato* and *avito* are in opposition.

⁵ W. seems not to have taken account of the feminine form *pūjentihi*. It proves that the part. must be referred to *hatthiassaghaṭāhi*. It is thus the elephants and the horses not "worshippers" who wore the lamps. These were probably fastened to the bodies of the animals (*sabbaṅgadīpa*) by means of ribbons or by a framework.

⁶ Of "tears of joy" there is nothing in the text; *haramharam* is a duplication of intensity.

the golden utensils, chests, banners, vessels, fans, jars and the like he steeped the place in radiant glory¹. Thus on he came 115 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 coral². The King then had the 118 golden point placed on the thūpa and showed the world there-with 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 (Laṅkāpura) 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 long³ and twelve gate towers, and a 123 building with a hall square⁴ and three trenches in such a way that the waters flowed from ocean to ocean⁵. While he tarried 124 in this stronghold he subdued officers like Kaṇṇakūḍiyarāja⁶ by name, Coḷagaṅga and others. Since in this way the power 125 of the Sihalas waxed from day to day, King Kulasekhara sent again Sundarapaṇḍurāja⁷ and Paṇḍurāja by name and 126

¹ P. *piñjaraṃ karaṃ* "making ruddy, light-coloured".

² P. *parāḷavedikāya*. 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.

³ As *ratana* means the same as *hattha* (see 37. 172) that is roughly about 1½ ft. thus the wall was 3600 ft. in extent.

⁴ See note to 73. 23. Here there were evidently as W. supposes, barracks for the soldiers.

⁵ 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 parikhātayaṃ* and *yathā* (*gacchanti*) refers to *tathā*.

⁶ We have to read here and in v. 130 *So Kaṇṇakūḍiya*^o; so refers each time to Laṅkāpura. Cf. note to 76. 170,

⁷ Is mentioned again 76. 174.

127 many other officers with troops to drive them thence. Laṅkā-
 128 pura fought with them three combats, put them to flight and
 took the village called Carukkaṭṭa. And he set out from there
 and fought with these same officers as well as with the Damiḷa
 129 Ālavandapperūmāla¹ a great battle, carried away the victory
 and captured the villages by name Koḷuvura and Maruthūpa.
 130 In the district Kaṇcakuḍiya and in the district named Koḷūru
 131 the general subdued the soldiers called Maravara². In the
 district of Viragaṅga the mighty (general) plundered many vil-
 lages and market towns such as Kuṇappunallura and others,
 132 and after subduing the powerful officer called Mālava-rāyara³
 and thousands of Damiḷas, 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 pay⁴. On
 the march thither he gave battle to Ālavanda who had his
 position at the village called Vaḍali and slew him.

135 Since now the powerful king Kulasekhara — who possess-
 ed 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. Mālava-cakkavattin, Mālava-rāyara by name, Pa-
 138 rittikkunḍiyāra⁵ and Tonḍamānārāya by name; Tuvarādhipati-

¹ Is mentioned again 76. 131, 145, 223, 232.

² 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.

³ Cf. below in v. 137 *Mālava-cakkavattin* and *Mālava-rāyara*. The first name again in 76. 235, 265, 274, 284; 77. 27, the second 76. 210, 267 f. *Mālava* is the name of a tribe. See *Epigraphia Indica* VII, Appendix, nr. 10, 64, 409.

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

⁵ For *Mālava* see note to 76. 132. *Parittikkunḍiyāra* is again mention-

veḷāra, Virapperaya-rāyara, Senkuṇḍiya-rāyara and Nigaladha-
 rāyara by name, Karummalatta-rāyara and Nakula-rāyara, 139
 Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra and Karamba-rāyara by name, Kuṇḍiyūru 140
 and Athalayūru-nāḍālvāra¹ by name, Kaṅgayara, the two
 Viragaṅgas, Muva-rāyara, Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāra, the three Maṇṇa- 141
 ya-rāyaras, Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍālvāra and Keralasihamuttara —
 these and other officers, as well as those named above he 142
 took with him, further the remaining troops in the province
 of the Paṇḍu King Parakkama, the whole forces of his mother's 143
 brothers in the two Koṅgu districts and the whole of his own
 forces in the kingdom of Tiriṇaveli². Also Niccavinodavāṇava- 144
 rāyara³, Paṭṭi-rāyara, Taṅkuttara-rāyara and Tompiya-rāyara
 by name, Ālavandapperūmāla, him called Coḷakonāra as well 145
 as Tāṅgipperūmāla and Aḷakhiya-rāyara by name, him called 146
 Mānābharapaṃmahārāja, Avandiya-rāyara, Muṇayadha⁴-rāyara
 by name and the Damiḷa Viṭṭāra: 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,
 Toṇḍamānārāya occurs again in 76. 315, 77. 1 ff., Tuvarādhpati again in
 76. 315, 77. 67; Virapperaya again in 76. 316, 77. 6 f., Senkuṇḍiya 76. 221,
 77. 7, 35; Nigaladha again 77. 16 ff.; Karummalatta again 76. 216; Puṅ-
 koṇḍa again 76. 240, 273 ff., 77. 57, 92; Athalayūru again 76. 260. 77. 27;
 Kaṅgayara again 76. 260, 316, 77. 15; Viragaṅga again 76. 131, 179 ff.;
 Muva again 76. 216; Aḷattūru again 76. 184, 214 ff., 305; Maṇṇaya again
 77. 7, 35 (cf. note to 76. 220); Kaḷavaṇḍiya again 76. 267, 316, 77. 10 ff.;
 Keralasihamuttara again 77. 7. Nakula, Karamba and Kuṇḍiyūru do not
 occur again.

¹ The Col. Ed. has contrary to the MSS. *Ṡha'aṇḍūru*.

² Now Tinneveli, the district filling out the extreme south-east
 corner of the Indian peninsula. The correct form of the name is
 Tirunelveli. See Imp. Gazetteer of India s. v.; W.'s note to the passage.
 The two Koṅgu districts are according to 76. 288, Teṅkoṅgu and
 Vaḷakoṅgu.

³ Of the officers named here Niccavinodavāṇava occurs again in 77. 76.
 For Ālavandapperūmāla see note to 76. 128; a Coḷakonāra is mentioned
 again 76. 163, 181, 188, 77. 77, 86. Tāṅgipperūmāla 76. 190; Muṇayadha
 77. 40. The other names are only mentioned here

⁴ Again the Col. Ed. changes the name, contrary to the MSS. into
 Mundiya.

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 Rāmissara take place!" Letting such lion-like cry sound
 forth, he occupied a strong encampment at the village of Erukāṭṭa
 150 and Iḍaḡaḷissara. Now in order to destroy the strong encamp-
 ment 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 dif-
 ferent sides began the fight it was as if two seas overflowed their
 152 shores. Laṅkāpura 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 Daṁiḷas suffered fight-
 ing 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. Laṅkā-
 pura 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 Daṁiḷas¹, took away their horses, gained
 the victory and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurum-
 158 bāḍṇanakāḷi. 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
 troops³ whom he cherished as his life, marched hither himself
 160 and opened fight awaking terror among the foe. With thou-
 sands 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 brellas⁴, with the flowing of the streams⁵, namely the arrows,

¹ Of course we must read *Damile 'neke*.

² Loc. abs. It must be supplemented by *tena*. "When by him (Laṅkāpura) was begun the building of a strong encampment."

³ P. *sārabhūtaṃ mahāsenam*. By *sāra* is meant the duramen (heart-wood) of a tree.

⁴ The white umbrellas are the badges of the officers.

⁵ P. *āpagānīpātena*. What is meant are the streams flowing into

with the clamorous din, namely the drums, the whole battle-field was terror-striking like the ocean. When thus the great battle was fought, the Sihalas endowed with great courage, stilled the twitching in their arms¹. They slew Villava-rāyara by name and Coḷakonāra and the mighty officer, Yādhava-rāyara, many hundreds of soldiers and officers of the king; also they wounded the horse on which King Kulasekhara was riding. Kulasekhara with his army turned to flee in order therewith to give the Sihalas, as it were, occasion for yet more furious sword strokes. When in fight he fled, he not only surrendered his courage but also his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments and all else. Laṅkāpura marched to the fortress called Erukkāvūra where his enemy King Kulasekhara had resided, burned it down and then after erecting a new stronghold, Laṅkāpura³ tarried there some time. Then he set forth and marched to Vaḍali⁴. Thence he advanced farther and hereupon took Deviyāpattana by force. Then he betook himself to Siriyavala and after completely vanquishing in bitter combat the well-armed Khuddakaṇṇakunḍa-rāyara⁵ commanding the stronghold named Koḷuvukkoṭṭa, he put to flight in battle numbers of dignitaries of King Kulasekhara, captured also 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 poetries.

¹ They had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for fighting.

² The first two names occur already in 76. 94, 145, but are also mentioned again later on (Villava 76. 173, 185; a Coḷakonāra 76. 173, 181 and 188, 77. 77 and 86, also a Yādhava 76. 173, 177). Cf. note to 76. 180. Yādhava is a South Indian clan name. See EI. vii. Appendix, nr. 331, 332, 334 etc.

³ All the MSS. have here *laṅkāvidū* which should be adopted on principle in the text. W. supposes it might be a corruption of *kālavidū*. Not impossible.

⁴ See above note to v. 133.

⁵ The same as *Cullakaṇṇakunḍa* "the small Kaṇṇakunḍa" in 76. 185 ff. 217 ff. The name is most closely connected with that of the district *Kaṇṇakunḍiya* 76. 130, this again with the proper name *Kaṇṇakunḍiyarāja*, 76. 124.

173 the *Damiḷa Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra*¹ dwelling in *Koḷuvukkoṭṭa* who was
 of terrible courage, with both *Coḷakonāras*, with the officer
 174 *Yādhava-rāyara* and with *Villava-rāyara*, with the *Damiḷa*
Kāliṅga-rāyara with *Sundarapaṇḍu-rāyara*, with *Narasihadevara*
 175 and with *Paṇḍiya-rāyara* as well as with the (officers) in the
 village of the *brāhmaṇas*, shattered them and slew many
 176 *Damiḷas*. He took (as booty) many horses and armed with
 troop and train, took up a position at the place named
 177 *Kuṇḍayamkoṭṭa*. He brought into his power the three *Damiḷa*
 officers, *Kuṇḍayamutta-rāyara*, *Kaṇḍiliya-rāyara* and *Yādhava-*
 178 *rāyara* and took up a position at that place, well understand-
 ing right places. Further the great hero brought into his
 179 power *Paṇḍiya-rāyara* in the fortress of *Vikkamacolaṇṇappa*
 180 and the three, *Paṇḍimaṇḍala-nāḍālvāra*, *Vīragaṅga-rāyara* and
Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara, who were in *Kāmānākkkoṭṭa* and advanced
 to *Maruthukoṭṭa* with the object of fighting a decisive battle².

¹ Only occurs here. For *Coḷakonāra* see note to 76. 144, for *Yādhava* note to 76. 163, for *Villava* *ibidem*; for *Sundarapaṇḍu* note to 76. 126. *Kāliṅga* is mentioned again 76. 214 ff., 77. 40.

² Verses 170-180 form one sentence. The principal verb is *pāyāsi* (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-eteṭṭi* 175 a, *iti sāmante tayo* 177 c d, *icc-ete tayo* 179 d). Note how in the account of the contests in Southern India the names of the *Damiḷa* officers repeat themselves. Only once in this passage are *Kaṇḍiliya*, *Paṇḍiyamaṇḍala* and *Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra* mentioned, as well as *Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara*, with which *Kaṅgakoṇḍakalappa* 77. 75 may be compared. *Paṇḍiya-rāyara* is mentioned twice in this passage but not otherwise, *Yādhava* here in v. 173 and 177, before in v. 163. In v. 163 a *Coḷakonāra*, a *Villava* and a *Yādhava* are mentioned as having fallen. Possibly these may often be place names as above in the case of *Añcukoṭṭa* (see v. 235) rather than names of persons, *Villava-rāyara* meaning for instance, the *rāyara* of *Villava* (see note to 77. 9). *Kuṇḍayamutta* and *Narasihadeva* occur already in 76. 94-95, *Vīragaṅga* already in 76. 131, 140 and and later repeatedly (76. 181 ff.). *Sundarapaṇḍu* 76. 126. It is expressly stated that there are two *Coḷakonāras* (76. 173). It is the same below with *Tondriya* (181). The same with *Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāra* (184, 214) and with *Vīragaṅga* (140). In v. 141 three *Maṇṇaya-rāyaras* are mentioned.

There he gave the Coḷakonāra, the other Tondriya, the officer 181
Suttāṇḍāra, the Daṃḷa Viraṅgara, Kuttāṇḍāra and others a 182
severe combat. He robbed Tondriya of his life, took his horses 183
away from him, slew many Daṃḷas and occupied besides the
fortress known by the name of Kaṅgaḱḱāna. Then he set 184
from there, took up a position at the place named Paṇiva,
fought there with the two Alattūru-nāḍālvāras, with Pandriya-
rāyara, Villava-rāyara and Cullakaṇḱakunḍa-rāyara¹ a great 185
battle, shattered them and captured Paṇivakkotṭa. Then he 186
turned and betook himself to Kaṅgaḱḱāna² where he had
stood formerly. Hereupon he marched to Vālakkotṭa³ to fight 187
there, fought there against Kaṇḍadevamālava-rāyara, against the
two Viraṅgaras and the Daṃḷa Coḷakonāra a great battle, 188
shattered them all and slew numbers of Daṃḷas, seized from 189
them many horses and captured with this fortress (Vālakkotṭa)
also (the fortress) Neṭṭūru⁴. He himself took up a position
there, brought Kuttāṇḍa(ra)⁵, Viraṅga and Tāṅgipperūmaḷa 190
and the Daṃḷas dependent in him, many hundreds in number,
as well as Ilaṅkiya and Aṇḱukotṭa-rāyara under his influence, 191
gave them earrings and other ornaments. But on Ilaṅkiya- 192
rāyara he conferred the well-known and coveted title of Rā-
javesibhujanga-Silāmegha⁶.

Meanwhile Laṅkāpura learned that the very youngest son of 193
the Paṇḍu King Parakkama, Prince Virapaṇḍu 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

¹ See above v. 170 and note.

² W. translates *paccāvutto* wrongly by "he proceeded to . . ." Its meaning is far rather "he returned to . . ." Cf. skr. *prati-ā-vart*. Evidently the attack on Paṇiva had not the wished-for success.

³ The text here is very corrupt, but the name Vālakkotṭa is assured

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

⁵ Cf. above v. 182.

⁶ 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 Rājavesibhujanga see note to 73. 91 c d (p. 10, n. 3).

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 (Laṅkāpura) 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 gāvutas². 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 Paṇḍu 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 Laṅkāpura sent a letter to Laṅkā
 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.
 208 Hereupon Laṅkāpura fought with great might against
 Kaṇḍadevamālava-rāyara in Muṇḍikkāra, drove him from this
 209 place and brought the Daṁḍilas into his power in the two

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

² About four to six miles. See note to 73. 154.

³ The words *ti vatvā saccaṃ vaco mudu* in v. 201 d refer to *dūtāṃ pesesi* in v. 96, comprehending the contents of the message.

districts Kīlamanṅala and Melamanṅala¹ while he tarried there. Then by restoring Muṇḍikkāra to Māḷava-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 Maṅgala. When then Laṅkāpura, while tarrying 212 in Anivalakoṭṭa, had appointed the colonel Gokaṇṇanāṇḍa who was in Muṇḍannānaṁkoṭṭa as chief², he set forth from there 213 and surprised Neṭṭūru³. He fought with the officers quartered in Mānaviramadhurā, with the two Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāras, with 214 Kāliṅga-rāyara⁴ and Kalikāla-rāyara a great battle. The 215 mighty one slew many Damiḷas, as well as Kalikāla-rāyara and brought Madhurā into his possession. He brought here- 216 upon many Damiḷas, as well as Muvaraya and Karumbūḷatta-rāyara⁵ into his power, marched then with his troops to the 217 castle of Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāra, fought hard to subdue, with Kāliṅga-rāyara and Cullakaṇḍakunḍa-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 Neṭṭūru⁶. Now there came 220 from the south hither Cullakaṇḍakunḍa-rāyara, the two Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāras, Mannāya-rāyara⁷, further Parittikunḍiyāra 221

¹ Upper and Lower Maṅgala (W.).

² The loc. *Anivalakkotte* (cf. below note to v. 235) belongs equally to *vasam* and to (*nāyakaṁ*) *katvā*. The supplementing of the word *nāyakaṁ* is to be inferred from *gokaṇṇanāṇḍanāyakaṁ* and *nāyakaṁ vidhāya* in v. 211. W. has quite a different rendering but hardly a correct one "and made him (the Māḷava-rāyara) chief of Gokaṇṇanāṇḍu in Muṇḍānaṁkoṇḍa."

³ Mentioned already in v. 189, a proof that the fighting went on with alternate vicissitudes round about Madhurā.

⁴ For this name see 76. 174.

⁵ Cf. for these names 76. 140 and 139.

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

⁷ Perhaps the same as the Mannāya-rāyara mentioned in 76. 141, 77. 7 and 35. For the other names in 221—223 see note to 76. 170 (Cullak^o); n. to 76. 180, 181 (Aḷ-n), 76. 137 (Par. and Seṅk.).

and Senkuṇḍi-rāyara and many other war-skilled Damiḷas,
 222 officers from the immediate retinue of King Kulasekhara:
 223 Kāliṅga-rāyara, Tennavanappalla-rāyara and Āḷavandapperūmāla¹,
 all people hard to vanquish who after equipping their army,
 224 came to the place Pātapata by name, their heart full of fury
 225 and firmly determined this time to conquer the foe. When
 Laṅkāpura 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 Laṅkāpura to ask if they were
 228 to take the fortress or not. At such tidings Laṅkāpura 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. Damiḷas thousands in number
 they deprived of life, besides that the Tennavanappalla-rāyara
 232 from the immediate retinue of the King. When Āḷavandappe-
 rūmāla 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 counte-
 nance of the goddess of fortune of heroes, the Siḥalas shatter-
 234 ed with a lion's courage the army of the Damiḷas. After
 Laṅkāpura had taken possession of Pātapata he later on brought
 the troops standing there over to his side.

235 Laṅkāpura betook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikoṭṭa²
 236 and subdued Māḷava-cakkavattin in Aṇcukoṭṭa. After he had
 in like manner captured Toṇḍi and Pāsa³, he advanced to
 Kurundaṅkuṇḍiya to clear the region lying northwards of the

¹ Kāliṅga above 76. 173 note; Āḷavandapperūmāla 76. 128, 232, Tennavanappalla falls in battle according to v. 231.

² Probably the same as above in v. 212, Anivalakkikoṭṭa. The place is repeatedly mentioned below v. 276 ff. Cf. note to v. 238.

³ The two places must have lain very near together since their names 77. 81 are formed into the compound Toṇḍipāsa.

enemy. After he had there subdued Valuṭṭhi-rāyara, he bestowed on him as a gift of favour, a golden bracelet and the like. Then he marched thence and betook himself to Tirivekambama¹. Here he subdued Silānagghara, Kanasiya-rāyara and Añcukotṭa-nāḍālvāra² and showed them all marks of favour as before (to Valuṭṭhi). Thereupon the great hero whose word was to be trusted³, sent a message to Puñkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra⁴ in order to bring him under his influence. But when the latter without showing himself, went to Semponmāri, Laṅkāpura betook himself thither in order to capture Semponmāri. To capture this fortress a Coḷa army had once upon a time marched hither and could not take it in spite of a four days' fight. This inaccessible stronghold the Sihalas with their lion-like courage, captured⁵ without allowing more time than half a day to pass. After they had broken through two outerwalls and four gate-towers, they penetrated like singly marching elephants⁶ into the interior of the fortress, slew there the Damiḷas, many thousands in number, and conquered thus in a moment the stronghold Semponmāri. Thereupon (came) the troop of the Kallaras, the Maravaras⁷, as also the Goḷihaḷas and the Kuntavaras, the army of Vallakkuttāra and the troop of Ūcena, as also the mighty army in the district of Añcukotṭa: these exceeding brave, hot-

¹ Is also mentioned in v. 266 and 276 in close connection with Kurundañkuṇḍiya or Anivalakki.

² Kanasiya is only mentioned here. For the two others see above notes to v. 95 and 99.

³ P. *saccasamudho*. This is specially stressed. Evidently Laṅkāpura had guaranteed Puñkoṇḍa's safety. Puñkoṇḍa nevertheless does not risk presenting himself to Laṅkāpura, as he distrusts his promises.

⁴ See note to 76. 137.

⁵ *Duggam* must be supplemented by the verb *gahesum* from v. 245 c.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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 Damiḷas, numbering some fifty to sixty
 249 thousand, surrounded thereupon the fortress occupied by the
 Sihaḷas and opened at once a most embittered fight. Then
 250 the Laṅkāpura Deva¹ and the Laṅkāgiri Sora opened the gate
 251 by the southern tower, accompanied by their troops (and)
 with a courage scarcely to be surpassed, robbed Damiḷas thou-
 252 sands of them, of their life, shattered with lion-like courage
 the unruly Damiḷa 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 Gokaṇṇa 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 Kesadhātu Kitti and
 the officer named Jagadvijaya for which scarce any man was
 256 a match. The heroes shattered in no time the Damiḷa army
 257 after robbing many Damiḷa warriors of their life. Thus the
 Sihaḷas destroyed at once in a moment the whole forces of
 258 the Damiḷas, 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 Semponmāri. Thereupon he subdued²
 the Kuntavaras, the soldiery of the Kallaras, the army of the
 260 Goḷihaḷas and the troop of the Maravaras, the army of
 Vallakkuttāra and the following of Ūcena, the Athalayūru-
 261 nāḍālvāra and Kaṅgayara³ and their shattered army, the
 dwellers in Tālayūrunāḍu, the army in Kalahayināḍu and the
 262 dwellers of Athalayunnāḍu and those of Kākannāḍu⁴: all
 these Damiḷa forces all that lay (in a line) from the village
 263 of Cellāru up to the frontier of the Coḷa 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

¹ Already mentioned in 75. 130. Cf. further 76. 310 ff.

² I anticipate here the finite verb *vasaṃ ānesi* occurring in v. 263 b.

³ For these two names see note to 76. 137.

⁴ The names of districts (*nāḍu*) in v. 261, 262 do not occur otherwise.

the Yavanas¹ and distinguished these people also by countless marks of favour. To Mālava-cakkavattin who placed himself under his protection he restored Semponmāri and appointed him to his (former) post. Then he set forth from there and came again to Tirivekambama and starting hence he reached Kurundaṅkuṇḍi².

Now Kaḷavaṇḍi-nāḍālvāra had in battle with great forces wrested Muṇḍikkāra³ from Mālava-rāyara. Then seeing no other aid, Mālava-rāyara approached Laṅkāpura: "be thou my protection". Laṅkāpura at once summoned his best officers, the two Kesadhātus, known to the people as Kitti and Loka, and the general Gokanna and charged them as their commander, to open hostilities and restore Muṇḍikkāra to Mālava-rāyara. These betook themselves to the spot, began a combat hard to withstand, drove the foe from Muṇḍikkāra, slew many Damiḷas and after they had placed Mālava-rāyara once more in his former position, they returned thence to Laṅkāpura.

Another officer, Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra⁴ by name, betook himself to the place called Siriyavala, fought while there a great battle with Mālava-cakkavattin, put him to flight and took the village known by the name of Jayakoṇḍāna and immediately after that Semponmāri itself. When the hero Laṅkāpura, best of steadfast men, heard of this event, he set forth himself at once from the fortress Anivalakki and advanced, in order to take Semponmāri, to Tirivekambama⁵. When Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra learned of this event, he left Semponmāri and betook himself from there to Siriyavala. Thereupon the hero

¹ P. *vessa* = skr. *vaiśya* 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. Ayrton, Ceylon Notes and Queries, I, 1913, p. VIII.

² See note to 76. 238.

³ Cf. 76. 210—211. For Kaḷavaṇḍi note to 76. 137.

⁴ See above note to 76. 137.

⁵ 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.

Laṅkāpura marched to Semponmāri and when now Puṅkoṇḍa-
 279 nādālvāra came thither with the intent to surrender, but
 without presenting himself, betook himself again to the place
 Siriyavala, Laṅkāpura also marched to the village of Siriyavala
 280 and began from all sides an embittered combat. Now Puṅkoṇḍa-
 281 nādālvāra 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 Laṅkāpura
 who was himself free from fear, sent a return message with
 283 the purport that he should come. At the message of the
 hero Laṅkāpura whose word was to be relied on, the former
 284 free of all dread, betook himself to him. Thereupon Laṅkā-
 pura bestowed on him many favours, summoned also Māla-
 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 Neṭṭūru. The two villages which had been
 laid waste, Rājasīhamahāla and Vāḷugāma 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.

288 The Ruler Kulasekhara took the troops in Tiriṇaveli¹, as
 well as the troops of the two brothers of his mother in Ten-
 289 koṅgu² and Vaḍakoṅgu², and versed in the various expedients
 of statecraft, such as the distribution of honours and the like,
 he made deserters of many Daṁiḷas who had already been
 290 subdued and began now, equipped with forces to march forth
 to battle. When the prudent Laṅkāpura heard trustworthy
 291 tidings of this he destroyed the traitorous Daṁiḷas root and
 branch, true to the command of his Lord whose task it was
 to subdue the miscreants.

292 Thereupon there came sent by the Great king to cover
 his rear, the hero Jagadvijaya³ by name whose courage ex-
 293 ceeded that of the whole world, accompanied by many foot

¹ See 76. 143 with the note.

² Cf. 77. 43.

³ As he is already mentioned in v. 255 in the struggle for Sempon-
 mūri, it may be assumed that Laṅkāpura had sent him to Laṅkā for
 reinforcements.

soldiers and steeds to Anivalakki after crossing the ocean. The far-famed Laṅkāpura likewise left Neṭṭūru and betook himself to Anivalakki. He sought out the newly-arrived (Jagadvijaya), embraced him and having conversed with him in heartfelt and friendly manner, the foe-crusher returned to Neṭṭūru. Setting forth from there, he came, having knowledge of the right places, to the place known by the name of Mundrannaddhāna and took up far-famed for his courage, his position there. At the place called Kīlakotṭa and at the place by name Maṅgalama¹ he fought with the Damiḷas, slew many soldiers, took such foes as one was obliged to seize, alive and captured many horses which had been left on the battlefield. Then he set forth from there, came to Orittiyūrutombama and endowed with a surplus of invincible courage, he fought with Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra, Silāmeghara and Āṇcukotṭa-nāḍālvāra² a great (and) terrible battle. After cutting down many Damiḷas he betook himself to Siriyavala, burned down the two-storeyed palace of Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra who had not submitted to him and marched from the place Tirikkānappera farther. The general Jagadvijaya now advanced from Anivalakki to Neṭṭūru, set forth from there and shattered, himself unapproachable³, the fortresses called Madhurammāṇavira, Pāttanallūru and Śoraṇḍakkotṭa. Returned to Neṭṭūru he tarried there and brought the two Aḷattūru-nāḍālvāras and Cullakaṇḍa-kunḍa-rāyara⁴ to submission. When once the hero with great forces came to Pāttanallūru, he sent to Laṅkāpura the following message: "Thou must come with greatest haste to the river called Vayiga; I must needs see thee, there is something to report." When the hero Laṅkāpura received these tidings, he set off with all speed thence and began the march with large forces. The hostile army which was standing at

¹ Cf. below note to 77. 38.

² The three named here belonged to those chieftains who having submitted to Laṅkāpura (v. 280 ff., v. 238) had since deserted (v. 289).

³ Pun on *dugge*—*duggamo*, the latter referring to the subject. The skr. *durgama* is an epithet of Siva.

⁴ See above v. 220 and note.

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

315 King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvārādhī-
 316 pativelāra, as well as Toṇḍamānara, Vīrapperaṇḍayara and
 Nigaya-rāyara, Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍālvāra and the other Kaṅga-
 317 yara¹, made his many soldiers ready for battle and betook
 318 himself, his loins girt for battle, to Rājina. The great general
 of terrible courage charged his terrible army to give battle
 319 to Laṅkāpura. The hero Laṅkāpura thereupon, expert in
 320 affairs, explained the affair to Jagadvijaya: "In order together
 with me to put to flight the Monarch Kulasekhara, thou must
 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 Daṁḍas. They were van-
 323 quished, withdrew at once to Rājina, closed the tower-gates
 with the small and the great gates and the Daṁḍas
 now with their Monarch kept to the centre of the town.
 324 Thereupon the heroes at the head, the general Gokaṇṇa, the
 325 Kesadhātu named Loka and the Laṅkāpura Deva, who had
 arrived at the west gate, began to tear down the walls and
 326 to blow up the tower-gates. The Laṅkāpura Deva and the
 general Gokaṇṇa after shattering walls and tower-gates, pene-

¹ Nigaya is mentioned again in the sequel (77. 69). As regards the other names see note to 76. 137.

trated within. But the haughty Kesadhātu, the mighty Loka 327
 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-gate¹ which he had had opened, and 330
 by a lucky chance he escaped out of the hands of his foes.
 These all cut down numbers of soldiers of the Daṁḍas, 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. There- 333
 upon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya entered Rājīnā
 along with the other heroes.

Thus thrives ever more and more the state of those who 334
 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 Rājīnā», in the Mahāvamsa,
 compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The loc. *gopure* stands for the gen. *gopurassa*; *pācīnadvārā gopure*
 means the same as *pācīnagopuradvārā*.

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE CONQUEST OF THE PAṆDU KINGDOM

- 1 The Monarch Kulasekhara who had fled thence through fear found again a firm footing in Toṇḍamāna's¹ mountain fortress.
- 2 The forces of Viranukkara and other (soldiers) from Kakkola,
- 3 the forces of Madhuraddhamakkāra², came to Rājīnā, related the whole story of King Kulasekhara and persuaded Laṅkā-
- 4 pura to betake himself at once to Madhurā. Thereupon Laṅkā-pura and the general Jagadvijaya equipped with great luck,
- 5 set forth for the town of Madhurā, gave over to the Prince Virapaṇḍu 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 Virapperayaras: him called Sirivallabha, Rājā Nārāyaṇa, and him called Parakkamapaṇḍu,
- 7 (further) the officer Maṇṇaya-rāyara and Seṅkuṇḍi-rāyara, the
- 8 other Virapperayara Keraḷasihamuttara³ and bestowed on them ornaments and the like. To Coḷagaṅgara who had submitted,
- 9 they made over the supreme direction of the district Parittikkunḍi⁴ formerly administered by him, and restored him to his
- 10 former position. Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍālvāra⁵ came indeed with the intention of submitting⁶, but when he had entered Madhurā,

¹ Cf. above 76. 137.

² Evidently local troops which had voluntarily submitted to the victor.

³ Virapperayara is clearly a title here. Cf. 76. 138 and 316. Of the other names Maṇṇaya is mentioned 76. 141, 77. 35, Seṅkuṇḍi 76. 138 (q. v.) and Keraḷasihamuttara 76. 141.

⁴ Coḷagaṅga(ra) is mentioned 76. 124. The place name Parittikkunḍi is met with in Parittikkunḍiyāra 76. 137 and 221.

⁵ See 76. 141.

⁶ P. *vase hessan* as *or. recta*. Cf. a similar phrase 75. 85.

he thought: I fear to let myself be seen, and returned without 11
 presenting himself, to his place. Thereupon Laṅkāpura march- 12
 ed into his district to take it. The univalled one, equipped 13
 with great power and courage, offered him battle, defeated
 him and captured Aḷagvānagiri. Kaḷavandīya-nāḍālvāra and 13
 another named Sūradeva submitted and besought the general
 for (the restoration of) his district; at his request Laṅkāpura 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 Kaṅgayara
 in Niyama into his power, the hero betook himself later to 16
 the place called Tiriputtūru in order to make subject to
 himself also Niḷaḷadha-rāyara¹.

Niḷaḷadha-rāyara gathered together his own army, took 17
 with him also the Coḷa officers, Akalaṅka-nāḍālvāra and
 Kaṅcamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Kiccārattarayara² 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 Siḥalas transformed the 20
 hostile host together with steeds and infantry — stretching 21
 three gāvutas wide³ from Tiriputtūru to Ponaamarāvati, along
 the highway between the two places — into a single mass
 of flesh. After it had shattered these vast forces it came to 22
 Ponaamarāvati, burned down the three-storeyed palace built
 there, and after setting fire to many other houses and well- 23
 filled granaries of rice, the hero (Laṅkāpura) 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 Madhurā⁴.

