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*Anthological Papers.*

OF THE

*Legge (W.D.)*

**CEYLON BRANCH**

*and Nevill (Hugh.)*

OF THE

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.**

1870—71.



EDITED BY

THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

*Cape degen*

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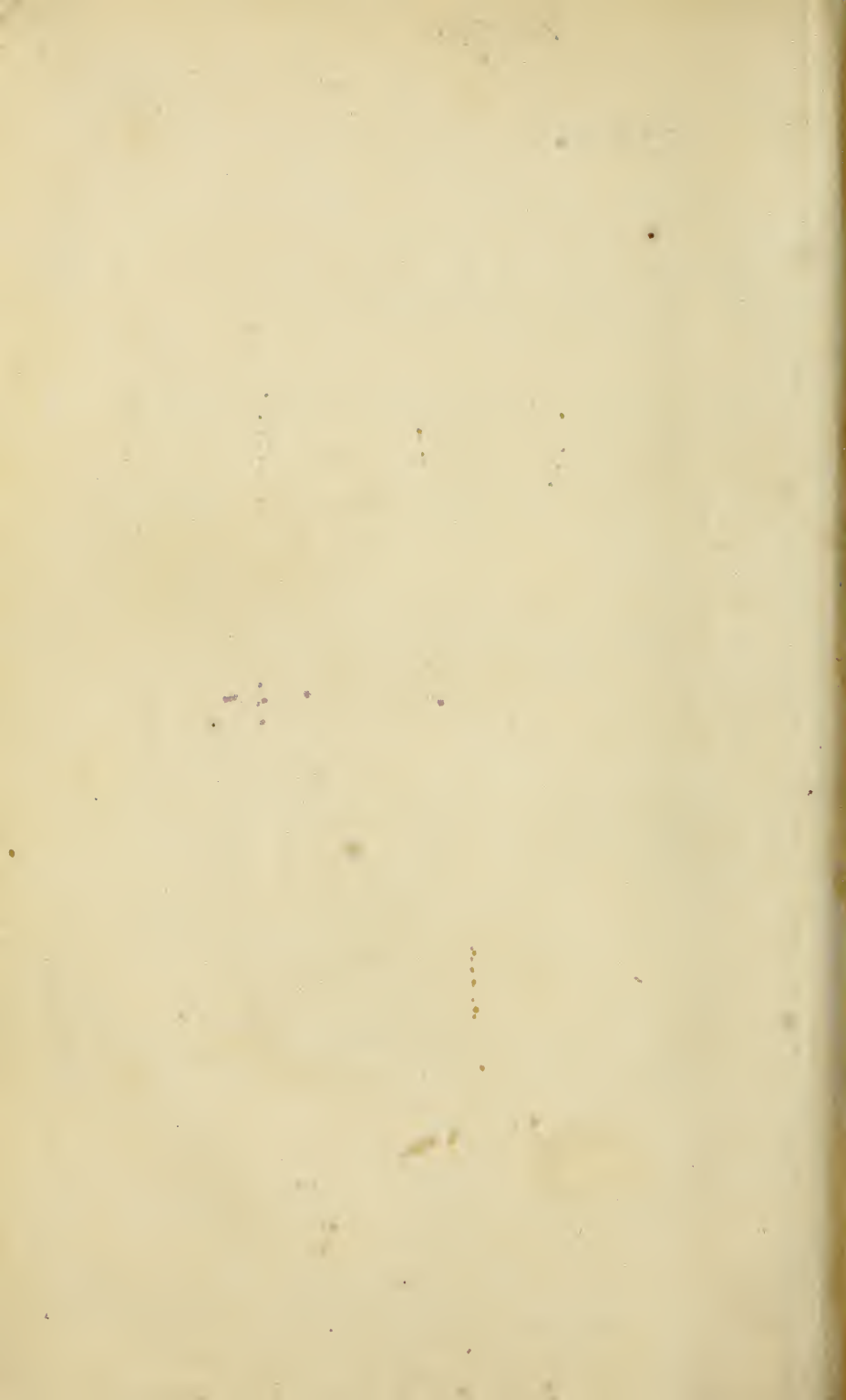
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COLOMBO

PRINTED AT THE “CEYLON TIMES” OFFICE.

1871.



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ERRATUM.

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At page 52. Foot-note,  
for "500 feet" read "5,000 feet."

## ON METHODS OF TAKING IMPRESSIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS.

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Communicated by T. W. DAVIDS, Esq.

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Here are some ancient writings engraven upon rocks which poseth all that see them.—*Knox, in Philalethes, p. 228*

It is well-known that Ceylon is exceedingly rich in old inscriptions, many of which are probably of great value, and would, if deciphered, throw as great a flood of light on Ceylon History as the Asoka inscriptions on that of India.

Their decipherment is not hopeless. It is true they are graven in old and forgotten alphabets, but the sounds hidden beneath the veil of these strange forms, are the sounds of a language of which a great deal is already known, and of which we are learning daily more and more. And as to the forms themselves we are not hopelessly in the dark: we know they are to be read from left to right, we know on what principle the vowels are expressed, we know *what* are the consonants to which the vowels give life. Several of the more modern inscriptions have already been translated, and inscriptions in cognate characters have been deciphered in India.

Nothing however, can be done without the opportunity of large comparison: and for this purpose the small number

of inscriptions in the Society's Museum are almost useless, *we therefore earnestly hope that those of our readers who feel interest in these matters*—and we hope that means all our readers—*will make and send us copies* of the inscriptions in their neighbourhood.

An eye copy must be very carefully made to be of much use, and it is often very laborious to make one at all : but a friend to the good cause in London has been kind enough to send us the following paper, of which we hope that many will take advantage.

---

TO TAKE FAC-SIMILES OF INSCRIPTIONS, DECORATIVE CARVINGS, &c.

FIRST METHOD.

If sufficient time be allowed to dry perfectly a few sheets of paper. Take a sheet of any sort (a thick bibulous paper is the best) and *lay it, previously damped*, upon the inscription ; it should then be *pressed with the hand* till it enters into all the engraved letters ; a good clothes brush with a handle, struck hard upon the paper will complete the operation ; the paper should *not be taken off till it is quite dry*, when it should be carefully rolled up. For greater safety, I have frequently laid a sheet of paper pasted on the face, close down upon the preceding sheet, while still damp, before it is removed from the inscription, and beaten it down with the brush ; if two or three pasted sheets be thus laid down, you will have a thick impression, which may, with care, be removed at once ; and when this is quite dry, it may be rolled up, and put away with perfect safety. I have had some impressions taken in this way, which I have kept for several years, they will bear *any amount of rough* usage without damage.

## SECOND METHOD.

Or a sheet of paper may be laid on the inscription, and rubbed on the back with a piece of heel-ball, such as shoemakers use; or upon the first sheet, slightly damped, a second sheet smeared over with lamp-black, may be laid, and rubbed on the clean side with a smooth stone, piece of smooth wood, or a billiard ball, or anything not so rough as to tear the paper; two or three impressions may be taken off at once if the inscription be at all deeply cut (as the Uniyastic inscriptions usually are), by laying down first a clean, and then a blackened sheet, with face downward, then another clean sheet, with another blackened sheet, &c. &c. I have taken six or eight impressions at once this way. If you have not any lamp-black, you can make enough for the purpose in a few minutes, by holding a dry and cold plate over the flame of a lamp or candle.

This plan may be varied, according to circumstances, and will be generally easy to an unpractised person.

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A PROSE TRANSLATION OF THE INTRODUCTORY  
STANZAS OF THE "KUSA-JATAKA."

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Communicated by LIONEL F. LEE, Esq.

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The following pages contain a literal prose translation of the introductory stanzas of the Kusa-Jātaka, one of the Pansiyanas Jātaka.

This "Jātaka" is said to have been translated from the original Pāli by Alajiyawanna Mohotal, A. D. 1610, (vide James De Alwis' Sidat Sangarāwa, p.p. ccvii.—ccviii.), and is deemed one of the finest specimens of poetry in the language, although Alajiyawanna can hardly be defended from the charge of plagiarism, which Mr. De Alwis proves against him. Not only is the versification and metrical arrangement of this work admirable; the phraseology and metaphor are as much to be admired. The translation of the whole of the poem in the Society's Journal would usurp too much space, and I therefore submit the introductory stanzas for perusal, as a fair specimen of the whole work.

---

STANZA I.

I worship the supreme sage, teacher of the *three worlds*, who is as a sun in the midst of the gross darkness of heathendom; as the night opening flower-like moon to his followers; as a jewel of virtue in a great ocean.

II.

I ever worship the inestimable doctrines preached to the whole world, by him who, when he had explained the



happy joys of Nirwana, and torn out by the roots all the evil faculties of his mind, became Buddha.

### III.

I worship the great company of priests, which bestows tranquillity on the world, a vessel of virtue, and a field of merit, and which has given its lotus-like feet to the head of Brahmas, gods, and men.

### IV.

May the gods, Brahma, Sakkra, Vishnu, Ganiswara, Iswara, Kateragama, the Sun, Balabaddra, and the king of Nagas, bless the world of beings with peace.

### V. to XI.

In the womb of this world who can be compared to *Visakawa*, this woman, of full and blameless faith—faith of the three gems—the famous Meniksami, gentle, of gloriously beauteous form, her forehead marked with pure saffron, of high lineage, who, as the softly flowering, quivering, golden creeper encircles the trees of paradise, turns herself round the chief minister Attanayaka, whose fame is published in the world, and whose joy and honor have been increased by his pleasant service at the beautiful feet of king Singha, banner-bearer of the vase of the sun, who can equal her—granddaughter of a chief minister—pure child of parents, pure as milk in a white shelled chank, sweet of speech, a goddess in her splendour, grand-daughter of that Sepala Adikar—a holy man of merchant-caste—who received the premiership from the excellent monarch, king of men, Buwanekabahu, whom the goddess of victory adorned with a sword, and who hearkens to the doctrines and preaching of Buddha, whose feet are on his head ?

## XII.

She always honestly observes the five precepts, and on holy days the eight precepts; as carefully as the blue-jay guards her eggs, and the yak his tail.

## XIII.

She never ceases giving her mind, her attention, and her wealth to Buddha, his doctrines, and his great priesthood. Who, therefore, in the world is equal to her?

## XIV.

This woman was created beautiful and without defect, by Brahma, after he had created the goddess of beauty and the bride of Cupid, and had seen their defects.

## XV.

As the ocean, into which all rivers and lakes fall, never overleaps its banks, even so she in whom all honor and wealth centred never, as long as she lived, became proud.

## XVI.

Her mind was like the wishing gem, her eyes were blue as sapphires. Therefore was she rightly named Meniksami.

## XVII.

She, long-eyed, falters not when she reads Elue, Pali, and Sanskrit, and halts not in the midst, but only at the end of a period.

## XVIII.

Her locks are dark as the storm cloud; her eyebrows arched as the rainbow; her face clear as the full cloudless moon. Her motherly kindness overspreads the world.

## XIX.—XX.

At the invitation of this woman, who anxiously desires



to hear the good old story regarding Buddha, and at her entreaty, I will try my best to rehearse the story of his profound virtue, although my efforts may be as unsuccessful as those of a mosquito trying to sting Mahameru.

### XXI.

Give me your attention then, oh ! Pundits, and hearken to the great virtue of Buddha, and correct any error in this work of mine !



## NOTES ON A SANNAS.

by LIONEL F. LEE, Esq., C.C. S. HON. SECY.

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It is well-known that the kings of Kandy were in the habit of bestowing upon their favourites particular lands, as well as the services of tenants of royal villages, by grants engraven on copper.

A description of such a grant, or Sannas, upon which are claimed large extents of land in the Four Korales, may prove of interest to the readers of this Society's Journal.

The Sannas of which I write is remarkable for beauty of workmanship, as well as on account of the engravings on it, of the figures of a lion and a leopard.

The plate of copper is about fifteen inches long and four broad, and its thickness is such that it cannot easily be bent.

Round the plate on both sides runs an ornamental border of silver.

On each side is a margin. In the margin on the one side are figures of the sun and moon, and between them the royal sign "Sri"; on the other side are figures of the lion and leopard.

The accompanying sketch shews the figures of the size of the original.

The interpretation of the figures of the sun and moon is manifestly "as long as the sun and moon endure."

The lion represents either the royal lion-race, or the Sinhalese people.

Various interpretations have been assigned to the figure of the leopard. The most remarkable seems to be that the figure stands for the word "diwi," signifying "life" as well as "leopard."

The interpretation then of the four figures would be  
 “as long as the Sun and Moon endures, and as long as life  
 remains to the Royal Lion race.”

The Sri. or royal sign, is of gold, and so are portions of  
 the other figures.

The Sannas bears date of Saka, 1665.

The subjoined translation will, I hope, convey a fair  
 idea of the language employed in documents of this nature.

‘The command issued from the grandeur, and light of  
 ‘divine knowledge, and benevolence of our most excellent,  
 ‘most gracious, and most high lord, anointed king of all  
 ‘men.’

‘Whereas Wijeyasundara Rájakarunayaka Herat Mudi-  
 ‘yannehé has from his earliest youth remained most true  
 ‘and faithful to the most high royal family ; and has also  
 ‘contracted an auspicious marriage in obedience to our royal  
 ‘instructions, with the view of perpetuating hereafter the  
 ‘Ksatriya caste, of which the line has remained unbroken,  
 ‘since we established our sovereignty over men at Sriwardana-  
 ‘pura, formerly Senkada Sila, the most prosperous and  
 ‘wealthy of all cities ; and whereas Wijeyasundara Rája-  
 ‘karunayaka Herat Mudiyannehé is descended from the Brah-  
 ‘min Sri-vána Chandraya, who was a descendant from the  
 ‘Brahmins summoned from Dambadiwa by the King Dapu-  
 ‘hessenam, and was afterwards called by his majesty Bhuwa-  
 ‘nèka bahu who reigned at Dambadèniya, after having built  
 ‘the temple of Vishnu at Alut-nuwara and removed there the  
 ‘divine image from the city of the Gods, and was appointed  
 ‘Basnaya ka Nilama of the Maha-dewala, as instructed by Vish-  
 ‘nu in a dream, after having received a grant of land and a she  
 ‘elephant and various offices of state, together with lands at

' Lewuke, and having married a lady of the family of Wida-  
 ' gama Terunnàse, a favorite of the great and victorious  
 ' Sri'-prákama-Bàhu on account of his faithful services, and  
 ' the recipient of many emoluments and offices, lived at Lewuke  
 ' to be [Here follow the names of the lands and their bound-  
 ' aries] possessed by Mudiyannehè and his children and grand-  
 ' children from generation to generation free of all taxes and  
 ' tolls.'

This copper sannas was granted in the year of Saka  
 1665, in the month Medindina on the 5th Wednesday after the  
 full moon, Mars being in the ascendant.

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FIGURES ON A SANNAS for lands in the Four Korales.





NOTES ON THE GEOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF SOUTH  
WESTERN CEYLON, TOGETHER WITH ITS  
RELATION TO THE REST OF THE ISLAND.

By HUGH NEVILL, Esq., F. Z. S.

---

Let us for a moment fancy ourselves on the summit of one of the highest hills of the Central Province, and allow the eye to wander south and west over the stretch of land between us and the sea; we are at once struck by the continuous and step-like succession of hills and mountains, gradually rising one over the other, from Galle to Pedrotallagalla; hills rising too from deep time-worn valleys, which descend similarly, in equal steps one after the other, with the heights that overhang them. To the east and north the eye will rest for awhile on similar hilly lines, till they vanish in the distance, into the vast forests of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, stretching to the horizon.

There is a popular idea that the district we have thus seen, was raised in its present form by some vast subterranean effort, protruding at one time the masses of rock into the form we still behold them. I shall endeavour to shew that the probabilities are, that the whole is the result of a slow and uniform elevation, still going on around us, as it did in the days when our highest mountain was a rock at the bottom of some vast secondary ocean; but it must be premised, my remarks cannot be considered as conclusive; on the contrary, as our knowledge of this much-neglected subject increases, I confidently expect to have in some respects to modify them.

I shall further shew, how this slow elevatory force is, by reason of its gradual effects, itself, destructive of the evidence of this change of the earth's surface, but it is not to

be expected that the ordinary proofs of marine origin should be found far away from the coast line of to-day. Hence the proofs become facts, as regards the present coast zone, and analogy as we proceed inland.

If my arguments be correct, this district is one of dolomitic and submarine formation, modified and changed by secondary and tertiary elevation and denudation, into its present form; while from the denuded state of its strata, we may conclude it was raised prior to the area of the Jaffna formation, and by its sheltering influence saved that deposit from the corroding action of coast waves. How far this theory will apply to the similar districts in the Peninsula of India, it is not my intention to trace here; inasmuch as I have not access to any work on the formation of that country in a general sense, and containing details sufficient to justify my considering them in connection with our own, but this is of little importance, as the present paper professes to be nothing more than an introduction of the question among our circle.

The general features of the south-western coast are a succession of rocky headlands, alternating with sweeping sandy bays, fringed by long rows of cocoanuts, while broad mangrove-lined lagoons are here and there drying up into sour sterile marshes, dotted with the screw pine and kihila tree, drained by streams of brackish water, and choked by bars of sand.

Out to sea, we now and then find small rocky islets facing the deeper bays, and flat coral reefs breaking the wash of the south-western monsoon, while everywhere at varying depths, rocky masses abound as far out as the fisherman's craft can trace them. Further inland we find the rocky headlands as hil-



locks, the lagoon drying into flat open waste land, known as Maana, or, as its salts work off and the black mud sweetens, forming fertile tracts of paddy land, while the cocconut is replaced by the jak and kitul.

In this zone we shall find large fossiliferous deposits, the appearance of which gradually lose their leading features as we advance a very short way inland, until within a mile or so of the present coast they cease to be traceable; where they disappear, we come upon valuable deposits of plum-bago, which seem to extend from within a short distance of the coast throughout the district. Still further inland we find that the paddy fields, as they rise step by step with the hills at whose feet they lie, are drying up more and more, until, as we reach the Kandyan kingdom, they become replaced either by patinas or bare open glades in the jungle-clad country and valleys here and there still cultivated with paddy by the system of terraces. The proof of this gradual transformation by elevation may be capitulated thus:—evidence from coral reefs and lagoons, fossils, products of the soil, and rocks.

All along the coast, at intervals, we find submerged banks or reefs of living corals, while a little nearer the shore are half live ones, and again along the present coast line are dead banks, continued inland till within a quarter of a mile of the coast they lose their organic appearance. Now, Mr. Darwin and others, have well proved that corals cannot exist out of a certain depth peculiar to their species; and as our corals are the same in all these belts of coast, it follows that probably a change of level has killed some and is destroying the others, for by no other means can we account for their death.

Again, as we find first living, then bleached, and lastly fossilized corals and shells in those beds near the sea, and observe them gradually falling to decay as we advance inland, we must believe that their death, by change of level, is attributable to elevation, and not depression. We have thus established by its organic forms the slow elevation of a zone bordering the present high-water line, but the microscopist alone can tell whether in the various inland marls any trace of marine origin can be found, to prove that they are formed from similar decomposed materials.

Now these fossils are of existing species (for the most part, if not entirely), and are of such mollusca as we generally find on coral reefs at this day; for though I have failed to find many on the present south-western coast, yet I have specimens of them from other parts of the Island. As we look at any series dug near the sea we find traces of colour on Nassæ and others, which are in good condition, but as we advance inland we find them gradually more and more corroded, until we cease to recognize them at all within a mile of the coast.

These fossiliferous coral marl deposits, or, if we prefer the name, these decayed reefs and lagoon beds, all occur in open places where vegetation has not yet penetrated deep into them; wherever it has, the fossils seem to corrode at once, and we fail at first sight, to recognize marine origin. Thus the beds of lagoons contain the most perfect shells, &c., sedge covered marshes rank next, and wherever trees begin to grow fossils disappear. In no place are any such *tertiary* deposits many yards deep, and under all suitable circumstances they are penetrable by vegetation.

Now as we find the fossils only in Lagoons, &c., and

lose them gradually when these get overgrown, so we establish the connection between reefs and their lagoons, and again between the brackish lagoons—Sir Emerson Tennant calls “Gobbs”—and the marsh, losing it in maana or dry grass land. But as we proceed up the country we can at a glance trace by the vegetation, &c., the very gradual change of maana into patina, and as we follow coral to maana so we proceed from maana to patina, and the link is complete, although the latter part is graduated to an almost inappreciable extent. Thus we see the improbability of any fossils being found far inland, owing to their rapid decomposition, as the elevation of the ground enables vegetation to encroach on the hollow they were originally preserved in.

Again, in the case of the mountains, we have no difficulty in mentally stepping from one hill to another, until we reach the sea, and stride down with equal steps beneath its waves, and nothing is wanting in this self-evident gradation of elevation. We find also, that as a rule the hills rise at an uniform rate one over the other, from the rock on the beach to Pedrotallagalla; of course the further inland we go, the more the wear of ages has escarped the rocks and scooped out the valleys, a natural effect of long-continued elevation.

Wherever the receding sea leaves an elevated coast line, the cocoanut and a few other trees at once establish themselves, to the exclusion of all others. Now the cocoanut is peculiar and worthy of notice in the way it roots itself, not deeply, for the wear of the breakers allows no deep deposit over the rock, as the beach rises above their influence, but cramped as they are to a few feet of soil, one tree's growth so permeates the surrounding earth, as to des-

troy its marine character, and convert it into a dry vegetable soil, capable, as I believe it was not before, of supporting forest, and to such an extent does it alter it, that when it has lasted two generations on one spot, the soil on moister places may be dug, and is, to a great extent, and burned as peat in lime kilns. After it has perfected this function, it dies out, and as the land rises, is succeeded by other vegetation.

Near the sea we find no forest grows on lands other than corresponding to that covered by the cocoanut and other coast plants along the sea bord; and as we proceed inland, we find that soil unsuited for these plants remains bare and grass covered, till it becomes patina land on some mountain side.

The economical function of these coast plants &c., may be merely owing to their seizing on ground fitted for trees, but it seems probable that they themselves are the means of so chemically altering the soil as to enable it to sustain forest vegetation, while the lagoon and hollow estuary, on which they never grew, preserve through all stages the character of open grassy glades or plains.

The wonderful provision we have in this special vegetation, must be felt by any native cultivator, when he reflects that otherwise a years fallow would so choke his field with chena, as to render it difficult to plough, and thus year after a year his arable land would lessen, untill his descendants ceased to till the ground at all. Nor were it not for this would grassy tracts be left open for wild beasts to be chased, or cattle to be herded.

By the presence of fossils, therefore, we adduce the fact that the sea coast is being slowly elevated, and we also find that within a mile or so of the coast they become de-



stroyed as vegetation penetrates the shallow strata ; further, that trees grow on such spots as might be covered, on emerging from the sea, by cocoanuts, and not on those unsuited for such vegetation, and therefore the absence of fossils inland is no argument against the theory adduced. Again we may also make a general deduction of some value : viz., that in such deposits fossils are not preserved in strata permeable to vegetation.

By analogy we can see the gradual change described from the zone where fossils become totally transformed, and undistinguishable, to that of our highest mountains ; and I think we may conclude it is possible, and probable, that those peaks are rocks raised from a former sea, despite the absence of fossils, undisputably establishing it ; and we can at a glance see how uniform has been its upward force, if these elevations occurred from an ocean bed.

Now, as we find a gradually raised terrace-like country stretching south and south-west, and descending abruptly north and north-east, so we may safely conclude this slow elevatory force acted from south-west to north-east.

As the north-east elevation proceeded, it is clear from the peculiarly detached and sheltered situation of the remains of magnesian strata, that a considerable deposit was once extended over the land, but long since denuded as it became gradually exposed to the action of the waves ; and since we have no intermediate form, between this and the formation arising from its decomposition and that of the gneiss, that is laterite, and the clays and plumbago found with it, we may safely consider the land began to assume its present form while a secondary ocean was depositing the strata of the neighbouring continent.

Of the Jaffna formation and fossiliferous limestone I know nothing personally, but from descriptions of its fossils I confidently believe it to be contemporaneous with Indian rocks, such as those of Pondicherry and Arrialoor. Under any circumstances there is no doubt it is far more recent in its origin, than the district we treat of, and probably originated as an Island, when the sheltering influence of the Central Province protected the intermediate plain from the wash of a secondary ocean.

So far as I have had opportunity of examining this plain, west and north of Kornegalle, there is no doubt it is in a great measure the combined result of a gradual elevation and a rapid silt from the sea, as is shewn by the sand formations daily increasing at Hambantota on the south-east, and Arippe on the north-west, which doubtless result from the decortication of the submarine formation of the south-west coast. Hence it seems to me, the district we specially treat of, is primary land of secondary and tertiary elevation. The secondary Jaffna formation subsequently originated as a late secondary or tertiary island, while later than both there gradually rose the tertiary alluvial plains of the Northern, North-Western and Eastern Provinces, connecting and joining the two Islands of Lanka and Jaffna.

Thus then, I conclude that the district in question, formed the nucleus of Ceylon in its present form, and is, therefore the oldest part of the existing land; whether the Jaffna limestone was subsequently elevated by a continuation of the same force, it is not my purpose to enter into here, but my own surmises are, that we there border on a separate region or tract of elevation, totally distinct from the one we are describing, and identical with that of Northern India.

To sum up, I have been endeavouring to prove south-west Ceylon is not the remains of a vast Lanka gradually becoming submerged, as the popular idea—referred to by Sir Emerson Tennant—has fancied, but that south-west Ceylon and its coffee-growing hills are an area of gradual elevation from the sea bottom, and that as this elevation proceeded, so the magnesian coating was almost entirely worn away, and the formations of Arippe and Hambantota, subsequently created, protecting the limestone of Jaffna from corroding forces. To support this view, we may properly cite our present molluscous fauna, since it has afforded by its shells, the very keystone to geological antiquity of allied strata. Here we find an extraordinary confirmation of my views. Almost endemic in the south-west of Ceylon are the genera *Catanlus*, *Tanalia*, *Aulopoma*, *Cyathopoma*, *Corilla*, and *Acavus*; while we find at Jaffna a distinct fauna, almost identical with that of the opposite coast of India, of *Helix*, *Bulimus*, &c., which has extended here and there into the plains that separate the north and south of the Island; while, radiating from Kurunegalla are traced forms of *Aulopoma*, *Cyclophorus* and *Acavus*, which, however in their turn fail as a rule to extend their range into the northern formation, thereby leaving this intermediate district one with no peculiar features, but a compound of the other two; Kandyan on its southern, and Jaffna on its northern limits.

To appreciate the importance of rightly determining the period of elevation of our district, we have only to consider the attention elicited by Mr. Darwin's views, even from those who deny his theory.

If ours be a district of existence as land of a secondary

period, then its molluscos fauna must be the type from which, were Mr. Darwin's theory correct, that of Jaffna, North India and Europe, have been developed.

Again to the agriculturist, what commercial importance may be derived from these facts, simple as they are. For instance, Coffee grows only on limited localities, to the exclusion of others. If geology can prove that these are all of one contemporaneous and similar origin, the discovery of similar coeval districts would be a signal for immediate enterprise in the cultivation of those products known to succeed on the already cultivated tracts of that age : and, while on this subject, I may mention that in two of the coffee districts of the East, Travancore and Seychelles, the molluscos fauna is allied to ours, indeed the former is in many instances hardly distinguishable, if distinct at all. Java presents also striking analogies, and it probably may be proved of similar and coeval origin with our district.

In conclusion, I am conscious that this paper is but incomplete, and it is impossible for me to avoid many and great errors on a subject hitherto untouched, and only to be argued from analogy and not direct proofs ; but I trust my present effort will lead to more perfect ones from other members, so that ultimately we may more surely know, by tracing geological and zoological limits combined, which of our distinct types of fauna is the oldest, and how far traces of development from the older to the newer are still to be found.

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M.P. OF CEYLON illustrating the Geological Origin of the South-West portion of the I. C. S.



INSCRIPTION AT WÆLIGAMA WIHARE : TEXT,  
TRANSLATION, AND NOTES.

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C. C. S.

There are two Wihares at Wæligama, the half-way village between Galle and Mátara, one called Agra Bhodi—a fine wihare on the top of a hill, whose founder is unknown, and which has a Gal-sannas of very modern date: the other is called Wæligama Gane Wihare, and is on the plain. There is a very ancient Bó tree and large Dagoba at this place, but for a Wihare only a small building of modern date. This would correspond exactly to the wording of the sannas now enclosed, which speaks not of a wiháre but only of a Sakmana or covered corridor for Priests to walk in—corresponding to the colonnades of more ancient times, and the crypts and cloisters in mediæval buildings.

This Sakmana is further proved to have been a place of importance, for the name of the village Hakmana is derived from it, and the following inscription is on a stone built into the wall round the dágoba.

TEXT.

Sri siri Sangabo siri Bhuwanaika báhu chakrawartti swâmín wahanseta sawana hawurudu, kalu Parákrama nam mantriswarayánan mehekarawunta kulí dí kerew me saughika sakmana pirimasá wæðasitina de-namakata nirantarawa siwu pasayak ði, satara digin waðana sanghayá wahansetat dawasak pasaya dena lesata, ranata gena lu kumbura mul bijuwata das amune da pala-dá-pol-wattat wahal-dasa-denat sarak-yálat wata-pandan kotalà pán-wœta dolikúnan telisan kotta máwulá pata-hanð-œtirili manikáya-maðulu me ádiwa me saughika pirikarat lawá, má œetikala Bhuwanaika Báhu raj-

juruwan wahanseta pinpinisa karawu me Sakmana nohot rája kula wadana wiháreya pawatina tek, kal idiriye oeti wena sat purusayan wisin nirawul kara pawatwá swargga moksha sampat soediya yutuyi.

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TRANSLATION.

In the sixth year of the revered Lord Emperor Siri Sangabo Siri Bhuwanaika Báhu, the minister named Kalu Barákarama having given wages to the workmen, and having given in perpetuation the four gifts to the two priests who reside economising in this (cloister) common to the priesthood; and also—in order that the gifts might be given for a day to the reverend priesthood coming from the four directions—(having given) ten amunas sowing extent of paddy field which he had bought and a fruit-bearing cocconut garden, and ten slaves, and a yoke of oxen, and round torches and goblets with spouts, and a row of lamp stands (for illumination) and palankeens, and leather, and cushions, and mattresses, and cloths woven with silk and hemp to spread over (seats for guests), and tubs and iron basins, together with other things of this kind proper for the priesthood——it is proper for all good men who in the future shall be, to maintain without dispute this cloister or wihare improved by the king's family, which (cloister) has been made to add merit to the revered King Bhuwanaika Báhu who brought me up, and (thus) to obtain the bliss of release in heaven.

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NOTES.

1. *Siri Sangabo Siri Bhuwanaika Báhu.* It is not known which Bhuwanaika Báhu this was: but judging

from the form of the letters it must be either the sixth, who came to the throne, according to Turnour in 1464, but according to Budugunálankara (quoted in Alwis's *Sidat Sangarawa*, p. 92 and 200) in 1469: or the seventh who came to the throne in 1534, and was shot by accident by a Portuguese sportsman.

2. *Chakrawartti*, "He, the wheels of whose chariot roll unhindered over the known world" means in Sinhalese simply overlord, in contra-distinction to the semi-independent rulers of provinces to whom the title *rajuruwo* could be applied.

3. *Kalu Parákrama* is not mentioned in any of the books.

4. *Siwu pasayak*, viz: clothing, food, medicine, and residence, see note 1 on the Dewanagala Inscription, in the *Friend*, for May 1870, p. 59.

5. *Wadana* must be for *wadiná*. Can any other instance of this be quoted, *wadana* being used below in a different sense? The whole expression means of course "to all priests on their journeys wherever they come from." Mr. J. Alwis says "According to usage the finite verb takes *i* and its other forms *a*."

Mr. de Soyza, the Chief Translator, says that *wadana* is the classical form of *wadiná*, and is always used in books.

6. *Ranata* the effort of self-denial in not taking the field for nothing, is doubtless of the essence of the merit which the minister so diplomatically transfers below to his master, hoping—who can doubt it—to retain it also for himself. Such a touch of life makes one wish to know the further history of *Kalu Parákrama Bahu*, or, to give the name an English dress, of the "black strong i'-th'arm."

7. *Wahal* Tamil or Sinhalese?

8. *Wata pandan* the exact article meant is not certain.



9. *Kotalá* Clough gives only the form *kotale*, the plural of which would be *kotala*; the vessel seems to be like a small round teapot.

10. *Doli-Kúnan* the Sanskrit form is *dolá*, though *doli* is mentioned in *Sabda kalpa druma*, and the Anglo-Indian word “dooley” agrees with this; Clough gives *dóláwa* as the more usual form. *Kúnama* is the royal palankeen with crooked bambu, the use of which was so zealously guarded. Pybus feelingly complains (at page 72 of his “Mission to the King of Kandy” in 1762) of being forced to use a “dooley.”—See also p. 89.

11. *Telesan* means probably the leather called *patkada* on which the priests prostrate themselves. Mr. de Soyza, Chief Translator to Government, has favoured me with the derivation of this word—from *talanawa*, to beat, and *san*, skin.

12. *Má-ula*, the word *ulá* is obsolete, and not given in the Dictionaries; What is its derivation?

13. *Pata-haná*. Where were these clothes made; they cannot have been of native manufacture?

