Pronounce C in Cūlavāṃsa and in all Pali words as ch in church; thus: Chūlavāngsa.
To

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

in sincere veneration
and friendship

W. G.
FOREWORD

On completing the first volume of my translation of the Cūlavamsa, I feel it to be my duty above all to tender my most hearty thanks to the Government of Ceylon for the opportunity it gave me of visiting the Island before beginning my work. In Colombo Mr. M. A. Youne, at that time First Assistant Colonial Secretary, arranged matters for me in the kindest manner.

My thanks are no less due to my esteemed colleagues in England whose friendly advocacy and recommendation did so much towards furthering affairs.

Without the journey which took me into all parts of the Island, I should have been without that vivid idea of the country and the people which is necessary for the understanding of their history. Without it too, I should have lost that mass of information and the stimulating intercourse which met me in Ceylon from the most varied quarters.

I mention in the first place with special pleasure and sincere gratitude the present Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. A. M. Hocart, whose lively and intelligent interest in my aims and tasks I shall always remember, as well as that of his temporary representative, Mr. Sudbury. In their company I was able to visit a series of important ruins partly in very out of the way places, and so familiarize myself with some of the most pressing questions connected with ancient Sinhalese architecture.

In the same way I owe warm thanks to Mr. H. W. Codrington. Himself the greatest authority on the history and mediaeval topography of Ceylon, he gave me much help and ready en-
couragement, as a glance at the notes to my translation will show.

Mr. P. E. Pieris also smoothed many a path for me and to his good offices I owe many a valuable connection. Of my old friends I may mention lastly in this place the indefatigable Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara. I must add however, that wherever I came, new Sinhalese friends — amongst others I may mention Ratemahatmaya Bibile — gave me willing and active support.

My principle in working has been to make my translation approach as closely as possible to the original. We must as far as is practicable, know exactly what the chroniclers say. The aesthetic value of the Cūlavamsa as a literary work is small. The carrying out of this principle has been made more difficult by the fact that the German text has had to be re-translated into English. I am however greatly indebted to my co-worker, Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers, for most kindly making my principle her own, in doing which I believe her to have achieved full success.

One difficulty met with by every translator of an Indian text lies in the multitude of the synonyms. It is impossible for us to imitate them. Consider for a moment the many terms for “King”. In order to be as fair as possible to the conditions of the original, we have reserved, though with occasional exceptions, the translation “King” for rājan. Combinations with pati (like dharaṇipati etc.) we have rendered by “ruler”, those with pa or pala (like bhūmipa etc.) by “monarch”, other terms by “sovereign”. That proper names with variants such as Parākkamabahu and bhūja have been unified will probably meet with approval.

The second volume will contain a detailed chronological introduction with a list of the kings, as well as a full index. As the German text is almost finished and the English rendering already in progress, we should not now have to wait long for the completion of the whole work.

The last ten chapters it is true, are not an unmixed joy for the translator. The language is faulty, the style clumsy,
often very stilted. Instead of the long-winded, stereotyped
descriptions of festivals and bounties, one would like to hear
more of those outward events which just in the 16th, 17th
and 18th centuries shook the old Sinhalese kingdom to its
foundations. To make good the omissions of the Chronicle
here would mean writing a new history of Ceylon. This has
already been done by more competent scholars and where it
seemed desirable, I have referred to their works in my notes.

Lastly I would ask the reader before using the book, to
be kind enough to consult the appendices and to take note
of corrections and also of emendations in the original text.

Munich-Neubiberg
November 1928

WILH. GEIGER.
INTRODUCTION

I

As to the credibility of the Cūlavamsa: the history of Parakkamabāhu’s youth

The question of the credibility of the Cūlavamsa cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. It is somewhat more complicated than that of the more ancient Mahāvamsa whose author kept more closely and I might say, more naively to his source. One thing is certain: the compiler of the first part of the Cūlavamsa (chaps. 37–79) with which I am at present dealing, did not consciously relate what was false. What he tells us is drawn from his own knowledge, as derived from his sources and his personal conviction. That much valuable material is contained therein is shown by the way in which various statements are confirmed by inscriptions. In the notes to my translation I have repeatedly referred to these corroborations of the Cūlavamsa. Moreover statements in one part of the work are frequently confirmed by passages in another part. How remarkably for instance, do the geographical data in chaps. 65–67 regarding the flight of Prince Parakkamabāhu from Saṅkhatthali in Dakkhaṇadesa correspond with those in chaps. 70 and 72 in the description of the campaign against Rājaraṭṭha. Cunningham has shown that plainly enough.

But two points must be borne in mind. The compiler — let us call him Dhammakitti — was after all a bhikkhu and the sources of which he made use were written by bhikkhus,
the records forming the foundation were written down in the spirit and in the interests of the Buddhist Church. They were in the main apparently puṇṇapotthakani (cf. Mhvs. 32. 25) that is registers of meritorious works by which the prince had furthered the Church (sasana) and the laity (loka). About such things therefore we are particularly well informed. We hear of the vihāras built by the king, of the repairs he had undertaken on the more ancient buildings, of his bounty to the needy, the poor and the sick and above all to the priesthood. Of much however, equally interesting if not more interesting to the historian we hear nothing at all. It is these gaps of which one has a growing consciousness without being able to lay one’s finger with certainty on them, which constitute the chief lack in the narrative of the Cūlavamsa. Not what is said but what is left unsaid is the besetting difficulty of Sinhalese history.

To take but one example — how explain the fact that of so mighty a work as the fortress of Sigiri not a single detail is described? Even the name is only mentioned in four places. And yet this is perhaps the most magnificent building of which Ceylon can boast. It is not impossible that the personality of Kassapa I. might appear in a different light if a layman and not a priest had been the author of the chronicle.

I must repeat here that not the least doubt is thrown on Dhammakitti’s good faith by such criticisms. They merely point out the range of ideas by which his work was conditioned and restricted.

It is of course clear that it was not solely of such puṇṇāni that Dhammakitti’s sources and tradition had to tell. We hear also of secular proceedings1 with which often enough the “meritorious works” of the princes were connected. But it is indisputable that what the Cūlavamsa had above all in mind was the relation of the king to the church. This relation fills so large a space in the narrative that if we follow it

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1 That the Sinhalese kings had records kept of the events of their reigns is clear from 59. 7-9.
alone the history of Ceylon takes on a hue not quite in keeping with fact. Unfortunately we are not in a position to fill up satisfactorily the gaps in the historical tradition. Later Sinhalese writings are not essentially different in character and the inscriptions which would undoubtedly be our best source, are unfortunately occupied almost entirely with ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless certain of these give much desired confirmation of purely secular events mentioned in the Cūlavāṃsa. Their importance for its chronology will be dealt with later.

A further point. Already Mahānāma the author of the older Mahāvāṃsa, was fain to create a kāvyā, an artificial poem, and he was no stranger to the rules of alamkāra. But this is true in a still higher degree of Dhammakītī. He was a man of literary culture. I believe I have proved in the notes to my translation of 66. 129 ff. that he must have been acquainted with Indian Niti literature, perhaps with its chief work, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya. These literary reminiscences were of course not without influence on his attitude towards historical events and persons.

Above all is this true of the personality of Parakkamabāhu. I should like to elaborate this point further. For Bishop Coleston is perfectly right in regarding the history of Parakkama as the real kernel, the main subject of the Cūlavāṃsa, especially of the first part which was the work of Dhammakītī, and in speaking of a Parakkama epic 1.

Now if we look closely at the figure of Parakkamabāhu as it meets us in the Cūlavāṃsa, especially at the period before he achieved universal sovereignty, we find ourselves faced by a series of contradictions and improbabilities. We are convinced that things did not happen historically in that way. Nor is it possible to form a harmonious and credible picture of the single acts attributed to the youthful Parakkama.

The explanation lies in Dhammakītī’s conception of the way in which his task was to be achieved. From literary

1 JRAS. C. B. nr. 44, 1893, p. 60 ff.
sources, from what he had read he drew an ideal picture of an Indian king. The man whose glorification was his aim must correspond to this picture. He must have all the qualities belonging to an Indian king and employ all the methods of statecraft which political science prescribes or recommends. All these individual traits the compiler combines with the data furnished by tradition, without question as to probability or improbability of these.

According to the Cūlavāmsa the youth of Parakkama was passed somewhat as follows:

Parakkamabāhu is the son of the eldest of the three brothers Mānabhabarṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha who rule over Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa in opposition to Vikkamabāhu who holds the royal dignity in virtue of his possession of Rājaratṭha with its capital Pulatthinagara. Parakkama’s father Mānabhabarṇa has retained as his share the important province of Dakkhiṇadesa, Rohaṇa is divided between the two younger brothers.

The birth of the prince is accompanied by all kinds of miraculous phenomena. Vikkamabāhu is informed of it and wishes to bring the boy up at his court in order to make him his heir instead of his own son. Mānabhabarṇa, however, refuses and dies soon after of a disease. Thereupon his next brother, Kittisirimegha takes over Dakkhiṇadesa and leaves the whole of Rohaṇa to the youngest, Sirivallabha who brings Mānabhabarṇa’s widow Ratanāvalī, her two daughters Mittā and Pabhāvatī and the youthful Parakkama to take up their abode in his capital of Mahānāgahula. Meanwhile Vikkamabāhu also dies and is succeeded in Rājaratṭha by his son Gajabāhu who maintains himself against Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha.

The youthful Parakkama finds no scope in Rohaṇa, so he betakes himself to his uncle in Dakkhiṇadesa who receives him joyfully. He lives with him in the chief locality of the country Saṅkhatthalī. He finishes his education and his coming of age is celebrated with festivities. The Senāpati Saṅkha who was stationed in Badalatthalī, is entrusted with the
preparations for the festival. Sirivallabha dies in Rohana and is succeeded by his son, the younger Manabharana.

Parakkama's ambition finds no satisfaction in Dakkhinadesa. He hankers after the royal dignity in Rajaṭṭha and determines to go thither and discover conditions for himself. Of dissensions between the prince and his uncle there is never any word. On the contrary, the fiction is constantly upheld that Kittisirimegha is tenderly attached to his nephew, and that it is only fear of the dangers involved which makes him discourage the visit to Rajaṭṭha.

So the prince leaves Saṅkhathali secretly and comes first to Badalatthalā where he has the Senāpati Saṅkha killed because he had informed the king of Parakkama's flight. He then goes northwards to Buddhagāma not far from the borders of Rajaṭṭha. The inhabitants of the country make repeated efforts to check the prince's advance but he repulses all such attempts by force of arms.

Parakkama's uncle meanwhile, alarmed at his nephew's disappearance, consults with his ministers (66. 57 ff.) and sends a strong force to fetch him back. But it is ambushed by the prince and completely routed. He even pursues the pursuers (66. 82 ff.) and surprises them by a night assault in Kīravāpi. After repulsing a coun tre attack he proceeds to cross the frontiers of Rajaṭṭha.

Gajabāhu is apparently greatly alarmed but puts a good face on the matter and greets the guest through messengers with gifts, marches to meet him in person and fetch him to the capital.

During his sojourn in Pulatthinagara Parakkamabāhu enmeshes the town and its surroundings in a net of espionage

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1 The compiler is obviously at a loss to account for Parakkama's action. In 65. 35 ff. the affair is so described as if circumstances had driven the prince to it, but he had already (v. 21 ff.) declared his intention of committing an extraordinary deed — the allusion can only be to the removal of Saṅkha — by which his courage and determination would be proved. Thus even Dhammakitti admits that the action was deliberately planned.
(66. 129 ff.). He goes the length of wedding his sister Bhaddavati to King Gajabahu in order to lull his suspicions. He himself keeps her dowry, or at least the greater part of it, in his own hands.

Eventually however, the prince has fears that Gajabahu may see through his intentions and he leaves the town secretly at night to return to Dakkhinadesa (67. 32 ff.). During this flight he meets with all kinds of adventures in which his personal courage is put to the test. Kittisirimegha is delighted at the return of his nephew and sends messengers to Saraggiama to meet him. The prince however, hesitates — the reason is not given — to enter the capital Sañkhatthali. His mother comes from Rohana and persuades him to do so. He is joyfully received by Kittisirimegha who dies shortly afterwards when Parakkamabahu takes over the sovereignty of the province.

What then is the character of Parakkamabahu if we follow tradition? Here I go beyond the chapter whose contents I have just sketched, the question is what kind of personality had Dhammakitti in mind when he gave a poetical picture of his hero. Of course he is extraordinarily fearless and courageous. High-sounding words are put into his mouth. With his weapon alone for which he calls, will he strike terror into the foe (66. 31). He is capable alone of facing all his enemies, as the lion needs no allies when he tears elephants in pieces (72. 88). No one, not even the king of the gods can cross the frontiers of his realm, so long as he is in life (72. 154). Were he fain to seize the sovereignty in Pulatthinagara, the wrinkling of his brows were sufficient thereto (67. 12).

What then of the deeds? An action reminiscent of a feat of Alexander the Great is described 66. 87 ff. during the attack on Khiravapi. Parakkamabahu's people are unable to break through the barricade of thorns which surrounds the place. Thereupon he pierces it alone and announces his name with resounding voice. That suffices to scatter the enemy in all directions. The scene described 66. 104 may also be mentioned
here. But the narratives of the courage displayed by the prince against a she-bear that attacked him in the wilderness (67. 41) and against a boar (67. 44), savour rather of an invention of the author for elaborating the events and adorning the poem. In contrast to these we have in the miraculous story of the male elk (70. 33 ff.) which attacks Parakkamabāhu during the chase and shedding his antlers directly in front of him, falls to the ground, possibly a piece of ancient tradition. Are we not told that the antlers with an inscription describing the occurrence “are even now” preserved in the royal treasury?

In the great military engagements against Gajabāhu and still later against the revolt in Rohaṇa Parakkamabāhu keeps completely in the background. It is his generals who carry out his plans. Without doubt this tallies with the actual conditions of the time. The heroic age of a Duṭṭhagāmaṇi belongs to the past and where Parakkamabāhu is depicted as a hero of this stamp we have, at least as a rule, to do with the creations of poetic imagination, with literary ornamentation. Highly characteristic is the episode described 72. 95 ff. where it looks as if Parakkamabāhu at a critical moment intended to save the situation. He calls for his Sīhala sword. But it is not he who wields it but two of his officers whose efforts at saving the position were only partially successful.

To place Parakkamabāhu’s courage in the best possible light Dhammakittī makes use of two purely literary devices. In his youth he is a harmless, almost childlike nature. He takes pleasure in music, games and dancing (70. 30–31), even on serious occasions where it seems to us almost inappropriate. When he is attacked in Nāvāgirisa by the pursuers sent by his uncle, he is playing a game to which he had been accustomed from childhood (66. 101), and when he has crossed the frontiers of the “King’s Province”, Rājaraṭṭha, he devotes himself for days to the local games (66. 111). When his position is apparently most critical and his attendants take flight he proudly conscious of his personal worth, has nothing but a cheerful smile (66. 30, 72. 99) even when as after the
death of the Adhikārin Rakkha (72. 87), it seems to us hardly appropriate.

Again, what a brilliant contrast is Parakkamabāhu's heroism to the almost grotesque cowardice of his own people as also of the enemy. When the inhabitants of Buddhagāma prepare to attack the prince, his own people flee in all directions (66. 28). At the mere sound of his voice Kittisirimegha's soldiers in Khārvāpi take flight leaving behind their clothes and weapons (66. 90). When attacked in Nāvāgirisa his own people flee to the wilderness without striking a blow (66. 105) and only meet again when they hear their ruler's voice. Before the she-bear and the elk the people take to their heels leaving their prince in the lurch.

Here Dhammakitti manifestly does his countrymen an injustice. The Sinhalese are perhaps not naturally a warlike race, but they can hardly be so cowardly, so senselessly cowardly as they are here depicted. Against the Portuguese they at times gave proof of a death-despising courage. In Parakkamabāhu's times they were certainly not mere cravens. If the poet paints them as such he does it so that the figure of his hero should stand forth the more brilliantly against such a background. The methods employed by Dhammakitti for attaining this end, seem naive and clumsy enough, but we must remember that he himself as a bhikkhu would have but little idea or understanding of military matters.

The following is typical of Dhammakitti's standpoint. During all the events described in 64 and the following paricchedas it is deliberately stated that the relation between Parakkamabāhu and his uncle Kittisirimegha was always one of fatherly love on the one side and of deep gratitude on the other. The prince himself stresses this with zeal 66. 12 ff. And according to 67. 56 ff., 84 ff. the uncle welcomes the return of his nephew from Pulatthinagara with heartfelt joy.

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1 For us the description in 66. 47 ff. of how the Nagaraṅgiri Gokappā was seized with terror as the result of a dream sounds comical, almost ludicrous. Dreams however, had at that time for the Sinhalese a quite peculiar significance, as indeed they still have.
The reason why the compiler holds so firmly to this fiction is clear. The ideal figure of Parakkama must be protected against the possible reproach of ingratitude. The facts however, will not tally with the fiction. Already the words put into the uncle's mouth 66. 58 ff. throw a different light on their relations. Then comes the brutal murder of the Senāpati Sena who was obviously a particularly loyal vassal of Kittisirimegha to whom his death must have been a painful loss. Further the fact that the prince had to fight his way through the various provinces whose inhabitants obviously looked upon him as somewhat of a rebel and traitor. Kittisirimegha himself sends troops after the fugitive who scatters them in a series of skirmishes. Without doubt the description of these fights is accompanied by a great many exaggerations. Parakkamabāhu cannot possibly come to Pulatthinagara at the head of a whole army. But the spirit in which the accounts of these conflicts are conceived is irreconcilable with the fiction of untroubled relations between uncle and nephew.

Then finally the return of the prince to Dakkhinadesa after Pulatthinagara had obviously become too hot to hold him. We are forced to ask what made him delay so long at the frontier (67. 59 ff.). The reason must have been his uncertainty as to the reception he was likely to get from the monarch. This explains too the part played here by Parakkamabāhu's mother. She feels it to be her task to reconcile the two or rather to induce the uncle to give his nephew a favorable reception. She plays the part of mediator.

If now we consider dispassionately the facts as set forth by the chronicle, leaving aside all the inaccuracies due to the character and tendencies of the author, we get I believe a quite intelligible picture of the youthful Parakkamabāhu.

The most striking characteristic of the prince is his ambition and his activity. In Mahānāgahula life with his mother and sisters is too restricted. He dreams of great enterprises. The union of the whole of Ceylon in his hand is the ideal before him at this period. It is possible that his mother, the proud Ratanāvali (cf. 68. 11 ff.) inspired him with these plans
and fed them. At any rate it is the idea of greater possibilities for his own activity which makes him leave Mahānāgahula and betake himself to Dakkhinadesa to the court of his uncle Kittisirimegha. That this province was politically of more consequence than that of Rohana is clear from the way in which the provinces were divided among the three brothers, as I have shown above p. viii. Kittisirimegha has no eligible son as his successor, he receives the young prince therefore with open arms and the relation between uncle and nephew was plainly for some time a friendly one. But it changed. Owing to the bias of the chronicle, we have neither knowledge nor means of judging of the details. The main cause at any rate lay in the restless activity of the young prince. It may be that Kittisirimegha himself felt uncertain of him or that he feared being drawn by him into difficulties with Gajabāhu II., the king of Rājarāttha. Parakkamabāhu will have realised himself that his position at the court of Saṅkhatthali had become untenable. Accompanied by his devoted attendants he flees from the town at night to betake himself to King Gajabāhu. Now we see that Parakkamabāhu is by no means the innocent youth described in the chronicle. He shrinks from no deed of blood if it is in the interests of his plans and of his own safety.

The murder of the Senāpati Saṅkha seems hardly intelligible if we accept the motive alleged for it by the chronicle. The reality was certainly otherwise. We may assume that at first the prince hoped to bring Kittisirimegha’s powerful vassal over to his own side. But Saṅkha remained true to his master. The prince has now reason to fear that Saṅkha may seize and deliver him up to the monarch. The danger for him is great, for Kittisirimegha would doubtless look upon him as a rebel and punish him as such. Thus he determines on extremes and has Saṅkha slain. What was thought of this deed is proved by the way it again and again later on throws its shadow on the actions of Parakkhamabāhu.

Gajabāhu seems (cf. 66, 112) to have received the news of Parakkhamabāhu’s approach with decidedly mixed feelings. He
knew of course enough of his dangerous temperament. On the other hand it is certain that even then the prince was looked upon as an exceptional personality gifted with extraordinary qualities. The king must have regarded Kittisiri-megha as his most serious rival. He may have hoped to gain the prince as ally against this rival. In any case however, it was politically short-sighted to receive him with such honour and to place more trust in him than prudence warranted.

Parakkamabāhu probably employed his sojourn in Pulatthi-nagara to find out the conditions obtaining in Rājaratthā. We may be sure however, that this was not done in the way described 66. 129 ff. Here Dhammakitti as I hope I have shown in my notes to the whole passage, conforms to the whole scheme of the Indian Nīti Literature, exhibiting his knowledge of it with great complacency. At any rate the prince by his whole conduct arouses more and more the suspicions of Gajabāhu and his counsellors so that in the same way as he fled from Saṅkhatthali, he leaves the capital at night convinced that he has been detected. But there is one remarkable difference. Gajabāhu seemingly sends no armed messengers out to fetch back the fugitive. He was probably glad to be rid of a guest who was becoming so dangerous.

Parakkamabāhu's mother, as I assume, reconciles him with his uncle whose death shortly afterwards solves all difficulties.

My remarks are an attempt to remove the facts of a circumscribed period of Sinhalese history from the light in which the compiler of the Cūlavamsa saw and was forced by his mentality to see them and to place them in the light of historical consideration. I repeat that this is merely an attempt. But the employment of this or similar methods may possibly prove fruitful in the interpretation of native tradition.
II
Kingship and the Law of Succession in mediaeval Ceylon

The form of government in mediaeval Ceylon was to all appearance of course despotic. The king is head and crown of the state. The state does not exist for itself but for the king. All attributes of power and greatness are heaped on the king. Yet in his decisions and actions he is by no means so free as one might imagine. In these he is strongly influenced and also restricted by custom which has assumed the force of law, by the pubbacurittam — use and wont. Again and again it is said in praise of the best princes that in their actions they followed former kings, that they did not stray from the path of tradition. This conservative trait forms without doubt a strong counterbalance to the ideas of unlimited power which the popular mind associates with the idea of sovereignty.

There exist a number of names and titles for "king". With no term is the Indian love of synonyms so marked as with this one. It is unnecessary to enumerate the many and varied terms for "king". They are the crux of every translator. The expression "king" I have reserved for rájan. Then there come in addition mahārāja, rājādhīrāja, used 75. 203 of Parakkamabāhu I. which last however is an ancient title. It is used already in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 1. 31. 6. For the ruler of a small island like Ceylon the titles strike us at times as somewhat grandiose: mahīpati, mahīpála, dharaṇīpati, bhūpati, bhūpála, jagātipati, naraṇati, narādhipa, narādhinātha etc. One must bear in mind that these titles have by frequent and arbitrary use — very often it is the metre that decides the matter — become worn down and defaced. It would not be in keeping with the mentality of the compiler of the Cūḷa-vamsa if we were to translate these expressions always by "ruler of the earth" and the like.
Next to the king comes the queen, the maheśi, his chief consort in contrast to the unrestricted number of concubines, the harem (orodha, antepura). In the case of the maheśi equality of birth is strictly enforced and only her sons have a right to the succession. Herr Hocart expressed to me the opinion that there were two maheśis and pointed out the mention of the queens Anulādevī and Somadevī in Mhvs. 33. 45–46. He is certainly right. It is also expressly stated of Vijayabāhu I. (59. 25 and 30) that he raised two princesses to the dignity of maheśi, first Lilāvatī and then Tilokasundari (maheśitā abhīsecaī, -sinī) and a dutiya devī of Māṇībharāṇā of Rohāṇa is mentioned in 64. 24. The mention of the title aggamahesī (54. 10; 70. 33) inclines us to believe that there was a difference in rank between the two maheśis. This assumption however receives no support from the inscription of Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruva in which Queen Candavati is described as dutiyaṃ aggataṃ gata, that she was the second aggamahesī of Parakkamabāhu together with the first, Lilāvatī1.

Special titles also exist for the sons and daughters of the reigning king, for the princes and princesses (rājaputta, rājaputti), for the sons the title adipāda, for the daughters that of rājini. The fact that rājini is not merely a general term for “queen”, but also a particular title with a particular rank corresponding to the title adipāda for princes is clear from 49. 3. Udaya I. makes his eldest son yuvarāja, the other sons ādipādas, the daughters rājinis. In the same way Sena I. according to 50. 58 raises his daughters to the rank of rājinis (rājinīhāne) and Mahinda IV. according to 54. 11 makes his sons ādipādas and his daughter rājini2.

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1 See now A. M. Hocart, Duplication of Office in Indian State, A: The Two Queens (CJSc. G. I, p. 207 ff.). I may add, that Nissaṅka Mallī in the Galpota Inscription (B, line 2; EZ. II. 106) also mentions two maheśīs, Subhadrā and Kalyāṇa.

2 The correction of coparājiniṃ into cāpi rājiniṃ is doubtless preferable to the coparājiniṃ of S. and B. An uparājiniḥ certainly never existed. The reading rājiniḥkata in 60. 84 which I have adopted in the text, shows that Vijayabāhu I raised his daughter Yasodharā to the
As to the title ādipāda, we first meet with it in 41. 34. Here it is stated that Silākāla bestowed it on his eldest son Moggallāna (later King M. II). Two passages dealing with the granting of the title by the king to his sons are just quoted (49. 3; 54. 11). Dappula II. does not make the son of his eldest brother Mahinda ādipāda, because, contrary to the existing law (see below), he wishes to leave the crown to his own sons. Thus it seems that with the title is bound up the acknowledgment of the right of succession. Thus it is legally borne (50. 8 and 25) by Udaya and Kassapa as younger brothers and presumptive heirs of Sena I. Likewise by Dappula (afterwards D. IV.) 53. 1 as brother of Dappula III., and 53. 4 by Udaya (afterwards U. III.) as nephew and heir of Dappula IV. Vijayabāhu I. grants his youngest brother Jayabāhu the rank of ādipāda (ādipādapadaṁ 59. 12), while his brother next in age Vīrabāhu receives the dignity of an uparāja. Later on after the death of Vīrabāhu (60. 86–88) Jayabāhu becomes uparāja and Vikkamabāhu, Vijayabāhu’s son, becomes ādipāda.

It is self understood that with the ascent of the throne or more strictly speaking with the abhiseka, the consecration of the king, the title of ādipāda lapses. Mahinda I. who repudiates this ceremony is called ādipāda throughout the whole of his reign (48. 31, 68).

The granting of the title seems to have some connection with the coming of age. It is said at least of Kitti afterwards Vijayabāhu I. in 57. 61, that he attained the “rank of an ādipāda” in his fifteenth year. Here the political conditions of the time preclude the idea of an act on the part of the reigning king. At first sight it may strike one as strange that the title of ādipāda should be ascribed to Dappula, the sister’s son of Aggabodhi VI. 48. 90, 93 and also to his two nephews 48. 116 who were otherwise (48. 110) designated simply as “princes”. According to the prevailing law Dappula
has no claim to the succession, but as we shall see, he was an ardent champion of another law. Thus he must have claimed the title advisedly, as did his two relatives who on their side declared themselves his legitimate heirs.