¹ Of the names mentioned in vv. 13—16 those of Sūradeva and Kurumba do not otherwise occur. For Kaḷavandīya see 76. 141, for Kaṅgayara see 76. 140, for Niḷaḷadha 76. 138.

² Akalaṅka, Malayappa and Kiccārattarayara are mentioned again later (77. 55 ff)

³ The front extended thus over a distance of something like six miles (cf. 73. 154 and note).

⁴ The subject changes in this sentence. In the principal sentence

25 Now the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) whose commands stand
firm, sent the order to hold the festival of the coronation for
26 Prince Vīrapaṇḍu. When Laṅkāpura 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 Lambakāṇṇas Mālava-cakkavattin, Mālava-rāyara and Athala-
yūru-nāḍaḷvāra to carry out the duties of the Lambakāṇṇas¹,
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 Paṇḍu realm at the head of their own
30 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.

32 Meanwhile the Ruler Kulasekhara who had fled to the
mountain fortress of Toṇḍamāna, had brought Toṇḍamāna
33 round to his side. He took his army as well as his own
troops, and together with Anujivisamiddha, a man of terrible
34 courage, he set forth from that hill fortress and reached the
important stronghold called Maṅgalama into which he entered.
35 With Maṇṇaya-rāyara and Senkunḍiya-rāyara who had sub-
36 mitted to the Sihalas² he fought a great battle; he captured
their fortress and took up a position there. When Laṅkāpura
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) *vīro* is the subject and *āgañchi* the finite verb. The gerunds occurring in vv. 21–23 have as subject *senā Sihalādhīnā*. They are thus again treated as absolute locatives. Cūlav. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI.

¹ We learn two things from this passage: that a Lambakāṇṇa 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.

² Thus according to 77. 7. It must be assumed that the Toṇḍamāna named in v. 32 who figures in 76. 315 as one of Kulasekhara's followers, had submitted to the Sihalas, 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 Madhurā, 38 put up a stronghold near Maṅgalaṃkoṭṭa¹ and took up his position there. With mighty forces they fought a great battle 39 with the three brothers of the wife of Toṇḍamāna: Kallakka- 40 velāra, Muṇayadha-rāyara and Kāliṅga-rāyara², captured the 41 fortress, slew many Damiḷas and after later on taking Sivali-puttūru also the highly-famed ones³ took up a position there. 42 Thereupon the hostile Monarch Kulasekhara gathered together the troops standing in Tirinaveli⁴, sent also to the two brothers 43 of his mother a message and took the troops in Tenkoṅgu and Vaḍakoṅgu⁵ and after the great general had brought 44 this whole army together, he gave the order to halt at the fortress called Sāntaneri. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 45 Jagadvijaya immediately set forth on the way to take this strong- hold. To bar the way to the enemy Kulasekhara versed in the 46 right expedients, had the great tank pierced. When the hero 47 Laṅkāpura 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 Damiḷas and captured numbers of horses of the Damiḷas. Then they pressed forward into the two vil- 51 lages belonging to Toṇḍamāna, called Tirimalakke and Kattala, burned down the village called Tirimalakke so that nought 52

¹ Of course the same as the fortress Maṅgalama mentioned in v. 34, and which also occurs in 76. 297.

² For the two last names cf. 76. 146 and 76. 174 ff. The first occurs again 77. 50.

³ Instead of the sing. (*Laṅkāpuro* v. 36 c) the new sentence (from v. 39 a b) has the plur. What is meant are Laṅkāpura and his generals. Sivaliputtūru is the present Srivillipatur (cf. also W.) in the Tinne- velli District not far from the borders of Travancore.

⁴ See 76. 143 and 288 and notes.

⁵ See 76. 288.

but its name remained, because it was there that the Paṇḍu
 53 king Parakkama had been murdered¹. Then he set forth from
 there and after reaching the village Coḷakulantaka the highly-
 54 famed one tarried there for some time². King Kulasekhara
 now took the two brothers of his mother, also the troops of
 55 the twain and their many horses, further Akalaṅka-nāḍālvāra,
 56 and Pallava-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara, Kaṇḍamba-rāyara and
 Kiccāratrarayara who was endowed with great power and
 courage, and with all these Coḷa officers and their numerous
 57 army as also with Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍālvāra and his troops and
 58 with Puṇkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra³ at the head of his army, the mighty
 one came himself to the place called Palaṅkoṭṭa and ordered
 59 his great army to Paṇḍunāḍukottāna and the place called
 Ūriyeri⁴, this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of
 60 the foe. Thereupon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya
 61 went forth from the village of Coḷakulantaka to battle. They
 so planned it that the hostile army which had occupied the two
 great fortresses⁵, were disinclined for giving battle in the open
 62 field, had then a great entrenchment made at the village of
 Ūriyeri 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-

¹ W.'s happy suggestion of *ettha hato* is certainly correct. I may remark that all the MSS. have *etthā gato*; *etthāgato* as read by the Col. Ed. occurs nowhere.

² There is a change again in number, this time from the plur. (*pa-viṭṭhā*) in v. 51 c to the sing. (*nisidittha*) in 53 c.

³ For Akalaṅka see 77. 17, for Malayappa 77. 18, for Kaḷavaṇḍiya 76. 141 and Puṇkoṇḍa 76. 139. All these names occur again later. The same with Pallava and Kaṇḍamba who have so far not been mentioned.

⁴ The locatives *Paṇḍunāḍukottāne* and *Ūriyerivhaye thāne* 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 *thāne* into *thātum* as is done by the Col. Ed. — Palaṅkoṭṭa (see also W.) is the present Palam-kotta in the Tinneveli District.

⁵ That is Paṇḍunāḍukottāna and Ūriyeri.

lasekhara was standing. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 64
 Jagadvijaya well discriminating between favorable and un-
 favorable places, marched to Palaṅkoṭṭa. 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 Palaṅkoṭṭa. Then they set forth from there,
 came into the domain of him called Tuvārādhipativēlāra 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 Adharatṭeri, subdued there Nigaya-rāyara 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 Coḷa country. Hereupon Laṅkāpura charged 71
 the dignitary by name Jagadvijaya, to take up a position at
 the place called Pāttanallūru. He himself went at the head 72
 of his troops to Tirikkānappera. But King Kulasekhara had
 meanwhile by various entreaties won over the Coḷa King to 73
 his side and at the command of this king he took the army
 and the many horses of him called Pallava-rāyara, also 74
 him called Inandapada together with Toṇḍamāna, the rāyara
 called Rājarājakalappa, further Kaṅgakonḍakalappa-rāyara, as 75
 well as the Nakārānibilūpa-rāyara, the hero Niccavinodavāṇava- 76
 rāyara, Narasihapadmara and Sekīrapadma-rāyara, Rājinda- 77
 brahmamahārāja and Mādhava-rāyara . . . as also Coḷakonāra,
 Janābrahmamahārāja and Coḷatirikka-rāyara — these troop 78
 leaders in Uccaṅkuṭṭha he took with him, with these he took also 79
 Niyarāya and Kappiṇcimpekūla, further Mādhava-rāyara and
 Kaṇḍuveṭṭi, further Koṅgaṃgaṅala-nāḍālvāra, Akalaṅka-nāḍā- 80
 vāra and Kaṇḍamba-rāyara, as also Kīḷaṃgaṅala-nāḍālvāra,
 Viśālamutta-rāyara³ and their many horses and sent them to 81

¹ The context shows that Tuvārādhipativēlāra (for whom see 76. 138, 315) had submitted voluntarily.

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

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

82 Toṇḍi and Pāsa¹. When Laṅkāpura 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 Madhurā, he himself then set forth from Tirikkānappera
83 and marched to the town of Kīṇilaya situated on the borders of Madhurā. Now the mighty Coḷa army opened the great
84 combat. For a distance of four gāvutas² 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 Damiḷas alive — Rājindabrahmamahārāja and Nandipadmara⁴, Narasiḥapadmara and Coḷakonāra — and again
87 with great forces, burned to the ground Vaḍamaṇamekkunḍi, Maṇamekkunḍi and Maṇcakkunḍi. Then having laid waste by
88 fire a strip of the Coḷa country seven gāvutas in extent⁵ and
89 thus quelled the Coḷas, he returned thence, and when he came to the village called Velaṅkunḍi under the dominion of Nigaladha-rāyara⁶, 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 Akalaṅka-nāḍālvāra and Kaṇḍamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Visālamutta-

77.55, Toṇḍamāna 76.137, Niccavinodavāṇava 76.144, Coḷakonāra 76.145, Akalaṅka 77.17, Kaṇḍamba 77.55. Cf. the accompanying notes. The name Mādhava-rāyara is twice mentioned. Three occur later: Narasiḥapadmara 77.86, Rājindabrahma 77.86, and Visālamutta 77.91. Cf. with Kaṅgakoṇḍakalappa, Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara 76.180 note; with Kīḷamaṅgala-nāḍālvāra, the name of the district Kīḷamaṅgala in 76.209; and with Kaṇḍuvetti the name of Narasiḥa's capital Kaṇḍuvethi in 47.7.

¹ P. *Toṇḍipāsam*. 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, Kaḷavaṇḍi-nāḍālvāra and the troops of Tiriṇaveli, and 92
 Puṇkoṇḍa-nāḍālvāra, and with mighty forces he came to
 Ponaamarāvati¹ to fight a decisive battle. When Laṅkāpura 93
 received tidings of these events he set forth with great forces
 from Velaṅkuṇḍi 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 Damiḷas 95
 thousands in number, took (as booty) many horses and put the
 Ruler Kulasekhara to flight. Niḷaḷadha-rāyara 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 Laṅkāpura 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 Laṅkāpura. 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 kaḷāpaṇas which were stamped with the name of
 the Ruler Parakkāma. To Prince Vīrapaṇḍu he made over 103

¹ According to 77. 20 ff., Laṅkāpura had already fought with Niḷaḷadha for Ponaamarāvati. In the list enumerated in v. 73 ff. the following of Niḷaḷadha's allies are not mentioned: Siḷāmeghara (cf. note to 76. 99), Maḷayappa (77. 18, 55), Kaḷavaṇḍi (76. 141) and Puṇkoṇḍa (76. 139). For Tiriṇaveli 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 *pahinivāna*) is *Laṅkāpuro*, from v. 90 onwards it is *so* (*Niḷaḷadha-rāyaro*). We must therefore again assume that the preceding gerunds are treated as locative absolutes (Cūlav. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI) S. and B. try to overcome the difficulty by emendation, they change *pahinivāna* (v. 89 c) into *pahinitha*.

² W. refers *āgama* to the subject (*Laṅkāpuro*) *bhīmaṭṭikkamo* but it is really subordinate to *pavattita* in *pavattitamahāhavaṇṇaṃ sattusenāṃ*.

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

the government and sent with speed to Sihala the many horses, men and elephants captured from the Coḷa country and from the Paṇḍu land¹.

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

106 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 Paṇḍu Kingdom", in the *Mahāvamsa*, 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 Coḷas and Paṇḍus described in v. 72 of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Vīrapaṇḍu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulasekhara did not fall in battle he will scarcely have left his rival in peace. What is Laṅkāpura'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 Parakkamabāhu. 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 Laṅkāpura was defeated and that his head with those of his officers was nailed to the gates of Madhurā. In the 4th year of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III (1181-2) Vīrapaṇḍu 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 Laṅkā, Parakkamabāhu who 1
 had received consecration as king, who was experienced in
 statecraft, had thus made peaceful the land of Laṅkā, 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 another¹, 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 (*susīle keci bhikkhavo*) who would not hear of intercourse and of common action with the others, shows the evil conditions existing in the Saṃgha. The *dussīla bhikkhavo* were in the majority, the *susīla* were isolated. As regards the construction of the sentence, I believe that *puttadārādiposanam* is governed by *thapetvā* (4 a) and *ekakammādiṃ dassanam pi* by *n'ākañkhante*. By *saṃghagāma* are meant the villages in which the men were active as *ārāṃikā*. Wives and children of the *ārāṃikā* were supported by the monastery and this was the only duty from which the *susīla 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: *saṃghassa puttadārādiposanam*. But one cannot say that the Saṃgha has children and wives. Only the individual bhikkhu has these. Thus the gen. *saṃghassa* does not belong to *puttadārādi* but to *posanam*. Note too the *ādi*. This refers to sick

the Order¹, for the purpose of furthering the Order of the Victor, to achieve unity² among the bhikkhus of the three fraternities. Even as the Ruler of men Dhammāsoka (with) Moggaliputtatissa, so he entrusted the Grand therā Mahākassapa 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 consecrated. He made the therā Nānapāla in Anurādhapura together with his pupils and the bhikkhus in the province of Sapara³ come to Pulatthinagara, further together with the therā Moggallāna, the therā Nāgindapalliya and all the other 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 therā Nanda who dwelt

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

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

² An account of the church reforms of Parakkamabāhu 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 *Cūlavamsa* 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 *Cūlavs*. A further similarity occurs in the second narrative (78. 2 ff.). The name of the Grand therā 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 Dhammāsoka and the head of the Third Council, Moggallāna (Mhvs. 5. 228 ff.) on the one hand, and Parakkamabāhu 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. WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 184 ff.; the same, Catal. of Sinhalese Mss. in the Brit. Museum, p. XV.

³ 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 Sineru² 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 Piṭakas, 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 Abhaya³ 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 *linavinicchayamaṇḍala* denotes a secret judicial process in contrast to the official *dharmakamma* 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 vinicchayamaṇḍale* and W. translates accordingly: "and many wished not even to sit (with their brethren) in the hall of judgement".

² Cf. note to 54. 43. One may compare *sinerukkippanam* with *sakkharakhipana* "the hurling of stones" (as an accomplishment, *sippa*, JaCo. I. 418³⁰).

³ *Vatṭagāmaṇi 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.

the inmates of the Jetavana — who had separated themselves
 22 from the days of the Ruler of men Mahāsena¹, (they) who
 gave out as Buddha's word the Vetulla-Piṭaka² 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
 discipline 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 sāmaṇeras, 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.

28 Every year he brought the Great community to the river
 bank⁴, 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 maṇḍapa 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 Order⁵.

¹ See Mhvs. 37. 32 ff.

² For the heretical Vetullavāda 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.

³ P. *pakatatta*, lit. "with the original self (being, character)". In Vin. I. 280¹² the word means "in the original condition, restored, cured"; In JāCo. I. 236²⁹ it has a similar meaning to that in our passage as attribute of *bhikkhu* along with *silavā vipassanāya yuttapayutto*.

⁴ On the bank of the Mahaveliganga.

⁵ 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.

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 Jetavana¹, making as it were
 visible to the eye the beauty of the Jetavana (in Sāvattthī).
 For the theras dwelling there in the sacred district, firmly 33
 persevering in discipline, he built eight costly pāsādas, three
 storeys high. For the thera named Sāriputta 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
 appurtenances² and diversely adorned with images. For the 36
 seventy-five parivenas (he built) as many long pāsādas with
 charming figures (painted), two storeys high; (further) one 37
 hundred and seventy-eight small pāsādas, 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 Tivaṅka
 house for the Tivaṅka image⁵, shimmering with rows of figures 40

¹ 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.

² The monastery was like its namesake in Anurādhapura, called after the celebrated park in Sāvattthī which Anāthapiṇḍika presented to the Buddha and the Order. See OLDENBERG, Buddha, p. 166; H. KERN, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 28.

³ For *paṭiyatta* 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 *navāppaṭisaṃmatte* — 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 *paṭiyatta* 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.

⁴ The beauty of the building acted on the eyes like an elixir (*rasāyana*). In my edition I have joined the sentence to the preceding. But I think now that it belongs to the following one.

⁵ It is difficult to say what is meant by *tivaṅka* in *t-għara* and

- 41 of lions, kinnaras¹, geese and the like, with many diversely perforated balustrades² and with railings. (Further he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic³, adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls⁴ 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-paṭimā. 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 Viṣṇu or the Nāgas are often represented. He refers to Selalihinisandesa 68, where there is a mention of *Tivaṅka* images in the Kelani-vihāra 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 *tivaṅkaghara* of our passage refers to a building in Pulatthina-gara and in the Jetavana-vihāra. But cf. note to 85. 66. The most likely seems to be the Heṭṭa-dāgē, an image house on the Quadrangle with three Buddha figures (cf. Hocart, l. l., p. 5) or that building known as the Thūpārāma also situated there. The first seems however, to be a work of Nissaṅka-Malla (80. 19 and note), while the other belongs to the time before Parakkamabāhu. The expression *tivaṅka* 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. *jālakavāṭa*, lit. net-enclosure.

³ Without doubt the Vaṭṭa-dā-gē situated on the Quadrangle opposite the Heṭṭa-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 Nissaṅka 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 stūpa 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 Ālāhana-pariveṇa² 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 therā 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-cetiya³; 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 Jetavana, probably because it already belonged to the time before Parakkamabāhu. HOCART, I. I., p. 5.

² 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-pariveṇa is therefore probably the group of buildings lying outside of the city which is now popularly but wrongly called the Jetavanārāma.

³ To the group of buildings which we assume formed the Ālāhana-pariveṇa 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 Ālāhana-pariveṇa,

54 and halls¹ — the name of Laṅkātilaka was befitting². In this (temple) he had erected a standing image which was an elixir for the eyes³, which had the size of the living Buddha⁴, 55 which (likewise) was called Laṅkātilaka. (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Uposatha-house which bore the name of Baddhasimāpāsāda, which was furnished with numbers of 56 turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places⁵. To determine the boundary⁶

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 *suvaṇṇatthūpikā*, "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 Ālāhana 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. 30 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 Laṅkā". — The construction of the sentence is as follows: *yattha* in v. 53a stands for the loc. *yamhi* (*paṭimāgehe*) and to this then belong the locatives *°rūpini* and *sobhite* in v. 52.

³ See above note to v. 39.

⁴ According to BELL's calculation (l. l., p. 36) the statue in the Laṅkātilaka temple when intact, measured 41 ft. in height (roughly 12.5 m.).

⁵ It is generally supposed that the remains of this building are to be found in the so-called "priory" situated in the domain of Ālāhana-pariveṇa 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 taṭṭha sīmā*. 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 *sīmā* 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 army and with his train in the splendour of the King of the gods, to the great vihāra. At the invitation of the Great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the 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 banners and umbrellas — took with great solemnity the golden plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and went forth ploughing the furrow¹. To remove² all scruples regarding landmarks formerly drawn at this spot, the bhikkhu community took up a position at different points, after previously by a solemn act, bound to bring full success, removing in due order the ancient landmarks³ and made known to the King the landmarks along the furrow (which he ploughed). The King drew three partial boundaries and a main boundary. 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 length⁴ from the Laṅkātilaka temple forty-

Devānampiyatissa how he draws in person the *sīmā* of the Mahāvihāra, just as Parakkamabāhu that of the Ālāhana-pariveṇa. The two descriptions 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 Mahāvamsa). 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. *mahācāṇamhi vattente ... kasanto bhūmipo agā* with *mahatā cānapūjāya kasanto bhūmipo agā* in Mhvs. App. B. (to 15. 191), v. 7 c d. This comparison shows that *mahācāṇamhi* not *mahājāṇamhi*, is the right reading.

² It was strictly forbidden to encroach on an existing boundary by a new *sīmā*. The old boundary had first to be removed by a *kammavācā* (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.

⁴ P. *pañcahatthāya yaṭṭhiyā*. For *hattha* see note to 37. 172. The standard of measurement had thus a length of (5 × 18 in.) roughly

four, forty-nine, thirty-eight, thirty-six, thirty-five, fifty-seven,
 65 forty-five, sixty-six staves respectively. The boundary stone
 set up in the southern region of the heavens was distant from
 66 the Gopāla 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 Baddhasīmā-
 pāsāda there was a fixed boundary of thirty-five staves in
 68 length and breadth⁴. At the sacred space called Khaṇḍasīmā⁵
 the boundary was fixed at fifteen staves in length and six
 69 staves in breadth⁶, and at the pāsāda of the thera the fixed
 boundary was eighteen cubits in length and twenty cubits in
 70 breadth⁷. This vihāra the King dedicated to the bhikkhus
 along with the (necessary) articles of use.

In the same way the Ruler of men had the foundations

7½ ft. (= 2.55 m.). The distances were thus successively 330, 367½, 285, 270, 262½, 427½, 337½, 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 Ālāhana-pariveṇa. Inside this there were according to 67c to 69, three smaller sections which were marked off by "sub-boundaries" or "part-boundaries" (*khaṇḍasīmā*). This distinction corresponds to the description of the fixing of the boundary of the Mahāvihāra Mhvs. 15.193 which speaks of *nimittāni* "boundary marks" pure and simple and *sīmantaranimittāni* "inner boundary marks".

¹ This is probably the rock lying between the Baddhasīmā-pāsāda 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.

² Therefore 435 ft.

³ That is 375 ft. from what is now called the Gal-vehera. Cf. below note to v. 73.

⁴ Therefore 262½ ft. × 262½ 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.

⁶ Therefore 112½ ft. × 45 ft.

⁷ Thus with the cubit (*hattha*) calculated at 18 in. only about 27 ft. × about 30 ft.

laid of the Pacchimārāma¹. Here in the pariveṇas, which 71
were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many two-
storeyed long pāsādas and twenty fire-houses, forty-one 72
two-storeyed small pāsādas as well as thirty-five privies and 73
two cloisters; one sermon hall and ten gate-buildings. He
dedicated this vibāra along with the (necessary) articles of
use also to the bhikkhus.

Likewise the Ruler of men had the Uttarārāma² built. By 74
breaking down the rock not far from the Great thūpa he
bringing into play every kind of skilled work, had three 75
grottoes made by expert craftsmen, namely the Vijjādhara
grotto, the cave with the image in sitting posture and the
grotto with the recumbent image.

The Ruler also had the Mahāthūpa³ erected which bore 76
the name of the Damilathūpa because it had been built by

¹ The "West Monastery". HOCART (Mem. ASC. II, p. 6) supposes this building to be the unexcavated ruins adjoining the remains of the Ālāhana-pariveṇa 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 Thūpa 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-guhā* 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 Ānanda 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 *nisinnapaṭimālena* and the *nipanna-paṭimāguha*. 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 Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dagoba) in Anurādhapura. In its present state it is

77 Damiḷas who had been brought hither after the conquest of the Paṇḍu kingdom. It had a circumference of one thousand three hundred cubits¹ and was the largest of all thūpas, like to
78 a second Kelāsa², and (built) without the miraculous power of arahants and without the miraculous power of the gods, alone by kingly miraculous power.

79 Also he had built in the suburb called Rājavesibhujāṅga the Isipatana-vihāra³ 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 pāsāda whose ornaments called forth delight, two long pāsādas and four gate-
82 buildings, eight small pāsādas, a sermon house, a cloister as
83 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.

84 Furthermore in the suburb of Sihapura the Ruler (gifted)
85 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 Parakkamabāhu 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 Damiḷathūpa has been preserved to the present day in the name Demaḷamahaseya which is however, erroneously given to another building (see note to v. 87).

¹ P. *rātana* = *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, 306), that of the Abhayagiri 1115 ft.

² See note to 68.41.

³ For the three suburbs 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: Rājavesibhujāṅga: Veḷuvana—Rājakulantaka (= Sihapura): 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 thūpa and a cloister, a two- 89
storeyed pāsāda, four gate-buildings, four long pāsādas and
eight small pāsādas, one refectory and one sermon hall, further 90
seven fire-houses and twelve privies. Gāvuta on gāvuta² (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 pāsāda, four long 93
cloisters and four long two-storeyed pāsādas, 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 Daṁḍas 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
Daṁḍas, the Ratanavāluka-thūpa⁴ one hundred and twenty

¹ Some distance to the north of the Great thūpa there lies an image temple similar in plan to the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkātilaka, 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 Demaḷamahaseya which however originally must have belonged to the Mahāthūpa or Daṁḍathūpa. 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.

² Cf. for this 73. 154 f. and note.

³ Lit.: Gāvuta-vihāras.

⁴ = Mahāthūpa. Cf. note to 76. 104. There are four thūpas mention-

98 cubits high, the Jetavana-thūpa one hundred and forty cubits
high, the Abhayagiri-thūpa one hundred and sixty cubits high,
99 as well as the great Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa¹ 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 thūpas) built in the
proper fashion, and faced with stucco, he also cleared the
courtyard of the cetiya.

102 The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Coḷas — which measured
in every direction one hundred cubits², one hundred in length
and breadth³ 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 pillars⁵. Sixty large
pāsādas (like) the one named Sepannipuppha, as also the
106 destroyed pāsāda called Mahindasena he had renewed, also
boundary walls and numbers of pariveṇas, and after erecting
a house for alms he celebrated a great festival for the offering
107 of alms. In the ancient pariveṇas, the Thūpārāma 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 Maricavaṭṭi had been added later.

¹ Taking the four stūpas 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 Mahāthūpa 180 ft. and for the Maricavaṭṭi 120 ft. According to SMITHER, *Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura*, p. 52, 47, 27 in his time the height of the three first thūpas 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 Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa measured then (p. 20) over 80 ft. It is now restored.

² = 150 ft. The surface area of the Lohapāsāda is in reality rather more than 231×232 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 *hatthasatūrukaṃ* in contrast to *uccato tattakaṃ*.

⁴ P. *sihapañjara* "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 Cetiyaḡiri¹ he had sixty-four thūpas 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 Vihāras», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The Mihintale mountain. See note to 38. 76.

Chapter LXXIX

THE LAYING OUT OF GARDENS AND THE LIKE

1 As the King wished to make all articles (of food) needed
 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 Lakkhuyyāna. 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 Dīpuyyāna¹ 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 Rājanārāyaṇa; the garden called Laṅkā-
 tilaka and the garden called Tilokanandana, that called Vā-
 9 narākara and that called Nayanussava; the garden Manohara
 by name and the Nimmitapura, the Jaṅghābhāra and the
 10 Puṇṇavaddhana by name; the garden of the name of Saṃ-
 sārāphala and that called Phārusaka, that called Sālipota and
 11 that called Somanātha; the Thānakoṇkaṇa and the Uttarakuru
 by name, that called Bharukaccha and that called Pulacceri;
 12 the gardens called Kīlākara, Paṇḍavāvana and Rāmissara, as
 well as the Sāmisamptosuyyāna, the Cintāmaṇuyyāna and the
 Pacuruuyyāna.

¹ See above 73. 96 ff. 113 ff.

In Rājaratṭha the King had ninety-nine new thūpas 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 forty-four gate-buildings; one hundred and ninety-two chapels with 19 altars for flowers, sixty-seven outer walls and thirteen temples for the gods¹. For the bhikkhus coming from foreign lands 20 he had twelve parks (laid out) and two hundred and thirty rest-houses² 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 hills³ and bringing its mighty flood of waters hither by means of a vast canal called the Ākāsagangā⁴, 25 the Ruler created that king of reservoirs continually filled with water and known by the name of Parakkamasamudda⁵ 26

¹ P. *devālaya*, thus sanctuaries for Hindu deities. Numerous temples to Viṣṇu and Śiva were discovered in Polonnaruva.

² P. *āgantukasālā* "house (or hut) for strangers".

³ So I understand *mahatā girisetunā*. W's translation "stone wall" I consider inadmissible, since "*giri*" is always "mountain" never "stone".

⁴ Skr. *Ākāsagangā*, name of the Ganges river which is conceived as flowing in space until it descends to earth.

⁵ 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 Paṇḍavāpi 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 Parakkamataḷāka with a sluice¹ of a hundred
 28 cubits², and which was made fast³ by stone construction. Further
 the Ruler of men built the Mahindaṭaḷāka⁴ and the Ekāhavāpi

Kāraṅgaṅā, is described in more detail in v. 40 ff. A canal starting from its waters the Mahāmegha park. In 79. 7 this park is named immediately after the Dīpuyyūna 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 CJS. G I, p. 161. In 79. 57 a Parakkamasāgara is mentioned. As it was also connected with the Kāraṅgaṅā, 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 Parakkamataḷāka. 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 *āla* now in S.nh.) start from the *paṇālī*. In Skr. *praṇālī* 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-koṭṭuva*. 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.

² 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 Mahindaṭaṭa 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 Manihīra, the Mahādāragallaka, the tank called 32 Suvannatissa and that called Dūratissa, the Kālavāpi tank and the one Brāhmaṇaggāma by name, the tanks called Nālikera- 33 mahāthamba, Rahera, Giritaḷāka and Kumbhīlasobbha; the 34 Kānavāpi, Padīvāpi and the tank called Kaṭi, the Pattapāsānavāpi and the tank called Mahāṇṇa; the tanks with the names 35 Mahānāmamatthaka, Vaddhana, 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 Mahindataḷāka is identical with this, it can only have been a restoration.

¹ P. *koṭṭhabaddhanijjhara*. 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 (*koṭṭhabaddha*). Note that in Skr. *koṭṭhaka* may also mean an encircling wall, and on the other hand that the corresponding Sinhalese word *koṭṭura* (see above v. 27 note) is also used in connection with waterworks. In Mhvs. 68. 16 *Koṭṭhabaddha* is the name of a causeway on the Jajjara-nadī.

² Of the tanks enumerated here six (Valāhassa, Mahādāragalla, Mahādatta, Kumbhīlasobbha, Pattapāsāna and Kāṇa) are mentioned in 60. 50 as having been restored by Vijayabāhu I. Cf. note to the passage. The Manihīra is the work of Mahāsena (Mhvs. 37. 47), likewise the Suvannatissa (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 28, called Rantisa in the Medirigiriya inscr.) and the Mahādāragalla (37. 47); the Dūratissa, one of Saddhātissa (Mhvs. 33. 9); the Giritaḷāka, 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 Mahāmeghavana; in the same way
 the canal known by the name of Nilavāhinī which started
 43 from the sluice called Mālātīpuppha of the same (tank) and
 the canal Salaḷavatī by name which branched off from the
 44 Kīlākaruyyāna sluice; further the great canal called Vettavatī
 which took its start from the sluice known by the name of
 45 Vettavatī; the canal Tuṅgabaddā coming from the Dakkhinā
 sluice and the canal Maṅgalagaṅgā which branched off from
 the sluice called Maṅgala, as well as the canal called Campā
 46 from the sluice near the Caṇḍī gate. (He built) also the
 Sarasvatī (canal) which branched off from the Toyavāpi and
 led to Puṇṇavaddhanavāpi and the Vepumatī (canal) from its
 47 western side; further the (canal) Yamunā which branched off
 from the Puṇṇavaddhana tank to the west and the Sarabhū
 48 (canal) which ran northwards; also the canal called Candabhāgā
 which flowed through the centre of the Lakkhuyyāna, and
 the Nammadā (canal) which branched off in the domain of the
 49 Jetavana-vihāra; further the canal named Neraṇjarā which
 flowed from that tank in a northerly direction, and the
 50 Bhagīrathī, which started from the Anotatta tank; as also
 the (canal) called Āvattagaṅgā which branched off from there
 to the south and the Tambapaṇṇī (canal) which flowed from
 51 the Ambāla tank towards the north; the Aciravatī (canal)
 which ran westwards from the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, fitted for
 52 many a long year to prevent famine, and the Gomatī (canal)
 which branching off from there flowed eastwards, and the
 53 Malāpaharaṇī (canal) running northwards; also the canals

flowing eastwards from the Aciravatī: the Sataruddhā, Nibbindā, Dhavalā and Sīdā; further the Kālindī canal which flowed 54 in a southerly direction from the southern overflow of the vast Maṇihīra tank; as also the canal called Kāverī which 55 flowed from the Giritalāka tank to the Kadduravaddhamāna tank, and the Somavatī canal running from the Kaddura- 56 vaddhamāna tank to the Arimaddavijayaggāma (tank). The 57 Monarch also constructed the Godāvarī canal which branched off from the Kāragāṅgā and flowed to the Parakkamasāgara.¹ (Lastly) the Prince had the ruined canal called Jayagāṅgā² 58 restored. It branched off from the Kālavāpi and flowed to Anurādhapura. 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 (Dakkhiṇadesa) 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. Mahāmeghavana and Jetavana are of course called respectively after the park and the monastery in Anurādhapura. Hemavatī is the skr. *Haimavatī*, a name of the Ganges. Sarasvatī and Yamunā are well known rivers in Northern India. Vetravatī is a tributary of the Yamunā, now called Betwa. Kālindī (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. Tuṅgabhadra is the name of a river in the Dekkan, likewise Kāverī, Godāvarī and quite in the south in Tinneveli, the Tāmraparṇī. The Bhagirathī (v. 49) is the name of one of the sources of the Ganges, and the Gomatī is a left tributary of the same stream. The Aciravatī is so named after a river which flows past Sāvattthī = skr. *Śrāvastī*, now the Raptī. The Nerañjarā is called after the river at the sacred place where Buddha received Enlightenment (OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, p. 129). Campā (v. 46) is the name of an old Indian town in Aṅga near the present Bhagalpur in Bengal. Candrabhāgā, Āvartakā, Veṇumatī are Indian river names (BR. s. v.). Nibbindā (v. 53) corresponds perhaps to the Nirvindhya named in Meghadūta 28. Anotatta (v. 49) which was situated in the country of the mythical Uttarakurus was made sacred according to Vin. I. 28² by a visit of the Buddha.