14. *Madulu*. I am not sure what this means. It is well known that priests used signet rings, but *madulla* is not the right word for them. *Madulla*, according to Clough, means a circle, a ring, an arc, circumference in general. Probably the word is a mistake for *maudu*, a bason. Can any passage be quoted in which *madulla* is intentionally used for *maudu*?

15. *Swarga-moksha* sounds more Hindu than Buddhist. Nirvána has no deep reality for the Sinhalese mind. See the concluding paragraph in my article on Sinhalese Burials, in the *Ceylon Friend* for Sept. 1870.

*Galle, August 9th, 1870.*

## DONDRA INSCRIPTION, No. 1, TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C.C.S.

This inscription was formed on an upright slab of granite very much resembling a gravestone, and standing under the cocoanut palms on the sea shore at Dondra in a private land, which was fast yielding to the encroachments of the sea. On some rocks in the surf the villagers said there were more letters, but I was not able to discover any—especially as my time was limited, and I was obliged to be satisfied with preserving the stone itself—which by the kind permission of the owner of the land I was enabled to remove to a place of safety.

Probably the stone has not been noticed by any European before, for of the two stones mentioned by Forbes\* one is in my possession† and the other has been completely defaced by the ignorant priests, who seemed to have considered that the stone was placed there opportunely by Vishnu, for them to heap jungle round to burn.

The translation of the inscription will explain itself, but who shall explain its curiously abrupt termination? for it ends in the middle of a line, in the middle of the sentence, and almost at the top of the second side of the stone, the whole of the side having evidently been smoothed for inscription!

It is also extremely strange—and worthy of all the greater attention, that this is not the only instance in which such a discrepancy occurs—that in the year 1432 of Saka, which is 1510 of our era, the reigning Cakrawarti or overlord (as given

\* Eleven Years in Ceylon, I., 178.

† After many hours of fruitless labour more than half of the inscription on this stone, which is in very bad preservation, has become clear. It is not, as stated by Forbes, by Parákrama Báhu the Great, but dates from about 1400.

in Turnour's list)\* was not Sango Bo Wijaya Báhu who came to the throne in 1527, but his brother Dharma Parakrama Báhu, in whose reign Europeans first landed in Ceylon.

It can scarcely be disputed that unless this discrepancy can be satisfactorily explained away, our present dates must yield to the authority of this undoubtedly contemporaneous record.

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TEXT.

SUN.

MOON.

1. Swasti sri suddha saka warusha
  2. Ek dahas sára siya de
  3. Tis wannehi raja pœmini
  4. Swasti sri mahá sammata
  5. Paramparánuyata suriya
  6. Wanshábhijáta sri iankádhipa
  7. ti srimat siri Sanga—Bo
  8. sri Wijaya-báhu cakrawatti
  9. Swámin wahanseta sata
  10. rawannen matu awurudu
  11. Posona awawiseniya
  12. Dewinuwarehi Nagarisa-nila
  13. Kowilata palamu pœna pœwœt
  14. ten Parawásara kumburu
  15. Mul bijuwata wisi amunak
  16. Há Náwadunne Pátégama
  17. Na Kumburu bijuwata pas amuna
  18. khá ata pattu áracca
  19. wen sarasa kotœ? petumálu
  20. Batgama pasada salasmen
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\* Appendix to Maháwansa, p. 67.



21. Agayata ceragana doen Parawásara
22. Etuluwu tan dewiyanta pujá
23. Puna sakára akhandhawa pawat
24. Wana lesata salaswá rája rája-
25. Mahámátyádinta sá náyaka
26. Toen dammakata toen ætulu—
27. Wange . . . . .

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TRANSLATION.

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THE ROYAL SIGNS; SUN AND MOON.

In the year 1432, of the auspicious, revered and correct Saka in the fourth year of the auspicious Lord of Ceylon, the fortunate Siri Sangabo sri Wijaya Báhu, born in the family of the Sun, descended from the line of the Royal auspicious and fortunate Mahá Sammata, in the fifth day of the dark half of the month Poson, granting to the Nagarisa Nila (Vishnu) temple in Dondra twenty amunas sowing extent of the fields in Náwadunne and Pategama, and the produce of Batgama, where the Atupatto Arachchi made the dam, having granted (all this) so that it should remain for ever in the same manner as the places bought for money and now included in Parawásara, were offered to the god.—Let all Kings and Chiefs and other ministers and Chief Priests and Priests and . . . . .

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NOTES.

1. *Parawásara* is now called Parawehera; Náwadunne is called ná ottunne; Batgama and Pátégama have retained their old names.

2. *Yuperumálun* is what the letters appear to be, but the whole line is very difficult to read, and this word has quite baffled discovery. *Sarasa* occurs in *Scela Lihini Sandese* (v. 32 of Mr. Macready's edition) for *tank*, but it is spelt *Sarasa*. The word could also mean "ornamented."

3. *Puna* (line 23) is quite clear, but must surely be a mistake of the mason for *wuna*.

4. *Aracca*, line 18, is quite clear, and seems also to be a mistake for *A'raccé*.

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*On the second Species of ZOSTEROPS\* inhabiting Ceylon.*  
By W. V. LEGGE, Esq., F. Z. S. Hon: Sec: R. A. S. (C. B.)

The only mention, that I can find, of the other "White Eye" or Hill Tit inhabiting Ceylon, is in Layard's Notes, "Annals of Natural History" No. lxx., page 267, under the head of *Z. Annulosus*, Swainson; he remarks that Kelaart found it in the hills, but that he (Layard) doubts its distinctness from the common bird *Z. Palpebrosus*, Temm. A glance, however, at the bird must, I think, convince even the casual observer that it is a distinct species; besides the difference in coloration, it is a larger bird than its low-country relative, has altogether different notes, and differs from it in its habits. Since reading my note on this bird before the general meeting of the 7th November, based on a specimen presented last year to the Society's Museum by Mr. Holdsworth, I have had the good fortune, during a tour in the Central Province, of finding that it is widely distributed throughout the Hill districts down to an elevation, in some places, of 2,800 feet. I observed it in Pusselawa, Dimbula, the Knuckles district, on Rambodde pass, and near Nuwera Eliya, in some of which places it is very numerous.

It affects the high jungle as well as the wooded nullabs intersecting the hill patinas, and as far as my observation extends, I find that it does not usually associate in large flocks, as does *Z. Palpebrosus*, but is generally seen either singly or two or three together, searching for its food, in the active manner peculiar to its genus, among the tops of low jungle bushes or in the lower branches

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\* Since writing the above, I hear from Mr. Holdsworth, who has lately sent a skin of this bird to England, that he has identified it as a new species, peculiar to Ceylon, and that he proposes to call it *Zosterops Ceylonensis*. In my former M. S. S. note, submitted for publication in this journal, I had fully described the bird, but

of trees. I only once met with a large flock, and this was in a valley in the Knuckles Ranges, at an elevation of about 5,000 feet. I was attracted by a peculiar sparrow-like chirp over head, and on looking up, perceived numbers of these birds in the extremities of the lateral branches of the trees above me; they were flitting actively from one spot to another, uttering in concert the note that had betrayed their presence. This was the first time that I had heard this note, the usual one being a very remarkable sound impossible to syllabise, but reminding one of the noise produced by placing a blade of grass between the thumbs and blowing through them.

23 The following are the dimensions of an individual procured in the Knuckles district: Male, total length 4·8"; tail 1·7"; wing 4·8"; tarsus ·7"; mid toe and claw ·5"; bill to gape ·6"; bill at front 9·20"; iris reddish brown; bill dark horn colour, base of under mandible light leaden; tarsi and feet dusky bluish. Specimens from Dimbula, where the bird is very common, and those presented last year by Mr. Holdsworth to the Society's Museum, from the neighbourhood of Nuwara Eliya, have the bill 1-20' longer; the head, cheeks and breast darker, the colour descending much lower over the latter part and the tail feathers not barred. It is, therefore, just possible that there may be two distinct species as, besides the difference in coloration, the sparrow like chirp seemed peculiar to the flock which I found in the Knuckles district and, on other occasions when my attention was directed to the bird with the longer bill, I have only been able to detect the peculiar note above described.

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I have expunged the description, after it had already gone to press, as Mr. Holdsworth informs me, that having drawn attention to the bird in England, he wishes to describe it himself in the Proc. of the Zool. Soc. of London.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE ORNITHOLOGY  
OF CEYLON.

By HUGH NEVILL, Esq., M. R. A. S. (Ceylon) F. Z. S.

While travelling lately in the Central Province I was much surprised to hear and see a large brown Owl,\* *Huhua Nipalensis* Hodgson, similar to, but very distinct from the Bacha-muna or Fish owl, *Ketupa Ceylonensis*, Gmel. This bird, not hitherto recorded from Ceylon, was first, I believe, discovered by Mr. Blighe of Kandy, who showed me a dried skin, obtained in that neighbourhood. It would seem to be more crepuscular in habit than *Ketupa*, and to replace it in the higher districts, the latter though common among the lower hills, as far as the Sea, not being as yet known to frequent any elevation over 4,500 feet.

During my recent residence at Kalpenty and Putlam, I have had occasion frequently to cross and recross the large Lagoon of that District, and on one occasion I recognised, by its long tail, the white Boatswain Bird, *Phaeton candidas*, Brisson, hovering over head. Being well acquainted with the species, I did not shoot it, under the hope that it might remain, but I have not seen it since. Mr. Holdsworth informed me he had also seen this bird, which must now be classed as a rare visitant to our Island.

In the month of April some of the islets in the same Lagoon are visited by numerous species of waders, which find a secure breeding place among the stunted mangrove bushes. This year I saw several young nestlings of the

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\* While on recent tour in the Hills, I saw one of these birds in the Knuckles district and learnt that it has been several times shot of late years, one or two skins having been sent home in private collections. It is found in the wooded nullahs and ravines intersecting the higher patinas.—Ed.



common grey Heron, *Ardea Cinerea*, Linn. which has not, I think, before been noticed breeding in Ceylon.

Some years ago, about the same season, I took the eggs and young of the Purple Heron, *Ardea purpurea*, Linn. at Balapitiya. The nests, mere platforms of twigs, were placed on some aloe-like water plants, called Induru, the ends of the broad leaves being bent in so as to form a strong and level support.

I have not yet seen the grey Heron, between Colombo and Hambantota though the Purple Heron is abundant in all suitable localities. In a bird of such powerful flight, its occasional occurrence is probable, though exceptional, in most places.

Never having met with a description of the duckling of our common Whistling Teal, *Dendrocygna arcuata*, Cuv. and as the lovely little creatures are very characteristically marked, the following description may not be uninteresting : down of uniform silver-grey, or dull brown colour ; throat and sides of head grey, with the crown and a streak from the beak that divides and borders the eye, and is then continued, brown ; back and back of neck brown, the back having three grey spots on each side below the wings, and the brown of the neck spreading out on either cheek, but separated from the crown by a narrow grey stripe ; pinions grey, with a paler spot at their base.

“Lutinos,” or yellow varieties of birds, are well-known, the common Canary being a familiar example, but the brilliant variety of colour displayed by such a form of the little Lory, *Loriculus Edwardsi*, Blyth, is quite exceptional. A charming specimen was obtained by me at Balapitiya, among a small flock of the normal colour : Crown of head and rump brilliant scarlet, shading into metallic orange on the nape ; Back vivid

golden yellow, dappled with emerald green, and tinged in places with orange; wings green, mottled with bright yellow; quills of the normal colour, but tipped with yellowish white; beneath bright but paler yellow than the back, mottled with bright pale grass-green; throat yellowish; cheeks rufescent; underwing-coverts mottled green, yellow and straw colour.

Among the birds met with at certain seasons on the coast near Balapitiya, the following are usually considered to be confined to the Hills: *Hirundo Hyperythra*, Layard; occurs also in the lower Kandyan Hills and beyond Kornegalle on the Putlam road.

*Dendrophila frontalis*, Horsf, found also at Ratnapura and Nuwara Eliya.

*Parus cinereus*. Vieill, which is the "Grey Tit" of Nuwara Eliya.

*Batrachostomus Moniliger*, Layard; found also at Happutella, Avisawella and Ratnapura, but one of our rarest birds.

The grey crow, *Corvus splendens*, occurs between Kalutara and Galle only at Induruwa, and nowhere else and there is no doubt it is not indigenous to the South of the Island, having been introduced by the Dutch at their various stations, as a propagator of Cinnamon, the seeds of which it rejects uninjured. By the same agency, the Margosa, introduced from Jaffna, is being diffused all round Kalpentin, and will soon form a leading feature in the vegetation of the Akkara Pattu.

When the jungle fowl, *Gallus Lafayetti*, Lesson, is running, the cock bird carries its tail almost straight, like the English Pheasant, and not nearly erect as in the domesticated breeds. This fact is analogous to the tails of wolves, and various breeds of dogs.

In the Society's Museum was a mutilated skin of the

hen of this bird, which had all the feathers white and black, resembling the plumage of the silver pheasant. Mr. Hawkins, who presented this valuable specimen, had no reason to think it was other than an accidental variety, though it is singular in not being a pure albino, the change having effected only the brown, and not the black portions of its plumage.

H. NEVILLE.

Kalpentyn, 29th September, 1870.

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*On various Birds of the Western Province—By W. VINCENT  
LEGGE, ESQ., F. Z. S. Hon. Sec. R. A. S. (C. B.)*

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THE following notes, which I have the honor to submit to this Meeting to day, are the result of personal observation on some of the birds that inhabit this district, and I trust that they may in a small degree add to what is already known of their habits and distribution. To the praiseworthy exertions of Messrs. Layard, Kelaart and others, we are indebted for a list of the Ceylon birds, together with a few brief notes on their habits and range, but the subject has been merely touched upon, and we have yet a great deal to learn as regards internal migrations and distribution and the habits of the peculiar island species, of which there are about 40 already identified. Owing to the existence of so many Zoological publications in England, in which are recorded the experience of numerous observers, a perfect knowledge of the natural history of British birds has been arrived at: it is only by similar records that we can hope to acquire a thorough insight into all that is yet to be learnt respecting our Ceylon avifauna.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has been the channel through which the valuable experience of Mr. Blyth and others has been given to the world, and as our Society has, among other objects, the promotion of enquiry into the Zoology of this Island, I trust that it will not be considered out of place to occupy some of its pages with the subject of this paper.

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**HARPACTES FASCIATUS** (*Gmelin.*) The Malabar Trogon.

This handsome bird is tolerably plentiful in the forest between Cotta and Hanwella. Having always understood that its range did not extend to the low country I was rather

surprised at finding it so near Colombo\* It has an irregular fluttering flight as it darts from the branches in pursuit of insects on the wing, like that of a bird when frightened in its cage, and which often leads to the discovery of its whereabouts before it is itself seen. It affects the thickest parts of tall damp jungle, but it is a mistake to think that it confines itself to the topmost branches of trees as it is more often seen at no great height from the ground. I have generally noticed it single or in pairs with the exception of once, when I met with three together. When perched motionless across the branch of a tree it has very much the attitude of a cuckoo.

The food of those I have examined consisted of small beetles and flying bugs which it captures on the wing like a fly catcher. In this neighbourhood it is in moult from April to July and appears to be stationary here during both monsoons. I am almost confident that there is another species of Trogon in Ceylon resembling *H. Hodgsoni*, Gould; although I have not been fortunate enough to procure it. In May last while shooting in some thick jungle in the Hanwelle district a mag-

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\* I believe this is the first notice of the occurrence of the Trogon in this neighbourhood and its presence so near the sea coast is a convincing proof that the range of many Ceylon birds, generally supposed to be hill species, has yet to be determined. There is no subject connected with the ornithology of Ceylon, except that of internal migration, which demands so much attention as the distribution of species. *Parus cinereus*, apparently a hill bird in India, found in the Neillgherries and supposed by many to be exclusively monticolous in Ceylon has been procured by myself in Colpetty and seen several times in the neighbourhood of Cotta: *Dicrurus Edoliformis*, *Hirundo Hyperythra* and many others are further instances of Cosmopolitan birds in Ceylon. It is, therefore, to be hoped that members of the Society will record the results of their observations in this Journal in order that this interesting subject may be worked out.



nificent bird of the form and aspect of a Trogon alighted on a low branch within a few yards of where I stood. It was so close that it was useless to fire and on its taking flight I missed it. The sudden fluttering flight with which it came upon me, and its gorgeous plumage served at once to identify it as a Trogon. The head, throat and chest were of a rosy red colour, succeeded, as far as I could determine, by a light band across the chest. The graduated lateral tail feathers were whitish.

*PHÆNICOPHAUS PYRROCEPHALUS* (*Forst.*) The Red-faced Malkoha.

This bird is found in the more cultivated districts as well as in the wilder parts of the Island. It is not confined to the higher regions, the specimen in the Asiatic Society's Museum, having been procured between Negombo and Kurunégala. I have also seen one that was shot near Heneratgoda. They affect the thick jungle.

*MIAGRA AZUREA* (*Bodd.*) Black naped Fly catcher.—

Seems to be extensively confined to the jungle, and is common in the forest near Hanwella. It breeds in June. The nest of this bird, in the Asiatic Society's Museum, was found in the upright fork of a small shrub, 4 feet from the ground, and is a beautifully made cup shaped structure of neatly woven moss and very fine bark with the edges and exterior decorated with a white cotton-like substance. The interior,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, is lined with a fine hair like material. The eggs, 2 in number, are buff white, spotted mostly at the larger end, with light Indian red, mixed with a few darker specs and dots.

Jerdon mentions (vol. I page 450.) that in the north of India it frequents open places.

CYORNIS BANYUMAS (*Horsfield*) Horsfield's Redbreast.

The red breasted fly catcher, *C. Rubeculoides*, Vig., given in Emerson Tennant's list as the Ceylon bird, is in reality an inhabitant of north India and is represented in the south of the Peninsular by *C. Banyumas*. The species which is common in the thick jungle some few miles from Colombo agrees with the latter in coloration and dimensions, and has the chin and a line from it, along the base of the lower mandible, to the cheeks, black. I think therefore that we may conclude that *C. Banyumas* is our bird. I have not succeeded in finding the nest of this bird but judging from the fact of the young being plentiful in May and June, it must breed in April. The female differs from the male in being brighter on the upper surface, in having the lores fulvous grey and the chin concolorous with the chest and throat, which are fulvous instead of rufous, and in the bill and legs being lighter.

The young in nestling plumage have the upper plumage bluish brown, the forehead and hind neck striated with light fulvous, the back and scapulars with terminal spots of the same; chin and throat dappled fulvous gray; chest and under surface fulvous, the feathers of the former with blackish margins and the abdomen albescent. As far as I have observed this flycatcher is almost exclusively confined to the jungle. It is very active on the wing.

TEPHRODORNIS AFFINIS (*Blyth*). The allied Wood Shrike.

Migratory to this Province, appearing in October. It is plentiful in the Cinnamon gardens during the N. E. Monsoon. In April the young birds are in the following plumage: the upper surface has a spotted appearance, the feathers of head, nape and wing coverts having a terminal white spot, some of the greater wing coverts and inner tertiaries are yellow brown, edged light with a dark line or border round the margin.

DICRURUS EDOLIFORMIS (*Blyth.*)

Dimensions of an immature bird—Length 12·3" outer tail feather 6·3"; centre tail feather 4·95"; wing 5·45"; bill to gape 1·35". The under tail and under wing coverts have a few white bars. "Not uncommon in the Ambegamowa range of hills at about 2000 feet elevation" (*Layard.*) This is another bird which, inasmuch as it affects entirely thick jungle is not restricted in its range by elevation, but would appear at least, as far as the Western Province is concerned, to be found wherever there is forest. It is tolerably plentiful in the jungle between Cottah and Hanwelle, rarely coming into the open, and is a solitary bird in its habits. It sits on the horizontal branches of high trees sallying out after insects, and returning to its perch.

MALACOCIRCUS STRIATUS (*Swainson.*) The Striated Babbler.

This is the Babbler so common about Colombo, and in fact throughout the low country of this Province, being equally plentiful in all cultivated localities. I have not yet met with *M. Griseus*, the Madras bird, nor do I think it is found here, although it is singular that such should be the case, when we consider that our bird is allied to a much more distantly located species viz., *M. Terricolor* of Bengal. I have shot numbers of individuals, but have not yet procured *M. Griseus* so that probably it has been erroneously entered in Em. Tennant's list. The Striated Babbler breeds in this Province during the S. W. monsoon. A nest I found in June was built in the fork of a Cinnamon bush, 4 feet from the ground, and was a shallow cup-shaped structure made entirely of stalks of plants and grasses, and lined with fine green grass. It contained only two eggs, which I imagine

was the whole clutch, as the bird was sitting. They are very small for the bird, measuring only 1 inch in length by 9 lines in breadth, and are of an uniform opaque greenish blue. Were it not for their larger size, the eggs might be taken for those of the Magpie Robin, *Copsychus Saularis*.

In its habits this Babbler resembles both the Bengal and Madras birds, associating, like the former, generally in flocks of seven or eight, the whole following one after the other when a member of the flock starts off to a neighbouring tree, and, like the latter, suddenly dropping from a branch to the ground beneath, followed by its companions who commence examining with sundry eccentric hops, flapping of the wings, and jerking of the tail, the leaves around them in search of food; then quickly flying up again, they mount from one branch to another until they reach the top when they quickly depart one after the other to the next tree. Two or three may sometimes be seen together, uttering a low chattering, and apparently without any aim hopping to and fro across a branch with quick beating of the wings and a circular motion of the tail.

In Ceylon it is popularly called the "Dung Thrush" although I have not often observed it resort to the same localities for food which have gained for its Madras relative a similar nickname. Its special delight is a grove of plantains about the leaves of which it hops with wonderful agility.

**PITTA BRACHYURA (Jerdon.)** The short tailed Ground Thrush.

This beautiful bird arrives in the Western Province about the beginning of November, although it is found up country somewhat earlier in the season. It is migratory to Ceylon, and appears from Jerdon, to be a seasonal visitant to the Carnatic.



and south of India,, As it frequents tangled brakes, thick thorny scrub and under wood of all sorts and lives on the ground almost entirely, it is scarcely ever seen, and would be entirely passed over by the closest observer, were he not acquainted with its wild sounding, two-note whistle followed by the curious cry, tolerably well syllabised by the bird's Sinhalese name, *Avitch-i-a*. It is heard at day break and at sun-set, but rarely ever in the day time. I have noticed that it whistles more in the morning than the evening, the more common note being the cry referred to, which it utters when disturbed. It is found close to Colombo in the thick underwood beyond the Cinnamon Gardens. Up country it is common in the Coffee Estates, its clear whistle being the first sound heard at dawn.

POMATORHINUS MELANURUS (*Blyth*). The black tailed Scimitar Babbler.

Some up country specimens, that I have examined, have a rufous spot behind the ear coverts which Mr. Holdsworth judges to be a mark of a young bird, although in all other respect except length of bill (one of the distinguishing marks between the adult bird and its Indian ally, *P. Horsfieldi*) they correspond with mature birds which I have procured in the low country. The bill of an adult measures, at front along the chord of the arc, a little more than 1 inch.

The black tailed Scimitar Babbler is common in the wild jungle to the north-east of Cotta, and is sometimes seen in the allotments quite close to that village. It is another instance of a Ceylon bird whose range in the Island has hitherto been misunderstood, and which is controlled by the presence of forest land rather than by that of hills. When alone it is frequently very noisy, uttering its loud call note which some syllabise by the words "*coo-ruk*," "*coo-ruk*;" when searching,



however, for its food in small parties as it sometimes does in company with the little Wren babbler, *Alcippe nigrifrons*, (Blyth) it may be seen noiselessly hopping about the branches of low jungle, or hunting among fallen leaves for insects. Again they are sometimes very garrulous when holding a sort of parliament which they carry on with a loud chattering, bowing to each other with a puffing out of their long chest features, and then suddenly disappearing in all directions uttering loud calls. It is very active in its movements clinging sometimes like a Tit to the under surface of a branch and scrutinising the bark thereof, and occasionally I have observed it attaching itself to the trunks of trees, up which it proceeds by a succession of hops. In the low country it moults in June, July and August, and therefore probably breeds, with many of the birds in this Province, at the beginning of the S. W. monsoon or latter end of the dry season. Mr. Bligh of Kandy, who was fortunate enough to find the nest of this species in some wild jungle in the Hapootelle district, during the month of February, has been kind enough to give me some information concerning it: it was built in a hole in the side of a tree, about 4 feet from the ground, and composed of stout grass stalks lined with the fine roots of a species of moss together with some fine grass and a few feathers. The eggs were 3 in number, rather oval in shape and perfectly white with a transparent shell.

ALCIPPE NIGRIFRONS (*Blyth.*) The Ceylon Wren-Babbler.

There is some difference in the size of the sexes. Male, total length 5.3;" tail 1.95;" wing 2.15." Female, length 5.1;" tail 1.9;" wing 1.9." This Wren-babbler is common in the thick jungle round Pore, and is also to be found nearer Colombo in isolated spots of wood where there is much undergrowth. It delights in places where deadleaves have fallen from

trees on the scrub beneath, about which it may be seen silently hopping, sometimes alone, at other times in company with *Pomatorhinus melanurus* in search of insects. It is fond of frequenting the neighbourhood of jungle paths, near which I found, in June and July last, several of the curious nests, or dwellings of dead leaves, which it is in the habit of building, for what purpose I do not know, as Layard says "the nest is composed of grasses woven together in a dome with the entrance near the top." I was fortunate enough on one occasion to see one of these structures in course of construction: my attention was drawn to a pair of these little birds flying backwards and forwards, with dead leaves in their bills, from the ground to a mass of branches close at hand. On approaching somewhat nearer, I perceived that they were engaged in building a ball of leaves, in and out of which, they were hopping as fast as they could pick up the material from the ground beneath. On examining the nest I found that it consisted of nothing but dead leaves neatly fitted one over the other, forming a rounded interior. I visited the spot, a fortnight later, and found the nest in the same state that I had left it in. Several others that I found afterwards were also destitute of eggs.

**CRINIGER ICTERUS** (*Strickland*). The yellow-browed Bulbul.

This bulbul is evidently a bird of wide distribution, being abundant in "the mountain zone," (Layard), and also very plentiful in the wild jungle in the interior of this Province towards Bope. As far as I have observed, it is strictly a jungle bird, moving about in small parties from tree to tree, and searching actively among the smaller branches for insects. It has a mellow pleasant note. It moults in this district in June. Dr. Kelaart wrote correctly of this bird, that it was a common species in the low country, although Layard \* thought

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\* Annual Nat. History Vol. XIII. Sec. Series, Page 124.

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that he referred to *Pycnonotus flavirictus*, (Strickland) altogether a different bird. Birds that frequent jungles, and which are found in the mountain zone have been much passed over hitherto in the low country, under the impression that they were strictly monticolous. Both this bird and *Rubigula Melanipectera* have nearly always the back of the neck destitute of feathers.

RUBIGULA MELANIPECTERA (*Blyth*). The Black headed Bulbul.

This bird is very numerous in the thick jungle of the interior of this Province. It is entirely a denizen of the forest, and goes about from tree to tree in parties of 5 or 6, or more, in number. The note is a mellow warble which they utter in concert while feeding, sometimes in company with *Criniger icterus*, in the topmost branches of high trees. I append here a description of the bird as it is not given in Jerdon:— Male, total length 6·5"; tail 2·8"; wing 3 1-20"; tarsus ·7"; bill to gape 13-20". Iris dark brown; bill black; legs and feet blackish. Head and nape jet black; upper surface, wing coverts and tertiaries dark olive green; quills brown and tail blackish brown, both edged with olive green; the latter tipped white, the colour increasing from the centre feather to the outer one; under surface bright yellow; chest and flanks shaded with the color of the upper surface.

COPSYCHUS CEYLONENSIS (*Sclater*). P. Z. S. 1861. page 186. *Copsychus saularis*? Linn, The Magpie Robin.

It would appear from a note by Mr. Blyth in a paper on the ornithology of Ceylon, Ibis July 1867, that the species *Ceylonensis* is scarcely admissible, and that our bird is after all the *Saularis* of India, the only distinction being, that the females of the Island bird are darker on the back than those of

the main-land. It is strange, however, that Jerdon in his description of *Saularis* should omit the conspicuous white patch on the wings of our bird. Again, the colour of the eggs, as given by this author, is bluish white or pale bluish, with pale brown spots; and he goes on to say, vol. ii., page 116: "Layard says the eggs are bright blue . . . . he must be mistaken, I think, in the identity of the owner of the nest." On the contrary, however, Layard is correct: the eggs (in the Society's Museum) which are rather large for the bird, and much rounded in form, are of an uniform deep greenish blue; they were taken from a loosely constructed nest, lined with fine grass stalks and situated in the hollow of a cocoa-nut tree. Axis  $11\frac{1}{2}$  lines, diam.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  lines. This difference in the egg is I think, of itself, sufficient to separate our species from the Indian. The Ceylon Magpie Robin breeds in this province during both monsoons. I am not aware whether the Continental bird, which is said to affect wooded districts, is so domesticated in his habits as ours is; every one about Colombo knows this is one of the most familiar of our feathered friends, becoming sometimes so tame that it will enter the house and pick up the crumbs that have fallen from the table. Its habit of raising and depressing its tail is worthy of notice; this is done particularly when alighting on the ground, and if the bird be closely watched while so doing, it will be observed that it is not merely the tail that is thrown back, but that the whole abdominal region and rump are up raised, thus accounting for the tail almost touching the back of the head, a feat which some authors do not believe in.

**ORTHOTOMUS LONGICAUDUS** (*Gmelin*). The Indian Tailor-bird.

The tail in Ceylon specimens does not appear to attain to the same length as given for Indian birds; in fact the difference



between the lateral and centre feathers is scarcely perceptible at a distance in the living bird. I have not been able to procure any bird measuring more than  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches, total length, and in this, the centre tail feathers are only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long. This specimen was shot in the north of the island; individuals from this Province, as far as I have observed, scarcely reach the above dimensions. The length of an Indian bird is given as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; tail  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; centre feathers  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches longer than the rest (Jerdon.)

The Indian tailor bird is one of the most familiar occupants of the gardens and compounds in the vicinity of Colombo, particularly where its favourite lettuce tree abounds, about the branches of which it delights to hop, searching along the bark for larvæ and insects, and uttering every now and then its loud and varied notes. The number of different monosyllabic sounds in this bird, leading one almost to suppose that there are several species close at hand, and each one of which it reiterates, at times, for several minutes together, is very remarkable. Some of them may be syllabised—*tchuk-up*; *tew-ike*; *quyk*; *twike*, &c. The most singular, however, is the loud metallic sounding call, which may be likened to the sharpening of a large saw, and which the male in the breeding-season repeats without an interval, until, if he be close at hand, the sound becomes quite deafening. The peculiar black mark or spot which is displayed at the side of the throat while the bird is uttering its note, and particularly when it is excited, is caused more by a dark naked portion of skin in the neck, just below the cheeks, than by the base of the feathers, as some suppose.

The tailor bird breeds in this district from May to November, the same pair probably rearing several broods in the year. The nest is nearly always built in the leaf of a lettuce



tree, and generally at a height of two or three feet from the ground. The bird often chooses a tree near the nursery door, or the spot in the verandah where the "Dirzee" plies his trade, and where there is generally an ample supply of bits of cotton, thread, &c., which it uses in the construction of its wonderful nest. It is frequently constructed in a single leaf, the edges of which are stitched, but not drawn together, for about three parts of the length from the point, with cotton or any fibrous material which the bird can find, the point of the leaf being drawn up to form an additional support for the bottom of the nest, which is constructed, inside the cavity thus formed, of coir fibre, wool, fine roots, small grass, or such like. The body of the nest is attached or sewn to the edge of the leaf, the centre of which, without any lining, forms the back part. The interior is lined with feathers, and measures generally three inches in depth. Other nests are constructed with the additional support of one or more leaves (there is one in the Society's Museum with three) stitched to the front or bottom of that in which they are built. Another, that I found last June, was a compact structure cleverly hung to two leaves, the larger of which was secured to the back of the nest, and formed a hood over the top of it. It was made of fibres of coir from the door mats, worsted, cotton wool, feathers, &c., the whole of which were sewn and worked together so as to form quite a stiff and substantial piece of workmanship. The eggs are generally three, sometimes four, in number, and of a greenish white ground colour, spotted and speckled mostly at the larger end with brown. Axis  $7\frac{3}{4}$  lines, diam.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines.

*CISTICOLA SHÆNICOLA.* (*Bonaparte.*) The Rufous Grass Warbler.