The eldest ādipāda, the one nearest the throne bears the title of mahaādipāda, mahādipāda “grand ādipāda”. Mahinda as the eldest of the three younger brothers of Sena I. is so named 50. 10, the two others, Udaya and Kassapa (see above), are ādipādas. Thus the title of mahādipāda is closely allied with the term yuvarāja. It is expressly said of this Mahinda (50. 6) that he was yuvarāja. Udaya II. confers the dignity of a mahādipāda (mahādipādatthanamhi ṭhapi 51. 91) on his brother Kassapa who in the sequel becomes his successor (52. 1). For lack of an heir male Aggabodhi I. appoints his sister’s son of the same name mahādipāda (42. 38), and is eventually succeeded by him on the throne. Kitti-Vijayabāhu I. is in Rohapa after the subjugation of his foes. But henceforth he has the position of yuvarāja (yuvarājapade 58. 1) until his consecration as king and bears the title of a mahādipāda (58. 7). The mahādipāda of the usurper Dāthopatissa was according to 44. 136, his nephew Ratanadāṭha. But at the same time Kassapa (afterwards K. II.) is described as yuvarāja (44. 137) since as younger brother of the legitimate king Aggabodhi III. Sirisamghabodhi he had the right to the succession. The granting of the title mahādipāda seems from 67. 91 to have been a festive act, the prince receiving a fillet which was obviously his special badge.

It may be mentioned that the two titles ādipāda and mahādipāda frequently occur¹ in inscriptions in the forms āpa and mahāpā.

¹ See Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. Index s. vv. That mahāpā also (see l. c. p. 28, n. 4; p. 98, n. 5; p. 187, n. 6; p. 225, n. 3) should stand for mahādipāda raises doubts. The disappearance of ā in the joint of the compound is surprising. In favour of the identification, meanwhile, is the fact that the frequently occurring phrase āpa mahāyā siri vindi (EZ. I. 25, 91, 221) is replaced in the inscription of the Jetavānārāma (EZ. I. 234) by ayipaya mahāpaya siri vindi. Cowardin has every
The heir to the throne has as we have seen, the title yuvarāja. This brings us to the question of the right of succession obtaining in mediaeval Ceylon. But first a remark on the relation of the term yuvarāja to that of uparāja.

In the first place I must point out that the investiture of the uparāja was a solemn ceremony. The uparāja is "consecrated" like the king or the mahesī (Mānaṃ oparajje 'bhisiṇciya 44. 84; oparajje kumāraṇa ca abhisiṇcīttha 48. 42, cf. 48. 69; Mahindaṃ ... oparajje 'bhisecaiyi 51. 7; cf. 51. 12). So far as I can see, the expression "consecrate" is never used of the yuvarāja. One is yuvarāja either in virtue of the right of succession or if necessary or desirable, the position of yuvarāja is conferred like an office or a title (adāsi yuvarā-jattaṃ 49. 3; yuvarājapadaṃ adā 52. 42, 53. 4, 54. 1 and 58); one is nominated yuvarāja (yuvarājam akā 53. 28), appointed to the position (thapetvā yuvarājate 45. 23). It is self understood that these expressions of a more general kind are also used for the appointment of an uparāja (ex. 41. 93, 42. 6, 48. 32). The main point is that where a "consecration" is spoken of (abhi-sic) this has never reference to a yuvarāja but always and without exception to an uparāja.

A yuvarāja is found in every reign along with the king. Of a more limited number of rulers it is related that they appointed an uparāja. Frequently the yuvarāja is invested with this dignity. We can almost say that this was the rule, so that the announcement of the appointment of an uparāja contains the information that the individual in question was at the same time the heir to the throne. Aggabodhi III. consecrates his younger brother Māna (44. 84) uparāja, his heir to the throne according to the law, and described later (44. 123) as yuvarāja. After Māna's premature death his next-youngest brother Kassapa becomes uparāja and yuvarāja (44. 124, 137). In the same way Mahinda is the uparāja of his father Aggabodhi VII. and is called in the sequel yuvarāja.

right to point to this passage when he explains Māyūraṭṭha as Mahādi-pāda-rafttha.
(48. 69, 75). The same is the case with an unnamed son of Mahinda II. who however dies before him. It is related of Vijayabahu I. that he first made his next youngest brother uparāja (59. 11), thus acknowledging him as his heir, his yuvarāja. On his death he transfers the dignity of uparāja to the youngest brother Jayabahu (60. 86, 87), who is then (61. 3) called yuvarāja.

In view of these instances the appointment of another individual than the yuvarāja to be uparāja would seem to be a rare exception due to very special circumstances. Aggabodhi I. for instance, appoints as uparāja his maternal uncle, but the yuvarāja is his younger brother (42. 6) who is not even named and presumably died before the king. Sena II. consecrates as uparāja his younger brother Mahinda who was also yuvarāja (51. 7, 13). After his quarrel with Mahinda he transfers the dignity of uparāja to his own son Kassapa (51. 12). In his disappointment at his experiences he probably wished to exclude his brothers altogether from the succession but this he fails to do. Mahinda remains nevertheless yuvarāja and at his death his place is taken by the next youngest brother of the king, Udaya (51. 63).

The matter, I think, is clear and just what one has from the first expected. Yuvarāja is the legitimate heir to the throne. The dignity of uparāja on the other hand, is a position of trust carrying with it certain rights, apparently a share in the business of government. It seems to have been a matter of the king's pleasure whether to have such a support in his royal office or not.

As to the right of succession, the rule was that the next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation. There are frequent instances of such a sequence.

Aggabodhi V. is succeeded by his younger brother Kassapa III. he being followed by the third brother Mahinda I. Then the succession passes to the next generation and as Aggabodhi
apparently left no son of equal rank, to Kassapa’s son Aggabodhi VI. If he had had brothers capable of succeeding him, they would have been his heirs. As this was not the case, Aggabodhi VII, the son of Mahinda, becomes king after him (48. 1, 20, 26, 42, 68).

Sena II. has three brothers. Mahinda the eldest of them is yuvarāja (51. 13). He dies however, before the king. Hereupon the next brother Udaya II. becomes heir and successor of Sena II. (51. 63, 90) and after him the youngest brother Kassapa IV. (51, 91; 52. 1). Hereupon it is the turn of the next generation and in the first instance the sons of Sena II. — Kassapa V., Dappula III. and Dappula IV., then those of Mahinda — Udaya III., Sena III. and Udaya IV. Of Kassapa V. it is expressly stated that he came to the throne in regular succession, that is according to the existing law (kamāgato 52. 37). Udaya II. and Kassapa IV. seem to have left no legitimate heirs. Thus after the death of Mahinda’s youngest son the sons of Kassapa V., Sena IV. (53. 39; Laṅkābhisekāṃ kamāgataṃ 54. 1) and Mahinda IV. (54. 1, 7) come to the throne.

After the three brothers — Mahinda III., Aggabodhi VIII. and Dappula II. — had reigned in regular succession (49. 38, 43, 65) the crown went by rights to the like-named son of the eldest of them. But Dappula desires to reserve it for his own son. Hence he does not make the younger Mahinda (8) ādipūḍa. That this was a breach of the law is clear from 49. 84. Mahinda betakes himself full of resentment to India.

An important point is the custom of bestowing on the yuvarāja, the Southern Province — Dakkhinadesa — that is the region west of the central mountains as far as the seacoast (45. 23; 50. 49; 51. 19; 52. 1). This was after Rājarāṭṭha economically and politically the most important province in the kingdom, even more so than Rohaṇa which always maintained a more independent and special position. Dakkhinadesa is in consequence directly described as yuvarāṭṭha 67. 26 and 79. 60. According to Codrington, as already mentioned above (p. xvii note), the name of Māyārāṭṭha
which appears later (81. 15, 18, 62; 87. 24) would mean the same, being derived, as he explains, from Mahādipādarattha.

Without doubt the Sinhalese right of succession rests on patriarchy. Nevertheless in Ceylon as elsewhere in India, remnants of an older matriarchy have been preserved. This is particularly noticeable in the part played by the sister’s son, the bhāgineyya. The fact of this relationship being designated by a special term is in itself significant (Skr. bhāgineya). For a brother’s sons no such term exists. They are merely called sūnavo. Thus Parakkamabāhu is called (63. 51) the son (sūnu) of his uncle Kittisirimegha who again is called his father (piṭā 63. 53). Their relationship to one another is always described as that between father and son. The three brothers Mānābharana, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha are even described as the “three fathers” of the youthful Parakkamabāhu (64. 33, 55). One is reminded of the conditions of ancient polyandry.

If a distinction is to be made between the uncle who is the father’s elder brother, and between the father’s younger brother, the first is called the mahāpiṭā and the second the cullapīṭā. Thus Sena I. is the mahāpiṭā of Sena II. (51. 24). The cousins who are the sons of two brothers call themselves quite consistently brothers, as for instance, Aggabodhi VI. and Aggabodhi VII. (48. 61), the sons of the brothers Kassapa III. and Mahinda I. Thus Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the brother of the Buddha because he was the son of his uncle (Tathāgatassa bhātā cullapīṭu-putto DCo. I. 4).

It is undoubtedly the case that the sister’s son enjoyed a certain preference: the last remnant of that special position accorded to him under matriarchy. Dhātusena’s sister’s son holds the important office of senāpati and receives the king’s daughter in marriage (38. 81). In the same way Dappula II marries his daughter Devā to his sister’s son Kittaggabodhi (49. 71).

This remnant of an earlier matriarchy can at times be a furthering or a disturbing factor in the right of succession. Aggabodhi I. makes his brother yuvarāja and appoints his
sister's son Malayarāja. Later on he gives him his daughter in marriage and confers on him the dignity of mahādiptāda. This sister's son afterwards ascends the throne as successor of his uncle under the name of Aggabodhi II. (42. 6, 10, 38, 40). It is not necessary to assume a breach of the law here. We may suppose that the younger brother of Aggabodhi I., the original Yuvarāja, had died before him. As no male heir existed, the crown might legally go to the relative in the female line.

The matter is somewhat different in the case of Kassapa II. He had it is true, no younger brother but he had sons of whom the eldest Mānaka was his legal successor. As these sons however were minors, he summons his sister's son Māna from Rohaṇa and entrusts him with his sons and with the kingdom. Here we have a regency carried on however, after Kassapa's death, not by Māna but by his father Dappula, Kassapa's brother-in-law. The whole affair causes serious disturbances in the kingdom (45. 6 ff.).

A zealous champion of matriarchy and of his claims to the throne based on it was Dappula, the bhūginēyya of King Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha. He waged a long and obstinate fight with Mahinda II., Aggabodhi's son who was the legal heir, no younger brother existing. He was supported in his struggle by two sister's sons in Rohaṇa who in their turn hoped to become his heirs (48. 90, 98 ff.). Here we have obviously matriarchy against patriarchy.

Of special interest is what is related as to the settlement of the succession after the death of Vijayabāhu I. (61. 1 ff.). The Yuvarāja is his youngest brother Jayabāhu. If he ascended the throne then Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu who is sojourning in Rohaṇa, would be his heir and successor. But now begin the intrigues of Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu and Jayabāhu, who taking her stand on matriarchy seeks to divert the crown to her line. In agreement with the highest court officials she decides that Jayabāhu shall indeed be con-

1 Parakkamabāhu I. is also succeeded by his bhūginēyya Vijayabāhu (80. 1), since the male line is extinct.
sacred king over Laúkā, but that the dignity of uparāja and therewith the succession (see above p. xix f.) shall be conferred on her eldest son Mānābharāṇa to the exclusion of Vikkamabāhu. That was a coup d'Etat and the chronicle too says expressly that here was a distinct breach with old established custom (pubbacūrittamagga).

By way of supplement a brief remark on the dignity of the malayarāja. It is not clear whether this was conferred only on members of the royal family. Malaya is the name of the central mountain region of Ceylon which however, according to the testimony of the Čulavamsa (70. 3 ff.) was in Parakkamabāhu's time, that is in the 12th century, still a wilderness. Nevertheless the title "Malaya King" must have denoted some kind of dominion, if only a nominal one, over that province.

Silākāla makes his second son Dāṭhāpabhuti malayarāja (41. 35). The yuvarāja according to law was his elder son Moggallāna (afterwards Moggallana II.). But it was not he but the malayarāja who got the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. Perhaps the custom of bestowing Dakkhiṇadesa on the yuvarāja had not at that time taken root, or else Dāṭhāpabhuti was to be specially favoured. After his father's death he seized the government by force from Moggallāna.

Under Kassapa V. his younger son Siddhattha is malayarāja (52. 68), and this would seem to be the normal condition as against the granting of Dakkhiṇadesa to the eldest son. Under Aggabodhi IV. there is mention of a Malayarāja Bodhitissa (46. 29), but nothing is said as to the relation in which he stood to the king. The dignity is conferred by Moggallana III. on the traitorous senāpati of his predecessor Šamghatissa (44. 43, 53). No conclusion can however be drawn from this. Moggallana III. was apparently himself a usurper. He was commander-in-chief of Aggabodhi II. (44, 2), as Šamghatissa before him had been asiggāha. Here it was the case of founding a new dynasty.

A later form of the title showing Dravidian influence, is malayarāyaro (70. 62, 155).
III

Offices, Dignities and Titles in mediaeval Ceylon

It is interesting to note how the organisation of officialdom and the system of titles became more and more complex, reaching a climax in the middle ages about the time of Parakkamabahu. The difference between the Cūlavamsa and the older Mahāvamsa is here a very considerable one. In the first we meet with an imposing array of expressions and designations which are absent from the other.

Nor is it easy at times to determine whether a word is merely a general term for an official or whether it is associated with a strictly defined sphere of action. This is the case for instance with adhikārīṁ and adhināyaka (adhinātha)\(^1\). These terms almost certainly represent a difference in degree; for according to 70.278 Parakkamabahu conferred on the Adhinātha Māyāgeha as a reward for his military services, the dignity of an adhikārīṁ (adhikāripadam). The title Damiṣādhikārīṁ may be mentioned here. It is borne by one of the two Rakkhas, the generals of Parakkamabahu (75.20, 69ff.), further by a gaṇakūmacca named Ādicca (76.39ff.).

The word amacca (Skr. amāṭya) is certainly one of general meaning. It is used alike of civil and military officials. To translate it always by “minister” I believe is wrong. By comparison with what we now understand by that word it gets a shade of meaning foreign to it. Sāmanta I believe to be a purely military title. It has the same meaning as our word “officer”, corps commanders of various ranks subject to the commander-in-chief (cf. for ex. 69.16; 70.57, 67, 173, 314-6, 319). Even when it stands next to maṇḍūlika it pro-

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\(^{1}\) Cf. notes to 70.278 and 72.10. The word adhikāra has also in the Kauṭaliya the meaning “sphere of action”, proper authority, office. Cf. J. J. Meyer, Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, das Arthāyāstra des Kauṭilya, p. 291, n. 1; p. 480, n. 2.
bably means a military official alongside of the civilian, the governor of a *maṇḍala*, of a larger or of a smaller district (46. 31; 69. 5. 15) by which is apparently meant the smallest division within a province, a *raṭṭha*.

*Nāyaka* would also seem to be a general term. It about corresponds to the English "Colonel". Sirināga the uncle of Jetṭhatissa III., bears this title 44. 70. Vajiragga is the nāyaka of Udaya II. (51. 105, 118) and Rukkha that of Kassapa IV. (52. 31). Not infrequently *nāyaka* is found in compounds thus in *kaṇcukināyaka* (see note to 72. 58) "Head or chief of the chamberlains", or in *saṅkhanāyaka* (70. 278; 72. 31, 41; 75. 75), or in *saṃvaccharīkanaṇāyaka* "chief of the astrologers" (57. 48). *Kesadhātunāyaka* (see below) also perhaps denotes a higher rank among the members of the Order of the Kesadhātus. The function of the *kammanāyaka* or *kammanāṭha* (72. 58, 206; 74. 168) is not clear nor the meaning of the title *disūvijayanāyaka*.

On the other hand it is probably certain that *daṇḍanāyaka* (*daṇḍanāṭha*) denotes an officer of high rank¹. Our rendering of it by "General" probably meets the case. Amongst the commanders of Parakkamabāhu the two brothers Kitti and Saṃkhadātū bear the title (70. 279 ff.) as also the Nagarakarī Gokarṇa (70. 68) and others (see note to 70. 5).

Head of the whole army is however the *senāpati*². His position was without doubt one of extreme importance and the king only granted it to a man in whom he had the fullest confidence. Dhātusena appoints his sister's son senāpati (38. 81). In the same way Parakkamabāhu II. in the war against the

¹ *Daṇḍa* must be taken in the meaning of "army". According to J. J. Meyer (loc. cit. p. 898, n. 3; cf. also p. 834) the expression *daṇḍanāyati* should also be inserted in the *Kauṭaliya*, the same as the *nītā daṇḍasya* of Kāmandaka. Here also a corps-commander is meant.

² In *dhajṣuṇṭaṇi* we have nothing but a synonym for *senāpati*. In the translation I have always therefore inserted "senāpati". In the *Kauṭaliya* (10. 6) the senāpati has not a commanding position. He is here commander of 10 *padīkas* (?) and there are 10 senāpati under one māyaka. Cf. J. J. Meyer, I. c. p. 586. *Shamasāstry* differs somewhat, *Kauṭiliya's* *Arthaśāstra*, p. 452.
Jāvakas, entrusts the highest command in the army\(^1\) to his sister's son Vīrabāhu (33. 41). I do not think however, that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the bhāgineyya. He could indeed become senāpati if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship. Udaya who had distinguished himself by his courage, was made senāpati by his father Mahinda II. (48. 154), just as Mahinda, afterwards Mahinda II., was made senāpati by his father Aggabodhi VI. Our chronicle mentions a whole series of senāpatis by name without saying whether and how they were related to the king (48. 78). Migāra is the senāpati of Kassapa I. (39. 6), Uttara that of Moggallāna I. (39. 58), Vajira of Dappula II. (49. 80), Bhadda of Sena I. (50. 82), Kuṭṭhaka of Sena II. (51. 88), Rakkhaka Ilaṅga of Dappula IV. (53. 11), the nāyaka Viduraggā of Udaya IV. (53. 46), Sena of Mahinda IV. (54. 13), Deva of Parakkamabāhu I. (70. 123), Mitta of Vijayabāhu IV. (90. 2). Of Sena Ilaṅga, the senāpati of Kassapa IV. it is merely said that he belonged to the royal family (52. 16). It would be very remarkable if in all these cases or even in the majority of them the bhāgineyya should be meant and the chronicler not mention the fact.

A special title is that of sakkasenāpati\(^2\). Kassapa V. appoints as such his own son (sakkasenāpatiṭṭhānaṃ datvā 52. 52; cf. 52. 61, 64, 72, 74). After his death the dignity is transferred to his son, thus to Kassapa's grandson (52. 79). I believe we have the same title in the saksevīt of the Biliveva inscription (EZ. II. 40 ff.). A synonym of sakkasenāpati is sakkasanāṇī (54. 58). Difficult of explanation is the term andhasenāpati which occurs but once (41. 87). I am inclined to think that Andha here is the Skr. andhra, the name of a people which occurs along with such as pulinda and sabara.

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\(^1\) The title senāpati is, however, not used here.

\(^2\) The word means "senāpati of Sakka" (the King of the gods), denotes therefore very high rank. We may infer from its meaning that it was merely a title and not the name of an office with special functions.
Like these two names Andha might then have reference to the Väddäs and andhasonäpati would be a title with its counterpart in damilädhikärin. This last title is borne by one of the generals Rakka (75. 20, 69, 74 &c), as well as by the Gañakåmacca Ādicca (76. 39, 63, 64).

Amongst the officials in personal contact with the king are the umbrella-bearer (chattagāhaka) and the sword-bearer (asiggāhaka). The umbrella is the symbol of the royal dignity. Śamghā, the daughter of Mahänāma is married to the king's umbrella-bearer — a proof of the high rank held by this official — and obtains for him the crown by murdering her brother of inferior rank (38. 1-3). Under Vijayabāhu I. three brothers revolt against the king, one of whom is the "chief of the umbrella-bearers" (chattagāhakanātha), the second dharmagehakanāyaka, the third setṭhinātha (59.16). These two last names of offices do not occur elsewhere in the Cūlavamsa. The first of the two (lit. "chief of the House of the Law") is probably the highest judicial official, the second the "President of the Guild of Merchants".

The title asiggāha was like that of the umbrella-bearer without doubt one of high rank. Moggallana I. gives his sister in marriage to his sword-bearer Silākāla and entrusts him with the guardianship of the Hair Relic (kesadhatu 39. 54, 55). Perhaps we have here the beginnings of the Order of the Kesadhatu. Aggabodhi II. appoints a relative of his mahesi as asiggāha (42. 42). Moggallāna III. appoints as sword-bearer the son of the senāpati of his predecessor Šamghatissa to whom he feels under obligations for helping him to obtain the sovereignty (44. 43), Later on this same sword-bearer himself gains the crown and reigns under the name of Silāmēghavāṇṇa (44. 64-65), just as Šamghatissa had been asiggāha before his ascent of the throne (44. 1).

Of great importance was the office of the Government Scribe (mahālekha). We may assume in Ceylon the same or similar conditions as the Kauṭaliya describes in Arthasastra 2. 10 (28th subject); J. J. MEYER, p. 100 ff., in Shimāśāstry's translation p. 80 ff.
India of the period of which it writes. The Government Scribe is called here likewise lekhaka. His task is the drafting of the royal edicts (śasana) to whose content and form the greatest importance is attached. The rules laid down by the Kauṭaliya are extraordinarily minute. The mahālekha of Kaśsapa IV. was called Sena and I have pointed out (note to 52. 33) that this official is also mentioned in inscriptions. The Government Scribe of the younger Mānābharana was Mahinda (72. 1, 4, 166). He had it seems at the same time military rank. The same holds good of Rakkha the mahālekha of Parakkamabāhu I. (72. 161, 170, 182).

Several official titles are formed with the word potthakin, namely: bhaṇḍāra-, ādi-, mūla- and jīvita-potthakin. We shall see that it is probably a case here of various synonymous designations for one and the same office. According to its origin potthakin has reference to an official who in some sphere or other has to do with book-keeping, the making of lists and inventories. Now bhaṇḍārapotthakin is of itself intelligible. It probably corresponds to kośṭhāgarādhyakṣa "overseer of the provision house" in the Kauṭaliya. The title is borne (72. 182) by an officer of Parakkamabāhu I., Kitti by name. But the same Kitti is also described (72. 27, 207) as ādipotthakin. This therefore is probably a synonym of bhaṇḍārapotthakin and means simply "first or highest potthakin". But the same meaning is also attached to mūlapotthakin which is the title of Māna (75. 139, 140) another officer of Parakkama. I may point to mūlāṭhāṇa (57. 38) "the first, the highest and most influential position", the foremost office in the state. My impression is that jīvita-potthakin has the same meaning. This title is also applied to Kitti (74. 90) as well as to another official of Parakkamabāhu's Mandin by name (70. 318; 72. 161). It should be remembered that the Skr. jīvita means "livelihood, food". By bhaṇḍāra was meant the necessary food-stuffs which were under the supervision and control of the potthakin.

2 Besides Kitti also Bhūta in 72. 196, another officer of Parakkama.
Only once is mention made of a gaṇakāmacca (76. 39). This as the etymology shows, was apparently an official whose business was finance or accounts. In the Mahābhārata the gaṇaka (BR. s. v.) is placed side by side with the lekhaka. It is difficult to say what sabhapati¹ (67. 64, 70) or sabhanayaka (thus 67. 61, 80) stands for. The context shows almost certainly that it denoted an officer of very high rank.

In conclusion I mention some terms which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed by the king for public services such as those in war. In the first rank of these is the title kesadhātu. I have noticed it in the note to 57. 65. It is a distinction corresponding to our orders. It may have originated in the members of the Order being entrusted with the care of the Hair Relic. See above p. xxvi. Later on this became a mere formality. It is doubtful whether kesadhātu in the meaning of “member of the K. Order” is an abbreviation for kesadhatunāyaka or whether this last term denotes a higher rank within the Order.

Several of the titles are joined with the word giri (Skr. giri) or galla (Sinh. gala). It is not impossible that in such titles names of localities are meant as in the family names of our nobility. Very frequent is the title nagaranāgi or nagaranalla (see note to 66. 35). Again we have maragiri (note to 72. 11), laṅkāgiri (note to 72. 27), nilagiri (note to 70. 137), lokagalla (note to 72. 222) and the uncertain jītagiri. All these are verifiable as place names: Nagaragalla (48. 36), Māragalla (55. 26) or Mārapabbata (48. 129), Laṅkāgiri (70. 88) or -pabbata (66. 80), Nilagiri (70. 20; 72. 12) or -galla (70. 14, 16, 83) and Lokagalla (74. 79, 81, 83, 166).

In addition laṅkāpura seems to have been a title (see note to 70. 218) and such are most certainly the terms laṅkāṇātha, laṅkādīhinātha, laṅkādīhināyaka (see note to 70. 24), as also laṅkādhikārin (see note to 70. 278). The last, it is worth noting, denotes a higher degree in rank.

¹ P. sabhā means “hall, assembly room”. In Sanskrit the word is also used for a “law court”. Sabhāpati might therefore denote a high legal official.
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Chap. 53

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Chap. 59

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Chap. 61

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Chap. 63

Kittisirimegha, the second brother takes over the province ruled by Mānābharana, Dakkhinadesa; the third, Sirivallabha takes over Rohana with the capital Mahānāgahula together with the upbringing of Parakkama. Marries Mānābharana's daughters to his son (1-17). — In Pulatthinagara Gajabāhu ascends the throne; successfully repulses attacks by Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha (18-37). — Parakkamabāhu's youth. The prince leaves the court of Sirivallabha and betakes himself to his uncle Kittisirimegha in Sāṅkhanāyakatthalī (38-53).

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The prince meets his followers at the appointed trysting-place and comes to Badalatthalī (1-26). — General Saṅkha is surprised, receives the prince nevertheless with due honours. As Parakkama however fears betrayal by him he has him slain (27-37). — Great consternation at the deed. A soldier desirous of avenging Saṅkha is hewn down (37-44).

Chap. 66

Parakkama proceeds farther to Buddhagāma (1-19). — Subdues the resistance of the inhabitants (20-34). — The commander of Kālavāpi, Gokaṇṇa, visits the prince. Frightened however, by a dream he flees by night to Kālavāpi. His people follow him (35-56). — Kittisirimegha determines to fetch the Prince back by force but Parakkama ambushes the troops sent to seize him and cuts them up (57-77). — There follows a series of further skirmishes until the Prince at Jana-pada reaches the territory of Gajabāhu (78-111). — Gajabāhu receives him with honour. Parakkama now seeks by systematic espionage to discover the temper of the king’s subjects and does the same in the society in which he moves (112-45). — He fetches his sister Bhaddavatī from Rohaṇa. Marries her to the king thus gaining his confidence and makes himself everywhere popular (146-58).

Chap. 67

By his determination the prince subdues a mad buffalo. His courage universally admired (1-8). — He decides to return to Dakkhiṇadesa in order to seize the kingdom from there.
Gajabāhu has no inkling of his plans (9-31). — Flight from Pulatthinagara. All kinds of adventures on the way give the prince the opportunity of showing his courage (32-54). — Kittisirimegha sends people to receive him, his mother Ratanāvali fetches him in person (55-82). — Death of Kittisirimegha; Parakkamabāhu in the dignity of the mahādīpāda (83-96).

Chap. 68

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Chap. 69

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Chap. 70

Parakkama through his generals extends his dominion over Malaya. First encounter with Gajabāhu (1-29). — Adventure with an elk during the chase (30-52). — Parakkamabāhu opens the campaign against Rājrāṭṭha. His generals fight those of Gajabāhu along the frontier from the pearl districts in the west as far as Ālisāra in the east (53-172). — Parakkama determines to attack Pulatthinagara. Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa supports him. The town taken after severe fighting, the king captured and generously treated (173-250). — Embittered at the looting of their town the inhabitants summon Mānābharaṇa. He comes, seizes all Gajabāhu's powers, takes him prisoner and plans to remove him. Gajabāhu begs for Parakkama's protection, whose generals take Pulatthinagara a second time and set Gajabāhu free. Mānābharaṇa escapes to Rohaṇa (251-310). — Gajabāhu tries once more to recover the sovereignty. Once more vanquished, he seeks the bhikkhus as mediators (311-36).
Chap. 71

Death of Gajabāhu, Parakkamabāhu king (1-5). — Gajabāhu’s followers summon Mānābharāṇa to their support; Parakkama secures the frontier along the Mahāvālukagaṅgā against him (6-18). — Parakkama undergoes consecration at the express wish of his ministers (19-32).