² Now Yodi Ela.

born in Pūṅkhagāma¹ he erected the Sūṭighara-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 eighty-
 64 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 Rājini weir³, the weir
 67 called Telapakka, the weir on the Jajjarā⁴ and the Vilattākhaṇḍa
 (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 locks⁵ and small tanks which were
 damaged, thirty-seven in number — these the Monarch had
 repaired.

70 Also in the province of Rohaṇa 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-
 gāma⁶ the Monarch (erected) the Ratanāvali-cetiya, one hundred
 72 and twenty cubits⁷ in height. Further (he founded) sixteen

¹ See note to 61. 26. The height of the tope was roughly 180 ft.

² Cf. Mhvs. 68. 34 and 43.

³ P. *nijjhara*. See note to v. 28. What is here called *nijjhara* is probably the same as *vāri(sam)pāta* Mhvs. 48. 148; 68. 35, 37.

⁴ Probably an allusion to the great irrigation works described in Mhvs. 68. 16 ff. which needed repair. In the case of a river *nijjhara* 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.

⁵ P. *āvaraṇe*. 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.

⁷ 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 terraces¹ and two-storeyed image houses forty-three in number, two sermon halls and seventy-five images, thirty-seven dwellings for the community from the four regions of the heavens, forty-seven outer walls and twenty gate-buildings; also fifty-nine rest-houses for guests, four parks and three statues of the Metteyya. After the Sovereign had then built five dancing-halls, he had everything here and there which was broken down and decayed restored. Thirty-seven thūpas, twenty-two Bodhi Tree terraces, two hundred and seventy-four large image houses, one relic temple, seven temples for images in recumbent posture, forty caves and four brick houses; four long pāsādas, and six three-storeyed pāsādas, twenty-nine sermon halls and three cloisters, one 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 tower-gates, one hundred and twenty-six outer walls these all the Sovereign had restored. The Ruler also made fast two hundred and sixteen leaking tanks belonging to the community, like the great Uruvelā tank and the Paṇḍukolamba tank and others, further eighteen decayed sluice locks and two hundred and five ruined small tanks. On ten tanks he repaired the stone sluices and here and there he had forty-four canals dug².

By constructing in this way beautiful vihāras, gardens, tanks and the like he adorned with these numerous (works) the whole of Laṅkā.

Thus Parakkamabāhu, the Ruler of men, by whom were performed divers and numerous kinds of meritorious works, who continually found the highest satisfaction in the teaching

¹ P. *bodhikoṭṭhake*. Here also *koṭṭhaka* (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.

² This verse ends the first continuation of the Mahāvamsa ascribed to Dhammakitti. See my edition of the Cūlavamsa I. Introd. p. III.

of the Master, who was endowed with extraordinary energy and discernment, carried on the government for thirty-three years¹.

Here ends the seventy-ninth chapter, called «The Laying out of Gardens and the Like», in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ 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 Laṅkā.
 When he had received consecration as king the prudent one 2
 in his great mercy released from their misery those dwellers
 in Laṅkā whom his uncle, the Sovereign Parakkama, had 3
 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

¹ In Polonnaruva there is an inscription of Vijayabāhu II. which supplements the account of our chronicle (WICKREMASINGHE EZ. II. 179 ff.). In it he also describes himself as sister's son of Parakkamabāhu. 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 Bhaddavati, 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 Parakkamabāhu, 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 Laṅkā. 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.).

² 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.

Alakā for (the god) Kubera and Amarāvātī for Sakka, so was
 6 Pulatthinagara for him the royal city. He himself composed
 in the Māgadha 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 Vijayabāhu², and (being) highly famed, to increase the joy of
 the bhikkhus in the land of Laṅkā 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. Mani-
 festing 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, per-
 forming many meritorious works, carried on the government
 for one year⁴.
 15 Now after a traitor, Mahinda by name, of the Kuliṅga
 clan⁵, who had won as his spouse a cowherd's daughter, Dī-

¹ The capital of Rāmañña (Lower Burma, Pegu). Cf. Mhvs. 76. 38. We see from this passage that the Māgadha tongue, that is Pāli, was the medium of international intercourse, in the same way as Latin in the Middle Ages.

² Vijayabāhu I. is called not quite correctly, the grandfather (*pitā-maha*) of Vijayabāhu II. For his relations with Rāmañña 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 Paṇḍitavijayabāhu. He has the same name in the Nik.-s. and Rājaraṭn.

⁵ W. translates "Mahinda of Kalinga" and gives a wrong colouring to the affair. The MSS. have *Kuliṅgo* and also the Col. Ed. The clan name of the Kuliṅga occurs already in Mhvs. 19. 2. Pūjāv. calls the usurper Kilinkesdā Mihindādipāṇo (*kesdā* is *kesadhātu*). Rājaraṭn. and

panī 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 Laṅkā for five days.

After his murder the Uparāja of King Vijayabāhu, born in 18 Kālīṅga, Kittinissaṅka by name¹, 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 Ratanāvalī-cetiya 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 Nissaṅka Malla has left many and ample inscriptions. Ed. MÜLLER has edited 15 of them in the AIC (nr. 143 ff.) WICKREMASINGHE 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 Polonnaruwa, EZ. II. 98 ff.) that he was born in the Kālīṅga country in the town of Sīṃhapura as son of the King Jayagopa and the Queen Pārvatī. The Great king of Laṅkā the Chief of the clan (*kula-jeṭu*) — 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 Laṅkā. Without doubt this right was much disputed and it looks as if the bombastic style of Nissaṅka Malla's inscriptions had the object of increasing the prestige of the new Kālīṅga dynasty in Ceylon.

² In the inscriptions (for ex. Galpota-I., C, line 1) and the Heṭa-dā-gē portico inscr., 1. 19; EZ. II. 89 and 113) Nissaṅka Malla claims to have built the *daḷadā-geya*, which was named after him, as well as the *vaṭa-geya*. This last is evidently the so-called Vaṭa-dā-gē on the Quadrangle which was, however, in reality, a work of Parakkamabāhu I. and probably only restored by Nissaṅka Malla. See note to 78. 41. What the *daḷadā-geya* was and where it was situated is not certain. One is inclined to think first of the Heṭa-dā-gē situated opposite the Vaṭa-dā-gē. That is according to the inscriptions on the building itself, apparently a work of Nissaṅka Malla. But in spite of its traditional title, it was probably not a *dā-gē*, 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 Parakkamabāhu I. (note to 78. 42).

- 21 structure with a golden point¹. After building the vihāra²
 adorned with a hundred pāsādas 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 Master³. With the four-membered army the Ruler full
 of pious devotion, went forth to the Samantakūṭa and performed
 25 there his devotions⁴, and everywhere on the island of Tamba-
 paṇṇī⁵ he had flower gardens and fruit gardens and numbers
 26 of houses for the community laid down⁶. While in this way

¹ The tope is therefore called even to-day the Rankot-Dāgoba "Golden point dagoba". It has nothing, however, to do with the Mahāthūpa in Polonnaruwa with which it is associated in the index to my edition. The Rankot lies to the south of the Ālāhana-pariveṇa. 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 Dāgoba was built. The expression *bandhāpeti* "has made fast or firm" is, as a rule, employed of the restoration of old buildings.

² Not yet identified.

³ The famous cave temples of Dambul are situated about 47 miles north of Kandy on the road to Anurādhapura. There is an inscription on the rock wall there of Nissāṅka 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 *Suvarṇagiriguhā*. The 73 statues set up by the king are also mentioned in the Prītidānaka-maṇḍapa 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 (*Samantakūṭa* = Sinh. *Samanaḷa*) is expressly mentioned in the inscription on the vestibule wall of the Heṭa-dā-gē (I. 3 EZ. II. 94).

⁵ The ancient name for Ceylon, originally of that part in particular where Vijaya landed. See Mbvs. 6. 47, 7. 38 f., 41.

⁶ In the inscriptions the King also boasts repeatedly of successful campaigns against the Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas 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 years¹ in most excellent fashion.

His son, the King known by the name of *Virabāhu*², 27 hereupon ruled for one night and then fell into the power of death.

Thereupon the younger brother of that same king *Kitti-* 28 *nissaṅka*, King *Vikkamabāhu*³, enjoyed the royal dignity for three months. He was slain by the Ruler *Coḍagaṅga*, 29 a sister's son of King *Nissaṅka*, who carried on the government for nine months⁴. 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 mishap⁵ by 31 *Līlāvatī*, the first *maheśī* of the sovereign *Parakkamabāhu*.

gāvuta and of the setting up of milestones is interesting (Inscr. of the vestibule wall of the *Heṭṭa-dā-gē*, line 12; EZ. II. 94). Mr. H.W. CODRINGTON has actually discovered a number of such *gāvuta* stones with inscriptions (letter of 1-4-28). They stand along the ancient high road (*Mahāgāma-Kataragama-Buttala-Medagama-Bibile*-(*Mahiyāṅga*)).

¹ The same number in *Pūjāv.* and *Rājāv.* These and the *Rājaratn.* ascribe the same merit to *Nissaṅka 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.

² In the *Galpota* inscr. B, line 1-2 (EZ. II. 111) he is called the son of *Nissaṅka Malla*. *Pūjāv.* also mentions that his reign only lasted one night.

³ Mentioned in the inscr. of the vestibule wall of the *Heṭṭa-dā-gē* line 13-14 as *āpā* "prince". *Pūjāv.* and *Rājāv.* give him the same length of reign as the *Mhvs.*

⁴ The same in *Pūjāv.* In *Rājāv.* *Coḍagaṅga* is mentioned as the general who carried on the government for three years for *Līlāvatī*. *Kitti* is therefore not mentioned at all here.

⁵ *Pūjāv.* like the *Mhvs.*, *Rājaratn.* and *Nik.-s.* enumerates only the names *Virabāhu*, *Vikkamabāhu*, *Coḍagaṅga*, *Līlāvatī* without other details. *Līlāvatī* was the daughter of *Sirivallabha* and *Sugalā*. *Coḍagaṅga* (in the form of *Coḷagaṅga*) and *Vikkamabāhu* (*Vikkantabāhu*) are named as princes (*rājaputta*) who lived at the court of *Gajabāhu* (70. 238), but were not his sons (cf. 70. 333).

32 Thereupon King Sāhasamalla of the race of Okkāka, a
 lion in courage, carried on the government for two years¹.
 33 Then having deposed this Monarch, the general Āyasmanta²,
 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 Kalyāṇavatī, the first mahesī
 35 of Kittinissaṅka³. This Queen Kalyāṇavatī, who was devoted
 to the Order of the Master, had a vihāra called after her,
 36 built in the village Paṇṇasālaka 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 Āyasmanta,
 who administered the government in all Laṅkā, who came of
 38 the Khandhāvara family, sent the Adhikārin Deva to charming
 Valliggāma, had a vihāra erected there⁴ and assigned to the
 39 Great community. He built the pariveṇa known by his name
 40 of Sarājakulavaḍḍhana⁵ 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 23rd 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. HULTSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 518; WICKREMasinghe, EZ. I. 123, note 4; II. 220; H. W. CODRINGTON, HC., p. 67. 75.

² Pūjāv. and Rājāv. call him Elala Abō Senevirat. This is the same general who appears in inscriptions as Lak Vijayasingu Senevi Abōnāvan Tāvurunāvan (EZ. II. 112, line 15; 226, l. 19). WICKREMasinghe EZ. II. 191 shows that probably Āyasmanta is the same as the Kittī mentioned in v. 30 who calls himself in an inscription Lag Vijayasingu Kit Seniviyan and describes himself as the minister of Līlāvatī (E. MÜLLER, AIC. Nr. 157).

³ Kalyāṇavatī is mentioned in inscriptions of Nissaṅka 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.

⁴ 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. *sarājakulavaḍḍhana* (= *svarāj*^o) not *sa r*^o.

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 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 year¹ a royal prince Dhammāsoka by name, who on coming to the throne was aged three months. The Mahādīpāda Anikaṅga came at the head of a great army from the Coḷa kingdom, slew the ruler in Pulatthinagara, Prince Dhammāsoka, together with the general Āyasmanta and reigned seventeen days². But the general, Vikkantacamūnakka, the villain, slew the Monarch Anikaṅga and had the government carried on for a year³ by the first consort of King Parakkamabāhu, Līlāvatī by name, who had already reigned before.

Now came King Lokissara by name, who had been wounded in the shoulder by a spear, with a great Daṃḍa army from the opposite shore, brought the whole of Laṅkā under his sway and reigned, dwelling in Pulatthinagara, nine months⁴. Hereupon the general Parakkama, the best among men of decision, endowed with great power and courage, belonging to the family of the Kālanāgaras, consecrated the Mahesī Līlāvatī⁵ who came of the dynasty of the Sun and Moon, in the royal dignity, she who afterward shone in royal

¹ 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.

² The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

³ In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the general is called Manakkā Senevi. The length of the regency is given as one year.

⁴ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 5 months.

⁵ 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 Polonnaruwa and says that the queen had this building restored. It was one of the foundations of Parakkamabāhu I. For the general Parakkama see Dāṭṭhāvamsa v. 4.

51 splendour. When then a space of about seven months¹ had
 passed for the Mahesī, there landed with a great Paṇḍu army
 52 from the Paṇḍu kingdom the glorious Paṇḍu King Parakkama,
 53 deposed the Queen and her general Parakkama and after he
 had cleared Laṅkā 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 Laṅkā, the devatās who were everywhere
 entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā, 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 Kāliṅga line, in
 59 whom reflection was fooled by his great delusion, landed as
 leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kāliṅga
 60 country and conquered the island of Laṅkā. The great scorch-
 ing fire — King Māgha — commanded his countless flames
 of fire — his warriors — to harass the gr̥eat forest — the
 61 kingdom of Laṅkā³. While thus his great warriors oppressed
 the people, boasting cruelly everywhere: "We are Keraḷa
 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

¹ The same in Pūjāv.; Rājāv. 4 months.

² The same in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

³ In verses 56-60 the compiler gives specimens of his intimacy with the rules of Indian poetics — alaṅkāra. The comparisons belong to the species *rūpaka*. Cf. Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarsa 2. 66 ff.

their possessions, they made poor people of them. They wreck- 65
 ed the image houses, destroyed many cetiyas, 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 Ratanāvali(-cetiya)² 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 souls³ as it were, to
 disappear. Thus the Daṃḍa warriors in imitation of the 70
 warriors of Māra, 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 Mānābharaṇa at the head,
 consecrated the Kālinga Māgha to the glorious royal dignity
 of Laṅkā.

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 castes⁴. Villages and fields, houses and 76
 gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to
 the Sihalas he had delivered up to the Keraḷas. The vihāras, the 77
 pariveṇas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or other
 of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to 78

¹ P. *saḥadhammike*, that is the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, the novices, *sāmaṇerā*, of male and female sex, and the young girls who were being prepared for the profession of nuns (*sikkhamānā*).

² Here for the first time the now customary name (Sinh. *Ruvanrālī*) is used for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

³ Lit. "their life" (*jīvitam*).

⁴ 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 Māgha held sway in Laṅkā for twenty-one years¹.

80 Thus in Laṅkā 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 Mahāvamsa, 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), Kalyāṇavātī, Dharmāsoka, Nekaṅga, Ānilāvatī, Lokeśvara, Līlāvatī, Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu; in the second: Sāhasamalla, Kalyāṇavātī, Dharmāsoka, 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 Vessavaṇa the town Ālakamandā,
 and dwelling here and fending off the Keraḷa 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 Rohaṇa, the community of the
 bhikkhus and the Order⁵.

¹ P. *rājantara* (cf. 87. 46) formed like *desantara*. The translation "interregnum" is also permissible, since no lawful kings reigned.

² P. *nagaraṃ gāmaṃ*. When in the sequel the buildings on the rocks are designated as *nagarāṇi* 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.

³ *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.

⁴ 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 "Westminster 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.

⁵ When *bhikkhusaṃgha* 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 Saṅkha founded
 8 in the district Maṇimekhala by name, on the lofty mountain
 9 Gaṅgādoṇi a superb town and while dwelling there, gave as
 10 little heed to the infamous army of the Ruler Māgha, though
 11 it was but two yojanas away, as to a blade of grass and
 12 protected without fear that district and the Order.
- 13 Now at that time there was a king known by the name of
 14 Vijayabāhu, belonging to the line of King Saṃghabodhi¹, a
 15 man of splendid courage who after he had through fear of
 16 the foe withdrawn to divers inaccessible forests and had long
 dwelt there, attained the dignity of a king of the Vanni².
 The mighty one brought all the dignitaries of the Sihalas
 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 flame of fire³
 (destroys) the darkness. All the Damiḷa warriors who dwelt
 as they pleased in the single villages and houses he drove
 forth. After he had freed superb Māyārattṭha⁴ from the briers
 (of the foe), the Ruler built on the lofty summit of the
 Jambuddoṇi⁵ mountain a splendid town with fine walls and
 gate-towers, resided there in happiness and carried on the
 government as capable monarch.

¹ Sirisaṃghabodhi I. See Mhvs. 36. 73 ff.

² 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 Veddās as a rule, and the Census of 1921 evidently includes them among these. They themselves repudiate all connection with the Veddās 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.

³ P. *tejakkhandha*, synonym for *aggikkhandha*.

⁴ It is noteworthy that in this second continuation of the Cūlavamsa the names Dakkhinadesa and Rājaraṭṭha vanish and are replaced by *Māyārattṭha* and *Paṭiṭṭharaṭṭha*. Cf. note to 81. 46.

⁵ 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 Vācissara 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
 Māyāratt̐ha and there on the mountain Kotthumala in a safe 19
 region had buried both the relics carefully in the earth and
 so preserved them¹. Now some of these Grand theras with 20
 Vācissara at the head, who sought that protection for Lankā
 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 Paṇḍus, Coḷas and other (peoples). Now 22
 Vijayabāhu sending forth his great dignitaries, summoned all
 these theras who were a mine of mercy² 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 festival⁴ round about the
 mountain, he beheld there gazing with his whole soul⁵, the

¹ Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn. agree with the Cūlavamsa as regards the rescue of the two relics from Pulatthinagara and the bringing of them to Māyāratt̐ha. The chronicles call the mountain Kotmalaya. The thera Vācissara is not mentioned. In our passage *khemat̐hānamhi* in v. 19 b must be understood as appositional addition to *padēsamhi*.

² *Ye karuṇākārā* cannot refer to Vijayabāhu, but only to *te mahāthere*.

³ Lit. "one whose whole body was filled with..." The five kinds of joy are according to CHILDERS (P. D. s. v. *pīti*) *khuddakā p.* "slight joy", *khaṇikā p.* "momentary joy", *akkantikā p.* "joy that comes like a sudden shock", *ubbegap.* "transporting joy" (that will make you leap into the air) and *pharaṇap.* "all-pervading joy".

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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".

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 rest¹ or a great treasure, or as if he had attained Nirvana,
 28 the Sovereign took unto himself the two relics and blessed
 like Mandhātār², he bore them with great celebrations from
 29 village to village, from town to town and brought them to
 the beautiful city of Jambuddoṇi 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
 interregnum³ 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
 Billasela⁴ (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 pāsādas and maṇḍapas, 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

¹ P. *cakkādiratanam*. This refers to the seven jewels which belong to the *cakkavattin* or world ruler (cf. CHILDERS, s. v. *ratana*); the first of these is *cakka* the wheel, as symbol of world dominion.

² See 37. 53 and note.

³ Should we not read *puna* instead of *pana* in 31 b, or is *pana* used with the same meaning?

⁴ Now *Beligala* (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 Kaḍaim-pota (H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 2) as well as in the Siri Laka-kaḍayuru (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.).

the care of the relics, he decreed a regular offering of alms. Also he commanded that a sacrificial ceremony of surpassing kind should be performed for the relics day by day in most perfect fashion.

Now in his faith the Sovereign set about rendering helpful service to the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. If one asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply 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 with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and along with these, many other writers of books and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with the number of the divisions the like number of gold kahāpaṇas¹. He also performed a sacrificial festival for the doctrine and thus heaped up a fulness of merit. The theras and the middle-aged and young (bhikkhus) and also the sāmaṇeras in Tisihala² who had taken on themselves the burden of a life of discipline, all these protectors of the teaching of the Master he gathered together and made harmony where there had been discord. And then the Monarch pondered thus: "The ceremony of admission to the Order³ 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 reunited community richly with the eight articles of necessity⁴ and made them hold for seven days the ceremony of admission to the Order which was preceded by offerings and honours

¹ This account is extremely significant for the history of the tradition of the sacred texts in Ceylon. It is found also in Pñjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn.

² This expression which refers to the threefold division of the Island into Patitṭhāratta, Māyāratta and Rohaṇa and which frequently recurs, is used here for the first time. Cf. note to 81. 15.

³ P. *upasampadā*.

⁴ 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 community¹, he made it over to them. In his chari-
 tableteness the Ruler thought: "Bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras who
 53 study the Tipiṭaka 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 maintenance². Thus in doing good to
 the Order the Monarch naturally honoured thereby the triad
 of the jewels — Buddha and the others.

58 In Vattalaḡāma³ the King had built for the bhikkhus in
 a perfect manner the vihāra called after his own name
 59 Vijayabāhu. In the vihāra Kalyāṇī by name, the Ruler had
 the vast and splendid cetiya which had been destroyed by the
 60 Damiḡa soldiers, made fast again and a golden finial put upon it,

¹ 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 Jambuddoṇi.

² In the Rājaratn. which is particularly concerned with Vijayabāhu the following strophe is quoted in praise of the generosity of the King.

Cātuddisāyātajinatrajānaṃ
 āpānabhūtaṃ gharam āsi tassa
 yadicchitappaccayaḷābhahetu
 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. *kalpa-druma*).

³ 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, maṇḍapas, outer walls, gate-towers 63
 and the like which were in Māyārattṭha, 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 vihāras 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 Parakkamabāhu 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 Laṅkā 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 Saṃ- 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 Laṅkā and ruled this himself in perfect fashion¹.

79 After the Sovereign had in this manner sowed the royal seed in the wide field of Laṅkā, he entered heaven after a reign of four years².

80 Even as this Ruler of men, Vijayabāhu, protected the entire world of the laity and the Order of the Victor, so should all future rulers of Laṅkā protect both, bestowing on them security.

Here ends the eighty-first chapter, called «The Reign of One King», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The meaning is that the King made Saṃgharakkhita Head of the Church and entrusted him with the education of the heir to the throne. As head of the Order Saṃgharakkhita had to look after the spiritual welfare of the people over whom the King exercised secular dominion.

² 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 Parakkamabāhu 1
 united the whole of the people who were in Tisihala, 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 Kalikāla-sāhicca-sabbaññupañḍita¹. On 4
 his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu he conferred the dignity
 of yuvarāja and made over to him a part of the kingdom.
 With the thought: I will make the maiden Laṅkā 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
 Damiḷas, and with great pomp and ceremony he brought 7
 the Tooth Relic from the Billa mountain to the splendid town
 of Jambuddoṇi². "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

¹ That is "the scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age". The expression *sāhicca* "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.

² Thus too Pūjāv. According to Rājāv., the king had brought the relic from Jambuddoṇi to Samiddhipura.

stone the Ruler had a casket fashioned for the Tooth Relic and again as receptacle for this a large, superb, costly jewel-case of bright, valuable precious stones. Then for five thousand gold nikkhas¹ he had as receptacle for this case a second splendid chest fashioned, and then again for twenty-five thousand silver nikkhas a third chest. Now when the King starting with the relic temple, had adorned the town, and had devoutly celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the Tooth Relic, he took the Tooth in the lotus of his hand² and spake in the midst of the Great community the following solemn declaration³: "Our sublime Buddha, god of the gods, the Sage, strong in miraculous power visited this island of Laṅkā three times, and that most supreme of men went away, having sojourned here and there and having made of sixteen prominent places spots hallowed by his use⁴. Therefore it is that Laṅkā 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. Aforetime also on this island the Ruler of men by name Asela, son of the Ruler Muṭasīva, wise in statecraft, conquered the Damiḷas Sena and Guttaka who carried on horse-dealing⁵

¹ P. *nikkha* or *nekkha* = ved. *niṣka*, is a weight with which the precious metals are weighed. According to Abhp. 480, 888 it seems to be equal to 5 suvaṇṇas. This would agree with the Indian reckoning which makes one *niṣka* (= 1 pala = 4 or 5 suvaṇṇas) equal to 56.875 gr. The figures in our passage are certainly a fantastic exaggeration.

² A frequent *rūpaka*. Cf. Daṇḍin 66 (note to 80. 60) *pāṇipadma*.

³ P. *saccakriyaṃ akā*. See note to 51. 56.

⁴ P. *pāribhogika*. This is in the first place a term for relics which are revered as articles of use belonging to a saint, such as the alms-bowl of the Buddha. In contrast to these are the bodily (*sāriṇika*) 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 Laṅkā 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 most important are Mahiyaṅgaṇa, Kelaniya, Adam's Peak, the sites of the various topes in Anurādhapura, Tissamahārāma etc.

⁵ 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 Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya 22 vanquished Elāra of the Coḷa country and protected the laity and the Order. Again the Monarch Vaṭṭagāmaṇī 23 vanquished in combat five very cruel Damiḷa princes and protected the laity and the Order. Then the Ruler of men, 24 Dhātusena, subdued six Damiḷa kings with their countless great warriors, and sheltered the laity and the Order. Again 25 the great Vijayabāhu put to flight in battle the Coḷiyas and the Damiḷas and protected the laity and the Order. Now I 26 too have the wish to vanquish the insolent Damiḷas who have destroyed vihāras and other buildings and also the Order of the Master and still have their abode in Patitṭhāraṭṭha¹, 27 the twain, King Māgha and Jayabāhu², 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 Dhammāsoka and the others who were born when the fully Enlightened One no longer lived, beheld 31 divers miracles like the figure of the perfectly Enlightened One³ 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

¹ See note to 81. 15. The Sinhalese form of the name is Pihitiṭṭa.

² 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.

³ What is meant are miracles such as that described in Mhvs. 31. 96 ff. As Duṭṭhagāmaṇī 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 Gaṇḍa's mango tree in Sāvattihī. For the so-called *yamakappāṭṭhāriya* see DhCo. III. p. 206 ff.

33 Nirvana, came, as regards miracles, to the five great resolves¹,
 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 One², 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.

41 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

¹ For the *mahādhiṭṭhānapañcaka* 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.

² P. *tādinā* "of him who is so as he is and no other".

of merit richly earned by the people¹, 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 ornaments², 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 articles³, 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 Mahāvamsa, 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 *saṃbhatam puññasampadam* and so has my edition. The Col. Ed. alters it to *°bhatā °padā*, but *°bhatam °padam* 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.

² 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 Thūpavamsa is discussed.

³ P. *ratanehi sattahi*. The seven *ratanāni* are: *suvaṇṇa* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *muttā* (pearls), *maṇi* (precious stones like sapphire and ruby), *velūriya* (a semi-precious stone(?) like cat's eye), *vajira* (diamond), *parālu* (coral). See CHILDERS, s. v.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE STORY OF THE SUBJUGATION OF THE HOSTILE
KINGS

- 1 Since all the inhabitants of Laṅkā had seen the effect of
the merits of the King, they lived from that time onward
2 filled with still greater reverence towards him, in fear, in joy
and in love, never were they capable of transgressing his
3 commands. All the sovereigns of the divers countries sent the
King gifts, since their hearts were inclined to admiration of
his majesty.
- 4 People whose heads were to be cut off he punished only
in stern fashion with dungeon and fetters¹ and then set them
5 free again. But for such people as deserved prison the Ruler to
whom pity was the highest, ordained some lighter punishment²
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 (kaḥāpaṇas).
7 But on all those who deserved a fine, he looked with in-
dignation and with all sorts of words of rebuke he made of
them honest men.
- 8 Then all these people, the forces of the foe in Laṅkā who
abiding in forest strongholds and elsewhere, had become
9 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 *niggaṇḥitvāna*.

² I think that *niggahaṃ ka'vā* as well as *niggaṇḥitvāna* in v. 4 must mean a punishment and not a mere admonition. This is expressed by *ovadi* in v. 5c. 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 spirit¹. The Sihala kings in the land of the Vanni who were equipped with² army and train, he brought completely under his influence, sitting merely on his lion's throne³. All the Sihalas with their lion-like courage who dwelt in Tisihala⁴, these all the Ruler of men assembled around him and made them content. Then he dared to overthrow the great Damila warriors who building great fortresses, had settled here and there in the country. Of all the Sihalas who on the field were as lions against rutting elephants — the enemy — he sent some hither, others thither. The great Sihala warriors wherever they came, harassed the Damila warriors as the Garuḷas the Nāgas⁴.

At that time the Damila kings, Māghinda and Jayabāhu⁵ had set up fortifications in the town of Pulatthi(nagara), famous for its wealth, in the village of Koṭṭhasāra⁶, in Gaṅgātālāka⁷, in the village of Kākālaya⁸, in the Padī district and in Kurundi⁹, in Mānāmatta, in Mahātitttha and in the harbour of Mannāra¹⁰, at the landing-place of Pulacceri and in Vālikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu district, at Madhupādapatitttha and at Sūkaratitttha¹¹: at these

vācā (v. 7c) *niggaha* it is true, means "rebuke". That is after all the mildest punishment.

¹ Thus by force or by kindness. As regards the construction of the sentence, *paripanthnam balam* should probably be taken as in apposition to *sabbe vanaduggādinissite*.

² Without recourse to force, merely by his prestige as sovereign. For the Vanni cf. note to 81. 11.

³ See note to 81. 46.

⁴ See note to 75. 38. ⁵ Cf. 82. 27.

⁶ 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.

⁹ The two names appear again in 88. 64 next to each other. In the Siri Laka-kaḍayuru (The Taprobanian 1888, p. 55) they are noted among the districts of the Pihiti-rāṭa (Patiṭṭhā-rāṭṭha).

¹⁰ Now Mantai and Mannar. See notes to 48. 81 and 61. 39.

¹¹ Of the six last localities only Madhupādapatitttha is mentioned 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, Damiḷas and Keraḷas, who hard pressed by the spear-
 21 armed Sihala warriors, were unable to resist, came terror-
 stricken to Pulatthinagara and held counsel thus as to their
 22 future conduct: "King Parakkamabāhu 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 Sihalas. Even
 some of us Damiḷas 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 gate² 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 Sihala warriors, thus carrying out
 33 themselves what the King had only thought. And all the Sihalas
 taking from them their accumulated treasures, became from this
 34 time onward rich people³, 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 Damiḷa kings who after erecting fortifications in such and such places, had been settled there for a long time, came and held counsel.

² The mistake of the Damiḷas 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 Sihalas intercepted them. Pūjāv. gives the same account of the occurrence as the Cūlav.; Rājāv. a different one.

³ P. *sampannā* of pregnant significance in allusion to the *sampadam* following in v. 34.

in Mithilā who gained the wealth which the kings a hundred in number, had through fear flung away¹. After thus accomplishing by his power the crushing of the alien foe, he set himself to bring about the prosperity of all Laṅkā.