Abundant about Colombo, and stationary in the same spot throughout the year. It affects, by choice, guinea-grass fields,

out of which it may constantly be seen rising into the air, and hovering for a minute over some chosen spot with its peculiar jerking flight and single note *tjik, tjik, tjik*. It is much more terrestrial in its habits than any other genus of the family, spending most of its time on the ground, running about quickly and treading its way with ease among tufts of grass. It sometimes alights on a grass stalk or topmost branch of a tree when descending from one of its little flights, and may now and then be seen perched on the top rail of a fence. It breeds in this Province from May until October, more nests being constructed in the former month than in any other. Wonderful as is the ingenuity displayed by all the members of the family *Drymoicinæ*, in building their nests, there is none that excels this little bird in the amount of labour and skill required to construct its little habitation, the lining of which is one of the most beautiful pieces of workmanship that can be imagined. The nest is almost invariably fixed between the upright stalk of the guinea grass plant, at a height varying from eighteen inches to two feet six inches from the ground, and the bird displays, in its construction, the same propensity and talent for sewing that is exhibited by nearly all the family. A delicate net-work of cotton or spider's web is formed round several upright blades of grass, the materials being sewn into them and passed round from one to the other. One or two blades are bent under this net-work and sewn to the upright stalks to form a foundation for the nest, which is constructed of fine roots or small grass blades within it. It is narrower at the top than at the bottom, being generally about three inches in depth and about the same in diameter. At this stage some nests are finished with a partial lining of fine grass, mixed with a few spider's webs, but most of them are beautifully and ingeniously lined with the white, hair like-substance which

grows to the stalk of the guinea grass, and which the bird fixes with its saliva to the interior of the nest; this process is continued until the bottom is almost of the consistency of felt. A piece of this material at present in the Society's Museum will repay the trouble of inspection. One of the many nests I watched building in my grass field this season was commenced on the 25th May and finished on the 1st June. How wonderful the diligence displayed in its construction, when we think of the countless number of these hair-like atoms contained in the lining! The eggs are three or four in number, of a greenish white ground, spotted and blotted sometimes all over, at other times in a zone round the larger end, with brownish red and reddish grey or lilac. Axis  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lines, diam. 6 lines. The bird scarcely ever sits during the daytime, resorting to the nest at nightfall only,\* and leaving the rest to the sun to perform; the time of incubation, as noticed by me this season, being eleven days, which is about the same time taken to hatch a similar sized egg in a cold climate with the bird sitting all day.

There is some doubt now whether Mr. Blyth's species, *C. homalura*, said by Dr. Kelaart to be found in great abundance at Nuwera Ellia, is really distinct from this bird. The dimensions of *Schænicola* in perfect plumage are—total length 4·3 inches; tail 1·5 inch; closed wing 1·7 inch; tarsus ·8 inch.; bill to gape 13·20 inch; mid toe and claw ·6 inch. An individual procured by myself on the Lindoola Patinas, Dimboola, differs slightly in having the edges of the upper surface less rufous than those of the low-country bird, the centre feathers lighter, shewing the spot near the top as distinguishable from the rest of the colour and the under surface less tinged with fulvous.

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\* The same thing is observable with many other birds in Ceylon, although it is a fact which I think is not generally known to Naturalists.



DRYMOIPUS INORNATUS (*Sykes.*) The common Wren Warbler.

This bird is scarcely so plentiful in the vicinity of Colombo as the Ceylon species *D. Validus*, Blyth. It is to be found generally in guinea or water grass fields, but in places where these do not exist, it affects sedgy or marshy spots as well as the borders of paddy fields. Two or three pairs inhabit the grass near my house during the greater part of the year, disappearing in the dry weather, when there is but little growth. It is often to be seen perched on the top of a tree in the vicinity of its haunts, uttering its peculiar metallic sounding note, which may be syllabised *kink—kink—kink* repeated some times for a minute without cessation. It is a prolific bird, as I have found it nesting from May until November, and from close observation I am nearly sure that the young hatched at the beginning of the season breed at the end of it.\* I may mention that a pair that bred near my house in May last, commenced building again before their brood had forsaken them, the whole family roosting in the vicinity of the new nest during the time it was being constructed.

In the construction of its nest *D. Inornatus* displays the same propensity for sewing as the other members of its family. The structure is loosely but very ingeniously made, and is generally built between the top blades of a guinea grass plant, which the bird attaches one to the other by means of small grass fibres, sewn through them, and passed round so as to form a net-work, inside which the body of the nest is placed; this is constructed entirely of fine grass, and lined with the same material. The blades of grass, between which the

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\* The young assume the adult plumage immediately, so that I cannot positively assert this; but if my observations have been correct, this is a remarkable instance of fecundity.

nest is fixed, are bent over the top and interlaced with fine grass, so as to form a dome with an opening at the side. The eggs are four in number, and very beautiful: ground colour clear blue green, clouded here and there, or blotched mostly towards the obtuse end with sepia. Axis  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lines, diameter 6 lines. In several instances that have come under my notice, they have been hatched without the assistance of the bird during the daytime.

**BUDYTES VIRIDIS** (*Gmelin*). The Indian Field-Wagtail.

This Field Wagtail is migratory to Ceylon, appearing about Colombo during the first week in October and disappearing suddenly in the beginning of May. Nearly all individuals on arriving here are young, and in the first plumage, with a few dusky spots on the chest and the light under surface tinged more or less with yellow. Some specimens have a few bright, yellow feathers on the foreneck, in October; these are probably adult birds with a remnant of the breeding plumage. This bird moults here about January, and assumes the spring dress with the ashy gray head before leaving us, but I have not met with any so far advanced as to have the black cap. It is very plentiful on the Galle Face, its elegant little figure adorning the green sward as it runs to and fro, pecking in its singular way, to one side and then to the other.

**CORYDALLA RUFULA** (*Vieillot*.) The Indian Pipit.

The Indian Pipit is stationary in this Province throughout the year, but is more plentiful about Colombo during the south-west monsoon, than at other times. A partial migration to some other part of the Island seems to take place during the dry season. In this neighbourhood its numbers seem to increase in May, about the time when the two larger species *C. Striolata* and *C. Richardi*, which arrive during the first week in October, migrate to the Continent to breed. It prefers open bare



land to other localities, and is exceedingly abundant on the Galle Face. \* This Pipit breeds in this district from July to September, and builds the same cup-shaped nest under the shelter of a tuft of grass or little inequality in the ground that the European meadow Pipit does. The eggs are three in number, ground colour greenish white, thickly spotted with two shades of sepia, and blotted here and there with bluish grey. Axis  $8\frac{1}{2}$  lines, diam. 6 lines. This bird is a very close sitter, probably on account of its nest being exposed to lizards and other ground reptiles.

*ZOSTEROPS PALPEBROSUS* (*Temminck.*) The white-eyed Tit.

This Tit is widely distributed, found in the hills and plentiful about Colombo and the low-country in its vicinity. I notice that it appears in this neighbourhood in July, and is common in the groves in the Cinnamon Gardens about that time. It may also be seen, or rather its clear note may be heard, in the tops of the Suriah trees in the Fort during August and September. It has the same whistle as the Australian bird *Z. dorsalis*. It affects by choice thick jungle, flying in flocks from tree to tree, and searching among the top-most branches and leaves for larvæ. As soon as the flock has overhauled one tree the whole take flight, and move on to the next, whistling all the while. A nest I found in August in the Pooprassi district, was made of fine grass stalks, very frail, and placed high up on the horizontal branch of a tree.

*CORVUS SPLENDENS* (*Vieillot.*)

Although the common Indian Crow is not strictly gregarious, it resembles the Rook of Europe in some of its habits, roosting often in flocks, and building where a suitable locality presents itself, in company. There is this difference, however, that, though

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\* I have found it in the Hills up to 500 feet.

it is fond of selecting trees in close proximity to one another, it is rare that more than three or four nests are found in the same tree. Isolated nests are to be found in the Fort and in the trees about Slave Island, but the principal nesting place in the vicinity of the former, is at the back of the Cemetery on the Galle Face, where, in the small Suriah trees on the border of the lake, numbers of nests are built every year. The nest is smaller than that of other crows; it is made of sticks lined with coir pulled from the heads of cocoanut trees, and is built either in the fork of a top branch or on a horizontal bough, sometimes close to the ground. About Colombo the eggs are, as a general rule, laid by the 1st of May, and are three or four in number. They vary very much in size and coloration, some measuring 1 in.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines. by 1 in. 2 lines., others 1 in. 8 lines. by  $11\frac{1}{2}$  lines. The general ground colour is light green or light blue-green, speckled, dappled and blotched, chiefly at the larger end, with dark grey and olive brown, and pencilled sometimes with a few fine dark streaks.

Not the least amusing spectacle among the many sights afforded by the habits of this bird is the noonday bath—two or three birds up to the thighs in water, ducking and splashing in all directions, while half a dozen more are drying themselves on the bank, probably engaged in some angry debate on a culprit standing by, who has refused to perform his ablutions.

**ESTRELLA AMANDAVA\*** (*Linneus.*) The Red Wax-Bill.

As far as I can ascertain, the occurrence in Ceylon of the Amaduvad or Red Wax-Bill has not as yet been recorded, and it is somewhat singular that its presence should have been overlooked, as it frequents at one season of the year no less public a

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\* It is possible that this bird has been acclimatized about Colombo from individuals having escaped from confinement. Numbers are brought in cages from the various Indian Ports.

spot than the Galle Face. Jerdon says of it (vol. II. page 360) "I have seen it tolerably frequent in the lower hills of the Neilgherries, in Mysore, and here and there throughout the Carnatic." In Ceylon it would appear to be an occasional visitant to the low-country of the Western Province, and it remains to be proved whether as regards other parts of the island it is migratory or resident. My own experience is that it appears in the guinea-grass fields about Colombo at various times in the year, whenever the grass is in seed.

A small flock frequented the field attached to my quarters last year, from September till January, disappearing at intervals when the grass was cut down, until it had grown up again. In the latter month the males were in all states of transition, to the plumage of the female. A specimen, shot at that time and now in the Asiatic Society's Museum, has the fore-neck and breast mingled dark grey and red, with the under surface patched black and grey, with a few of the white flank spots remaining; others, shot at the same date, were still further advanced into the female plumage, having the under surface grey with a few black patches. It would thus appear to breed about the end of the north-east rains. From Jerdon's account it would appear to frequent the lower hills in the South of India, and therefore it would be interesting to know whether it occurs up-country in Ceylon. The dimensions of a male Wax-Bill, shot in June near Colombo, are total length 4.1"; tail 1.7"; closed wing 1.6." It has a very pleasant song, resembling somewhat that of the Goldfinch of Europe.

*ORTYGORNIS PONTECERIANA (Gmelin).* The Grey Partridge.

The Grey Partridge is not uncommon about Colombo, where it frequents sandy spots in the Cinnamon Gardens. It is not found, as far as I am aware, to the south of this, and very prob-



ably has been introduced into this district by having escaped, as they often do, from confinement.\* Nearly all the birds brought to this country from the coast of India are young and have the throat dark ferruginous brown.

*EXCALFACTORIA CHINENSIS.* (*Linn.*) The Chinese Quail.

Layard gives the south of the Island as the habitat of this bird, adding, that he has not met with it elsewhere. It is however tolerably common in the Cinnamon Gardens, frequenting the thick fern-brakes near swampy grounds. Layard remarks with justice, that it is most difficult to flush when once put up. Although I have not been fortunate enough to find its nest, I am aware that it breeds as early in the season as the Black-breasted Quail, as I shot a female last May, containing an egg ready for laying. It was of a pale greenish colour, and much smaller than the egg of the other bird. They are sometimes to be seen in confinement, but being of a very wild nature they do not adapt themselves to this sort of life. This is one of the most widely distributed of Asiatic quails, ranging from China and Assam through India as far as the South of Australia.

*TURNIX PUGNAX* (*Sykes.*) The Black-breasted Quail.

This bird may be said to be the commonest of our game birds. It is very plentiful in the Cinnamon, and would make capital sport if one could only bring a setter to bear upon it. The females, which might be styled the amazons of quails, being the handsomest and the most pugnacious of the two sexes, may often be seen in the "Circular" engaged in a stand-up fight, and so bent are the little combatants on having the last blow, that I have heard of one or two instances of their nearly having been caught while settling their quarrels. Layard has found the eggs as early as February, and I have had young birds

\* Since this went to print, I have discovered a pair of these birds in the scrub, under the ramparts of the Fort at Galle.

brought to me at all times during the S. W. monsoon, and eggs as late as October, on the 3rd of which month I obtained a nest containing four, together with the cock bird, which the native, from whom I purchased the eggs, assured me he had caught sitting on them. The eggs were round in form, and of a greenish white ground, thickly spotted all over with dark brown spots, and blotched, over this, round the larger end, with bluish grey. Axis 11 lines, diam  $8\frac{1}{4}$  lines.

**CHARADRIUS LONGIPES** (*Temminck.*) The Indian Golden Plover.

These birds vary somewhat in size; they arrive in the vicinity of Colombo about the first week in October, about which time, after wet weather, they may be seen on the Galle Face in little flocks of three or four. They are plentiful in suitable localities throughout the Province, affecting commons and the drier parts of large paddy fields, and marshes: they arrive here in their winter dress, without a vestige of black on the under surface, and they leave again before assuming any of the nuptial plumage.

**ÆGIALITIS PYRRHOTHOX** (*Temminck.*) The Lesser Sand Plover.

This bird is not mentioned by Layard as found in Ceylon, nor is it included in Emerson Tennant's list. I fancy the former mistook it for the larger bird, *Æ Geoffreyi*, Waghler, which he says is very common in some parts of the Island. No doubt, however, both species are found here. This little Plover arrives in flocks in this district about the first week in September, and frequents the Galle Face during the winter months. I have shot a good many specimens on their first arriving, and have always found them females, both adult and young, the former still in a partial spring dress with the light parts of the face and



fore-neck, between the chest patches, buff. The young have the upper surface greyish olive brown, some of the feathers with lightish margins; throat and fore-neck whitish.

*RHYCHŒA BENGALENSIS* (Linn.) The Indian Painted Snipe.

Although we have no record of this bird nesting in Ceylon, it would appear that it occasionally breeds here—as in two instances that have come under my notice, perfect eggs have been taken from it, after death, in December. This is all the more singular, as in India, according to Jerdon, it breeds in June and July; it can only be accounted for on the supposition that the birds in question were stationary in the island and had become subject, as regards their breeding, to the influence of the seasons here. An egg in the possession of Mr. C. P. Layard measures 1.4" in length by 1" in diameter, is pointed in form and of a rich yellow stone-ground colour, streaked, scratched and clouded all over with large patches of dark sepia, with a few blots of bluish grey appearing from beneath them. Another egg, laid in a cage by a wounded bird on the last day of the year, and now in the possession of Mr. Holdsworth, has the markings smaller, resembling those of a plover's egg. The habit of diving which this bird has, when wounded, shows its affinity to the sand-pipers.

It is pretty common in this Province, being found generally in the proportion of one pair to every large tract of paddy field, where there are any thick grassy spots, in which localities they are always found together.

*ACTITIS HYPOLEUCOS* (Linn.) The common Sand-Piper. This is the only Sand-Piper I have met with about Colombo, frequenting the rocks round the Fort (being often seen on the ramparts), as well as the shores of the lake. They arrive here about the 10th of August and are then partly in summer and partly in winter plumage. They put on their summer dress,

which consists of the darker and more shining green of the upper surface, in April, and leave for their breeding grounds at the end of May. The very short time they are absent is somewhat remarkable, if, as must be the case, they breed to the northward of India. In May they collect in flocks of a dozen or more before taking their departure, and may be seen thus congregated on the shores of the lake. I have never yet shot a male bird in Ceylon.

GALLINULA PHENICURA. (*Pennant.*) The White-breasted Water-hen.

The white-breasted Water-hen is much more given to perching than the common Water hen of Europe, *G. Chloropus*. It may often be seen on the top of a fence, pluming itself in the shade, or drying its feathers after a shower of rain. Unlike its European congener, which often builds among reeds, piling its nest up from the bottom of the water, this bird chooses a tuft of grass in the vicinity of water, on the top of which it builds a flat nest (the same being often used more than once) or places it among the leaves of the Screw Pine (*Pandanus*), sometimes at a height of not less than ten feet from the ground.

The eggs are nearly always four in number, those of the same clutch\* varying sometimes as much as a line in length or breadth.

Average dimensions : axis 1 inch 7 lines, diam. 1 inch 2 lines. Ground colour creamy-white or yellow grey, sparingly blotted, and spotted all over, but mostly at the larger end, with light red and yellow brown, with a few bluish-gray blotches.

The young are covered with black down, and are helpless for several hours after birth. The immature bird wants the white throat and breast, and has only a few traces of grey down the centre of the foreneck.

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\* Noticeable also in the eggs of the English Water-hen.

ARDETTA SINENSIS (*Gmelin.*) The Yellow Bittern.

This pretty little Bittern is very common in this Province, being found in marshy districts and round the Pantura Lake in all spots suitable to its habits. Layard, however, seems to have noticed it only in the south, where it may be still more abundant. It affects principally scrubby places and reed beds, and is, perhaps, the least terrestrial of the Ardetta, being nearly always flushed from a bush, and after taking flight it generally alights on the top of another. It perches easily on an upright reed stalk in the same posture as a warbler.

ARDETTA CINNAMOMEA (*Gmelin.*) The Chesnut Bittern.

This bird is excessively plentiful round Colombo. It frequents the damp fern-brakes and marshy spots in the Cinnamon Gardens, where it breeds. It does not seem to alight on trees as readily as the former bird, and is more skulking in its habits.

ARDETTA FLAVICOLLIS (*Latham.*) The Black Bittern.

This bird is migratory to this district, arriving in October or the beginning of November; at which time all individuals that I have procured, or seen shot, were in immature plumage, with the feathers of the back, wings, coverts and abdomen edged pale. It is tolerably numerous in the marshes between Colombo and Cottah, and all round Pantura Lake.

NYCTICORAX GRISEUS (*Linnaeus.*) The Night Heron.

There is a colony of these birds on the Pantura Lake: when frightened out of the low bushy trees overhanging the water, in which they roost by day, they fly heavily to some neighbouring perch, only to return again as soon as the intruder is out of sight. Most of the birds, I observed there, were immature and in the following plumage: occipital feathers forming a slight crest; head and interscapular region brown with a

green lustre, the former with light centres to the feathers; sides of head and neck light brown with yellowish centres; wings and tail dusky bluish, the wing coverts brownish with pale centres and edgings. Primary wing coverts tipped white; scapulars brownish; under surface yellowish-white, with brown streaks on the breast.

GELOCHELIDON ANGLICUS (*Montague.*)

HYDROCHELIDON INDICA (*Stephens.*)

THALASSEUS CRISTATUS (*Stephens.*)

THALASSEUS BENGALENSIS (*Lesson.*)

STERNA MINUTA (*linn.*)

STERNA JAVANICA (*Horsf.*)

The above are the Terns that frequent the neighbourhood of Colombo during the winter. The Crested Tern arrives here in the early part of December, and may generally be seen flying along the coast or seated on the rocks off the Fort. It never frequents the lake. The Marsh Tern, *Hydrochelidon Indica*, is one of our commonest species frequenting the paddy fields in the neighbourhood of Colombo, as well as the Slave Island Lakes and the sea-beach round the Fort. It arrives here at the beginning of October, being seen first of all out in the country and afterwards appears in small numbers about the Colombo Lake, becoming very numerous in December, about which time it may often be observed seated in rows on the Telegraph wire stretching across the water to the Galle Face. I suppose that there is scarcely another spot in the world where such a spectacle, as a web-footed bird seated on a single wire, would be presented.

The Black-bellied Tern, *S. Javanica* is rare; I procured but one specimen this year, shot on the 12th of March, with the under-surface changing to dark iron gray.



I put the lesser Tern (*S. Minuta*) as doubtful. The bird in question however, is plentiful about Colombo, arriving after the other species and remaining behind some three weeks later into the summer. All individuals that I have shot, have the bill *entirely black* and the legs and feet *dark, reddish brown*. It agrees in measurements with *S. minuta* which however (according to Jerdon) has the legs orange and the bill yellow.

The lesser Sea Tern (*Th. Bengalensis*) is perhaps more numerous than the Marsh Tern. It hunts singly or in pairs over the Slave Island Lake, and congregates in company with the latter bird in great numbers on the rocks off the Fort.

It is a splendid fisher and a bird of very powerful flight; I have watched it hundreds of times pouncing on the silver fish in the Lake, and never yet saw it rise without a prize in its bill. It frequently drops a fish when jerking the head in the direction of its throat, but seems to have no difficulty in recovering it again with a rapid swoop before it has proceeded far on its downward course. I think that as a rule it does not reach the size of 16 inches given in Jerdon, its dimensions generally corresponding more with those which this author gives for *S. affinis*. vol. III. page 843.

I have shot adult birds measuring  $14\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and have procured no specimen of more than 15 inches in length. The bill appears to vary with age; immature birds, which are as numerous in this district as adults, have it two inches at front.

The white-winged black Tern (*Sterna leucoptera*) which, as far as I can ascertain, has not yet been recorded from India, has been shot at Aripo. This specimen is now in the possession of Mr. Holdsworth, who procured it, three or four years ago, at the above-mentioned place.



The Gannet (*Sula fiber*) has also been observed by this gentleman on the Pearl Banks.

In concluding these notes, I append a list of some of our migratory birds, both foreign and internal, the dates of whose first appearance about Colombo I have observed myself this season.

COMMON SAND PIPER— <i>Actites hypoleucos</i> , ...	12th Oct.
LESSER SAND PLOVER— <i>Ægialites pyrrhothorax</i> ,	12th Sept.
SWALLOW— <i>Hirundo rustica</i> , . . . . .	19th Sept.
SNIPE— <i>Gallinago stenura</i> , (Information) ...	27th Sept.
MARSH TERN— <i>Hydrochelidon indica</i> , ... ..	1st Oct.
WAGTAIL— <i>Budytes viridis</i> , ... .. .	8th Oct.
PIPIT— <i>Corydalla Richardi</i> , ... .. .	9th Oct.
LESSER SEA TERN— <i>Thalasseus Bengalensis</i> ,	11th Oct.
WARBLER— <i>Phylloperneuste nitidus</i> , ... ..	13th Oct.
FLY CATCHER— <i>Butalis Latirostris</i> , ... ..	14th Oct.

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ON THE ORIGIN OF  
THE SRI-PA'DA, OR SACRED FOOT-PRINT ON  
THE SUMMIT OF ADAM'S PEAK.

BY WILLIAM SKEEN, ESQ.

THE tendency of the human mind to attach itself to visible objects in matters of religious belief, and to attribute especial sanctity to objects and places associated with the presence of the Beings it adores, is one so widely spread as to be almost universal. It operates alike among Bráhmans, Buddhists, Romanists, Russo-Greeks and Mohammedans. With different degrees of intensity it influences men of most opposite views. Polytheists, atheists, image and picture worshippers, and the most fanatical of deistic iconoclasts are swayed by it; while Heathendom at large is more or less permeated with it. Intimately connected with it, is the idea that the practice of penance, or other rigorous austerity, propitiates the Being adored, and thus becomes a meritorious act, conducive to the ultimate happiness of the individual practising it. This tendency, with its associated idea, is strikingly manifested among the Buddhists of Ceylon, in the annual pilgrimages made to the summit of the Samanala, to worship the so-called Foot-print, which, it is alleged, was there made by Buddha in the eighth year of his Buddhahood; an occurrence which, from the fifth century onwards of the Christian era, has been recorded with much circumstantiality of detail by the historians and poets of the Island, and which is thus referred to in the "Samantakúṭa wannaná," supposed to have been written in the early part of the 14th century, by Wédéha, chief priest of the Patirája Piriwena Vihára.

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 වෙසාවමාසෙ චුති පුජානමාසං  
 පාදස්ස භික්ඛුනම් කාපථංකො  
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Sambodhíto aṭṭhama sáradasmin  
 Wésákha máse Muni punnamáyam  
 Padass' abhiññánamaká 'paráṅké  
 Sadéwake sassamane mahante.

When noon had pass'd and offerings meet were him presented there  
 By gods and priests and denizens of earth and heaven and air,  
 At full moon of the month of May, when eastwards fell the shade,  
 In his eighth year of Buddhahood the Sage the Foot-print made.

This Foot-print, to the eye of the unbeliever, is nothing more than a shallow weather-worn hollow, artificially shaped by the aid of the chisel and cement into something that rudely resembles the impression of a foot, five feet seven inches long, and two feet seven inches broad. To the eye of the Buddhist, however, it is the veritable impression of the foot of the Founder of his Faith, whom he believes to have been very gigantically proportioned, measuring, according to some authorities, 18 cubits in height, which at the carpenter's cubit of 2' 3", would give him a stature of 40' 6", while at the old cubit of 2' 9", he would measure a fathom and a half more: feet of the size of the impression would therefore be required to support so gigantic a being.\* And this impression is resorted to by, it has been computed, a hundred thousand pilgrims a year; and is devoutly believed in and worshipped by myriads of Buddhists throughout the world, as having been actually made by Buddha on the afternoon of Friday the 6th of May, in the year 580 B. C.

The origin of such a belief is a subject of interesting inquiry.

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\* According to the "Sadhammaratnakaré," the Foot-print, when originally made, was "in length three inches less than the cubit of the carpenter." This would give, according to the old carpenter's cubit, a measure of 2' 6"; but the Foot-print has grown with the growth of ages, like the legends which record its impression.

In a recent work upon Adam's Peak,\* I was led to conclude, from the information then before me, "that the belief in the existence of the Foot-print was not of an older date than a century and a half before the Christian era," but I was doubtful "if even it was as old." Subsequent investigations, in which I have been much assisted by Mr. Advocate Alwis, Mudaliyar L. de Zoysa, and the Rev. C. Alwis, have convinced me that the origin of the belief must be dated several centuries later. There are good grounds also for concluding, that the discovery of the impression was a consequence of the existence of the belief; the belief having existed for centuries before any intimation can be found in historic records that the impression, which was thenceforth to justify it, had been seen or visited.

The current belief of the Sinhalese Buddhists upon this subject is that given in the Rája Ratnacari,† written about the end of the 14th century. It is less loaded with the supernaturally marvellous than the account extracted from the "Sarwajna Guná-lankara,"‡ (quoted in Appendix D. of Adam's Peak), and is as follows:—

"Buddha, at the prayer of the father-in-law of the king snake Mahodara, on the day of the full moon, in the month of May, came to the place where now stands the great monument and temple of Calany, and having sat down, the said snakes entertained Buddha with his priests, with a banquet of the choicest meats, such as the gods make use of; after which Buddha preached, and afterward, at the prayer of the snake-king, *left the print of his foot in the bottom of the river Calany.* And

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\* Adam's Peak: Legendary, Traditional, and Historic Notices of the Samanala and Srí-Páda: with a Descriptive Account of the Pilgrims' Route from Colombo to the Sacred Foot-print. Fcp. 4to., pp. 412, with Map and Illustrations.

† Upham's Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, vol. ii. pp. 22—25.

‡ See also the account given in the "Manual of Buddhism," by the Rev. Spence Hardy, pp. 210—213.



having converted three times four thousand of the said snakes to his religion, who offered to him an infinity of offerings and thanksgivings; which the god called Saman-dewa Rája, looking westwards from Adam's Peak beheld, and rejoicing said, 'Now Buddha is come to Ceylon, what I greatly longed for shall come to pass.' And instantly he, with all his train of inferior gods, presented themselves before Buddha, and humbly worshipped, saying, 'O Buddha! beholdest thou this lofty rock, the name of which is Samanta Coota (Adam's Peak) which appears like a rock of blue sapphire, and which being five leagues high, is constantly touched by the passing clouds? On the top of that said mountain, several Buddhas have left relics, by which they are still kept in memory, the same being as it were the crown of my head: do thou, O mighty one! vouchsafe to add one gem thereto, by leaving the impression of thy foot thereon, which shall be a precious blessing to this isle.' Buddha, then turning his eye towards the east beheld the spiral top of the elevated mountain,—as the woman of the Island of Ceylon, with head lifted up, and with anxious expectation looking out for the coming of her lord, on account of having been twice disappointed of her expected dowry, namely, the print of the foot of Buddha, who had twice come to Ceylon without having visited the said sacred place, she had become disconsolate, and through the depth of her affliction, had sent from her eyes two rivers of tears, namely Calany-Ganga, or the river Calany, and Mahawelle Ganga, or the river of Mahawelle; and had also divested herself of all her ornaments and jewels, and had strewed them round in the agony of despair (from whence it came, that in her vicinity there were to be found innumerable mines of gold and precious stones), Buddha said to her.—'This day will I comfort thee, O thou woman of Ceylon! as other Buddhas have done;' and so with 500 attendant ministers ascending through the clouds, shining like pillars of gold, and hovering over the top of the said rock, the rock on which the print of Buddha's foot had formerly been made, started from its foundation, and meeting this our Buddha in the air, received the impression of his left foot, and fell down upon the place where it now lies. Upon which she who had long remained sorrowful and disconsolate, now became cheerful. By a shower of rain which began to fall at a time when rain could not have been

expected, she was enabled to wash away her sorrow. She clothed herself with the shining colours which issued from the body of Buddha. Through the favor of the god it also rained gold, sweet smelling flowers, and all kinds of perfumes; the sea lifted up its voice and roared aloud with joy, which served as cymbals to celebrate the joyous day; all kinds of music were supplied by the humming of the Brangaya; the earth and the heavens clapped hands in concert, the trees of the field blossomed with flowers, and all nature shouted for joy. Thus Buddha comforted the woman of Ceylon by stamping the impression of his foot on the said mountain, from which place he departed, and visited the monument at the place called Anurawdapura Nuwera," &c., &c.

The authority, or perhaps I might say, authorities, on which this and all other Sighalese accounts of later date than the 5th century rest, are the writings of Mahánáma, the priestly author of the first portion of the Maháwanso, describing events from 543 B. C. to 301 A. D., written between the years 459 and 477, during the reign of his nephew, king Dhátu Sena; and those of Buddhaghósa, the great propagandist of Buddhism in Burmah, who in the year 400 A. D.\* visited Ceylon for the purpose of translating from Sighalese into Páli the sacred Canon and the Comments thereon. His stay in the island lasted three years, during which time he himself composed comments on the Pítakas. These Comments are so highly prized by Buddhists, that they are considered divinely inspired, and of equal authority with the original texts which they illustrate and explain.

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\* This is the date given by Bp. Bigandet, on the authority of Burmese records. Turnour, in his Introduction to the Mahawanso, says "the precise date is not specified of either: Buddhaghósa's arrival at or departure from the island." But he fixes the reign of Mahanámo at A. D. 410—432, and it was apparently, in the early part of this king's reign, that Buddhaghósa's visit took place. This discrepancy is however of no moment as regards the argument in the text. The visit of Buddhaghósa and that of Fa Hian, (413—415) may have happened at one and the same time.

The following quotation is taken from the Hon'ble George Turnour's translation of the Mahawanso, ch. i. pp. 6, 7.

"In (this) eighth year of his [Gautama's] buddahood, [he] the vanquisher and saviour, was sojourning in the garden of Jéto, with 500 of his disciples. On the second day, being the full moon of the delightful month of Wésakho, on its being announced to him that it was the hour of refection, the vanquisher, lord of munis, at that instant adjusting his robes, and taking up his sacred dish, departed for the kingdom of Kalyáni, to the residence of Maniakkhiko. On the spot where the Kalyáni dágoba (was subsequently built) on a throne of inestimable value, erected in a golden palace, he stationed himself, together with his attendant disciples. The overjoyed Nága king and his retinue provided the vanquisher, the doctrinal lord and his disciples, with celestial food and beverage. The comforter of the world, the divine teacher, the supreme lord, having then propounded the doctrine of his faith, rising aloft (into the air) displayed the impression of his foot on the mountain Samantakúta (by imprinting it there). On the side of that mountain, he, with his disciples, having enjoyed the rest of noon day, departed for Dighawápi; and on the site of the dágoba (subsequently erected), the saviour, attended by his disciples, seated himself; and for the purpose of rendering that spot celebrated, he there enjoyed the bliss of "Samádhi." Rising aloft from that spot, the great divine sage, cognizant of the places (sanctified by former Buddhas) departed for the station where the Méghawana establishment was subsequently formed (at Anurádhapura). The saviour, together with his disciples, alighting on the spot where the sacred bó-tree was (subsequently) planted enjoyed the bliss of the "Samádhi" meditation: thence, in like manner, on the spot where the great dágoba (was subsequently built); similarly, at the site of the dágoba Thuparámo, indulging in the same meditation: from thence he repaired to the site of the Sila dágoba. The lord of multitudinous disciples preached to the congregated Dewos, and thereafter the Buddha omniscient of the present, the past, and the future, departed for the garden of Jeto."

In the Atthakathá on the Vinaya-piṭaka entitled "Samanta Pásádika," Buddhaghósa writes:—

“නීතිධොපන භගවතො පදචෙතියානි. ලංකාදීපෙ ඵකං. ජම්බුදීපෙ චෙතී. නත්ථි බොධිතො අඨමෙ වසෙසු කලුකනියං මනි අකඛිනාගරථෙන නිමනතීතො භගවා පච්ඨි භික්ඛු සතෙනි පරිච්චතො ලංකාදීප මාගමම කලුකනි චෙතියඨානෙ කතෙ රතන මඬපෙ නිසීනෙනා භතනා කිචමං කතා සමනතකුචෙ පදං දසෙසුතා අගමාසී.”

“Tínikhopana Bhagavató padachetiyaní. Laṅkádípe ekaṃ. Jambudípe Yónakaratthe dvéti. Tattha bodithó atthame vassé Kalyániyaṃ Maniakkhi nágarájena nimantitó Bhagavá paṃchahi bhikkhusatehi parivuto Laṅkádípamágamma Kalyáni chetiyaattháne kate ratanamandapé nisinno bhattakichchaṃ katwá Samantakúte padaṃ dassetwá agamási.”

“There are three foot impressions of the Deity of felicity: one in the Island of Lanka, and two in the Yónaka country in Jambudípo. In the eighth year after his attainment of Buddhahood, the Deity of felicity at the invitation of the Nága king Maniakkhi, arrived at Lanká attended by five hundred priests, and having taken his seat in the ratana-mandapa (gem-decorated hall) on the site of the Dágoba at Keḷani, and having partaken of his repast there, left the impression of his foot on the Samantakúta mountain, and departed.”