Chap. 72

Combats at the different fords of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā (1-54). — Parakkama sends his generals against Rohaṇa also from the Pañcayojana province (55-64). — Revolt of Nārāyaṇa in Anurādhapura quickly crushed by Parakkama (65-9). — Mānābharāṇa succeeds in crossing the Mahāvālukagaṅgā and there follows a series of chequered combats. Parakkama forced eventually to give up Pulattthinagāra (70-147). — Forced back to the frontiers of Dakkhipadesa, Parakkama opens a new attack on the capital. His generals fight numerous battles (148-204). — Mānābharāṇa at bay. Decisive action at Mihiraṇabībbila; a fortification erected by General Rakkha. Mānābharāṇa flees secretly to Rohaṇa, triumphant entry of Parakkamabāhu into Pulattthinagāra (205-300). — Death of Mānābharāṇa. Before dying he advises his relatives to give up the resistance to Parakkama (301-10). — Parakkamabāhu celebrates his second coronation (311-29).
TO THE EXALTED ONE, THE PERFECT ONE
THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE
REVERENCE!

CHAPTER XXXVII
(Continuation)

THE SIX KINGS

So after the Ruler Mahāsena\(^1\) had in consequence of his 51
association with impious people, done good and evil all his
life, he went according to his doing\(^2\). Therefore should the 52
wise man shunning from afar as a poisonous serpent, the
company of the impious, do speedily that which tends to his
own salvation. Thereupon his son Sirimeghavāna\(^3\) be-

\(^1\) There is not the slightest doubt that with v. 51 the work of the
continuator of the old Mahāvarṣa begins. We must assume that ori-
originally an ornate strophe followed 37, 50 as conclusion of Mahānāma's
work. The continuator like his successors (cf. 79, 84; 90, 102), veiled
the gap. The content of the lost strophe is apparent from v. 51—52,
as also from the last verse of the Dipavarṣa (22, 76), which Dhamma-
kitti seems to have taken as his starting-point.

\(^2\) P. gati yathākammaṃ "he went according to his kamma" a fre-
quent expression (cf. Jāco. I 109\(^{11}\), 158\(^{12}\), 178\(^{6}\); IL 518\(^{11}\) etc.) with re-
ference to the five gati or forms of rebirth . . . 1. in Hell, 2. as animal,
3. as peta "ghost", 4. as man, 5. as deva "god". Here one must bear in
mind that kamma "doing" is for Buddhist readers or hearers a technical
term, the conception for the sum of all our good and evil deeds in the
latest as in the former existences. Our rebirth, our whole fate is
determined by kamma which is distinctly held to be something concrete.

\(^3\) King Sirī Mekavana Abā is mentioned in the inscription of
Debel-gala (20 miles E. N. E. of Anurādhapura) which is dated in the
first year of his reign. Ed. MÜLLER (AIC., p. 80) attributes the inscrip-
came king, bestowing like Mandhātatar\textsuperscript{1} all kinds of blessings on the world. In the Mahāvihāra which Mahāsenā fallen under the influence of evil people, had destroyed, he gathered together the whole of the bhikkhus, went thither himself, greeted them respectfully, seated himself and asked them full of reverence: “What then has been destroyed by my father in company with Sāmpghamitta?” The bhikkhus answered the Lord of men: “Although thy father strove to bring about the removal of the boundary\textsuperscript{2}, he was unable to do so, as there were still bhikkhus within the boundary. Seven bhikkhus namely, were hidden here in an underground room. The minister Sūpa and the still worse Sāmpghamitta\textsuperscript{3} influenced the

tion to the king Goṭhābhaya (Mhv. 36. 98). There are however, not far from Debel-gala at Timbirivava two further inscriptions in which our Sirimeghavaṇṇa is undoubtedly mentioned. B.gr., ASC. VIIth Rep. 1891 = SP. XIII. 1896, p. 50. Sirimeghavaṇṇa is further mentioned in a Chinese source, in the Hing-Tchoan of Wang Hiuen-tse under the name of Chi-mi-kia-po-me (“cloud of merit”). He is said to have sent two Bhikkhus to India to the King San-mon-to-lo-kiu-to, that is Samudragupta (who reigned according to V. A. Smith approximately between 345 and 380 A. D.), asking him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks who were on a pilgrimage to the sacred tree at Bōgāyā. Cf. Sylvain Lévi, Jār. 1900, p. 316 sqq.; J. M. Senavasakhe, JRAS. C. B. XXIV, Nr. 68, 1, p. 75; H. W. Coedrington, Short History of Ceylon, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{1} A legendary king of the dynasty of Mahāsaṃmata, son of Upo-satha. His story is told in the Mandhātu-Jātaka (Nr. 258 = JāCo. II. 310 ff.), which is again quoted in DhCo. III. 240\textsuperscript{5}. The name Mandhātar occurs already in the Rigveda. In the Aiṅuttara-Nikāya (A. II. 17) Mandhātar is described as aggo kāma-bhogyinaṃ.

\textsuperscript{2} P. sīmāy' upghāṭanāṃ. What is meant here is the boundary of the enclosure of the Mahāvihāra. The verb upghāṭeti means “to put on one side, to set aside”, as for instance, ghaṇṭikṣaṃ, the door bolt, Vin. II. 207\textsuperscript{10}, III. 119\textsuperscript{24}; then “to open, to undo”, for instance, kavaṭakaṃ Mhv. 35. 25; sīhapaṭharaṃ JāCo. I. 124\textsuperscript{12}, II. 31\textsuperscript{15}; thāpasa Thvs. 59\textsuperscript{18}; lastly “to make known, to reveal”, eg. attitabhaṃ DhCo. IV. 51\textsuperscript{8}. The removal of the boundaries would only have been legal, if the bhikkhus themselves had given up the vihāra.

\textsuperscript{3} The Thera Sāmpghamitta belonged to the Vettulla sect and worked together with his lay disciple Sūpa for the advantage of the Abhayagiri-vihāra against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra. See Mhv. 36. 110 ff., 37. 1 ff.
king and determined him to do evil. They destroyed the splen-
did seven-storeyed Lohapāśāda\(^1\) as well as various other build-
ing\(_s\) and carried off (the material) to the Abhayagiri (-vihāra)\(^2\).
In the court of the Cetiya\(^3\) where four Buddhas had sojourned, 60
the deluded ones had mungo beans planted; behold (in its
consequences) the intercourse with fools." When the King 61
heard of these doings of his father, he being averse himself
from all association with fools, had everything which his father
had destroyed, restored in its original form. To begin with, 62
he set up the Lohapāśāda, making visible as it were, the
magnificent palace of Mahāpanāda\(^4\) on (the island of) Sihala.

\(^1\) The Lohapāśāda was laid out by King Devānampiyatissa as dwelling
for the inmates of the Mahāvihāra (Mhvs. 27. 4 ff.). There are
1600 monolithic stone columns still standing which formed the frame-
work of the lowest storey. As the inmost pillars are the strongest, and
had thus evidently the heaviest weight to bear, we may suppose the
building to have been a stepped pyramid. The upper storeys were ap-
parently of wood and were covered with plates of copper. Hence the
name "Bronze Palace". The word pāsāda is applied to all larger build-
ing\(_s\) of several storeys. The meaning "palace" though not always
appropriate, is of course so whenever, as below v. 62, the pāsāda of a
prince is meant. That the Lohapāśāda was in the main built of perish-
able material is proved by the fact that under Saddhātissa (77—69 B.C.)

\(^2\) Abhayagiri is without doubt the northern of the three large thūpas
in Anurādhapura, Jetavana the eastern, not conversely. The question
was admirably treated recently by A. M. Hocart (Mem. ASC I. 10 ff.).
A reference might still be made to Mhvs. 37. 33 where it reads: Mahā-
vihārasīmante uyyāne Jotināmake Jetavanavihāram so vāriyanto pi kārayi.
This of course is applicable only to the eastern not to the northern thūpa.

\(^3\) Regarding the untranslated termiini (here cetiya) see Mhvs. trsl.,
Appendix D, p. 292 ff. Cetiya and thūpa are used synonymously for the
bell-shaped structures designed to hold relics. The fundamental form
was without doubt the burial mound.

\(^4\) A legendary king of the Mahāsāṅgamata dynasty (Mhvs. 2. 4). An
account of his splendid palace (yūga) is given in the verses Thag. 163-4
= Jā. II. 334 (Mahāpanādajātaka). It was sunk in the Ganges at Pa-
yüga. A legend relates of the Thera Bhaddaji that to prove his mira-
culous strength, he raised the palace with his toes out of the bed of the
stream and showed it to the astonished people. (Jā. II. 333; Mhvs.
31. 7 ff.)

C1—4
He built up all the demolished pariveṇas and fixed the re-
venues of the helpers of the monastery as heretofore. The
wise (Sīrimeghavannā) refilled the vihāra which had become
sparsely inhabited through his unwise father having stinted it
of necessaries. In the vihāra begun by his father in Jotivana
the monarch had all unfinished work completed. Now when
the Ruler of men had heard from the beginning the whole
history of the Thera Mahinda, the (spiritual) son of the Ruler
of the Samanās (Buddha), he felt a believing joy in his merit
in having brought the island to the faith and thought: “Of
a truth the Thera is lord over the island”. He then had an
image of gold made corresponding with the size of Mahinda
and brought it to the Ambatthalā-cetiya, so called after the
mango tree of the Thera. There he left it on the eighth
day. But on the ninth day he took a great host like to an
army of the gods, as also the women of the harem and the
inhabitants of the town, save the watchmen, gathered together
also all the bhikkhus in Lankādipā, and freed the people who

1 Pariveṇa (Sinh. pārivena) denotes now a building intended for
the instruction of the bhikkhus. That pariveṇa originally, or at any rate
in early times, must have denoted more than the single cell inhabited
by a bhikkhu is clear from 37. 172.

2 P. dāruṇikā. The dāruṇikā had to do work for the monastery
and to keep it in order. See Vin. I. 206 ff. — Cf. Vin. II. 211 ff. the
grades bhikkhu—schawara—dāruṇikā.

3 What is meant here is the Jetavana-vihāra which was built ac-
cording to Mhva. 37. 33, by Mahāsena in the Jotivana which lies outside
the southern gate of the town of Anurādhapura (Mhva. 15. 202. See the
note on 37. 59.) A special Jotivana-vihāra did not exist. Cf. also below
52. 59 with note.

4 Cetiyambathale (so also v. 69, 74). Probably a mere inversion for
Ambatthalacetiye metri causa. The Ambatthalacetiya stands on a terrace
of the Missa hill, now Mihintale (8 miles east of Anurādhapura) below
the highest summit, on the spot where according to the legend, the
emissary Mahinda converted King Devamapipiatissa to the doctrine of
the Buddha.

5 By the riddle of the mango tree (Mhva. 14, 17 ff.) the Thera Mahinda
put the King’s discernment to the proof. Even now there are mango
trees planted near the Ambatthalacetiya in memory of the event.
were in prison in the town. Then he instituted a great alms-giving for all living beings, and celebrating with all offerings a matchless sacrifice, he went forth to greet the master of the island, the best son of the Master (Buddha), as the King of the gods (Sakka) had aforetime (greeted) the Master. He had the street from the Ambatthala-cetiya to the town put in order even as the road from Vesāli to the town Sāvatthi, and by the spending of a whole fortune on this occasion, as the King (Asoka), the father of the Thera (had done) on the arrival of the Thera Moggaliputta, he satisfied the poor, travellers and beggars by instituting a great almsgiving and the bhikkhus by (the gift of) the four necessaries. Then the Illustrious One with the wish: the people shall see the arrival of the Thera, lifted up the image amid great reverence, descended from the mountain (Missaka), (and) while he placed himself at the head (of the procession), made the bhikkhus surround it on all sides — the golden image of the Thera shone as the golden Mount Meru rising out of the milky sea (shines) when irradiated by the evening glow — and showed it to the people with the thought: Even thus the Leader of the World went forth to Vesāli to preach the Sutta. Thus paying


2 The fetching of the Mahinda image by Sīrimāghavaṇṇa is compared with that of Moggaliputtatissa by King Asoka, as it is described in Mhvs. 5. 245 ff. The Thera dwells in a hermitage on the upper Ganges. He is wanted to settle the disputes which have arisen in the Buddha Order. Only after many vain attempts does Asoka’s emissary succeed in persuading him to take the journey to Pātaliputta where the King receives him with the highest honours. There follows the holding of the Third Council.

3 P. paccayehi catūhi, namely: clothing (cīvara), food (piṇḍapāta), dwelling (sannāsana) and medicine (bhavesa).

4 Meru or Sumeru is the mythical world mountain which rises in the centre of the earth, on whose summit lies the heaven of the Tāvatimsā, of the 33 Gods. S. Kiewel, Cosmographie der Indianer, p. 16, 187 etc.

5 Verses 66—80 form one sentence. The subj. is manujīndo in 66
reverence and homage (to the image) the Lord of men set out in the evening for the vihāra Sotthiyākara⁴ which he had him-
self erected near the eastern gate, and there also he let the image of the (spiritual) son of the Conqueror (Buddha) tarry
three days. Then after he had on the 12th day put the town well in order, even as the town of Rājagaha at the first entry
of the Master⁵, he fetched the image from the Sotthiyākara-
vihāra and brought it, while the town had the semblance of
the ocean by reason of the great festival, to the Mahāvihāra,
taken up again by rājā in 67, so in 70 and ayaṃ in 72, verb. fin.
dassei in 80, obj. pāṭidimbāna in 68 (taken up again by tasm in 77).
The construction of the sentence is disturbed by the verb. fin. sabbhatha
in 79. I believe either that the whole of verse 79 was inserted later
or perhaps better still that it is to be regarded as a parenthesis. The Sutta
preached by the Buddha in Vesālī is the Ratnasutta (No. 6
of the Khuddakapāṭha = v. 222 ff. or Cūlavagga 1 in the Suttanipāta).
Its previous history is related by Buddhaghosa (Kh. A. p. 158 ff.), appears
also in the Mahāvastu (I. 253 ff.) In Vesālī, the capital of the Licchavi
clan (T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 25 f.) bad plagues caused
by evil spirits are rife. The terrified inhabitants appeal to the Buddha
who is sojourning in Rājagaha. He comes, drives off the evil spirits
and pronounces over Vesālī the verses of blessing (Svastayayanagāthā
in the Mahāvastu) of the Ratnasutta. It is now expressly insisted on that
the street from Rājagaha to the Ganges and again on the territory of
the Licchavi from Vesālī to the Ganges was put in the most perfect
order and decorated. I should therefore refer v. 74 also to the journey
of the Buddha to Vesālī, though in that case Sāvatthī would be er-
roneously substituted for Rājagaha. That there was a tendency to make
Sāvatthī a dwelling place of the Buddha is shown by Mrs. Rhys Davids’s
acute observations on the Sarpyutta-Nikāya. (The Book of the Kindred
Sayings tral. by F. C. Woodward, III, p. XI f.)

¹ From the description of the position the name would best fit that
collection of buildings east of Anurādhapura now called Puliyankulam.
The foundation of this vihāra would then have to be placed in the
4th century A. D., as Sirimeghavanṇa built it himself (sayaṃkataṃ).
The fact of the present ruins belonging in style to a later period is no
argument against the identification, as all these monasteries were repe-
tedly enlarged and renewed.

² On the Buddha’s first visit to Rājagaha on which occasion King
Simbiśāra presented him with the Vejuvana park see Vin. I. 35 ff.;
left it three months in the court of the Bodhi tree, brought it then in the same (solemn) manner to the inner town and had 86 a handsome shelter built for the image near the royal palace at its south-eastern corner. The wise, discerning (King) had 87 images of Iṭṭhiya and of the others¹ made and put them in the same spot. He set a watch there and spent a sum of money 88 as an offering and gave orders to proceed year by year in like manner. In obedience to his order the kings of his race 89 keep up the custom here (in Ceylon) to this day and do not neglect it. On the day of Pavāraṇā² he brought the image 90 from the town to the vihāra and ordered that every year an offering be made on the 13th day. Beside the Bodhi tree 91 Tissavasabha in the Abhaya-vihāra³ he had a stone terrace and a handsome wall built.

In the ninth year of this (King) a Brahman woman brought 92 hither (to Anurādhapura⁴) from the Kāliṅga country the Tooth

¹ The theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla (Mhvs. 12. 7), the sāmaṇera Sumana and the lay-brother Bhaṇḍuka (Mhvs. 13. 18, 14. 88) were companions of Mahinda on his flight to Ceylon.

² Pavāraṇā is the ceremony observed by the bhikkhus at the close of the three months' vassa, that is the rainy season spent in the vihāra. The vassa begins according to the directions of the Vinaya (1. 187 ²⁶; cf. with this Vin.-A. III. 29³ the commentary of Buddhaghosa) on the day after the day of full moon of the month Āsāḥa (May-June) or a month later and lasts three months. As the Pavāraṇā festival takes place on the 14th and 15th days of the final month, the 13th day mentioned in v. 90 is the day immediately preceding it for which the King ordains a yearly festival of offering. (See Th. KUK, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.)

³ Differently rendered by TURNOUR-WIJESIÑHA: “and he built stone cornices and beautiful walls also at the Abbaya and Tissa-Vasabhā vihāras, as well as at the bodhi tree.” I think, however, that sīlavatiñna can only belong to bodhipudape. The sacred fig trees (Ficus religiosa) are as a rule surrounded by a stone terrace. Vihāra Abbaye refers without doubt the Abbayagiri-vihāra in the north of the town. I am inclined to look upon Tissavasabha as the name of the Bodhi tree, named perhaps after the name of the man who planted it and who came from the village of Vasabha. There was a village of this name near Anurādhapura its revenues (see 41. 97) being later made over to the Jetavana by Mahānāga.

⁴ A more detailed account of this event by which the most famous
98 Relic of the great Sage (Buddha). In the manner set forth in 
94 the Chronicle of the Tooth Relic the Ruler received it with 
95 reverence, paid it the highest honours, laid it in an urn of pure 
96 crystal, and brought it to the building called Dhammacakka 
97 built by Devanampiyatissa on the royal territory. Henceforth 
98 this building was the Temple of the Tooth Relic. The King 
99 his heart swelling with joy, spent 900,000 (kahapaças) and ar- 
100 ranged therewith a great festival for the Tooth Relic. He de- 
101 creed that it should be brought every year to the Abhayuttara- 
102 vihāra, and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be ob- 
103 served. The Ruler had eighteen vihāras built and (he con- 
104 structed) tanks which always contained water, because of his 
105 pity for all living creatures. After performing innumerably 
106 many meritorious works such as offerings for the Bodhi Tree 
107 and the like, he went in the 28th year (of his reign) thither 
108 whither his merit took him.

relic of the Buddha came to Ceylon, is to be found in the Rājāvaliya 
(see p. 58 of B. GUMASKEKARA’s translation); in the Rājaratnākaraya 
(ed. SADDHANANDA, Colombo, 1887, p. 29) and in the Pujāvaliya (Con- 
tribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pujāvaliya, ed. 
B. GUMASKEKARA, p. 29-4). The country of Kaliṅga corresponds roughly 
to the present Orissa on the mainland of India. V. 93 refers to the 
Dāthadhātuvāmsa written in 1211 by Dhammakitti, an older 
name-sake of the author of the first part of the Cūlavaṃsa, or to the 
copy of it written in the Sinhalese tongue. The Pāli Dāthadhātuvāmsa 
has been edited by T. W. Rhys DAVIDS, JPTS. 1884, p. 108 ff.

1 One must look for the remains of the building in the so-called 
Dālaḍa-Mūligāva in the south-eastern part of the city of Anurādhapura, 
not in the ruin of the same name at the Thūpārāma. See E. R. AYRTON, 
Ceylon Notes and Queries III, Apr. 1914, p. XII ff.

2 “The Northern Vihāra of Abhaya”, the same as the Abhayagiri- 
vihāra. We often meet with the name Uttara-Mahā-Ceta in inscriptions. 
Thus in that of King Malu-Tissa, WICKREMASEKERE, EZ. I, p. 256, cf. also 
ib. p. 221, 236; as well as A. M. HODGART, Mem. ASC. I, p. 12. In the 
older Mahāvaṃsa (55. 119) we also find the name Ābhayuttaramahāthāpā.

3 Literally: “he went there where was the way to rebirth (gati)”. 
Means the same as yatthākammaya gato (see above note 2 to v. 51), here 
of course in a good sense. According to Pujāvaliya and Rājāvaliya the 
king reigned fully 28 years.
The youthful Jeṭṭhatissa, the youngest son of his brother, then raised the umbrella of dominion in Lāṇkā, (he being) experienced in the art of ivory carving. Extraordinarily skilful, he carried out many difficult works and taught the practice of his art to many people. At his father's request he made a beautiful, charming figure representing the Bodhisatta, as beautiful as if it had been produced by miraculous power, as well as a chair of state with a back, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa with jewels: Here and there (were) all kinds of work by him in splendid ivory. After ruling the island of Lāṇkā for nine years and doing numerous meritorious works, he passed away in accordance with his deeds.

Thereupon his son Buddhādāsa became king, a mine of virtues, as the sea (is such) of all jewels. Creating happiness by every means for the inhabitants of the island, protecting the town, as the wealthy Vessavaṇa protects the town of Ālakamandā, gifted with wisdom and virtue, a refuge of pure pity

1 According to the reading bhātu tassā kaniṭṭhako as against bhātā t. k. cf. Cāḷavas ed., Intro. p. XVII. Nevertheless I have scruples in adopting this reading, since in the historical literature of Ceylon Jeṭṭhatissa is distinctly called the brother, not the nephew of his predecessor.
2 P. citrāni. I do not believe that this word refers to painting. It is always a question of Jeṭṭhatissa's ivory carving only.
3 The "father" may be king Sirimeghavanṇa, the paternal uncle being always called pitar.
4 By maṇḍapa is understood a light, open, arbour-like structure whose roof is supported on pillars, often put up for merely temporary purposes.
5 The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. I think v. 103 c d is a summary of what has gone before.
6 Pājāvaliya has the same; but according to the Rājavaliya, 10 years.
7 The Sinhalese sources (Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn.) call him Buja-
8 raja. Also Nikāya-saṅgraha ed. Wickremasinghe, 168.
9 Rakkhaṇa is to be supplemented from d by the object puras, while on the other hand puras must be supplemented by the participle rakkaṇa from e.
10 Vessavaṇa — Skr. Vaiśravaṇa, patronymic of Kuvera the god of wealth. His capital is called in Skr. Ālakā (E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 142 ff.). In D. II. 1476, 1707 Ālakamandā is called the capital of the Devas.
108 and endowed with the ten qualities of kings\textsuperscript{1}, while avoiding the four wrong paths\textsuperscript{2}, practising justice, he won over his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities\textsuperscript{3}. The Ruler lived openly before the people the life that bodhisattas lead and had pity for (all) beings as a father (has pity for) his children. He fulfilled the wishes of the poor by gifts of money, those of the rich by protecting their property and their life. Great in discernment he treated the good with winning friendliness, the wicked with sternness. the sick with remedies.

112 Now one day as the King riding on the back of his elephant was on his way, in the principal street, to bathe in the Tissa-tank, he beheld a large snake smitten with belly disease, lying not far from the Puttabhāga-vihāra outstretched on its back on a white ant-heap to display its disease of the belly, called a tumour. He thought: the snake is certainly ill\textsuperscript{4}. Thereupon he got down from the great elephant and approaching the great snake, thus spake the hero, the Spotless One, to the great snake\textsuperscript{5}: “I understand, great Snake, the reason of thy coming. But ye (snakes) are very fiery\textsuperscript{6} and easily fly into a rage\textsuperscript{7}. There-

\textsuperscript{1} On the \textit{dāna rājadhammā} see M. and W. Grégoire, Pali Dhamma, p. 17. They are enumerated J. III. 274\textsuperscript{1}: \textit{dāna} “giving of alms”, \textit{sīla “leading a moral life”, paricēdha “liberality”, ajīva “fair dealing”, sādha “gentleness”, tapas “self-discipline”, akkodha “without wrath”, avihissā “not wounding”, ḫanti “patience”, avirodhan “peaceableness”.

\textsuperscript{2} P. catasso \textit{agati hitā}. The four \textit{agati} are \textit{chanda “desire”, dosa “hate”, moha “illusion”, bhaya “fear”.

\textsuperscript{3} The \textit{cattāri samghahatthānī} are \textit{dāna “the giving of alms, liberality”, peyyavajja “friendly, winning speech”, atthacariyā “beneficent action”, samānattā “sociability”. Cf. 41. 56.}

\textsuperscript{4} One must read “nāgo rogi ti nicchayāni”, The \textit{ti} is, as often, placed in the \textit{oratio recta}. Cf. 44, 16; 45, 20; 48, 30.

\textsuperscript{5} The verse contains a play upon words impossible for us to render, \textit{nāgo} being used in the threefold meaning of “snake” especially cobra, “elephant” and “great man, hero”. Add to this the similarity in sound with \textit{anāgavā} (Skr. \textit{āgas “guilt, sin”).

\textsuperscript{6} P. mahādēja. Tawseu’s translation “highly gifted” is wrong.

\textsuperscript{7} Literally: “You are quickly such who bear the character of being wrathful”. See Cālava, ed., vol. II, Index 2, s. v. \textit{kappana}. 


fore it is impossible for me to touch thee and so to accomplish my work; but without touching thee it is also not possible. What then is to be done?" At these words the prince of the 118 snakes stuck his whole neck\(^1\) into the cavity (of the white ant-
heap) and remained lying motionless. He stepped up to it, took 119
the knife that he wore at his side and slit open the belly of the
snake. After he had taken out the diseased parts and applied 120
an excellent remedy, he at once cured the reptile. Then he 121
gloried thus: "Even the beasts have known my great charity;
in the right way have I ruled." When the snake saw that it 122
was cured, it gave the Monarch as a mark of esteem, its own
precious jewel\(^2\). The King placed the jewel as eye in the stone 123
image of the Perfectly Enlightened One in the Abhayuttara-
vihāra.

A bhikkhu on his mendicant round in the village of Thusa-
vaṭṭhika had been given only dry mendicant's food. When then
he went begging for milk he got milk with worms in it which 125
he drank. In his belly the worms multiplied and fed on his
bowels. Then he went and told the King. The King asked: 126
"At what meal did this pain arise and of what kind is it?"
The other answered: "At the meal that I took with milk in 127
the village of Thusavaṭṭhi". The King recognised that it had
been milk with worms in it. Now just at that time a horse 128
had to be cured by bleeding. The King himself bled it, took
the blood, gave it tho the samaṇa to drink and spake, waiting 129
a moment\(^3\): "That was horse's blood." When the samaṇa
heard that he vomited. The worms came up with the blood, 130
the bhikkhu was cured, but the King showed his joy: "By a 131

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\(^1\) P. phāṣa, the hood of the cobra which it inflates when irritated. Pun with phaginda "prince of the hooded snakes".

\(^2\) In allusion to the widespread popular belief that snakes or parti-
cular snakes have a jewel in their head. Cf. for instance, Chakesadhātu-
vāsas, JPTS. 1885, p. 1416.

\(^3\) I now prefer to read vittindaṕaṇa with the MSS. S 3 or., 6, or vittindaniya with the Colombo edition.