When the eleventh year of the reign of this King had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha². All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded every landing-place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Laṅkā. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire³, so Laṅkā which had been harassed by Māgha and others was ravaged anew by the Jāvakas. Then the King sent forth his sister's son, the heroic Prince Virabāhu, with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas. The fearful Rāhu, namely Virabāhu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candabhānu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle⁴. He placed his

¹ Cf. W., note to this passage. The story alluded to here is related in the Ummaggajātaka (FAUSBÖLL, Jāt. VI. 389 ff.). Through the cleverness of the Bodhisatta the inhabitants of Mithilā capture the possessions of 101 kings against whom they had been fighting. Cf. Jāt. VI. 409²⁴: *tato patthāya 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.

² P. *sogatā*, followers of the Sugata, the guide to the path of salvation. The Pūjāv. also mentions Candabhānu as the leader of the Jāvakas. According to Rājāv. his soldiers were Damiḷas.

³ The *pāvakaśanī* and the *nirāśanī* 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 *asani* at first in its derived and the second time in its original signification.

⁴ A picture suggested by the name of Candabhānu ("Moonshine"). Rāhu is the demon who causes the eclipses. We have again to do with

heroic Sihala soldiers here and there and began to open fight
 44 with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sihala 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 Jāvaka soldiers from a machine¹.
 46 Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Virabāhu slew
 47 numbers of Jāvakas, as Rāma (slew) the Rakkhasas. The
 Veramba wind², namely Virabāhu, 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 Laṅkā from the foe.
 49 Hereupon he betook himself to Devanagara, worshipped there
 the lotus-hued god³ and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice.
 50 He had erected there a *priveṇa* that was intended for the
 Order; it received the name of Nandana⁴, since it was the
 51 delight of the people. Thereupon he turned and came to the
 town Jambuddoṇi, he sought out Parakkamabāhu, and he
 was overjoyed.

compounds of the *rūpaka* order (skr. *Virabāhur 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.

¹ P. *yantamutte* (*bāṇe*). Something apparently like the ancient catapult. Mhvs. 72. 251 mentions huge stones being hurled from such machines.

² *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 *kālacāta*.

³ 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. PRERIS, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (= P. 2) p. 109 f. It is significant that Virabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu sanctuary. At the same time however, he builds a *pariveṇa* 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 fame of victory¹.

Here ends the eighty-third chapter, called «The Story of the Subjugation of the Hostile Kings», in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ 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. COCKINGTON, HC. p. 77, 87.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE SERVICES RENDERED TO THE ORDER

- 1 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 aforesaid 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 sanctuaries¹ and the villages
 5 of the pariveṇas 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 rank².
 6 While the Ruler made all the inhabitants of Laṅkā 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 occupations³, with senses ever unbridled, he sought
 8 out rigorously, dismissed them (from the Order) and thus
 9 purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then
 the King sent many gifts to the Coḷa country⁴ and caused to
 be brought over to Tambapanni many respected Coḷa bhikkhus

¹ P. *aṭṭhāyatanagāṇake*. It is difficult to say what is meant by this. For the explanation we must look above all to v. 17 f.

² See Mhvs. 67. 58 and note.

³ Professions which are not fitting for the samāṇa are enumerated in Dīgha-Nik. I. 1. 10 (= I. p. 5) Cf. R. O. FRANKE, Dīgha Transl. p. 7, n. 2.

⁴ The same account in Pūjāv.

who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas 10 and so established harmony between the two Orders¹.

Then when the Ruler learned that among the many high- 11 principled bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambaratṭha² there was a Grand therā, Dhammakitti³ by name, radiant in 12 the glory of moral discipline, and that once when this therā 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 Tambaratṭha. He made the Grand therā 15 come to the island of Laṅkā, rejoiced again and again, as if he had beheld⁵ the Perfect One, celebrated for him a great 16 sacrificial festival and provided him who was a (worthy) vessel for offerings and honours⁶, in careful manner with an offering of the four necessities. 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 sanctuaries⁷ and for the discerning theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest,

¹ 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. PARANAVITANE, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II. 1, p. 35 ff.

² Probably a province in Southern India. Pūjāv. has instead Tambalingum. It would appear from the Rājāv. that Candrabhānu came from Tambalingum. So also H. W. CODRINGTON, HC., p. 77.

³ The name of Dhammakitti recurs several times. According to WICKREMasinghe, 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.

⁴ W's translation "and other royal gifts" is incorrect. Here *dhammapābhata* and *rājapābhata* are contrasted with one another.

⁵ Not as W. has it: "as if he had seen an Arāha". Pūjāv. has *budun rahatan duṭṭvā sē*.

⁶ *Pūjasakkārābhājanam* belongs to *taṃ* in 16 d. For the figurative meaning of *°bhūjana* cf. note to Mhvs. 44. 70.

⁷ See above note to v. 4.

- 19 many communal monasteries, suitable for dwelling in, extensive
 embellished with divers *pāsādas*, provided with various *maṇḍapas*,
 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 *Putabhadda*² rock a forest
 dwelling, assigned it to them and supported them therewith.
 25 As they made of the strictest conduct a reality, he made
Laṅkā 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, *Bhuvanekabāhu* by name, to be in-
 30 structed, so that he was versed in the three *Piṭakas*. 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

¹ P. *lūkhappaṭipatti*, cf. v. 25. The compound is missing in the PTS. P. D.

² In *Pūjāv. Paḷābatgal*.

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 again in the eleventh, twelfth and seventeenth, as also in the twenty-first, twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of his reign thus eight times, a vast hall (resting) on sixty pillars². Round about it he erected a great and splendid maṇḍapa. This again he had adorned with divers coloured stuffs and made numerous groups of bhikkhus abide there by turn for the purpose of rest. Day by day full of zeal, he did them honour with a great festival of gifts in his name and granted to many sāmaṇeras admission to the Order. Then following on this, he conferred on bhikkhus the highest rank, namely the dignity of a therā, Grand therā and the like³, and accumulating many important wares⁴ of great value and many beautiful articles of equipment even to the measure of a king of elephants, the Ruler first presented to those who had attained the rank of a Grand therā, articles of equipment worthy of a king and then allotted to all the ascetics who were theras and to those who had been dismissed from the dependance on a teacher⁵, and to the others in their order, the eight articles of equipment⁶.

¹ The section v. 32 to 41 is absent in the Pūjāv. The *aṭṭhaṅgikamagga* consists of the eight members: *sammāditṭhi* "right insight", *sammāsaṃkappa* "right thought", *sammāvācā* "right speech", *sammākammanta* "right doing", *sammāājīva* "right gaining of livelihood", *sammāvāyāma* "right endeavour", *sammāsaṭi* "right deliberation", *sammāsamādhi* "right spiritual concentration."

² The same 89. 49.

³ W. renders *āyatanādika* as title along with *therā* and *mahātherā* "incumbent of temple". But this seems to be contradicted by v. 40 *mahātherāyatanatṭhāna* "rank of a Grand therā." *Āyatana* must therefore be combined with *therā* and *mahātherā* in v. 38.

⁴ P. *garubhaṇḍa* also 85. 105.

⁵ 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*.

⁶ See note to 60. 71.

- 42 Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated every seven
 days the great and superb festival of the eight bestowals¹,
 43 and later celebrating several times over the festival of admission
 into the Order, he made the Order of the Victor prosperous.
 44 Thus the King by granting it in this way manifold support,
 caused as the moon² the ocean, the good Order of the Tathāgata
 — 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 Mahāvamsa, compiled for the
 serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The expression *aṭṭhopasāṃpatti* must refer to the offering of the
aṭṭha parikkhārā (v. 41). *Upasāṃpatti* is not the same as *upasāṃpadā*
 "admission to the Order". It is to this festival which took place later
(pacchā) that v. 43 alludes. In 89. 50 *upasāṃpatti* is also used in
 connection with the distribution of articles of use to the bhikkhus,
 while the celebration of the *upasāṃpadā* takes place later (v. 63).

² 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, incom- 1
parable, glorious town, by name Sirivaḍḍhana¹, his birthplace,
a vihāra exceeding rich and vast². It was furnished with 2
pāsādas and maṇḍapas and with high walls and gate-towers,
adorned with bodhi trees, with cetiyas, with groves and image
houses, bright with all kinds of paintings³ and embellished 3
over and over with ornaments. Then he had the stretch of 4
road from the town of Jambuddoṇi to the town of Sirivaḍḍhana
levelled in the length of half a yojana and the breadth of an
usabha⁴, so that it was fair as the surface of a drum, and 5

¹ It is now generally recognized that this Sirivaḍḍhana has nothing to do with Kandy (cf. COPLESTON, The Identification of the Sirivaḍḍhanapura of Mahāvaṇṣa, Chap. LXXXV., JRAS. C. B. XII, Nr. 43, 1892, p. 206 ff.). It was situated according to v. 4 only half a yojana from Jambuddoṇi-Dambadeniya. All my MSS. have in v. 4 *aḍḍhayaḍḍhana*^o, not *aṭṭhayaḍḍhana*^o 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 *aṭṭayodanak*.

² P. *visālavibhavaṃ* ("possessing great riches") *mahāvihāraṃ*. 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*^o but *mahā*^o.

³ P. *nānākammaviccitta*; cf. *cittakamma* "varied painting".

⁴ In the line *ḍiḡhaviṭṭhā: ato aḍḍhayaḍḍhanūsabhamatṭhake* the *aḍḍhayaḍḍhana* refers evidently to *ḍiḡha* and *usabha* to *viṭṭhāra*. The first is the length, the second the breadth of the road. An *usabha* is equal to 20 *yaṭṭhi* = 140 *ratana* or *hatṭha*, (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 sand and adorned on both sides with many flags and pennons strung high by which the sun's rays were warded off, with rows of banana stems and with numbers of filled jars which contained decorations of flowers and were fair with their bright painting. On the whole of this free tract he had erected 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 cubits¹ a large *pāsāda* covered with variegated painting, with a high point, three-storeyed and furnished with an image of the perfectly Enlightened One². Then he decorated the *vihāra*³ round about the walled-in district of the monastery 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 the picture of the full moon, — with banners five-fold in hue and of divers form, which were fair as heavenly dancers who dance in the court of the atmosphere — with rows of *maṇḍapas* set with jewels that sparkled everywhere, which possessed the beauty of a series of many palaces descended from the world of the gods — with rows of figures of Brahma, that danced in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because they were worked by a mechanism⁵, — with divers-hued mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with

¹ Thus at distances of 7½, 15 and 150 ft. *Toraṇa* means the arch spanning the street on festive occasions. As to *paṭṭatorāṇa* we must think of the framework of bamboo stalks as being covered with coloured stuffs. We are not told what the *rājatorāṇa* looked like.

² From *tato* (end of v. 3) to v. 10 one sentence. Pred. and subj. are at the end. The King erected 1) *rājatorāṇaṃ*, 2) *paṭṭatorāṇaṃ*, 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 (*alaṅkate*); to this last belong the instrs. in v. 6 and 7. In v. 8 the loc. *samīkatatale* is rendered collective by *etasmīṃ vipulokāse*.

³ I anticipate obj. and pred. in 19 d.

⁴ The rainbow is considered Indra's weapon. Stress is once more laid on the variegated colouring of the *torāṇas*.

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 vihāra. Then again 20
 he made the whole of the inhabitants in Laṅkā take up their
 position in a circle round the vihāra, filling the space of a
 gāvuta¹ 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 sāmaṇeras 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 him³ 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 flowers⁴ and 28
 bowls of silver with lotus flowers, filled jars⁵ 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

¹ See note to 73. 154.

² See note to 37. 214.

³ P. *purato pantiso* (v. 29), that is in single groups or divisions before he himself started.

⁴ P. *pokkharanī*, i. e. "lotus-pond". We must imagine the basins in which the flowers were borne as being oblong in form like small bathing-ponds.

⁵ 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 Sirivaḍḍhana. After
 32 carefully laying them down in the midst of the vihāra in a
 spacious maṇḍapa on a covered Buddha seat, he set about
 33 making the various people³ celebrate a sacrificial festival. In
 the morning all people who had a true thirst⁴ for meritorious
 works, adorned with their ornaments, venerated the Tooth
 34 Relic and the Bowl Relic in religious devotion⁵, with divers
 kinds of flowers, such as jasmin, campaka blossoms, the blossoms
 of the ironwood tree⁶ and the like, distinguished by their
 colour and perfume, and which were mingled with flowers of
 35 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 *kārā-pento mahāpūjaṃ*.

² The five instruments are enumerated in Abhp. 139 ff. They are *ātala*, *vitata* and *ālatavitata*, 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—23.

⁴ P. *puñṇasonḍa*. The word *sonḍa* "drunkard" used here in a figurative sense, as also in *dharmasonḍatā*, Jāt. V. 482¹⁷ (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

⁵ P. *bhattiyā*, see note to 74. 243.

⁶ P. *jāli*, *jasminum grandiflorum*, *campaka*, *melichia champaca*, *nāga*, *mesua ferrea*.

⁷ *Khajjabhājje* is the more detailed explanation of *anna* and *leyya-peyye* 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 Buddha¹. The festival
was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and 43
songs of the dancers who on splendid stages² erected here
and there, performed while assuming different characters³,
divers dances and sang various songs. The noise⁴ of the 44
festival was increased by the sound of the five musical
instruments⁵ which produced the illusion of the roar of the 45
great ocean of his meritorious works⁶ that was so strong that
it surpassed⁷ the booming of the sea, while the drums shamed
the thunder-claps of Pajjunna⁸. 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 fans⁹ and 47
preached the good doctrine that went straight to the heart of

¹ Subj., pred. and obj. *mahipālo buddhapūjaṃ pavattayi* stand at the close of the whole sentence in v. 51 cd. The preceding verses contain attributes to the object *buddhapūjaṃ*, namely *manoharam* (v. 42-3), *vivaḍḍhitam* (v. 44-5), *ghositam* (v. 46-7), *maṇḍitam* (v. 48-9), *pasattham* (v. 50-51).

² P. *raṅgamaṇḍala* = sinh. *raṅgamaḍala*.

³ What is meant are the different parts they play. The dances are always mimic in character.

⁴ The term "noise" must be supplemented from the foregoing. In the text itself there is only *vivaḍḍhitam* directly related to *pūjaṃ*.

⁵ See above note to v. 30-31.

⁶ 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.

⁷ Skr. *dūrīkaroti* can also mean "leaves behind it, surpasses".

⁸ Skr. *Parjanya* the God of rain and of the storm. Cf. Jāt. I. 331²¹ ff.; D. N. II. 260²⁵; Mhvs. 21. 31.

⁹ 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 cries¹
 of the four retinues (of the Buddha)² who ever giving grateful
 49 expression to their joy, went hither and thither praising un-
 ceasingly 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 Balibhojakas³ arrayed in all their ornaments, who taking their
 stand at the divers regions of the heavens after the custom of a
 Nandin procured⁴ 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 wishing-
 creeper⁵ of the pāramitās⁶ 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.

² These are the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay brethren and lay sisters.

³ See note to 38. 13.

⁴ P. *buddhasantiṃ karonteḥi*. The expression *santiṃ 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 *nandin* has in the prologue to deliver the introductory prayer (*nāndī*) which is fraught with blessing. Cf. STEN KONOŦ, Das Indische Drama, p. 24. We can understand too why the elders of the Balibhojaka clan 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.

⁵ Also in Skr. *kalpalatā* along with *kalpavṛkṣa* 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 the King erected a pariveṇa 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 several rich maintenance villages, and celebrated a great sacrificial feast.

The King made his yuvarāja³ erect in the Billasela-vihāra the pariveṇa called Bhuvanekabāhu after him, embellished with pāsādas, maṇḍapas and the like and then celebrated in the town called Sirivaddhana in the manner described, with all votive offerings with care seven days long a great sacrificial festival for the three (sacred) objects. But also in the splendid town of Hatthigiripura⁴ the King made the same (yuvarāja) erect a vast vihāra, and after having built in his name a superb pariveṇa, called Mahāmabindabāhu, he celebrated a great feast of sacrifice and gathered thereby merit. He restored the decayed five-storeyed pāsāda built long before in the splendid town of Kalyāṇī by King Yaṭṭhālatissa⁵, and in repairing what was destroyed by having it coated with stucco, he made it again as it had been originally. There too he restored in similar fashion the temple of the recumbent statue of the King of sages and the temple of the Tivaṅka image⁶. There too the Ruler had the spacious, four-square courtyard of the great cetiya laid with great stone slabs, making of it a perfectly

¹ See note to 85. 2.

² Namely the vihāra in which the Parakkamabāhu-pariveṇa was erected. *Pariveṇa* and *vihāra* are thus not used synonymously as W. thinks.

³ That is his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu, see 82. 4.

⁴ I. e. "Elephant mountain town", now Kurunegala.

⁵ He was the son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devāṇampiyatissa and founder of the dynasty of Rohaṇa, whence arose in the fourth generation Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. (Mhvs. 22. 2 ff., 10 ff.). For Kalyāṇī see note to 61. 35.

⁶ Cf. note to 78. 39. The images named here are the same as those mentioned in the Selalihiniśandesa 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 maṇḍapa. 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 Hatthavanagalla¹, erected² by the monarch Goṭṭābhaya,
 74 by name, on the spot where King Sirisaṃghabodhi gave his
 75 head as gift to the poor man³ — 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 down⁴ 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 One⁵, 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 heritage⁶ 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

¹ Now Attavanagalla on the small river of the same name, about 18 or 20 miles north-east of Colombo.

² Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa 9. 7 (p. 32 of the edition by ALWIS). Here the building is described as *bhavanam vattulam*.

³ Mhvs. 36. 91 ff. should be compared with this. The history of Sirisaṃghabodhi's end is told in greater detail in the Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa 8 (p. 25 ff. of the ed.) and embellished with many miraculous tales.

⁴ Namely on the pyre. The corpses of the kings were disposed of by burning.

⁵ Buddha's disciples are described as his spiritual sons.

⁶ 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.

course of time had come to Tambapaṇṇī and was now preserved 81
in the vihāra of Bhīmatittha in the province of Pañcayojana¹.
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 lotus-
hued 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 had 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 Āsāḷhī
festival⁵ for the god.

Now the Great king betook himself to the splendid town 90
of Jambuddoṇī. Here he had built round the Sirivijayasundara- 91
vihāra⁶ erected by his royal father, a high wall and gate-
towers and then had the three-storeyed relic temple restored⁷. 92

¹ Now Bentota on the coast between Colombo and Galle. For Pañcayojana see note to 57. 71.

² That is towards Mahākassapa. W. erroneously associates *there* with "the elder who had the charge thereof".

³ 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.

⁴ P. *devanagaram viya* in allusion to its namesake, the town of Viṣṇu's shrine.

⁵ P. *āsāḷhā*, -*hī* 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.

⁶ Cf. above 81. 51 where the monastery is called Vijayasundarārāma.

⁷ Cf. with this 82. 9 ff.

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 portrayed¹ by
 numbers of specially skilled painters on a great tablet a splendid
 96 Buddha figure, showing² the Exalted One as he took when alive
 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 Lankā as well as a multitude of people and celebrated in the
 town of Sirivaḍḍhana in the manner described earlier, for
 seven days a great festival for the Buddha.

99 Now when the Great king heard that unimaginable bless-
 ing attaches to a kaṭhina³ 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 world⁶, the kinsman of

¹ P. *mahācittapaṭe* ... *lekhāpesi*. Probably the picture was painted on a piece of stuff. In the Pūjāv. where the picture is also described, the expression *petikaḍa* 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 kaṭhina 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. *manuṣṣasaketu*, Raghuvamśa 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 kaṭhina offering of eighty (robes).” The wise 103
(prince) then called together the whole of the men and women
dwelling on the island of Laṅkā 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 kaṭhina robes. But 106
after he had prepared all this and versed in offering, had
distributed it among all the theras dwelling in Tambapanni³,
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 kaṭhinas 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 Laṅkā.” 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

¹ 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 *ādicca-bandhu* is a frequent name of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa explains it in Suttanipāṭa 915 by *ādicassa gottabandhu* (HELMER SMITH, *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 562).

² See 84. 39 and note.

³ See note to 80. 25.

⁴ P. *khirataṭṭāka*. Lit. “ponds of milk”. The explanation is similar to that of *sonṇapokkharani* 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 Laṅkā for seven days a great sacrificial feast.

118 The best of kings also betook himself with his four-membered forces to the Samantakūṭa¹, 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 gods², the King of truth, the Master. Round about the monarch of the mountains he granted to the extent of ten gāvutas³ 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.

122 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 Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is mentioned in the Pūjāv.

² The title *devātideva* for the Buddha which already occurs in Mhvs. 1. 57, points again to a later stage of development. Cf. note to 50. 65.

³ That is about 20 miles.

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 Laṅkā, 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 Devappatirāja 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,

¹ 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.

² Namely that the miracle described in 5cd and 6ab should be manifested as sign of the fulfilment of his wish to become one day a Buddha. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119 and notes.

³ P. *vasavattin*. As epithet of Māra, also in Thūpavaṃsa 65¹³, with

unwelcome Māra, the road leading to the Sumana mountain¹ is at many places obstructed, (made) inaccessible and causes difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by venerating the footprint of the Sage. Do thou therefore make it accessible. Further: I have heard that in the vihāra called Hatthavanagalla², at the spot where a Grand therā gifted with miraculous powers, making through the majesty of his merit earth and air to resound with thunder, attained the dignity of an arahant, a five-storeyed pāsāda with a roofing of golden bricks erected by King Upatissa³, has in the course of time fallen into decay, so that now nought but the pillars remain. Do thou also restore this in my name. And just as King Nissanka laid out a garden of fruit-trees in the Bhīmā-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 undertaking⁵.

Devappatirāja agreed with "aye!" and betook himself in the first place to Gaṅgāsiripura⁶. There he had fashioned a magnificent image of Sumanadeva⁷ furnished with all the fair bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūṭa⁸. He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in

reference to the *paranimmitavasavattidevā* who are Māra's retinue and are themselves described as Māras.

¹ Name of Adam's Peak.

² See 85. 73 and note.

³ 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 *taṃtampunṇakriyāsu*.

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 = Sumanakūṭa. 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
 mouth² he made a large and magnificent bridge of thirty-five
 cubits, and over the Khajjotanadi one of thirty cubits, likewise
 at Ullapanaggāma one of thirty-six cubits, at Ambaggāma 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 Samantakūṭa, 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 maṇḍapa for the holy footprint. Round about it he 30
 had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the maṇḍapa
 fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to 31

¹ P. *ussavena saha*. Pūjāv. has *peraharin* "with a procession".

² 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.

³ 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. *Kaṇamādirihoya* (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.

⁴ 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 mes-
 sage) off, since his wishes had been completely carried out.

37 After that Devappatirāja betook himself to the Hattha-
 vanagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the
 38 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.

40 Thereupon the High dignitary betook himself to the
 landing-place Bhīmatittha and built at the mouth of the
 41 Kālanadī a bridge of eighty-six cubits². Then after building
 at Kadalīsenagāma³ a bridge of a hundred staves⁴ and over
 42 the river of Sālaggāma one of forty staves⁴ and over the

¹ P. *mahāsāmin*. Cf. with this note to 53. 23. Anomadassin was the Superior (abbot) of the monastery.

² 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.

³ 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 Kōlsenāva.

⁴ The calculation according to *yaṭṭhi* "rod, measuring rod" here is curious. According to 78. 63 (cf. the note to the passage) a *yaṭṭhi* equals 5 *hattha*. The two measurements in v. 41 would accordingly be 750 and 300 ft. respectively.

Salapādapa swamp one of a hundred and fifty cubits¹ 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 Bhīmatittha-vihāra as far as the landing-place (of the Kālanadi)² 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 kaṭhina 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 kaṭhina robes.

Then he had the whole of the vast forest called Ma- 49 hālabujagaccha³ cleared by the roots, a fine village built there and in its neighbourhood a large grove of jack-trees⁴ 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 Master⁵ 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

¹ Roughly 225 ft. W. gives the number as "fifty". He has overlooked the *sata* in *satahatthakam*.

² Kālanadītīttha, 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.

³ Pūjāv. *Mahadelgas namvū mahavanaya*. Sinh. *del* is the name of the bread-fruit tree *artocarpus incisa*. — P. *labuja*.

⁴ Pūjāv. *kosvanayak*. Sinh. *kos* is *artocarpus integrifolia*. — P. *panasa*.

⁵ P. *rājaññanāmato* stands here in the same sense as *mahārājassa nāmato* in v. 32 or *mahārājanīyogato* in v. 39 or *rājanāmena* in v. 51.

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.

58 In such wise did the protector of the middle world from
that times make that same most excellent Devappatirāja
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 Laṅkā by which everything was burnt up, when the corn withered and a famine was inevitable 2 and the whole of the people dwelling in Laṅkā 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 cetiyas and the bodhi trees and for the protectors Metteya and other miracle-working highest deities¹ who were to be venerated by 4 various offerings, and even to turn the whole of Laṅkā into one great festival². After antecedent sacrificial ceremonies, he 5 gathered together the Great community of the bhikkhus, caused them recite the Paritta³ 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

¹ For *devātideva* used here of the future Buddhas at the head of whom stands Metteya, cf. note to 85. 119.

² The construction is difficult. W. merely translates freely according to the sense. We must take the words *kārāpetvāna* and *mahussavaṃ* twice, first *uttamaṃ mahussavaṃ kārāpetvāna* (namely for the things and persons mentioned in 3 and 4) and then *sabbaṃ Laṅkaṃ ekaṃ mahussavaṃ kārāpetvāna*. For this last cf. idioms like *vaḍḍho yev' eko* "pure murder and bloodshed", M. II. 244³; *ekobhāsā disā sabbaṃ vidhāya*, Mhvs. 74, 219, JāCo. V. 194⁵ etc.

³ See note to 46. 5.

joyful the people, driving away the famine, beautifying the country and reviving the corn¹.

10 "By the power of the Buddha do these rain-clouds pour
11 forth such rain, making joyful our hearts. Who therefore among
12 gods, brahmas and men is capable of understanding how great
13 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 Lankā praised
the excellence of the Monarch of sages and also the excellence
of their King.

14 While in this wise the King protecting Order and laity in
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, Vira-
16 bāhu, his five capable sons — Vijayabāhu, Bhuvanekabāhu²,
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 kind³.
19 Now those who know not how to enjoy at its true worth⁴ 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)

¹ The removal of a drought by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic is also described in the Rājāv.

² The two brothers Vijayabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu are mentioned together in an inscription found in Yāpahu. H. C. P. BELL, ASC. 1911-12 = S. P. III. 1915, p. 63.

³ 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.

⁴ P. *guṇānurodhato*. 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.

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
 Māyāraṭṭha¹ but have now again conquered the two other
 provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under 25
 one umbrella. All the Daṁḍas who were for him invincible,
 I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni² 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 Paṇḍus and the Coḷas, 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

¹ See notes to 81. 15 and 46.

² See note to 81. 11.

³ 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) *śaṅkha* "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.

⁴ For the legend of the Sāgaras, see *Mahābhārata*, III. 106 ff.

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 supporting¹
 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.

39 Hereupon he summoned the Great community in great
 numbers² 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. *yāyantā* ought not to be changed into *sāsantā*. I assume that *yāyati* has here a causative meaning "to make go, to further, to support".

² Not "the chief priests and the people", as W. has it. *Mahājanam* is in apposition to *mahāsaṅgham*. 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 devotion³ Vijayabāhu 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 Vijayabāhu‹. Children 57
 beaten in wrath by father and mother come to him and tell
 their woe. Then Vijayabāhu 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 Vijayabāhu 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 Laṅkā-
 dipa 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

¹ P. *aṅgaḥāni*.

² Wrongly translated by W. It is not a case of people embezzling the taxes, but of the revenue officers who wished to collect them.

³ P. *sambhattā*. Cf. with this the term *bhṛatti* = skr. *bhakti*, note 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 Ratanāvali-cetiya¹ destroyed by alien foes, thou shalt restore
 67 and adorn it with a golden point. Pulatthinagara, that splendid ornament of all towns,² which was the ancient royal city of
 68 the Sihala 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 number³, dwelling in the three Sihala provinces, to Sahassatittha⁴, let them there after antecedent
 72 sacrifice, celebrate in the Mahāvalikagaṅgā the festival of admission to the Order and thus make the Order of the Victor prosperous.

73 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.

74 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 Laṅkā.

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.

² P. *sabbapurītilaka*. The word *tilaka* ("badge of a sect") has here (as so often also skr. *tilaka*) a figurative meaning "ornament, adornment".

³ For *bhikkhusaṃghaṃ mahājanaṃ* cf. note to v. 39.

⁴ Now Dastota, a ford over the Mahaveliganga south of Polonnaruwa. 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.

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 Ādipāda Virabāhu, 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.

¹ The *satta rajjaṅgāni* are enumerated in Abhpd. 350. They are: *sāmi* "ruler, monarch", *amacca* "minister", *sakhā* "friend", *koso* "state treasure", *duggaṃ* "fortress", *vijitāṃ* "land, kingdom" and *balāṃ* "army". In the Kauṭaliya, they are enumerated at the beginning of Book 6 as the (*sapta*) *prakṛtayaḥ*: *svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadandamitrāṇi*. Why J. J. MEYER in his translation should have left out *kośa* (p. 397) I cannot understand. Cf. ib. p. 399²⁰, as well as R. SHAMASASTRY, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, trsl., p. 319. In SUBHŪTI's Abhidhānappadīpikāśūci a verse is quoted from Kāmandaki in which the same terms are grouped together.

10 Then he thought: "Now I must perform a meritorious
work — splendid, sublime, rejoicing the heart. I was entrusted
11 with the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl. For these I
must now build a new temple. On the other hand, the an-
12 cient relic temple erected by my royal forefathers¹, has fallen
13 into decay. This I will restore." With this consideration, he had
fetched from all parts many groups of artists experienced in
14 every branch of art and many other workmen; and erecting
new structures doubly as fair to look at as the former build-
15 ings, he completed the whole temple of the Tooth Relic, so
that it was beauteous as a heavenly palace; placed there the
16 two relics of the Enlightened One and ordered his own guard
to institute day by day a great sacrificial festival richer than
17 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.

18 Thought the Ruler: my royal father shall have no grief
arising from the separation from his sons, and he made his
19 two younger brothers, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu, dwell
20 continually near their father. Hereupon he summoned his
younger brother Tilokamalla and placed under his command
21 all the Sihala troops quartered in the space between the town
22 of Jambuddoṇi and the southern sea and made him take up
his abode in Mahāvattthalagāma², to protect his royal father
23 on the south. Then he reflected: "In the north, foes coming
from the opposite coast are wont to land in Khuddavāligāma.
24 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. *piturājāhi*. W. translates "by the King, my father". He evidently regards *rājāhi* 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 Jambuddoṇi which is said in 85. 91-2 to have been built by Vijayabāhu III. and renewed by Parakkamabāhu II.

² Perhaps identical with Vattalagāma 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 Sundarapabbata¹, in
 order to protect his royal father from this quarter. But the 27
 King himself armed, marched with Virabāhu hither and thither,
 crushed all villains, made Laṅkā 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 Parakkamabāhu, 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 Vijayabāhu² 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

¹ The same as Subhapabbata or Subhagiri = Yāpahu.

² The influence again of the Mahāyāna. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119, 86. 5.
 Also in Rājaraṭn. and Nik.-s. the King is called Bōsat Vijayabāhu.

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 Vātagiri¹. 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 therā, the head of the Mahānettappāsāda-shrine², made
 over to him the splendid monastery, celebrated a great sacrificial
 festival and established a regular offering.

48 Hereupon the King went forth to Sumanakūṭa, venerated
 the footprint of the Sage (Buddha) and betook himself there-
 49 after to Gaṅgāsiripura³. 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 Va-
 naggāmapāsāda and after building there in the name of his
 52 royal father⁴ the pariveṇa called Abhayarāja, he granted it
 the various articles of equipment, villages, fields and so forth.
 53 Then the Monarch betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiri-
 pura⁵. While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle
 54 (Bhuvanekabāhu), he gazed along with Prince Vīrabāhu⁶ 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-

¹ Vākirigalla in the Kegalla District. Cf. note to Mhvs. 58. 31.

² A Mahānettappabbata is mentioned in Mhvs. 50. 74.

³ Gampola. See 86. 18.

⁴ The pariveṇa 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.

⁵ Kurunegala. See 85. 62 where mention is made of the building of the Vihāra by Bhuvanekabāhu, the younger brother of Parakkamabāhu II.