These extracts shew that Buddhaghósa and Mahánáma agree with each other as to the origin of the Foot-print on the Samantakúta, although the latter gives particulars which the earlier writer abstains from doing. Both however are silent in regard to the Foot-print in the bed of the Keḷani. Buddhaghósa's account is corroborated by Fa Hian the Chinese pilgrim who visited Ceylon in the year 413. During his two years' stay he visited the whole of the sacred places in the Island; but all that he remarks in connection with the Foot-print is contained in the following brief sentence:—“By the strength of his divine foot he [Foe, i. e. Buddha] left the print of one of his feet to the north of the royal city [Anurádhapura], and the print of the other on the summit of a mountain.” Of these two foot-prints, the one on the mountain



is no doubt the same as that to which Buddhaghósa refers. But the other could not have been the impression in the Kēlani-gaṅga, that spot being a long distance south-west of Anurádhapura. There is however, near the Wiharai Tampirán Kóvil,—a rock temple at Muttakal, in the Tammankaduwa Pattu of the Trincomalee District,—the representation of a human foot-print engraved on stone, “the length of which is four cubits, and breadth two and a half. Near this foot-print is an inscription in the Nágaram language.”\* This may possibly have been the one first mentioned by Fa Hian, removed from its original to its present site when the capital of the Island was transferred from Anurádhapura to Pollonnaruwa in the year 769. Be that as it may, neither the one nor the other appears to have been an object of special reverence in Fa Hian’s time; and it is certain that pilgrimages were not then made to the Srí-páda at Samantakúṭa. Had such been in vogue, Fa Hian would undoubtedly have proceeded thither, and described both it and his journey in the same graphic manner in which he has recorded his visits elsewhere; the main purpose of his pilgrimage through India and Ceylon being, to see the places rendered famous and venerable by the birth, life, doings, and death of Buddha.

Carrying our researches still further back, we come to the Dípawansa, written certainly not more than a century and a half before the commencement of the Mahawanso, its narrative extending only to the end of the reign of king Maha Sen, A.D. 302. It is the oldest work extant on early Sinhalese history, and appears to have been compiled from the annals of chroniclers appointed by the reigning kings. It is quoted by Mahánáma, in the Mahawanso, and is probably the source from which he obtained the principal materials of his history. The work is written in Páli, and was first made known to European scholars by the Hon’ble

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\* Archæological Returns, p. 50.



George Turnour, who obtained a copy from Burmah through the intervention of Mudaliyar Nadoris de Silva.\* The following extract, referring to the same period as that in the preceding ones, is taken from the concluding portion of the second Bhanavara or section of the work :—†

අපරමපි අභිමෙවමෙසස නානරු මනාකමකො  
 නිමනනසි මනාවීරං පච භිකඤ්ඤ සතෙ සහ  
 පරිවාරෙචාන සමුඛං වසී භූතාමභිකිකා  
 උපනිචා රජනවනෙ කමමා ණනනනෙමුනි  
 ලාකාදීපං අනුපනෙනා ගතා කලනනි සමුච්චං  
 සමෙරනන මචපං උරගාකචා මහිනලෙ  
 නානාරහෙහි වරෙචිනි දිඛදුමෙසසි ඡාදයං  
 නානා රනන ලංකාර නානා පුප්චිචිතනකා  
 නානාරහධර්තනකා මචපං නානාලංකතං  
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 සතනකඛ්චානුං සමාපජ්ජී බුච්චොකොණං සසාවකො

\* The few copies of this work hitherto accessible in the island,—transcripts from that obtained by Nadoris de Silva,—are in many respects defective, owing, presumably, to the ignorance of the transcribers. An opportunity will however be speedily afforded to Páli Scholars for collating them with one which, with other historical and religious works, His Majesty the King of Burmah, has liberally presented to the “Government Oriental Library.”

† In a note at p. 52 of “Adam’s Peak,” it is stated—“Both Buddhaghósa and Mahánáma seem to have been indebted to the Dípawansa for what they have written on this particular subject,” i. e. the Foot-print. I had not then obtained access to the work, and my informant was, as it will be seen, mistaken in this particular.

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“Aparampí aṭṭhame vasse nágarájá Manakkhiko  
 Nimantayi maháviray pancha bhikkhu saṭe saha  
 Pariwáretvána Sambuddhay vasíbhútá mahiddhiká  
 Uppatitvá Jetavane kamamáno nabhe muní  
 Lankádípaṇ anuppatto gangá Kalyániyan mukhay

Sabbe ratanamandapan uragá<sup>2</sup>katvá mahítale  
 Nánárahēhi vatthehi dibbadussehi chhádāyūṇ  
 Nánáratana 'laṅkárá náná puppha vichittaká  
 Nánárahā dhajā 'neká maṇḍapaṇ náná laṅkataṇ  
 Santhatāṇ santharitvána paññápetvána ásanāṇ  
 Buddha pamukha Saṅghancha pavesetvá nisídāyūṇ  
 Nisídítvána Sambuddho panchabhikkhu sate saha  
 Samápatti samápajji mettan sabba disan phari—  
 Sattakkhattuṇ samápajji Buddho jhānaṇ sasávako  
 Tasmiṇ ṭhāne mahá thúpo patitṭhásiti addasa  
 Mahádānan pavattesi nágārājá Manakkhiko—  
 Paṭiggahetvá Sambuddho nágadānaṇ sasávako  
 Bhutvána anumodetvá nabhugganchhi sasávako—  
 Orohitvána tan Buddho ṭhānan Díghavápiyan  
 Samápajji samápatti jhānaṇ lokánukampako  
 Vuṭṭhahitvá samápatti tamhi ṭhāne pabhanakaro  
 Vehásayan Kamamáno dhammarájá Sasávako—  
 Mahámeghavane tattha bodhi ṭhānaṇ upágami  
 Purimá tīni mahá bodhi patitṭhinsu mahítale  
 Tanṭhānaṇ upagantvána tattha jhānan samápajjayi —  
 Tisso bodhi imaṇ ṭhānan tayó buddhána sásane  
 Mamanchabodhi patitṭhānan idheva hoti anágate —  
 Sasávako samápatti uṭṭhahitvá naruttamo  
 Yattha meghavanárammaṇ agamási narásabho—  
 Tatthápi so samápattin samápajji sasávako  
 Uṭṭhahitvá samápattin vyákari so pabhayakaro —  
 Iman padesan paṭhamam kakusandho lokanáyako  
 Iman pallanka ṭhānamhi nisídítvá paṭiggahí  
 Iman padesan dutiyan kónágamano narásabho  
 Imaṇ pallanka ṭhānanhi nisídítvá paṭiggahi  
 Imaṇ padesan tatiyan kassapo lokanáyako  
 Imaṇ pallanka ṭhānamhi nisídítvá paṭiggahi—  
 Ahaṇ Gotama Sambuddho sakyaputto narásabho  
 Imaṇ pallanka ṭhānamhi nisídítvá samappito.”

“Again in the eighth year, the king of the Nágas invited the great hero, with five hundred priests. These passion-subdued sages, possessed of great miraculous powers, rising aloft in the air at Jétawane, and travelling through the firmament, arrived at the Island of Lanká, near the mouth of the river Kalyáni. All the Nágas, having built a ‘jewelled hall,’ greatly decorated and ornamented with varieties of gems, with flowers of various hues and with many flags, and having covered it with celestial cloths, and other cloths of great value, having put up seats, and spread carpets over them, they (the Nágas) made the supreme Buddha, and the priests enter (the hall) and be seated.

“The supreme Buddha having taken his seat with his five hundred disciples, entered into sámapatti meditation, and extended mercy in all directions. Seven times did the supreme one enter into holy meditation with his disciples, and he foresaw that the great Thupa would be built upon that site.

“The Nága-Rája Maniakkhika bestowed great offerings of food, and Buddha having accepted these offerings, and partaken of the same with his disciples, went up in the air accompanied by them; and the omniscient one having alighted at the place (called) Dighavápi, the sympathizer of mankind entered into holy meditation on that spot.

“Having risen, after there enjoying his holy rest, the illuminator, the king of the law, passing through the air, attended by his disciples, arrived at Mahá méghavana, the site of the Bó-tree, where the holy Bodhi-trees of the former three Buddhas (of the kappa) stood, and having arrived there he again entered into holy meditation.

“‘During the existence of the sárana (the continuance of the religion) of the three former Buddhas, their three Bodhi-trees, stood on this spot, and my own Bó-tree will stand here in future’ (thought he.)

“Having risen from the sámádhi meditation, the supreme of men, with his disciples went to Meghavana. There too, he entered into holy meditation with his disciples, and rising therefrom the illuminator (of the world) declared. ‘First of all Kakusandho, the chief of the world, seated on the site of this very seat vouchsafed to accept this spot of ground. Secondly, Konagamano, the supreme of mankind, seated on the site of this very seat, vouchsafed to accept this spot of ground.

Thirdly, Kassapo, the chief of the world, seated on the site of this very seat, vouchsafed to accept this spot of ground. I too, Gotamo Buddha, of the Sakya race, the chief of men, seated on this seat, enjoyed holy rest.'”

Here, plainly, there is an entire absence of reference to anything that is in any way connected with the Foot-print; an omission, the significance of which is all the more remarkable, because of the terms in which the rest of the holy places are spoken of. The sites of all these places, it is alleged, were visited by Buddha with his attendant train of five hundred priests, on the self-same day. At each place, entering into a state of profound and holy abstraction, he foresaw, on the spot, what centuries later would there be done, in the erection of Dágobas, the planting of the Bó-tree, &c., and the veneration with which each would be regarded as having been sanctified by his presence. The narrative is marvellous enough to satisfy the cravings of the most credulous, but with all its statements that partake of the miraculous and supernatural, it is nevertheless an exceedingly valuable one, inasmuch as it shews what were considered the holy places at the time it was written, and that amongst them the Foot-print had no place,—that, in fact, its existence was then unknown.

The Buddhists of Ceylon affirm that the Founder of their religion visited the Island on three several occasions; and the Dípawansa, the Mahawanso, and other native works have much to say concerning these visits; but the conclusion that their statements are wholly groundless, a conclusion arrived at by such writers as the Rev. Spence Hardy,\* and Professor Edward E. Salisbury † is one sustained by internal evidence furnished by the Mahawanso itself, as well as by that derivable from other sources.

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\* Vide article “On the Language and Literature of the Sighalese,” published in the C. B. R. A. Society’s Journal for 1846.

Memoir of Buddhism, Journ. Am. Or. Soc. vol. i. p. 196.



The Buddhistic annals and traditions of the Burmese are peculiarly valuable to students of Buddhism in Ceylon, not only from the intimate connection that has for so many centuries been kept up between the two countries, for the express purpose of promoting the interests of their common religion; but from the circumstances which, from the original introduction of Buddhism into Burmah, have there preserved it from the corrupting influences which have more or less affected that faith in other countries. Upon this subject the Right Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha and Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, observes, in the introduction to his interesting work, "The Life of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese:"--

"Buddhism, such as we find it in Burmah, appears to have retained to a great extent, its original character and primitive genuineness, exhibiting the most correct forms and features of that Protean creed. At the epoch the Burmans left the northern vallies and settled in the country they now inhabit, they were a half civilized Mongolian tribe, with no kind of worship, except a sort of Geniolatry, much similar to that we see now existing among the various tribes now bordering on Burmah. They were in the same condition when the Buddhist missionaries first arrived among them. Deposited in this almost virginal soil, the seed of Buddhism grew up freely, without meeting any obstacle to check its growth.

"Philosophy, which, during its too often erratic rambles in search of truth, changes, corrects, improves, destroys, and, in numberless ways, modifies all that it meets, never flourished in these parts: and therefore did not work in the religious institutions, which have remained up to this day nearly the same as they were when first imported into Burmah. The free discussion of religious and moral subjects, which constituted the very life of the Indian schools, and begat so many various, incoherent, and contradictory opinions on the most essential points of religion and philosophy, is the sign of an advanced state of civilization, which does not appear to have ever existed on the banks of the Irrawaddy.

“Owing to its geographical position, and perhaps, also, to political causes, Burmah has ever remained out of the reach of Hindoo influence, which in Nepaul has coloured Buddhism with Hindoo myths, and habited it in gross *idolatric* forms. In China, where already subsisted heroes’ and ancestors’ worship, at the time of the arrival of the preachers of the new doctrine; Buddhism, like an immense parasitic plant, extended itself all over the institutions which it covered rather than destroyed, allowing the ancient forms to subsist under the disguise it afforded them. But such was not the state of Burmah, when visited by the first heralds of Buddhism.”—pp. viii. ix.

That being the case, let us ascertain what the Burmese authorities say with reference to the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. In the account given of the memorable occurrences which took place when Phralaong at last attained the fullness of the Buddhahip, it is stated, that after giving vent “to the feelings of compassion that pressed on his benevolent heart, Phra [Burmese for Buddha] glancing over future events, delighted in contemplating the great number of beings who would avail themselves of his preachings, and labour to free themselves from the slavery of passions. He counted the multitudes who would enter the ways that lead to the deliverance, and would obtain the rewards to be enjoyed by those who will follow one of those ways. The Baranathee country (Benares) would be favoured first of all, with the preaching of the law of the wheel. He reviewed the countries where his religion would be firmly established. He saw that Mahinda, the son of king Aśoka, would carry his law to Ceylon, 236 years after his Neibban.” Not a word here as to the three visits which Singhalese authorities assert he made, and which if he actually had made, or but one of them even, would undoubtedly have been recorded as one of the things foreseen, just as it is stated he foresaw the preaching of the law of the wheel at Benares—an event which came to pass not long after he became Buddha :—

or the mission of Mahinda to Ceylon, which was part and parcel of a grand scheme for the propagation of Buddhism, resolved upon at the third great Buddhist Council, held at Pátalipura or Patna, under the auspices of the king Asóka, and presided over by Moggaliputtatissa in the year 309 B. C. This resolution of the Council is thus stated in the *Burmese Life of Gaudama Buddha*, pp. 387, 388.

“At the conclusion of the council, the President, who was acknowledged the head of the Buddhists, thought of extending throughout the whole of Dzampoudipa the sway of the new religion. Hitherto, it had been confined within the limits of Magatha. Now the time had come to make it spread far and wide among the nations and tribes of the whole world. To carry out such a bold and comprehensive plan, Mauggaliputta made an appeal to the ablest and most zealous members of the council, and charged a certain number of them, to go and preach the true law, into the countries beyond the boundaries of Magatha. The venerable Mitzaganti, with four companions, was directed to proceed to the country of Kashmara-gandara. Rewati was ordered to go to Mahithakan-pantala. Gaunaka-damma Reckita went to Aparanta. Maha-damma Reckita was sent to the Mahratta country. Damma Reckita received mission to proceed to Yaunaka, which is the country inhabited by the Pantsays. The venerable Mitzi directed his steps, in company of several brethren, towards some parts in the Himalayas. Thauna and Uttara proceeded in a south-eastern direction, to the country of Souwani-boumi. Finally, Mahinda, Ittia, Outtia, Thamala, and Baddathala went to establish religion into the Island of Tappapani (Ceylon.)”

Turning now to the Mahawanso, we find an account, in the 13th chapter, of Mahinda's arrival in Lanka, [B.C. 307] after receiving from “Magindo (Sakkó the dévo of dévos)” the following command: “Depart on thy mission for the conversion of Lanká: it is the fulfilment of the prediction of the Supreme Buddha (pronounced at the foot of the bó-tree). We also will there render our assistance.” The 14th chapter describes the manner

in which Mahinda introduced himself to the king Dévānānpiyatissa, near the Missa mountain, or Mihintalle; his discourses with, and the consequent conversion of the monarch, followed by that of his sister-in-law the princess Anula, the Court, and large numbers of the people. Numerous donations of land, sites of the holy places, were then made to Mahinda by the king; who was informed, to his intense satisfaction, that these sites had already been sanctified by the presence on them of Gautama and the three preceding Buddhas. In the account which Mahinda gave the king of the proceedings of these Buddhas, he mentions that the first, Kakusandha, stationed himself on the summit of Déwakúta (Adam's Peak), in order, amongst other things, to deliver the inhabitants from a prevailing febrile epidemic. The second Buddha, Kónágamana, in order to bring about the cessation of a terrible drought, also stationed himself on the summit of Sumanakúta (Adam's Peak). The third Buddha, Kassapa, in order to put a stop to a sanguinary civil war, stationed himself, in a similar manner, on the summit of Subhakúta (Adam's Peak). In each case that elevated position was chosen by the Buddha for the simple purpose of making manifest his presence in the land, the same resolution (or command) being each time adopted "Let all the inhabitants of this land Ojadípo [afterwards Waradípo, then Mandádípo] this very day see me manifested. Let all persons who are desirous of repairing to me repair instantly (hither) without any exertion on their part." Whereupon, each time, "The king and inhabitants of the capital observing the divine sage, effulgent by the rays of his halo, as well as the mountain illuminated by his presence, instantly repaired thither." The divine sages then successively went to the sites of the various holy places already mentioned in the quotation from the 1st chapter. But there is no mention whatever of the impression of a Foot-print having been made on the summit of the mountain on either of these occasions.



Mahinda, proceeding with his discourse, comes to the advent of Gautama. He tells the king :—

“ The fourth divine sage, the comforter of the world, the omniscient doctrinal lord, the vanquisher of the five deadly sins, in this ‘ kappa,’ was Gotama.

“ In the first advent to this land, he reduced the Yakkhos to subjection, and then in his second advent, he established his power over the nágas. Again, upon the third occasion, at the entreaty of the nága-king Maniakkhi, repairing to Kalyáni, he there, together with his attendant disciples, partook of refreshment. Having tarried and indulged in (the ‘ sámápatthi’ meditation) at the spot where the former bó-trees had been placed; as well as on this very site of the (Ruanwelli) dágoa (where Mahinda was making these revelations to Dévānanpiyatissa), and having repaired to the spots where the relics used (by the Buddhas themselves, viz., the drinking-vessel, the belt, and the ablution robe had been enshrined); as well as to the several places where preceding Buddhas had tarried, the vanquisher of the five deadly sins, the great muni, the luminary of Lanká, *as at that period there were no human beings in the land,* having propounded his doctrines to the congregated devos and the nágas, departed through the air to Jambudípo.”\*

Here again neither the mountain nor the foot-print is made mention of, and the fictitiousness of the whole narrative is made

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\* These visits not having been foreseen, (see *ante*), but being essential at and after 236 A. B. ‘for the greater glory of Buddha,’ there was an awkward necessity compelling the Buddhist historians to limit the time occupied by the visits of Buddha to Ceylon, and to force him to fly with electric speed, from Jeto (at Sávatthipura in India) to Lanka, and back from Lanka to Jeto, in the universally accepted belief that no Buddha could possibly absent himself for a longer period than twenty-four hours at any one time from the country in which he was originally manifested. It is however, a lamentable fact, that occurrences no less wonderful are gravely recorded in certain Jewish, Christian, and Mohammadan writings, which are greatly revered, and the incidents of which are most implicitly believed in by the superstitiously devout of large sections of each of these religious communities.



patent by the announcement that at the period of Gautama's third visit to Lanká, B. C. 580, eight years after his attainment of the Buddhahood, there were then "no human beings in the land,"—a strange and singular admission immediately after the statement respecting the manner in which the kings and inhabitants of the capital repaired to the preceding Buddhas when they manifested themselves, thousands of years before, on the summit of the variously-named mountain. This discourse of Mahinda, however, almost exactly tallies with the statements of the Dípawansa, and there can be no doubt but that both had a common origin. Chapters 15 and 16 continue the accounts of Mahinda's successful labours in the land. Chapter 17 states, that after the holding of the "wasso" at the Chétiya mountain, which terminated on the full moon day of the month "Kattika" (Oct.-Nov.) five months after his arrival, Mahinda "this great théro of profound wisdom," thus spoke:—

"Mahárája, our divine teacher, the Supreme Buddha, has long been out of our sight: we are sojourning here, unblessed by his presence. In this land, O ruler of men! we have no object to which offerings can be made." (The king) replied "Lord, most assuredly it has been stated to me, that our Supreme Buddha had attained 'nibbutó' (and that a lock of his hair, and the 'giwati' relic have been enshrined at Mahiyangana.)" "Wherever his sacred relics are seen our vanquisher himself is seen," (rejoined Mahinda). "I understand your meaning," (said the monarch) "a thúpo is to be constructed by me. I will erect the thúpo: do ye procure the relics." The théro replied to the king: "Consult with Súmana." The sovereign then addressed that sámánéro, "From whence can we procure relics?" "Ruler of men (said he) having decorated the city and the highway, attended by a retinue of devotees, mounted on thy state elephant, leaving the canopy of dominion, and cheered by the music of the 'táláwachara' band, repair in the evening to the Mahánága pleasure garden. There, O king! wilt thou find relics." Thus to the piously devoted monarch, spoke Sumana, who fully knew how the relics of Buddha had been distributed."

Now, supposing that about 236 A. B. there had been any foundation, either legendary or traditional, for the assertion, in the first chapter of the Mahawanso, that Buddha had, on the occasion of his third visit to Ceylon, left his Foot-print on the summit of the Samantakúṭa, some allusion to that circumstance would assuredly have been made by Mahinda, in the various discourses he had with the king, which are reported in the 14th and following chapters. But such is not the case. The alleged visits are fictions; the inventions, most probably, of the zealous Mahinda, aided by the astute Sumana, who knew so well how the relics of Buddha had been distributed, that when the king was led by Mahinda to ask for them, he was ready at once to make miraculous journeys to Magadha, the Himalayās, and the court of Sakko, the dévo of dévos or king of gods, to procure them:—all which, says the historian, he did; and had the relics ready for the king on the afternoon of the same day on which he inquired after them. Further, had there been a belief amongst Buddhists, at the time of Mahinda's visit, of the existence of such a Foot-print, there would have been no reason for that théro's lament to the king, *that there was no object in the land to which offerings could be made.*

But we have still stronger and more conclusive evidence upon this subject in the sacred Piṭakas—the very fountain head and source of all the authentic information we possess concerning Buddha and the origin of Buddhism. These, consisting of the Vinaya, the Sútra, and the Abhídhamma, contain the discipline, and the discourses of Gautama, and the pre-eminent truths of his doctrines. That these works were partly collected and reduced to writing during the lifetime of Buddha, there are strong grounds—perhaps the strongest possible—for believing, notwithstanding the assertions of Siṅhalese Buddhist historians to the contrary.\* The art of writing, hiero-

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\* With reference to this subject, the importance of which in its bearings upon

glyphically and phonetically, was known amongst the Egyptians, Hebrews, Chaldeans, Moabites, Ninevites, and Assyrians, as well as amongst the Chinese, hundreds of years before the birth of Buddha. It was known and practised amongst the Babylonians and the Medes and Persians at the time of his advent ; and there are no grounds for supposing that it was unknown in the country in which he lived. On the contrary, we know that the ten books of the Vedas, comprising 1028 hymns, existed in a written form, and had existed in India for, at least, four hundred years before.\* A king's son, surrounded by learned Brahmans, the prince Siddhártha, the coming

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the Buddhist religion can hardly be over-estimated, Mr. Turnour remarks, in his 'Examination of the Páli Buddhistical Annals, No. 4,' published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society in 1838, "It has been shewn in the introduction to the Maháwanso, that its author Mahánámo, compiled his history in the reign of his nephew Dhátasíno, the monarch of Ceylon who reigned between A. D. 459 and 477, from the materials above described—[the Síhala Maháwanso, the Aṭṭhakathá of the Maháwiháro, the Síhala Aṭṭhakathá and the Maháwanso of the Uttawiháro fraternities],—a part of which was the version of the Aṭṭhakatha brought by Mahinda from India in 307 before Christ, and translated by him into the Síhala language. This fact, coupled with many other circumstances inadvertently disclosed in the histories of the Convocations, go far to prove that the Piṭṭakattayan and Aṭṭhakathá were actually reduced to writing from the commencement of the Buddhistical era, and that the concealment of their record till the reign of the Ceylonese ruler Wattagamini [Walagambahu] between B. C. 104 and 76, was a part of the esoteric scheme of that creed, had recourse to in order to keep up the imposture as to the priesthood being endowed with the gift of inspiration. The cessation of the concealment of these scriptures at that particular period, though attributed to the subsidence of the spirit of inspiration, in all probability proceeded from the public disorders consequent upon the Chólíán invasion, which led to the expulsion of that king and the priesthood from Anuradhapura by a foreign enemy, and to their fugitive existence in the wilderness of the Island during a period of nearly 15 years."

\* The collection of the Vedas in their present form has been referred, from general considerations, and with much of probability, to the earlier half of the

Buddha, was educated in all the knowledge possessed by perhaps the then most civilized country in India. His principal adherents were, like himself, of regal, as well as of princely and priestly families, and they too would be highly educated men. It is not therefore reasonable to suppose, that while for a period of forty-five years he continued to propagiate his doctrines in the adjacent kingdoms of Maghada, (North and South Behar) Bhágalpur, Gorukhpur, Oude, Benares, and the territory of Tirhut, his disciples did not commit to writing the more important, if not the whole of them; or that he himself did not from time to time revise and correct what had been written.

Even the Asóka inscriptions, the great Indian enigma until deciphered by Prinsep, whatever else they prove, prove this,—that although not cut until about 230 years after the death of Buddha,\* the art of writing was not, and could not have been

second thousand years preceding the Christian era, but at whatever time the collection was made—when its verses were first rescued from the custody of oral tradition, and committed to writing—it constituted a decided era in Indian literary history, and “from this time the texts became a chief object of the science and industry of the nation, as their contents had always been of its highest reverence and admiration; and so thorough and religious was the care bestowed upon their preservation, that, notwithstanding their mass and the thousands of years which have elapsed since their collection, not a single various reading, so far as is yet known, has been suffered to make its way into them.”—See article ‘On the main results of the later Vedic Researches in Germany, by William D. Whitney, in *Journal of Amer. Or. Soc.* 1853, vol. iii. p. 309.—Also, Professor Max Müller’s *Lecture on the Vedas in ‘Chips from a German Workshop,’* vol. i. pp. 15-16.

\* There is abundant reason for concluding that the Buddhist era, commencing B. C. 543 has been antedated by 66 years, and that the correct date should be 477 B. C. Asóka acceded to the throne 214 A. B. and was inaugurated four years later. The inscriptions were cut subsequent to his inauguration;—one of them, that at Girnar, fixes the date at 12 years after that event = 230 A. B., or 313 B. C. accepted Buddhist era; but B. C. 247 according to the corrected chronology.



at that time, of recent acquisition in the dominions of the monarch whose edicts they recorded. The application of the art to the perpetuation of such edicts in imperishable letters graven on rocks and stone, might be a novel and a happy idea—the suggestion of a Buddhist hierarch,—but as edicts so made public—at Alláhábád, and Delhi, in northern India; at Girnár in Gujárát, in the west; at Dhauli in Katak, in the east; and, in a wholly different alphabet, at Kápurdigiri in Afghanistán,—edicts which were intended to be read by every one, the cutting of the inscriptions presupposed a wide-spread possession amongst the subjects

In his discussion of the accuracy of the dates assigned to the death of Buddha and the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon, Mr. Turnour writes (Journ. As. Soc., Sept. 1837) “I proceed to offer the following remarks as explanatory of the grounds on which I am disposed to consider, that the error of the above discrepancy was *designedly* committed by the early compilers of these Buddhistical annals, partly in India, and partly in Ceylon, for the purpose of working out certain pretended prophecies hereafter noticed.

“In the first place, these minutely adjusted dates are to be found only in BUDDHAGHÓSA’S Páli version of the Aṭṭhakathá, and in the Maháwanso; the latter history being avowedly compiled from the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathá, from which Buddhaghósa translated his version also of the sacred commentaries into Páli . . . . Both works, therefore, are derived from the same source, viz. the Aṭṭhakathá brought from India by Mahinda in B. C. 307, and promulgated by him in Ceylon in the native language.

“In the second place, these dates are called forth, for the purpose of shewing that certain pretended prophecies of Sákya and his disciples, all tending directly or indirectly to invest the Indian emperor Asóka, the hierarch Moggaliputtatissa, and the island of Ceylon, with special importance, as *the predicted agents by whom, and the predicted theatre in which, Buddhism should attain great celebrity, were actually realized.* In the third place, *no mention whatever is made of these prophecies in those parts of the text of the Pitakattaya* in which the other revelations of Sákya himself, are recorded; and where indeed, until a recent discussion raised by me, the heads of the Buddhistical Church in Kandy believed they were to be found.”



of the great king, as well as the neighbouring people of Afghanistan, of the ability to read the ordinances thus inscribed for their information and observance;—and that ability indicated a familiarity with writings on more perishable substances than rocks and stately monoliths,—a familiarity which, considering the fixity of Indian habits and grooves of thought, could not possibly have been attained to in the course of a single generation.\*

The notion, founded on the assertions of the old Siphalese

\* “No inscriptions have been met with in India anterior to the rise of Buddhism. The earliest authentic specimens of writing are the inscriptions of king *Priyadarsi* or *Asóka*, about 250 B.C. These are written in two different alphabets. The alphabet which is found in the inscription of Kápurdigiri, and which in the main is the same as that of the Arianian coins, is written from right to left. It is clearly of Semitic origin, and most closely connected with the Aramaic branch of the old Semitic or Phenician alphabet. The Aramaic letters, however, which we know from Egyptian and Palmyrenian inscriptions, have experienced further changes since they served as the model for the alphabet of Kápurdigiri, and we must have recourse to the more primitive types of the ancient Hebrew coins and of the Phenician inscriptions, in order to explain some of the letters of the Kápurdigiri alphabet.

“But while the transition of the Semitic types into this ancient Indian alphabet can be proved with scientific precision, the second Indian alphabet, that which is found in the inscription of Girnar, and which is the real source of all other Indian alphabets, as well as of those of Tibet and Burmah, has not as yet been traced back in a satisfactory manner to any Semitic prototype. (Prinsep’s *Indian Antiquities* by Thomas, vol. ii. p. 42.) *To admit, however, the independent invention of a native Indian alphabet is impossible. Alphabets were never invented, in the usual sense of that word. They were formed gradually, and purely phonetic alphabets always point back to earlier, syllabic or ideographic stages.* There are no such traces of the growth of an alphabet in Indian soil; and it is to be hoped that new discoveries may still bring to light the intermediate links by which the alphabet of Girnar, and through it the modern Devanágari, may be connected with one of the leading Semitic alphabets.”—Prof. Max Müller’s *Sanskrit Grammar*, 1866. pp. 1-2.

writers--Buddhist priests whose object was to exalt their own order,—that neither in Buddha's lifetime, nor for a period of four hundred and fifty years subsequent to his death, his precepts and discourses were preserved otherwise than orally, by men gifted with infallible memories, is one that requires a stretch of belief which only minds of a peculiar character can attain to.\* Religions as well as Governments, to be durable, *must* have their laws and doctrines recorded. The necessity for so doing is imperative. It is the only safe foundation on which political and religious communities can be based. So obvious a truism needs but to be stated to be assented to. And sage and savage have alike felt its force all over the globe. Passing from the old world to the new, the sculptures and hieroglyphics discovered in the palaces and temples of cities of an unknown race that within the memory of living men have been disinterred from beneath the roots of forests, the growth of ages, in the wilds of Central America, prove this; and proof as strong is shewn in the wampum belts of the Indians of North America—those records of treaties between tribe and tribe, and the red men of the west and the pale faces from beyond the sea, to which chiefs and sachems make solemn reference when assembled on affairs of state in the Council lodges of their tribes. Writing of any kind is but the art of recording in visible symbols language that has been spoken, as well as of rendering communicable from mind to mind thoughts unuttered by the tongue; and the art in its essence is the same, whether the medium be the crude wampum belt of the nomadic American Indian, or the elaborate combination of thick and thin strokes in lines and curves and angles and circles of the ablest writer of the most polished age of antient or modern times.

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\* In considering this subject, it must be borne in mind that the Tripiṭaka contains matter equal in bulk to eleven or more times the amount of that contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments.

Whatever may have been the form of record adopted, whether on papyrus or skins, on clay or metal, on olas or any other substance, it will hardly be contended in the face of the evidence extant of the extent to which the art prevailed at the period under discussion, that in the country and age which saw the birth of Buddha, kings, philosophers, poets, and priests were less advanced in civilization in this particular respect, than the North American Indians of the present century. But if it be admitted, that, 2,500 years ago, Maghada and its adjacent kingdoms, had attained to a high degree of civilization, then it is inconceivable that Buddha and his principal disciples should deliberately have chosen to entrust the future of the new religion to mere oral and traditional deliverances, when a surer method for securing its lasting stability was at their command.