\(^4\) On the term samaṇa cf. R. O. Franke, D. trsl. p. 304 ff. In the Mahāvamsa the word is used in the same sense as bhikkhu.
single stroke of the knife worms, samāpañca and horse have been
cured: excellent of a truth are my activities as healer."

A man in drinking water swallowed the egg of a water
snake\(^1\); out of it there came a water snake. It sucked itself
fast\(^2\) in his inside. Tortured by the pain caused by this he
sought the King. The latter asked him as to the cause\(^3\). He
recognised that a reptile was within him, made him fast a
week and had him, after being bathed and rubbed with oil,
laid on a well prepared bed. Now as he lay there in deep
slumber with open mouth, he placed before his mouth a piece
of meat with a string attached. (Lured) by the smell the reptile
came out of him, bit fast at it and wanted to crawl in
(again). Thereupon the King held it fast by means of the
string, drew it out, threw it in a jug into water and spake
these words: "As is well known the physician of the Perfectly
Enlightened One was Jivaka\(^4\). Can the world show a work of
his harder (than this)? Certainly he also would accomplish a
work like this — of that there can be no doubt — if he did it\(^5\) with
the utmost care. Behold the consequences of my
good deeds!\(^6\)"

\(^1\) deñ\(\tilde{d}\)ubha. Cf. u\(\tilde{d}\)akaddeñ\(\tilde{d}\)ubha J. I. 361\(^6\); III. 16\(^1\)! In J. VI. 194\(^1\)! the Comm. explains the word \(\tilde{d}\) by u\(\tilde{d}\)akasappa. In Sinh. also deñ\(\tilde{d}\)ua means a water snake. The closely allied skr. word duñ\(\tilde{d}\)ubha is a kind of lizard without feet living in the water (BöHSEL-BÖHRENS, s. v.).

\(^2\) P. anto tudiltha tud\(\tilde{d}\)an, lit. "it stuck (or bored) its mouth in".

\(^3\) P. \(\tilde{d}\)id\(\tilde{a}\)na is like skr. \(\tilde{d}\)id\(\tilde{a}\)na a medical term: "the theory of the causes of diseases and of their nature: Aetiology, Pathology" PTSPD. s. v. Cf. Milp. 272\(^1\): roguj\(\tilde{a}\)p\(\tilde{a}\)ja ca \(\tilde{d}\)id\(\tilde{a}\)na\(\tilde{a}\) ca.

\(^4\) For this famous physician, Jivaka Komārabhucca, see namely Vin. I. 268 ff.

\(^5\) Tunnaus has misunderstood the passage. W. has got nearer to the
sense, but he has misinterpreted saññattotp\(\tilde{a}\)na kubbanto ("in all loving-
kindness"). The meaning is this: Buddhādāsa has no intention of pla-
cing himself above Jivaka, but his achievements are equal to the highest
of those of Jivaka. The latter also had to use all his skill to achieve
such cures as Buddhādāsa can boast of having accomplished.

\(^6\) P. puv\(\tilde{a}\)ādāya, lit. "ascent of acquired merit", a technical expression
inoting the moment, in which the effects of former good deeds make
themselves felt. See 53. 23.
In the same way in Hellológama he saved a Canda woman the fruit of whose womb had taken a wrong position, seven times with the child. A bhikkhu was disturbed in his exercises by the writhing disease; as he had become (bent) like a roof-tree the wise (King) freed him from his ailment. A young man was drinking a little water in which were frog's eggs. An egg penetrating by the nostril entered his skull. It opened and was a frog; it grew and dwelt there. At the approach of the rainy season the young man was greatly tortured by it. The King split the skull, took out the frog, put the parts of the skull together again and cured the young man at once. For the good of the inhabitants of the Island the ruler had refuges for the sick set up in every village and placed physicians in them. He made a summary of the essential content of all the medical text-books and charged one physician with (the care of) twice five villages and gave the physicians the produce of ten fields as livelihood. He also appointed physicians for elephants, horses and soldiers. For cripples and

1 One must join mūlhaabhaṁ jātaṁ. On mūlhaabhaṁ cf. Jolly, Medizin (der Inden), p. 64 f. Satta vāresu belongs to mūlhaabhim as well as to sukhitaṁ akā “cured, saved”.

2 P. uṭṭhāpi. The verb (u)ṭṭhā is the term for awaking from the state of absorption in meditation (samaśā). Thus Vin. I. 229, 312 etc. D. II. 156 B; M. I. 3028–10 etc. Also the substantive (u)ṭṭhāna M. I. 296 etc. Manifestly our passage means that the pain awakened the bhikkhu out of his sleep of meditation.

3 P. vātabdhena. See Jolly loc. cit. p. 118 f. The disease consists in contraction of the joints, cramp, paralysis etc.

4 P. gopānasī a roof beam in gable form A. The expression gopānasāvaṇka “bent like a g.” is used of people bent by age.

5 P. tattha gacchati in the more general meaning “was there” (cf. skr. tatragata), the present expressing the permanent condition.

6 Lit. made him (as he had been) originally.

7 I do not take sārāthasaṁghaṁ as does Tukou, for the title of a medical work. In this case the construction of the preceding genitive sabbesan evaṁ sārāthānaṁ would be quite unintelligible. Cf. also the note to v. 171.

8 P. pīthasappiṁaṁ, who moved about with the help of a chair-like frame. PTSPD. s. v.
for the blind he built refuges in various places and refuges
with maintenance in the principal street. He hearkened con-
tantly to the good doctrine, showing reverence to the preachers
of the doctrine. He also fixed the salaries of the preachers
in different places. Of his great pity he had a pocket for his
knife made in the inside of his mantle and whereever he met
them he freed the afflicted from their pains.

Now one day the King royally adorned came forth with his
army like Vasava with the Gods. Now when a leper who in
a former existence had been his enemy, beheld the Ruler at
the very summit of his glory and good fortune shining in royal
splendour, he was filled with fury; he struck the earth with
his hand and smiting the ground again and again with his staff,
he reviled him with many abusive words. As the discerning
(King) witnessed this curious behaviour from afar, he thought:

"I cannot remember having done evil to any being; he is cer-
tainly my enemy from former times. I will appease this (his

1 Evidently for travellers: bhoga means here "feeding". In Tukkura’s
translation the double sālāyo is disregarded.
2 P. dhamma means here the teaching of Buddha as formulated
in the sacred texts. Recitations from such texts (Suttas) by the bhikkhus
are very frequent in Ceylon. They often last the whole night through
and pious laymen listen with intense devotion, although they
understand not a single word of the recital (Sinh. ōo). P. Tukken is
undoubtedly right in regarding this as “in the first place a kind of
spiritual adjustment”, thus “a sort of Yoga”, facilitated by the musical
effect of the recital, by the rhythm which is peculiar to the Pāli texts.
The feeling for rhythm is as I have frequently noticed, extraordinarily
developed amongst the Sinhalese. P. Tukken, Einige Bemerkungen über
die Konstruktion der Pālittexete, Festschrift Hermann Jacobi, p. 96 ff.
3 P. satthavaṭṭī. The word sattha is used here for the surgical
knife. So already above v. 119. For the expression “cover” “receptacle”
for vatti cf. maricavaṭṭī = pepper pod.
4 A name for the King of the Gods, Sakka or Indra.
5 Here we must either regard the in sirisabhaṇga-m-aggappattam
as neutralizing the hiatus, or we must separate sirisabhagam aggappattaṃ
so that the first word is dependent as acc. on the second.
6 P. vippakaraṇa, lit. change, demeanour deviating from the normal.
enmity),” and he said to a man who stood near: “Go and find out the feelings of the leper yonder.” He went. Like a good friend he seated himself by the leper and asked him why he was so angry. The leper told him everything: “This Buddhāsa here was (once upon a time) my slave; for his meritorious deeds he has become monarch. To slight me he rides past me there on his elephant. He shall learn to know me in a few days!”

If he puts himself in my power (again), I shall make him partake of the full chastisement of slaves. If he does not fall into my hands, I shall slay him and drink his throat’s blood. Of that there is no doubt. Thou shalt see it shortly.” The man went and related the matter to the prince. The discerning (King) (now) felt certain that that (leper) was his enemy of old. He thought: “It is meet to put an end by (some) means to the enmity of a foe”, and (thus) directed the man: “win him in the right way.” He went to the leper and spoke to him like a good friend: “For a long time I have harboured the thought of destroying the King; but as I found no accomplices for his murder, I could not (carry it out). But now that I have found thee, I can fulfil my wish. Come to my house, dwell with me and be my helper, in a few days I shall destroy his life.” After these words he took the leper to his house and having had him bathed and oiled, clad with a choice garment, well fed with dainty food and served by youthful women, he had him laid on a splendid, well-prepared bed. In the same fashion he sheltered him for several days and when he saw that he had grown trustful and that he was happy and contented, he gave him food and drink with the words: “This is a gift from the King.” Twice and thrice he refused it, then begged (by the other) he took it. Gradually he learned to put full trust in the Monarch and when he heard (later) that the Monarch was dead his heart broke in twain.

1 Lit. “I will make him know myself”. Erroneous by W. “I will make him know himself”. The acc. attānaṃ can only be related reflectively to the subject contained in jānāpesāmi. The gerund kāretvā in v. 169 belongs to jānāpesāmi, the ger. māretvā in v. 160 to pīrīṣāsti. The sense is: if he voluntarily becomes again my slave (hāṭhī sat me eti—āyati) I shall chastise him as such, if he does it not, I will slay him.
171 Thus the King healed physical and spiritual disease and he installed physicians in the island to provide for the cure (of the sick) in the future.

172 In the Mahāvihāra the King had the Moraparivenā built which was beautified by a pāsāda five and twenty cubits high.

173 He made over to it the two villages of Samana (gāma) and Gōlapūnu (gāma) and to the bhikkhus who held forth on the doctrine (he assigned) revenues and servants. He built vihāras and parivenās which were fitted up with the four necessaries, and (he built) tanks and alms-halls, and (erected) images. In the reign of the same king the ascetic Mahādhammakathin translated the Suttas into the Siḥala tongue. The King possessed eighty heroic, vigorously grown sons of winning mien who bore the names of the eighty disciples (of the Buddha).

1 The Col. ed. takes out the second half of this verse “and he installed” etc. which all MSS. known to me have in this place, and adds it above to v. 146 (= v. 96 of the ed.) after “summary of the essential content of the medical books”. On grounds of method I cannot accept this. Besides which the verse is quite appropriate here. The compiler summarizes what the king had done for the furtherance of medical lore not only in his own day but also for the future.

2 P. Moraparivena or Mayūraparivena means “Peacock-P.” The traditional name Mayūra-Pirivena is applied even to-day to a very ruinous building lying not far from the south-west corner of the present Mahāvihāra on the road leading to Kurunegala. H. C. P. Bell ASC., Ann. Rep. 1894 (= SP. XXXIX, 1904), p. 5.

3 P. hattha. As the hattha according to Flemy, JRAS. 1906, p. 1011 was not smaller than 17.76 inches (= 45.08 cm.) and certainly not larger than 18.25 inches (= 46.35 cm.), the height of the pāsāda of the Moraparivena must have been roughly 37 to 38 ft. (= 11.26 to 11.58 m.)

4 P. bhogē kappiyakārake. By bhogā is meant the produce taxes of certain lands. The kappiyakārakā (lit. who do what is meet) are probably no other than the drāmikā (note to 37, 68).

5 Without doubt the same as the one named as his contemporary by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, Tu-mo-kim-tì (Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World I, p. XXVI). As Fa-hian stayed in Ceylon about 411-12 we have here a valuable confirmation of Buddhaddāsa’s time. E. R. Aylton, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142.

6 The asittivārakā are mentioned for instance in the Chakshasadhūtvavipasa, JPTS. 1885 p. 165; the asitīmahātherā DhCo. I. 143, 1916. Of below 85. 102.
Surrounded by these (his) sons who were named Sāriputta and 177 so forth, Buddhadāsa shone like the Perfectly Enlightened One. After he had thus wrought blessings for the dwellers in the 178 Island the Lord of men, Buddhadāsa, went to the world of the gods\(^1\) in the twenty-ninth year\(^2\) (of his reign).

Hereupon his eldest son Upattissa became king: endowed 179 with all royal virtues, ever leading a moral life, great in pity. Shunning the ten sinful actions, he practised the ten meritorious works; the King fulfilled the ten royal duties and the ten pāramitās\(^3\). By the four heart-winning qualities\(^4\) he won 181 over the four regions of the world. In the Mahāpāli Hall\(^5\) he had the remains of the royal table\(^6\) distributed. For cripples, 182

\(^1\) P. tīdīca = sāgga (Skr. tridīca = svarga) designation of the Tāvatimsa-heaven, the heaven of the 33 gods at the head of whom stands Sakka (Indra).

\(^2\) The Pujañvaliya gives Buddhadāsa a reign of full 29 years, the Rājāvaliya one of eighty years!

\(^3\) The ten "meritorious works" (puññakiriyā) are dāna "giving of alms", sīla "leading a moral life", bhāvanā "spiritual discipline", aparicī "reverence", veyyāvaccā "diligence", pattiṇampaddāna "transference of one's own merits to another", abbrevamodana "gratitude", desanā "instruction", savana "hearkening (to sermons)", diṭṭhujukakamma "right views" (see PTSBD. s. v. puñña). — On the dāsa rājadhammā see above note to v. 107. — The ten pāramitā ("perfections") which must be attained by each future Buddha (bodhisatta) are dāna, sīla, nekkhamma "renunciation", paññā "knowledge", viriya "manliness", khanti "patience", sacca "uprightness", adhiṭṭhāna "will power", mettā "love", upakkhi "serenity".

\(^4\) See above note to v. 108.

\(^5\) Most probably the building whose remains lie S. E. of the Mahāsthūpa (Ruvanveli-Dagoba) close to the present post-office. That this building served for the distribution of alms is proved by the stone canoe 44 ft. long (= 13.4 m.) lying near. This was obviously a receptacle for gifts of rice which were then portioned out. According to 42. 67 this stone canoe was presented by King Aggabodhi II. The erection of the hall is ascribed, Mhvs. 20. 28, to Devānampiyatissa, 247-207 B. C. Cf. on the building H. C. P. BRIT. ASC., Ann. Rep. 1902 (= SP. LXVII, 1907), p. 1-3.

\(^6\) The reading of the MSS. rājanubhojanam is certainly right. Cf. Cūlava. II, Index 2, List of Words, s. v. annubhojana.
women in travail, for the blind and the sick he erected great
nursing shelters and alms-halls. In a northerly direction from
the Maṅgalacetiya he erected a thūpa, an image house¹ and
an image. In carrying this out he with the thought: my sub-
jects must not be estranged² (from me) had (the work) done
by boys to whom he distributed sugar and rice. He had built
at various places innumerable and meritorious works, (such
as) the Rājuppala (tank), the Giįjhakūṭa, Pokkharapāsaya, Valā-
hassa and Ambuṭṭhi (tanks) and the tank of Goṇḍigāma, the
Khaṇḍarāja-vihāra and (further) tanks always filled with water³.
(Once) when rain poured (into the house) he passed the night
nevertheless lying on his bed, thinking: it would be a trouble
to the people (if I were to call anyone). When the Minister
noticed this he took him into the garden and had the house
(meantime) covered in⁴. Thus never for his own sake did he
cause trouble to living beings.

In the time of this (King) the Island was vexed by the ills
of a famine and a plague. The benevolent (King) who was as
a light for the darkness of sin, asked the bhikkhus: “Did not
the great Sage (Buddha) when the world was visited by such
evils as famine and the like, provide some kind of help for
the world?” They pointed to the origin of the Gaṅgārohāna-

¹ The paṭimāgeka is an essential part of every monastic establishment.
It is known by its having besides the main entrance on the east side,
an extra entrance from the north.

² The ingenious correction khvijjautu “shall (not) be wearied” (instead
of ḍhūjjautu) of the Colombo edition is tempting. Nevertheless I feel
unable to accept it. It will be argued that if the work is weari-
some for adults it must be so in a far greater degree for boys. The
idea is rather this: the King will not make enemies of his subjects by
giving them tasks which keep them from more important work. Boys
have free time and consider such work when rewarded by sweetmeats,
as play.

³ The construction of vv. 183-6 is difficult, the translation uncertain.
It is worth noting that in the Pājāvaliya and the Rājāvaliya the con-
struction of the Tōpāveva, the lake of Polonnaruva, is ascribed to
Upatissa.

⁴ Here too the construction is brief and obscure. But W. has grasped
the meaning properly.
Sutta on such an occasion. When he heard this he made an image wholly of gold of the departed Buddha, laid the stone alms bowl of the Master (filled) with water in the hollow of its hands and placed this his figure on a great chariot. He took upon himself the duties of a moral life and made the people also take them on themselves, he instituted a great almsgiving and established security (of life) for all living creatures. Then after he had adorned the town (so that it was) comely as the world of the gods, he descended surrounded by all the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island, to the principal street. Then the bhikkhus who had gathered there reciting the Ratana-Sutta and pouring out water, walked about the street, not far from the royal palace, near the wall, round which they walked with their right side towards it in the three watches of the night. When morning dawned a great cloud poured rain on the earth and all who had suffered from disease, held refreshed high festival. But the Lord of men decreed: “When there shall be on the Island an evil such as famine, plague or the like, thus shall it be done.”

1 Must be a name for the Ratana-Sutta mentioned in v. 195. On this see above note to v. 80.
2 P. saṃghadbādhatun, lit: of the relic of the Perfectly Enlightened One. As Buddha himself has entered Nirvana, an image of his outward appearance as he was in life, can only be a “relic” of him. Tunsour’s translation: “for the tooth relic” is wrong.
3 The bowl relic (pattakāhin) was next to the sacred tooth the relic most revered on the Island. See below 61, 61, 74. 100 ff. It was originally kept in Paññāputta by King Asoka (Mhvs. 17, 20). The Sāmaṇera Sumana, one of Mahinda’s companions, brought it so Ceylon, and King Devanampiyatissa deposited it in his palace (Mhvs. 20, 13).
4 What is meant here is the sacred street which starting from the city of Anurādhapura in the N., runs southwards to the Mahāvihāra.
5 A fine example of popular rain magic adopted by the official religion. For the filled water vessels and the pouring out of water in Indian rain magic see Olshen kova, die Religion des Veda, p. 505. Further analogies in L. von Schnörke, Arische Religion II, p. 253 ff.
6 P. kūrmatā padakkhiyava. The walking round a sacred object or a holy person with the right side towards it or him, thus to the left is a ceremony of reverence. As we were informed in the Subhadraśāna.
When he having ascended to the Cetiya, perceived ants and other (insects) he with the words: walk slowly in the forest, was wont to sweep the earth with a peacock’s feather and to use for the cleaning of a seat a shell filled with water. In the south-west corner of the royal palace he had a house built for the Uposatha festival, and a house with an image of Buddha as well as a pleasant garden surrounded by a wall. On the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, as well as on the eighth day of the half of the month and on extraordinary festivals he stayed there accessible to instruction, taking upon himself the eightfold Upasotha vow. His whole life long he ate of the food (served) in the Mahāpāli Hall. When he took a walk in the Balapitiya the person showing reverence must go to the right. A young bhikkhu performed the ceremony in our presence before the thūpa of the monastery. This however must be an innovation. This we learn from the Borobudur in Java. In the case of the reliefs of the first terrace, the pilgrim can only follow the single events in the life of the Buddha in their proper order if ascending the terrace from the east side, he walks round it to the left.

1 The passage is difficult. A tolerable construction is only possible if we regard ādīya caratī as a periphrastic formation. As a rule certainly car is joined with the pres. part. But already in Skr. when similarly, it is found occasionally also joined with the gerund. S. BR. s. v.

2 Upasotha is the Buddhist sabbath which is kept four times in the lunar month, on the day of the new moon (cāṭuddasi), on that of the full moon (paścadaśā), and on the 8th day (āṭṭhāni) of each half of the month. On the first two days the confession festival (pāṭimokkhauddesa) of the bhikkhus took place. Special buildings or halls were erected for this ceremony. Mhvs. tral., p. 296, nr. 29; Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism p. 237 ff.; Th. Kuss, Indian Buddhism p. 99 f.

3 P. pāṭhāpañnapakka “an extra holiday, an ancient festival, not now kept” (PTSPD. s. v.) Cf. Sn. 402. The two lines of verse 202 are also found with slight variation S. I. 208²⁶, Vv. 15, 6, 19, 9; DhCo. IV, p. 21. With the help of these parallel passages we should read cāṭuddasī paṇcadasaṃ yā ca pakkhasa āṭṭhānī.

4 P. sāpadāna is an adverb, = sa-ap. The word apadāna means “instruction”. Thus Th 1, 47 where the Co. renders it by ovāda. The opposite of sāpadāna is anapadāna “accessible to no instruction” which in Vin. II. 4²⁶ stands next to dāla, avyatta and āpattibahula. What is meant is of course instruction by the sermon.

5 He lived thus as simply, as the poor who are dependent on charity.
garden, having set up a feeding-place for the Kalanda birds, he had his own food served to them, and this is a custom to this day. (Once) seeing a criminal who was to be executed being led forth, he was deeply moved and had a corpse fetched from the burying ground and thrown into a copper barrel. He then gave the criminal money and let him escape by night, but after sunrise, full of wrath, he had the corpse burnt as if it had been the criminal. He instituted a great festival for all the 207 cetiyas in the Island and (presented) a gold casing for the crowning ornament on the Thūpa in the Thūpārāma. After 208 he had for forty and two years performed meritorious works without leaving even a moment unemployed, he entered into the company of the King of the gods.

The queen-consort of this King who had an intrigue with his younger brother Mahānāma, murdered him by stabbing him in a lonely spot. This younger brother who during his brother’s lifetime had undergone the ceremony of renunciation of the world, returned after the murder of the King, to the

1 According to the northern tradition the Skr. kalanta(ka) denotes a bird. Cf. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, p. 43, the legend of the Venuvana park (P. veḷāvana) and of the Kalantakaniṇīpā (P. kalandaka- niṇīpā). In my opinion we must assume the same meaning for P. kala- landa(ka), although Sinh. kalada is said to stand for “squirrel”. That we have to do with a kind of bird seems clear from Milp. 268². Here the expression māṇyuttamappamāññhetaṁ is used of the kalandaka; JāCo. II. 163² we have pakkhe pappamāññhetaṁ, said also of a bird.

2 The Thūpārāma lies near the southern gate of the city of Anurādhapura on the west side of the sacred street (see note to 37. 194). It was built by Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) See Mhv. trsl., Note to 17. 60. Cf. now with my translation of 17. 41 A. M. Hocart, Ceylon Journal of Science. Sect. G, I. 2, p. 44, note 4. The relic preserved in the Cetiya of the Thūpārāma was the right collar-bone of the Buddha (see 42. 53). Its history is related Mhvs. 17. 9 ff.

3 Pājūvaliya and Rājāvaliya give the same length of reign.

4 Also W: “His consort who was intimate with his younger-brother Mahānāma...” Nevertheless the union of rāllabhā with the instr. is surprising, as also the use of the word to denote a criminal relationship.

5 The sudhajjā, while the actual admission into the Order is carried out by the panaṣeṣadā which follows later. See Mhv. trsl. p. 294, nr. 15 and p. 296, nr. 28.
211 lower life\(^1\) and became monarch. He took as his Mahesi\(^2\) who had murdered his brother. He built refuges for the sick and enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall. He erected three vihāras, Lobadvāra, Ralaggāma and Koṭipassāvana\(^3\) and presented them to the bhikkhus of the Abhayuttara-vihāra. After having built a vihāra on the Dhūmarakkha mountain\(^4\), he bestowed it at the Mahesi’s instigation, on the bhikkhus of the Theravāda School\(^5\). He had renovations made in ruined vihāras. He was always one who rejoiced in the almsgiving and in the leading of a moral life and one who reverenced the (three sacred) objects\(^6\).

215 A young Brāhmaṇa born near Bodhimaṇḍa\(^7\), who understood science, the arts and accomplishments and was perfectly versed in the three Vedas, who knew the (various) systems of doctrine thoroughly, who was skilled in disputation and also fond of controversy, wandering about Jambudīpa\(^8\), sought out the various masters of controversy. Thus he came (once) to a vihāra and

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\(^1\) The lay life is regarded as inferior (ṁsa) to the monkish.

\(^2\) Mahesi (skr. mahāśī) is the title of the first wife of the King. See the Introduction II.

\(^3\) A Koṭipassāva-vihāra is mentioned 38. 46, but here as founded by Dhātusaṇa. The two other names do not occur otherwise, neither are they, as far as I know, to be found in Sinhalese historical literature.

\(^4\) The mountain is mentioned, Mhva. 10. 46 ff., in the history of Paṇḍukabhaya. It lies on the left bank of the Mahāvelīgānga by the Kacchaka ford (now Mahagantota), E. of Polonnaruva.

\(^5\) That is to the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra in which the Theravādins had their seat.

\(^6\) P. vatthupājakā. These are the ṛṣi vatthūni, the vatthuttayaṇa (Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order). Tuanoun’s translation is too general.

\(^7\) Bodhimaṇḍa “Place of Enlightenment”, the spot not far from the present Bö-Gayā in Southern Dīhār where, according to tradition, the Bodhisattva meditating under a Ficus religiosa, by attainment of the highest knowledge became the Buddha. For the history of Buddhaghoṣa cf. Bimala Chāran Jāw, The Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa, Calcutta and Simla 1923.

\(^8\) Name for the continental India.
elucidated during the night the ideas of Patañjali word for word and quite exhaustively. Hereupon the Grand Thera (of 218 the vihāra) named Revata realised: “This is a being of the highest wisdom; he must be won over,” and he said: “Who then is he who cries there with the cry of an ass?” The (Brāhmaṇa) said to him: “Dost thou then understand (at all) the meaning of the cry of asses?” and on the reply: “I understand it” he expounded his ideas. Revata answered each single thesis and pointed out the (logical) contradictions. On the request: “Explain then thy own system of doctrine,” he held forth to him on the text and content of the Abhidhamma. The (Brāhmaṇa) did not understand it. He asked: “Whose sayings are these?” “These are the sayings of the Buddha,” answered the other. To the request (of the Brāhmaṇa): “make them known to me,” Revata answered: “Thou shalt receive them when thou hast undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation.” As the Brāhmaṇa craved for the sayings he under went the ceremony of world-renunciation and learnt the Tipiṭaka. He recognised: this path leads alone to the goal, and accepted it thereafter. As his speech was profound like that

1 The author of the Yogasūtrāni (Strauss, Indische Philosophie, p. 178 ff.) who must accordingly, if our notice is credible, have lived before middle of the 5th century A. D.
2 Lit.: with comprehensive words and well rounded off.
3 P. thera (= Skr. sthāvira) and mañhathera are titles of older bhikkhus in leading positions, something like presbyter.
4 P. mantra, skr. mantra. What is meant by this word are the sayings of the Veda. Here the word has a wider meaning, something like “sacred text”.
5 That is the whole of the canonical books consisting of the three parts Vinaya-, Sutta-, Abhidhammapiṭaka. See Mhv. tral. p. 296, nr. 27.
6 The sentence ekāyano ayam maggo is an allusion to a passage in the Saṃyutta. Here (S. V. 1678 ff.) the Buddha says: ekāyano ’yaṁ (sic!) maggo sattānaṁ visuddhiyā . . . nibbānassa saccakiriydāya yad idam cattāro satipaṭṭhāna. We see at once from the passage that ekāyana is an adjective something. like “alone accessible”. In the Chāndogya-Upanishad 7. 1. 2 the word is used substantively to denote a branch of science. Śāṅkara explains it by viśiśṭāstra.
7 That is: he now entered the Order with the ceremony of the upasampadā, making its duties and principles his own.
of the Buddha he was called Buddhaghosa; for his speech (resounded) through the earth like (that of the) Buddha. After he had written a book Nāgodaya yonder (in Jambudīpa), he also wrote the Āṭhasālinī, an interpretation of the Dhammasaṅgāti. The sage (Buddhaghosa) also began to compose a commentary to the Paritta. When the Thera Revata saw that, he spake the following words: "The text alone has been handed down here (in Jambudīpa), there is no commentary here. Neither have we the deviating systems of the teachers. The commentary in the Sinhala tongue is faultless. The wise Mahinda who tested the tradition laid before the three Councils as it was preached by the Perfectly Enlightened one and taught by Sāriputta and the others, wrote it in the Sinhala tongue and it is spread among the Sinhalas. Go thither, learn it and render it into the tongue of the Māgadhīs. It will bring blessing to the whole world." Thus addressed, the wise (Buddhaghosa) sallied forth joyful in the faith and entered the Island just in the time of this King (Mahānāma). He came to the Mahāvihāra, the abode of all pious (people), went into the great Practising-house, learned from Saṃghapāla the commentary.