⁶ Cf. 83. 41 ff.

manency¹. Hereupon he erected there a splendid, three-storeyed image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler 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 name Bhuvanekabāhu-pariveṇa, using for it the name of that (uncle). Then after he had settled the town (Hatthagiri) densely with men and women, he had it enclosed with wall, moat and so forth. Thereafter the brave King set forth and marched with the vast four-membered army to Subhagripura².

At that time the Lord of men Candabhānu, formerly³ beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pāṇḍus and Coḷas and elsewhere many Damiḷa soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in Mahātittha. After the King had brought over to his side the Sihalas dwelling in Padi, Kurundi⁴ and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisihala⁵; 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 royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight." Thereupon Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler⁶ Vīrabāhu, took counsel with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: "Hurrah, to-day both of us shall see the strength of our arms." Then the two set forth⁷, surrounded the great army of Candabhānu on all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rāma. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and

¹ P. *aniccalakkhaṇa*. This is a term drawn from the technique of *jhāna*, meditative absorption. See HEILER, *Die buddistische Versenkung*, p. 18 ff.

² I. e. Yāpahu.

³ Cf. 83. 36 ff.

⁴ See note to 83. 16.

⁵ See note to 81. 46.

⁶ Vīrabāhu has here and in v. 90 the title of *mahipati*, just as Bhuvanekabāhu in v. 79 has the title of *rajan*.

⁷ Note the change of subject in the case of *vatvāna* and *nikkhamitvā*.

71 weaponless the soldiers of the foe¹ wandered around, prayed
 72 and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled,
 73 begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of
 74 terror. In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest,
 75 others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After
 76 Vijayabāhu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent
 77 the Lord of men Candabhānu flying defenceless. But the
 78 loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses,
 79 the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the
 80 trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of
 81 victory, the banner of victory — all these he sent to his father.
 82 Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the
 83 province and won the victory, he united Laṅkā under the
 84 umbrella of his dominion.

85 Hereupon he had this town (Subhagiri) also surrounded
 86 by a high rampart and a trench and built there a superb
 87 royal palace. Having finished it, he established then in that town
 88 a regular almsgiving for the great bhikkhu community. Then he
 89 spake encouragingly to his younger brother King Bhuvaneka-
 90 bāhu and made him take up his abode as before in Subhappabbata.
 91 Now the Ruler betook himself to Anurādhapura and there
 92 round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places
 93 he had the mighty forest — that was like a stronghold created
 94 by Māra — felled and a wall erected which was as a bridge
 95 over the stream of his hopes. Then after the Ruler had had
 96 these sacred places embellished by new buildings, he celebrated
 97 a great sacrificial festival. But as he wished to complete the
 98 work of restoration on the Ratanāvali-cetiya², begun but not
 99 finished by his royal father, he assembled with the greatest
 100 speed all people dwelling in the town from the places where
 101 individuals sojourned, ordered numbers of skilful workmen
 102 hither and having established for the community at whose head
 103 stood the chief Thera of the Senānātha-pariveṇa³ a regular

¹ *Veribhaṭṭā tadā* in 71 d takes up again the *tadā veriyodhā* in v. 70 a b.

² See 87. 66.

³ This is the building erected by the general Kuṭṭhaka under Udaya II. and called in Mhvs. 51. 88, *Senasenāpati-pariveṇa*.

almsgiving¹, he appointed the Thera to look after the work of restoration. Thereupon the Monarchs of the Vanni who 87 were living in Patit̥thāratt̥ha, 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 Virabāhu: 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 pāsādas, image-houses, vihāras, parivenas, cetiyas and relic temples, walls, gate-towers, houses of the addhayoga 93 and of the hammiya kind², maṇḍapas, 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 broken³ and 97 their pinnacles destroyed⁴, with others the roofs have decayed⁵

¹ *Niṭṭhāpeti* means here "to fix, to establish", the object *dānavatṭaṇ* being governed by it.

² 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.

³ P. *chinnatulāyatṭhī*. I believe that *tulāyatṭhī* (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."

⁴ P. *naṭṭhaviṭṭāṇkakā*. The original meaning of *viṭṭāṇka* which is omitted in the PTS. P. D. is according to Abhp. "dovecote".

⁵ P. *vidhastavaḷabhi*. This is an interesting voucher for *vaḷabhi* which

98 and the bricks are broken. In others by the breakage of the
 99 damaged rooftree the bricks of the roof have fallen and only
 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
 together¹ 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.

103 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 digni-
 taries from every quarter, and issuing his commands to all the
 105 inhabitants of Laṅkā, he brought together the workers in iron,
 106 the turners, bamboo workers², blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths,
 painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the caṇḍālas who understood
 107 work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters
 108 and the guilds of masons, and in addition to these all black-
 smith'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, chisels³,
 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. 175¹⁶, 177²²), only in the compound *va-
 labhiratha* which must be translated "covered-in carriage".

¹ Thus I translate *nibandhana*. In Skr. it means figuratively at least
 a joint of words, a compound.

² In the *Samyutta* Comm. (I. 193¹⁰ of the Siamese ed.) *veṇakule* is
 explained by *vilivākule*.

³ P. *koṭisa*. In skr. *koṭisa* means "harrow" according to BR., but
 this cannot be the case here. Some kind of pointed instrument must
 be meant (cf. *koṭi* "point").

pearls, precious stones and the like and sent it with the people¹ 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 Cakkavāla mountains², provided with divers vihāras, 117 surrounded by various monastic parks with divers bathing-ponds, filled with a variety of cetiyas, sprinkled with various adḍha- 118 yogas³, adorned with divers pāsādas, built over with a variety of hammiyas³, embellished with divers maṇḍapas, 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 Indra⁴ — restored, so that it surpassed Mithilā, subdued Kañcipurī, laughed to scorn Sāvattihī, subdued Madhurā, turned to shame Bārāṇasī, reduced Vesālī to nothing and made Campāpurī⁵ tremble with her glory.

¹ P. *saha senāya*. *Senā* means here the staff of workers raised by the King.

² 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.

³ For *adḍhayoga* and *hammiya* see above note to v. 93.

⁴ *Amarāvati*, see 80. 5. The town is described in the *Mahābhārata*, III. 1714 ff.

⁵ A series of the most famous Indian towns. 1) Mithilā, capital of the Videhas, now northern Bihār; 2) Kañcipurī, in Southern India

Here ends the eighty-eighth chapter, called «The Restoration of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvamsa, 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) Bārāṇasī, now Benares; 6) Vaiśālī, in the Videha country, in Buddhist times the chief locality of the Licchavi clan, like Sāvattthī often mentioned in the sacred Canon; 7) Campā, in the territory of the Āṅgas, 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 Sumsumāragiri, what need hath she to care for Sā-
keta? Ha! even Rājagaha she wishes to capture as it is. She 4
has destroyed Saṃkassa and now scorns Indapatta. She dares
to challenge¹ Kapilavatthu². Therefore shall the King, the 5

¹ P. *saṃkhyam ussahate kattum*. I think that *saṃkhyā* here is = skr. *saṃkhyā* 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 alaṃkāra. Cf. the expressions in Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarśa 2. 62 ff. with those used in this passage.

² 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. TRECKNER, 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. *Bhargā*); 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. 265²⁸ thirty yojanas from Sāvattthi, was situated

chief of kings, even as Sakka, the overlord of the gods, did
 6 in the city of Sakka¹, 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 Jambuddoṇī to the chief capital (of the kingdom).
 9 And King Vijayabāhu went the distance of a gāvuta² 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
 province³ 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 Jambuddoṇī.

13 Hereupon the King gathered together a great multitude
 of the inhabitants of Laṅkā and had the great highway from
 14 the town of Jambuddoṇī to splendid Pulatthinagara, five yo-
 janas⁴ 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 Śākyas in the territory of the present Nepal, birthplace
 of Buddha.

¹ See note to 88. 121.

² About two miles.

³ The expression is *rattham uttamam*, quite in the sense of *Rājarattha*
 or *Patittharattha*.

⁴ According to the context, this would be the whole distance from
 Jambuddoṇī 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, encircled¹ 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 Jambuddoṇī. The sacrificial festival which he arranged² was beautified by the people entrusted 24 with the various duties³ who letting unceasingly their cries of Hail! resound, went before or followed after⁴ 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 jars⁵, 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'er-spread⁶, 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

¹ Thus I translate *samantā sevamānehi*. This *sevamānehi* is like the attribute to *bhikkhusamghagaṇehi*, also to *brahmasamūhehi* and governs the acc. *ratham* in 17a as well as in 17d.

² This is taken from v. 36 a *mahāpūjaṃ pavattento*. The following accusatives are attributes of *mahāpūjaṃ*: *manoharam* (v. 24 d), *parisevitam* (v. 27 d), *maṇḍitam* (v. 28 d), *parivāritam* (v. 30 d), *parighositam* (v. 32 d), *pasamsitam* (v. 34 b), *thomitam* (v. 34 c) and *parisevitam* (v. 35 d).

³ F. *taṃ-taṃ-dhurā-niyuttehi* (v. 24 c). The people meant are those who have particular functions to perform at a sacrificial festival.

⁴ Taken from vv. 23-24, *purato pacchato pi ca . . . gacchantehi . . . manussehi*. *Gahetoā* 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*?

⁶ Lit.: "by the outspreading (*vitthāra*) of the elephant ornaments."

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 praise¹ of the bards
 who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments
 34 fine music which spread abroad and charmed² 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.

39 Then after the King had turned the whole city into a
 single great place of festival — at a favorable moment when
 40 constellation, day and hour were auspicious, in the ancient,
 decorated relic temple, fair as the palace of the King of the
 41 gods — most splendid of all temples — he solemnly and in
 careful manner placed the two relics on a costly throne em-
 42 bellished by all manner of jewels. From that time onwards,

¹ Lit.: "was praised by . . . and belauded by . . ."

² P. *savaṇṇiyataram*, lit. "very well worth hearing".

³ Vv. 16-38 form one sentence. The principal verb is *ānaya* (v. 38 d with the immediately preceding gerunds). The gerunds *saṁṭhapetvā* v. 16 c and *nikkhamitvā* v. 18 c are subordinate to *pavattento mahāpūjaṁ* (along with the attributes belonging to it; cf. notes to vv. 18 and 24/19).

day by day more, with the four kinds of perfume¹, with fine, fragrant incense, with divers kinds of blossoms of the punnāga, 43 nāga, pūga² 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 Kelāsa³ 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 trumpets⁴ and thus brought (the festival) to a close.

Then spake the Ruler: "Let us perform in Sahassatittha 47 a blameless festival for admission to the Order⁵." He first sent 48 the Monarch Vīrabāhu thither. There he made him erect besides several thousand rooms of sojourn for the community⁶, a lofty 49 house of festival resting on sixty pillars⁷ which gleamed with manifold ornament and possessed arches covered with cloth⁸. 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 Patiṭṭhārattṭha, in Rohaṇa 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

¹ According to Abhp. 147, the *catujjātīgandhā* are 1) *kuṇkuma* "saffron"; 2) *yavanapuppha* (?); 3) *tagara* = skr. *tagara* *tabernaemontana* coronaria and a fragrant powder prepared from the blossoms of the shrub; 4) *turukkha* = skr. *turuṣka* "incense".

² *Rottleria tinctoria* (kamala tree), *mesua ferrea* (ironwood tree), *areca catechu* (areca palm).

³ See note to 63. 41. The *tertium comparationis* is the white colour.

⁴ Lit.: "together with the shell trumpet festival".

⁵ See above note to 87. 71.

⁶ P. *saṃghārāma*.

⁷ P. *saṭṭhitthambhamahālaya* as in 84. 34.

⁸ P. *paṭṭatorāṇa* 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 Sahassatittha². The
 King who again and again³ surveyed Sahassatittha surrounded
 61 as it was with ascetics felt a befitting⁴ 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 Master⁵, the rank of a Chief Thera⁶,
 the rank of a Grand Thera and the rank of a Pariveṇa-Thera⁷
 65 to such (bhikkhus) who because they had brought about the
 prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank.

¹ Vv. 47-56 form one sentence which opens with three loc. abs. *kāra-*
pite (49 a), *sujjāṭe* (50 c) and *āṇite* (53 c).

² P. *āgantvā* (with the acc. of the place) *samnipatiṃsu* is merely
 periphrastic.

³ P. *muhū*, used in the same way as the double *muhū muhū*.
 The same in Jā. V. 32²⁷ *kim maṃ muhū pekkhasi haṭṭhaloma* (*muhū*
 being explained by the commentary as *punappuna*).

⁴ P. *sulabha*. Cf. skr. *śulabha*, BR. s. v., 1 b. The joy corresponds to
 the great number of bhikkhus who have put in an appearance.

⁵ P. *mahāsānipada*. Cf. note to 53. 23.

⁶ P. *mūla(thera)pada*. Cf. 69. 34 *mūlāmacca*.

⁷ P. *therapariveṇādikam padaṃ* seems to mean "the rank where the
 word *pariveṇa* precedes *thera*."

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 Paṇḍu and Coḷa countries. Then when all his 68
 wishes had received fulfilment, he guided by right knowledge¹,
 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 drawn² boundary, known as the 'throwing
 up of the waters'³, he made lustrous the nine-fold doctrine⁴
 of the sublime Buddha.

After he had for a long time made over the burden of 71
 government⁵ to his own world-famed son, this most excellent

¹ P. *ñāṇapubbangamaṃ 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."

² P. *parisodhita*, lit. purified.

³ P. *ukkhēpasīmā*, 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.

⁴ P. *navanigikāṃ sāsaṇaṃ*. The nine "members" (*aṅgāni*) 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 tipitaka; 8) *abbhutadhamma* "discourses relating to mysterious conditions"; 9) *vedalla*, title of some special suttas.

⁵ P. *bhūbhāra*, lit. "burden of the earth". Cf. skr. *bhūbharṭṛ* "prince, ruler".

King Parakkamabāhu who as described¹, performed through his son an abundance of meritorious works, entered heaven when he had attained his thirty-fifth year (of reign)².

Here ends the eighty-ninth chapter, called »Description of the Festival of the King's Consecration and Other Festivals«, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ *evaṃ evaṃ* even in this way.

² According to Rājāv. 32 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.

CHAPTER XC

THE HISTORY OF THE EIGHT KINGS,
OF VIJAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Now in the second year of King Vijayabāhu¹ who after 1
Parakkamabāhu's death, held sway over all Laṅkā, one of his 2
generals, Mitta by name, a faithless friend², won over as as-
sociate 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 Jambuddoṇī, 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 like⁷ were in tatters.

¹ Rājāv. jumps from Vijayabāhu IV., passing over his immediate successors, to the history of Alakeśvara and the Chinese invasion. See note to 91. 14.

² P. *dummitta* with reference to the general's name *mitta* "friend".

³ Rājaraṭn. calls him Lokekabāhu Bhuvanekabāhu, Nik.s. Mahābhuvanaikabāhu.

⁴ P. *yāna*, used of every kind of conveyance. W's translation "litter" is undoubtedly right.

⁵ Subhācala is like its synonyms: Subhagiri, Subhapabbata, Sundarapabbata, the name for the present so-called Yāpahu.

⁶ See note to 38. 13.

⁷ P. *andolipaṭṭakadikaṃ*. The seats of these litters were evidently suspended in girths to counterbalance the shaking. Hence the expression *andoli* "swing", while *paṭṭaka* means the girths.

- 9 He (Bhuvanekebāhu) sprang to the ground from the litter and betook himself in haste, unharmed, to the village of Kālagallaka¹. Here from a stall where elephants were tethered²,
 10 he took a specially good elephant, mounted it and having again crossed the great Kōlabhinna river then in flood, the King reached that selfsame Subhagiri.
 12 Now the Senāpati Mitta forced his way into the town of Jambuddonī, 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 supported him, came together, one following the other. They
 15 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 warriors³ 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 Sihalas warriors and make them contented." And none of them now accepted the
 19 pay. "Be it so", answered the others. They paid all the Sihalas their money and then called upon the Āriya to take
 20 their pay. But again they refused with the words: "Our pay shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now." So
 21 although all the ministers ever and again urgently pressed
 22 them⁴ to accept their pay, the well-armed⁵ Āriya knights

¹ Probably Kalugallagama in the Kudagalboda Korale, NNW. from Kurunegala.

² P. *gajabandhaniyam* is the loc. of *-dhanī* (fem. of *-dhana*).

³ In contrast to the Sihalas, these must be South Indian mercenaries. The reader is referred to the tribe of the Āriya mentioned in 61. 36 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.

⁴ P. *nibandham karoti* "makes an urgent petition". Cf. VvCo. 260¹⁵ *devī 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 they saw the Senāpati Mitta sitting on the lion throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Thakuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the town, all the Sihala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Āriya soldiers with Thakuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhuvanekabāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words: "Be it so", all the Āriya and Sihala warriors united and brought the King, their lord, Bhuvanekabāhu from the town of Subhagiri to the town of Jambuddoṇī and with reverence consecrated him King.

From that time onward the King made the whole army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like, drove back all the Damiḷa foes, like Kāliṅgarāyara, Coḷagaṅgadeva and the rest who had landed from the opposite coast, as also the Vanni kings in Sihala, Kadalivāṭa, Āpāna, Tipa, Himiyānaka and so on, and freed Laṅkā from the briers of the foe. He took up his abode for several years in the town of Jambuddoṇī, betook himself thereupon to the town 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 was a just king and a believing adherent of the Doctrine. He bestowed on the skilful scribes of the sacred books abundant money and had the whole of the Tipiṭaka copied by them, had it preserved here and there in the vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus the Lord of men caused the dissemination of the sacred texts¹. Several times, too, the Ruler caused the festival

threatening aspect of the situation. The Āriyas are fully armed throughout the negotiations.

¹ P. *pāliḍhamma* 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 offerings made, and thus he brought growth and prosperity to the Order of the Sage — the Order whose sublime greatness must be revered by the (inhabitants of the) three 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.

Once when (here in Laṅkā) a famine arose¹, there landed, sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held sway in the Paṇḍu realm, a Damiḷa general known by the name of Āriyacakkavattin who though he was no Āriya² was yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction and entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri. The sacred Tooth Relic³ and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Paṇḍu kingdom. There he made over the Tooth Relic to King Kulasekhara⁴ who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Paṇḍus.

¹ There is a gap in the text here. Of v. 43a the MSS. have only *chātasmiṃ*, five syllables are therefore wanting. The Col. Ed. supplements *jāyamānasmiṃ*. I should prefer *chātasmiṃ idha jātasmiṃ*, because the similarity of the first and third words would make the slip of the writer of the archetype easily intelligible.

² 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 *dāthādātu*.

⁴ Kulasekhara reigned 1268—1308 (H. W. CODRINGTON, HC. p. 80). His general Āriya 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
 bāhu by name, became king and raised aloft — as if to fend
 off like a cloud the heat from the people who dwelt in 50
 Laṅkā — 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 Paṇḍu 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 Paṇḍu kingdom and sought out the Ruler of
 the Paṇḍus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably,
 received from the hands of the King the Tooth Relic, returned 54
 to the Island of Laṅkā 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 govern-
 ment without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings².
 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 Bhuvanekabāhu, the ruler of the town of 59
 Subhagiri³, Bhuvanekabāhu became king in Hatthigiri-

¹ See 88. 35 and note. The Mhvs. tells us nothing of the fate of the younger brothers of Bhuvanekabāhu I.: Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (88. 19-20). Evidently they died before Bhuvanekabāhu.

² *P. rājanāti*. W's translation "laws of Manu" is too restricted.

³ With reference to a fragmentary interpolation in three MSS. after the line 59 a b 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 Bhuvanekabāhu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, the prince by name Bhuvanekabāhu, cherishes the desire for (usurping) the royal dignity at a future time, the King Parakkamabāhu 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 Jeṭṭhamūla² 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 second³ Bhuvaneka-
bāhu also fell a victim to impermanence.

64 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 spires⁵, 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 *Haṭṭhiselapura* (Kurunegala). The Nik.-s. calls the king Vat-himi-bhuvanaikabāhu.

² June—July.

³ The Col. Ed. has *dutiye* and W. translated accordingly: “in the second year of his reign.” CODRINGTON (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 Daḷadā-sirita the King must have reigned at least 9 years. The wording of v. 61 points also to a longer reign. Rājaratn. gives the number of years reigned and the number of the coronation festivals as 24.

⁴ Nik.-s. and Rājaratn. call him Paṇḍitaparākramabāhu. For *āsi* in 64d 91. 9 with note should be compared. The ascent of the throne by Parakkamabāhu IV. took place according to the Daḷadā-sirita in the Saka year 1247 = 1325/6 A. D. (CODRINGTON, l. c.).

⁵ P. *siṅga* = skr. *śṛṅga*, 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 therewith¹. Here (in the tent) he spread a seat, radiant with coloured draperies, and decorated it on every side with rows of golden and silver vases and with rows of candelabra of silver, gold and precious stones. On this seat he then full of reverence, placed the casket with the Tooth Relic and the casket with the Bowl Relic. Hereupon he set about performing day by day a great sacrificial festival in worthy fashion for the relics of the Master — a festival glorious with flowers 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 reverberating² sound of the five musical 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, with elephants, cattle, buffaloes and other gifts he celebrated a sacrificial festival for the relics. With the reflection: "What 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 in the Sihala tongue a work expounding this, with the title "Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic³" and in keeping with it he performed daily a daily ceremony for the relic⁴.

¹ 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 a b must belong to the gerund *alaṃkariya*, but at the same time to *sobhitam* through the medium of *olambamānāhi*.

² P. *vijumbhamāna*, otherwise as a rule *vijambh*. Cf. skr. *jrambh*, *jṛmbhate*.

³ P. *dāṭhādhatucāritta*, rendering of the Sinh. *daḷadāsirita*. The work — it was mentioned above, note to 90. 63 — still exists. See GEIGER, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 9.

⁴ 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 *Cūlavamsa* I, p. 359, note 4. Cf. also below 97. 83, 101. 4.

80 To the office of royal teacher the King appointed a Grand
 81 therā from the Coḷa country, a self-controlled man, versed in
 82 various tongues and intimate with philosophic works. Ever
 83 and again he heard from him continuously all the Jātakas,
 84 learned them (by heart) and retained their contents. Then he
 85 rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful
 86 Jātakas from the Pāli tongue into the Sihala speech¹. He
 87 recited them in the midst of the Grand theras who were
 88 intimate with the three Piṭakas, and after correcting them,
 89 he had them written down and distributed throughout Laṅkā.
 90 And these Jātakas he made over to a wise therā, Medhamkara
 by name, whom he had gained for the purpose, that they
 might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and
 thereby handed down still further. Then after having built
 for him a pariveṇa with the King's own name, he assigned him
 the four villages of Purāṇagāma, Sannīrasela, Labujamaṇḍaka
 and Moravaṅka. In the vihāra of Titthagāma² where the big,
 long pāsāda forty-five cubits in size erected by the great
 Vijayabāhu³, had fallen into decay, King Parakkamabāhu
 himself built a beautiful, long pāsāda⁴ of thirty cubits in size,
 two storeys high, provided with lofty spires⁵, glorious with

¹ This translation of the Jātakas bears the Sinhalese title *Pansiya-panas-jātaka*. 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. Manuser. in the Br. Mus., p. 118 ff.; MALALASEKERA, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 127.

² 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 *Sālaḥiṇi-sandesa* is called after it.

³ Vijayabāhu IV. with the epithet of Bodhisatta, thence called "The great" here.

⁴ In the description of the architectural works of Parakkamabāhu I in Pulatthinagara *ḍiḥapāsādā* 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 therā Kāyasatti who dwelt in the Vijayabāhu-pariveṇa¹.
He also granted him a village, called Sālaggāma, on the banks 92
of the river² forming the boundary (of the monastery), making
it a possession of the pariveṇa. In fair Tittthagāma he had a 93
park laid down, provided with five thousand cocopalms. In 94
Devapura³ 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
Gaṇṭhimāna by name which he proclaimed as the property of
the Buddha. In the vihāra of Valligāma⁵ the Ruler erected a 96
long pāsāda, consisting of two storeys, which after his own
name, was called Parakkamabāhu(-pāsāda), and granted it the 97
(village) Sāligiri⁶ by name as a large maintenance village be-
longing to the Great community. In fair Viddumagāma, not far 98
from the town of Rājagāma he had a splendid vihāra built,
connected with the Sirighanānanda-pariveṇa, with a bodhi tree 99
and an image-house and assigned it to his teacher, the Grand
therā from the Coḷa country⁷. Thereupon he founded in the 100
charming district of Māyādhana⁸ 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

¹ Cf. 81. 58.

² All the MSS. have *upa sīmanaditiraṃ*. *Sīmanadī* might also be the name of the river. The emendation of the Col. Ed. into *Gimhanadī* (now Ginganga; cf. 75. 22, *gimhatittha* = Gintota) is certainly tempting, but I do not venture a departure from the uniform reading of the MSS.

³ Devapura or Devanagara = Devundara, Dondra. See 60. 59.

⁴ I. e. the recumbent Buddha who is always compared to a lion at rest.

⁵ See 80. 38.

⁶ W. points to *Elgiriya*, a village in the Veligama Korale, 6 miles NNE. of Veligama and 10 miles NW. of Matara.

⁷ See above v. 80 f.

⁸ The territory whose centre was Sitāvaka about 25 miles E. of Colombo.

the lotus-hued King of the gods (Viṣṇu) and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.

103 After performing such and other good deeds for the laity and the Order and many meritorious works, he fell under the power of death.

104 Gifted with the power of meritorious works which he had 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 impermanence, decide, O ye pious people, whose wealth is faith, for meritorious works² amongst which generosity and moral discipline have first place³.

105 After his death Vannibhuvanekabāhu was king and
106 after his death came King Vijayabāhu. But after the death of these kings the all-wise Bhuvanekabāhu⁴, the fourth, was ruler in Gaṅgāsiripura⁵ situated in the charming vicinity

¹ The acc. *attatthaṃ* must be governed by *rato*. This, it is true, is otherwise construed with the loc.

² *P. katvā gaṇḥatha* is a verbal combination witnessing to Sinhalese influence. The equivalent in Sinh. for which however, I have no example in the literature, would be *koṭagannarā*. Since *gannarā* gives a reflective sense to the verb to which it is attached, *katvā gaṇḥatha* means "do for yourselves what is for your advantage".

³ With verse 102 or 101 the second part of the Cūlavamsa 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 śloka 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 Bhuvanaikabāhu are also mentioned by the Nik.-s. and Rājaraṭn., as successors of Parakkamabāhu IV. The inscription of the Laṅkātilaka-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 Senālaṅkādhikāra who is named in the inscr., is also mentioned in Nik.-s.

⁵ Gampola, see 86. 18.

of the Mahāvalukagaṅgā — 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
experience² of a Buddha, did good unweariedly without ceas-
ing, 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 Vijayabāhu and his Successors», in the
Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the
pious.

¹ I. e. 1350 A. D. The same in Nik.-s., but Rājaratn. has the figures
1896 = 1352 A. D. Both numbers are approximative. According to the
Laṅkātilaka inscription Bhuvanekabāhu IV. ascended the throne already
in 1266 of the Śaka era, i. e. 1344-5 A. D. For the whole subject see
H. W. CODRINGTON, HC. p. 83. 88.

² *Dullabbhantiyaṃ atidullabha-* is merely tautological, *labbhantiya* is
furthermore a spurious form, made to suit the metre.

CHAPTER XCI

HISTORY OF THE FOUR KINGS,
OF PARAKKAMABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

- 1 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 Peraddoṇi³, situated in the charming
- 3 neighbourhood of the Mahā(vāluka)gaṅgā, 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.
- 5 "The town of Kalyāṇī shines with her palaces, bodhi trees, her superb cloisters and maṇḍapas, with walls, halls, image temples and cetiyas, with her gorgeous shops, her
- 6 splendid gate-towers and arches." Now to the South of this town Kalyāṇī 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.).

² For insers. of the time of Vikkamabāhu IV. see BELL, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 78. According to the inscr. 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 Rājāratn. 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 devoted¹ to the Buddha and so forth, on the great lake not far from the spacious village of Dārūgāma², 7 he built the famous town of Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa³, 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 Bhuvanekabāhu⁴ 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. *Buddhādiyuttajanakappitasādhuthāne* stands evidently for *buddhādi-yutta-sādhujana-kappita-ṭhāne*. *Buddhādi* stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. *Yutta* means in the first place "joined with something", then "hanging on, adhering to something"; *kappita* means "provided with something".

² The village is called so in the Rājaraṭṭ. Thus *Dārūgāma*^o in the Mhvs. stands instead of *uru-Dārūgāma*^o.

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 Alagakkonāra reigned. This opinion is found only in the Rājaraṭṭ., when it says: *Alagakkōṇ nam mantriścarayāno Bhuvanekabāhu-nam mahārāja-va Gaṅgasiripura rājyaśīrya-ṭa pāmiṇa devalova giyēya* "The great minister Alagakkōṇ by name who had become king under the name of Bhuvanekabāhu went, after enjoying in Gaṅgāsiripura 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 nāmena* after *Bhuvanekabāhujo*. The assumption that Alagakkonāra and Bhuvanekabāhu 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-vihāra-vaṃsa it is said that the work was translated in the Śaka year 1304 (= 1382/3) in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, at the instigation of Alakeśvara (or Alagakkonāra). — The tradition followed by the Rājaraṭṭ. probably confuses Alagakkonāra with his son Vīra Alakeśvara who (under the name of Vijayabāhu) is said to have reigned a number of years as king, though after Vīrabāhu's death. For further particulars see E. W. PERERA, Alakeśvara: 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 years¹ — had expired, a man called Virabāhu
- 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 death².

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 Virabāhu. Cf. S. DE SILVA, Vijaya Bāhu VI., JRAS. C. B. xxii, no. 65, p. 316 ff.; H. W. CODRINGTON, HC. p. 89. In the inscription on the Alam-pundi plate (see V. VENKAYYA, El. III, p. 224 ff.) King Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, boasts that he had vanquished the kings of the Tuṇḍīra, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya as well as the Siṃhala. The inscr. is dated in the Śaka year 1305 for 1307 = 1383/4.

² 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. 31 ff.) and to the Rājāv. From the different sources we gather that the son of the great Alagakkonāra, Vira Alakeśvara, under the name of Vijayabāhu (VI.) seized the royal dignity in battle with his brother Virabāhu. 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 Rājāv. 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 Rājāv. is explained (note to 90.1). The probability of a mistake is supported by the fact that the Rājāv. 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 Jayavaḍḍhana — to the in-
 comparable, sublime fortune of the foyal 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 Parakkamabāhu VI. Cf. for this H. W. CODRINGTON, HC., p. 85 ff., 89. The date given in the Mhvs. for the beginning of the reign 1958 A. B. = 1409 A. D. is also found in the Saddharmāṅkāraya. 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 to v. 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 Jayavaḍḍhana 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 Cūlav. 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 Rājāvalī, 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 Laṅkā celebrated by kings who were filled with pure reverence for the sacred Order of the Enlightened One,² he thought: "I too will in like manner venerate him unweariedly with all the produce of my king-
 21 dom³." 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 kaṭhina 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 Pappaṭa grove⁴ in her name the Sunetra-
 25 pariveṇa⁵ and a monastery for the community and granted it many villages and fields⁶. 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 Parakkamabāhu VI. I refer the reader besides CODRINGTON, l. c. p. 90 ff., 99 f., to E. W. PERERA, The Age of Sri Parākrama Bāhu 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.

¹ This is probably the meaning of *bhavaṇṇihava*. Cf. below v. 36.

² In these last paricchēdas 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.

³ 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.

⁴ Sunetrā or Sunetradevī, the wife of Vijayabāhu (VI.) who is supposed to be the father of Parakkamabāhu VI., was a Kālinga princess.

⁵ *Gāmakhetṭe* is governed by *pūjētvā* in 25 c. Thus in my edition the comma must be placed after *pūjētvā*, not after *tapassinam*.

from the three provinces, he laid up in pious fashion an abundance of merit. He had the sacred three Piṭakas together with the 27 commentaries and the *ṭikās* copied and caused a summary of the teaching of the Buddha¹ (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 Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya and other cetiyas 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 Gaṇḍālādoṇi monastery and on the Laṅkātilaka² 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 kaṭhina 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 existences⁴, should also continually and in the

¹ I take *buddhassa sāsana-saṃgahaṃ akā* to mean this and refer the reader to titles of books like *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*, *Paccayasamgaha*, *Saddhammasamgaha* etc. W. gives a totally different rendering. He takes *saṃgaha* 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.