Professor Max Müller has well said, that "Buddhism, as a religion and a political fact, was a reaction against Brahmanism, though it retained much of that more primitive form of faith and worship."\* To ensure the permanency of such a reaction no means could be better adapted than the record in writing of the laws and teachings of its promulgator, who, as he claimed to be omniscient, the sage and seer supreme in wisdom, would not, nay, could not, overlook the importance of the art. That it was not overlooked we are assured, for how otherwise can the remarkable fact be accounted for, that from the time of Buddha is to be dated the commencement of authentic Indian History,—a fact entirely attributable to Buddhism and Buddhist writers. Upon this point the following remarks by Professor Salisbury are most apposite:—

"A result of the general elevation of society effected by Buddhism, is seen in its creation of history. In India, while Brahmanism held undisputed sway, there were indeed traditions of the past handed down by

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\* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 238.—Doctors differ upon this as upon other matters. The able author of the paper on the 'Literature and Origins

the epic bards; but so blended with mythology were these traditions, that their historical meaning was obscured, or obliterated. The only memorialists were of that caste, which could not justly preserve the remembrance of most of the great events determining the destiny of the nation, without giving undue prominence to matters which concerned classes of society, depreciated by themselves as inferior and not worthy of account, and especially their chief rivals, the warrior and regal caste, whose glory they would be most reluctant to celebrate. But to the Buddhists the affairs of kings were of the highest moment, and as they deeply sympathized in the growth of their power, even when they presumed to sway it to their own advantage, they would be disposed to treasure with the greatest care the remembrance of the events by which it was obtained: and the concern they professed for the general welfare of the people, would lead them to take note also of events of more general interest. Hence we find, that the proper history of India opens with the promulgation of Buddhism, and that every Buddhist nation has annals, which have a claim to the name of history, far superior to that of the epic or puranic traditions of Brahmanism.”\*

This question has been carefully investigated by Mr. J. Alwis. In the Introduction to his edition of a portion of Kachchayana's Pali Grammar (p. xxvii.) he states:—“as the result of those investigations, that, at the time when Buddhism first started into existence, writing was known in Maghada, as much as painting. It was practised in the time of Gautama. Buddhist doctrines were conveyed to different countries by its means. Laws and usages were recorded. Little children were taught to write. Even women were found able to read and write. The character

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of Buddhism,’ which appeared in the October number of the Calcutta Review for 1869, declares, “there is no greater error than to represent it [Buddhism] as a Turanian revolt against Aryan supremacy. It was in its origin a purely spiritual influence, and its explanation must be sought in the spiritual rather than the social history of the time.”

\* Journal Amer. Or. Soc. vol. i. pp. 134-5.



used was the Nágari. Vermilion was the 'ink,' and metal plates, cloth, hides, and leaves, constituted the 'paper' of the time. That Buddhist annals, therefore, were reduced to writing from the very commencement, is not only reasonable, but is indeed capable of easy and satisfactory proof." And in the Appendix to his work, he gives extracts from the 'Papancha Sudaniya,' the 'Maha Vagga,' the 'Aṭṭhakatha of Sanyutta Nikáya,' the 'Sumangala Vitasáni,' the 'Aṭṭhakatha to the Dhammapada,' and the 'Samanta-pásádika,' which contain proof of each particular stated in the passage we have just quoted.

The style and method of recording occurrences in the Vinaya-piṭaka are moreover convincing proofs that they, or the most of them, were noted down at the time they are said to have taken place; and the same may be said of the discourses and doctrines forming the bulk of the Sútra and Abhidhamma-piṭakas—which three works, taken collectively, form the Tripiṭika, or sacred words of Buddha. That much was committed to memory by the early Buddhist converts there can be no doubt, for the memory was a faculty highly cultivated in India in olden times as well as at the present day. That many copies of the Piṭakas were written is not likely. The art of writing would not be an universal accomplishment; and while Buddha was still living, and so long as his followers were confined to Maghada, one authenticated copy would suffice. The acute researches of the Hon'ble George Turnour, Csoma de Körösi, James Alwis, and others, upon this subject, are sufficient to establish the point beyond the region of doubt. But there is another consideration which, although not that I am aware of hitherto mooted, seems to possess a certain value in the discussion of this and other matters connected with the establishment of Buddhism.

Gautama in his yearnings after truth, before attaining to the Buddhahood, sought information from every source where he thought

his object could possibly be gained. The pure morality of his doctrines, and the general conformity of his precepts to those contained in the Old Testament writings, have often been remarked upon. He lived at a time when, for more than a hundred years, the ten tribes of the kingdom of Israel had been scattered, and, as it were, sifted over and among the nations of the earth; when moreover the inhabitants of Judea had been carried captive to Chaldea; and when princes and priests of the children of the captivity were holding the reins of power in places of highest trust in the Babylonish empire,—that empire which was then the mistress of the world, and whose king, in the zenith of his greatness, chose Daniel the Jewish prophet for his Vizier. What more likely than that Buddha may have become acquainted with the Book of the Law, which the Israelites and Jews carried with them wherever they went,\*—the divinely inspired code of a people, the fame of whose kings, David and Solomon, had rang through every known land.† It was an age when the whole race of mankind was agitated with the throes of a religious revolution—a mighty mental regeneration, which developed itself, in the Gentile world, by the production of such master-minds as Gautama, Pythagoras, Confucius, and Laotse. In the tenets taught by these men, and in

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\* Just as nearly twelve hundred years later, the Arabian prophet Mohammed became acquainted with, and obtained much, if not the whole, of the morality of the Koran from the sacred writings of both Jews and Christians.

† “The natural division of India is that into Hindustan and the Deccan, not because the one is continental, and the other peninsular, nor because the one consists mainly of two extensive river valleys, and the other of an elevated table land, but because they are separated by a barrier of mountain and forest, the Vindhya range, which renders impossible any but a very slow infiltration of ideas and peculiarities of race. At the time of which we speak [the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era] such infiltration was already at work. Aryan merchants visited the harbours of both coasts of the peninsula; and as far back as the age of Solomon [1000, B. C.], brought the produce of Malabar,—conspicuous animals,

the doctrines of Zoroaster as exhibited in the Zend-Avesta, with which Buddha may also have been acquainted, the morality of the Pentateuch is clearly discernible; and whatever he may have learnt from the five books of Moses,—and his precepts and discourses lead to the conclusion that he learnt a great deal,—he could hardly fail to obtain a knowledge of the means by which the law was preserved in its pristine purity; of the command given by the great Lawgiver for the deposit of the original written copy ‘in the side of the Ark of Covenant;’—of the ordinance (Deut. xvii. 18—20), which required each king, when the appointed time for choosing a king arrived, to transcribe for himself “a copy of the law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites:—to read therein all the days of his life:”—as well as that other (Deut. xxvii. 2—4) which commanded, for the benefit of the people, that when they had passed into the land which should be given them, great stones, plaistered over with plaister, should be set up, on which stones should be written “very plainly” “all the words of this law.”\*

Assuming thus much, and recollecting that as the Founder of a new Religion, Buddha would naturally take every possible means to preserve to his followers his laws and his doctrines, exactly as

elephants’ tusks, fragrant woods, and such things as savages barter,—to factories at the mouth of the Indus, whither arrived, at measured intervals, the adventurous Phœnician squadron, bringing the Hindus the first news they had heard of foreign lands and gods and races, and of the alphabet, that wondrous instrument for expressing thought, which the Semitic mind had brought to maturity before its want was felt by other nations.”—*The Literature and Origins of Buddhism*, Calcutta Review, No. xcvi. 1869, pp. 107-8.

\* Possibly king Asóka may have been led, from the same source of information, to erect the pillars and make tablets of the rocks in various parts of his dominions, on which are found his edicts concerning religion,—the oldest inscriptions known in India.

he himself propounded them ; what can be more natural than the dying charge which he gave to his friend Ananda, and his other accompanying disciples, a portion of which we shall now quote :—

“Buddha, calling Ananda and all the Rahans, said to them : When I shall have disappeared from the state of existence, and be no longer with you, do not believe that the Buddha has left you and ceased to dwell among you. You have the Thoots and Abidama which to you I have preached ; you have the discipline and regulations of the Wini. The law, contained in those sacred instructions, shall be, after my demise, your teacher. By the means of the doctrines which I have delivered to you, I will continue to remain among you. Do not therefore think or believe that the Buddha has disappeared or is no more with you.”\*

The above passage from the ‘ Mulla-linkara-wouttoo ’ is from the translation by Bp. Bigandet, a decided advocate of the oral propagation theory. The same passage, translated by an equally competent scholar, is given below. Both translations, it will be seen, are so rendered as to convey no suspicion whatever to the reader’s mind that the dying Buddha referred to a collection which existed solely in the memories of his hearers, or otherwise than in writing.

“Gaudama then called Ananda, and said, You suppose that when I am gone there will be no Boodh : now this is not correct. I have given the several books of the law, and those books, when I am gone, will be the teacher ; therefore it will be wrong to say, We have no Boodh.”†

That Buddha felt the pressing need of such a charge on so solemn an occasion is clear from several circumstances stated to have happened just before his death ; and the breath had scarcely passed from his body, before the necessity of an appeal to the “ law ” was made manifest to those to whom he had bequeathed the sacred trust.

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\* Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, p. 315.

† *Life of Gaudama*, translated by Rev. Chester Bennet, Missionary of the American Baptist Union in Burma, published in vol. iii. of *Amer. Or. Soc. Journal*, 1853.



This is shewn in the following passage recording the resolve of Maha Kassapa to hold a general Council immediately after the death of the great Master.

“Kassapa was thunderstruck at hearing such unbecoming language from the mouth of the Rahat Supat [Subaddo, the first Buddhist heretic]. He said to himself; If at this time, when there are but seven days since Buddha entered Neibban, there are to be found people holding such a language, what will happen hereafter. These persons will soon have followers who will embrace the profession of Rahats; and then the true religion will be totally subverted, the excellent law shall be in the hands of such persons, like a heap of unstrung flowers that are scattered by the wind. The only remedy to such an impending misfortune, is to assemble a Council composed of all the true disciples, who, by their decisions, shall insure stability to religion, and *fix the meaning of every portion of the law, contained in the Vinaya, the Sutras, and the Abhidhamma.* I am, as it were, bound to watch over the religion of Buddha, because of the peculiar predilection he has ever shewn to me. On one occasion I walked with Buddha, the distance of three gauwas; during that time he preached to me, and at the end of the instruction, we made an exchange of our tsiwarans, and I put on his own. He said ‘Kassapa is like the moon; *three times he has obtained the inheritance of the law.* His affection to my person, his zeal for my religion, has never been equalled. After my demise it will behove him to stem the current of evil, to humble the wicked, and condemn their false teachings as subversive of the genuine doctrine. With such energetic means, my religion shall remain pure and undefiled, and its tenets shall not be lost and drowned in the midst of the raging waves of errors.’ Therefore, said the great disciple, I will hold an assembly of all the disciples, for the promotion and exaltation of the holy religion.” “As soon as the funerals of the most excellent Phra (Buddha) shall have been performed with a becoming solemnity, I shall congregate together the most zealous and learned members of the assembly, and with their united efforts and energy, I will oppose the spreading of false doctrines which obscure the true ones. I will put down the newly invented erroneous disciplinary regulations, by setting

in a strong light, the genuine ones. To prevent, in future, the recurrence of similar evils so detrimental to religion, all the preachings of Buddha, as well as the disciplinary rules, shall be arranged under several heads, and committed to writing. The books, containing the above, shall be held as sacred.”\*

This, the first great Council, was accordingly held at Rájagaha, the capital of Ajátassato or Magadha (South Behar), three months after the death of Gautama. It was attended by 500 of the chief of his disciples: and the ‘Mulla-linkara-wouttoo,’† from which Bigandet translates the life of Buddha, and which gives a narrative of the steps taken for the preservation as well as the propagation of his doctrines, describes the proceedings as follows. After forty days’ preparation, all being assembled, Kassapa, as president, inquired which of the three parts, the Instructions, the Discipline, or the Metaphysics, should first be considered. The Discipline obtaining the preference, the théro Upáli was chosen as its expositor. Kassapa thereupon questioned him upon the contents of the Vinaya, commencing with the first section; and after each answer, addressing the assembled Council, said, “Brethren, you have all heard what regards the circumstances connected with the first Párájika: Let this article be noted down, and its admission be proclaimed aloud.

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\* Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 335, 336, and 350. It is only fair to the Bishop to state, that he does not agree with his author in regard to the writing mentioned in the text. He says, “I feel inclined to believe that this expression is put into the mouth of the Patriarch, and that, in all likelihood, he never uttered it. It is probable that during the first ages of Buddhism, the doctrines were not put in writing, but orally transmitted. For supporting this apparently incredible assertion, we have the testimony of the authors of the Singhalese collection, who distinctly state, that during more than 200 years after the introduction of the religion in Ceylon, tradition was the only vehicle for transmitting the contents of the Pitagat.”

† The precise date of the composition of this work is not known. But it is said to have been written long before the invention of gunpowder.

It was done so. All the members accepted it." So with the 2nd and 3rd Párajika, which constituted the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka. In the same manner Ananda was selected for examination on the whole of the Sútras; and Anuradha on the Abhídhamma; Maha Kassapa being the examiner throughout.\* The Council, after sitting seven months, and arriving at unanimous conclusions upon the whole of the subjects brought before it, concluded by fixing the Buddhistic era; the commencement of which they dated from the day of Buddha's death, B. C. 543.

A second general Council was held at Wesalie, or Allahabad, under the following circumstances. "In the 20th year of the reign of Kalasoka, in the year 100, there happened a sort of schism amongst the Rahans of Wesalie . . . . The venerable Rassa was then living in the monastery of Mahawon in the district of Wesalie. Chancing to travel through Vajji district he . . . was greatly scandalized at all that he saw . . . . The venerable Rassa anxious for the safety of the genuine practices, and zealous for the exaltation of religion, hastened to Kosambi, to warn the religious of that and the neighbouring districts, against the evil practices of the Vajji rahans. *To those he could not meet in person he sent letters and messengers,* to say to them 'Brethren, before the evil doers succeed in their iniquitous efforts to subvert religion, and render doubtful and uncertain the genuine regulations of the Vini, ere they have time to set up false tenets, let us assemble, and with

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\* The Mahawanso, which asserts the oral propagation of the Piṭakas, describes this transaction in these terms:—"The high-priest (Mahákassapo) reserved to himself (the part) of interrogating on 'winaya,' and the ascetic théro Upáli that of discoursing thereon. The one seated in the high-priest's pulpit interrogated him on 'winaya'; the other, seated in the preaching pulpit, expatiated thereon. From the manner in which the 'winaya' was propounded by this master of that branch of religion, all these théros, by repeating (the discourse) in chants, became perfect masters in the knowledge of 'winaya.'"

our united efforts, let us give strength and confidence to the good and righteous, and crush the wicked and the impious.'". . . . . After some time spent in arrangements and preliminary discussions, the Council was held A. B. 102, under the presidency of Rassa, and was attended by 700 priests, chief amongst whom were six of the disciples of Ananda, and two of those of the venerable Anuradha. "The assembly lasted eight months. The canon of scriptures was likewise arranged and determined as it had been done by Maha Kassapa, in the first Council."\*

The third great Council, held in the seventeenth year of the reign of Asóka, has already been referred to.†

At each of these Councils it is stated *Aṭṭakatha* or Commentaries were compiled, and adopted as canonical by the assembled priests.

Now with reference to these Councils, the occasions which called for them, and the authenticated results, the *Dipáwansa* makes the

\* Bp. Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 364—368.

† The accounts in the text, from Burmese authorities, are corroborated and confirmed by the Thibetan narrative referring to the same events. In an abstract by Professor Wilson of an analysis of the Thibetan version of the *Piṭakattaya* made by M. Csoma de Kőrösi, the following observations occur:—

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

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

"One hundred years after the disappearance of Sákya, his religious is carried into *Kashmir*.

"One hundred and ten years after the same event, in the reign of Asóka, king of *Pátaliputra*, a new compilation of the laws of Sákya was prepared by 700 monks, at *Yanga-pa-chen-Allahabad*."—Turnour's *Maháwanso*, *Introd.* p. *xlviii*.



following remarks, which clearly indicate that from the very beginning Buddhism depended upon the written laws and discourses of its Founder.

“Many individuals (viz.) ten thousand sinful Vajjian\* bhikkus who had been expelled by the theras, assembled together; and, having formed another party, held a council of Dhamma. This is thence called Mahá Sangíti.

“The bhikkhus who held the Mahá Sangíti reduced the religion into confusion, set aside the first compilation, and made another. They placed in different places the Suttans which occurred in different other places, and distorted the sense and the words of the five nikáya. They did so, ignorant of (the difference between) the general discourses, and those (delivered) on particular occasions, and also (between) their natural and implied significations. They expressed in a different sense that which was otherwise declared, and set aside various significations under the unwarranted authority (shadow of) words. They omitted one portion of the Suttan, and Vinaya of deep import, and substituted (their own) version of them and the text. They left out the Paríváran annotations, six books of the Abhidhamma, the Patisambhidá, the Niddesa, and a portion of the Játakas, without replacing anything in their stead. They, moreover, disregarded the nature of nouns, their gender, and (other) accidents, as well as the (various) requirements of style, and corrupted the same by different forms.

“The originators of the Mahá Sangíti were the first seceders. Many followed their example. \* \* \*

“The schisms of the seceders were (thus) seventeen, the váda of those who had not seceded, was one; and with it there were altogether eighteen sects.

“Like the great Nigrodha (among) trees, the orthodox discourses alone

\* “Vajji,—a portion of Behar in which the Lichchavi Princes were settled. It is however not stated where the Council was held. Doubtless it was at a distance from the principal seat of Government and Buddhism, which at this period was at Vesáli or modern Allahabad.”

are supreme among doctrines; and they are moreover the pure (very) word of Buddha, without retrenchment or addition. The doctrines which have arisen from it are like the thorns of a tree.

“There were no (heresies) in the first century (anno Buddha), but in the second, seventeen sprung up in the religion of Buddha.”\*

With the results of the third Council—the Vinaya, the Sūtra, and the Abhidhamma, recompiled, collated, and made conformable with those of the two Councils which preceded it,—Mahinda and his fellow missionaries went forth to foreign countries as propagandists of the Buddhist faith.

These books, the Tripitaka, or sacred Baskets, describe with great minuteness Buddha's journeyings to and fro, and the occasions which gave rise to his ordinances and discourses; and their contents are essentially the same to this day, whether found in Ceylon, in Burmah, in Siam, in Cashmire, in Nepaul, in Thibetia, or in China. Under the circumstances stated, and with the conviction that they were written documents, we feel assured that no important event in the life of Buddha, or in the establishment of his religion, can have been omitted from them. *But in none of them is any mention made of Buddha having ever visited Ceylon; or, of his having left a memorial of himself, which as a monument worthy of adoration could not, and would not, escape particular notice.*

That Mahinda and his associates had with them, on their arrival in Ceylon, a copy of the Tripitaka, as well as the Aṭṭakatha, written in the Pāli language, there can be no reasonable doubt.† The asser-

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\* Alwis's Introduction to Kachchayana's Pāli Grammar, Appendix, pp. 66—69.

† There is a tradition in Ceylon which speaks of the first introduction of writing in the island in the reign of the king Dēvānāpiyatissa.—See Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 422. That this tradition was well founded, and arose from the mission of Mahinda with the Piṭakas in his possession, as well as from the Comments he wrote upon them in Siṅhalese, is extremely likely. The Mongol author, Ssanang Ssetsen, in his account of the propagation of Buddhism in Cashmire indicates that the Piṭakas were also first carried thither in a written form. “This

tion to the contrary is simply incredible—as incredible, in point of fact, as the assertion that their accurate knowledge of the Bana was owing to the powers of supernatural inspiration with which they claimed to be endowed. That they had excellent memories may be admitted without the slightest hesitation. But the source of their alleged inspired knowledge of the contents of the Tripiṭaka, was the sacred treasure, the Piṭakas themselves, which they kept carefully hidden from eyes profane, and from which, as occasion served, they could refresh their memories. Unless endowed with the gift of tongues, as well as with the other supernatural powers attributed to them, how, without a written copy to guide them, could they, Indian foreigners speaking a strange language, have translated the Páli Piṭakas into Siṅhalese, without imminent risk of “disregarding the nature of nouns, their gender, and (other) accidents, as well as the (various) requirements of style?”—for which flagrant sin, as we have seen in the extract quoted from the Dípawansa, the Vajjian bhikkus, at the birthplace of Buddhism, were, along with other causes, denounced as heretics at the several Councils, at the third of which Mahinda and his associates were present. These foreign Indian missionaries also composed, in Siṅhalese, Aṭṭakatha on these Piṭakas, which were accepted as canonical, which Aṭṭakatha were extant at least seven hundred years after they were originally com-

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author, quoted by Schmidt, speaks of the three revisions of ‘the words of Buddha,’ as ‘so many collections of them,’ and further states, that ‘three hundred years after Buddha had disappeared in Nirvána, when king Kanika was master of alms-gifts (grand almoner of the mendicants), a collection of the last words of Buddha was made in a cloister in the kingdom of Keschmeri. *At that time all the words of Buddha were put into books.*’—(Prof. E. E. Salisbury’s Mem. of Buddhism, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. i. pp. 83, 100.) This would be at least a hundred and fifty years before the period assigned for their collection into written books in Ceylon, supposing even that previous to the days of king Kanika they had remained miraculously preserved in the tenacious recollections of priests endowed with infallible memories.

posed. Mahinda, the son of the powerful Indian conqueror Asóka, asserting the possession of such gifts and powers, found a ready and a credulous convert in the king Dévánanpiyatissa ; and to establish his faith, declared, by virtue of his 'divine inspiration,' that the spots and places dedicated by the monarch to the service of the new religion, had ages before been selected and foreordained by preceding Buddhas, as well as by Gautama, to the purposes to which they were then assigned.

Mahinda, "a luminary like unto the divine teacher himself," composed, as already hinted, additional Aṭṭakathas in the Sinhalese language, and from these, as well as from the Piṭakas, the authors of the Dípawansa would necessarily draw much of their materials. That these works were kept as a sacred secret, and specially guarded by the chiefs of the Buddhist hierarchy, we may well infer, from the events which took place on the restoration of King Walagam-bahu, in the year 88 B. C. King and priests had, for a period of nearly fifteen years, been fleeing and hiding as refugees from the usurping dhamilos. There was, consequently, a peril lest the "Piṭakattaya," and the "Aṭṭakatha" might be lost. The priests therefore, to prevent such a possibility thereafter, or, as they phrased the occurrence, "foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversion of the true doctrines) assembled, and in order that the religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books."\* Their 'profound wisdom and inspiration' had previously enabled them to promulgate the Bana orally, but now that under the auspices of the king, and the théro Maliyadéwo, the sacred books were made public, the age of inspiration passed away. The place at which this publication was made was at the Alu-vihára in Mátále.

Now, as the contents of the Tripiṭaka are regarded by Buddhists "as a record of pure unmixed truth, without any deposit of error,

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\* Mahawanso, ch. xxxiii.



or possibility of mistake," it follows, that all the statements made in the Commentaries by Mahinda having reference to the presence of Buddha in Ceylon, and for which there is no warrant whatever in the Piṭakas, were after-thoughts; pious frauds, invented for the express purpose of imposing upon the Sinhalese, from the king downwards, the authority of Buddha himself for rendering sacred certain places and objects of worship;—a trick to which priest-craft has resorted in all ages, in order to buttress up what was false and hollow, and to practise upon the credulity of mankind, in matters of religious belief, from the days of Nimrod down to those of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith.

We have thus seen, that neither in the Piṭakas, nor in Mahinda's Commentaries, nor in the account of his mission to Ceylon given in the Mahawanso, nor in the Dīpawansa, is there any evidence of a belief in the existence of the Foot-print in Ceylon, from 543 B.C. to 302 A.D. \* a period of 880 years from the date which Buddhist legends assign as the time of its impression.

But, as has been already stated, in the year 400 A.D., Buddha-gósa arrived in Ceylon for the purpose of translating into Páli the Commentaries of Mahinda: †—and so extraordinary were the

\* There is an allusion in the Mahawanso (in the account of the death of Duṭṭu-gamine, B. C. 137,) to the mountain Sumana, where it is said, the théro Máliyadéwo and five hundred of the fraternity resided; but the object of the statement being to elevate the order of the priesthood, and to shew that the smallest alms to them outweighed in merit the greatest of all other kingly deeds, the account is at best a very apocryphal one. It is however possible that from an early period priests resided in viháras at the base of the mountain, perhaps even at Palábaddala. But such a fact, taken by itself, is no evidence in favor of a belief in the existence of the Foot-print at that time.

† These commentaries, in the original Sinhalese, are not now extant, having been destroyed in the raids against religious writings, which were made by usurping Tamil and apostate native kings, in their efforts to extirpate Buddhism in Ceylon. These efforts were so far effectual that on more than one occasion, after

talents he displayed, that the priests to whom he presented himself at the Mahaviháro, at Anurádhapura, exclaimed "Most assuredly this is Mettéo, Buddho himself." Upon the completion of the task he had undertaken, "all the théros and achárayos held his compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the Piṭakattaya.)" --Mahawanso, ch. xxvii.

Now, it is in this compilation by Buddhaghósa, that the first mention of the Foot-print occurs; although there is absolutely nothing in the sacred Text to lead to or call for any such notice.

Whence then did Buddhaghósa obtain his information? During the 4th century, the Kings of Ceylon, successors to Maha Sen, were eminently pious sovereigns, looked at from a Buddhist point of view; their reigns were long and peaceful, and religion flourished under their fostering care. In the ninth year of the reign of Kitsiri Maiwan 1st (302—330), the tooth relic was brought over from Kálinga, and the Mahawanso relates many particulars of events, other than this, tending to the extension and glorification of Buddhism in the land; but there is not in the annals of the century a single syllable respecting either the Sumana mountain or the Srí-páda. Not until six centuries later is the former referred to,

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the expulsion or death of the persecuting rulers, embassies had to be sent to Siam and Burmah to procure copies of the sacred writings, and obtain priests, and ordination, with a view to the revival of the national faith. It thus happened that up to a very recent period a large proportion of the sacred books were in the Páli language. As however but few in the priesthood understand Páli, this was felt to be a serious drawback; to remedy which Maha Nissaya Karaká chariya Paññasiha Terunnáñse, principal pupil of the late learned Lankagóda Siri Saddhamawansapala Dhirananda Nayaka, high priest of the Amarapura fraternity (*d.* Jan. 25, 1871), undertook the translation into Sinhalese of the Samanta pasádika, or commentary on the five books of the Vinaya Piṭaka, a work which he completed about 1864. This translation having been read and approved in a convocation of priests, held in Sabaragammuwa, the original copy was deposited at Welitoṭa vihára in Keppina-mudali-áráma near Balapiṭimódara.

and then only as a place of residence for priests ; nor is it at all clear on what part of the mountain the abodes to which reference is made were situated. Two centuries more elapse before we come to an allusion to the *Srí-páda*, when *Prakkrama the First* (1153—1186) made (according to the *Rájawalia*) a pilgrimage to the mountain, worshipped the priest of the Foot-print, and caused a shrine to be built on the rock to *Saman-Déwiyo* ; so that the first really historic notice of the actual existence of the Foot-print, is about seventeen and a half centuries later than the time at which it is alleged to have been made.

Thus far, historic evidence of but one kind has been referred to—that contained in the ancient writings or *olas*. But there is another,—the rock and stone inscriptions of the country,—cut in the *Nágari* or old *Páli* character, the testimony of which is indisputable, and the value of which cannot be overrated. These inscriptions, at *Mihintelle*, *Anurádhapura*, *Pollonnaruwa*, *Dambul*, *Matelle*, and elsewhere, corroborate the statements in the *olas* respecting the origin of other holy places, especially those selected by *Mahinda*, or bestowed upon him by king *Dévánanpiyatissa*, and to which the arch-priest affixed the seal of sanctity by his affirmations that they were sites formerly chosen by *Buddha* and his three predecessors, and hallowed by their personal presence. Now of this description of evidence there is not a tittle on *Adam's Peak*, although inscriptions of a more modern date are to be found on both the eastern and western sides of the summit of the Peak.

History from B. C. 543, to about A. D. 1160, being thus silent as to the origin of the *Srí-páda*, we must fall back upon tradition ; and here native help is not of much avail ; for, although a local tradition ascribes its discovery to king *Walagambáhu*, in the course of his fourteen and a half years' fugitive wanderings (from 104 to 89 B. C.) through a revelation made to him by the god *Sekraiya*,\*

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\* For an account of this tradition, see '*Adam's Peak*,' pp. 16, 17.

we have already shewn that so late as the year 302 A.D. a belief in its existence was not entertained in Ceylon; this tradition therefore must take its place with the Buddhistic legends, invented as after-thoughts to stamp with the seal of a hoar antiquity tales and places of but recent origin. It is also to be borne in mind, that as Walagambáhu (who the tradition asserts was in hiding at Bhagawalena,\* when the revelation was made to him) did not fail, after his recovery of the throne, to found rock temples in the caves and mountains in which he abode while a fugitive—places where inscriptions, cut at the time, still bear witness to the fact—it can scarcely be an allowable supposition, that if he had really abode at Baghawalena, and discovered the Foot-print while there, he would not have founded similar viháras, and located companies of priests at spots so memorable, with suitable endowments for their support,—a course of proceeding which was not adopted until many centuries subsequent to his death.

Tradition does not however leave us altogether in the dark upon this subject. A ray of light is imparted to it from a quarter where it is much to be desired that further investigations should be carried on.

In the inquiries made by Sir J. Emerson Tennent, respecting the early intercourse of the Chinese with Ceylon, it came to his knowledge, that in the records of travels and pilgrimages made by adventurous Chinamen at the commencement of the fourth century, the writers speak reverentially of the sacred foot-mark impressed by *the first created man*, who in their mythology bears the name of Pawn-koo.† This appeared to me so very remarkable, that in a note at p. 24 of my work upon Adam's Peak, I said, "one is

\* The cave on the eastern side of the mountain, where, according to the legend, Buddha rested after making the Foot-print.

† Sir J. Emerson Tennent's Ceylon, vol. i. p. 586-7.



inclined to suspect there must be some error on the part of the translator of the books in which it is recorded, unless indeed it be the record of some antient tradition which was afterwards grafted on to Buddhism.”

Concerning this intercourse of the Chinese with India the following extract from Professor Salisbury’s Memoir on the History of Buddhism will suffice for our present purpose:—

“It is known that Khotan, the Western part of Lesser Bochara, was a great mart of commercial intercourse in ancient times between China and Persia, and of the traffic of the remote East with the countries westward of the Persian Empire, by the way of the Oxus and the Caspian Sea; and that it had also intimate relations with Central India, across Cashmere, is conclusively proved by the names of many places there, as given by the Chinese authors, of which, according to Rémusat, the Sanskrit origin may still be recognized. We further know that at the time of the Mongol conquest, Khotan had been long a centre of Buddhist influence; for the Buddhists of countries further to the east were then wont to make pilgrimages thither to inquire after the sacred books, and the traditions of their religion.\* The period of the introduction of Buddhism into that country is entirely undetermined, unless a certain tradition, which was current in Khotan in the time of the Chinese dynasty of the Tháng, may afford the desired clue. The tradition is, that the prince of Khotan was miraculously descended from the deity Pi-chamen, which, if it has any foundation in fact, can scarcely be interpreted to signify less than that the civil state had been established under Buddhist influence. But we have the information of a Chinese author, that from the time of Wouti of the dynasty of the Hán, an emperor whose reign was from B. C. 140 to B. C. 87, Khotan began to have political relations with China, and that the succession of its princes was not afterwards interrupted, down to the age of the Tháng; consequently the tradition respecting the establishment of the principality must refer to a period as remote, at the

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\* See Hist. de la Ville Khotan, by M. Abel Rémusat, and Ritter’s Erdkunde von Asia, i. 228, &c.

very least, as the close of the first century before our era ; and, though beyond this, there is ground only for conjecture, it is worthy of remark, that the tradition relates to an event, which might very naturally have been connected with the expulsion of the Turushkas from Cashmere about B. C. 249.”\*

“The date ordinarily assigned to the introduction of Buddhism into China, first stated by Deguignes on Chinese authority is A. D. 65.† But since it has been shewn that the influence of Buddhism had probably extended to Khotan, as early at least as the end of the first century before Christ, and that political relations began to arise between Khotan and China, not far from that time ; we can scarcely hesitate to believe, that the propagandism of the Buddhists had carried their religion into the Celestial Empire even before our era ; more especially as we find it to have been common, in later times, for Buddhist mendicants of the cloisters of Khotan, to be employed in political negotiations with the Chinese Empire.‡ During the first three or four centuries Buddhist pilgrims were constantly on the way from China to India, and the eastern part of the Sassanidan empire, to obtain instruction in the faith of Buddha, and to collect the books of the religion ; and a missionary zeal carried many from afar to China.§ The first great era of the propagation of Buddhism amongst the Chinese early in the fourth century, was owing to the influence of an Indian Buddhist, named Fo-thou-ting, or *Purity of Buddha*, who, by adroitly availing himself of a knowledge of the powers of nature, to effect the semblance of miracles of healing and of raising the dead to life, and by fortunate predictions and shrewd auguries, and the so-called gift of second sight, gained entire command of the popular mind.”||

Considering, in connection with the foregoing, that a missionary of the Buddhist faith had established himself in China as early

\* Journal of Amer. Or. Soc. vol. i. pp. 119-120.

† Histoire Générale des Huns, &c., par. M. Deguignes, i. p. 30, Paris, 1756.

‡ Hist. de la Ville Khotan, pp. 83, 85, 96.