1 "Speech" in P. ghoṣa. The second time Turnour translates it by "fame", scarcely right. In this case the motivation with hi would not apply. Turnour avoids the difficulty by translating "and throughout etc."

2 The Dhammasaṅgāti is one of the books of the Abhidhamma (cf. note to 44. 109). It and its commentary the Āṭhasālinī were published by E. Mühle (PTS, 1885, and 1897). On kuṭṭha "elucidation" see Cūlava. ed. II, Index 2 a. v.

3 For the Paritta see Gñāṇa, Pali, p. 16 f. Cf. note to 46. 5.

4 P. ācariya-dā. In the Mhvs. (b. 2) all these later schools are placed in opposition to theravāda, the original school represented in the Pāli Canon.

5 P. sīkhātthakathā. For this see Gñāṇa, Pali, p. 17.

6 P. kathāsaggā, concrete: the traditional text as handed down today, just as in JāCo. I. 27. the word means "traditional history".

7 For the history of the three Councils (saṃgīti) see Mhvs. 3, 4, 5.

8 Lit. "hearken to it", all teaching being oral.

9 That is from the Old Sinhalese into the Pāli tongue.

10 P. mahāpaddhāna-phara. By paṭdhāna is meant the practices in which the zealous bhikkhu engages in order to attain through the
in the Sihala tongue and the doctrinal system of the Theras perfectly, reached the conclusion: it is just this system which interprets the intentions of the Master of Truth; gathered 234 together there the community and said: "give me all the books that I may compose a commentary". To test him the 235 community gave him two verses with the words: "Show hereby qualification! Once we have seen it, we shall give thee all the books." Briefly summing up the three Piṭakas together 236 with the commentary he wrote the work called Visuddhimagga. Then calling together the community who was versed 237 in the thoughts of the Enlightened One, he began to read the work in the vicinity of the great Bodhi Tree. But the devatās 238 to convince the people of his greatness, caused the book to vanish; but twice and thrice he reproduced it. When the book was brought forth a third time to be read the gods then produced the two other books. Then the bhikkhus read out all 240 the three books together. Neither in composition and content, nor also as regards the sequence (of the subjects), in the 241 teaching of the Theras, in the quotations, in words and sen-

various grades of ecstatic meditation to the dignity of the Arahant, of

"perfected".

1 The saṃgha, that is the totality of the bhikkhus belonging to

the vihāra.

2 See Note to 37. 223.

3 Visuddhimagga (ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 2 vols. PTS. 1920—21)

alludes to the verse:

sīle patīṭhāya naro sopaścno cittam paścām ca dhamo nānena

ātāpi nīpakā dhikku, so imam viṇāṭaye jñātum

which Warren (Buddhism in Translations, Harvard Oriental Series vol.

III, p. 285) has rendered thus:

"What man his conduct guardeth, and hath wisdom,

And thoughts and wisdom traineth well,

The strenuous and the able priest,

He disentangles all this anarl."

4 On those spiritual beings common to the popular belief called de-

vatā see Zeitschr. für Buddhismus VII, p. 28. In the following verse

they are called Maṭā "gods".

5 Lit: regarding the earlier and the later.

6 P. pālihi refers to passages quoted from the canonical texts, the
tences was there any kind of deviation in all three books. Then the community satisfied and exceedingly well pleased, cried again and again: "without doubt this is Metteyya!" and handed over to him the books of the three Piṭakas together with the commentary. Then dwelling in the Ganthākara-vihāra which lies far from all unquiet intercourse, he rendered the whole of the Sihala commentaries into the tongue of the Māgadhas, the original speech of all. For beings of all tongues this (rendering) became a blessing and all the teachers of the Thera-vāda accepted it as the original text. Then having accomplished what he had to do, he set out for Jambudīpa to adore the sacred Bodhi Tree.

When Mahānāma had enjoyed the (dominion of the) earth twenty and two years and done many meritorious works, he passed away in accordance with his doing.

For all the power they had amassed and for all the glorious splendours they had enjoyed all the rulers of the earth were at the end unable to escape death. With the thought: thus all beings are subject to the law of decay, the wise man should forever entirely forsake the desire for wealth and even for life.

Here ends the thirty-seventh chapter, called ‘The Six Kings’, in the Mahāvarṣaṇa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

foregoing theravadcchi, on the other hand, means quotations from the commentaries.

1 The next expected Buddha. He is now living as a Bodhisattva in the Tusita heaven according to Mhva. 32. 73. Cf. Th. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 64, 65, 95.
2 Cf. 52. 57 with note.
3 See note to 37. 227.
4 The sacred tree of Hā-Gayā (see note to 37. 215), of which according to the legend, the Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura is a cutting.
5 So also the Pujāvaliya; only 20 years, according to the Rājāvaliya. According to Chinese sources the King Mo-ho-nan ( = Mahānāma) sent a letter to the court of the Chinese emperor in the year which corresponds to 421 A. D. This however does not agree with the Sinhalese chronology as it is generally accepted. See JRAS. C. Br. xxiv, nr. 68, p. 88.
CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE TEN KINGS

Mahānāma’s son Sotthisena\(^1\) was sprung from the womb 1 of a Damila woman, but his daughter Saṃghā was the (daughter) of the Mahesi. Now after Sotthisena had begun to reign 2 he was killed by Saṃghā. The selfsame day she had the drum beaten\(^2\) and ceded (the sovereignty) to her husband, the um-3 brella bearer\(^3\) (of the king). The latter built the Chattaggāhaka-tank and died in the course of the year.

Now a wise minister, a friend of this (umbrella bearer) 4 had the dead (prince) burnt in the (royal) desmesne and secretly made Mittasena a powerful rice thief, king in the belief 5 that he was suited for the sovereignty. He kept him in the interior (of the palace) and under the pretext that the King was ill, he himself wielded the sceptre. Now (on one occasion) 6 when there was a feast the people cried: “If a king is there, let him come with us.” When the Lord of men heard that, 7 he, arrayed in all his ornaments, said to those who led forth the royal elephant: “this befits me not”, and indicated the 8

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\(^1\) Pujāvaliya, Rājāvaliya and Rājaratnākarnayā call this prince Sengot. The two first sources agree that he was murdered in the afternoon of the day he succeeded to the throne.

\(^2\) Government decrees were made public by beat of drum.

\(^3\) P. chattaggāhakāramuna. The “umbrella bearer” who has to hold the umbrella, the symbol of sovereignty, over the prince is a high court official. We have all erred however (Turnour, Wijesigha and I myself in my edition of the Cūlava) in regarding jantu as the name of the official. The word means simply “individual, person” and stands almost pleonastically at the end of the compound, similarly to puttā. In none of the other sources is the name Jantu met with. Rājāvaliya takes Chattaggūhaka (Sinh. Satgūhaku) itself for a proper name. In the Pujā-
elephant made of stucco at the temple of the Tooth Relic. At the words: "it is the King’s command", the elephant began to move. The (King) mounted it, rode round the town with his right side towards it and when he reached the eastern gate by the Paṭhamacetiya, he restored it to the Relic Temple.

At the elephant wall of the three great cetiyas he had a gateway constructed. After doing many meritorious works Mittasena died in a year.

The Damila named Paṇḍu had slain Mittasena in battle and now having come over from the opposite coast, held sway in Laṅkā. All the kinsmen of the noble families betook them-

valiya and the Rājaratnākaraya the King is called Lāmāni-Tis (Lambakaṇṇa-Tissa). They agree in giving the duration of his reign as one year.

1 TURNOX and W. have misunderstood the passage, translating mukhānagare as "the white elephant", as if the text had sūddhanāgaṁ. The miraculous story as related here, thus differs in no way from the version found in the Pājāvaliya (Rājāvaliya and Rājaratnākaraya).

2 On this cetiya see Mhvs. 14. 44 f.; GRIER, Mhvs. trsl., p. 95, n. 2; PARKES, Ancient Ceylon, p. 275. Remains of the stūpa have been discovered, as is shown by the newest plan of Anurādhapura.

3 The reading of the MSS. kātuṇa saṅgaram appayi is certainly wrong. I have not, however, ventured to alter it. My translation gives the more likely sense. This would be in Pāli something like dhātuvahare tasa appayi. The edition has dhātunāgaṁ samappayi. Accordingly W. taking paṭhamacetiyattvādane as the more distant object of samappayi, translates "and commanded that he should (in future) be stationed at the Paṭhama Cetiya outside the eastern gate." This is certainly wrong both as to sense and construction.

4 The hatthipākāra is the supporting wall of the terrace on which the stūpa stands. It takes its name from the row of brick and stucco elephants which project from it and appear to bear the platform. See below 39. 30 and 41. 95, as also Dīpava. 20. 6.

5 Where three large cetiyas or stūpas are named together, Ruvanveli (mahaṭṭhāna), Jetavana (Eastern Stūpa) and Abhayagiri (Northern Stūpa) are meant.

6 P. toraya, probably at the stairs which lead at the four sides to the terrace.

7 Pājāvaliya also gives Mittasena one year (hasuruddak).

8 That is from Southern India.
selves to Rohaya, on this side of the stream\(^1\) the Damilas ruled. Those of the Moriya\(^2\) clan who had fled through fear of the 13 door-keeper Subha\(^3\) dwelt here and there (scattered about the country). Amongst these was a house-owner in Nandivā-\(^4\) pigāma\(^4\) named Dhātusena. His son Dāthānāma who lived in 15 the village Ambilayāgu, had two sons, Dhātusena and Silātissabodhi, (both) by (a mother of) the same caste. Their mother’s 16 brother had in faith undergone the ceremony of renunciation of the world and lived in the dwelling built by Dighasanda\(^5\). The young Dhātusena underwent with him likewise the ceremony of world-renunciation. Now once as the latter was reciting (sacred texts) at the foot of a tree a cloud began to rain. A snake seeing this, encircled him in her folds and covered the 18 book and the boy with her hood. The uncle saw that. Another time another penitent in his wrath threw dung at his head 19 but failed therewith to disturb\(^6\) his spirit. The uncle beheld

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\(^1\) On the left bank of the Mahaveliganga which was always regarded as the boundary between North Ceylon with Anurādhapura and later Polonnaruva as centre and the south-eastern province Rohaya.

\(^2\) The organisation of society was throughout totemistic. Five clan names known to me: Taracchā, Lumbakaṇṇa, Balibhojaśka, Moriyā, Kullīngā (and probably Gokaṇṇa), are one and all names of beasts (hyenas, tigers or hares, crows, peacocks, fork-tailed shrikes). A sixth name Monasīhakā (90. 7) contains in its second part a beast name. To these must be added the name of the Sīhalī themselves, the “Lion-men” so-called after Vijaya who belonged to the Lion clan. His father was Sīhabāhu, his grandfather a lion. Fables according to which the members of a clan are descended from the animal whose name they bear are very frequent. Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur, II, 285; Frazer, Totemism, p. 3 ff.

\(^3\) Mhvs. 35. 51 ff. Subha reigned 118-124 A. D.

\(^4\) A Nandigāma-vibhā was built by that same Subha yaṅgante, that is on the bank, near the Mahāvīlukagāga (Mhvs. 35. 58). Nandigāma was not far from Kacchakatittha. See 37. 213, note.

\(^5\) Dighasandana was the senāpati of King Devānappiyatissa. He built (Mhvs. 15. 212 f.) a parivena in the Mahāvibhāra which was called after him.

\(^6\) We have to imagine that Dhātusena was sunk in meditation which even the inconsiderate conduct of the penitent could not disturb. He
20 that too and thinking: "that is in very truth a most excellent being, without doubt he will become king, he must be protected," he went along with him into a vihāra and instructed him in the Gōnisā-vihāra with the object: "he must be made a master in state-craft". Pañjuka heard this and sent people to seize him. In the night the Thera had a dream about it and fetched the boy away. Scarcely had he departed when the people surrounded (the house) but did not find him in the pariveṣa. The twain (uncle and nephew) departed thence and when, farther south, they reached the great river called Gōṇa then just in flood, they were obliged to halt, much as they wished to press forward. The Thera spake: "even as this river holds us back, so do thou (in future time) hold back its course by collecting its waters in a tank," and he descended with the boy into the stream. A snake king saw the twain and offered its back. With its aid he reached the bank and brought the boy to the frontier, and (once) while staying there was not moved to indignation by it. It must be noted that the same breach of conduct as that of the penitent is ascribed (38. 113 f.) to Dhātuseṇa himself and that his fearful end was regarded as expiation of it.

1 The passage is somewhat dubious. In the first place I believe that the words dhālaj naṃ vihārem uddhata mean: he fetched him out of the Dīghasanda-pariveṣa. As that lay in Anurādhapura the youthful Dhātuseṇa was here not safe enough from possible machinations of the king. His uncle took him to the Gōnisā monastery (gōnisādiviḥāra means the monastery whose name begins with gōnisā). We do not know where this monastery was as it is not otherwise mentioned — possibly in the south of the capital. For the rest I follow the conjectural nītīma of M. Geiss which makes the sense far more pregnant. As his uncle regards Dhātuseṇa as the future king, his task is to acquaint him with nītī, i.e. statecraft. W. turns Gōnisādiviḥāra into the oratio recta: "I must render this youth accomplished at the Gōnisāda (sic!) vihāra" — a meaning to my mind less probable.

2 Or perhaps "near the Dākkhiṇadesa". See 41. 35, note.

3 Now the Kala-ōya flowing into Dutch Bay.

4 An allusion to the Kālavāpi afterwards constructed by King Dhātuseṇa. See 38. 42.
he got milk broth (as alms); he ate thereof and put what was over into the alms-bowl\(^1\) of his nephew. The latter out of 28 reverence for the Thera poured the rice on the ground. Then the Thera perceived that he would enjoy the earth\(^2\).

After reigning, King Paṇḍu died in the fifth year, likewise 29 his son Parinda in the third year\(^3\). Parinda's youngest brother, 30 Khuddapārinda, then ruled the wide earth and persecuted all those who attached themselves to Dhātusena. Dhātusena won 31 over the people for himself and fought against the King. The latter after accomplishing works both meritorious and evil, died at the end of sixteen years. Hereupon Tīritara became 32 King; two months later he was destroyed by Dhātusena who fought a great battle with him. After this prince had been 33 killed, the Damīḷa Dāṭhiya became king, but was slain at the end of three years by Dhātusena. Hereupon there followed 34 the Damīḷa Piṭṭhiya who after seven months went to his destruction. The race of the Damīḷas was annihilated in battle with Dhātusena.

Now the Lord of men Dhātusena became king in Lāṅkā. 35 Together with his brother he waged on the Island by every means unceasing warfare with the ravagers of the Island, the 36 Damīḷas, building\(^4\) fortresses, twenty-one in number. And having thus thoroughly cleared the country and made its inhabitants 37

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\(^1\) P. pāṭṭena. Not "with the refection dish", as translated by Tunner.

\(^2\) P. dhūkijate mahaṁ is a figurative expression for "ruling".

\(^3\) I should now prefer the reading putto Parindo pi tatiye, tussa bhāṭuko etc. (with the Colombo edition and Wujayana). Rājaratnākaraṇa namely, speaks of six Damīḷa princes who had reigned together 27 years before Dhātusena ascended the throne. The same number is found in the Rājāvaliya and the sum of the single numbers in the Cūlavaṃśa gives the same figure, in so far as we allot Parinda a reign of not quite three years.

\(^4\) Tunner's translation "he entirely extirpated the Damīḷas" etc. is inexact. That is not there. The acc. Damīḷe in 36 can only be governed by katveda yuddham in 36, which is treated (see also 76. 100) as a transitive verb: after he building fortresses had fought the Damīḷas, and after he had cleared the country and had made ..., he restored ...
happy, he restored to its former place the Order which had been destroyed by the foe. But wroth with those belonging to noble clans or to kinship villages who had attached themselves to the Damijas and protected neither himself nor the sacred doctrine, he deprived them of their villages and left their villages defenceless. But to all the people of noble clans who had come to Rohaṇa and supported him he showed fitting honour and (gave) marks of esteem, and to his ministers, the companions of his misfortunes, he brought contentment.

By damming up the great stream he created fields which were permanently watered. In the Mahāpāli Hall he distributed rice fare to the bhikkhus. As dwelling-place for cripples and for such as suffered from a disease the wise (prince) built asylums. By building the Kālavāpi he dammed up the mighty Gopa river. After he had provided the peaceful Mahāvihāra with bands of ornament he had a house, worthy to behold, erected for the Bodhi Tree. He provided the bhikkhus plentifully with

1 P. mākamati “the doctrine” is used in exactly the same sense as we speak of “church”. He restored the Buddhist church.

2 The contrast is between single individuals (kula) and clan unions (kulegūmatā with shortening of the final vowel metri causa). W.’s translation “nobles and landlords” is inexact.

3 The Mahāvulakanga (Mahaveliganga).

1 Now Kala-veva, 25 miles (≈ 40 km.) S. S. E. of Anurādhapura.

2 W. translates the passage thus: “he improved the mahāvihāra by adding regular walks thereto”. It is quite right that here as one might expect, pantiyuttā and anakāllawa are closely associated, but I do not know how panti can be made to mean “walk”. In the Mhvs. the word is chiefly used of the decorative pictures done in relief or painted on the walls of the buildings: See 27. 87; 30. 65; 32. 4 etc. I should be inclined to use the word in this sense in our passage and in v. 60.

6 P. bodhihāra. Mr. Hocart writes (18-9-26) that by bōgē (P. bodhiyeha) is understood now, in Dambadeniya for instance, a small chapel erected beside the bodhi tree. At the same time he points out that the picture of a tree with a superstructure occurs in the Sānchi reliefs. I believe in fact that in the first instance bodhihāra or -yeha denotes a building or a wooden roof, erected over the bodhi tree, of course only over the trunk which in the case of the Ficus religiosa is always very short, while the straggling branches spread away over it. Of with this
the four necessaries and like Dharmāsoka\(^1\) he brought about a redaction of the three Piṭakas. He had eighteen vihāras built.\(^4\) and provided with revenues for the adherents of the Thera School and (he erected) eighteen tanks on the Island.\(^2\) Kālavāpi-vihāra, the (vihāra) called Koṭipassāva, the (vihāra) called Dakkhiṇāgiri and the vihāra called Vaṭṭāha; the Paśavyallakabhūta and the (vihāra) called Bhallātaka and in the district Paṇājasinna the vihāra Dhātusenapabbata; the Maṅgana(-vihāra), the Thūpavīṭṭhi(-vihāra) and the Dhātusena(-vihāra) in the north, the Pācinakambavīṭṭhi(-vihāra) and the Antaramegiri(-vihāra); the (vihāras) Atūhīdhātusena and Kassipīṭthika-49 dhātusena, in Rohaya the (vihāras) Dāyagāma, Sālavāna, Vibhīsana and the vihāra Bhillivāna: these eighteen vihāras are 50 mentioned\(^3\). This best of men built the tanks Pādulaka, Hambatthī, Mahādatta and others\(^4\), and also eighteen smaller vihāras 51

51. 54. I had the impression on the spot in the Mahāvihāra, that it would have been an easy matter to shut off the terrace built round the sacred tree by means of a roof. For the analogous thūpaṅghūra see note to 48. 66.

\(^1\) Alluding to the Third Council at Pāṭaliputta under Asoka (260-227 B.C.) See Mhvs. trsl. p. LV1 ff.

\(^2\) The same is related of Dhātusena by the Pājāviliya, the Rājāvaliya and the Rājaratnākarayya. In these later sources the form of the name is Dāsenkiliya.

\(^3\) Of these eighteen vihāras only four are also mentioned in other parts of the Cūlavamsa, namely Kālavāpi, Dakkhiṇāgiri, Bhallātaka and Sālavāna. The Kālavāpi-vihāra is perhaps the monastery which now bears the name of Aukuna-vihāra. If the Koṭipassāva-vihāra is the same as the Koṭipassāvana mentioned 37. 212, then it was not founded by Dhātusena but merely restored. The same is the case with the Dakkhiṇāgiri-vihāra which according to Mhvs. 33. 7, was founded by Saddhātissa, the brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. I am inclined (see D. Fssouos, JRAI. C. B. 1911, XXII, Nr. 64, p. 197 ff.) to identify this with the Mulkirigala-vihāra N. E. from Mātaram. Instead of vihāro vaṭṭhitambānaka the Col. ed. reads contrary to the MSS. v. vaṭṭhitamānako, probably because a bodhi tree of this name occurs twice (13. 6 and 49. 16).

\(^4\) Pājāviliya names the following tanks as Dhātusena's work: Kalā, Balalu, Keḷavaśa, Badulu, Kaṭumnara, Danavallā, Udanvīṭi, Paṇagamu, Māṇikatā, Kītuniya, Mahāṭabarā, Sarṇamū, Surulu, Malāsu, Mahāmide, Mahāeli. The two first are the Kala- and Balaluveva which are connected
and likewise (many small) tanks which he made over to them. 52 He removed the Mayūra-pariveṇa which was five and twenty cubits high, and replaced it by a pāsāda twenty-one cubits in 53 height. To Kumārasena (his brother) he made over his former revenues and fixed them exactly (namely) one half to the 54 Kālavāpi and two hundred fields. He renovated the ruined Lohapāsāda and he restored the dilapidated umbrellas on the 55 three great thūpas. For the Bodhi Tree of him (the Buddha) to whom was vouchsafed the highest enlightenment, he instituted a bathing festival like the Bodhi Tree festival instituted by Devānampiyatissa. He set up there sixteen bath maidens of bronze and arranged for the adornment and consecration of the Prince of the wise. Since the planting of the great Bodhi Tree the rulers of Lankā have instituted in every twelfth 58 year (of their reign) a festival for the Bodhi Tree. After having an image made of the great Thera Mahinda he brought it to the spot where the Thera’s body had been burnt, to organise with each other. The Rājaratnākārana mentions Kalaballu (Kala-Balalu?) and Badulu.

1 The same as Mora-pariveṇa 37. 172. See note to the passage. The new building was 6 ft. (roughly 1.80 metres) lower than the former pāsāda.

2 P. appetā visodhayi. Cf. skr. cāṇḍhayati meaning “to make clear, to determine, to fix” (BR. the word sādhī with vi).

3 Chatta in P. denotes the sharp cone forming the top of a thūpa. It is a conventionalized umbrella as symbol of dominion, of the spiritual world dominion of the Buddha. For the three thūpas see note to 33. 10.

4 All MSS. have dhāraṇālohaṅkaṅko. In spite of 42. 33 I do not venture to alter the traditional text into -nārāṇya. What the “bath maidens” were, whether perhaps bronze figures with water vessels, we do not know.

5 We must imagine a ceremony in which the image of the Buddha is clad in royal garments and solemnly consecrated just as a king at his coronation.

6 By Devānampiyatissa in the Mahāvihāra according to Mhv. 18. 1 ff. The Bō tree here was according to the legend, a cutting of the tree at Bō-Gayā.

7 Local tradition regards the remains on the north side of the Thō-pārāma as those of the cetiya built for Mahinda. To the east of the Thōpārāma lies the grave of his sister Sampghamittā. For the death and burial of the two see Mhv.s. 20. 30 ff.
there at great cost a sacrificial festival. He gave orders with 59
the outlay of a thousand gold pieces\(^1\), for the interpretation of
the Dīpavaṃsa\(^2\) and commanded sugar to be distributed among
the bhikkhus dwelling there. Remembering how once a bhikkhu 60
had thrown dung at his head, he gave to the pariveṇa where he
himself had dwelt no gifts of any kind\(^3\). He undertook buildings 61
for the enlargement of the Abhayuttara-vihāra and for the
stone image of the Master (Buddha)\(^4\) he had a shrine erected
with a maṇḍapa\(^5\). As the eye\(^6\) placed by Buddhādāsa (in the 62
image) had been lost, he made a pair of costly jewels into eyes
for the Master. Further he wrought a gleaming diadem of 63
rays and out of dark blue gems a shining coil of hair, like-
wise a bandolier of gold and a tuft of down (between the brows)
and a golden garment, a mandorla of gold, a lotus flower and 64
a magnificent lamp. There also he presented countless robes of
divers colours\(^7\). In the image house of the Bahumaṅgala-ceti-

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\(^1\) Where only figures are given in the mention of values the uni-
form currency, the kahāpāra should be added. On this see RAYS DAVIES,
Buddhist India p. 101 f.

\(^2\) P. dīpam Dīpavaṃsau. FLEET has translated this ingeniously as:
"to write a dīpikā on the Dīpavaṃsau" (JRAS. 1909, p. 5, n. 1). In
this dīpakā he recognises the (older) Mahāvaṃsa for whose composi-
tion an approximate date might thus be found. I was myself (Mhvs. 1sl.
p. XI f.) inclined to follow him. But I have since had scruples. Verses
58–59 belong in construction most closely together. Consequently
dīpam Dīpavaṃsau must refer to an action which took place within
the framework of a festival. That however, can only have been a
reading of the Dīpavaṃsa, perhaps with historical and legendary
explanations, but not the composition of so voluminous a work as the
Mahāvaṃsa.

\(^3\) See above 38. 19. I believe we must read attanā instead of -no:
"the pariveṇa inhabited by Dhūtusena himself", an instrumental case
being absolutely necessary in connection with the Partie. Prac. rutthassa.

\(^4\) This stone image was a celebrated statue of the Buddha manifestly
held peculiarly sacred and which is repeatedly mentioned under various
names: here Silasathahr, 39. 7 Silavamduddhuh, 51. 77, 87 Silāmavammu-
da, probably also 38. 65 kālaselasathahr (see note to the passage).

\(^5\) See note to 37. 103.

\(^6\) See above 37. 123.

\(^7\) Verses 62–64 show us how people were accustomed to adorn the
ya\(^1\) he erected Bodhisatta figures and in the same (image house) 66 he had a diadem of rays made for the image of the Master in black stone\(^2\) and for the world teacher named Upasumbha. Also he had the ornament described above made for the Buddha image known as Abhiseka and a Bodhisatta temple on the left side of the Bodhi Tree. For the (Bodhisatta) Metteyya\(^3\) he had the complete equipment of a king prepared and ordained a guard for him within the radius of a yojana\(^4\). He had the vihāras adorned with bands of ornament called dhāturāji and Buddha statues and decorate them with jewels. The raṃsicūlaṇaṇi (often only cūlaṇaṇi) seems to be the bundle of rays or flames above the head which distinguishes the figures of the Buddha from those of his disciples (cf. also below v. 66 and Mhvs. 52. 65; 53. 49). By kṣīraṇaṁ we must understand the knot or tuft of hair on the top of the head, so often found in Buddha images. To imitate the blue-black colour of the hair it is here made of dark sapphires. The hemasāgadhaka (cf. apsaraṇgadhaka Vin. I. 204\(^1\)) is probably the carrying band for the alms bowl. On a bronze figure of the Buddha in my possession there is a band over the left shoulder. The tuft of hair above the nose (uddaloma) is a well known physical feature of the Mahāvīra. The golden garment (suvanmacāra) is the yellow robe of the Order of Buddha and of his disciples, the lotus flower (padumā) the throne on which the figure sits or stands. The pādaajāla (cf. also Mhv. 52. 65, 53. 50, as well as the inscriptive pādadāla, WICKREMASEKH, EZ. I 221\(^1\)) is the mandorla behind the figure as is frequently seen in bronzes and in the Buddha pictures of Central Asia (cf. A. von Le Coq, Die Buddhistische Spätantike Mittelasiens V, plate 7, 18). Amongst the votive gifts there must of course be a lamp (ḍhpa). The robes of divers colours are probably draped about the image at various festivals, according to the character of these.