² Both *vihāras*, *Gadaladeniya* and *Lankatilaka* are situated not far from Kandy.

³ *Rājāv.* and *Rājaratn.* have the same.

⁴ See above note to v. 19.

right way do a quantity of meritorious works¹ 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 Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ For *katvā gaṇhātha* cf. 90. 104 with the note.

CHAPTER XCII

HISTORY OF THE SEVEN KINGS,
OF JAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After his death, his grandson Jayabāhu¹ 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 Paṇḍita, 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
Bhuvanekabāhu (VI) (7 yrs.)	" Bhuvanekabāhu
(1472/3—1480/1)	
Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu (VII)	" Paṇḍita-Parakkama-
1480/1—1484	bāhu
Vīra-Parakkamabāhu (VIII) (20 yrs.)	" Vikrama-Parakkama-
? 1484—1518	bāhu
Dharma-Parakkamabāhu (22 yrs.)	
1509—1528	
Vijayabāhu (VI)	
1509—1521	
Buvanekabāhu (VII)	" Bhuvanekabāhu
1521—1551	

- 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.
- 6 Now Viravikkama¹ a mighty man, sprung from the line
 of Sirisamghabodhi¹, became king in the year two thousand
 and eighty-four after the final Nirvana of the Enlightened One².
- 7 Dwelling in the town of Senkhaṇḍasela-Sirivaddhana³, beautifi-
 8 ed by the course of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, 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 CODRINGTON (HC., p. 93 ff.)
 Inscriptions: Bhuvanekabāhu VI.: inscr. of Dedigama, BELL, Report
 of Kégalla 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 Koṭṭe (Dharma-Parakkamabāhu per-
 haps in Kelani). Then in addition to these there are the dynasties of
 Sitāvaka and Kandy. Viravikkama (v. 6) is according to WICKREMASINGHE
 (EZ. III. p. 44) probably identical with Kumāra Baṇḍāra, the son of
 Vijaya Baṇḍāra who reigned in Kandy at the time of Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.)
 and Bhuvanekabāhu VII.

¹ Mhvs. 36. 73 ff.

² = 1540 A. D. Rājaraṭn. has 2085 A. B. = 1541 A. D.

³ I. e. Kandy. The account evidently goes back here to the rise
 of the kingdom of Kandy, the high country (*uḍa-raṭa*) that did its ut-
 most to preserve its independence as against the kings in Koṭṭe and
 Sitāvaka until it fell under the power of Rājasīha in 1580. It is re-
 grettable 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 *puñṇapotthaka* (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 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 festival, he hearkened in faith to fifty-five sermons of the doctrine the preaching whereof lasted the whole night. On thirty thousand leaves he had (sacred) books written down and to the Tipiṭaka he made an offering of sixty thousand (gold pieces). He had one hundred and eighty images made 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 a day a distance of seven gāvutas³ and venerated Mahiyaṅgaṇa by celebrating with divers fragrant flowers, with lamps, frankincense and the like, a great festival. The Ruler of men betook himself also in one day to the Sumanakūṭa⁴ and sacrificed there by pouring one hundred jars of oil into a lamp fifteen cubits in girth and five cubits high⁵. [Since his desire was fixed 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*, *uposathaghara*, 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. Ayrton, *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. Mahiyaṅgaṇa, now Alut-nuvara, is 24 miles distant from Kandy as the crow flies. The King's pilgrimage is of course to the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa.

⁴ Adam's Peak cannot be reached in one day from Kandy.

⁵ 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.

order and provided, for the convenience of the (pilgrims) going
 19 to and fro, with seven hundred and eighty stone steps. After
 the Ruler had in this and other ways performed many meri-
 torious works, he thought to hold the ceremony of admission
 20 to the Order.] The wise (Prince) had many dwellings put
 up on the bank of the river. Thither he brought the bhikkhus
 21 dwelling in the three provinces and instituted a great festival.
 Then after specially inviting from among those bhikkhus a
 body of thirty-five bhikkhus with the Grand therā Dhamma-
 kitti at the head, he made them celebrate a great festival
 22 and grant admission to the Order to three hundred and fifty-
 five able sons of good family whom he had himself chosen
 23 out. The King heard that in the town of Pāṭaliputta¹ (in
 days of yore), the Ruler of men Mahāsena had fed daily a
 24 community of one thousand bhikkhus, but unsatisfied even
 with this magnificent effort, he had thought of giving alms
 25 by the cultivation of a piece of land². He had surrendered
 the bliss of the royal dignity, betaken himself to the northern
 town of Madhurā³, there laboured and with the grain produced,
 26 had in faith made an offering of alms. When⁴ he heard this
 the wise (Prince) who had joy in a pure gift of alms, culti-
 vated a rice field with his own bodily powers and instituted
 with the grain produced, in blameless fashion, an offering of
 27 alms. With faith in the three (sacred) objects he presented

¹ Capital of the Maurya dynasty, now Patna in the province of Bihār on the Ganges.

² P. *vatthusuddhiṃ 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).

³ The town Madhurā or Mathurā on the Yamunā (Jumna), to distinguish it from the South Indian Madhurā (51. 33 etc.) is called the "Northern Madhurā".

⁴ Vv. 23—26 are one sentence; *dinnadānaṃ* in v. 26 is a object directly governed by *utvāna*. The preceding verses with *Mahāsena* as subject are however, so constructed as if it were *dānaṃ adāsīti utvāna*. The author fails in the construction.

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.

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 Jayabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XCIII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS,
OF MĀYĀDHANU AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR

- 1 At his death there resided in the province bordering on the sea-coast, in the fair and renowned Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa
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, Māyādhānu¹ by name. His son was the mighty Rājāsīha by name. He went forth, fought here and there

¹ It is characteristic of the attitude of the author of this part of the Cūlavamsa 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 Māyādhānu (Māyāḍunne) is dismissed with the mention of his name. He was the youngest brother of Bhuvanekabāhu 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, Māyāḍunne maintained himself successfully till his death in 1581. Dharmapāla (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 Mahāvamsa. As a historical source our chronicle is now hardly of any value at all. Of native sources there is only the Rājāvalī left and it has many defects. Our main information now comes from the Portuguese accounts, above all JOÃO RIBEIRO, *Fatalidade historica*, Lissabon 1836 (translated into English by P. E. PIERIS under the title "The Historic Tragedy of Ceilão", Colombo

and won the victory. The victor, the great fool, even slew 4
his own father¹ 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 doctrine², 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 Siva³. The answer they gave him that it

1925, 3rd ed.) and FERNÃO DE 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 Queyro, 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 Xavêrs 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.

² I now prefer to read *tassa dhammaṃ* instead of *tass' adhammaṃ*.

³ 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 ashes and adopted the religion of Siva. He annihilated the Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus, burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus barred his way to heaven. Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith. He placed miscreant ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūṭa to take for themselves 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.

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 thither.

Harming the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in virtue of merit formerly acquired. Dowered with sovereign might, the criminal brought the whole island of Laṅkā into his power and carried on the government¹.

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 Māra. 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 Māyādhana and of his Successor», in the Mahāvamsa, 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. 91. See also W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA, Raja Sinha I., Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS. C. B. XVIII, Nr. 56 (1905), p. 382 ff.

¹ 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. PIERIS 2, p. 114.

CHAPTER XCIV

HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1
 Gaṅgāsiripura 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 Gajābāhu². 3
 After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and
 because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4
 returned to Laṅkā. 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 nirvāṇa 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 Sirivaḍḍhana.

¹ Konappu, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Virasundara who belonged to the royal house. Virasundara was partisan of Rājasīha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (*Kolambattittha*) to the puppet king Dhammapāla. Later he was banished to Goa (*Govarattittha*) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. PIERIS 2, p. 92 f., 112; CODRINGTON, HC., p. 105.

² It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the Rājāv. (p. 92 of B. GUÑASEKARA's translation). Konappu's success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.

³ Rājasīha is called *pitughāla* here not on account of the murder of his father Māyāḍhanu, but on account of that of Virasundara.

⁴ A. B. 2135 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.

7 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 Laṅkā 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 Labujagāma-vihāra¹, he
 12 rejoiced greatly. He had the Tooth Relic which had been
 brought to Labujagāma in the province of Sapaṛagamū² 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.

15 As there were no bhikkhus in the island of Laṅkā on whom
 the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed³, the
 King sent officials to the country of Rakkhaṅga, invited
 16 Nandicakka and other bhikkhus, had them brought to the is-
 land of Laṅkā, made them take up their abode in the noble
 city of Sirivaḍḍhana and cared for them in reverent manner.
 17 Then in the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, at the landing-place called
 Gaṇṭhamba, within a boundary drawn in the water⁴, he had

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ The cause of this decay of the Buddhist Church was in all probability due to the hostile attitude of Rājasiha towards it. Rakkhaṅga is the name of a district in Lower Burma, now Arakan. Cf. for this PIERIS 2, p. 141.

⁴ P. *udakukkhepaśīmāyaṇ*. 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 brother² 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

¹ 2140 A. B. = 1596 A. D.

² Senāratana was Vimaladhammasuriya's cousin. We know however (see note to 63. 51) that cousins who are brother's sons call themselves brothers.

³ Rājāv. gives as the year of his death 1525 of the Śaka era = 1603/4 A. D. Of the mighty events which took place during the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya I. the Mahāvamsa says not a word. The whole period was filled with wars against the Portuguese and their protégé 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 Dharmapāla 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. PIERIS 2, p. 112-165; CODRINGTON, HC., p. 105 ff.

power¹. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion², 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 Mahāvamsa, 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.

² 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 alms-
giving. The mahesī of the (late) king who had been his elder 3
brother¹ 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
pride². They were, all of them, the so-called Paraṅgi³, 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

¹ 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. *Piṇṇis*, 2, p. 125.

² *P. ussannaka*. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

³ 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.

9 forts¹ and carried on war² unceasingly. King Senāratana brought the Tooth Relic to a safe place in the province called Pañcasata³, almost impassable owing to forests, mountains and rivers, made people dwell there who were entrusted with the preservation of the relic and thus protected the Tooth Relic well, showing it the usual reverence. Then he left the city (Sirivaḍḍhana). Movable goods, the sons of the former king and the admirable Mahesī, excellent by wealth and virtue, who was pregnant, he took carefully with him in a litter⁴ and betook himself to Mahiyaṅgaṇa⁵. While he sojourned in this town the Queen bore under a particularly favorable constellation, a splendid son⁶, dowered with brilliant marks. At that time the leader of the foe saw at night a terror-stirring dream. From the east⁷, from that town (Mahiyaṅgaṇa) there came a spark of the size of a glow-worm. Growing ever bigger it came to the centre of Kolamba, waxed here to unmeasured size and burned up everything at once. On that day in consequence of its splendour, the enemy who had penetrated to Sirivaḍḍhana, took flight with the haste of those who are threatened with peril. The Ruler of men guarded his son

¹ P. *balakōṭṭake bandhivā*. Cf. the name of the town Jayavaḍḍhana-koṭṭa (91. 7), called Kotte for short.

² P. *yujjhamānā thitā*, a periphrastic formation corresponding to the Sinh. combination of the present gerund in *min* with the verb *siṭṭinavā*. See GEIGER, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen* § 63a. The root *thā* expresses a continuous state.

³ I. e. Pansiyapattu or Dumbura, NE. of Kandy.

⁴ P. *yoggena*, no doubt rightly explained by W.

⁵ 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 Queen's sons by her first marriage. See below v. 22.

⁷ 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 had come, he took all his possessions and returned to the city of Sirivaddhana. When his sons, namely the sons of the former king and his own son, were grown up he, because his heart clung to them in love, was minded to divide amongst them his mountain-girt provinces, had (their names) properly written on three leaves, laid the leaves near the Tooth Relic¹, led the princes thither and made them take their choice. Then when the Ruler beheld the leaves which fell in this wise: to the eldest Kumāraśiha the province Ūva, to Vijayapāla the province Mātula and to the youngest Rājaśiha the five highland provinces² — he when he saw that the lot with the five highland 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 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 years³.

The Ruler who out of love had divided the provinces among his own and his other sons in order to protect Lankā 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.

¹ The lottery becomes in this way a sacred action, an oracle. The division of the Kandy kingdom took place in 1628.

² *P. uddha pañca raṭṭhakā*. These are districts lying round about Kandy, the most important parts of the kingdom with the capital. Ūva 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 Cūlavamsa (96. 4, 98. 65); in 66. 71 we have *Mahātīla*.

³ The year of his death is therefore 1635 A.D. The Rājāv. gives 1555 of the Saka era = 1633/4 A.D. One must assume that from 1628 to 1635 Rājaśiha was reigning along with his father. Kumāraśiha 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 RĀJASĪHA

- 1 Now while these Rulers of men, sojourning in different
 2 places, enjoyed for a short time the pleasures of the royal
 3 dignity in harmony, they carried on war against the Paraṅgis
 4 and gained here and there victories¹. But then they quarrelled
 5 among themselves, the three brothers, the Lords of men. One
 of them, the renowned Rājasiha by name, dispossessed the
 older brothers and made them his vassals. After one (Kumāra-
 siha) 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
 crossing the frontier of the province, abroad². But the other,
 Rājasiha³, a man whose commands were not lightly to be

¹ 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 Rājasiha. There must however, have been a reconciliation, for Vijayapāla took part in the battle of Gannoruva in 1638 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 Kostantinuhaṭanē and Mahahaṭanē. See A. DE SILVA, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 56.

² For Vijayapāla's tragic fate according to Portuguese documents, see P. E. PIERIS, The Prince Vijayapāla of Ceylon, 1634-1654, Colombo 1928.

³ Or perhaps "the second (*aparo*) Rājasiha".

slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like courage, took possession of the kingdom as it had at the 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 way-skilled heroes.

Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse, himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and courageous, the powerful (prince) sprang aloft, swung himself on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the Gaṅgā, which is called Suvannatthambha¹, 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 strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open the fight, the battle-equipped Sihalas and set forth under a favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of Sirivaddhana with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with 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 other instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving of alms and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha² with him, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the war drums resound like the terrible clash of thunder and fearless began the fight. At first he fought a great battle with the foe in the five highland provinces³, slew many of

¹ Now Ranten-tota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.

² I. e. bhikkhus.

³ P. *pañcuddharatṭhagehe*. Here we have another example of the influence of the Sinhalese language. *-gehe* is equivalent to the Sinh. *-gē*, the genitive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning. As to the beginnings of such forms in an inscription of the 10th century see WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 182.

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 elephants¹. 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 power².

23 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 Rājasiha whose commands were not lightly to be slighted, heard thereof, he betook himself
 26 to Dīghavāpi³ 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. 20a instead of *sampatte*, which may be influenced by *yūthamhi*.

² 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.

⁴ Vimaladhammasuriya I. had already been in touch with the Dutch (see note to 94. 22). Under Rājasiha 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 the rich, prosperous, thickly populated coast lands near Dighavāpi, he showed them favour. As he wished to display to them the military forces of his Laṅkā, he sent them the command to look quietly on. Then he began the fight with the foe stationed near, slew a great mass of the foe and captured the stronghold. The Ruler of men made over the place to the inhabitants of Olanda and showed them many other favours and made everyone contented.

From this time onward the Ruler of Laṅkā began at the head of both armies¹, to carry on war by land and water on every side. He destroyed the fortresses situated at different places and protected by massive stone walls, slew the enemy, erected in the whole of Laṅkā strongholds garrisoned by strong forces and after absolutely annihilating the foe who had ravaged so long (in Laṅkā) and freeing (the country) from their oppression, he in order to ward off the enemy, charged the inhabitants of Olanda with the protection of Laṅkā in the places situated on the sea. After arranging that these were to appear before him every year with presents of divers kinds, the Ruler of men returned, like Vajirapāṇi² when he had conquered in the battle against the Asuras, with his retinue to his town (of Sirivaḍḍhana)³.

Westerwold which was ratified in Batavia whither Rājasīha 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

38 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 years¹, 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.

42 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 alms-giving and the rest.

Here ends the ninety-sixth chapter, called «History of King Rājasīha», in the Mahāvamsa, 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.

¹ From A. D. 1635 (death of Senāratana) till A. D. 1687. Rājāv. makes the mistake of giving 1614 of the Śaka 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 mahesī he took the daughter 2
of the mahesī in the town of Madhurā 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 Laṅkā 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 every-
thing 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 pāsāda, 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 Rakkhaṅga and 10
invited¹ the bhikkhu community with the thera Santāna at

¹ The embassy to Rakkhaṅga (= 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 necessities. Then after he had erected in the right way, as formerly, a building at the landing-place of the
 13 Gaṅgā, 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 sāmaṇeras, provided them abundantly with the four necessities, had them instructed in the true doctrine and thus laid up a store of merit.

16 Thinking of the great merit that lies in the use of the feet¹, he betook himself to the Sumanakūṭa 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.

18 He sheltered with a great umbrella of silver the foot-print of the Sage which was stamped on the Sumanakūṭa and celebrated a great festival.

19 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 years².

to the friendly relations established between them and the court of Kandy. The ceremony of the *upasampadā* took place again (*pure viya*) at Gaṇṭhambatittha (Getamba). The description in v. 8 ff. has a great resemblance also in the wording to that describing analogous circumstances under Vimaladhammasuriya I. (94. 15 ff.). Compare for instance, v. 12 cd with 94. 17 cd, v. 15 ab with 94. 20 cd.

¹ I. e. the merit of the pilgrimages. See 92. 15 ff. where the pilgrimages of Viravikkama to Mahiyaṅgaṇa and to Adam's Peak are described.

² Vimaladhammasuriya II. reigned from A. D. 1687-1707. He was

Generous in all that is good, as in the giving of alms and 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 Sirivīraparakkamanarindasiha became king. This King who was an abode of discernment and manly virtues, in order to protect the royal dignity in Laṅkā, fetched princesses from the town of Madhurā and made them first mahesīs. He performed meritorious works such as the giving of alms and the like, celebrated daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and thus laid up a store of merit. He showed 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 Mahiyāṅgaṇa-cetiya that was erected already in the lifetime of the Buddha, the mighty King betook himself thither, sacrificed to the cetiya with all kinds of coloured stuffs and while celebrating a sacrificial festival with silver and golden flowers, abundantly with divers fragrant blossoms of the kind that grow on land and in water¹, with food solid and soft, he laid up much merit.

At the head of a great army he went forth twice to the same Mahiyāṅgaṇa and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Twice the Lord of men went in faith to Sumanakūṭa, sacrificed

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 CODRINGTON, HC., p. 135; PIERIS 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 bahum* 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.

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 Anurādhapura and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He
 had a robe made the size of the robe of the Deliverer¹ 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 Gaṅgā, the Lord of men laid out
 35 in a great cocopalm plantation a suburb by name Kuṇḍasālā
 and dwelt there³. And there at that self-same spot he had
 dwelling huts put up in fitting manner and made sāmaṇeras
 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
 38 had the beautiful (temple) rebuilt, two-storeyed, splendid; he
 provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of bril-
 liant 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 jātaka depicted in coloured painting⁴
 on the two walls of the courtyard: the Vidhurajāta⁵, the
 40 Guttila- and Ummaggajāta; the Dadhivāhana-, Mahākapha-,
 Sutanu- and Chaddantajāta, the Dhammaddhaja-, Dhamma-
 41 pāla- and Mahājanakajāta; the Padamāṇava⁶-, Dhamma-
 sonḍa-, Mahānārada-kassapa-, Mahāpaduma-, Telapatta- and
 42 Cullapadumajāta; the Sattubhatta-, Aṇḍabhūta-, 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".

² P. *mūlapura*. Sirivaddhana (Kandy) is meant. The Gaṅgā 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 dvattiṃsajātake vicittacittakammena karāpetvāna* in v. 44 d, 45 a.

⁵ The Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka, no. 545 of the FAUSBÖLL edition.

⁶ Padakusalamāṇavajāta, no. 432 of FAUSBÖLL.

and Sasajāṭaka, the Visayha-, Kusa-, Sutasoma-¹, Sivi- and 43
 Temajāṭaka²; the Culladhanuddhara-³ and the Saccamkiraka- 44
 jāṭaka, the Dummedhajāṭaka and the Kālingabodhijāṭaka;
 the Silavajāṭaka⁴ and the Maṇḍavyajāṭaka⁵, as well as the
 Vessantarajāṭaka. While thus having these thirty-two jāṭakas 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 Nāthasura⁶ — en-
 closing 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 sāmaṇeras 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 Laṅkā.
 For this sāmaṇera, Saraṇaṃkara 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 sāmaṇera together with 54

¹ There are two jāṭakas of this name, the Mahā- and Cullasutasoma-
 jāṭaka, no. 537 and 525 of FAUSBÖLL.

² Temiya- or Mūgapakkhajāṭaka, no. 538 of FAUSBÖLL.

³ Culladhanuggahajāṭaka, no. 374 of FAUSBÖLL.

⁴ Silavanāgajāṭaka, no. 72 of FAUSBÖLL.

⁵ Apparently the Kaṇhadīpāyanajāṭaka in which the ascetic Maṇḍavya
 plays the chief part. No. 444 of FAUSBÖLL.

⁶ Like Nāthadeva (100. 248) the name of Viṣṇu as the protecting
 deity (*nātha*) of the island.

the relic as well as many books about the true doctrine and so distinguished him. The Lord of men granted him clothing and other necessities 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) Saranampkara in befitting manner and had composed by this discerning sāmānera who strove after pure enlightenment, that work on the true doctrine entitled the Sāratthasamgaha, furnished with eleven thousand sections¹, further a commentary in the tongue of Laṅkā on the Mahābodhivaṃsa², as well as a commentary on the work Bhesajjamañjūsā³ which was composed at the time when the former King Parakkamabāhu held sway in the town of Jambuddonī⁴ by that discerning therā, assiduous in well-doing who was head of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in the Paṇcapari-veṇa⁵, with the wish that thus those who have devoted themselves 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 death⁶.

¹ 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.

² For this see GEIGER, Pāli, p. 25, no. 29. 2; MALALASEKERA, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 156 ff. Whether by Saranampkara's "commentary" (*atthavaṇṇanā*) the Elu-Bodhivaṃsa is meant seems doubtful.

³ "Medicine-chest". Probably a collection of recipes of the character of the Indian Bhaiṣajyaratnāvalī (JOLLY, *Medicin*, p. 2).

⁴ Parakkamabāhu II. is meant.

⁵ A monastery called Paṇcapariveṇamūla is mentioned 67. 61. One could also translate: "of the bhikkhus living in the five pariveṇas".

⁶ 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 island of Laṅkā, 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 *Mahāvamsa*, 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

1 After Narindasīha's death the younger brother¹ of the
 2 Mahesī of this king² became king, adorned with the ornament
 3 of virtue. Known by the name of Sirivijayarājasīha, he
 4 was after the attainment of his consecration as king, piously
 5 attached to the Triad of the jewels. He was diligent in
 6 hearkening to the sermon of the doctrine, unwearied, discern-
 7 ing, ever full of zeal intent on intercourse with pious and
 8 good people. To establish his own dynasty he fetched prin-
 cesses from the town of Madhurā and made them his chief
 mahesis. He won over the people in Laṅkā in the best manner
 possible by the four heart-winning qualities and took up his
 abode in the fair town (Sirivaḍḍhana). 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
 true faith which confers immortality. They heard the in-
 comparable, true doctrine of the Buddha, the highest Protector
 of the world and thus adored with constant devotion the
 Buddha and the other (sacred) objects. In their faith they

¹ In *kanitṭhabhūta* I see the influence of the Sinhalese on the Pāli of the chronicler, *vū* being added in Sinhalese at the end of attributive adjectives.

² 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 Laṅkā. 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 incense, 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)³. They worked for their perfection, had sacred books copied. They strove after the blessing 15 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 instruction 17 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 Laṅkā as a mother of her children, and were merciful and mines of virtue. They had images and reliquaries fashioned in the best manner 19

¹ P. *pañcasīlaṃ*. Cf. with this Mhvs. trsl. 1. 62.

² Cf. with this passage Buddhavaṃsa 2. 124 f. *yathāpi camarī vālaṃ kismici paṭivilaggitam | upeti maraṇam tattha na vikopeti vāladhim || ta-theva catūsu bhūmisu sīlāni paripūriya | parirakkha sabbadā sīlaṃ 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.

³ There are six different *anussatiyo* — *Buddha*-, *dhamma*-, *saṅgha*-, *sīla*-, *cāga*- and *devatā-anussati*.

possible and always fearing every sin and ever rejoicing over every meritorious deed, adorned with the ornament of such and many other virtues, they were highly regarded in the whole island of Laṅkā. The King had dwelling-places erected here and there and made the sāmaṇeras take up their abode in them and pious as he was, he showed them full of zeal, much favour with garments and other necessities, heard the splendid true doctrine from these sāmaṇeras and revered (especially) the sāmaṇera Saraṇaṃkara by name who strong in faith dwelt in the Upasathārāma, who was a mine of virtues. He invited him and had a commentary on the four bhāṇavāras¹ made by him in the language of Laṅkā 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 he were to place the relic in a new relic temple, he gave orders that this should be done by other people² and betook himself thence to another town. While he sojourned there the dignitaries assembled and together with the caretakers³ and other people, they tried with all their might to open the reliquary. But although they tried the whole night long they did not succeed. The dignitaries went thither and told the 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, with lamps, incense and the like and shown his reverence,

¹ For purposes of recitation the whole of the Tipiṭaka is divided into *bhāṇavāras*, sections of equal length. There are said to be 2547 of these (CHILDERS, 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-, Saṃyutta- and Aṅguttara-Nikāya.

² The passage is wrongly rendered by W. *Aññaṃ puraṇ* is not governed by *kāṭum* in 26b, it belongs to *gantvā*, but *kāṭum* must be supplemented by the object ("it") from the preceding.

³ *Vattakaraka* (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 caskets inside it, he beheld the Tooth of the Enlightened One. "It is accomplished, with success" uttering these joyful words, he assembled the inhabitants of the town, prepared a great feast and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. As he gazed 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 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 relic temple built in the time of former kings he furnished with all kinds of stuffs interwoven with gold, lit lamps with divers-smelling oils, had filled jars placed about, and then in this gaily decorated temple, like to a heavenly temple, he 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 after cleansing the whole town in a worthy manner and strewing it with sand he placed during this festival of the Tooth Relic, round about the temple, within in the court and without on the terrace, further in the royal court and in all the streets on either side with lofty poles placed upright, an unbroken series of festive arches, bound thereon banana stalks and adorned them fair with areca and coconut blossoms and other flowers. With the brightly hued, gleaming and shimmering 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 cranes. Here and there he placed in due order filled jars and in the maṇḍapas 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, spread there in fair fashion carpets resplendent with many a work of art and also strewed around the five kinds of flowers, lāja and the like¹. Then after the Ruler had put the whole

¹ P. *lājapañcamakam*, 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 Lankā were celebrating a festival with the thought that in like fashion the King of the gods makes a feast in the city of the gods¹, he himself with royal ornaments adorned, gathered together in that town the sāmāneras who dwelt in Lankā, further the lay brethren and lay sisters, all the inhabitants of the town and the people who dwelt outside in the provinces. Out of mercy towards them² the Ruler of the earth for whom pity was the highest, flung himself on the ground in most humble posture³ and so worshipped the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. Then the King took it in the lotus of his hand and his heart filled with the highest joy, he left the relic temple. With silver umbrellas, with a golden casket, with row upon row of fair fly whisks, with manifold offerings of flowers, consisting of silver, golden and other blooms, with divers jewels and pearls, with robes, ornaments and many other sacrificial articles, with the fivefold music⁴ he celebrated a great sacrificial festival, like to a stream flowing on uninterruptedly. Then the King, the Ruler of Lankā betook himself

dalbergia arborea. W's version is quite different (note to the passage). He takes *laja* 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."

¹ 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 Lankā 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.

² He will not rob the people of the purifying spectacle of the sacred relic.

³ P. *pañcapatitthitaṅgo*, lit. with a body in which five (parts of the body) lie fast. CHILDERS 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 maṇḍapa 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 Laṅkā made the land of Laṅkā like to the star-strewn firmament. With an offering of three hundred³ 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 Ālokalena⁴ 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.

¹ *Michelia champaka*; Sinh. *sapu-mal*.

² The words *ekāhe va* must be taken in the oratio recta.

³ For *koṭi* which here probably means 100,000, see PTS. P. D. s. v. In has the general meaning of an extremely high number.

⁴ Now the Alu-vihāra not far from Matale situated in the cleft of a mighty primeval landslide.

68 In the town of Sirivaḍḍhana the Lord of men did away
 with the royal palace and many other buildings that had
 69 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 gates¹ and erected 'a magnificent gate-building furnished
 with iron gateways, adorned with ornaments² of divers form
 and consisting of two storeys.

71 While he resided in this town, he full of zeal when listen-
 ing to the sermon of the doctrine, had maṇḍapas 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 ceremony³ 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, heart-
 penetrating 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 offerings⁴ 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.

¹ One is tempted here to join *cāruvārāṇi yojetvā* with the following
ayodvārasamāyutam, but for its giving a scarcely tolerable tautology.

² P. *latākamma*, lit. "creeper work".

³ P. *mahussavena*, not as W. translates "with much trouble". That
 would be *mahussāhena*.

⁴ P. *dharmadāna*, every kind of religious instruction. The opposite
 is *āmisadāna* "secular offering" (food, clothing etc.).

The infamous Paraṅgis, 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 faith¹.

On the Sumanakūṭa made sacred by the footprint of the 84
Enlightened One the Ruler celebrated a sacrifice of lamps and
all other festivals. In Anurādhapura, in Mahiyaṅgaṇa 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 Laṅkā 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 Olandas² the welcome news that the 89
Order still existed in various countries, in Pegu, Rakkhaṅga,

¹ 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.

² 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; PIERIS 3, p. 71 ff.

90 Sāminda¹. 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 language², 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 Ayojjhā³ 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 Laṅkā, he sent dignitaries thither to whom he
gave a writing together with many gifts and sacrificial implements.

94 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.
95 But before it was finished his merit was exhausted⁴ after he
had reigned eight years.

96 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 Namuci⁵.

97 In this wise did the King of Laṅkā 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 beyond
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 Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene
joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Name of Siam.

² P. *mūlabhāsā* "fundamental or main language", i. e. Pāli.

³ 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.

⁴ The *puñña* in virtue of which he had attained the royal dignity.
For "reigned" the original has *thito* "lived (as king)".

⁵ Skr. *namuci* is the name of one of the demons slain by Indra. In
Pāli *Namuci* is a designation of Māra (S. I. 67¹⁰; A. II. 15²⁰) specially
of Kilesamāra (Jāt. V. 455¹⁰), in our passage of the god of death.

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-law¹ became king of kings. Gifted with
physical beauty (he was) a delight to the eyes of the people,
filling the whole superb island of Laṅkā with splendour, a
prince of glorious grace.

When in the island of Laṅkā the year two thousand, two 2
hundred and ninety since the nirvana of the Enlightened One
had come² this Ruler of men whose joy was the welfare of 3
Laṅkā, comforted his subjects who were afflicted by their part-
ing 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 Laṅkā, 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 Sirivaḍḍhana) 8
cleansed and decorated with stuffs, triumphal arches and the
like. Then he gathered together the whole of the inhabitants
of Laṅkā completely in the fair, glorious town and moving 9
along with royal magnificence, the Great king whose merit

¹ 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.

² = 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 Laṅkā bereft of its king had again a king. The Lord of men dowered with abundant merit, resided in Sirivaḍḍhana.
- 11 The virtuous one had (already aforetime) made the firm resolve² to shelter the Order of the Sage and now under the name of Kittisirirājasīha he ruled gloriously this our Laṅkā. Enjoying the good fortune of the royal dignity of Laṅkā, 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 offering⁴ 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 doctrine⁵ must be done. He had maṇḍapas erected in

¹ For *puñṇodaya* — here used as an adjective — see note to 37.139.

² P. *paṇidhaya 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 Laṅkā (P. *patvāna Laṅkaṃ imaṃ*), and he can now carry out his resolve.

³ 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.

⁴ See note to 98.77.