§ Foe Koue Ki. Introd. pp. 38, 41.

|| Journal of Amer. Or. Soc. vol. i. pp. 125-126.

as 217 B. C. ;\* that Buddhism obtained so great a hold and spread so widely throughout the Chinese dominions, that by 65 A. D. it was officially recognized as the third religion of the state ; and that high state functionaries were about that time sent to India by the Emperor Ming-ti of the dynasty of Han, for the purposes of studying its doctrines at the fountain-head, and translating into the Chinese language its most important works ; † it is by no means likely, that, if a belief existed amongst the Buddhists of India at that early period, that the Founder of their Faith had left behind him so tangible a memento of his presence in Ceylon, as his foot-print on the summit of the Samanala—such belief would not have been carried to and become prevalent in China. But, as we have seen, and other writers have shewn, neither in the antient Burmese annals, ‡ nor in those of Cashmire, Nepaul or Thibetia, nor yet in the narrative of the original propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda, as recorded in the Mahawanso, is there any ground for supposing that such a belief existed ; and as there is no mention of any such belief in the account of Buddha's three mythic visits to the island, given in the Dípawansa, it follows, that it is exceedingly unlikely such a belief could have obtained currency in China ; and therefore, that the supposition,—that “ the sacred foot-mark impressed by the first created man ” spoken of by the Chinese in the beginning of the

\* Foe Koue Ki, p. 41, and xxxviii. preface.

† Professor Max Müller's ' Chips from a German Workshop,' article ' Buddhist Pilgrims,' vol. i. pp. 258-9.

‡ The modern Burmese are as devout worshippers of the Srí-páda as the modern Sighalese ; the Buddhists on the banks of the Irrawady having apparently accepted the legends current in Ceylon without inquiry or demur. But some of the more intelligent of their priesthood, as well as those from Siam, have had their faith rudely shocked, when at the end of their toilsome pilgrimage up the Samanala, they have looked upon the chiselled and cemented hollow which they were told was the veritable Foot-print of Gautama Buddha.

fourth century, was an antient tradition grafted on to Buddhism and attributed to Buddha at a later date,—is by no means improbable. As Buddhism spread in China so would the likelihood increase that such an engraftment on to it of an old tradition of so striking a character would take place. Devotees and votaries of all human-born faiths have at all times manifested the strongest tendencies to glorify the founders of their religion by attributing everything possible and impossible to their lives and acts ; and to transfer the making of the impression of a venerated foot-print in a remote land, from the first-created man, to the first of men, the supreme Buddha, is a step which those disposed to take, would find most facile, and one which an enthusiastic Indian Buddhist propagandist like Fo-thou-tching would not hesitate a moment in taking. Intercourse between the countries where Buddhism prevailed would soon give currency to the belief wherever and however it originated. And it is highly probable that in this way it was brought to India and Ceylon, and that thus Buddhaghósa and Mahánáma became acquainted with it, and inserted it in their works, without venturing upon particulars, which the fertile imaginations of later writers,—after the spot was rendered accessible, and a weather-worn hollow was manipulated into the resemblance of a foot-print,—have abundantly supplied ; and thus established it as a place of transcendent holiness, to be resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of the world.

A tradition that on the far-off inaccessible summit of the Samanala was to be found the impression of the Foot-print of the great Buddha,—a tradition which had held its ground in Ceylon and elsewhere from the fifth to the twelfth century, must have powerfully affected the minds of all who professed to be Buddhists, and prepared them to believe, with an undoubting faith, that the mark, the route to which had at last been opened out, was indeed the visible memento of the presence of the founder of their religion in the land.



As Buddhists they could not but believe it. They were bound to do so by the initial formula of their faith, which avows belief in Buddha—in the sacred writings—in the priesthood.\* These, the “triple gems,” are objects of equal, fervent adoration to the people. Buddhaghósa’s Comments, accepted as inspired when written, became, if not a part of the Canon of the Buddhist scriptures, at any rate, in the estimation of “all the théros and ácháryas” his contemporaries, of equal authority with the Tripitaka; and in that estimation they are still held by the majority of Buddhists. In those Comments is first found the authority for the statement, that Buddha left his foot-mark upon that particular spot. Reverenced equally with the sacred code, and read and expounded to the laity by the priests, they have thus become a portion of the foundations upon which the whole superstructure of the Buddhist faith is built and upheld. The foot-mark therein referred to pilgrims can visit and behold for themselves. This they yearly do, flocking thither daily, by various routes, hundreds and thousands at a time, between the months of January and April. Eye and ear and heart and mind are thus convinced; for none but impious scoffers will dare to doubt what priests affirm, what sacred books record, and what the rock itself bears witness to.

\* බුද්ධං සරණං ගච්ඡාමි  
 ධම්මං සරණං ගච්ඡාමි  
 සංඝං සරණං ගච්ඡාමි

Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi  
 Dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi  
 Sangham saraṇam gacchāmi.

I put my trust in Buddha,  
 I put my trust in Dhamma, (a)  
 I put my trust in Sangha. (b)

(a) *Dhamma*—the sacred law; the Doctrines of Buddha; the canonical scriptures.

(b) *Sangha*—the Priests; the associated Priesthood.

NOTE.—At page 9, in the extract from Buddhaghósa's *Atthakatha* on the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, entitled *Samanta Pásádika*, it is stated that "in the eighth year after his attainment of Buddhahood, the Deity of felicity . . . left the impression of his foot on the *Saman-takúta* mountain, and departed." As this statement by Buddhaghósa is the original authority upon which the Buddhist belief in the Foot-print rests, it is not a little remarkable, that in another *Atthakatha* by the same author,—that called the "*Maduratthawilásini*" on the *Buddhawanso*, the fourteenth book in the *Khuddakanikáyo* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*,—in the account he there gives of the various places at which Buddha resided during his lifetime, he makes no mention whatever of the visits to Ceylon which Gautama is elsewhere alleged to have made. Such visits, involving tedious journeys by land and sea, or most miraculous passages through the air, and fraught with consequences so important to the Island, as well as to Buddhism generally, could not have been overlooked in such an account, had they ever really occurred. This account, taken from Turnour's translation, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for August 1838, is as follows:—

"By whom was this (*Buddhawanso*) propounded? Where, on whose or what account, and when was it delivered? Whose discourse is it, and how has it been perpetuated?"

"By whom was this *Buddhawanso* propounded? It was propounded by the supreme Buddhó, who had acquired an infallible knowledge of all the *dhanmá*, who was gifted with the ten powers, who had achieved the four *wesarajjáni*, was the *rája* of *dhanmá*, the lord of *dhanmá*, the omniscient *Tathágato*.

"Where did he propound it? He propounded it at the great city *Kapilawatthu* at the great *Negródho wiháro*, in the act of perambulating on the *Ratanachankamo*, which attracted the gaze of *dewa* and of men by its pre-eminent and exquisite beauty.

"On whose account? He propounded it for the benefit of twenty-two thousand kinsmen, and of innumerable *kótiyo* of *déwo* and men.

“On what account? He propounded it that he might rescue them from the four Oghá (torrents of the passions).

“Where did he propound it? Bhagawa, during the first twenty years of his Buddhohood led a houseless life (of a pilgrim), sojourning at such places as he found most convenient to dwell in; viz., out of regard for Báránasi he tarried the first year at the Isipatanan, an edifice (in that city), near which no living creature could be deprived of life,—establishing the supremacy of his faith, and administering to eighteen kótiyo of bráhmans the heavenly draught (nibánan). The second year, he dwelt at the Wéluwano mahá wiháro in Rájagahan for the spiritual welfare of that city. The third and fourth years he continued at the same place. The fifth year, out of consideration for Wésali he dwelt in the Kutágára hall in the Maháwano wiháro near that city. The sixth at the Makulo mountain. The seventh at Tawatensa Bhawano (one of the Dewalóka). The eighth year, for the welfare of the Sansumára,\* mountain near Bhuggo, he dwelt in the wilderness of Bhésakala. The ninth year, at Kósambia. The tenth year, in the Paraleyako wilderness. The eleventh year, in the brahman village Nálá. The twelfth at Wéranja. The thirteenth at the Chali mountain. The fourteenth at the Jétawano maha wiháro in Sáwathipura. The fifteenth at the great city Kapilawatthu. The sixteenth at Alawi subduing Alawako (an evil spirit); and administering the heavenly draught to eighty-four thousand living creatures. The seventeenth at Rájagahan. The eighteenth at the Chali mountain. The nineteenth at the same place, and he resided the twentieth at Rájagahan. From that period he exclusively dwelt either at the Jétawano maha wiháro for the spiritual welfare of Sáwathipura, or at Pubbárámo for the welfare of Sákétapura, deriving his subsistence by alms (from those cities.)”

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\* “Sunsumáro is synonymous with Kapilo, in Sinhalese Kimbulwatpura, the birthplace of Gotomo Buddhó.”

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THE ROMANIZED TEXT OF THE FIRST FIVE  
CHAPTERS OF THE BA'LA'VATA'RA.

A PALI GRAMMAR, WITH TRANSLATION  
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

By LIONEL F. LEE, Ceylon Civil Service.

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The Burmese priests attribute the authorship of the Bálávata-  
tára to a priest named Dhammakitti; it does not, however,  
appear that they have any good reasons for so doing. The  
editor of the recently published edition of the Bálávata-  
tára while noticing this assertion, remarks upon the common occurrence of  
the name Dhammakitti, and the want of evidence in sup-  
port of the Burmese theory. It is, however, probable that the  
book was written about seven hundred years ago; and, that the  
author was acquainted with Sanskrit is apparent, from the  
examples of the various rules.

I propose, if health and leisure be afforded me, to publish early  
next year the Romanized as well as the Nágári text, with a trans-  
lation and explanatory notes.

It was originally my intention to publish simply the transla-  
tion, but a well-known Oriental scholar was good enough to  
suggest to me that to European scholars the Romanized text  
would be valuable, while the Pandit Dewarakkhita suggested  
the addition of the Nágári text, to render the work of use to  
Pali students in the East. I have thankfully adopted both these  
suggestions, as they confer upon the publication an intrinsic  
value which I fear my translation will not possess.

In the separation of the Sutas, I have followed the example  
of Professor Ballantyne, in his translation of the Laghú  
Kaṃudí.



I have, in translation, endeavoured to keep as closely as possible to the original, and where that course gave rise to obscurity, the foot-notes will afford the necessary explanation.

I have used the edition published in 1869, by the Pandit Dewarakkhita (better known in Ceylon as Bhátuvantudáve); and I may here render to him, as well as to the talented Sipkaduve Sumangala, and Waskaduve Subhuti, my thanks for the assistance which they afford me.

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B A' L A' V A T A' R A.

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Buddhaṅ tidhá 'bhivanditvá buddhambuja wilochanaṅ.  
Bálávatáraṅ bhásissaṅ bálánaṅ buddhiwuddhiyá.

'Having saluted in the three ways the full-blown-lotus-eyed Buddha, I will compose the Bálávatára for the increase of the knowledge of the ignorant.'

Akkharápádayo ekachattálistaṅ.\*

'The letters a, &c., are forty-one.'

Akkharápi akarádayo ekachattálistaṅ suttantopakára—taṅ yathá.

'According to the sūtra there are forty-one letters, including a and the rest—how is it?'

a á i í u ú e o ka kha ga gha ña cha chha ja jha  
ña ta tha da dha ña ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma  
ya ra la wa sa ha la aṅ—iti.

Thus,—a á i í u ú e o ka kha ga gha ña cha chha  
ja jha ña ta tha da dha ña ta tha da dha na pa pha ba  
bha ma ya ra la wa sa ha la aṅ.

---

\* Alwis' Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar, page xvii. Note.—  
"Moggalayana disputes the correctness of this suttan, and says that the Pali alphabet contains forty-three characters, including the short e (epsilon) and o (omikron)."

Tatthodantá sará aṭṭha.

Tattha akkharesu okárantá aṭṭha sará náma.

Thus as far as o eight vowels.

Thus the eight letters from a to o inclusive are called vowels.

Tattheti wattate.

Carry\*on "tattha."

Lahu mattá tayo rassá.

Tattha saresu lahu mattá a i u iti tayo rassá.

The three quickly pronounced are short.

Thus amongst vowels the three quickly pronounced, viz.,  
a i u-are short.

Aññe díghá.

Tattha saresu rassehaññe díghá—saṇyogato pubbe e o rassá  
iwochchante kwachi—anantará byanjaná saṇyogo—Ettha seyyo  
oṭṭho sotthi.

The rest long.

Thus amongst vowels, exclusive of the short vowels, the rest  
are long. Before compound consonants e and o are pronounced  
short, at option. Compound consonants are consonants next  
each other. [Examples]

Ettha, seyyo, oṭṭho, sotthi.

Sesá byanjaná.

\* That is to say, "let tattha be understood in the following rule." vide Ballantyne's *Laghu Kāumudī*, page 2. "A word which is not seen in a sūtra, but which is necessary to complete the sense, is always to be supplied from some other sūtra. The reason of this is as follows: in the treatises of the Sanskrit Grammarians, brevity is regarded as a primary requisite. According to the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, or great commentary, 'the grammarians esteem the abbreviation of half a short vowel as equivalent to the birth of a son.'

Accordingly Panini in his *Ashtādhyāyī*, or 'Grammar in eight lectures,' avoids repeating in any sūtra, the words which can be supplied from a preceding one. When the original order of the sutras is abandoned, as in the present work, it becomes necessary to place before the student, in the shape of a commentary, the words which Panini left him to gather from the context."

Šare ṭhapetwá sesá kádayo niggaḥítántá byanjaná.

The rest are consonants.

Except the vowels the remainder from ka to niggaḥíta are consonants.

Waggá pancha panchaso mantá.

Byanjanánaṅ kádayo makárantá pancha panchaso akkhara-  
wanto waggá.

Classes of five each as far as má.

The consonants from ka to ma, inclusive, are divided into  
classes of five each.\*

Waggánaṅ paṭhamá dūtīyá  
sochághosá. Iantáññe ghosá.†

The first and second letters of each class and sa are surds.  
The rest up to la are sonants.

Ghosághosa saññácha "para † samaññápayoge" 'ti sangahítá.

These terms ghosa aghosa have been borrowed from the usage  
of foreign grammarians.

Ewaṅ linga sabbánāma pada upasagga nipāta taddhita ákhyáta  
kammappawachaníyadi saññá cha.

Thus also have been borrowed Linga, Sabbanāma, Pada,  
Upasagga, Nipāta, Tadhita, A'khyáta, Kammappawachaníya &c.

Aṅ iti niggaḥítaṅ.

Aṅ iti akáratō paraṅ yo bindu stīyatē taṅ niggaḥítaṅ

\* For facility of reference these five classes are here given:

ka	kha	ga	gha	ña
cha	chha	ja	jha	ñā
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇā
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa
pā	pha	bā	bha	mā

† Vide Laghu Kaumudī, page 8 ; and Wilson's Sanskrit Grammār,  
page 7.

‡ Vide Alwis' Introduction, page xxv. "Para samañña payoge:  
(Vutti) yá cha pana sakkata gandhesu samañña ghosá' ti va aghosá' ti  
va tá payoge sati etthá' pi yujjante. In composition other's appellations:  
(Vutti) such [grammatical] terms as are called ghósa, (sonants) or  
aghosá (surds) in Sanskrit (Gandhas) compositions are here adopted as  
exigency may require."

Ñāma.

Niggahīta as aṅ.

The dot\* which is placed after a as aṅ; that is called Niggahīta.

Binduchúlā maṇākāro niggahītaṅ 'ti wuchchate, kewalassāp-  
payogattā akāro samidhī yate.

The dot which is like a jewel in a crest is called Niggahīta :  
the letter a must be combined with it, for it cannot be formed  
alone.

A kawagga há kaṅṭha já.† I chawagga yá tálu já. U pawagga  
oṭṭha já.

Ṭa wagga ra lá muddha já.

Ta wagga la sá danta já. E kaṅṭhatálu jo. O kaṅṭhoṭṭha jo.

Wo dantoṭṭha jo.‡

The letters a and ha and the ka class have as their place of  
origin the throat. The letters i and ya and the cha class have  
as their place of origin the palate. The letter u and the pa  
class have as their place of origin the lips. The letters ra and  
la and the ṭa class have as their place of origin the head. The  
letters la and sa and the ta class have as their place of origin  
the teeth. The letter e has as its place of origin the throat and  
palate. The letter o has as its place of origin the throat and  
lips. The letter wa has as its place of origin the teeth and lips.

Saññá.

So much for terms.

\* Vide Laghu Kaumudí, page 8. "A character, in the shape of a dot,  
following a vowel, is anusvāra."

† Literally "are born in."

‡ The throat is the organ of the gutturals a ka kha ga gha ũa : the  
palate, of the palatals i ya cha chha ja jha ña : the lips, of the labials u  
pa pha ba bha ma : the head, of the cerebrals va ḷa ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa :  
the teeth, of the dentals la sa ta tha da dha na : the throat and palate,  
of the letter e : the throat and lips of the letter o : the teeth and lips of  
the letter wa. (Compare Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudí, page 6, whence  
this is adopted. It will be observed that the Pali is wanting in the  
following Sanskrit letters : ri, ri, ḷi, ḷi, ai, au, s'a, sha, and visarga. The  
organ of Niggahīta is not given.



Loka aggo ityasmiṇ.

“Pubbamadho ṭhita massaraṇ sayena wiyojaye” ’ti pubba  
byanjanaṇ sarato puthakká tabbaṇ.

Here are [the words] Loka aggo.

It is proper first to cut off the consonant from the vowel  
[according to the rule] “separate first the consonant below\*  
from the vowel.”

Sará sare lopaṇ.

Anantare sare pare sará lopaṇ pappontí.

Vowels must be elided before any vowel.

The vowels at the commencement become elided before  
the vowel at the end [of the combination.]

“Naye paraṇ yutte” ’ti assaro byanjano parakkharaṇ netabbo  
lokaggo.

The vowelless consonant should be carried over to the  
the second vowel [of the combination]: [according to the  
general rule] “carry over to the second [vowel] when  
proper.”†

[Example] lokaggo:

Saretyasmiṇ opasilesikokása sattamí tato waṇṇa kálawya.  
wadháne káriyaṇ na hoti—maṇ ahásíti—pamádamanuyunjan-  
títýádi gátháyaṇ janá appamádaṇticha.

Here “Sare” is in the seventh case with the opasilesika

\* Sanskrit and Pali writings are likened to trees : the beginning being the roots, and the end the branches. The consonant ka is nearer the commencement than its inherent vowel a, and ka is therefore called “below.”

† The example given is loka + aggo. According to the first part of the rule (“Separate first the consonant below from the vowel”) the combination becomes lok + a + aggo. The next rule is “vowels must be elided before any vowel : the combination then becomes loka x aggo. The last operation is to carry over the vowel-less consonant (k) to the second vowel : the combination then becomes “lokaggo.”

signification ; therefore when there has been a letter or a stop inserted sandhi will not occur : [for example] maṇ ahási : sand in the Gáthá [commencing] Pamáda Manuyunjantí' &c., [for example] janá appamádaṇ.\*

Evaṇ sabba sandhisu.

This holds good in all Sandhi.

Anantaraṇ parassa sarassa lopaṇ wakkhati tasamánena pñbbassa lopo ñáyati tenewa sattami niddiṭṭhassa paratápi gamyate.

Hereafter [Kachchayana] speaks of the elision of the second vowel, therefore from that the elision of the first vowel is known, therefore too the sense [of the word] para is known [in the word] in the seventh case.†

Saretyadhikáro.

[In the combination of vowels] "Sare" is the regulating expression‡.

Pana ime pana imetíha.

Sará lopaṇ itwewa.

Wá paro asarúpá.

Asamánarúpá saramhá paro sarowá lupyate : paname panime.

Take as an example pana ime.

Understand "sará lopaṇ" §

\* The signification of opasilesika is close conjunction. The rule signifies, therefore, that, where close conjunction does not take place on account of the insertion of a letter or of a prosodial stop, there is an exception to the rule preceding. Thus the niggahita in maṇ prevents maṇ ahási becoming mahási. There is a prosodial stop between janá and appamádaṇ : so that sandhi does not occur. The Gáthá referred to is a part of the Dhammapada.

† This is an answer to the supposed enquiry, "why should para be understood in the sūtra "sará sare lopaṇ" ?

‡ That is ; throughout the chapter on vowel combination it must be understood that the elision, &c., takes place on account of a vowel in the second place.

For the term "regulating expression" vide Laghu Kaumudí, page 387, No. 1020.—Compare Alwis' Introduction, page 5, No. 8 and Note.

§ Sará lopaṇ. "The vowels [must become] elided."

At option the second [vowel is cut off] from the dissimilar [vowel.]

On account of a dissimilar\* vowel the second vowel is elided at option: [for example] paname† panime.

Bandhussa iwa na upetítidha.

Kwachásawaṇṇaṇ lutte.

Sare lutte para sarassa kwachi asawaṇṇo hotíti i u ichche tesañ thánásanná e o.

Bandhussewa nopeti.

Take as examples bandhussa iwa, na upeti.

Sometimes after the elision [the second vowel takes the form] of a dissimilar [vowel.]

After the elision of the vowel for the second vowel sometimes there is [substituted] a dissimilar ‡ [vowel,] therefore for these two i u are substituted e o, having their origin partially in the same organ §: [thus] bandhussewa, nopeti.

Tatra ayaṇ yáni idha bahu upakáraṇ saddhá idha tathá upamaṇ tyetasmiṇ.

Dígḥaṇ.

Sare lutte paro saro kwachi thánásannaṇ ¶ dígḥaṇ yáti tatráyaṇ yanídha bahúpakáraṇ saddhídha tathúpamaṇ.

\* The vowels called "similar" to each other are ; a and á : i and í ; u and ú.

† "Paname" is the result of the combination of pana and ime, the "para saro" i being elided. Panime is the result of the combination the "pera saro" a being elided.

‡ This substitution can only take place when the "para sara" elided is a or á. Vide Wilson's Sánsk. Gram : p. 9. And Rupasiddhi—"Etthacha satipi heṭṭhá wággahaṇe kwachiggahaṇa karaṇato awaṇṇe ewa lutte idha wutta widhi hotíti datṭhabbaṇ." Why repeat "sometimes" when sometimes is already repeated once? because this substitution only occurs when the a class has been elided.

§ Vide Laghu Kaumudí, page 15. No. 29.

¶ I have translated the word thánásannaṇ "proximate," the literal meaning being "having their origin partially in the same organ."

Take as examples tatra ayaṅ, yáni idha, bahu upakáraṅ  
saddhá idha, tathá upamaṅ.

Long.

After the elision of the vowel the second vowel is sometimes  
changed into the proximate long vowel : thus tatráyan, yánídha,  
bahúpakáraṅ saddhídha, tathúpamaṅ.

Kiṅsu idhetyatra.

Pubbo cha.

Sare lutte pubbo cha kwachi díghaṅ yáti. Kiṅsúdha.

Take as an example kiṅsu idha.

And the first.

After the elision of the vowel\* the first vowel also becomes  
long at option : [thus] kiṅsúdha.

Te ajja te ahaṅ tettha.

Yamedantassádeso.

Sare pare antassa ekárássa kwachi yo ádeso hoti—tyajja.

“ Díghaṅ”† ’ti byanjane pare kwachi dígho—tyáhaṅ.

Kwachíti kiṅ, nettha.

Take as examples te ajja, te ahaṅ.

Ya is substituted for the preceding e.

When there is a vowel in the second place for the preceding  
vowel e, sometimes ya is substituted : [thus] tyajja.

According to the rule “ Long,” before a consonant the vowel  
sometimes becomes long : [thus] tyáhaṅ.

‡ Why “ sometimes” ? [because of] nettha.

So assa anu etityattha.

Wamodudantánaṅ.

Sare pare antokárukáránaṅ kwachi wo ádeso hoti.

Swassa anweti—kwachíti kiṅ, tayassu sametáyasmá.

\* The elided vowel is in this case the second vowel of the combination.

† *Vide* Kachchayana “sarákho byanjane pare kwachi díghaṅ papponti.”

‡ Nettha is the result of the combination of the words ne + ettha.



Take as examples so assa and anu eti.

W for the preceding o and u.

When there is a vowel in the second place for the preceding o and u w is sometimes substituted : thus şwassa anweti.

Why "sometimes" ? [because of] tayassu\* and sametá-yasmá.

Idha ahañtídha.

Do dhassa cha.

Sare pare dhassa kwachi do hoti.

Díghe—idáhañ—kwachíti kiñ—idhewa—cha kárena byanjanepi, idabhikkhawe.

Take as an example idha ahañ.

Da for dha and† [in other cases.]

When there is a vowel in the second place sometimes da is substituted for dha

[After making the vowel] long : as idáhan. Why "sometimes" ? [because of] idhewa. [This occurs] before a consonant on account of [the word] cha [in the rule]: thus idabhikkhawe ‡

Pati antañ wutti assetíha.

I wañno yannawá.

Sare pare iwannassa yo nawá hoti. Katayakárassa tissa "sabboş chañ tí" 'ti kwachi chádeşe " paradwe ¶ bháwo tháne" 'ti

\* According to preceding rule tayo × assu the combination should be effected by the substitution of w for o ; and on account of this exception the qualifying Kwachi occurs in the rule. Sametáyasmá is the result of the combination of Sametu + ayasmá.

† The general rule is that the change of da for dha only takes place when there is a combination of two vowels : the force of cha therefore is to convey that the same change takes place also when there is a consonant in the second place.

‡ This change occurs by force of the copulative cha although the consonant bha is in the second place of the conjunction.

§ Vide Kachchayana—"Sabbho íchcheso ti saddo byanjanano sare pare kwachi chakárañ pappoti." "When there is a vowel in the second place all ti sounds at option become cha."

¶ Vide Kachchayana. "Saramhá parassa byanjanassa dwe bháwo hoti tháne." "In the proper place the consonant following a vowel is doubled."

sarato para byanjanassa thánásannawasá dwittañ—pachchantañ wuttyassa.

Nawáti kin, paṭaggi—ettha “kwachi paṭi pāṭisse”<sup>\*</sup> ’ti paṭissā paṭi

Wannaggahaṇañ sabbattha rassa dígha sangahaṇatthañ.

Take as examples paṭi antañ, and wutti assa.

The i family is changed into ya at option.

When there is a vowel in the second place y is sometimes substituted for the i family.

At option cha may be substituted for “ti” after the substitution of y, according to the general rule “Sabbo chaṇ ti,” and on account of the preceding vowel the consonant is doubled according to the rule, “Paradwe bháwo tháne”: thus pachchantañ, wutyassa.

Why “sometimes”? [because of] paṭaggi.

Here paṭi for paṭi according to the rule “kwachi paṭi pāṭissā” I say “family” because the long and short vowels are always taken together.

Yathá ewetíha.

Ewa dissa ri pubbo cha rasso.

Sarato parassa ewassádi ekáro rittañ nawá yáti pubbocha thánásannañ rassañ—yathariwa yathewa.

Take as an example yathá ewa—for the first letter in ewa ri, and for the preceding vowel the short vowel.

On account of the preceding vowel the first letter e in the second word ewa becomes ri, and the first letter of the combination is changed into its proximate short letter: as yathariwa or yathewa.

Na imassa ti angikañ lahu essati atta atthañ ito áyati tasmá iha sabbhi ewa chha abhiññá putha ewa pá ewetíha

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<sup>\*</sup> “Paṭi ichche tassa sare wá byanjane pare kwachi paṭi ádeso hoti.” Vide Kachchayana.

Wátwewa.

Ya wa ma da na ta ra la chá gamá.

Sare pare yádayo ágamá wá honti chakárena gocha.

Nayimassa tiwangikaṇ lahumessati attadatthaṇ itonáyati tasmátiha sabbhirewa chhalabhiñña puthagewa.

“Rassaṇ”\* ’ti byanjane pare kwachi rasso—pagewa—wáti kiṇ, chha abhiññá puthaewa páewa. Ettha “sareṭ kwachí” ’ti saránaṇ pakati hoti sassarupamewa na wikárotiyattho.

Take as examples na imassa, ti angikaṇ, lahu essati, atta atthaṇ, ito áyati, tasmá iha, sabbhi ewa, chha abhiññá, putha ewa, pá ewa.

Carry on wá.

[The letters] ya wa ma da na ta ra la &c. are inserted.

There being a vowel in the second place y and the rest are sometimes inserted, and (by the face of &c.) ga also.

Thus nayimassa, tiwangikaṇ, lahumessati atta datthaṇ itonáyati, tasmátiha, sabbhirewa chhalabhiññá, puthagewa.

According to the sūtra “Rassaṇṭ when there is a consonant in the second place the vowel is sometimes short; thus pagewa. Why “sometimes”? [because of] chha abhiññá, patha ewa, pá wa. Here according to the rule “Sare kwachi” &c the vowels keep their crude form, that is, they do not change.

Abhi uggato tyatra.

“Abho Abhí” ’ti abhissa abbho abbhuggato.

Take as an example abhi uggato. According to the rule “Abho Abhí” for abhi abbha : thus abbhuggato.

\* Vide Kachchayana. “Sarákho byanjane pare kwachi rassaṇ papponti.” When there is a consonant in the second place, vowels at option become short.

† Vide Kachchayana. “Sarákho sare pare kwachi pakati rupáni honti” vowels when there is a vowel in the second place sometimes keep their crude forms.

‡ Vide Kachchayana. “Abhi ichche tassa sare pare abbhádeso hoti when there is a vowel in the second place for abhi abbha is inserted.

Sara-sandhi.

So much for vowel combinations.

CAP : III.

Byanjanetyadhikáro.\*

Understand the word “byanjane.”

Kwachítwewa.

Understand the word “kwachi.”

So bhikkhu kachchinu twaṇ jánema taṇ tíha.

Lopancha tatrákáro.

Byanjane pare saránaṇ kwachi lopo hoti tatra lutte tháne akáragamo chakárena okárukárápi.

Sabhikkhu kachchinotwaṇ janemutaṇ—kwachíti kiṇ, so muni.

Take as examples so bhikkhu, kachchinu twaṇ, jánema taṇ.

Elision and there the letter a.

When there is a consonant in the second place vowels are sometimes elided, and in place of the elided the letter a is inserted and the letter o and u too.

Thus sabhikkhu, kachchinotwaṇ jánemutaṇ—Why “sometimes”? Because of so muni.

U ghoso á khátaṇtíha.

Dwebháwo tháne itwewa.

Wagge ghosá ghosánaṇ tatiya paṭhamá Wagge ghosá ghosánaṇ chatutthadutiyánaṇ tabbagge tatiya paṭhamá yathásaṅkhyān yutte tháne dwittaṇ yanti.

Ugghoso—rasse—akkhátaṇ.

Take as examples u ghoso, á khátaṇ. Understand the words “dwebháwo tháne.”

To the hard and soft letters of the class the third and first.

\* “Adhikáro” is more forcible than “ewa” and signifies that the word is to be carried on throughout the chapter, while ewa signifies that it is to be understood occasionally. Compare the word “wattate.”



Before a letter of the same class to the fourth\* and second hard and soft letters of the class the third and first letters of the same class must be doubled, according to position in the proper place.

Thus ugghoso : and, shorteningf the vowel, akkhátaṅ.

Para sahasaṅ atippa kho tíha.

“ Kwachiṅ o byanjane” ’ti okárágamō.

Parosahasāṅ—gágamecha—atippagokho.

Take as examples para sahasan, atippa kho. According to the rule “ kwachi o byanjane” o is inserted.

Thus parosahasāṅ : and after insertion of g, atippa gokho.

Awa naddhátyatra.

“ O awasse” ’ti kwachi awassa o.

Onaddhá—kwachítí kiṅ—awasussatu.

Take as an example awa naddhá.

According to the rule “ O awassa” sometimes o for awá.

Thus onaddhá : why “ sometimes” ? [because of] awasussatu.

Byanjana sandhi

So much for combination of

Consonants.

\* I have found it impossible (without entirely abandoning the attempt to translate the words) to translate this rule into plain English. Consonants are divided into classes of five each (vide Chapter I. Note 3.) These are subdivided into soft and hard letters. The first two letters of each class are *hard* : the remainder soft. The signification of the rule is, therefore, that in reduplication the first and second letters go together and the third and fourth. Thus ; taking as an example the ka-class, comprehending the letters ka kha ga gha ná ; ka and kha (the first and second) go together ; and ga and gha ga cannot precede ka : nor gha kha.

† The á of the combination á + khátaṅ becomes short when sandhi occurs : thus akkhátaṅ, not ákkhátaṅ.

‡ Vide Kachchayana—“ Byanjane pare kwachi okárágamō hoti.”

§ Vide Kachchayana. “ Awaichche tassa byanjane pare kwachi okárádeso hoti.” When there is a consonant in the second place o is sometimes substituted for awa.

For force of awa in combination, vide Wilson’s Sansk. Gr : page 98.

## CAP : IV.

Niggahítaṅ\* tyadhikáro.

Understand here niggahítaṅ.”

Kiṅ kato saṅ játo saṅ ṭhito taṅ dhanāṅ taṅ mittañtíha.

Waggantaṅ wá wagge.

Wagga byanjane pare bindussa tabbagganto wá hoti.

Kiṅkato Sañjato saṅṭhito taṅdhanāṅ tammittaṅ, wáti kiṅ  
nataṅkammaṅ.

Take as examples kiṅkato, saṅ játo, saṅ ṭhito, taṅ dhanāṅ taṅ  
mittañ.

[When there is a consonant in the second place] of the com-  
bination [substitute] at option [for the Niggahíta] the last  
letter of the class.

When there is a consonant in the second place the last  
consonant of that class is sometimes substituted for the  
Naggahíta.

Thus kiṅkatoḥ sañjato saṅṭhito taṅdhanāṅ tammittaṅ. Why  
“sometimes”? because of nataṅkammaṅ.

Wákárenewa le lo cha—pullingāṅ.

[I say] sometimes indeed [because when] la [is in the second  
place] [niggahíta become,] la thus pullingāṅḥ.