1 Probably the Maṅgala-cetiya mentioned 37. 183.
2 I suggest reading: bodhisatte cu taṭṭhāpi Kālaselassa satthuno with slight alteration of taṭṭhāsi which is certainly corrupt. What follows shows that the different Buddha images had their special names. The Kālasela was obviously so called because the statue was made of black stone (amphibolite gneiss?). It is very likely the same as the Śūlāpan-buddha, -satthar (see above v. 61, note). The Abhiseka is named again 39. 6, 40.
3 See 37. 212, note.
4 FLEET (JRAS. 1906 p. 1011 f.) calculates the Buddhist yojana as being 4.54 miles = roughly 8 km.
(he erected) for a hundred thousand (gold pieces) a large and splendid house for the Bodhi Tree. In the Thūpārāma (he instituted) as offering to the thūpa a restoration of what was ruined (in the thūpa). Likewise in the Temple of the Tooth Relic he repaired what was dilapidated, and to the Tooth Relic he dedicated a casket for the tooth relic, a halo made of closely fitting mosaic thickly set with precious stones and golden lotus flowers, and he instituted offerings without number. To the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed robes and other (gifts). Having undertaken renovations in the vihāras here and there, he had some fine stucco work executed for the wall of the (Relic) house. (In the same way) he had valuable stucco work made for the three big cetiyas and put up a golden umbrella as well as a ring for protection against lightning. Dhammarucika bhikkhus dwelt (at that time) in the Mahā-vihāra which had been destroyed by the ruthless Mahāsen. After Dhūtusena had built the Ambatthala-vihāra on the Cetiya pabbata he wished to hand it over to the adherents of the Thera School. But being entreated by the Dhammarucikas the monarch accordingly made it also over to them. For the pro-

1 W. here mistakenly connects mahāyogasaṃsārikīrṇaṃ with pad māṇi instead of with rānasiṃ ghanakūttimāṇaṃ. For ghanakūttimāṇa cf. Cēlāvs. ed. II, List of Words s. v. kūttima; further Mhv. 51. 69.

2 Cf. above note to 38. 54. The cones of the thūpas were gilded. Cf. with verses 74 and 75 also 41. 95.

3 P. rājiracumbara. It is related Mhv. 36. 66 of Sumghatissa that he placed a rājiracumbara on the top of the Mahāthīpa. On this the Tikū has the following interesting notice (p. 487, 19): lāthena Mahāthīpaṃsa muddhahani satasaḥsaggḥhanakany mahāmayaṅca patitṭhapetra tuṣaḥ keṭṭhā aṣṭaniyopadavīddhaṃsaṇāthani aḍhārurālayanā ca katuṣṭakānaṃ rājiracumbarakūcicā pūjastī attho. It is thus a case of an appliance against lightning placed at the top of the cone of the thūpa. What is doubtful is whether rājira means here “diamond” or “lightning”.

4 A sect which according to Mhv. 5. 13, branched off in Ceylon. For the history of this sect see A. M. HOC O M, ASC. Mem. 1. 15 ff.

5 Name of the Mīsaka mountain (now Mihintale). Cf. above note to 37. 69. The Dhammarucikas, therefore, got possession of both vihāras, the Mahāvihāra and the Ambatthala-vihāra.
cession of the Relic he had a boat¹ made of copper and instituted a regular alms with the produce of twice five ammapas (field)². Within and without the city this incomparable (prince) like Dhammāsoka³ built temples to the Victor (Buddha) and raised images. What man would be capable of enumerating one after another his meritorious works? Thus these have been but superficially noted.

Dhātusena had two sons: Kassapa by a mother of unequal birth and the mighty Moggallāna by a mother of equal caste, also a charming daughter who was dear to him as his life. On his sister’s son he bestowed the dignity of senāpati⁴ and gave him his daughter (to wife). Without blame (on her part) he struck her with his whip on the thigh. When the King saw the blood-stained garment of his daughter and heard (of the affair) he in his wrath had his nephew’s mother⁵ burnt naked. From that time onward (his nephew) nursed hatred (against the king), joined Kassapa, awoke in him the desire for the royal dignity, estranged him from his father, won over his subjects and took the ruler (Dhātusena) prisoner alive.

Thereupon Kassapa raised the umbrella of dominion and destroyed the people who sided with his father, having every scoundrel as his comrade. Moggallāna whose intention it was to fight him, betook himself, as he could raise no forces, to Jambudīpa to find troops there. Now to torment still farther the Lord of men (Dhātusena) sorely smitten as he already was

¹ The use of barks or boats for carrying the images or symbols of the Deity (here the relics) in festive processions is widespread. Germany offers numerous examples (MANNHARDT, Wald- und Feldkulte, l. 593 ff., v. SCHROÈN, Arische Religion II. 661 Anm.); but we meet with the custom also among the Egyptians (TEMPLE, Religion im Altertum I. 67) and among other peoples.

² P. ammapa is a dry measure for measuring corn, then also the measure for a field, as much as one can sow with an ammapa. In Sinh. an ampara (see CLOAREC, Sinhalese Dictionary) represents as field measure about 2 to 2½ acres (roughly 0.8 to 1 hectare).

³ Cf. above 38, 44 with note.

⁴ P. senāpaccā, the dignity of commander-in-chief of the army (senāpati).

⁵ Thus his own sister.
by loss of his kingdom, separation from his son (Moggallāna) and by life in a dungeon, the deluded (Senāpati) spake thus 88 to King Kassapa: "There are treasures lying in the King's palace, O King, has thy father told it to thee?" On the answer 89 "no" he said: "Knowest thou not his intention, O Monarch? for Moggallāna he keeps his wealth". When he heard that, 90 this most wicked of men grew furious and sent messengers to his father with the command to make known the place where the treasure lay. The latter thought: this is a pretext 91 of the villain to kill us, and he kept silence. The messengers went and told the King. He became very wroth and sent 92 (messengers) again and again. Dhūtusena thought: it is well, I will visit my friend¹, bathe in the Kālavāpi and then die, 93 and (he) spake to the messengers: "if he lets me go to the Kālavāpi he shall learn it." The messengers went and told 94 the King and the King joyful in his thirst for gold, sent messengers to whom he gave a chariot with a damaged axle². As 95 the Monarch drove thither, the driver who guided the chariot, ate roasted corn and gave him also a little of it. He ate of 96 it, had joy over the man and gave him a leaf for Moggallāna asking him to make him gate-keeper as a reward³. Thus is 97 good fortune fleeting as the lightning. How then can the sensible man be intoxicated by it? When the Thera heard: the 98 King comes, he put aside the bean soup and chicken⁴ he had received remembering: the King likes that, and took his seat 99

¹ He means the Thera who had been his teacher. Cf. 38. 16 ff.
² P. jīṇṇena-w-akkhīnā. W. translates "with his eyes sunk in grief", but akkhi is here not "eye", but "axle". The word for "axle" is otherwise akkha = Skr. akṣa. The form akkhi which is borne out by our passage, is important as it is nearer to the Latin axis, lit. axilia. In jīṇṇenamakkhīnā the consonant w is as often used to remove a hiatus. See Gilot, Pāli § 73. 2. It would also be possible to read jīṇṇa-r a c'akkhīnā.
³ The inf. kātuṣṭ is in a sense to be taken twice, first with the obj. saṃgahaṃ, then with the obj. dvāranāyakaṃ.
⁴ P. maṃsaṃ sākuraṃ for sākuraṃ according to the perfectly correct conjecture of Sumangala and Batuwantudawa, primarily "flesh of birds".
(awaiting the guest). The King came, greeted him respectfully and took a place at his side. Thus the twain sat side by side (joyful) as if they had gained a kingdom, and their mutual converse chased their cares away. After the Thera had entertained the King, he admonished him in many ways and encouraged him to strive ceaselessly, showing him how the world is subject to the law (of impermanency). Then Dhātusena betook himself to the tank, plunged as he liked therein, bathed and drank and spake to the King's henchmen: "This here, my friends, is my whole wealth". When the King's henchmen heard that they took him with them to the town and informed the King. The Lord of men thought: he is keeping his treasure for his son and as long as he lives he will estrange the people of the Island from me. He was filled with fury and commanded the Senāpati thus: "Slay my father." He (the Senāpati) rejoiced (saying): now I have seen the back of my foe. Full of bitterness, adorned with all his ornaments, he betook himself to the King (Dhātusena) and strutted up and down before him. When the King saw that he thought: this villain wants to ruin my soul even as my body and bring it to hell. Shall I fulfil his wish by letting anger rise within me? Awaking loving thoughts within himself, he spake to the Senāpati: "I have the same feelings for thee as for Moggallāna.". The other laughing shook his head. When the ruler saw this he realised: to-day even he will slay me. Thereupon the brutal (Senāpati) stripped the king naked, bound him with chains and fetters in a niche in the wall with his face outwards and closed it up with clay. What wise man seeing this would still hanker after pleasures

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1 With these words Dhātusena points at the Kālavāpi constructed by him.

2 That is: I am the victor, I have won the game.

3 Lit: in the inside of the wall.

4 P. puraṭṭāthābhimukhāṃ. W. translates this "with the face to the east". This is of course possible, but one sees no particular reason why he should face the east. According to my conception of the passage, the idea is that Dhātusena's torture should be increased by his being a witness of the whole process of being immured.
or life or fame? The Lord of men Dhātusena went thus after 118 years¹, murdered by his son, to the King of the gods. When this king was building the Kālavapi tank he saw a bhikkhu 113 sunk in meditation and as he could not rouse him out of his absorption, he had a clod of earth flung at the bhikkhu’s head. 114 The consequence of this deed experienced in his lifetime has been described (in the story of his violent death).

These ten excellent kings also with all their treasures have 115 fallen into the jaws of death, robbed of their treasures. Can a wise man when he sees the fleeting nature of the rich and of wealth² crave for earthly joys³?

Here ends the thirty-eighth chapter, called ‘The Ten Kings’, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Pājāv. Rājāv. and Rājaraṭn. all give the same number.
² P. bhogavato dhanē ca. The loc. dhanē stands, as frequently, for the genitive dhanassā.
³ W. does not translate this indispensable strophe. It occurs in all the MSS. known to me.
CHAPTER XXXIX

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

1 Thereupon the wicked ruler called Kassapa sent forth his
groom and his cook. But as he was unable (through these) to
slay his brother, he betook himself through fear to Siha-
giri¹ which is difficult of ascent for human beings. He cleared
the land) round about, surrounded it with a wall and built
a staircase² in the form of a lion. Thence it took its name
(of Sihāgiri). He collected treasures and kept them there
well protected and for the (riches) kept by him he set guards
in different places. Then he built there a fine palace, worthy

¹ Now Sigiri, about 38 miles S. E. of Anurādhapura and ten miles
N. E. of Dambulla in the Central Province.
² P. nissēpīghāṇi. The word cannot refer, as W. assumes, to the
galleries which partly cut into the rock, lead halfway up the face of
the Sigiri rock, as ṣhakāreṇa is inapplicable to these. It is far more
likely that what is meant is the staircase built on the north terrace of
the rock at the end of the galleries where the second half of the ascent
begins. This structure had in fact the form of a recumbent lion, per-
haps of the fore part of the body. It was made of brick. The claws
of the outstretched right paw of the lion still exist. Their dimen-
sions — they reach to the breast of a man standing upright — give
some idea of the gigantic proportions of the lion’s figure. It appears
there was a door between the two paws into the breast of the lion
whence steps led through its body to the beginning of the staircase
leading to the heights of the Sigiri rock. I am inclined to think that
this staircase was of wood. There were no galleries on this part of the
structure on its northern side. The ascent is made now by means of a steep
ner. The use of the plural nissēpīghāṇi is due to the fact that
structure consists of a series of separate parts.
to behold, like another Ālakamandā¹ and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera. The Senāpati by name Migāra, built a pariṣeva called after himself and a house for the victor Abhiseka². He sought (permission to hold) a consecration festival³ for it even greater than that for the stone image of the Buddha⁴. As leave was not granted him, he refrained with the resolve: I shall seek for it (again) under the sovereignty of the rightful ruler.

Kassapa began to rue the deed he had done and with the thought: how can I be saved? he performed many meritorious works. He planted gardens about the gates of the city and mango groves over the Island at a yojana’s distance from each other. He restored the Issarasamapārāma⁵ so that it was larger than the former ground⁶, bought villages for its support and granted them to it. He had two daughters, Bodhī 11 and Uppalavaṇṇa; he gave their names and his own to this vihāra⁷. When he handed it over to the sāmaṇas of the 12

¹ See above note to 37. 106.
² As to this and other images of the Buddha see 38. 65-67 with note.
³ W. (note to the passage): “The abhiseka of an image is the setting or painting of its eyes, a ceremony generally performed with great splendour. It is the Netra-piṅkama of the Sinhalese Buddhists”. The name of the Abhiseka festival suggests however, that it had a still more comprehensive meaning.
⁴ The festival instituted by Dhātusena for the Silā-Buddha is described 38. 62 ff. See the notes.
⁵ Now the Isurumuni-vihāra, in the south of Anurādhapura situated not far from the Tissāveva tank. It is first mentioned under Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs. 20. 14).
⁶ I join adhikāya directly with kāretā “he made ... larger than ...” See the following note.
⁷ Our chronicle here gets valuable confirmation from inscriptions. In an inscription of Mahinda IV. found in Vessagiri, it is stated that the King had taken care that the Isuramepu-Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri-vihāra should be constantly supplied with water from the Tissāveva (Wicksma-
singhe, EZ. I, p. 31 ff.). The Vessagiri-vihāra lies only about ½ a mile south of the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra at the south-east corner of the Tissāveva. From the agreement of the inscription and the expression kāretā pabbanatthuto adhikāya in v. 10 it is clear that Kassapa I. made a great
Thera School they were loth to take it, fearing the reproach
13 of the people\(^1\), because it was the work of a parricide. As
however, the King wished to give it to them, he presented it
to the image of the Supreme Buddha. Then the bhikkhus
14 agreed, thinking: it belongs to the Master\(^2\). In the same way
he built a vihāra in the Niyyanti-garden near the mountain,
15 which then bore their name\(^3\). He granted this vihāra equip-
ped with the four necessaries, to the Dhammarucis\(^4\) and in
16 addition a garden lying to the north of it. Now once when
eating a tasty dish of rice prepared with sannirā\(^5\) fruit, cooked
with butter and exquisite spices which a woman had offered
17 him, he thought: this is delicious, I will treat the brethren\(^6\)
to it, and he had the like dish of rice given to the bhikkhus
18 along with a robe. He kept the Uposatha festival\(^7\) and culti-
vated the appamaññā\(^8\); he took on himself the pious du-
menastic establishment out of the Vessagiri and Issarasamaṇa vihāras
and that this enlarged monastery was named after his two daughters
and after Kassapa himself. Wickremasinghe's assumption loc. cit. is
thus confirmed. Vessagiri is first mentioned Mhv. 20. 15 in close
connection with Issarasamaṇa.

\(^1\) Lit. "somewhat fearing what the world finds blamable".

\(^2\) P. bhogo no satthāna, thus something that benefits not the monas-
tery or its inmates, but the Buddha himself.

\(^3\) Uncertain. I take Niyyanti for the name of the garden. The
mountain near which it lies is very likely the Śīhagiri. Tesamāṇaṁ
means the names of the King and of his daughters.

\(^4\) See above note to 38. 75.

\(^5\) P. sannirā occurs besides here three times: 74. 204 as tree along
with kadoli, pūga, nālikera; as fruit along with many other fruits 100. 5,
and as blossom 100. 26. It is pretty certain that what is meant is the
royal coco-nut.

\(^6\) P. ayyānaṁ according to the happy conjecture of S. and B. Ayyā
used of the bhikkhus in general is found for instance Vin. I. 101\(^1\), it
is frequently used with a proper name as ayyā Ṭhānādo Vin. II. 290\(^2\),
ayyo Mahākassapo S. II. 215\(^3\) etc.

\(^7\) That is he kept on the Uposatha days the five or eight Buddhist
moral commands (siṁhā, see Childress s. v.)

\(^8\) By appamaññā certain virtues are understood which the believing
Buddhist practises and which regulate his relations with the outside
world. There are four of these, D. III. 223 f: mettā "a loving spirit",
karuṇā "pity"; muditā "joyous sympathy", upākkā "serenity".
ties\(^1\) and had books copied. He made images, built almshalls \(19\) and the like in great numbers: always he lived in fear of the other world and of Moggallāna.

Now in the eighteenth year the royal hero Moggallāna \(20\) came hither at the information of the Niganthas\(^2\) with twelve distinguished friends from Jambudīpa and collected troops at \(21\) the Kuṭhārī-vihāra in the Ambatṭhakola district. When the \(22\) King heard of it he thought: I will seize and devour\(^3\) him, and though the soothsayer declared it to be impossible, he went forth with an array of forces. Moggallāna likewise (set \(23\) forth) with an army ready for battle, accompanied by his heroic friends, like to the god Sujampati\(^4\) who fares forth\(^5\) to fight with the demons. When the two hosts fell on each \(24\) other like two seas that have burst their bounds, they fought a mighty battle. Kassapa espying a great stretch of swamp \(25\) in front of him, turned his elephant to seek another road. When his troops seeing that, with the cry: Friends, our command here flees! broke up in disorder, the troops of Moggallāna cried: "We see their backs!"\(^6\) But the King with his \(27\) dagger cut his throat, raised the knife on high and stuck it

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\(^1\) The dhutanga are certain ascetic observances of an outward kind thirteen in number. It is not expected that these should be kept simultaneously, but it is meritorious to observe one or other of them. They are meant primarily for the bhikkhus not for laymen.

\(^2\) Name for the adherents of the Jaina sect.

\(^3\) As a ferocious beast seizes his prey and devours it.

\(^4\) According to the Abhidhānappadīpīkā 18 name of the god Sakka or Indra "consort of Sujā".

\(^5\) Moggallāna pu must be supplemented by the verb nikkhami from the preceding verse. The part. gcchanta belongs to Sujampati. It must not be regarded as representing a finite verb, as we have to deal here not with the description of a condition but with the narration of a fact.

\(^6\) Cf. for this phrase 38. 105 with the note. The construction of the sentence is difficult. The Col. Ed. changes balakāya into balakāya and reads with the inferior MSS. pabhikittha. It is possible to retain the reading of the better MSS. if we assume for this passage the freer use of the gerund in the sense of an absolute participle, as it frequently occurs in the later chapters. See Cūlāvs. ed., Introd. p. XVI; as also 48. 78—79.
28 in the sheath. Moggallāna carried out the ceremonies of burning, glad at his brother’s deed. He took the whole of the (royal) treasure and came to the capital. When the bhikkhus heard of this event, decently clad in their upper and nether robes, and having cleansed the vihāra, they ranged themselves according to rank. When Moggallāna came to the Mahāmeghavana, as the King of the gods to the Nandana (grove), he made his great army turn back outside the elephant wall. He approached the community, greeted it respectfully and pleased with this community, he as a mark of distinction, presented it with his umbrella. The community returned it to him. They called the spot the Chattavadāhi.

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1 W. has discussed the passage and the parallel passages 41. 24 ff., 41. 52 ff., 44. 112 and 116, 50. 23 in detail p. 6 ff. All objections vanish if one takes churikam as the object of ukkhipiyā and not st saṃ. It is also the object of hatthinsā appetedā in 44. 112. In 44. 116 we have only khipito churikam and in 41. 24 instead of it katecā kosiyam asiputta kaspberry. As to st saṃ chindati W. himself has seen that it must not be translated too literally by “he cuts his head”, but by “he cuts his throat”. This clearly follows from 41. 52 f. where we first have chinditum st saṃ attano and then chindī kandharaṃ. The meaning of our passage (39. 27) is: Kassapa dying swings his dagger in the air to call his brother’s attention to his own suicide. — Kassapa’s date is approximately fixed by Chinese sources where we are told that a letter of the king was received at the Chinese court in the year 527 A.D. See JRAS. C. Br. xxiv, Nr. 68, p. 65; H. W. COMSTON, H. C., p. 30.

2 Because he had thereby spared him the necessity of meting out justice himself.

3 P. sādhana denotes the Regalia. Cf. rajasādhana 41. 20.

4 Thus I translate nagaraṃ varṣaṃ.

5 The park in the south of Anurādhapura in which the Mahāvihāra lay.

6 The hatthipākāra is by no means the town wall as W. thinks (the elephant rampart of the city) but the wall supporting the terrace of the Mahāthūpa. The passage deals not with the march into the town, but with the entry into the domain of the monastery. The bhikkhus are assembled on the terrace. Moggallāna lets his troops turn back and goes up alone to greet them. Cf. above 38. 10 with note.

7 “In token of submission to the Church” (W.). The umbrella is the symbol of the ruler.

8 That is: “increase, flourishing of the umbrella”. Its value has
and a parivena built there received this name. After he had entered the city he visited the two other vihāras, honoured also the community there and having attained to the great kingdom, he protected the world in justice. But at the thought: high dignitaries have attached themselves to my father’s murderer, he gnashed his teeth with rage — therefore he received the name Rakkhasa — and had more than a thousand of these dignitaries put to death. He cut off their ears and their noses and sent many into banishment. When he heard the (sermon about) the pious doctrine he became peaceful in spirit and well minded and instituted a great almsgiving, as a rain-cloud (pours a shower of rain) over the earth. On the day of the full moon of the month Phussa he ordained a yearly alms and since then this alms is customary in the Island to this day. And the charioteer who had given his father roasted corn, brought his father’s letter and showed it to Moggallāna. When the latter saw it he wept, praised the love he had borne to his father and he, the powerful one, appointed him to the office of gate-keeper. And the Senāpati Migāra who had sent him reports in a fitting manner, instituted a dedication festival for the Abhiseka-Buddha according to his desire. The vihāras Daḷha and Dūṭhākondaṇaṇa by name on the Sihagiri Moggallāna granted to the adherents of the Dhammaruci and Sāgali Schools. The Pabbata-vihāra which

been increased by the King receiving it again out of the hand of the bhikkhus.

1 Namely Jetavana and Abhayagiri.
2 P. sāthiri dāṭhāṣṭṛ, lit. he revealed his eye-tooth, let it be seen, bared it. The alteration into dāṭhāṣṭṛ in the Col. Ed. is certainly wrong. It deprives the following rakkhasanānavat of all sense.
3 That is “devil”. Characteristic of all representations of Rakkhasas (Skr. rākṣasas) are the powerful eye-teeth protruding from the mouth like the tusk of a boar.
4 December to January. See calendar Mhva. trsl. p. 2, n. 3.
5 Cf. above 38. 95 f.
6 See 39. 6 f.
7 The Sāgalikas are like the Dhammarucikas a sect only found in Ceylon. Mhv. 5. 18; 38. 75. The Dhammarucikas had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. See also 52. 17.
he had built he granted to the Thera called Mahānāma in
the Dīghāsana vihāra¹. Having built a shelter for bhikkhunīs²
called Rājini, the wise (king) made it over to the bhikkhunīs
of the Sāgasīka School.

A man of the clan of the Lambakaṇṭas³ named Dāhā-
pabhuti, who had been in the service of Kassapa, had in ill-
humour betaken himself to the Mereliya district and dwelt
there. He had a son known by the name of Silākāla. He too
out of fear of Kassapa had betaken himself with his kinsman
Moggallāna from here⁴ to Jambudīpa and had undergone the
ceremony of world-renunciation in the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra⁵.
Fulfilling his duties to the community with zeal and great
skill he had (once) presented a mango fruit to the community.
The community pleased thereat, gave him the name of Amb-
asañāyera⁶. Therefore he bore that name. Later on as
described in the Kesadhātuvaṃsa⁷, he got possession of the
Hair Relic and brought it hither from that land. Moggallāna
honoured him, accepted the Hair Relic, preserved it in a pre-
cious casket of crystal, housed it in a beautiful building with
a picture of Dīpankara's⁸ city and instituted with pomp a

¹ It is very probable that what is meant here is the vihāra built by
Dīghasanda (see 38. 16). But whether with the Col. Ed. we are at
liberty to alter the name seems to me doubtful. Mahānāma is the
author of the older Mahāvamsa.

² P. bhikkhunīpāṭasamayam. This is the usual name for vihāras intended
for female members of the order.

³ One of the most famous clans in Ceylon from which sprang a whole
series of Sinhalese kings.

⁴ The author lives in Ceylon and Anurādhapura. The former is for
him ayaṇa dipa, "this our island", Anurādhapura idānā nagaraṃ "this
our capital"; "here, hither, from here" means "in, to, from Ceylon (or
also: Anurādhapura)" etc.

⁵ Cf. 37. 215 with note.

⁶ That means: the novice with the mango fruit. After the pabhajja
and until the upasampadā one is not bhikkhu, but sāmayera that is a
future samaṇa, one in the making.

⁷ The work is unknown to us. Neither as regards period or content
has it anything to do with the Chakesadhātuvaṃsa published by Mināyev,
JPTS. 1886, p. 5 ff.

⁸ Dīpankara is the first of the 24 legendary forerunners of the hi-
great sacrificial festival. He had statues made of his maternal uncle and of his wife and placed them there, as well as the beautiful figure of a horse. Further he had constructed a casket for the Hair Relic, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa studded with jewels, portraits of the two eminent disciples and a fan of hair. The King also made provision for the relic greater than his own, and the Ruler entrusted Silākāla with the keeping of the relic appointing him sword-bearer — hence he was known by the name of Asiggāhasilākāla — and gave him his sister (to wife) together with (the necessary) revenues. Here we give but a short extract; an intelligent man can find a full account in every respect in the Kesadhātvāpsa. By instituting a guard for the sea-coast he freed the island from danger. By a regulative act he purified the good doctrine,

storical Buddha. He worked in the town of Rammavatī or Rammagura, Buddhāvāpsa 2. 207 ff.; JāCo I. 113 ff. The conjecture Dipaṃkara-vaṇṭhassa of the Col. Ed. instead of Dipaṃkaranavarasssa is tempting. I have however, not accepted it, because it is difficult to see how the first perfectly clear and simple reading could be turned into the second. It seems to me that we have to deal here with a picture with which the house was decorated.

1 W. has not properly understood the construction of the sentence. There can be no question of its being "other images also". The literal translation would be as follows: "having fashioned his uncle and his wife of gold, he placed the images there and a beautiful image of a horse" These two individuals had obviously played an important part in the bringing over of the relic, the horse too, very likely. It is impossible to say more in the absence of the quoted text (Kesadhātvāpsa).

2 The assortment seems at first curious. We have to imagine the reliquary resting under a pillar-supported canopy, the ratanamaṇḍapa, on a royal throne. Umbrella and fan made of a yak's tail (śaḷavāla), are attributes of the royal dignity. The portraits of the two aṅgasāvakā — Sāriputta and Moggallāna — stand at the side of the relic, as the highest dignitaries at the side of the throne.

3 The asiggāha is like the chattaggāha (see 38. 8 with note), a high court official. Cf. 42. 42; 44. 43 ff. See the Introduction II.