⁵ P. *saddhammato* must be understood adverbially. Cf. skr. *dharmatas* "according to law or rule, lawfully."

many places for sermons, 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
 Suttanta¹ 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 con-
 sisting in spiritual offerings.

Full of reverence towards the bhikkhu community² who 25
 had come from Rakkhaṅga, towards the bhikkhus of Laṅkā
 and towards the many sāmaṇeras, who had renounced the
 world, the Lord of men showed them favour with offerings 26
 of robes and other necessities and had the Paritta and other
 salutary texts recited by them. Thus on many occasions he 27
 furthered the true doctrine, made offerings of necessities 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

¹ What is meant is the story of the Buddha's first sermon in
 Bārāṇasī to the *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū*, the companions of his earlier
 period of asceticism. The account is given in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga
 I. 6. 10 ff. (= I. 8 ff.). Cf. S. V. 420 ff.

² Bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga had come to Ceylon under Vimaladhamma-
 suriya I. (91. 15) and under the second king of this name (97. 10). Kitti-
 siri had some brought from Siam. This is narrated as a kind of ap-
 pendix 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-Nikāya*¹, 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 *Laṅkā*.

36 Yearning for merit the Lord of men betook himself with his retinue to superb *Anurādhapura*. Here the King sacrificed
 37 to the Bodhi tree and the sacred *cetiya*s with elephants, and horses, with gold, silver and the like, and thus in divers ways
 38 laid up a store of pious works. Then too in royal splendour the highly-famed Lord of men visited the *Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya* and the superb *Nakhā-cetiya* and revered 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 *cetiya*s and *vihāra*s 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*³ 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 bring-

¹ *P. dīghāgamaṃ; āgama* is synonym for *nikāya*. The same in 33 *Samyuttāgama*.

² *P. pabbajitā* and *gahaṭṭhā*, i. e. priests and laymen. The sentence in 34-35 is linguistically quite incorrect.

³ Now *Ridi-vihāra*, north of *Kurunegala*.

ing luck even in the days of former sovereigns of Laṅkā¹, 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 Laṅkā 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 symbols³ 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 dancers⁵, 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. *Maṅgala-saṃmatam* 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 *°bhūpālā* of the MSS. *°bhūpā ra*. I fear this amounts to a correction of the author.

² *P. senāṅgadassanattāya*. W. does not give the full sense of this expression. That a military tournament is meant is clear from verses 44-45 a b. 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.

³ *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.

⁵ The compound is not in the least clear. *Maddalakehi* at the end seems to be an adjective form; *saṃkiṇṇa* might be used substantively as is often the case with the past part = "accumulation". The wearisome repetition of *nānā* 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 *soṇṇa* and *rūpiya* are repeated in the same way in 85. 26 ff. and 89. 19 ff.

⁶ Here again *āvudha* is used. I should prefer here to take the word

- 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. Finally¹ they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank².
 53 When our King of kings³, dowered with faith, wisdom and other virtues, was wont every year to hold the Āsālhi⁴
 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 moon⁵, decorated with ornaments and then surrounded by (other) elephants whose riders held in their hand silver umbrellas and fly-whisks⁶ and flowers of every kind, by

in the same sense as in v. 45, as "weapons" are already mentioned in the foregoing.

¹ P. *niṭṭhite* used as adverb, as also in v. 58.

² 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*.

³ P. *amhākaṃ rājarājānaṃ*. The expression "our King" is particularly noteworthy. In the whole of the Mahāvamsa it occurs only here under Kittisirirājasīha (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 *-ādiḡuṇo*, is changed by the Col. Ed. into *-guṇodayo*. But does this help us much? The sentence remains in disorder.

⁴ The āsālha month corresponds to June-July. The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season. H. KERN, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.

⁵ P. *subbha-candī-radamaṃ*. I separate the compound thus, *candī* seeming to me to stand for skr. *candra* or *candrin*. The explanation is however, uncertain.

⁶ The acc. *rajatacchattacāmara* is governed by *gāhaka* in the follow-

people having in their hand articles of sacrifice and wearing garlands of flowers, by people with various banners and pennons and by such as wore divers garments, by various royal dignitaries and by people come hither from various regions. Finally the Lord of men placed the splendid sparkling casket of gold in which the bodily relic¹ of the Buddha was contained carefully under the canopy and by the strewing of flowers let a rain of flowers rain (upon it). With the shouts of the 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 with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before the brow, paid lasting reverence (to the relic). But the Lord of men had the Tooth Relic revered with all kinds of particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the head the relic which holds the first place among all things worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered all the rest, such as gods³ 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 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 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; distinguished 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 (= *rajatacchattacāmarapupphagāhakaārūḥa-tthi*).

¹ Not "relics" (W.); it is only a case of the Tooth Relic.

² I am inclined to think that *kārento* which might be the direct equivalent of the skr. *kārayantas*, belongs to the following *janā pūjenti*.

³ By *surā* are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.

island, with faith in the Enlightened One, living according to the good doctrine of the Sage, dowered with the ten powers¹, 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. •

- 68 With great ceremony he instituted day by day a great
 69 festival for the Tooth Relic, reverential towards the triad of
 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 Laṅkā. When
 he heard of the doings of former kings, of Parakkamabāhu
 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.
 75 In this manner the Sovereign of Laṅkā, 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 Laṅkā, 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,
 entitled Mahāvamsa², in which the ancient history of the
 kings of the great dynasty as of those of the lesser dynasty
 77 is narrated in the form of verses, from Mahāsaṃmata to (the

¹ See PTS. P. D. s. v. *bala*.

² For this passage see my edition of the Cūlavamsa, I, Introduction p. IV-V.

kings of) Hattiselapura¹. And the King of Laṅkā caused an examination to be made in due order of this book existing on the island of Laṅkā and of the same chronicle of the kings of Laṅkā brought from the Sāmina country — of these two books separately — and when he heard that the Mahāvamsa 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 down) for a king nor the precepts of religion, the Lord of men carried on the royal government in justice and peace. In 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 and friendly speech and care for the welfare of others, and constant in condescension. To show the world that he respected his royal brothers² as himself he assigned the two uparājas vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, made them thus completely contented and thus showed forth in the best way the fourfold heart-winning qualities. These two who 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 Mahāvamsa goes further than the original Mahāvamsa 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 Mahāvamsa (cf. P. E. PIERIS, 3, p. 142). In all probability, therefore, he was the author of chapters 90. 104 to 100 of the Mahāvamsa.

² 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. 73) 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 sāmaṇeras; and to these sāmaṇeras they presented as gift the eightfold necessities¹, 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 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.

94 Many former kings for the sake of gaining the royal dignity or for other reasons did not look on each other as
 95 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
 96 power, shunned all discord and showed no weaknesses. They dwelt together in one town and were ever friendly with one
 97 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 Silavajātaka³.

¹ See note to 60. 71.

² On account of the merit, the *puñña*, inherent in such performances.

³ 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 Kosala king, undertakes no deed of violence in order to preserve his kingdom.

The Licchavis too of Visālā carried on the government in 98
harmony and without discord and won thereby the victory¹.
Rulers of men of little discernment, infatuated by the beauty 99
of the maiden Laṅkā, 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
Laṅkā, 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 perfection².

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 deliverance — 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 sal-
vation and piously sheltered the Order of the Sage and this
stainless Laṅkā. For ever (therefore) shall one honour this 106
Ruler of Laṅkā, 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.

¹ 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.

² P. *bhāvayī . . brahmabhāvanam ekakamī*. W. translates freely "only turned his mind to contemplate the virtue of benevolence to all men."

³ I translate *anussarantam* thus in contrast to the preceding *saran-tam*, the former being a necessary corollary of the latter.

⁴ *Dhammagāṇam* is a dvandva compound and *gaṇa* = *saṅgha*.

107 Thus this Monarch dowered with great royal power, the great King of kings, protected the Order of the Sage and this stainless Laṅkā 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.

108 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 Olandaś, sea merchants who had been entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā at the time of King Rājasīha¹, fulfilled the task of envoys to the kings who ruled
 110 in Laṅkā. 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 Laṅkā 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 inhabitants of Laṅkā². 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 Laṅkā, fought a fearful battle with the Olanda
 116 people, destroyed the foe, burned down his strongholds and terrified him in every possible way.

117 Now when the enemy were thus tortured by fear a cruel treacherous man³ placed himself at their head, low-minded,

¹ Rājasīha II. Cf. 96. 35.

² The meaning is this: The inhabitants of Laṅkā have obviously failed in their duty to the deities who like Viṣṇu 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 Laṅkā in every possible way.

³ Baron van Eck is meant here. He succeeded Schreuder as governor of Ceylon in 1762. The word *khīṇāyu* is an allusion to the fact that van Eck died suddenly, immediately after the unfortunate campaign against Kandy. Cf. v. 135.

a villain, the end of whose life was near, and with a great 118 following consisting of Jāvakas and many other people he laid waste in every (possible) way the various provinces and villages, the vihāras and the temples of the gods, the bridges, rest-houses and the like. The dignitaries charged by the Ruler 119 of Lankā fought here and there in every way with their war-skilled 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 Lankā, 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 uparājas with the sacred Tooth Relic, 123 the Mahesī, 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 senāpati 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 Lankā 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

133 town and repeatedly caused them great losses¹. 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 com-
 mands of so mighty a king who is so rich in merit²?"

¹ 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.

² The whole section vv. 108-139 (cf. vv. 159 ff. and note) is perhaps historically the most valuable part of the latest *Cūlavamsa*. 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 sanc-
 tuaries 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 revered 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 him-
 self¹ with his retinue to the most impassable part of the
 province, and when there he caught sight of the reliquary, 144
 he revered 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 cere-
 monial festival, he entered into his town. Then when the 148
 people of Laṅkā 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 Saṃgharāja² 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.

¹ One expects of course a *gātvā* to govern the acc. *mahāduggaṃ
 rattham*.

² This was the *Saraṇaṃkara* mentioned in 97. 51 and 98. 23. The

all the monasteries of the town who saw that the danger of the cycle of rebirths is far greater than the danger of the foe, had not given up the monastic life but had departed with books, relics and articles of use, and dwelling outside of the country had protected the Order. The King of kings 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, the appropriate preachers, invited them and listened ever and again to the Rājovāda¹ and other portions of the sacred scriptures.

The many Olanda people who had been our foes thought of the custom of the country. They all came together, took counsel with one another and said: "to capture the whole of Laṅkā is impossible." After they had finally realised this they consulted ever and again: "The people here who rebelled against the King, the ruler of Laṅkā have gone to perdition; it will be the same with us. It is fitting therefore, that we dwell here in the town with humility, love and reverence towards the sovereign of Laṅkā." Together with gifts for the King they took full of reverence the beautiful, empty silver reliquary which had been carried away by the great fool and which sparkled like a cetiya, as well as the golden canopy². They thought: we shall seek pardon for the wrong

title of *saṅgharāja* 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 Aṅguttara, III. 147 ff.

² When the Dutch under van Eck advanced on Kandy the Sinhalese secured the Tooth Relic (v. 123 f.), but the *karaṇḍaka*, in which it was preserved and the *sivikā* 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. Falek, 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 King, the sovereign of Laṅkā, pardoned them their great wrong and showed them distinction in every way. In this wise by friendly negotiations our King achieved with them firm and lasting¹ friendly relations. The Olanda people also became thoroughly reconciled with the King of Laṅkā 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 sacred casket which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. After having thus made its beauty like to that of the sun² he had the Tooth Relic placed therein and revered it as the King of the gods.

Thus was the pride of the wicked hosts of the infidel foe 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 fair island of Laṅkā, he had after taking over the burden of government, residing in Sirivaḍḍhana, made many sāmaṇeras 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 acquainted with the precepts of monastic discipline, some led a life of contemplation or that of hermits. After he had thus ordained so many hundreds of bhikkhus dowered with this and other virtues³ he beautified the whole of Laṅkā (formerly)

that the beleaguered garrison left behind in Kandy and reduced to sore straits, was granted a free passage.

¹ P. *thiraṃ katvāna* must, I think, be referred to *mettibhāvaṃ*.

² P. *sataṛaṃsi*, the "hundred-rayed", name of the sun.

³ Pāda a is of course defective. We expect *evamādiguṇayutte*. But

172 bereft of bhikkhus. Day by day⁰ 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 sāmaṇeras 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 commandments¹ — to calm disease like fever² 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 sāmaṇeras and the bhikkhus and gave them the requisite care.

180 In this wise also the King of kings dispensed gain for the community. "Of all gains³ the gain of health is the highest
181 and best", thus the Buddha taught and therefore even he also dispensed⁴ 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.

² W. is probably right in connecting *jara* here with skr. *jrara* (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 Laṅkā, 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 performed¹ continually meritorious works, unweariedly, a support of the Order¹.

Here ends the ninety-ninth chapter, called »Account of the King's Consecration and of Other Festivals«, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ 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 KITTISIRIRĀJASĪHA

- 1 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, kapikāra, 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, oranges⁷ and sweet muṇḍakas, with yellow and green

¹ I anticipate the subject *mahāyaso* (v. 8 c) and *janindo* (v. 12 a). 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.

² *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. *ratana*), a marvellous chariot that carries him victoriously over all countries.

³ I anticipate *pūjetvā* in v. 8.

⁴ The botanical names are successively: 1) *jasminum grandiflorum*, 2) *melastoma champaka*, 3) *rottleria tinctoria*, 4) *mesua ferrea*, 5) *pterispermum acerifolium*, 6) *pandanus odoratissimus*.

⁵ Cf. also Mhvs. 89. 43 and note.

⁶ *P. timbarūsaka* a kind of diospyros. The fruit called *timbaru* is compared in Ja. VI. 457¹ to the youthful female breast. We do not know what the *phārusa* is.

⁷ *P. nārāṅga* = skr. *nārāṅga* which is borrowed from the Persian *nārang*. *Muṇḍaka* again is unknown.

coconuts, with ripe pomegranates, with dates, grapes and various 6
 other fruits, with many fine roots¹ and sprouts of every kind. 7
 With such and other offerings, with the five kinds of musical 8
 instruments, with many of the things taken over from former 9
 kings and with new thereto he worshipped the Tooth Relic 10
 day by day, thereby intent on merit, increasing the store of 11
 his meritorious works. With gold and silver, with fair precious 12
 stones and pearls, with countless, brightly embroidered, 13
 gleaming stuffs; with canopies, curtains and robes, with many 14
 articles of use and manifold ornaments, with many elephants 15
 and steeds, as well as with cattle and buffaloes, with many 16
 slaves male and female and with numerous villages and fields 17
 he sacrificed full of zeal to the Tooth of the Enlightened One 18
 and when the Prince of men beheld it he was filled with pious 19
 joy. He was minded to have the golden casket completed 20
 which had been begun under former kings but had never 21
 been finished. After a splendid, jewel-encrusted² casket had 22
 been made for two thousand suvaṇṇas and seven nikkhas³, 23
 the Lord of men ever intent on meritorious action, had a 24
 costly, splendid, magnificent, large diamond placed on the point; 25
 one hundred and sixty-eight beautiful, costly, splendid (smaller) 26
 diamonds, well worth seeing, and one hundred and seventy- 27
 one topazes⁴ he had put on it, further he had it set with 28
 five hundred and eighty-five blue sapphires and four thousand 29
 eight hundred and eighty rubies, also he had it set with seven 30
 hundred and seventy-eight pearls, and when the costly casket

¹ P. *sādhukandehi*. The word *kanda* „root” (skr. the same) is missing in CHILDERS and also in the PTS. P. D.

² P. *maṇivaṇṇa*. The word *vaṇṇa* does not mean “colour” here, but “beauty, ornament”, as is often the case.

³ *Suvaṇṇa* as well as *nikkha*, as also skr. *suvarṇa* and *niṣka* denote a weight and a coin. The *nikkha* is = 15 *suvaṇṇa* (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

⁴ P. *puppharāgamaṇiratane*. It is true that *puppharāga* by itself means “topaz” (= skr. *puṣparāga*). What is expressed however, is the fundamental meaning “flower coloured”. Thus we have in the same way *nilamaṇi* “blue gem” (17 d) for “sapphire” and *rattamaṇiratana* “red gem” (18 c d) for “ruby”.

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 Vimalādhammasuriya¹ overlaid with gold. Then the
Ruler of men, celebrating a great festival, placed the Tooth
23 of the Sage in these safes (caskets). Full of pious joy the
Ruler dedicated a large village, Akarabhaṇḍa by name, to the
Tooth of the Prince of the wise.

24 At the festival of the relic the Ruler in his mercy thought
25 to show the Tooth Relic to the inhabitants of Laṅkā. After
the Ruler had had the whole town of Sirivaḍḍhana 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
Laṅkā. 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 sa-
crificial ceremonies, celebrated³ with silver umbrellas and fly-
whisks of yak tails⁴, with golden and silver flowers, with the
32 five kinds of flowers, lāja⁵ and so forth, with many jewels
and pearls, with gold and silver, with various coloured stuffs

¹ In Mhvs. 94. 11 ff. it is related that he brought the Tooth Relic from Labujagāma to Kandy. Nothing is said in the passage about the making of a *karanda*.

² Cf. 98. 50 and note.

³ P. *kāriyamānapūjāsu* in v. 34 c.

⁴ P. *camaricāmarehi*. The fem. *camarī* is also employed in Skr. (BR. s. v. *camara*). See above 98. 14, as well as Jāt. IV. 256 *camarinaṅguṭṭha*.

⁵ Cf. 98. 46 and note.

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,¹ — the highly 35
 famed King marched in procession like a world ruler in his
 chariot². In the superb, beautiful maṇḍapa, decorated with 36
 all kinds of brightly embroidered cloths, like a heavenly
 maṇḍapa 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 Laṅkā 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, 43
 and another large village by name Muttāpabbata³ 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 Laṅkā, and amongst all the sāmaṇeras who had undergone

¹ P. *kallolamālīnī* *va* stands quite independently of the construction of the sentence, as a kind of parenthesis. It refers to the whole procession.

² See note to 100. 1, Note 2.

³ 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).

the ceremony of world renunciation¹, 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 astro-
 logy, medical activity¹ and the like.

47 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 sāmaṇera, named Saraṇaṃkara, 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 accord-
 ing to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against
 51 them and had them seriously admonished that from now on-
 wards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid
 unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and
 52 should foster³ 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

¹ That is the activity of the *kapurāla*, the sorcerer or devil-priest whose help is sought in cases of illness and for warding off the harmful influence of the planetary deities.

² P. *sammā vijānitvā* cannot belong to *pavattim*, as W. seems to think, but must govern the following accusatives. For Saraṇaṃkara cf. above 97. 51, 60; 98. 23; as well as note to 99. 150. The Saṃgharāja died in the year 1778.

³ 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 a b would be characterized as oratio recta.

whole island, and with the reflection: if a Ruler like myself carries on the government in the island of Laṅkā, then the 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 hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass, the Ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he desired a long continuance of the Order of the great Seer, when the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after the final nirvana of the Prince of the wise¹ had come — sent messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb town of Ayojjhā², to fetch hither sons of the Buddha. In this wise the Ruler of Laṅkā 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 started with great ceremony and with great zeal on their way. With the Olanda people who were entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā, they embarked and sailed to the land of Sāminda. When the town of Ayojjhā was reached the Ruler of men in that country accepted the royal letter and the rest, as was the custom. In best fashion the prudent one showed the dignitaries the honour befitting them and took note of the excellent royal letter. When the Ruler of men Dhammika by name, who striving after the dignity of a Buddha, fulfilled the ten pāramīs³ and took the Order under his protection,

¹ = 1749 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.

² See note to 98. 91.

³ See for this note to 37. 180.

- 67 heard the news of the decline of the Order of the Victor in
 Laṅkā, 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 Saṃgharāja in the Sāmindā 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 Laṅkā — like to King Vessantara¹ — sent² to
 73 Laṅkā, 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 Laṅkā, 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)³. The great vessel⁴ which after the golden
 image and the other gifts had been put in order, was sent off
 came without disaster over the sea⁵ rich in perils, hiding many
 76 a disaster, to the fair, splendid island of Laṅkā and reached
 77 the harbour of Tikoṇamāla⁶. When the Great king, the Ruler
 of Laṅkā had tidings of this, he had all the inhabitants of

¹ The last human incarnation of the Bodhisatta; cf. Vessantara-jātaka (Nr. 547; VI. 479 ff. in FAUSBÖLL's edition).

² All the accusatives in vv. 71-74 are governed by *apesesi*, to those in v. 71 must be added the gerund *nīmantayitvāna*. 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 sāmaṇeras in addition.

³ Three in number according to the narrative.

⁴ The subject *nāvā* in 75 c is repeated with *mahānāvā* in 76 d. The language in the whole section is extremely careless.

⁵ P. *gambhīre*, used substantively and supplemented by *samudde*.

⁶ I. e. Trincomalee.

the town of Sirivaḍḍhana¹ called together. In joyful faith the Ruler of men celebrated a great feast. From the sea as far as superb Sirivaḍḍhanapura he had the road put in order and rest-houses¹ erected at various places. Then the Ruler sent forth the Mahāsenāpati and other dignitaries and made them fetch in the right order the golden image and the sacred books, the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached the vicinity of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā which comes down from the Sumanakūṭa, the Ruler of the town Sirivaḍḍhana, the Ruler 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 them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverence to the august Grand therā and to the others and at the same 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 his town. In the fair Pupphārāma³, in a graceful brick-roofed building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he made the august community of monks take up their abode. Then he provided them in fitting manner with the necessities and charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter sent by the King of Ayojjhā and he made the royal envoys who 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 ninety-six after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One⁴,

¹ P. *ārāme*, thus buildings which were specially intended for the sojourn of the monks.

² 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 (*saṅgha*).

³ "Flower monastery" the now so-called Malvatu-vihāra situated immediately on the lake of Kandy.

⁴ = 1752 A. D.

92 in the month Āsālha¹ 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 therā Upāli, 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
 Laṅkā, made these perform on the most distinguished of the
 sāmaṇeras of Laṅkā the ceremony of admission to the Order.
 97 From that time onwards he was wont to fetch hither
 sāmaṇeras and others who were versed in the linguistic text-
 books 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 Laṅkā, 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 who³ had long been at pains to make

¹ The month June-July.

² In the narrative (p. 34) quoted above (note to v. 59) the Grand therā Āriyamuni is mentioned as second to Upāli.

³ All the relative sentences beginning with *yo* in vv. 102-107 refer to *taṃ* 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.

lustrous the Order of the Sage which for a long time had been on the verge of ruin in Laṅkā, — who in accordance 103 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 Laṅkā who were intent on their salvation, — who during the time that he was a 107 sāmānera was called Saraṇampkara: 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 Saṃgharāja¹. Amongst the bhikkhus who had joined him, he sought out in both monasteries² 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 Laṅkā.

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 Laṅkā, 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

¹ See above note to 99. 150 and to 100. 69.

² In the Malvatu and the Asgiriya-vihāras in Kandy, which are the seats of the two mahānāyakas, the heads of the Church of Ceylon.

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 con-
 tinuance of the Order. As he wished to make lustrous the
 117 Order, he invited in fitting manner the Grand therā Upāli
 and listened with believing heart from the Dīgha-Nikāya, the
 118 Saṃyutta-Nikāya, the Saddhammasaṃgaha 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 Ayojjhā and all the people of
 Laṅkā, the Grand therā (Upāli) with the other bhikkhus (from
 123 Sāṃinda) as well as the bhikkhus from Laṅkā, the sāmaṇeras
 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.
 125 Since the royal envoys wished to do reverence to the
 Mahiyāṅga-cetiya and the other cetiya places, he sent them
 126 in the company of Laṅkā 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 Upāli at the head, to visit the sixteen sacred
 places¹ in Laṅkā, Mahiyāṅga and so forth, as well as the

¹ According to W. these were: 1) Mahiyāṅga, 2) Nāgaḍīpa, 3)
 Kalyāṇī, 4) Samantakūṭa, 5) Divāguhā, 6) Dīghavāpi, 7) Mutiyāṅga

cetiya in Sirivaddhana and other towns. Then he had sacred 129 boundaries¹ 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 season² he 131 provided the fitting maintenance, listened to the sermon of the true doctrine and kept the uposatha fasts. When the 132 bhikkhus were presented³ with the various necessities he gave them in addition to the otherwise customary robes⁴, kaṭhina robes⁵. 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 sāmaṇeras 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 Sūkara the Ruler of 136 men Dhammika the sage, who had helped so much to further the Order in Laṅkā, since he strove after the dignity of a Buddha, sent once more from the town Ayojjhā a group of 137

(in Badulla), 8) Tissamahāvihāra (Tissamahārāma in Mahāgāma, Rohaṇa) 9) the Bodhi tree, 10) Maricavaṭṭi-cetiya, 11) Ratanavāluka (Mahāthūpa), 12) Thūpārāma, 13) Abhayagiri, 14) Jetavana, 15) Selacetiya (9 to 15 in Anurādhapura), 16) Kājaragāma (Rohaṇa).

¹ P. *kāretvā baddhasīmāyo*, lit. "he had fixed boundaries made". The expression *simāṃ 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.).

² 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 Pavāraṇā ceremony held at the end of the rainy season.

⁴ P. *parivāracivarehi*. *Parivāra* here has the sense of "ingredient accessories" (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

⁵ See note to 41. 48.

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 the other virtues, who was a mine of virtue, and the capable, learned second *thera* Varanāṇamuni — to Laṅkā for the furtherance of the Order in Laṅkā. When this community arrived the highly famed King of Laṅkā accompanied them as formerly with great honours into the town, made them take up their abode in the Puppahārāma and dispensed to them daily regular food and everything else as formerly.

After accumulating a store of merit the distinguished *Thera* Upāli who during these three years unweariedly day and night had done all that was to be done for the furtherance of the Order, was severely troubled by a disease of the nose which befel him. The Siḥala Ruler had the best medical treatment given to the incomparable Grand *thera* (thus) seized by illness. Again and again the highly famed King went to the monastery, visited the Grand *thera* and when he learned, his 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 it² to him (the Grand *thera*). When the *Thera* was dead the Ruler of men had the corpse with great ceremonial laid in a covering of 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, Dhammika, the sovereign of the Sāmindā country, had been in the furtherance of the Order of the King of the wise in Laṅkā, by twice sending a pious *bhikkhu* community and by bringing about the presence of many hundreds of *bhikkhus*, whereas formerly there had not been a single *bhikkhu* on the

¹ As regards the word *mahāvisuddhācariyattheraṃ* we must I think, join the *mahā* with *theraṃ* in order to get the counterpart to *anutheraṃ* in 138 b.

² For *pattidāna* see note to 42. 50. In this case the *patti* is transferred to a dying man, not one already dead.

island of Laṅkā 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 right¹ 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 (Sāminda). With great reverence all the 156
 dignitaries received this and journeyed forth to the country
 of Sāminda. When they arrived² 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 transference³ of the merit of the further-
 ance of the Order and so forth, he put glad confidence in the
 King of Laṅkā. He gave over (to the envoys) many books 160
 which were not in Laṅkā, 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 Order⁵ and the like, wherein the

¹ 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 Devānampiyatissa and King Asoka (Mhvs. 11. 22, 30).

² The acc. pl. *sampatte* is governed by *apesesi* in v. 163 c. Vv. 156-163 certainly form a most clumsy sentence.

³ This refers to what is related in v. 146.

⁴ Cf. with this the note to v. 254.

⁵ 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 Laṅkā.

164 All this the highly famed King of Laṅkā 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 merit¹. 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 Laṅkā 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 Visuddhācariya² 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 Laṅkā some whose ornament was their virtue, learned with the Grand Thera by name Visuddhā-
174 cariya, absorption which is the way to nirvana; others learned
175 with the second Thera Varāṇāpamuni the content of the doctrine and monastic rules, as well as linguistic knowledge. Thus the King pledged the bhikkhus of Laṅkā 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 Laṅkā were zealous and discerning. Received into

¹ P. *pattānumodanena* stands as is shown by the preceding verse, for *patti-anum*°.

² See above v. 136 ff.

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 King showed them honour by the dispensing of dwellings and the like. The chapter of bhikkhus which had come the second time and wished to return to their own country he sent away with Olanda merchants. On a firmly fixed rock situated on a beautiful spot not too far to the east of the town of Sirivaddhana he had hewn out by skilful workers, masons and others a splendid standing image of the Victor nine cubits¹ high and he had the radiant, shining stone image overlaid with gold plates so that it resembled the living Sage. Round about this Buddha statue he had erected a lofty, massive, beautiful stone wall and superb stone pillars placed and a splendid, beautiful two-storeyed temple built fair to look at, as well as a roomy court, outer walls, mandapas and so forth set up in the best way. Then he put thereon canopies and curtains of all kinds of coloured stuffs. Round about he placed arches one after another and provided them in every way with much ornament. Here and there he set up various flags and pennons and on the day of the sacrificial festival of the eyes² he lit a row of lamps, placed filled jars (about) and carried out in blameless fashion the various customs prescribed for festivals. To the people who supplied the coloured paintings, he dispensed abundantly robes, ornaments and the like and satisfied their wishes in every way. Then he made the 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, on a good day determined as favourable he put in the eyes and celebrated a great festival. Numerous silver bowls and many silver vessels, costly necessities and valuable monks'

¹ I. e. 13—14 ft.

² 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 sandal¹ 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 vihāra festival according to their
 money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred
 and fifty (kaḥāpaṇas).

201 The large, beautiful vihāra, well worth seeing, which is
 known as Gaṅgārāma because it was built on a fair spot near
 202 the Mahāvālukagaṅgā 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 enemy²
 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.

² 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 Gaṅgārāma 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

for the community and made a chapter of bhikkhus who devoted themselves with lasting zeal to the study and the fulfilment of moral duties, take up their abode there, providing 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 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 be seen, that was erected in this manner, and all the numerous sacrificial ceremonies inaugurated there and the many meritorious 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 Arupala, and many other villages and fields, and gardens also, as well as the large, populous village by name Udaḡagāma¹ in the district of Māyāḍhanu and granted them (to the monastery). And the King confirmed this in perpetuity by having an inscription graven on the beautiful mountain (in the stone).

In this way the King of kings dowered with splendid 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 works². Therefore should ye all also perpetually perform without wearying, meritorious works.

In the fair, splendid suburb by name Kuṇḍasālā, the Ruler of men had erected in a charming garden a vihāra fair to look on, supplied in the best way possible with outer walls and maṇḍapas, and brought thither relics and images of the

¹ 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 Pattava, Kegalla (Census 1921, II, p. 48, 282, 514).

² Lit. "the full value of meritorious action" (*sāraṃ* in contrast to *asāraṃ* 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.

220 The wicked king known by the name of Rājasīha in the 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 Sumanakūṭa. 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 Kuṭṭāpiṭi to the sacred footprint and to shield it from the heat of the sun, he erected above it a maṇḍapa 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 assigned to the Order.

228 In this manner did our happy, sublime² Sihala Ruler in 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

¹ Cf. for this 93. 3 ff. especially v. 12. Line 220 a agrees in wording with the line 93. 5 a.

² Note that in this strophe the word *parava* occurs in each of the four lines.

celebrated a ceremonial festival for the Buddha which granted sublime immortality.

The Majjhavela-vihāra¹ built by the ruler, King Vaṭṭa-
gāmaṇī, which had fallen into decay, and the cetiya belonging
to the vihāra he had rebuilt in the finest way and granted
it the village called Siṅgattala² that had been long separated
from it. Day by day he celebrated there in the right way a
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
village by name Ratanadoṇi⁴, having learnt from the record
of a stone inscription that it had formerly belonged to it but
had been severed from it, and he the highly famed, intent on
merit, celebrated a sacrificial festival.

For the restoration of the Majjhapalli-vihāra⁵ the Ruler
conferred distinction on the bhikkhu Saṃgharakkhita in pious
fashion. He caused a great recumbent image (of the Buddha)
to be made and finally he had a great festival celebrated there
and the festival of the eyes held. In order also to perform
the (customary) sacrificial ceremonies he dedicated the village
called Mālāgāma⁶ (to the monastery) and had a sacrificial
festival celebrated daily according to rule. To the sāmaṇera
called Sīddhattha the Ruler granted the large Rajata-vihāra⁷
erected by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī when inspired⁸ by the wish

¹ W.: Medavela-vihāra.

² Probably Singagoda, Kinigoda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 514).

³ W.: Devanagala-vihāra.