Wátyadhikáro.

Understand the word ‘wáḥ.’

Ewaṅ assa etaṅ awochetíha.

Madá Sare.

Sare pare binduno madá wá hontí.

Ewa massa etada wochá.

Wáti kiṅ, maṅḥ ajini.

\* For the description of Niggahíta vide Cap : I.

† It is impossible to translate the words “waggantaṅ wá wagge”  
without the insertion of the words in brackets.

‡ In the combination of kiṅ + kato, for the niggahíta the nasal á,  
the last letter of the ka-wagga, is substituted.

§ Puṅ + lingāṅ becomes pullingāṅ.

¶ “Sometimes”

Take as examples ewaṅ assa, etaṅ awocha.

[When there is a] vowel [in the second place] m or d [for niggahíta].

When there is a vowel in the second place niggahíta sometimes become m or d.

Thus ewamassa etadawocha.

Why "sometimes"? because of maṅ ajini.

Taṅ ewa taṅ hí tíha.

Ehe ññaṅ

Ekáre hecha pare binduno ño wá hoti.

Dwitte—taññewa tamewa—tañhi taṅhi.

Take as examples taṅ ewa taṅ hí.

When e or ha ña

When there is e or ha in the second place the niggahíta sometimes becomes ñ

After doubling—taññewa (or tamewa) tañhi (or taṅhi)

Saṅ yogo tíha.

Sa ye cha-

Yakáre pare tena saha binduno ño wá hoti.

Dwitte—saññogo saṅyogo.

Take as example saṅyogo.

[And when] ya [is in the second place] also.

When ya is in the second place niggahíta and ya sometimes change into ñ—after reduplication as saññogo (or saṅyogo).

Chakkhu anichchaṅ awa siro tíha.

A'gamo Kwachítwewa.

Niggahítancha.

Sare byanjane wá pare kwachi bindwágamo hoti.

Chakkhuṅ anichchaṅ awaṅsiro

Take as examples chakkhu anichchaṅ awa siro.

Undertand "ágamo kwachi."

¶ Akkochhi maṅ awadhi maṅ ajini maṅ ahásime eje taṅ upanayihanti werāṅ tesāṅ nasammati. (Dhamma pada)

And niggahíta [is sometimes inserted.]

If there be a vowel or consonant in the second place sometimes niggahíta is inserted.

Thus chakkhuṇ añichchaṇ awaṇ siro.

Widunaṇ aggaṇ tásaṇ ahaṇ tíha.

“ Kwachi lopaṇ ” ’ti sare bindulopo.

Widunaggaṇ—díghe—tásáhaṇ.

Take as examples widunaṇ aggaṇ tásaṇ ahaṇ.

According to the rule “ Kwachi\* lopaṇ ” there being a vowel [in the second place] the niggahíta is elided.

Thus widunaggaṇ : and after lengthening tásáhaṇ.

Buddhánaṇ sásanaṇ saṇ rágo tíha.

“ Byanjaneche ” ’ti bindulopo.

Buddhánaśánaṇ—díghe—sárágo.

Take as examples Buddhánaṇ sásanaṇ, saṇ rágo.

According to the rule “ Byanjanecha ” † the niggahíta is elided.

Thus Buddhánaśánaṇ : and after lengthening sárágo.

Bíjaṇ iwetíha.

Paro wá saro.

Binduto paro saro wá lupyate—bíjanwa.

Take as an example Bíjaṇ ewa.

Sometimes the vowel in the second place [is elided.]

From the Niggahíta the vowel in the second place is sometimes elided : thus bíjaṇwá.

Ewaṇ assetíha.

Byanjano cha wisañño.

Binduto † pare sare lutte saṇyogo byanjano winatṭha saṇyogo hotíti pubba sa lopo—ewaṇsa.

\* Niggahítaṇ kho sare pare kwachi lopaṇ pappoti.—Vide Kachchayana.

† Niggahítaṇkho byanjane pare kwachi lopaṇ pappoti.—Vide Kachchayana.

‡ In the sandhi of the words ewaṇ + assa, the vowel in the second place (viz : a) having been elided, the sandhi becomes ewaṇssa ; but this is an improper conjunction of three consonants : wherefore one of the letters s is elided.



Take as an example ewaṇ assa.

Consonants also improperly combined [are elided.]

When there is a niggahíta in the first place, and the vowel in the second place has been elided, an improper conjunction of consonants takes place, wherefore the first s must be elided : thus ewaṇsa.

Niggahíta Sandhi.

So much for Niggahíta Sandhi.

## CHAPTER V.

Anupadiṭṭhānaṇ wutta yogato.

Ibhá niddiṭṭhá sandhayo wuttánuśárena ñeyyá.

From the rules above stated of unmentioned [Sandhi.]

In this chapter, remembering the rules already given, learn the sandhi of the cases not mentioned.

Yathá--yadi ewaṇ bodhi angá tíha.

Yadese\* iminá suttena daya kárasaṇ yogassa jo dha ya kárasaṇ yogassa jho—dwitteṭ—yajjewāṇ bojjangá.

Thus take as examples yadiṭ ewaṇ, bodhi angá.

According to this rule after the insertion of y from the combination of d and y comes j ; and from the combination of dh and y jh :—after reduplication yajjewāṇ bojjangá.

Asadisa saṇyoge eka sarúpatá cha—pari esaná tíha—yádese rakárassa yo—payyesaná. §

\* Vide Chap. II. I waṇṇo yannawá. Sare pare i waṇṇassa yo nawá hoti.

† Vide Chap. III. Wagge ghośághosánaṇ tatiya paṭhamá.

‡ According to the rule referred to in Note I. yadi + ewaṇ becomes yady + ewaṇ. Then according to this rule j is substituted for dy : yady + ewaṇ = yaj × ewaṇ. Then according to rule referred to in Note 2. the Sandhi is yajjewāṇ.

§ According to rule referred to in Note I. y is substituted for i in pari + esaná : the word then becomes pary + esaná : and according to this rule y is substituted for r, so that the Sandhi is payyesaná.

When dissimilar letters are combined they must become similar.

Take as an example pari esaná.

When the letter y has been inserted, y is substituted for r : as payyesaná.

Waṇṇánaṇ bahuttaṇ wiparitatá cha.

Multiplicity of letters and changes.

Sa rati iti ewaṇ sa itthi busá ewa bahu ábádho adhi abhawi Sukhaṇ dukkhaṇ jíwo tíha.

Take as examples sa rati iti ewaṇ sa itthi busá ewa bahu ábádho adhi abhawi sukhaṇ dukkhaṇ jíwo.

Mágame sakáre akárassa u cha—sumarati\*—issa wo—it wewaṇ—paralope áká rassa o—sotthi†—mágame‡ pubba rasse cha§ ekárassa i—busamiwa—wádese|| hawakára wipariyayo—bawhábadho—adhissa kwachiaddho—díghe¶—addhábhawi—binduno okárassa cha e—sukhe dukkhe jíwe.

The insertion of m and substitution of u for the a inherent in sa, as sumarati :—the substitution of w for i, as itwewaṇ—after the elision of the vowel in the second place o for á, as sotthi :—after the insertion of m and the abbreviation of the first letter, the substitution of i for e as busamiwa :—the substitution of the letter w and the change of places of w and h, as bawhábadho :—at option addha for adhi, and lengthening as addhábhawi :—substitution of e for niggahíta and o : as sukhe dukkhe jíwe.

\* In the Sandhi of sa + rati, first insert ma (vide Chap. II. ya wa ma da na ta ra lá chágama), and then for the a in sa substitute u : the combination is then sumarati.

† According to the rule “Wá paro asarúpa” (vide Chap. II.) sá + itthi becomes sá + tthi, and, substituting o for á sotthi.

‡ Vide note 5.

§ Vide Chap. I. “Rassap” ’ti byanjane pare, &c.

|| Vide Chap. II. “Wamodudantánaṇ.”

¶ Vide Chap. II. “Dighaṇ” ’ti byanjane pare, &c.

Radánaṅ lo—paḷi bodho—pariḷáho.\*

For r and d ḷ: as palibodho pariláho †

Sare byanjaṅa wá pare binduno kwachi mo—mamahási†—  
buddham saraṅam—pubbe mo parannane tabbo ayuttattá.

If there be a vowel or a consonant in the second place the letter m is at option substituted for niggahíta: as mam ahási buddham saraṅam. Do not in this case carry over the consonant m to the vowel, for it is not proper.

Binduto para sará namaññassara tápi—taṅ iminá ewaṅ  
imaṅ kiṅ ahaṅ tíha—issa a—tadaminá—issa u akárassa cha e—  
bindu lopádo—ewumaṅ kehaṅ.

A vowel in the second place after niggahíta is changed into another vowel. Take as examples taṅ iminá—ewaṅ imaṅ—kiṅ ahaṅ: for i a, as tadaminá; for i u and for a e—and elision of niggahíta—thus ewumaṅ kehaṅ.

Wákyasukhuchchá raṇatthaṅ chhanda hánitthaṅcha waṅṅa lopopi.

Letters are elided for euphony as well as for the sake of prosody.

Paṭisaṅkháya yonisotíha—pubba ya lopo—paṭisaṅkhayoniso.

In the example paṭisaṅkháya yoniso the first ya is elided; thus paṭisaṅkhayoniso.

Aláputyádo akáralopo—lápuniṣ sídanti silápalawanti.

In the verse alápu, &c., the letter a is elided—thus lá puni sídanti silápalawanti.||

Wuttyabhedáya wikáropi---akaramhase te tyádo sakáre garuno ekárassa iminá lahu akáro---akarambasate kichchaṅ.

In order not to break a prosodial line a change is necessary.

\* By change of r into ḷ paribodho becomes paḷibodho.

† By change of d into ḷ paridáho becomes pariḷáho.

‡ This is a breach of the general rule "Naye paraṅ yutte" &c.—(Viḍe Chap. II.)

§ In this word the initial a is elided.

|| Gourds sink: stones float.

Thus in the line "akaramhasate" &c., according to this rule for the long e inherent in se the short a is substituted: thus akaramhasa te kichchaṇ.

Akkhara niyamo chhandañ---garu lahu niyamo bhawe wutti dīgho sānyogādī\*—pubbø rasso cha garu lahu turasso-yathā ā assa aṇ a

Prosody is the calculation of syllables.

The proper position of long and short syllables forms the prosodial line. Long are those which are originally long, and those before combined consonants or niggahīta: short are short, thus ā ass aṇ a.†

Ewama' ññapi wiññeyyā saṅhitā tantiyā hitā.‡

Saṅhitā 'ticha waṇṇānaṇ sannidha 'byawadhānato.

Thus are to be known other sandhis fit for Pali text. What is sandhi? The combination of letters when there is no stop.

Womissaka Sandhi.

So much for mixed Sandhi.

LIONEL F. LEE. §

December, 1870.

\* Vide Chap. I. "Anantarā byanjanā saṅyogo."

† A is the original long: the first a in assa is long before the combined consonants: the vowel in aṇ is short before the niggahīta: the letter a is originally short.—Vide Chap. I.

‡ Vide Alwis's Introduction, page V. "The Pāli has also received the designation of Tanti, 'the string of a lute,' (Abhidhānapadīpikā, p. 16,) its Sanskrit cognate being tanti—from its application to the Buddhist doctrines, Tanti has become a name for the sacred language itself of the Buddhists, viz., the Māgadhī or Pāli."

§ I must ask the indulgence of my readers in respect of the diacritical markings of the letters. Notwithstanding the care I have exercised in the revision of numerous proofs, I have no doubt that errors will be found in the text.



## SPECIMENS OF SINGHALESE PROVERBS.

By LOUIS DE ZOYSA, Mudaliyar.

A complete collection of the proverbs of the country, is a *desideratum* in Sinhalese literature. No such collection has ever been made, either by a Native or European author. I do not, by this remark, intend to ignore the existence of such works as the *Lokópakárá*,\* *Subhásita*,† &c., &c., but these works contain moral and political maxims, and not proverbs, strictly so-called. The only native work in which a number of proverbs is found embodied, is an anonymous little poem by a modern author, entitled *Upáratnamále*.

It is a curious and interesting fact, that the first writer who has recorded any number of Sinhalese proverbs, is no other than the first Englishman who has left us an account of Ceylon. In Captain Robert Knox's well-known and interesting work on Ceylon, published upwards of 200 years ago, he has recorded a few Sinhalese proverbs, of which he gives us not only the translation in English, but also the original Sinhalese, romanized in his own quaint way. I select a few specimens, to shew how correctly he has translated them, and also to exhibit his peculiar mode of transliteration.

“ *Miris dilah ingurah gotta.* “ I have given pepper, and got ginger.’—Spoken when a man makes a bad exchange ; and they use it in reference to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese in that island.”

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\* Ascribed by tradition to Mayúrapáda, a learned Buddhist priest, the author of *Pujávali* and other works, who flourished in the reign of Pandita Parákramabáhu, A. D. 1267—1300.

† A well-known Sinhalese poet, who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the author of *Kusajátake*, *Séwul sandésé*, &c.

“ ‘ *Datta horrala balda perind.* ‘Pick your teeth to fill your belly.’—Spoken of stingy, niggardly people.”

“ ‘ *Hingonna wellendam cor cottonwat geah par wardenda netta.* A beggar and a trader cannot be lost.’—Because they are never out of their way.’ ”

“ ‘ *Issara atting bollanawa pos cotting.* First look in the hand, afterwards open the mouth.’—Spoken of a judge who first must have a bribe, before he will pronounce on their side.’ ”

The next writer who has recorded a few Sinhalese proverbs is the Revd. Samuel Lambrick, who in his Vocabulary of the Sinhalese language, has published fifteen Sinhalese proverbs with their translation, and explanatory remarks.

The late Sir J. Emerson Tennent has also published about thirty Sinhalese proverbs in his work entitled “Christianity in Ceylon,” published in 1851, but they were selected by him out of my own MS. collection, which had been placed at his disposal.

In 1868, Mendis Mudaliyar of Morotuwa, the well-known compiler of the list of Timber trees of Ceylon, published an interesting collection of Sinhalese proverbs, about 300 in number. This little work appears to have been highly appreciated by the native reading public, as all the copies have been sold, and the work is now out of print. I am not aware of any other writer upon the same subject.\*

I commenced collecting Sinhalese proverbs many years ago, and my collection now amounts to nearly 800, it having recently received considerable accessions from several parts of the island, both in the Kandyan and low-country, through the kindness of various friends.

I have much pleasure in laying before the Society a few specimens of these, as a first instalment, and hope they may

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\* Since the above was written, a few Sinhalese proverbs have been published in a local periodical, the ‘Ceylon Friend,’ v. Nos., for December 1870, and January 1871.

not be found altogether devoid of interest. They throw considerable light on the history, manners, and customs of the people amongst whom they are current, and while they serve as exponents of their feelings and sentiments, they also afford a clear insight into their national character.

As I do not consider myself competent to translate these proverbs in that terse and epigrammatic style in which they should be rendered, I have only endeavoured to make the translation as faithful as I can, leaving it to others to clothe them in more suitable English. I have, in addition, appended a few brief explanatory notes, wherever the application of the proverb is not apparent; and also added the stories on which some of them are founded.

L. DE ZOYSA.

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1. හියැලූ මහළුකාච්චි  
 ‘The Lúlá\* that has escaped is the bigger one.’  
 A man is apt to magnify the value of anything that he has not obtained.
2. හින්හක් හැති දුමක් හැ  
 ‘There is no smoke without a fire.’  
 There is no rumour, however false, without some slight foundation of fact, or supposed fact.
3. දිගේ ඇන්දු ඉරවාගේ  
 ‘Like a line described on water.’  
 It leaves no impression on the water: applied to a thankless ingrate.
4. පිස්සිගේ පලා මල්ල වාගේ  
 ‘Like the mad woman’s basket of herbs.’  
 A writing abounding in incongruous, or heterogeneous matter.

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\* The name of a fish,

5. උහහන්ද, බොන්ටන්  
බැ කැදහන්ද, දමන්ටන්බැ

'Cannot drink as it is hot,  
and cannot throw away as it is  
Kanji.'

An unpleasant dilemma.

6. කම්මැලියාට දිවස්

The idle man has divine eyes  
(gift of prophecy.)

He forebodes, and magnifies  
difficulties in the execution of  
any work, which are not patent  
to others.

7. හොරගේ අම්මාගෙන්  
පේනආහන්ට හියාවගේ

'Like going to consult the  
thief's mother (as an oracle.)

When a theft is committed,  
it is usual to consult a *Kapu-  
rāla*, (demon's priest), or *Patti-  
nihāmi* (priestess), as to who  
committed the theft, and they  
pretend to know the thief by  
the inspiration of their favorite  
demon. The opinion of an  
interested party.

8. ගහෙන් වැටුණු මිනිසාට  
ගොනා ඇන්තාවගේ

'Like an ox going a man that  
has fallen from a tree.'

Calamity upon calamity.

9. නියපොත්තෙන් කප  
න්ටපුළුවන් ගහ පොරවෙන්  
කපන්ටන්බැරිවෙනවා

'The tree which you could  
have nipped off with your nail,  
you could not (afterwards) cut  
with your axe.'

Evils which one could have  
easily checked in the begin-  
ning, become insurmountable if  
allowed to exist long.

10. සිඤ්ඤාගේ හැටි  
ගොප්පියෙන්දැනේ

'You can judge of the *Sinñō*  
by his hat.'

- 11 ඉසරදේට කොට්ටේ  
මාරුකලාවගේ

'Like changing the pillow  
when suffering from head-ache.'

An ineffectual remedy.

\* A term applied to a European descendant, corrupted from Portu-  
guese *Senhor*.



12. සොලිකරත් ඇත  
බඩ පුප්පත්තෝ, ගිලිමලෝත්  
ඇත දත සුද්දො

'Even in the coast of *Soli*, there are starving men, and even in *Gilimale* there are white-teethed men.'

The coast of *Soli* is *Chòla-mandala*, or Coromandel coast, and the proverb shews that even in ancient times it was considered a land abounding in corn. *Gilimale* is a village in *Sataragamuwva*, which was remarkable for the quantity of betel leaves it produced. The expression *white-teethed*, is applied to a man who abstains from chewing betel.

13. ඇල්වතුරත් මිනීමර  
කොවා

'Murdering with cold water.'

Attempting to injure a man by deceit and plausible words.

14. එක හරකෝන් වැට  
කැවුමාම රංවුම ඇතුල්වෙ  
නවා

'When one bullock breaks the fence, the whole herd will enter.'

When one individual of a family, class, or nation, comes into a place, others of his class will soon follow.

15. රහතුන් මරණවා ව  
තුර පෙරලා බොනවා

'He murders saints, but drinks water after straining.'

To strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

The Buddhist devotees are enjoined not to drink water without straining, to prevent the destruction of animalculæ in it.

16. යකඩදුපු ගෙයි පුළුන්,  
සෙව්වාලාගේ

'Like seeking for cotton in a house where iron had been burnt.'

17. පරංකියා කොට්ඨේට  
හිසාවගේ

‘Like the Portuguese going to Kótte.’

Applied to a long and circuitous path. It is said that shortly after the Portuguese had landed at Colombo, they were conducted to Kótte, then the capital of the Kings of Ceylon, by a long and circuitous road, through Pána-dure, and Raygam Kòrale, with a view to conceal from the new-comers the close proximity of the capital from the sea-port of Colombo, which was then the head-quarters of the Portuguese.

18. රජකාරිය ලොකුයි  
දෙයියන්ගේකාරියට

‘King’s business (rājakáriya) is greater than God’s business, (Deyyanné káriya.)’

19. දරුවන්කනගෙයි කු  
කුලන්කොයින්ද?

‘How can you expect to find fowls in a house where they eat children.’

20. ගහද්දී ගහද්දී වදින්න  
හත් මෝඩයයි වද්ද්දී වදිද්දී  
දී ගහන්නත් මෝඩයයි

‘He is a fool who bows down, whilst he is beaten, and he is a fool who beats whilst he is bowed to.’

21. මුවෝ කෙරේ කෑවම  
ගෙදර ඇවිත් මුව හමට නලන  
වාළි

When the deer trespass on his field, he comes home and beats the deer’s skin.

When a man is unable to punish the real offender, he often wreaks his vengeance on some poor unoffending person.

22. අරූප සත්වගේ පනිවු  
හාවලාගේ

‘Like the chastity of the ugly woman.’

23. පදුවන්ට මොටද සුදු  
හරක්

‘What is the use of white cattle for Paduwas, (a low caste so-called.)’

Throwing pearls before swine.

24 කොක්කානන්ගල්  
නොයඹි කී මිනිසා හන්වරක්  
ගොහින් මග වැරුණේ

25 බැරියව පුළුවන්දේකු  
න්හැ පුළුවන්දව බැරියදේකු  
න්හැ

26 සෝලමණ්ඩලේ පිටින්  
එනවා

27 මය අන්ධර දෙමල මට  
නේරන්නේ හැ

'The man who had sworn "I will never go to Kokkānangala," went there seven times, and died on his way to it.'

Expressive of fickleness and inconstancy in men.

'When it is impossible, nothing is possible; when it is possible, nothing is impossible.'

'The whole *Sólamandala* is coming.'

Applied to denote a very large multitude.

This is a very interesting historical proverb, which has floated down the stream of time. It must have no doubt originated at a period when it was usual for swarms of Solians (Tamils from the neighbouring continent) to invade Ceylon, as hosts of barbarians from the North similarly invaded Britain in ancient times.

'I don't understand that Andara, and that Tamil.'

Applied to an unintelligible jargon.'

This is also a historical proverb, which has come down to us from very remote times. The word *Andara*, which I have no doubt is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Andhra* (another term for Telegu) is not known at present to any native, except perhaps to learned scholars, and the proverb therefore must have originated at a time when that word was commonly known.

28 මඬව අනභාලා ඇහැ  
උච්චපත් කනවා

One pats on the head, to pluck out the eyes.

Employing arts of flattery to work one's ruin.

29 හව්ලේකැඳත් හරකයි

Even kanji (rice water-gruel) is bad in common.

30 ආඩි හත්දෙනාගේ  
කැඳ වගේ

Like the kanji of the seven A'ndiyás.

The story is that seven A'ndiyás (Mahommadan fakeers), when travelling together, agreed to prepare a pot of kanji in common, each contributing his quota of rice. The first man whose turn it was to put his portion of rice into the pot, thought that as there were six more partners to contribute rice, his own share would not be missed, and so, putting his hand into the pot, pretended to throw in rice. And it so happened that each of the other six devotees thought so too, and acted precisely in the same way, and the result of course was an empty pot, to their inexpressible chagrin and disappointment.

31 හිඟන්නාගේ පයිලේ  
සෙනසුර වැඩුනාවාගේ

Like Saturn falling into the bag of the beggar.

Misfortunes never come singly.

32 ලිපහසියඇත්නම්  
කොයි නැගත්ඇති

If a man's fire-place is strong, he will have many relations.

A man will not want relations and friends as long as he can entertain them.

33 ඉක්මන් කොට

Haste (is) slow.

Like the Latin proverb *festina lente*.

34 ඇතිල්ලේ පමනට මිනිසා ඉදිවුම

The swelling must be proportionate to the size of the finger.

35 ඉක්මනට කොරස් කවෙත් අතදමන්ට බැරිම

The ambition of men should not exceed their abilities.

When in a hurry, one cannot put his hand even in the mouth of a *Koraha*.

36 ගලේ වසුලා වාගේ

A *Koraha* is a wide-mouthed earthen jar.

37 කනාව අහුටුන බැලි මක්කා වගේ

Like sowing on a rock.

Like a flea caught in the fingers of a blind man.

38 ලේවාගේ ඉදන් කිවු ලෙන් කනවා

Caught steadily and firmly without any chance of escape.

Even in the *lewáyas*, there are people who eat without salt.

39 මුලාදැනීම නරකා දිගටත් ගොදැසි

To be a headman is good even in hell.

40 බල්ලාකකුල හපාකෑ වාම ප්‍රගේ කකුල පිඹි හපා කනවාද

If a dog bite your leg, would you bite his?

41 රුවුලපත්තු වුනමිනිනා ගෙන් සුරුවුවු පත්තුකර ගන්ට ගියාම

They say when a man's beard was on fire, another went to light his cigar.

42. නායලා පොලහවා ගේ

Like the *Náyá* (Cobra) and *Polanga*.

Two associates equally wicked.

43. නානියාට මිනෑමො නවාද? එපා මොනවාද?

What does an old man want, and what does he not want?

44. විමළි නවේ ඇතිමිනි හා එක ඇති මිනිහාගෙන් ඒ කන් ඉලුවාම

The man who had nine bags of paddy, asked the man who had one, to give it also to him, to complete the ten.

45. නිකන් අඬන මුත් තාව මුහුටුරෙක් මැරුණො වගේ

How much more will the grand-father who is always weeping for nothing, weep when his grand-son dies.



46. අ විද්ද පස දහස්වරි  
ගෙයිත් බුපය බව නොවරි

The foot of the traveller is worth a thousand of the man who remains at home who is not worth a dog.

47. යන්ට ඇරලා වල්ගෙ  
අල්ලන්ට එපා

Don't allow an animal to go, and then catch his tail.

48. රබ්ලා එන මියා බලලා  
සබ්බු නොප් දෙකට කසි කසිය  
කිවාව

The rat who was returning home drunk with toddy said, if I meet a cat, I will tear him to pieces.

49. නිකන් ඉන්න ගෙට  
වඩා හොදයි කැද බොන ගේ

The house in which you drink *kanji*, is better than the house in which you starve.

50. කන්දක් ඇර කන්ද  
කට ගියාට දිව්සාගේ නින්මැ  
කේද

Although the chetah goes from one hill to another, will he change his spots?

51. ගල්හතක් ගහනකට  
එකක් නොවදීයයි?

When you throw seven stones, will not one at least hit?

52. ගහ දන්න මිනිනාට  
කොල කඩාලා පාන්තේ ඇයි?

Why pluck and shew leaves to a man who knows the tree.

It is useless to attempt to deceive by plausible reasoning, a man who has a thorough knowledge of his subject.

53. ගරබියාගේ පැටියා න  
යාකරන්ට පුළුවන්ද?

Can one transform a young rat snake into a cobra?

54. ගොමරි මතු වෙන  
වා තිරුවානාගල් යට යනවා

Dried cow-dung floats on the surface, and *teruwánágal* (a kind of white stone, quartz) sinks below.

Unworthy men succeed in life, while men of merit remain in the back-ground.

55. ගැහුන් බෝවෙයි  
කල ගෙඩි වේලෙයි

Women increase, the water-pots become empty.

It is the business of women to draw water, and when there are too many in a house, they are too apt to neglect the duty.

56. නොණ වනගින්නෙන්  
කපුටා මස්ගින්නෙන්

The bullock smarts from the pain of his wound, and the crow from greediness for flesh.

The allusion is to the crows attacking the wounds of bullocks for the purpose of picking out the flesh.

Men of mean minds endeavour to take advantage of others' misfortunes for their own benefit.

57. ගහෙන් ගහට ගිය  
රිලවා හෙමි නහිනවාමි

It is said that the monkey who went from tree to tree will suffer from exposure, and perish.

58. ගණන් ගිල්ල මිනිනාට  
පිලිබේ අත්ලොවයි

To the man who swallowed the temple, the image is like an *aggalá* (a ball of sweetmeat).

One who has committed an act of great wickedness, will not scruple to commit one of less magnitude.

59. බම්කෝලමට හැසුරු  
නොත් අහුර ගැහු තැනට  
යන්ට මිනෑ

If one personates a dog, he must go wherever he is whistled for.

"In for a penny, in for a pound."

60. ගල හොදනම්වද හ  
දුන් හොද

The grinding-stone must be good, for the sandal to be good.

61. මහ දැනිමුනකාගේ ද  
නිමුතුකම වාගෙයි.

Like the advice of the great wise man.

This has reference to the following story. A bullock while endeavouring to drink water out of a pot introduced his head into it, and the bystanders not knowing how to extricate the pot without breaking it, sent for the wise man of the village to take his advice on the matter. He came, and after much deliberation, declared that the only course he could suggest was to cut off the neck of the bull, and then break the pot and remove it.

62. ගමරල නොබැඳි වල  
හ මාබලාද

Will the bear who slighted  
the *gamaràla* (the village head-  
man) regard me?

63. ගොඵවාට හි කියන්  
නාවාගේ

Like singing to a deaf man.

64. ගින්දරට පිදුරු දමන්  
නාවාගේ

Like throwing straw into a  
burning fire.

65. ගහෙන් වැටෙන්නට්ඳුස්  
සර මැල්ලිම් සොයනනාවාගේ

Like searching for *mellum*  
(a medicine applied in cases of  
falls from trees) before a man  
falls from a tree.

66. ගින්දෙන් දැ මිනිහා  
අවුටට පෙරළිවා වාගේ

Like placing a man who has  
been burnt in the broiling sun.

67. ගිනි පෙනෙල්ලෙන්  
නැළිම් කැ මිනිහා කනාමැදි  
රියා දුටුවාම දුවනවාළි

The man who has received a  
beating from a fire-brand, runs  
away when he sees a fire-fly.

68. ගුරුන්ටන් අකුරු වර  
දිනවා

Even teachers commit blun-  
ders in letters (in reading and  
writing).

“ Good Homer nods.”

69. ගඟට ඉනි කැපුවා වා  
ගේ

Like cutting fence sticks  
into the river.

Waste of labour.

70. ගහන ගලවල  
රෙකියන් ගහ

Even a *Roḍiyá* will throw  
a stone at you if you throw one  
at him.

71. ගඟේ වැටුනාම පෙර  
ලා බොන්ට බැ

When a man falls into a  
river, he cannot strain water for  
drinking.

72. ගමනට කනාව ඉනි  
මගේ

Conversation in travelling  
is like a ladder (in climbing).

73. ගොනා යන නැටි  
රෙන් කොටියා කාවිද කියා  
කියනැකි

From the way in which a  
bullock walks, you can say  
whether it will be devoured by  
the Chetah.

From the outward demeanour  
of a man, you can guess whe-  
ther he is a harmless or a  
vicious man.

74. පින් ඇත්තාට බිරු  
බලයාගේ කවේ දත් හැල  
නවාළි

It is said that the teeth of the dog which barks at a lucky man will fall out

75. පිදුරු හොර කමත්  
හොරකමයි විදුරු හොර  
කමත් හොරකමයි

It is useless to resist those who are favored by fortune.

Stealing straw (*piduru*) is theft, and stealing diamonds (*widuru*) is theft.

The above is founded on the following story.

A devotee (*tapasvi*) who professed great sanctity of life, sought the acquaintance of a rich man, and having lived in his house for a few days departed on his journey. Returning shortly afterwards, he restored to the owner of the house, a piece of straw which had stuck in his clotted hair from the roof of the house, observing that "stealing a piece of straw is a theft equally with stealing a diamond." Having thus gained the confidence of the man, the *tapas* soon found an opportunity to rob the man of all his property.

76. පුඞුල් හොරු කරන්න  
දෑනේ

One can easily discover the man who stole the ash pumpkin, from his shoulder.

The white ashy substance of the gourd sticks on his shoulders, whilst carrying it.

77. පනින ඊලවාට ඉනි  
මග නිඞුවා වාගේ

Like placing a ladder to the jumping monkey.

Affording facilities to a vicious man.

78. පිරිමිම කලේ හෙල  
වෙන්වන්නා

A full pot of water does not shake.

79. පලආති ගහටළු වව්  
ලොත් සන්නේ

It is to a fruitful tree that even the bats have recourse to.

80. නොයනාගමට පාර  
අනන්තේ මොටද?

Why inquire of the road to  
a place to which you do not  
intend to go.

81. නයා මීසක් ගරභියා  
මන්ත්‍ර අනන්තේපා.

The Cobra listens to the  
voice of the charmer, but not the  
rat snake.

82. නුපුරුදු දීගයට වඩා  
යොදයි පුරුදු කනාමැනුම

Better widowhood, to which  
one is accustomed, than a  
strange marriage.

83. නයා නැතත් හුඹස්  
බයයි

A certain advantage is prefer-  
able to a doubtful one.

84. නිවට පැනික්කියා දුටු  
වාම එළුවන් රුදුල පානවාළු

Even though there is no  
cobra in it, one is afraid of the  
white ants' hill.

85. නටන්ට බැරුවා  
නෙවේ බිමඇදවා

Even the goat offers his beard,  
when he sees a poor barber.

86. නිදියෙන දියන් කුඹුදු  
දන්ට එපා

Not that you cannot dance,  
but that the ground is crooked !

87. නයාපුච්චාට විස අඹුද

Used when a man makes a  
pretended excuse, concealing the  
real cause of his failure.

88. නැච්චුවා වැටුනත්  
අඹුවයි

Don't awakesleeping chetahs.

89. නයා පෙන්නෙකරනවා  
දුටුවාම ගරභියා කැබලිනිකැ  
ලෙන් දැගන්තාළු

Is the poison less, because  
the snake is small ?

90. නොදන්නා දෙමලට  
ගොඹින් වරිගේ නහගන්ට  
එපා

Even when a dancer misses  
his step, it is a summersault.

91. මිටිමිනිහත් මිටි හුඹ  
හත් විඤ්ඤ කරන්ට එපා

When the rat-snake saw  
the Cobra expanding his hood,  
he took up in his mouth a  
broken piece of an earthen pot.  
Mimicking the great.

Don't speak in Tamil with  
which you are not acquaint-  
ed, and bring disgrace on your  
family.