4 Of a hostile attack from India.

5 P. dharmatukamāṇa. This is an act which the priesthood carries out according to the formalities laid down in the Vinaya. The King orders its carrying out. Cf. with this especially 44. 76, 52. 44. It is
58 the Order of the Victor (Buddha). The Senāpati Uttara founded a practising-house¹ which was called after him. After Moggallāna had carried out meritorious works he went to his death in the eighteenth year (of his reign²).

59 Thus even he though better far than the ferocious Kassapa³, was not able once his merit was exhausted, to conquer approaching death as if he were but its slave. Therefore the wise when they have conquered the fear of death, will be happy. Nirvana the highest eternal state of bliss is attainable (only) by him who knows the (nature of the) ego.

Here ends the thirty-ninth chapter, called "The History of The Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

always concerned with the removal of abuses which have crept into the Order and with the punishment of guilty bhikkhus.

¹ See 37. 232 with note.
² Pājāv. and Bājāv. also give him 18 years.
³ Kassapakopina is a transposition of kopīkassapassā. Cf. 37. 69, n. The whole strophe is very corrupt in the MSS. I have attempted to reconstruct it in less arbitrary fashion than has been done in the Col. Ed.
CHAPTER XLI

THE NINE KINGS

After his death his vigorous son of god-like form, called 1 Kumāradhātusena became king. In the vihāra built by 2 his father he had repairs carried out, he had a revision made of the sacred texts and he reformed the Order. He supplied 3 the great community abundantly with the four necessaries and after accomplishing many meritorious works, he passed away in the ninth year 2 (of his reign). Hereupon his son Kittisena became king. After he had in divers ways done meritorious works he was forced to quit the throne in the ninth month 3. His mother's brother, Sīva killed him and became 5 himself king; he did several meritorious deeds and was slain 4 on the five-and-twentieth day by Upatissa.

1 Pūjāv. and Rājāv. — in the first of these the King is called Kumudadāsa — tells of his friendship with Kalidasa. Kumudadāsa flung himself into the flames of the pyre on which his dead friend was burnt and died with him. Popular tradition places this event in Mātara. Here as we observed for ourselves on the spot, the people are well acquainted with the names of the two friends and their tragic fate. Tradition makes Kalidasa the son of the first minister of Kumudadāsa's father and the youthful comrade of Kumudadāsa. The grave of the latter in Mātara is still pointed out.

2 Pūjāv. also gives him 9 years. Likewise Rājāv. (the translation gives erroneously 18 years).

3 Rājāv. gives the length of reign as 9 years, Pūjāv. in accordance with Mīva. as 9 months.

4 Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. call the prince Mūdisivraja. He reigned according to the Pūjāv. 25 days, Rājāv. has erroneously 25 years.
Then Upatissa\(^1\), husband of the sister of Moggallāna and his general, having slain Sīva, became king. After the king by granting offices and the like, had won over the people for himself, he gave his daughter (in marriage) to Silākāla together with (the necessary) revenues. King Upatissa had a son, Kassapa. He was a hero associated with sixteen heroic comrades of the same breed. He lived by his manliness in pious fashion, showing reverence to the aged\(^2\).

Silākāla whose heart was deluded by lust for power, hereupon betook himself to southern Malaya\(^3\), collected a mighty force and plundering the frontier, arrived near the city (Anurādhapura). When Kassapa the eldest (son of the King) heard that, he mounted his favourite elephant, comforted his father, took his companions with him and fared forth to meet Silākāla. After the latter had been routed seven or eight times and his courage had ebbed, he brought the districts east and west by a ruse into his power and advanced to the Pācīnatissapabbata\(^4\) to renew the combat. Kassapa with his comrades mounted his elephant, came thither, sent the rebels flying and drove his elephant to the summit of the mountain. Hence they called him Girikassapa. Silākāla remaining obdurate, made the kingdom still more rebellious and brought it entirely into his power. He advanced with an invincible army and train of followers upon the town and besieged it. For seven days

\(^1\) Sinhalese sources call this king Lāmiṣupatissa. He sprang thus from the Lambakaṇṭha clan.

\(^2\) P. jetthāpacāyaka does not mean "honoured his parents greatly", the term is found in kula jetthāpacāyika Pv. 2. 7, 18 beside māttekaya and peteyya. Cf. further kulajhesthāpacāyaka Mahāvastu I. 198\(^6\). It is a matter of the reverence shown to the oldest and noblest members of the clan.

\(^3\) Name of the Central Province, the mountain country of Ceylon.

\(^4\) One of the mountains east of Anurādhapura. King Jetthhatissa I. (beginning of 4th century A. D.) had founded a monastery there and had brought the stone image of the Buddha from the Thūpārūma to the new vihāra (Mhv. 36. 127 ff). His successor Mahāsena then transferred it to the Abhayagiri-vihāra (37. 14). It was at the Pācīnatissapabbata that according to 44. 14 ff, the decisive battle was fought between Supphatissa and Moggallāna III.
the King's people fought, then they weakened. Thereupon 18 Kassapa thought: "All living creatures here are perishing because of the siege of the town, the troops are enfeebled, the King is old and blind. I will take my father and mother 19 (for safety) to Merukandara¹, collect the troops and then punish the rebels²." In the night he took his comrades and 20 the royal treasure³ and set off for Malaya. But as the guides 21 did not know the way, they lost themselves and wandered hither and thither near the town. Hearing of this Silākāla 22 hastened out and surrounded them. A terrible fight ensued. As the battle went off like the battle of the gods and the 23 demons, when his comrades had fallen and the royal elephant had succumbed, Kassapa handed him over to his driver, cut 24 his throat, wiped the blood from his dagger and stuck it in the sheath. Then supporting both hands on the temples of 25 the elephant he sank down. Upatissa when he heard this, died also, pierced by the arrow of grief.

When after a year and a half⁴ (of his reign) Upatissa had entered Heaven Silākāla became king. Together with his former name he was called Ambasāmaṇerasilākāla⁵. Living for thir-teen years (longer) he protected the Island in justice⁶. He had 28 delicious meats (prepared in the same way as) for the King, distributed in the Mahāpāli hall and concerned for the wel-

¹ A district in Malaya which often served as place of refuge (cf. 44. 28, 47. 58 &c.).
² Here me stands for mayā and belongs to nigaghīya "by me is ... to be punished". The gerunds katvā and samgahetvā are then to be taken in conjunction with me.
³ For rajasādhanā see note to 39. 28. Cf. also 48. 89.
⁴ Pujāv. the same, Rājāv. however, one year and ten months.
⁵ See above 39. 48—50.
⁶ Pujāv. and Nik.-a. call the King Lāmāṇi-Ambhaeraṇa-Salamevan (= Silāmeghavanā), likewise Rājaratn.; In Rājāv. he is called Lāmāṇi-Akbo (= Aggobodhi). Pujāv. and Rājāv. give him in agreement with our chronicle, a reign of 13 years. Rājaratn. contains a chronological statement. It says that his reign began 1088 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa and 852 years after the introduction of the Buddhist doctrine into Ceylon.
fare of his people, he increased the revenues of the hospitals. 29 Daily he sacrificed to the Bodhi Tree, he had images made and to all bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed the three garments. He decreed throughout the Island preservation of life for all creatures. In most fitting manner he sacrificed to the Hair Relic brought (hither) by himself. The Rahera canal he made over to the Abhayuttara-vihāra. Here beside the Monarch of trees he set up the throne called Kunta which he had fetched away from the eastern vihāra of the adherents of the Thera School. All his life long he performed meritorious deeds without number.

33 The King had three sons: Moggallāna, Dāṭhāpabhuti and Upatissa. To the eldest (Moggallāna) he handed over the Eastern Province and after conferring on him the dignity of the title of Ādipāda, he dismissed him with the words: “Go and dwell there”. He went and took up his abode there. On the second son (Dāṭhāpabhuti) he conferred the post of Malayāraja and the province of Dakkhinadesa and entrusted him with the care of the sea-coast. But Upatissa, a young man

1 Namely robe (samghāti), under-garment (uttarāsāṅga) and shirt (antaravāsaka).

2 That is, beside the Bodhi Tree in the Abhayagiri-vihāra (lattha!)

3 I believe that ṭhānaḥ Malayarājāyaggaḥ means the same as ṭh. Malayarājādīnaḥ or in composition Malayarājājīdīthānaḥ. But this is a circumlocution for Malayarājājīthānaḥ, as so often happens, for instance Kumārādīkātusena (= Kumārādīkātusena) 41.1. See following note for the title Malayarāja.

4 Here appears for the first time the title ādipāda which in course of time becomes the title for the princes of the royal house. The heir to the throne is Mahādipāda. The title Malayarāja, so frequent later, is here mentioned for the first time. Apparently the owner of it was entrusted with the administration of the province Malayu, the central mountain country. I regard the province called desa Puratthima as the one otherwise called Pācīnadesa “Eastern Province”. Dakkhinadesa as H. W. Corbinson (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, JRAS. C. B. XXIX, Nr. 75, 1922, p. 63 ff.) rightly saw, is not a general term for the south of the island (Rohaṇa) but a special province, the territory in the west of the mountains up to the sea. The two provinces get their names from their position in relation to Anurādha-
of good looks he took to live with himself for he was particularly fond of him.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) a young merchant who 37 had betaken himself from here to Kāśipura¹ brought hither from there the (book) Dhammadhātu². The King as incapable 38 of distinguishing truth from falsehood as the moth which flies to the lamp it takes for gold, when he saw it, believing 39 it to be the true doctrine of the Buddha received it with ceremony. He showed it reverence and honour and placed it in a house not far from the royal palace. Every year he 40 was wont to take it over to the Jetavana-vihāra and there to arrange a festival which he made into a permanent institution³, regarding this as a blessing for all beings. After Silākāla had 41 thus performed numerous meritorious deeds he passed away on reaching the thirteenth year of his reign, according to his deeds.

After Dāthāpabhuti had seized the throne the deluded 42 one had his brother (Upatissa) murdered, because he sought to hinder him, it not being his turn. When Moggallāna heard 43 that, he spake full of fierce wrath: "He hath usurped the government though he had no right to it, without cause he

1. The town (in the land) of the Kāśis, that is Bārāṇasī i.e. Benares.
2. According to the wording of the Pāli text, one is inclined to assume that dhrammadhātu is meant for some relic of the Buddha, perhaps his dharmakāraka, his water vessel, and that this relic turned out to be a fake. The Nikāyasamgraha however, which treats the subject in greater detail (p. 16²¹—17⁶), says distinctly that it is a book containing the heretical doctrines of the Vaitulya School (see note to 42.35). The King was not able to distinguish these teachings from the true Buddha doctrine. We must therefore assume that Dhammadhātu was the title of the book. The Nik.-s. gives the name of the merchant’s son (ve- lāndrapratyād) who brought the book as Puṇya.
3. P. kāresi cārītaṃ; the infin. kātaṃ governs the acc. mahaṃ.
44 hath slain my youngest brother who spake the truth. I will see that he has a merry reign. He took a strong army and advanced to the Rahera mountain. When the King heard it, he erected an armed camp with troops ready for battle on the Karinda mountain. Hearing of this Moggallāna sent the King this message: “The people living on the Island have never failed in their duty to thee or me and if one (of us) is dead, the government need not be divided between us. Others shall not fight therefore, we two alone will fight a combat here on elephants”. The other declared that he was willing and armed with the five weapons, he mounted his elephant and prepared at once for battle, like Māra against the Sage (Buddha). Moggallāna also mounted his favourite elephant and took his place. The huge elephants rammed each other. A crash was heard at their onslaught like the roar of thunder and sparks like lightning flew at the striking of their tusks. The blood-stained elephants were as evening clouds. Wounded by Moggallāna’s elephant the King’s elephant began to give way. When the King saw that he made as if to cut his throat. But Moggallāna greeting him with reverence, besought him: “Forbear to do that!” Despite the request, he persisted in his defiance and cut his neck. Thus after six months and (six) days he lost the kingdom.

1. "I shall see that his reign is an intoxicating draught". That means either a reign the pleasure of which is as short as that of an intoxicating drink, or in scorn a reign that will make as merry as an intoxicating drink.

2. This seems to me the sense of this not quite easy passage: the people who are loyal to us both are then not obliged to choose between us.

3. sword, spear, bow, battle-axe and shield.

4. “descended (into the arena, to the place of combat)”.

5. Māra, the tempter, who with his army of demons fights against Buddha in the night of enlightenment and is routed by him, is a favourite subject for artistic representation. Thus at Borobudur, relief nr. 94 (l. gallery, main wall, upper row). Cf. N. J. Kass, the Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabuḍur, p. 102 ff.

6. According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he reigned six months.
Hereupon the mighty Moggallāna became king on the 54 Island. On account of his mother's brother they called him Cūla (moggallāna). He had poetic gifts without equal, as highest (good) he held the three (sacred) objects. He was an abode of virtues like generosity, self-control, purity, goodness. By largess, friendly speech, by working for the good (of others) and by his natural feelings for others, he won over the mass of his subjects. By almsgiving and the (founding of) vihāras, by (gifts of) medicine and garments he won the community of the bhikkhus and by just protection. While distinguishing the preachers of the doctrine by abundant gifts of honour, he had the three Piṭakas together with the Aṭṭhakathā recited. Boys he lured with sweetmeats which delighted them and had them constantly instructed in the good doctrine, he, the sage who was a shining light of the good doctrine. He also composed a poem in praise of the good doctrine which he, the best of men, from the height of his elephant, recited at the close of the sermon, in the town. He dammed up the Kañcanda river among the mountains forming thereby the Pattapāṇavāpi, Dhanāvāpi and Garitara tanks. With the thought: this is a work that ensures long life, he, full of zeal, had the sacred texts written down and a solemn festival held for the (three sacred) objects. While full of pity for the world as a mother for the son of her womb, he died, having given and enjoyed according to desire, in the twentieth year (of his reign).

1 P. ayyakaṇu = Moggallāna I. who was his mātula, since according to 39. 55, his father Silākāla had married Moggallāna's I. sister.
2 The vatthuttaya are the Buddha, his doctrine (dhamma) and his Ordas (sangha).
3 P. samānattassabhāvena. By this the cattarī saṅgahavatthāni are meant. See note to 37. 108.
4 That is the sacred texts together with the commentaries.
5 P. kurjarasekhare nissā. Here nissā stands for nissā metri causa and the latter for nissāya as expressing a local relation.
6 The river flowing past the east side of Anurādhapura, now called Malvatu-oya.
7 Pūjāv. and Rājāv.: 20 years. In both works and in the Rājaratna, the king is called Dala-Mogulan. See below note to 44. 63.
His Mahesī had killed his kindred with poison. She then made her son king and carried on the government herself.

Lord of men Kittisirimegha thus made king, at once had the house of the Monarch of trees\(^1\) covered with tin plates. For the poor, for travellers and beggars he instituted a great almsgiving. As protector of the road in such manner he could be useful to all\(^2\). But in all enterprises the Mahesī took the lead, thus everything in his kingdom was turned upside down.

The royal officials and the high dignitaries thought only of bribery, and the powerful in the land terrorized the weak.

At the time of Silākāla there lived in a village called Saṅgilla, a man called Bhayasīva, a scion of the Moriya clan. Sīva had a son by name Aggabodhi and also a sister's son known by the name of Mahānāga. His sister's son was of tall stature, Aggabodhi was handsome\(^3\). On account of his high-soaring plans, the vigorous Mahānāga gave up field labour and led a robber's life in the forest. Once when he caught an iguana\(^4\) he sent it to his aunt\(^5\). When she saw

\(^1\) The Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra.

\(^2\) The conjectural maggamālo “road-hall” (perhaps = rest-house) of the Col. Ed. for-pulō is without doubt tempting. According to it W. translates as follows: “Yes, he was like unto a public hall of charity wherein all men were able to partake freely of according to their necessities.” I have however, scruples about taking such liberties with the MS. reading, more especially as it gives tolerable sense. In the foregoing travellers and wandering beggars have been mentioned. Here the compiler of our chronicle adds the remark: the king would have been a signpost and a guide to all these (sabbopabhogiya, lit. = one who must or can be enjoyed by all), had not the queen prevented him. She interfered everywhere and thereby brought the kingdom to chaos.

\(^3\) An alteration of the text is certainly necessary if the MSS. have bhīgineyyo mahānāgō aggbodhi ca sundaro. The writer of S. 6 has felt that, when he has changed sundaro into -rā. But it seems to me that in this verse a contrast, not a resemblance, between the two cousins has to be emphasized, to make the future conduct of Mahānāga intelligible. I should incline therefore, to read mahābāyō instead of Mahānāgō, and refer the reader to the critical note in my edition.

\(^4\) P. godhā, Sinh. goyā. Two species are distinguished: talagoya “land-iguana” (Varanus dracaena) and kabaragoya “speckled iguana” (Hydrosaurus salvator). The flesh of iguanas is eaten.

\(^5\) P. mātulānī, the wife of the mother's brother, hence the wife of Bhayasīva.
the iguana she understood (what he wanted) and ordered to send him a basket of corn\(^1\). He also sent to the blacksmith a hare and he did the same (as the aunt). From his sister\(^2\) he begged seed corn and a bringer of the seed corn\(^3\); she handed him over a slave and provided him secretly with food and drink.

Now during a famine a certain man, skilled in magic spells, in order to get alms, was wont to beg food from everybody clad in the robe of a bhikkhu. He had betaken himself to the village (of Saṅgilla) but as he got no food, overcome with hunger, he sat down trembling. When the merciful Mahānāga saw him, he had pity on him, took the alms-bowl, but although he traversed the village in all directions, he got not even rice soup. But when he gave up his upper-garment, he got food. The other ate, was content and thought: I will make him worthy of the kingdom on the Island. He took him with him and came in a moment to the Gokañña\(^4\) sea. Seating himself there and murmuring in the usual way the formula of incantation, he conjured up the Nāga King in the night of the full moon of the month Phussa\(^5\). "Touch the great Nāga", he commanded Mahānāga. In the first watch

\(^1\) P. passasayi must not be corrected. The root śaras is intimately connected with sās, just as in Skr. śara and sās merge in each other; passas means here "to determine, to direct". The aunt understands that by sending the iguana her nephew wishes to indicate that while he has the flesh of game in abundance, he lacks bread.

\(^2\) The son of this sister is (42.1) the future king Aggabodhi I.

\(^3\) P. bījagāha, purposely formed like asigāha, chattagāha.

\(^4\) Gokañña(ka) is also 57. 5 the theatre of a similar scene of magic as the one here described. In 71.18 it is the farthest spot down the Mahaveliganga ("from Sarogāmatitha as far as Gokañña"), which must be protected from the enemy in Rohaṇa. As in our passage it is described as mahāyāva "ocean", it can be no other than the mouth of the Mahaveliganga, the Koddiyar Bay, the Bay of Trincomalee.

\(^5\) December to January.

\(^6\) The Nāgas are semi-divine beings in the form of snakes. They are always held to be zealous worshippers of the Buddha and of his teaching. They are represented in human form with a snake's head growing from between the shoulder blades over the head.
of the night, through fear, he did not touch the Nāga who had appeared. It was even so in the middle watch of the night. But in the last watch he caught him by the tail and (immediately) let go of him. (Only) with three fingers had he touched him\(^1\). When the magician saw that he foretold: "My effort succeeds: After thou hast had war with three kings and slain the fourth, thou shalt be king in thy old age and live yet three years; and three people out of thy clan will be kings (after thee). Go thither, serve the King; later thou shalt witness my power." With these words he sent him forth.

Mahānāga went, sought the monarch\(^2\) and entered his service. The King made him collector of revenue in Rohāṇa and he collected many goods which were produced there. The King was pleased with him and gave him the rank of an andhasenāpati\(^3\) and commanded him to betake himself thither (to Rohāṇa) again. He took the son of Bhayasīva and his sister's son\(^4\) with him, went thither and raised rebellion in the whole province. He made of Rohāṇa a territory whose products fell exclusively to himself and took up his abode there\(^5\). In order to wage war with Dāthāpabhuti he advanced with a great array of forces, but from fear of Moggallāna\(^6\), he returned to

\(^1\) W. translates: "he raised it by the tail with three of his fingers and dropped it", but khip does not mean "to raise" nor chup "to drop". In my edition the punctuation of the text is also wrong. One must place the semi-colon after khipi and take itk' evaṃ angulihi sa tamy chupi as a connected sentence.

\(^2\) The event takes place, as is apparent from v. 69 and from what follows, in the time of King Silākāla.

\(^3\) This title only occurs here. See Introd. III.

\(^4\) The former was called Aggabodhi (41. 70). By bhaginēyya we have probably to understand the nephew of Mahānāga who according to v. 93 died prematurely.

\(^5\) The present part. rasana is used here instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state.

\(^6\) Before it came to a fight, the reign of Dāthāpabhuti had come to an end, after lasting six months.
Rohana. While he dwelt there he heard of the confusion\(^1\) in King Kittisirimegha's kingdom. Mahanaga thought it was now time to seize the government, set out hastily from Rohana, slew the Ruler on the nineteenth day\(^2\), took over the government himself and reestablished order. Then he sent a letter to his sister's son bidding him come. The latter coming turned back because of an (unlucky) omen and died. Thereupon Mahanaga out of gratitude, made the son of his mother's brother (Aggabodhi) Uparaja\(^3\). After building an irrigation trench round the Monarch of trees he had a roof put over its golden house and set up images of the King of Sages. He decorated the three great cetiyas with stucco work and (put up) a protecting ring (against lightning). He also repaired the elephant terrace and the paintings\(^4\). The weavers' village Jambelambaya\(^5\) he affiliated to the Uttaravihara\(^6\) and the village called Tintinika to the Mahavihara. The village of Vasabha in Udhagama he granted to the Jetavana, he also instituted a giving of garments for the three fraternities\(^7\). After granting three hundred fields to the Jeta(vana)-vihara he instituted there a permanent (gift of) rice soup for

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\(^1\) P. \textit{asamañja}, lit. "uneven road" a figurative expression for the idea of disorder and confusion.

\(^2\) Pujāvā, Rājāvā, Nik-ā, Rājaratn. call the king Kuṭākṣiridimovan to distinguish him from Sirimeghana, the first prince of the Cūḷavamsa line. The two first chronicles attribute to him a reign of 19 years.

\(^3\) For the Uparaja, the co-regent of the reigning king and his relation to the Yuvaraja, the heir-apparent, see Introduction II.

\(^4\) Cf. for the works mentioned here 33. 10 and 74 with the notes. The stucco work is of course the masonry of the thūpa; \textit{cumbata} is short for \textit{vañīrācumbata}; \textit{hatticedi} is the same as \textit{hattipākāra}.

\(^5\) Or "the weavers' village called Jambula" according to the reading \textit{jambelachayam} preferred by S. and B.

\(^6\) P. \textit{Uttara}. This doubtless stands here for \textit{Abhayuttara}, is therefore the Abhayangiri-vihara. Cf. note to 37. 97.

\(^7\) The \textit{tavo mikkhā} are the communities of the Mahā-, Jetavana- and Abhayangiri-viharas. But in a Sinhalese work, quoted by Wickremasinghe, EY. II. 275, note 1, it is pointed out that they are the three sects of the Dhammaruci, Sāgalikas, and Vetullas. Sometimes, as 46. 15 f. "two fraternities" are mentioned along with the three.
99 the bhikkhus. He handed over to the Ascetics1 a thousand
fields (watered by the tank) called Dūratissa. For the inmates
of the Mahāvihāra he instituted a permanent (dole of) rice
soup. The Cīramātikavāra (canal) he granted therither, rejoicing
at virtuous dealing. In the Mayūra-pariveṇa3 he undertook
renovations and in the Mahādevarattakurava-vihāra in (the di-
strict of) Kāsikhandā he restored the dilapidated Anurārāma.
102 After he had performed in this and in other ways works which
lead to Heaven he joined after three years3 the company of
the gods.
103 These eight kings who were all contented in spirit4, whose
wealth was endless as that of the King of Kings5, who gloried
in their troops, their elephants, their chargers and in the
chariots of their heroic army6, they had finally to surrender
all and forsaken by their followers, mount the pyre. The wise

1 I do not think that we can connect tapassīnaṃ directly with
Mahābhārata evasīnaṃ. The former belongs to the first, the latter to the
second half of the verse. The ascetics do not live in the vihāra but in
the areṇā. Probably the ascetics of the Tapovana 52. 22, 53. 14, 54. 20
are meant, the settlement in the wilderness west of Anurādhapura, re-
cently more accurately investigated by Ayton and Hocart. See Memoirs
2 See 37. 172 and 38. 52 with the notes.
3 Pūjāv. and Rājāv. call the prince Senevi or Senevi-Mānā. The
duration of his reign is given as 3 years. In Rājaratna. and Nik.-s. he
is also called Senevi. After him all four chronicles insert a king
whose name is missing in the Cūlavamsa. Pūjāv.: Lāmāṇī-Sīṅgān-
Saladalabōnā (9 years), Rājāv.: Lāmāṇī-Sīṃha-Saladalabōnā
(9 years), Rājaratna. and Nik.-s.: Lāmāṇī-Sīṅgānāya.
4 Because they had attained the highest human goal, the dignity of
kingship.
5 The word rājarāja denotes also in Skr. Kuvera, the god of
wealth.
6 The two first lines of the strophe offend repeatedly against the
law of style. They can only be translated according to their sense.
Rājarājena rūpā and navakariturasā sarasenāratheli are disintegrated
compounds. They stand instead of rājarājarūpā (“rūpā = “like”, as
in bhagavantarūpa, D. I. 5128) and navakariturasārasenāratheli.
man when he remembers this should, if he seeks his salvation, harbour the wish to fling away from him the happiness of existence.

Here ends the forty-first chapter, called "The Nine Kings" in the Mahāvaipasa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The MSS. have it is true, afpharajako "the eight kings". Cf. the note to the signature of the following pariccheda.
CHAPTER XLII

THE TWO KINGS

1 Aggabodhi the highly favoured of fortune, sister's son of King Mahānāga\(^1\), now became king whose aspiration was the attainment of the highest enlightenment. In splendour imitating the sun, in charm the moon with full disk, in steadfastness the Sumeru mountain\(^2\), in depth the ocean, in firmness the earth, in impartiality\(^3\) the wind, in insight the magician among the gods\(^4\), in purity the autumn heavens, in the enjoyment of wishes fulfilled the King of the gods, in wealth

\(^1\) Here S. and B., and W. obviously dependent on their rendering, translate ikbīti Mahānāga-narāniṇāduḥu māyāpāt, W: “the son of Mahānāga’s mother’s brother.” In itself that would be quite simple. Aggabodhi would then be the son of Bhayasiṇa mentioned 41.70 whom Mahānāga according to 41.93, appointed uparāja. But there is one difficulty about the matter. It absolutely contradicts the text. Aggabodhi is here perfectly plainly described as bhāginīya of Mahānāga. The Pujāv. also calls him Mānāraja-bāṇā and likewise the Rujāv. We must stick to this if we wish to keep firm ground under our feet. We must thus assume that the Cullavaspa says nothing about the after fate of Bhayasiṇa’s son, just as it is so often silent where we should like to hear more, and that the Aggabodhi named in 42.1 has nothing but the name in common with him. Siriu’s genealogical tree (in his very valuable Index to the Mahawansa) which rests on the translations, needs correction accordingly.

\(^2\) Sumeru is the same as Meru or Hemamura. Cf. 87.79 with note.

\(^3\) P. samaruli refers to the impartial demeanour towards others, none being favoured, none being disadvantaged, as the wind blows equally for all beings without distinction. It is interesting to find quite similar phrases as those in v. 2 and 3 in an inscription of Mahinda IV. (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 225).