⁴ Perhaps Ruvandeniya, Galboda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 520).

⁵ W.: Meddepola-vihāra.

⁶ 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.

⁷ See note to 99. 41.

⁸ P. *paṭṭhetvā āgatenā* is a composite verb formed after the Sinhalese model (*geṇenavā, geṇāvā*).

for the august position of a chief¹ disciple of Metteya¹, the
 239 King of the wise. After the Ruler of Laṅkā 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 dwell-
 ing in the Uposathārāma rank and showed them favour in
 240 every way. Then in order to restore this vihāra which had
 long been in the state of a ruined house, the Ruler of men
 241 in Laṅkā 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 maṇḍapa, as well as (a picture)
 the figure of the Buddha in combat with Māra 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 Muhuttamuni², 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 — Ānanda,
 that of the Bodhisatta Metteya, that of the sublime patron
 249 deity (Viṣṇu), and that of King Gāmaṇi. 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

¹ Metteya is the future Buddha. Each Buddha has two pre-eminent disciples ascribed to him (*aggasāvaka*). Those of the historical Buddha were Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

² I do not know who is meant here. W. omits the name in his translation.

³ *Saddhammarakkhino* refers to Ānanda. It is he who according to Vin. II. 287, was questioned as to the *dhamma*, by Mahākassapa at the first Council.

made in the inside (of the shrine), he had portrayed also outside on the wall a series of glorious figures of gods and Brahma figures with flowers in their hands, which looked as if they had appeared for worship. Then too he caused a great, beautiful triumphal arch to be made, well worth seeing, further two lion figures on either side of the portal and in the empty interstices of the wall figures of demons. Also he had pictures portrayed in coloured painting of the sixteen holy places¹, Mahiyaṅgaṇa and the others, further of the famous foot-print on the Saccabaddha mountain², of the ten pāramīs³, of the three forms of (right) action⁴, as well as of many jātakas in which subjects like the five great renunciations⁵ are treated of. In the maṇḍapa he had all kinds of figures introduced, series of lions, series of elephants, series of geese and creeper work of flowers. In the delightful cave above in the same rock he built a vast image house, well worth seeing, splendid, beautiful with many sculptures fashioned to perfection and so forth. There he had a beautiful, vast, life-like sitting Buddha made — splendid was this figure and fair to look at — and on either side well fashioned, upright standing statues of the Bodhisatta Metteyya and of the lotus-hued god⁶. He also caused many other figures to be set up: figures of sages, figures of many hundreds of the perfect⁷, the four and twenty Buddhas, the

¹ See note to 100. 128.

² This is a sacred mountain in Siam, called Saccabandhana in the narrative (p. 31) mentioned above (Note to 100. 59). There was a foot-print 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 Laṅkā.

³ See note to 37. 180.

⁴ P. *tiḍḍhā cariyaṃ*. The three forms are *lokatthacariyā*, *nātatthacariyā* 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.

⁵ P. *pañcamahāpariccājā*. The surrender of the five precious possessions, the wife, the children, the royal dignity, life, limbs. DhCo. I. c. CHILDERS, PD. s. v. *pariccāga*.

⁶ See note to 83. 49.

⁷ 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 intimations¹, the sixteen holy places, fair forms of
 spiritual beings and others, the five great Councils² 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 vaulted³ ceiling a sitting figure of
 the Sage surrounded by his five hundred followers, Sāriputta
 265 at the head. In the court he had walls and maṇḍapas 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).

267 All these fine structures the King dedicated (to the mo-
 268 nastery) at the festival of the eyes by dignitaries whom he
 had sent⁴, 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 (*cyākaraṇa*) that he too shall in time attain the dignity of a Buddha.

² The Mahāvamsa 3, 4 and 5. 268 ff. gives an account of the three first Councils (*dharmasamgīti*) 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 and Tafel 14.

³ P. *uddham pabbhāra-m-uttame*. Very likely a picture on the ceiling.

⁴ The construction of the sentence is quite irregular. It seems to me, however, that *pesiṭe 'macce* is acc. pl. which like the preceding accusatives is made to depend on *datvāna*.

From that time onwards there came hither many inhabitants of the whole kingdom from all quarters, like the sea when it overflows the land. When all the people who had gathered there beheld the many golden and other works 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 they celebrated amid cries of Hail! a great festival and thus paved their way to Heaven. At that festival he invited the bhikkhu community of the vihāra, had seats prepared in the inner room of the vihāra, made bhikkhus who were preachers of the true doctrine sit down thereon, and had the Mahāmaṅgalasutta² and other sacred texts worth hearing recited by them and thus celebrated in worthy manner a sacrificial festival of the doctrine³. All the people who saw and heard this, in that they at one and the same time beheld the Enlightened One⁴ and heard the true doctrine, were filled daily in every possible way with the highest joy and ecstasy, as if by a sermon of the living Sage. Thus he made manifest both: the beauty of his form and the charm of his sermon.

Outside in the court he placed pillars of stone, erected a maṇḍapa, spread seats therein and after establishing the great multitudes gathered round the maṇḍapa in the five major and other commandments relating to moral discipline, he made them listen daily to abundant texts. Full of reverence he⁵ also invited the preachers of the doctrine to preach the doctrine repeatedly during the three watches of the night.

¹ The *yamakam pāṭiheram* is often mentioned, as is the case in the ancient Mahāvamsa (See my translation, note to 17. 44; cf. DhCo. III, p. 199 ff.; Samantapāsādikā, ed. TAKAKUSU I, p. 88 ff.).

² In the Suttanipāta, Cūlavagga, Sutta 4 (ed. by DINES ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH, p. 46).

³ P. *dharmapūjā*. The *dhmma* itself is the *pūjāvattlu*, the "object of sacrifice", because the sacred texts are recited.

⁴ I. e. the images of the Buddha in the Rajata-vihāra.

⁵ 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.

282 In the year two thousand three hundred and one after the
 final nirvana of the Enlightened One¹ he had the vihāra called
 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.

290 In such wise was the place restored by royal power, vi-
 sited (in days of yore) by great saints and honoured by the
 291 former rulers of Laṅkā. When the highly famed King heard
 thereof he fixed the boundary of the vihāra solemnly in the
 292 same way (as before), performed there all the solemn cere-
 monies, 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 mountain² adorned with
 rows of trees like pūga, punnāga, nāga³ 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

¹ I. e. 1757 A. D.

² Mentioned in 44. 56. See note to the passage.

³ For the tree names cf. 73. 98, 74. 204, 79. 3.

which bore the name of Sūkara¹, an image house of the Victor, erected by a dignitary who was charged therewith by the King. There the councillor Suvannagāma 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 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 like².

Here ends the hundredth chapter, called «The History of Kittisirirājasīha», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The Col. Ed. reads *sūkarācāṇāmaṇhi* instead of the *sūkaravha-yanāmaṇhi* of my MSS. W. gives Varāvaḷa as the modern name of the monastery.

² 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 Cūlavamsa (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 *amhākaṃ Sihalindo* and the benediction in v. 185 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.

CHAPTER CI

SUPPLEMENT¹

1 On his death, his younger brother Sirirājādhirājasīha²
 2 received consecration as king in Laṅkā. 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 Sāminḍa, came to the
 7 town of Sirivaḍḍhana. 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 rāma³, according to the *ṇattidutiya* process⁴. When he saw

¹ Chapter 101 of the *Mhvs.* has been composed and added to their edition of the chronicle (1877) by H. SUMANGALA and BATUWANTUDAWA. See MALALASEKERA, *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.

² Reigned 1780-1798 (cf. v. 18). It was during the reign of Rājādhirājasīha that the capitulation of Colombo took place (15th Feb., 1796) and with that the passing of the dominion from the Dutch to the British. Cf. PIERIS 3, p. 142 ff.; CODRINGTON, HC., p. 133 ff.

³ Synonym for *Pupphārāma* 100. 86, 141, now the *Malvatu-vihāra*.

⁴ This is a particular form of a *saṃghakamma* or ecclesiastical act. See *Vin* II. 89³ and 91³⁷ (= *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 over¹ 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 love². As expert in the 13 text books relating to language he made a poem in the Sihala tongue out of the Asadisajātaka³ and had it written down. With a heart full of faith he revered⁴ 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 kaṭhina offer- 15 ing over all gifts of alms, he every year presented kaṭhina⁵ robes to the community. He had an image of the Aṅgīrasa⁶ 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 Gaṅgārāma which was held to be pious, a graceful cetiya well worth seeing.

¹ 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.

² P. *makaradīhaja* = skr. *makaradhvaṇa* "whose badge is the makara, the dolphin".

³ Jātaka nr. 181 in FAUSBÖLL II. p. 86 ff.

⁴ I believe that here we should read *saṃmānesi* instead of *saṃānesi* as the meaning of the latter can hardly be harmonized with *dāṭhā-dhātun*. The instr. *dīpasatasahassena* 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 *saṃmānesi*.

⁵ See note to 44. 48.

⁶ Aṅgīras in the Rīgveda 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 *aṅgīrasa* is already used of Buddha, Therag. 1252 (quoted S. I. 196). Cf. also A. III, 239²⁵; Jñ. V. 141¹.

- 18 After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in accordance with his deeds.
- 19 The sister's son of Rājādhirājasīha, the Lord of men, Sirivikkamarājasīha¹, 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 Ruler² 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 Sihalas and the inhabitants of the town of Colombo³ rebelled. They all came
- 28 hither, captured the criminal king alive when the eighteenth year after his consecration had passed, and brought him to
- 29 the opposite coast³. After they had brought the King, the torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingirisi by name seized the whole kingdom.

End of the Mahāvamsa

May there be prosperity!

¹ Reigned 1798-1815. For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see COBRINGTON, HC. p. 155 ff., where also on p. 169 f., 182 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject.

² This means the British.

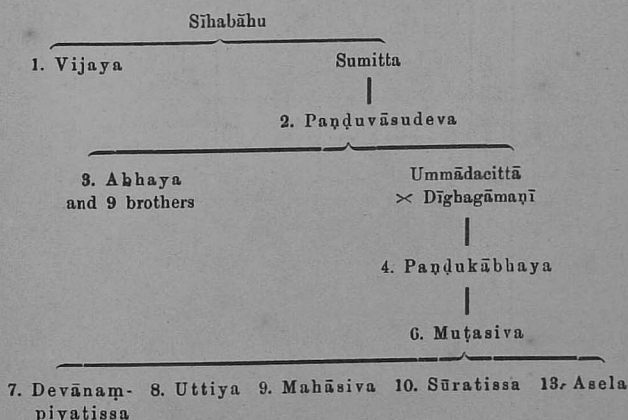
³ I. e. To the Indian mainland.

Genealogical Tables

A The Oldest Part of the Mahāvamsa

I

From Vijaya to Asela



Asela's predecessors are the Daṃḍa usurpers Sena and Guttika (11, 12), his successor is Eḷāra (14).

II

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,

his descent and his successors

6. Muṭasiya

7. Devānampiyatissa

Mahānāga
3rd son of Muṭasiya

—
Yaṭṭhāyarakatissa

—
Goṭhābhaya

—
Kākaṇṇatissa
× Vihāradevī

15. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī

16. Saddhātissa

18. Lañjātissa

17. Thūlathana

19. Khallāṭṭanāga

20. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's reign was interrupted by that of five Damiā usurpers (21–25).

IV

From Vasabha to Mahāsena

1.

41. Vasabha, a Lambakanna

|

42. Vāṅkanāsikatissa

|

43. Gajabāhukagāmaṇī

2.

44. Mahallanāga

father-in-law of 43

45. Bhātikatissa

46. Kanitṭhatissa

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. Saṃghatissa, a Lambakanna

55. Sirisaṃghabodhi, "

56. Goṭṭābhaya, "

57. Jeṭṭhatissa

58. Mahāsena

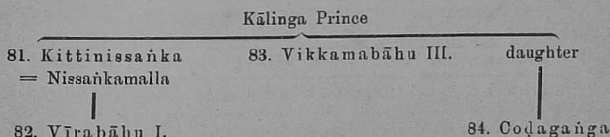
B The Oldest Part of the Cūlavamsa

See Cūlavamsa trsl. I, p. 351-358.

C The Later Parts of the Cūlavamsa

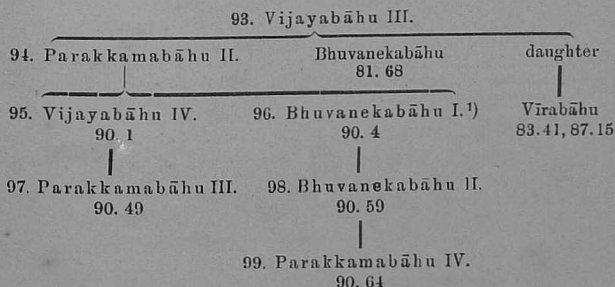
I

From Kittinissanka to Coḍagaṅga



II

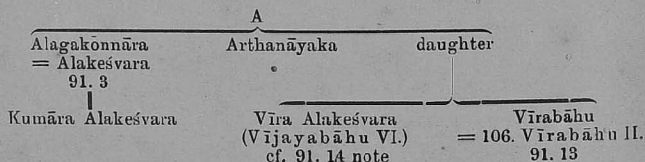
From Vijayabāhu III. to Parakkamabāhu IV.



¹⁾ Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II. are Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 16 f.)

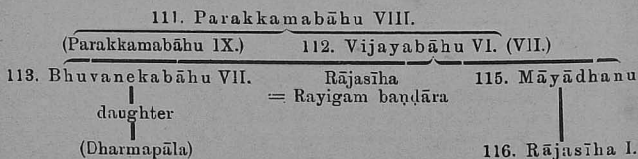
III

The family of Alagakkonāra



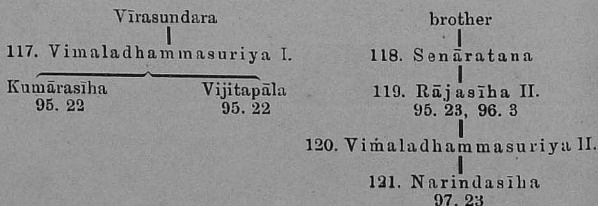
IV

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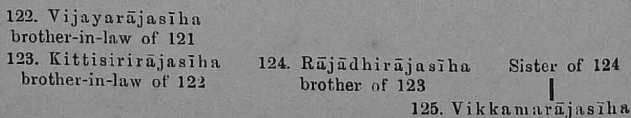
V

From Vimaladhammasuriya I. to Narindasiha



VI

From Vijayarājasīha to Vikkamarājasīha



Indices

The indices refer not only to the Cūlavamsa but also to my edition and translation of the old Mahāvamsa so that the whole chronicle is comprised within. The abbreviations are: M. ed. = The Mahāvamsa, edited by W. G., PTS. 1908. — M. tr. = The Mahāvamsa, translated by W. G., PTS. 1912. — C. ed. I = Cūlavamsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa, vol. I, PTS. 1925. — C. ed. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1927. — C. tr. I = Cūlavamsa &c., translated by W. G., vol. I, PTS. 1929. — C. tr. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1930.

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IV. The Chronicle

1) Composition (Cf. C. ed. I, p. I ff.): **37.** 51; **38.** 59. — **79.** 84. — **90.** 102; **99.** 76 ff. — the author of the last portion contemporary with Kittisirirājasīha **99.** 53, 133, 163; **100.** 228. — — **2) Sources:** Different sources: **7.** 43-5 and **9.** 9-11; **73.** 12 ff. and **78.** 6 ff. — a new source? (the Rohaṇa chronicle) **22.** 1; **45.** 37; **57.** 3; — (**47.** 1; **81.** 40). — puṇ-ṇapothhakāni **32.** 25; traces of p: dry numbers or lists of names **20.** 17-28; **24.** 12, 47; **26.** 25; **27.** 47; **32.** 26 ff.; **38.** 45 ff.; **60.** 48 ff.; **79.** 62 ff.; **82.** 12 ff.; **92.** 10-29; **100.** 14, 200; absence of a record **37.** 46. — annals kept at court **59.** 7 ff. — — **3) Chronological dates:** **4.** 1, 8; **5.** 21 f., 280; **20.** 1 ff., 32, 49; **41.** 27; **42.** 44; **44.** 144, 153; **47.** 15; **52.** 78; **53.** 44; **55.** 22; **58.** 41; **60.** 5; **80.** 32; **90.** 108; **91.** 15;

92. 6; 94. 5, 18; 99. 2; 100. 59, 91, 282. — — **4) Style and language** (cf. C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.). *Alaṃkāra*: 18. 14, 68; 52. 42; 58. 15; 60. 44; 70. 292; 72. 51, 102, 144, 209, 255 f., 314, 323, 326; 76. 160 f., 233, 311 f.; 80. 56 ff., 60; 82. 5, 16, 41, 44 ff.; 83. 13, 25, 38, 40, 42; 85. 12 ff., 35, 44 ff.; 88. 91, 121; 89. 2 ff.; 90. 34, 47, 49; 96. 20; 99. 4, 122; 100. 30, 34 &c. — *Puns*: 1. 13, 25; 5. 256; 9. 29; 14. 43; 15. 27; 17. 8 f.; 26. 6; 31. 56; 33. 65; 37. 115; 50. 65, 83; 51. 108; 67. 92; 72. 295, 315; 85. 87 f.; 90. 2 &c. *Metrical licenses*: 37. 135 ab, 138 ab; 62. 49 cd; 65. 11 cd; 66. 44 ab; 67. 44 cd. See also C. ed. I, p. XI ff. — *Irregular grammatical forms*. See also C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.: 44. 11, 31, 44; 47. 55; 50. 10; 62. 60; 70. 262; 75. 26; 90. 109. — *Loc. inst. of gen.* 38. 115. — *Causative inst. of the simple root and the contrary*: 48. 102; 70. 287; 75. 156 &c.; 47. 18; 48. 61; 75. 171 &c. — *Simple verbe inst. of passive and the contrary*: 44. 26; 50. 18; 51. 54; 76. 330 &c.; 70. 208. — *Gerund inst. of Loc. abs.*: 39. 26; 48. 79 N.; 77. 24 N.; 88. 67 ff. — *Irregular compounds*: 39. 59; 91. 6, 20; 99. 46. — *Irregular construction of sentences*: 41. 103; 49. 58; 72. 128, 249; 92. 17, 23–26; 96. 19–20; 99. 6 ff., 42 ff.; 100. 51 f. — *Influence of the metre* 74. 199; 75. 72. — *Influence of Sinhalese* 70. 85; 90. 104; 91. 36; 95. 8; 96. 17; 98. 1. — **5) Literary references.** *Indian epic literature* 64. 42 ff.; 66. 143; cf. II, s. vv. *Duyyodhana*, *Dussanta*, *Rāma*. *āyurveda* 73. 42; *nīti literature* 48. 80, 96; 55. 7; 64. 3; 66. 130 ff. (142); 70. 56; 73. 59; *yuddhannava* 70. 56; the *rasa theory* 66. 56; 72. 94, 265; 73. 117; 75. 89. — *Canonical Pali literature*: *Quotation of a Buddha-word* 73. 143; 99. 180 f. — *Dhammasaṃgīti*, *-saṃgaha* 3. 17; 5. 276. — *Tipiṭaka and Aṭṭhakathā*: 5. 84, 275; 27. 44; 33. 100; 37. 223; 41. 58; 60. 6; 84. 9, 29; 90. 37, 83; 91. 27. — *84000 sections*: 5. 78 (cf. 5. 173 ff.); 33. 12. — *Navaṅgika sāsana* 89. 70. — *Vinaya, dhamma, suttanta*: 3. 30, 34; 5. 150 f.; 20. 56; 54. 34; 99. 90, 170, 173 f. — *Nikāyā* (the four) 33. 72; 99. 31, 33; 100. 117. — *Saccasaṃyutta* 14. 58. — *Abhidhamma*: 5. 150; 37. 221; 44. 109; 51. 79; 52. 49 f. — *Paritta texts*: 37. 226; 51. 80;

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(Olandā 96. 26; 98. 89; 99. 109)

VI. King and Kingdom

A. The king and the royal family

Cf. C. tr. I, *Introd.* p. XV ff.

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6. Right of succession 33. 1—4, 20; 49. 65, 84; 50. 44; 52. 37; 54. 1; 60. 87; 61. 4; 62. 59; 63. 22; 80. 27, 28; 90. 1, 4, 49, 59. Cf. C. tr. I, p. XX—XXIV.

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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. dhammāruccikā 5. 13; 38. 75; 52. 17 f. vetullavāda 36. 41, 111; 42. 35; 78. 22. sāgalikā 5. 13; 39. 41; 42. 43; 52. 7. dhammadhātu 41. 37-40. sassataditthi 5. 269. uphayasāsana (= 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. vantajivakā 60. 69. tapovana-vāsino 41. 99 N.; 52. 22; 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20. — Bhikkhus in the Cola and Paṇḍu 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 Rājasiha I. 93. 10 ff.; 100. 220 ff. by the Paraṅgis 95. 7 ff. by the Olandas 99. 112 ff., 125. — Non-buddhist sects: titthiyā 5. 74. jaṭilā 1. 16. nigaṇṭhā 10. 97 ff.; 33. 43, 79; 39. 20. paribbājaka 7. 6; 8. 11; 10. 101. tāpasā 7. 11; 66. 135 f. ājivakā 10. 102.

7. The laity (upāsaka, -sika 89. 30). ariyā: puthujjanā 5. 113. conversions 1. 32, 33; 12. 19 ff., 27 ff.; 14. 23, 40, 58, 64; 19. 46. saraṇa, 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. padakkhiṇaṃ 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. pūjopakaraṇāni 70. 193 f., 198; 98. 93 (saṅkha 70. 194; 100. 190. pañcaturiyāni 70. 194; 98. 54; 100. 7, 33, 190. se-tacchatta &c. 70. 194; 98. 52; 99. 55; 100. 31, 193. dhajapa-tākā 70. 194; 99. 57; 100. 187. punnaghaṭā 29. 48; 30. 90; 32. 4; 98. 36; 100. 188. Cf. also VI, C, 9). pūjāvattthūni 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*, *aṭṭhaparikkhārā*, *ticīvara*, *chacīvara* in IX, C, 2; *kāṭhina* 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 *thūpa* 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 *Samanakūṭa* 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. Mahāvamsa ed.

2. 11. Put; after Okkākā, and read pavuttā instead of pa-puttā.
4. 30 d. Read: tampakkhagāhīm.
5. 169. Put comma instead of full stop at the end of the verse.
5. 170. Read: tassa tassa and put full stop after nāmato. Pāda c begins Yācitvā.
19. 3 c. Read: seṇīnaṃ.
19. 70 d. Read: vidū.
23. 11 c. Read: sahoḍhaṃ.
33. 8 c. Read: Velāṅgaviṭṭhikaṃ.
35. 11 a. Read: sahoḍhe.
35. 13 a. Read: Goṇakanaditīre.
35. 113 a. Read: Goṇanadiyā.
36. 7 c. Read: Ratanapāsādaṃ (proper noun).
37. 45 b. Expunge the comma after so.
- p. 337, col. 2, line 30. Read Kukkuṭārāmo, a monastery in I. 5. 122; in C. 37. 15.
- p. 339, col. 2, line 10. Add Goṇakanadī 35. 13, 113.
- p. 344, col. 1, line 29. Add 14. 44 after Paṭhamo thūpo.
- 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: sahoḍhaṃ gaṇhāti cf. skr. sahoḍha.

II. Cūlavamsa ed. I

37. 79. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension.
 • It is a parenthesis.
37. 103. Put: after ratanamandapaṃ.
37. 114 d. Read: 'nāgo rogīti nicchayaṃ.'
37. 202 a b. We have probably to read: cātuddasiṃ pañca-
 dasiṃ yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhami.
37. 206 b. Read: coraṃ rattiyaṃ, uggate &c.
38. 3 b. Read: chattaḡāhakajantuno.
38. 29 c d. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi, tatiye tassa bhātuko &c.
38. 60 d. Read: attanā instead of attano.
38. 65. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṅgala-
 cetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno &c.
38. 77 b. Read: kaṃsalohajaṃ.
38. 79 c d. Read: ko hi nāma samattho? ti mukhamattaṃ
 nidassitaṃ.
38. 88 c. Read: rājakule.
41. 82 c d. Read: gaheṭvā khiṇi; tiḥ' evaṃ aṅgulihi sa taṃ
 chupi.
41. 89 b. Expunge the comma after vasaṃ.
41. 96 b. Read: Uttare instead of uttare.
44. 51 b. Add the note: 'vihāraḡaṃ all MSS. and Ed.
44. 56 b. Read Janapadaṃ (it is proper noun).
44. 90 b. Read: sakkā hantaṃ ti dāraḡaṃ.
44. 123 c. Read: 'paraḡjhitaṃ.
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 sādhuḡaṃ.
50. 34 a b. Read: Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaṃṇaṃ satthu-
 bimbakaṃ.
50. 48 d. Read: 'samo instead of samo.

51. 88 d. Read: Kuṭṭhaka° instead of Tuṭṭhaka°.
 54. 57 a. Read: taṃ rājaṃ.
 56. 6 c. Read: Devanagaram (it is proper noun).
 59. 2 a. Read: »Abhisekamaṅgalatthaṃ pāsādādiṃ &c.
 59. 49 b. Read: Sundarivhaṃ.
 61. 4 d. Read: 'khilā instead of khilā.
 61. 36 a. We have probably to read: Ariyadesīso.
 61. 51 c, Note. Read: thā instead of ṭhā.
 61. 53 d. Read: 'khīṇatosā instead of khīṇa°.
 65. 6 c. Read: Paṭiladdha°.
 66. 26 c. Read: kumāraṃ.
 66. 56 a. Perhaps we should read: Nānāhassarasaññussa.
 66. 59 d. I propose to read ten' ato instead of te tato.
 66. 80 d. Read: Ranamburaṃ.
 66. 143 a. Read: °opāya° instead of °opaya°.
 70. 54 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhaṃ (it is proper noun).
 70. 98 d. Read: Ambavanam instead of Ambu°.
 70. 103 a. Read: Janapadaṃ.
 70. 112 d. Read: gaṅgāpasse instead of Gaṅgā°.
 70. 120 a. Read: gaṅgājalaṃ instead of Gaṅgā°.
 70. 181 c. Read: vasī karitasamdhāno.
 72. 58 a. Read: Ārakkha° instead of ārakkha°.
 72. 106 d. Expunge » before and after sāvadhāraṇaṃ.
 72. 121-2. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » before Bil-lavhayamhi.
 72. 127 b. Expunge » before sakalārātivāhinī.
 72. 170 d. Read: Kālavāpiyaṃ.

III. Cūlavamsa ed. II.

- Introd. p. III, l. 6. Read: anxious.
 73. 96 cd. Read: nayanā nandanādaṃ.
 73. 145 d. Expunge the comma after natthitaṃ.
 74. 46 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhaṃ.
 74. 64 d. Read: na dassāmāti sabbathā &c.
 74. 149 c. Expunge » before yasmim.
 74. 150 c. Put » before cātuddisikadīnānaṃ.

74. 206 d. Read: maggāmaggavicakkhaṇo.
 75. 24 b. Read: yuddhakilantakaṃ.
 76. 124 c. Read: So Kaṇcakuḍḍiya°.
 76. 130 a. Read: So Kaṇcakuḍḍiya°.
 76. 157 a. Read: Damiḷe neke.
 76. 190 b. Read: °pperūmaḷaṃ.
 76. 192-3. Read: vissutaṃ || etth' antare &c.
 76. 223 a. Read: °pperūmaḷo.
 76. 232 a. Read: °pperūmaḷe.
 76. 316 a. Read: Virapperayaraṃ.
 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: Sarājakulavaḍḍhanaṃ.
 80. 37 c. Read: Khandhāvara°.
 80. 39 b. Read: Sarājakulavaḍḍhanaṃ.
 82. 37 a b. Read: passanto > bhagavā nāpacakkhunā tesu
 maṃ pi ca &c.
 85. 56 a. Read: mahāvihāraṃ, not Mahā°.
 86. 17 d. Read: taṃtampuṇṇakriyāsu.
 86. 18 b. Read: Gaṅgāsiripuraṃ.
 88. 22 b. Read: dakkhiṇasmim disantare.
 90. 82 b. Expunge the comma after tadanantaraṃ.
 91. 24 d. Read: Sunettaparivenakaṃ.
 91. 25 c d. Put comma after pūjetvā and expunge it after
 tapassinam.
 93. 7 a. Read: tassa dhammaṃ instead of tass' adhammaṃ.
 97. 18 a. Read: °kūṭācala°.
 98. 61 a. Expunge < after karontū and insert it after
 ekāhe va.
 98. 95 d. Expunge the full stop after ṭhito.
 99. 29 d. Expunge the comma after so.
 99. 80 d. Read: yāv' etarahi.
 99. 89 d. Read: parikkhārāni.
 99. 107 b. Read: Laṅkaṃ.
 100. 15 d. Put comma after narādhipo.
 100. 16 b. Expunge the comma after varaṃ.

100. 44 a. Insert; after so.
101. 14 c. Read: *sammānesi*.
- 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: Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra, 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, Mahāvālukagaṅgā. 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 Rājakulavaḍḍhana.
- p. 624, col. 1, Rājaratṭha. Add: 74. 46.
- p. 630, col. 1. After Sarassatimaṇḍapa insert the article Sarājakulavaḍḍhana, a pariveṇa built by Āyasmanta 80. 39 (cf. 80. 33).
- p. 632, col. 2. Add after Sudhammā the article: Sunetrapariveṇa, a monastic building erected by Parakkamabāhu VI. 91. 24.
- p. 632, col. 2. Expunge the article Sunārī and add after Sundarapabbata: Sundarī, a Kāliṅga princess 59. 49.
- p. 642, line 31. Add: **tithimā*, s. m., the moon 95. 17. — Cf. skr. *tithipraṇī*.
- 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. *rakṣin*.
- p. 652, line 5. Add: +*vipphulīṅga*, s. n. a spark of fire 72. 84; 75. 110; 95. 14. — skr. *visphulīṅga*, 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. *Mahāvamsa*, 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 Paṇḍukābhaya the name of Gaṇaṭissa 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 WICKR. 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 Cūlavamsa trsl. II, Introduction I accepted WICKR.'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 *Ṭikā* read *pavutta* instead of *paputta*.
5. 69. The note 4 on page 31 is indeed misleading (WICKREMASINGHE EZ. II, p. 276). Read thus: *Upajjhāyassa*. Every 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 Malvaṭṭe-oya.
9. 23. Read Citta instead of Cittā.
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. STOREY, 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 3rd April 1930) calls my attention to skr. *yaṣṭi* in the meaning "necklace", occurring in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra 2. 11. 29 (p. 76 of SHAMA SASTRY'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 *suvaṇṇapaṇṇā* "with golden leaves". — ³⁾ P. *kusumayatthi*, commonly called *puṣpakhāra*, 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 Kauṭaliya I. 1.

11. 22. Here we should translate: Those three kinds of precious stones and the three chariot-like¹⁾ necklaces &c &c. — with Note ¹⁾: Refers to *rathapatodena samānū pari-māṇato* in v. 10.
11. 26. Read: the rank of general, instead of the rank of staff-bearer — and add the note: In *daṇḍanāyaka* the word *daṇḍa* means "army", and *nāyaka* "leader". Cf. Cūlav. 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. *kadambapuṣpā*; 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. Expungè 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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles NNW. of Buttala. The spot is marked by a thūpa (now in ruins).
24. 39. To came to a vihārā (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 kadambapuppha-thicket.
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 kadambapuppha-thicket.
35. 104 (p. 254, l. 6). Read: in a kadambapuppha-thicket.
35. 116 (p. 255, l. 2). Read: on the place of the kadambapuppha-thicket.
36. 6. Add to note 1, p. 256: In Sinhalese inscriptions he is called Maḷu 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 Anurādhapura, 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 rock, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", as Mr. H. STOREY has shown.

V. Cūlavamsa, tr. I

Introd. p. XXII, l. 7. To *bhāgineyya* add the note: Mr. A. M. HOGART, 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 artiolemque 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 Polonnaruwa 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 *adhikārins* (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 (*samanta*, p. XXV), 3) the heads of the merchants (*setṭhin*). The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 *sāmanta* appointed by Parakkama-bāhu 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 Mahādhammakathin 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 Mahāvamsa 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 adverbial 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. Cūlavamsa, 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.