Don't trust a short man,  
nor a low white ants' hill.

Cunning is considered the cha-  
racteristic of a man of low  
stature.



92. මල පොත් ගොනර  
ගෙන්නන්හා වාගේ

93. මරලා පිහෙන් ඇන්  
නාවාගේ

94. ලිහාලා බලන මල්ල  
බබාබලන්නේ ඇයි

95. ලෙඩට ඉස්සර බෙ  
හෙන් නැවා වාගේ

96. ලහඉන්න හතුර ඇ  
නඉන්න නැයාටවඩා හො  
ඳයි

97. කේලමාට ඔබින් වො  
කකයි මොවන් වොකකයි

98. කබල්ලුවාගේ ගෙට  
ඉන්නවා වැදීලා මුත්තාපා  
කිවන් යන්නේනැත කිවාවි

99. බනව මාවි බඩහිනි

100. බොරදියේ ගැඹුර  
දැනගන්නට බැ

Like extracting the sweets  
of a flower without bruising it.

Like stabbing a man, after  
killing him.

Why feel with your finger the  
bag that you will have to open.

Like taking medicine before  
one is sick.

The enemy living near you  
is preferable to a relative living  
at a distance.

The tale-bearer receives one  
*tokka* (a knock on the head)  
there, and one *tokka* here.  
[i. e. he is despised both by  
the party to whom he carries  
tales, and by him whom he  
slanders.]

'A *Kaballéwà* having entered  
into the cave of a Porcupine,  
said "I wont go, by my grand-  
father."

Hunger is the best curry  
for rice.

You cannot know the depth,  
when the water is muddy.

TRANSLATIONS OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS, FAMILY AND HISTORICAL, FOUND  
 IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF M. NANCLARS  
 DE LANEROLLE, FRENCH ENVOY TO THE COURT OF  
 OF KANDY.

Contributed by L. LUDOVICI, Esq.

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The documents, of which the following are translations, were met with by me, in the course of a visit to Hangwela, in the possession of the descendants of M. Nanclars de Lanerolle, French Envoy to the Court of Kandy in 1685. The Sinhalese originals are written on Ola, and the Dutch on paper. So far as can be tested by historical and traditionary evidence, there is hardly any doubt that the present Lanerolles of Hangwela are the lineal descendants of the French Envoy, but there is nothing in physique, language, or costume, to distinguish them from the surrounding Sinhalese, except perhaps the fairer complexion common to every member of the family. They profess to be Christians of the Reformed Church; and one of their immediate ancestors appears to have held the office of *Saperemado Appu* or Commissioner, under the Dutch Government. A collateral branch of the family, I understand, is settled at Katelowe in the Galle district. The amusing reply of the late Mr. H. E. O'Grady to a petition presented by a member of the family, praying for official rank on the strength of his descent, will be found extracted from the *Examining Newspaper* of the 28th October, 1869, in the appendix.

The other letters, relating to the siege of Vienna, &c., were most probably intercepted at Trincomalee by the emissaries of Raja Singha, on their way from Holland to the Dutch Governor of Colombo, and translated into Sinhalese for his information by one of the many "captives" detained by him at Kandy. These documents carry on their face every mark of genuineness, while

the notes which I have appended from Sir Edward Creasy's "History of the Ottoman Turks" further corroborate every important detail.

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No. I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF KANDY IN 1685, AND SOME PARTICULARS OF THE DE LANEROLLES OF CEYLON,  
(Translated from the Sinhalese.)

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In conformity with the command of the illustrious King Raja Singha, our Supreme lord of the Universe, endowed with a pair of lotus feet, and resplendent with the nine gems, incomparably great, and esteemed as a precious jewel which sheds its glory on the diadem of innumerable foreign Kings, and who occupied the throne of Lanka,\* the following epistle is addressed to the humble Amerekon Mudianse.

For the purpose of subduing the pride of the Dutch people, the Supreme King, Raja Singha, who was gifted with an all-powerful arm, in his wrath against them, privately despatched an embassy† requesting to be favoured with an army from France together with a proper officer in command; and the Great Emperor of France, in glory like the rays of the sun,‡ having agreed thereto, despatched in charge of the General de Lanerolle, a fleet of forty vessels with men and arms, accompanied by a variety of valuable presents to be offered to the victorious and illustrious Lord of Lanka. These vessels having arrived at the harbour of Trincomalee without meeting with any mishap on the voyage, the soldiers were landed on Thursday after the new

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\* Reigned from A. D. 1632 to A. D. 1687.

† Sir Emerson Tennent's account of the arrival of Admiral De la Haye at Trincomalee, leads to the supposition that he came with the object of attacking the Dutch, rather than in answer to a special embassy from Rajasingha. The Sinhalese narrative, from which I translate, is however very explicit to the contrary.

‡ Louis XIV.,—no inapt compliment to the "Grande Monarque."

moon of the month of *Nikinni* in the year of *Saka* 1574,\* the intelligence whereof being conveyed to the victorious Lord of Lanka, in whom dwells the gift of prescience, His Majesty with great joy despatched Atupella Dissamahatmeya and other chiefs with presents for the Ambassadors, and provisions for the Army; and, directing the vessels to be kept in the Trincomalee harbour invited the Commander of the French, Captains La Haye, Bahauten, Dupleix Roche, and Freuelmans, accompanied by their Aides-de-Camp De Lun, Blume, Gascoign, and Alexandre, and the two Frenchmen who had been sent to France on the embassy, to the Court of Kandy.† Hereupon, accompanied by the said Dissamahatmeya and Chiefs, and carrying many valuable presents, they proceeded, and arrived at the Rest-house of Sanguruwankete town in Namen Deniya. From this place the Ambassadors, with their presents, were conducted in state to the palace of the victorious king, and introduced into the august presence of His Majesty, who received them kindly, and after a friendly interview,‡

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\* A. D. 1652.

† Of these eight Frenchmen, we lose all trace of five, Bahauten, Dupleix Roche, de Lun, Blume and Alexandre, nor am I sure that their names are correctly given in the Singhalese. Commodore La Haye, we know on the authority of Valentyn, sailed back with the fleet to France. M. Nanclars de Lanerolle, as detailed in the body of this paper, remained at Kandy. Gascoign too, no doubt, remained and died at Kandy, as one of his descendants, probably a son, rose to the rank of Adigar in the following reign.

This Gascon Adigar, as he was called, added that of Poet to his many other accomplishments, and seems also to have inherited more than an ordinary share of the spirit of French gallantry with his father's blood—a possession which afterwards cost him his life. He had been carrying on a secret correspondence with the Queen, but in an unguarded moment, while watching the painting of an image of the Queen, he snatched the brush from the artist's hand and spotted a mole on a part of her body, which none but the royal eyes could have seen. The King, who was passing by, charged the Adigar with his faithlessness, and the self-convicted Minister was cast into prison and subsequently beheaded. The verses which he addressed to the Queen, from his cell, are accounted among the best examples of Singhalese amatory poetry.

‡ Valentyn's account of this reception, as cited by Sir Emerson Tennent, is somewhat different. "On this occasion the French Admiral de la Haye sent M. Nanclars de Lanerolle as ambassador to Kandy. But this gentleman, having violated the imperial etiquette by approaching the palace on horseback, and manifested disrespectful impatience on being kept too long, waiting for an audience, Raja Singha ordered him and his suite to be flogged; a sentence which was executed on all but the envoy, whom he detained in captivity for a number of years."



the Ambassador was sent back to the Rest-house, where he was bade to stay until proper arrangements should be made. In the meanwhile the Dutch in Colombo, who had heard of the arrival of the French Ambassador and army, became overwhelmed with grief and terror, and shewed their obsequiousness to the King (who had allowed them several ports for the purposes of trade,) by sending Ambassadors with the presents which they had withheld for some time past, whereby the King understood that they were in great fear. However, His Majesty shewed that he was pleased with this mark of submission, and having thought that the key of the fortress of Colombo could be taken with the aid of the French Ambassador, detained him and his retinue of ten persons, while the French at Trincomalee, considering that their army was not sufficient, went back to return with reinforcements, advising those who remained behind to hold themselves in readiness for war; and after they had left, the Ambassador received all honors at the hands of the King. For his service five male and five female slaves were given him from the Royal palace, besides the sum of five *ridi*\* a day and rations three times a day. His ten followers were also allowed fifteen *ridis* per day, contributed from the several districts. When the presents which had been taken care of were produced before His Majesty, the illustrious King, His Majesty, privately directed that the same should be kept safely to be produced before His Majesty's successors.

After the demise of His Majesty, the illustrious Raja Singha† who had incorporated into one kingdom the three divisions of Lanka,‡ the most glorious and powerful Wimala Dharma Suriya, supreme Lord of the Universe, succeeded to the throne of Lanka, § when the French Ambassador made known to His Majesty his intention to produce the presents before His Majesty.

\* A *ridi* is equal to about 4d. of our money.

† According to Valentyn, 6th December, 1687.

‡ The three divisions were Ruhunu, Maya, Pihiti, which together formed Tri-Sinhele.

§ A.D. 1687.



His Majesty having made every preparation to receive them, and to give the Ambassador an audience in Kandy, sent for him, when the Ambassador went up to Kandy and presented himself before His Majesty with the presents. His Majesty descended from the royal line and whose virtues were like unto gems, after making the necessary enquiries granted to the companions of the Ambassador presents near the *Atruwe* \* in Welate, and to the Ambassador the *Walawwe* † of the Attepattu Chief of Udu Dumpela, directing him to occupy the said *Walawwe*. His Majesty having learnt that the Ambassador had gone with the presents and taken his residence at the *Walawwe*, made him perform the duties of the palace with the great chiefs, and promised him honors and wealth if he should form an alliance with any house he liked. Accordingly the hand of the daughter of Rajagooru Pandit Mudianse was solicited in marriage, whereupon the king made presents of a cap of state embroidered with gold lace, jackets, belts, swords, knives, and a box containing gold rings and chains, and female ornaments, such as earrings, hair pins, bangles, anklets, rings and necklaces, and a hundred loads of rice, meat, and confectionery and two female slaves ; and the marriage was duly solemnized. After the lapse of several years, the *Mohottale* ‡ who held the post of Secretary of the Chamber of Golden Armour, and two sons § were born, and when His Majesty was informed of their not being able to support these children, an endowment of seven amunams of Welate, and four gardens and some Ukena land belonging thereto, and the royal village of Hadiramalana, was made and delivered to the Amerekon Mudianse, to be possessed from generation to generation.

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\* Granary.

† Mansion.

‡ Secretary.

§ The Sinhalese has *Mohottale* and three *daughters*, but from the context it is evident two sons were intended. The error most likely is a copyist's.

When the most illustrious king, Wimala Dharma Suriya, departed this life,\* and was succeeded† by the illustrious Prakrama Narendra Singha, descended from the royal line, and whose virtues were like unto the splendour of gems, the three *Appuhamys* of the Ambassador were allowed to come into the Royal presence and to perform the duties of the palace, and the two *Nindagamas*‡ of Selewe and Kendewele in the Dissawony of Welasse; and many lucrative offices, including the farm of the arrow manufactory of Hapuwide, the *Maha Kottal*, and the Dissaweship of Welasse, were conferred on the eldest *Appuhamy*,§ while the two younger *Appuhamys* received shirts and jackets of velvet after the French pattern; and while they were so living, the *Mohottale* proposed to marry the daughter of Dippitiya Mudi-anse of Podape in Four Korles, to which he received His Majesty's gracious consent.||

Afterwards, the second *Mohottale* received the *Nindagamas* and offices which the first *Mohottale* had held, together with the *Maha Mohotty-ship*¶ of the Chamber of Golden Armour; and while he was thus performing the duties of the palace, the grand-daughter of Mahimi Bandara of Dambadeniya in Seven Korles was proposed to him in marriage, and he married her with the knowledge of His Majesty. The youngest *Appuhamy* of the Ambassador, after having received the *Nindegam* called *Medegame* and the office of *Hetepane Bocotuwe Gate Mohan-dram*, was united in marriage to the daughter of *Medegama Mudi-anse* of *Medegama* in *Madura*; and after this was intimated to the king, His Majesty, the ruler of the world, supreme, pure, eminent and illustrious, protector and upholder, descend-

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\* A.D. 1707.

† A.D. 1707 to 1739.

‡ Royal Fief.

§ Gentleman, son of a Chief.

|| Here the history of the eldest son of M. Lanerolle breaks off abruptly, and we are left to guess either that he died, or was deprived of his offices, as was not uncommon in those days, for the purpose of advancing the next favorite.

¶ Great Secretariat.

ed from the solar race, ordered an account of these transactions to be committed to writing, and it was so done and delivered on Thursday, the seventh after the full moon of the month *Wessak*\* in the year of *Saka* 1645† at the city of the Senkadagala.‡

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No. II.

EXTRACTS OF A RESOLUTION PASSED IN THE COUNCIL OF CEYLON, ON  
TUESDAY THE 24TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1765.

Whereas the descendants § of a certain Frenchman, *Laisne De Nanclars De La Nerolle*, who arrived in Trincomalee with the Viceroy of that nation, the famous *Monsieur De La Haye*, from whence he was sent as an envoy to the Court of Kandy, and was detained by King *Raja Singha* but subsequently liberated, and was residing in the Kandian Dominion, where he contracted a marriage with a Sinhalese woman, after the conquest of Kandy|| resigned themselves to the Company's protection, and as the Hon'ble the Governor considered it proper that they should in future dwell together with their Christian friends; and having no means of supporting themselves, they were suffering bitter poverty; under these circumstances, and considering the general and universal moral duties, chiefly our Christian love and attachment inducing us to provide for the maintenance of these poor people who have followed for nearly a hundred years the Christian faith amongst Heathens, we have therefore resolved to make provision for their subsistence with the Revenues of the several paddy fields and gardens of the chief rebel *Paulus Alwis of Hewagam Corle*, a list whereof,

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\* May.

† A.D. 1723.

‡ Kandy.

§ Great-grand-children.

|| The occupation of Kandy by the Dutch in 1763.

having been framed by Captain Dessave De Coste, is specially inserted herein.\*

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ENDORSEMENT BY THE LATE MR. O'GRADY, GOVERNMENT AGENT OF  
GALLE, ON A PETITION PRESENTED BY ONE OF THE LANE-  
ROLLES, APPLYING FOR THE RANK OF MOHANDIRAM.

“ The petitioner is to be informed that, without questioning for a moment his being the rightful representative of the ducal house of Lanarole, or Lignerolles, it would be better, perhaps, for the present, to lay less stress upon that matter, and confine his claims to consideration within narrower bounds. Properly speaking the Petitioner ought to have been guillotined as a *ci-devant*, any time between the 21st September, 1795, and the 25th October, 1795, by the National Convention; or, at least, shot as a Vendean, by Westerman or Rossignol. These privileges were unquestionably his; but as instead of asserting them, he preferred vegetating at Cattaloowa, disguised as a Police Headman, and still further denationalized himself by allowing his hair to grow to its full length, and girding his loins with a Comboy, he must not be surprised to hear, that while he was thus losing the numerous opportunities which Monsieur de Robespierre lavished upon his order, of being decapitated, shot, hanged, drowned, sabred, starved, or blown up in the air, a needy and remote scion of his (the Petitioner's) house contrived to survive the ferric and fulminating ordeal which the Petitioner shrunk from encountering, and, on the return of the Bourbons, 1814 (while the Petitioner was ingloriously chewing betel at Cattaloowa), claimed to be acknowledged as the sole remaining their of the once powerful house of Lignerolles, and, being unhesitatingly recognized as such by Louis XVIII, took his seat, as

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Here follows a list of eleven gardens valued at an annual rental of 148 Rix dollars or £11 2s., and 36 paddy fields valued at an annual rental of 200 Parahs [150 bushels] of paddy.



Duke, in the House of Peers, between the Viscomte de la Garonna and the Marquis de Carrabas, with whom he continued to sit, vote and take snuff, till 1830.

These circumstances being within the Government Agent's own knowledge he having during his Parisian career, been frequently invited by the duke to "couper son mouton" with His Grace, the Petitioner will admit that it would be anything but graceful on his (the Government Agent's) part, to degrade his former friend from his rank and titles, on the Petitioner's bare dictum, as he would be doing, by implication, were he to recommend the Petitioner's prayer, to be created a Mohandiram, to His Excellency the Governor, on the strength of his being the true, authentic, and genuine Duke.

Perhaps the Petitioner's best course under the somewhat dubious light which now encircles his pretensions, would be, to throw up his situation of Police Vidahn at Cattaloowa, lay in a stock of a few white Jackets, a couple of Comboys, and a spare comb, and start in an outrigger dhoney for France, via the Red Sea, and having reached his (*de jure*) native land, lay claim at once to his ancestral halls, his coronet and his arrears of pay; in respect of each of which the Government Agent has only to ejaculate the fervent hope, that he wishes the Petitioner may get it."

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No. III.

A LETTER FROM HOLLAND GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF  
VIENNA IN 1683.

A letter despatched from the city of Amsterdam in Holland, dated 8th day of the first quarter of the moon in the month of *Way*, in the year of *Saka* 1605 (A.D. 1683) was received here and translated into Sinhalese.



The Grand Vizier of Turkey\* having in conjunction with his Bashaws, Generals and Officers, collected an army of 353,190 men from among the Turks, Tartars, Janissaries and other tributary states, and entered the country of Allemagne on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of *Esele* (July), and having laid siege to the city of Vienna where the Emperor was residing, displayed his strength ceaselessly for sixty-two days,† by bombarding the works, and making assaults on the city, which he shelled with four large cannon and other smaller guns, besides distressing the city in various ways by springing several mines under the ramparts, and breaching the walls. Finally by placing scaling ladders he attempted to enter the city at midnight. During this siege nearly half of the population, which consisted of 60,000, composed of the garrison of 14,000 and resident population of 46,000, had either fled, or perished from starvation, and there would not have been provision enough for the sustenance of the garrison alone, had the siege been protracted for 120 hours more. But the place was saved by the interposition of a miracle.

The Emperor‡ who was residing out of the city, having considered it impolitic to remain there, entrusted the palace and his army of 40,000 men to the Duke of Lothringia§ and proceeded himself to the town of Lintz, when for the purpose of aiding the Emperor, the King of Poland, distinguished for his military prowess, came with a body of 60,000, men including Generals

\* Kara Mustapha.

† The second siege of Vienna lasted from the 15th of July to the 12th of Sept. 1683, during which the most devoted heroism was displayed by the garrison and the inhabitants. The numerous artillery of the Turks shattered the walls and bastions, and the indefatigable labors of the miners were still more effective. The garrison was gradually wasted by the numerous assaults which it was called on to repulse, and in the frequent sorties, by which the Austrian Commander sought to impede the progress of the besiegers.—*Cressy's Hist. of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. II. page 57.

‡ Leopold of Germany.

§ Prince Charles of Lorraine.

and Officers ; the Elector of Bavaria, sub-king\* of the Emperor, with 13,000 men ; the Duke of Saxony with 12,000 men ; and the Duke de Waldek and other princes with 16,000 men. These allies having assembled at the palace of the Emperor, accompanied the General who had entrenched himself there, to the head quarters of the King of Poland, and having conferred with him as to how they could check the arrogance of the enemy, proceeded to attack him in this wise :—The Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, and the Duke de Waldek, with their respective forces led the van ; the King of Poland, with his troops and chieftains, took the right, and the Duke of Lothringia, who was at the Emperor's palace, and his army, took the left wing, and attacked the Turkish Army with such fury, that the King of Poland who had thrown himself on the enemy's centre† cut him down as if he were slicing yams.‡ The Turkish Army thus thrown into disorder was nearly annihilated, while the remainder took to flight, and Vienna has been saved. The Turks who fell round the city, in the camp, and in the pursuit, amount to 300,000. The whole camp, including a magnificent tent, belonging to the Grand Vizier, many engraved articles of gold and silver, money to the value of two millions, much

\* “ Sobieski had been unable to assemble his troops before the end of August ; and even then, they only amounted to 20,000 men, but he was joined by the Duke of Lorraine and some of the German commanders, who were at the head of a considerable army, and the Polish King crossed the Danube at Tulln, above Vienna, with about 70,000 men.”—*Creasy*, l. c. p. 57.

† “ Sobieski led on his best troops in person in a direct line for the Ottoman centre, where the Vizier's tent was conspicuous ; and the terrible presence of the victor of Khoczim was soon recognized. \* \* \* \* \* The mass of the Ottoman Army broke and fled in hopeless rout, hurrying Kara Mustapha with them from the field. The Janissaries, who had been left in the trenches before the city, were now attacked, both by the garrison and the Poles, and were cut to pieces. The camp, the whole artillery, and the military stores of the Ottomans became the spoil of the conquerors ; and never was there a victory more complete, or signalized by more splendid trophies.”—*Creasy*, l. c. p. 60.

‡ A purely Oriental simile, resorted to perhaps under the difficulty of better illustrating the figure employed in the Dutch original.

treasure, and military equipments, and material consisting of chariots, muskets,\* cannon and guns, were taken by the victorious King and the allied Princes. In commemoration of this victory, festivals are being held in every kingdom of Europe. The King, the Princes, and the allies who took part in this battle, propose to proceed to Hungary and take New Hausel, Oppent† and other towns under the dominion of Turkey. Let us pray to God for his blessing, to enable us, when opportunity offers, to rid ourselves from the grasp of these inveterate enemies.

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No. IV.

LETTER FROM JOHN SOBIESKI, KING OF POLAND, TO THE QUEEN.

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A letter written by His Majesty the King of Poland to the Queen, informing her of this victory, received at Amsterdam, and forwarded here, was translated into Sinhalese to the following effect :

“ May the Almighty power of the Lord of the Universe, who has given us a victory, the like unto which there never had been before, live for ever ! We took the camp of the Turks, their cannon and all their war material. When these defeated foes observed the bodies of the dead so thickly strewing the field, they were panic stricken and took to flight. Our men began to impound camels, asses, oxen and goats, while the Turkish Troops were fleeing in companies. The powder, weapons of war, and ammunition left behind by them cannot be estimated in millions. I saw last night a sight which I had longed to see, when the powder (exclusive of what remained in the magazines and what was

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\* The Sinhalese word used literally means hand guns, But *Kitwakku* itself is a Tamil term.

† The present Buda,

taken in the rout) collected by our people was set on fire, and the smoke obscured the sky and formed a thick cloud. The loss inflicted on the Turks, besides these, if assessed, would amount to millions. This has unmistakeably been a great calamity to the Turks. The Grand Vizier fled, his army being routed, leaving behind the robes with which he was decked while on his horse. I have become entitled to all his wealth, the extent of which I have learnt by enquiring of the master of his camp, who was taken while fleeing in disguise. Among other treasures that have come to our hands is the sacred banner of the prophet Mohammed,\* and which has been sent to the Pope of Rome. Besides these, there are in our possession other spoils, numerous scimitars, swords, daggers, scabbards set with emeralds and torquoise, and other treasures which I had never before seen. Having taken the caparisoned horse of the Grand Vizier of Turkey, we used our utmost endeavours to take him also, but he escaped. The second in command of the Grand Vizier, and several Generals, who go by the name of Pachas, have fallen. Their best troops, the Janissaries, who were left in the trenches, were all destroyed. The Turkish troops who fell, including the Janissaries and excluding the Tartars, amount to about 300,000. Numerous scimitars, mounted with gold, of the conquered foe, have also fallen into our hands. The bravest of the enemy's troops retreated fighting, but unfortunately for us they could not have been totally destroyed, owing to the setting in of night. There were 100,000 tents left behind, and it is said there are many more uncounted. The number of these tents sufficiently indicates the strength of the enemy. Our army and the inhabitants of this city have been counting the dead since two days, but if they continue to do so for eight days more, it is very

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\* Mohammed is called in the Sinhalese translation, the prophet of the *Yona* religion, probably because the only Mohammedans then known to the Sinhalese were the *Yonas* or Moormen of Ceylon,



doubtful they will arrive at the correct number. A great number of the women of the people of Austria, while being driven along by the Turks, were killed. Besides this, I saw yesterday a cruel fellow give a sabre cut on the mouth of a boy of exquisite beauty, and cut off his head.

It would be utterly impossible for me to give a full description of the articles which have come into my possession from the Grand Vizier, while the manner in which those mines were laid by these Turks baffles all description. Unable to make an effort, and shedding tears of grief at the signal defeat of his forces, the Grand Vizier appealed to his son for succour, but he went away saying 'We do not want another taste of this King, we cannot help you, we must devise means to save ourselves!' When I think of the number of leaden bullets and the powder which these Turks have lost, I cannot imagine how they can ever fire another gun again. Reports have been received that this defeated host have even abandoned the cannon which they took to cover their retreat. A great number of cannon and turbans are being collected and heaped up. The enemy was so completely beaten, that the adherents of Mohammed have some cause to enquire where is now their god. Let us joyfully offer our thanks to the Almighty for this victory. The whole of our army is offering up praises to God and invoking blessings on me, inasmuch as the destruction of the army of the Grand Vizier was brought about by me.

The Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Waldek, the Generals, Ministers and Officers of the Emperor of Allemagne, have kissed me and greatly praised me, and the people who accompanied them testified their appreciation by plaudits louder than the officers of our army could imagine. The Count de Stahremberg who was in charge of the inner Fortress, and his army, and others, have called me their deliverer, and their Generals kissed me and praised me very highly, while several men and officers who came



along with them pointing to me shouted "Here is our greatest Monarch." When I visited two of the Churches at Vienna, the people assembled in them came up to me saying, "We must satisfy ourselves of our joy by kissing the victorious hand so celebrated for its gallant deeds." They embraced me and kissed my robes and feet, and so shewed their joy. When the people began singing my praises in the public gardens, I begged my allies of Allemagne to put a stop to the demonstration; however, "May your Majesty live prosperously for ever" was shouted on all sides. My son,\* whom you bore unto me, behaved bravely in the battle, without moving a foot from my side, and he in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, sub-king of the Emperor, divided in a friendly manner between them the wealth taken from the enemy. All our troops are rejoicing over the good fortune which has given them so much plunder as if it had been bestowed by Heaven. My son Alexander has also reason to be pleased, for every one in this camp heartily thanked him for having led the attack on the Grand Vizier's camp. As the Elector of Bavaria fought the enemy in my sight, some of my horses, and the banner of Victory and ten cannon of the Pacha of Egypt were presented to him, with a promise to present to his sister *Davon Pieny*† a set of precious ornaments. In our endeavours to win the battle, we lost a great number of our troops, including officers. My aide-de-camp Iskar Ztablikke is among the killed. My Paymaster Patia Markus de Awijano having observed a white dove flying above our armies before the battle began, kissed my feet, declaring it was an omen which promised us victory. The Emperor is living about a league off from this place, and I could not speak to him, being very busy in gathering information as to the results of this battle. We leave this with the Emperor's General to follow the enemy, but though

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\* Prince John, whom he intended should succeed him.

† This is the nearest approach to the original name.

we may go to the extreme limits of the world, I still entertain a strong desire to flee to you. On our way to Hungary, riding, we passed two leagues of country, where the exhalation from the decomposing bodies of men, horses, and camels was intolerable.

A letter was also sent to the King of France, informing him of this victory, though it was hardly competent for me to write to another King of the feats of valour performed by me. But I know that I made strenuous efforts in the very heat of the battle, without alighting from my horse for thirty hours, and this shews that the soldier is greater than the King. Since I entered on this war my bed has been the earth, and my covering the heavens.

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No. V.

THE MUSTER-ROLL OF THE TURKISH ARMY.

Hans Kinerlin, a Christian, who had been captured when the city of Canea belonging to Venice was taken by the Turks,\* came as the Grand Vizier's Master of the Horse, and while the Turks were being repulsed, fled into the city of Vienna and wrote down the following muster-roll† of the invading army, which, also brought from Amsterdam, is translated into Sirhalese.

The household troops of the Grand Vizier...	9890
Troops of the Red Flag ... ..	23000
„ „ Yellow Flag ... ..	6500
„ „ Green Flag ... ..	6500
„ „ White and Green Flag ...	5500
„ „ White and Red Flag ... ..	3800

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\* The siege of Candia. under Vizier Azem Mustapha, in 1645.

† The strength of the regular force which Karn Mustapha led to Vienna, is known from the muster-roll which was found in his tent after the siege. It amounted to 275,000 men. The attendants and camp-followers cannot be reckoned; nor can any but an approximate speculation be made as to the number of the Tartar and other irregular troops that joined the Vizier. It is probable that not less than half a million of men were set in motion in this last great aggressive effort of the Ottomans against Christendom."—*Cleary, b. c. p. 56.*

The Troops of the Pacha of Alexandria	...	12000
"    "    Pacha of Bulgaria	...	4000
"    "    Pacha of Walachia	...	6000
"    "    Pacha of Moldavia	...	7000
"    "    Pacha of Capadocia	...	5000
"    "    Pacha of Jerusalem	...	3000
"    "    Pacha of Eastern Arabia	4500	
"    "    Pacha of Siwas	... ..	2000
"    "    Pacha of Anatolia...	... ..	2580
"    "    Pacha of Belgrade	... ..	1000
"    "    Pacha of Barbary	... ..	4500
"    "    Pacha of Egypt	... ..	10,000
"    "    Pacha of Podolia	... ..	7000
The Cavalry under the Pacha of Babylonia	...	3000
"    "    "    Kourdistan	...	2000
The Troops of the Khan of Tartary	...	30,000
"    "    Hussen Ibrahim, Pacha of Mesopotamia	... ..	24,000
"    "    of the Pacha of Damascus	...	4400
The Troops from the other side of Constanti- nople	... ..	13,000
The Janissaries under the Aga	... ..	8000
The Troops under Kuruisin Pacha	... ..	8000
"    "    Dastran Pacha	... ..	5000
"    "    the Pacha of Sofi	... ..	3000
"    "    Ranwel Pacha	... ..	3700
"    "    Erlan Pacha	... ..	4500
"    "    Senis Khan Pacha	...	5000
"    "    Kanis Khan Pacha	...	1800
"    "    Kozsin Pacha	... ..	2600
"    "    Hardin Pacha	... ..	3000
The Troops from Croatia, Christian perverts to Mohammedanism	... ..	4000
Cavalry from the same Country	... ..	2000

Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	15,000
Men for building Ramparts, &c.	...	...	...	20,000
Baggage bearers	...	...	...	60,000
Officers below the rank of Pacha	...	...	...	8000

## No. VI.

Of the residue of the spoil (after appropriation by the victors and the peasantry) removed to Vienna, the following is an account brought from Amsterdam. translated into Sinhalese.

40,000 lbs. of lead	5,000 lbs. saltpetre
40,000 „ gunpowder	500 guns of the Janissaries
18,000 Brass grenades	200,000 flint guns
10,000 Iron grenades	4 quarter cannons
2000 Bombs	160 large and small cannons
5000 lbs. Pitch	1,000 large bombs
30,000 Mining tools.	18,000 cannon balls
200,000 Hand grenades	8,000 tumbrils
1100 Stink pots	1,000 painted chariots
2000 Halberts	1,000 carved chests
5,000 bags of cotton	1,000 camels
4,000 goat skins	1,000 oxen
400 large grass knives	1,000 buffaloes
1,000 spades	A large quantity of stores and provisions, jams, sugar and other delicacies, sufficient for the support of 150,000 men for twelve months.
5,000 lbs. bolts for bridges	* 10,000 worth provender for horses and cattle, in casks.
8,000 lbs. horse shoes & nails	All the treasure and jewellery brought by the Grand Vizier were taken by His Majesty the King of Poland. Mohammed's banner of victory set with gems and precious stones, handed to the Grand Vizier by the Grand Sultan, also fell into the possession of the King of Poland, who sent it to His Holiness the Pope of Rome.
40,000 ornamented tents, each worth 1,000 Acerambi	
80,000 common tents	
2,000 lbs. of rope made of camel and cattle hair	
20,000 empty powder bags	
1,200 lbs. <i>Lees</i> oil	
1,000 lbs. <i>catto</i> oil	
50,000 lbs. <i>rappol</i> oil	
100,000 lbs. grease	
4 vessels for melting lead	
1,000 woollen bags	
2,000 iron shields	
5,000 lbs. iron	
16,000 lbs. rags for wadding	

\* The original does not mention the coin.



The following letter relating to trade, &c., in Amsterdam, was brought here from that city and translated into Sinhalese.

As it was found impracticable to improve the country of Surinam belonging to the chiefs of Zealand in Holland, it was sold to the chiefs of Amsterdam and to Samuel Deak and the rich merchants of West India. This territory was divided accordingly into three equal parts among the purchasers, and Samuel Deak having built and equipped four ships, proceeded with a great number of men and their families to colonise the said country of Surinam in the West Indies. Some more ships are taking in cargo to sail for that country. These will materially add to the increase of ships, and assist the trade of that place. And inasmuch as this region has fallen into the hands of opulent gentlemen, it will by God's help now thrive, and many and great advantages may be expected yearly, for the sugar and jaggery made in that country now load twelve ships a year; their profits, which only showed for the last two years at five per cent., have now increased to 80 per cent. Besides this, the trade with Egypt and the city of Cairo has also been developed, and if we be relieved of the troubles of war, everything will conduce to a prosperous end. As it was known that the king of England\* had sent a message to the fleet which sailed for Bantam not to execute the orders first given, we have reduced the number of ships intended for India, and we now believe that the tumults in Europe will come to an end, and that peace will reign everywhere. Let us pray God for his blessing hereunto.

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\* Charles II.



*Transf. from Zool. Dept.*  
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