\(^4\) That is Bṛhaspati.
the commander of treasures\(^1\), in justice the upright Vāṣeṣṭha\(^2\), in courage the king of beasts, in royal virtues a ruler of the \(5\) world, in generosity a Vessantara\(^3\), it was thus his people knew him. On his mother's brother he conferred the dignity \(6\) of uparāja, on his brother that of yuvarāja, on his sister's son that of king of Malaya\(^4\). To the most distinguished officials \(7\) also he gave positions according to their merits. He won over his subjects by the heartwinning qualities and by the royal virtues\(^5\). The province of Dakkhiṇadesa with the appropriate \(8\) retinue\(^6\) he made over to the Yuvarāja. The latter while he dwelt there, built the Sirivaddhāhamāna tank. After the wise \(9\) (prince) had erected the Giri-vihāra intended for the community (of the bhikkhus) he granted it two hundred fields for the support of the community. To the Malayarāja he gave \(10\) his daughter Dāthā by name (to wife); he also built the pari\(\)veṇa which bears the name Sirisampghadhi. For Mahāsiva \(11\) he built a pari\(\)veṇa\(^7\) which was called after him. His companions also were chiefly intent on meritorious works. Thus \(12\) by a pious mode of life\(^8\) he followed the good old custom

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\(^1\) The term amaramantar applied to Brhaspati here bears out his close association with the Atharvaveda given him in the Indian epics. Horkins, Epic Mythology, p. 161. — The King of the Gods is Indra, the Lord of treasure Kuvera.

\(^2\) A ṛṣi, a primeval sage (Skr. Vasiṣṭha).

\(^3\) Vessantara was the last human incarnation of the Buddha. His history is told in the Jātaka bearing his name (Nr. 547) Fauss shells edition, VI. p. 479 ff.

\(^4\) Cf. for these titles the notes to 41. 33-35.

\(^5\) See notes to 37. 107 and 108.

\(^6\) P. sayogyā, the adj. yogya is made into a substantive by supplementing it with a nominal term like "accessories, equipment, retinue". Sayogya-balavāhana in 44. 84 is used in the same connection. Here for the first time we have the Southern Province, the dakkhiṇadesa as territory reserved for the heir to the throne, as is thenceforward the rule. Cf. also the note to 41. 35.

\(^7\) Note to 37. 63.

\(^8\) P. sādhūpacārena. W. translates this: "by continually keeping the company of good men", which is also possible.
and to remove hindrances, he restored it where it had fallen into decay. During his reign poets wrote numerous poems in the Shiša language which were distinguished by various useful doctrines. In the Dakkhina-vihāra he erected a splendid pāsāda and in the course of nine years he cleared the island of all briers. After building the vihāra called Kurunda destined for the whole Order (of bhikkhus) and a tank of the same name and (after planting) a cocopal garden three yo-

1 Refers directly to "the good old custom" (porājaṁ dhāmmanāṁ viihi) which is figuratively likened to a building that has fallen into decay and must be restored. The "hindrances" are things, actions, circumstances which obstruct the path to deliverance.

2 So I translate nayā which is chiefly used of prudent policy. The names of the twelve poets said to have flourished under Aggabodhi I. are enumerated in the Pūjāv., the Rājāv., and the Nik.-s.

Pūjāv: 1. Dāhmāni  Rājāv: Dahanet  Nik.-s.: Dāmiya
2.  Temal        Pasu          Suriyābhāuya
3.  Bābiri       Bāri          Bābiriya
4.  Bisodāla    Miyo          Dālabīśūya
5.  Anurut      Kuma          Anurutkumaruya
6.  Dājagot     Dalagot       Dājagotkumaruya
7.  Puravādu    Puravā        Puravaḍukumaravya
8.  Dāḷasalakumaru  Dasalā    Dāḷasalakumaruya
9.  Kīṭsiri     Kīṭsiri       Kīṭsirikumaruya
10. Kasub       Kāsasu       Kasupkotasāpāya
11. Koḷa        Koḷa          Sakdāṃalaya (=? 2)
12. Āpā         Āpaya        Asakdāṃalaya

In addition it is stated in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv. that the Thera Dhamma-kitti (sīha. Dāmi, Dāhāmikiti) held office under King Aggabodhi.

3 That is: the "Southern Monastery". According to Mhvs. 33. 88 its builder was Uṭṭiya, one of the warriors of Vaṭṭagāmaśi. It lay nagarambhā dakkhiṇatā. In the latest plan of Anurādhapura the Dakkhina-vihāra is identified with the cetiya known in local tradition as "Eḷāra’s tomb" (Cf. Mhvs. 25. 72-73). As regards this monument, I should prefer keeping to the local tradition. The Dakkhina-vihāra has thus still to be identified.

4 See note to 37. 59.

5 Said figuratively; kṣataka “thorn” is used of all enemies of the throne and the church, of all pests of the organism of the State.

6 The building of the Kurunda tank is also narrated in Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. H. W. Coudrington (H. C., p. 85) identifies it with the Giant’s tank near Manir.
janas in length, he granted it to Mahāsiva as his dwelling and in addition to it revenues, honours and distinctions and a hundred monastery attendants. Near to it he built the 17 Ambilapassava-vihāra and granted the village of this name to the Ascetics of the Thera School. To the Unnavalli-vihāra he granted the far-famed village of Ratana and placed (in the vihāra) a stone image of the Master. In Kelivīta he built the (vihāra) called Sumanapabbata and beside the Bodhi temple a stone terrace with a large oil pit. After he had restored the Lohapāsāda, he distributed at the dedication festival of the pāsāda to six and thirty thousand bhikkhus the three garments. He assigned to it a village and ordered that it should be guarded. In the Hatthikucchi-vihāra the enlightened (prince) likewise erected a pāsāda which bore the name of his daughter. He kept piously to the instruction of the bhikkhu Dāthāsiva and living according to the law, he looked after him heedfully. Further he built the great vihāra Mügasenā-

1 The Col. Ed. differs greatly here from the MSS. It reads ma-hāśma-da-vaya-sa-śca sasāruṃ kārayitaṃ adā, but it is just the first syllables mahāsiva which are well preserved in all the MSS. It seems to me very doubtful for the rest, that mahāśma-da-vaya should mean "two large tracts of defined land" as translated by W. For simā I know only the meaning "boundary", but not "defined territory".

2 See note to 37. 63.

3 See notes to 41. 99 and 37. 227.

4 Is Ratamārama not the present Ratnapura? The epithet dīgha-vacaśīta would then point to its having been famous then as a mine of precious stones. Here attention may also be called to the district Ratamāramā-raṭṭha (69. 31) which lies in the Southern Province.

5 The Bodhi temple in the Mahāvihāra is meant here (note to 38. 43). The "oil pit" was probably a cup-like hollow intended for the reception of the oil presented for festive illumination.

6 See note to 41. 29.

7 Is also mentioned 48. 65 in the reign of Aggabodhi VI and 49. 76 in that of Dappula II.

8 Apparently Dāthāsiva took a post at court corresponding to that of purohita in the Indian courts. This is the beginning of the political influence of the bhikkhus. Cf. 57. 38 f. and note.
pati and assigned it¹ the village Lajjika for the (necessary) 24 maintenance of the slaves. For the merit of King Mahānāga 25 King Aggabodhi built a (vihāra) called by his name² and as- 26 signed it to the Grand Thera who was versed in the three 27 Piṭakas³. But he who no longer possessed wishes, handed 28 over the vihāra to sixty-four bhikkhus of his kind who practis- 29 ed yoga⁴. After building the Bhinnoruḍīpa(-vihāra) for the 30 same (thera) who dwelt in the Mahāparivena⁵, and granting⁶ 31 it (revenues) from Vaṭṭākārapiṭṭhi, he erected halls for the 32 Uposatha festival⁷ in the vihāra called Dākkhiṇāgiridālha, in 33 Mahānāgapabbata and in the Kālavāpi-vihāra. In the Abhaya 34 (giri)-vihāra he constructed a large bathing tank and on the 35 Cetiyapabbata he provided a permanent water supply for the 36 Nāgasundaji tank⁸. After having the Mahindatā tank⁹ con- 37 structed in the proper way, he decided to set up (the image

¹ The reading ekasass which W. accepts, is certainly wrong. It can 2 only be a question of a foundation for the benefit of the vihāra men- 3 tioned in the first half of the verse and which is alluded to by clāssas.

² Vihāraṃ must be inserted from v. 23. We might translate “he 4 gave it (i. e. the Mūgasenāpati-vihāra) the name Mahānāga-vihāra”. 5 The building of this vihāra by Aggabodhi (Māṇḍradāpirīceṇa) is also 6 mentioned in Pājāv. and Rājaratn.

³ See note to 37. 223. Who the Grand Thera was is not said, prob- 7 ably Dāthāśāva.

⁴ I. e. who gave themselves to ascetic and meditative practices. 8 H. Beck, Buddhismus II, 9 ff., was the first to show the significance of 9 Yoga in Buddhism in its true light.

⁵ According to 50. 67 a building in the Jetavana-vihāra. Mentioned 10 again 48. 65.

⁶ The translation is not quite certain on account of the brevity of 11 the original. W. has, however, disregarded the gerund kated in his 12 rendering.

⁷ See note to 37. 201.

⁸ I think what is meant here is the bathing tank now called 13 Nāgapokūṇa, situated just under the summit of the Mihintale moun- 14 tain (see 38. 75 note) where hewn in the rock face the heads of a cobra 15 (nāga) seem to rise out of the water. Not “Elephant’s Pool” as W. 16 translates. See Mhvā. tral. p. 94, note 1.

⁹ The tank at the foot of the Missaka mountain by which the pre- 17 sent fields of the village Mihintale are irrigated.
of) the Thera (Mahinda) on its dike and he decreed that when 30
the Grand Thera Mahinda should be brought to the place,
people from the Taraccha\(^1\) clan should carry him. He placed
a golden umbrella\(^2\) on the (thūpas of the) three fra-
ternities, seven- eight- and nine-fold\(^3\) and (set) with pre-
cious stones. He presented the Mahāthūpa with a golden 32
umbrella weighing four and twenty bhūras\(^4\) and here and there
(his offered) a superb jewel of great value. Having decorated 33
the temple of the Tooth Relic with brightly gleaming precious
stones he made a golden reliquary (for the relic) and in the
Pāli Hall a canoe of bronze\(^5\). He built the Mahāmekhala 34
bund and conducted a great canal from the Mañihāra tank\(^6\).

At that time a Grand Thera called Jotipāla had beaten in 35
controversy the adherents of the Vetulla School\(^7\) on the Is-
land. The Ādipāda called Dāthāpabhuti, ashamed (at the 36
defeat), raised his hand to strike him (the thera). At the self-
same moment an ulcer appeared (on his hand). But the King 37
who was pleased with Jotipāla, assigned him a dwelling in
that very vīhāra\(^8\). In his pride Dāthāpabhuti went not to

\(^1\) P. taraccha. See note to 38. 13. W. is not at all clear about this
passage. The Taraccha are already mentioned Mhvs. 19. 2 along with
the Kuliṅga.

\(^2\) See note to 38. 54, as also to 41. 97.

\(^3\) Has reference to the single storeys of the chatta which apparently
differed in the three thūpas (Mahāthūpa, Jetavana and Abhayagiri) in
the way indicated.

\(^4\) A bhūra (= 20 Tulā = 2000 Pala) is according to BR. (Sanskrit
Wtb. s. v.), equal to about 140 lbs. That would give a total weight of
33 to 34 cwt. According to the Sinhalese weight (1 pāla = 4 karṣa =
a little more than 72. 5 gr.) we should get double that quantity. The
umbrella was of course of stone and gilded.

\(^5\) See note to 37. 181.

\(^6\) Now Minneri-veva, N. W. of Polonnaruva.

\(^7\) The Mahāvamsa regards the Vetulla School as a heretical sect.
They were the representatives of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon and are first
mentioned Mhvs. 36. 41 in the reign of Vohāraka-Tissa (2nd half of
the 3rd c. A.D.). They had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vīhāra accord-
ing to Mhvs. 56. 111. Cf. Mhvs. transl., p. 259. n. 2.

\(^8\) Presumably in the vīhāra where the controversy had taken place.
(Abhayagiri ?)
him and so died. The King conferred the dignity of mahādīpāda on his sister's son Aggabodhi and charged him to take the Thera under his protection, which he did. After building the Nilageha cell the King gave it to that same Thera. Thus he wrought many meritorious works and died in the thirty-fourth year (of his reign).

Hereupon Aggabodhi became king. As the former king was the elder he was distinguished by the name Khudda. Versed in the former customs he protected the Island and he made Samghabhaddā the daughter of his mother's brother mahesi. As sword-bearer he appointed a kinsman of the Mahesi. He distributed posts according to worth, without preference. The Veḷuvana(-vihāra) which the king had built he made over to the adherents of the Sāgali School. He also built the Jamburantaragalla(-vihāra) and the Mātikapiṭṭhi(-vihāra).

During the reign of this (king) the prince of the Kālinga country whose mind was disturbed when he saw the death of living beings in war, came hither to our Island with the resolve of world renunciation. He underwent the ceremony of world renunciation under Jotipāla and the King maintained him honourably for a long time. He built him a prac-

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1 He was too proud to go to Jotipāla and ask his forgiveness.
2 The title mahādīpāda is usually borne by the heir to the throne.
3 What a paricheda was in a monastic establishment is difficult to say. I suppose it to have been single cells for the inmates. Cf. 48. 2, 50. 77.
4 Pājāv: 34 years, Rājāv: 30 years.
5 I. e. the little, the younger. In the Sinhalese sources he is also called Raṇa-Akkō.
6 See note to 37. 211.
7 W.'s translation of anālayo by "as he envied not to give power into the hands of others" is certainly not right. Aleya means "wish, affection". What is meant is merely that the king was not influenced by personal wishes but by objective considerations. Cf. also 46. 4.
8 See note to 39. 41. The Sāgaliyā had their seat in Jetavana, as the Dhammarucikā in Abhayagiri (A. M. HOBART, Memoirs ASC. I p. 15 ff.). For the Veḷuvana-vihāra see note to 44. 29.
9 It seems that he was driven from his country by Pulakeśin I., the founder of the Chalukya dynasty who conquered the Kālinga kingdom. According to JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL this took place 609 A. D. See H. W. CONRINGTON, H. C., p. 35, 51.
tising-house\(^1\) in the Mattapabbata-vihāra. The Kālinga prince’s minister and his Mahesī betook themselves to the same (Jotipāla) and under him they (likewise) underwent the ceremony of world renunciation. When the Mahesī of the King 47 (Aggabodhi) heard of her splendid renunciation of the world, she supported her honourably and had the Ratana(-vihāra) built (for her). To the minister the King granted the Vetta-\(^2\) vāsa-vihāra in Pācīnakhaṇḍarājī\(^2\), but the ascetic handed it over to the community\(^3\). The royal Thera died; the King (Agga-\(^4\) bodhi) mourned for him and wept for him and after that built a practising-house in the Cūlagalla-vihāra\(^4\) as well as one in the Palaṃṇagara-vihāra\(^5\). Thus in his place and for 50 him\(^6\) the ruler performed many meritorious works.

Once while the Thera Jotipāla was performing his devotions in front of the cetiya in the Thūpārāma a piece of (masonry) got loosened and fell in front of him. The troubled 52 Thera called the King and showed it to him. When the King saw it he was horrified and had the work at once taken in hand. He housed the Relic of the Right Collar-bone\(^7\), carefully guarded, in an inner room of the Lohapāsāda and honoured it day and night. As the repairs in the Thūpārāma 54 were delayed, the devatās\(^8\) dwelling there appeared to the

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\(^1\) See notes to 37. 232.

\(^2\) The name occurs in what is probably the right form Pācīnakhaṇḍarājī also in Mhvs. 23. 4. I believe it to be the name of a village near the Citta mountain.

\(^3\) i. e. he refused personal possession and handed over the vihāra to the community of the bhikkhus.

\(^4\) Mentioned also Mhvs. 35. 13. The vihāra was built by Cūlābhaya at the end of the 1st c. A. D. on the bank of the Goṇanadi (Kala-oya), south of Anurādhapura.

\(^5\) In Palaṃṇagaraga the -ga means “found in”. It is thus not part of the name, as W. supposes.

\(^6\) This is a patti, that is an action whose merits are transferred to another person who has died. The reward for the pious foundations made by Aggabodhi are to fall to the royal thera from Kālinga.

\(^7\) See above note to 37. 207.

\(^8\) Thūpārāmanthi belongs to navakammā as well as to devatā. According to popular belief devatās are everywhere, in every field, every tree, every building, even in the single parts of a house.
King in a dream as attendants of the monastery. "If the King hesitates to rebuild the shrine of the relic we shall take the relic and go where it pleaseth us", said they. At that moment the King awoke and greatly perturbed, he had the work on the shrine finished in a short time, including the paintings and the like. Further (he had) four images and thrones of stone, a golden umbrella and work in stone and ivory (made) for the shrine. His dignitaries and others (of high rank) made nine hundred reliquaries and renewed the whole work of Devānampiyatissa. When with immense pains he had got together the offering in fitting manner he with the greatest reverence, brought the relic from the Lohapāśāda hither. He had the relic surrounded by the Grand Thera Jotipāla together with the community, carried in festive procession in a reliquary. To the relic-shrine he dedicated the island of Laṅkā together with his own person and handed over to its guardsians the village the proceeds of which had belonged to the Mahesi. In Nāgadīpa (he presented) the Uṇṇalomaghara temple to the Rājāyatanadhātū(-vihāra), as well as an umbrella for the Āmalacetiya. He granted to the vihāra there a village for the provision of rice soup. To the Abhaya(giri)-vihāra he granted the village of Aṅgaṇasūlaka. Giving it his own name and that of the Mahesi, he erected in the Abhayuttara the Dāṭhāggabodhi house. The Queen piously built the Kapūlanāga-vihāra and handed it over provided with the four

1 In v. 57 the v. kārayi must be supplemented to the accusatives from v. 56. Navam kāmaṇaṃ in v. 58 d must have the v. akāram added from 58 a.

2 He is the builder of the Thūpārāma-cetiya according to Mhvs. 17. 1 ff., 62.

3 P. parādhārena. The word has obviously here already the meaning of its Sinhalese equivalent perañhara "procession".

4 See above 39. 31 for a case of similar homage to the Church.

5 The verb is missing in the sentence. We must probably supplement it with an adā from the foregoing. My interpretation differs greatly from that of W. I take Rājāyatanadhātū for the name of a vihāra. Nāgadīpa means the most northerly part of Ceylon.

6 See note to 37. 97.
necessaries, to the same monastery. In the Jetavana the King erected a building with a glittering crowning ornament and near the house of the Bodhi Tree he had a well dug. He also built the Gangātaṭa, Valāhassa and Girītaṭa tanks. He enlarged the Mahāpūli Hall and set up a canoe for the gifts of rice. For the bhikkhunīs the Mahābi ordered permanent gifts of rice. Thus after King Aggabodhi had performed meritorious works, he went to Heaven in the tenth year (of his reign).

Thus (both) these Lords of men, who rejoiced in meritorious works, who were blessed with riches, fell into the clutches of death. Then should the wise man when he beholds rightly the course of existence, shunning according to precept, all connection with existence, (his face) turned towards Nirvana, live discerningly, surrendering himself to the renunciation of the world.

Here ends the forty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 There is no reason to change the reading of the MSS. rajānamucumbatasya into rajātoracumbatam as do S. and B. There is nothing strange in the archaic participial form in -āna in the ecletic style of the Cūlavamsa.
2 Rājāv. and Pujāv. relate that in all he built 13 tanks. The Gangaṭala, Girītalā, Hovaṭu, Neraṭu, Māṭomu, Siravalākṣāṭiya, Eṣṭerhāṭu, Kalumnuṛu, Mahaudalū, Kāngomu, Māḍāṭa and Kalamvāvva are named in the Pujāv. In addition both chronicles ascribe to him the building of the Velunna-vehera.
3 P. bhattanaṇaṁ. Cf. note to 37. 181.
4 P. bhattavaraṇaṁ. The regular recurrence of the gifts is compared with the succession of the generations in a family.
5 Rājāv. and Pujāv. likewise give the duration of the reign as ten years.
6 The MSS. have Tīrājako "the three kings" and having regard to the signature of the foregoing pariccheda, it would have been more consistent to have retained this reading. As in our signature one king more, in the foregoing one less is given than actually occurs in the pariccheda, we may perhaps assume that the difference is traceable to a copy in which the last king of the series of the 41st chapter, Mahānāga, is treated not with his predecessors but with his successors, the two Aggabodhis.
CHAPTER XLIV

THE SIX KINGS

1 Hereupon the Sword-bearer Samghatissa\(^1\) became ruler. With the wish to further religion as well as the kingdom he rejoiced in righteous action. Bestowing office according to merit, he won his subjects for himself. But when the general of the younger king (Aggabodhi), Moggallāna, who dwelt in Rohaṇa, learnt that Samghatissa had become king, in order to begin war he occupied a fortified camp in Mahāgalla\(^2\).

2 When Samghatissa heard this he sent troops to fight him, but the mighty Moggallāna routed them. Thereupon he took himself with elephants and horses to Rattivihāra, collected his troops there and took up a position. At news of this the King returned, gave him battle at Kadālīnivāta\(^3\) and

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\(^1\) Pūjāv. and Rājāv. describe him as younger brother (mañ) of Aggabodhi II. But it seems to be more probable that he is the asiggāha mentioned in 42. 42 as a kinsman of Aggabodhi’s II. mahēśāi.

\(^2\) Mahāgalla is mentioned in three places. According to 58. 42—43 (q. v.) it was situated in Dakkhiṇadesa. The sequence Tilagulla, Mahāgalla, Mahāgalla, Anurādhapura, Mahātīthā in a successful campaign of Vijayabahū I. allows of our determining the situation. It is evidently the present Magallegama N. W. of Kurunegala halfway on the road to Puttalam not far from Nikaveratiya (Census of Ceylon 1921, II. 282-3, nr. 62). So also H. W. Corinrton in a letter dated 19. X. 26. Mahāgallakavāpi is likewise mentioned three times, namely 68. 34 and 43 among the water works built by Parakkamabahū I. to further cultivation in Dakkhiṇadesa. The passage 79. 66 is either a repetition of what is related in Chap. 68 or it refers to the restoration of the tank.

\(^3\) Not Kadalāṭi-Nivāta. The ādi serves only, as so frequently, for paraphrase “beginning with Kadali”. Cf. Kadālyudinivāta 48. 50; Mahā-pāṇuidīpa 44. 122; Sirisamghādibodhiko 46. 1.
defeated him. Then he sent his troops (after him), but returned himself to the town. Moggallāna restored his vanquished army\(^1\) to its former state and marched to Rahera\(^2\). The King's Senāpati sent his son against the rebels, he himself feigned (sickness) as if suffering and distressed like one very sick, he kept his bed. When the King heard of it he at once sought him out and admonished him: "Be not troubled. Only set the Prince\(^3\) his tasks here (in Anurādhapura) and protect the city; it is impossible for thee to accompany me to the seat of war as thou art sick". Because all the people had left\(^4\) the city and the King's food was thereby curtailed, they placed before the King food that had been prepared in the Mahāpāli Hall. When the King saw that, he was much perturbed and thinking: (it must be) before he becomes weaker than (he is) now, he went forth in haste to war. With his son he mounted his elephant at the head of an army in fighting trim and marched with a small force to Pācinatissapabbata\(^6\). When both sides\(^7\) were engaged in battle the treacherous Senāpati opened the attack from behind. When the Ruler's

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\(^1\) It is unnecessary to change savāhana= into savāhinīṣa. Vāhana (primarily: baggagetrain, camp-followers) is several times used in just this section as "army". Thus vv. 13 and 22.

\(^2\) The Rahera mountain is already mentioned 41. 44 on the occasion of the battles between Dūṭhāpabbhati I. and his brother Moggallāna. The Col. Ed. reads, it is true, Kareheram upāgami.

\(^3\) Jeṭṭhatissa is presumably meant by the "Prince". According to v. 28 he had remained in the town, probably as Regent under the Minister's guidance, while his father was in the field.

\(^4\) P. ubbāsāte, lit. "caused to depart". The people had left the town from fear of the enemy. It does not mean that they were in the field. The loc. sabbe is one of the incorrect forms peculiar to the language of the Cūlavamsa. Cf. similarly sabbe. Jambudipe 75. 26 and also Laṅkātāle sabbe 44. 44.

\(^5\) The idea is this: The King feels that he cannot do without the advice and help of his Senāpati in the city while he himself is absent. He wants therefore to hasten the decision in the field so that the sick man does not die before it. Yāca na means "until — before"; mando stands for the comparative and the ablative ceto belongs to this.

\(^6\) See note to 41. 14.

\(^7\) I.e. Sarpghatissa and Moggallāna.
16 son saw that, he said: "I will slay him". But the King restrained him: "Think not of such a thing; our army is unable to stand this, it is certainly much too weak." The King was in the centre between the two hostile armies, therefore his forces had to be divided against the rebel (Moggallāna) and the Senāpati. The King's elephant sought the shade of a madhūka tree whereupon the umbrella fell to the ground because it knocked against a branch. The rebel's army saw that, took possession of it and handed it over to their commander. He raised the umbrella, standing on the summit of the mountain. Thereupon the King's troops thinking he was now king, came and surrounded him. But King Samghatissa was alone. He dismounted from the back of his elephant and fled with his son and a faithful minister to the Merumajjara forest near by.

22 The victorious Moggallāna took the host, the treacherous Senāpati and his ruthless son, came to the capital and was king as sovereign of the Laṅkā country. Then he thought: "As long as the foe is in life there is no good luck." When he heard that a son of the former king was here (in Anurādhapura) he was wroth and at once commanded that his hands and feet be cut off. The man charged by the King, went thither immediately to cut off his hands and feet. The boy wept in distress: "If my hands which I have for eating cake, are cut off with what shall I then eat the cakes?" When the

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1 P. hessati. The future in the sense of a mitigated statement where otherwise the potential is used. The ti, as so frequently, is inserted in the ratio recta. Cf. note to 37. 114; further 48. 116; 77. 99.
2 Bassia latifolia. Skr. madhūka, BR. s. v. This is the ni-gāha of the Sinhalese which C. C. trains as Bassia longifolia.
3 The governing verb of puttam 'uaccama ca sohadaṃ is wanting. Hence the writer of MS. S. 6 recorced the text to puttam adīya sohadaṃ. It seems to me probable that sohadaṃ was a gloss to distinguish the amacc from the faithless Senāpati and that this gloss displaced an adīya in the text. The gerund adīya which is found already in Mhvs. 1. 74 is found again in v. 22.
King's servant heard that he wept and wailed, sorely grieved at the King's command. Nevertheless he cut off his left hand and his left foot, the wretch. Jethathissa another son of the King, fled and betook himself unrecognised to Malaya in the Merukandara district. Meanwhile the King (Jethathissa) with his son and his minister had secretly reached Veluvana. At the instigation of the bhikkhus there he donned the yellow robe. He had the intention of betaking himself in the disguise of a bhikkhu to Rohana and got as far as Manihira. Here the servants of the King who were there, recognised the three, put fetters on their feet and told Moggallana. When the King heard that, he rejoiced exceedingly and gave the command: "Go with all haste, take the three to the secure and safe Sihagiri. There cut the King's head off and that of his son, but bring the minister to me alive". Thus charged, the people took the three, brought them to Sihagiri and set about to do what had been commanded them. Then spake the King's son to the people who carried out the deed: "Do me the boon of cutting my head off first." The King's men did so, then they struck off the head of King (Jethathissa). Behold ye who know well what righteous action is, the action of fools! So transitory are (worldly) delights, so uncertain and unstable: how could ye setting your hearts on these, neglect to seek your eternal salvation?

They informed the minister of the King's command, as they had his good at heart. When he heard that he laughed

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1 See note to 41. 19.
2 See above 42. 43. The Veluvana-vihara must hence be looked for somewhere on a line between Anuradhapura and Manihira.
3 Now Minneriya-veva, one of the largest and most beautiful tanks in the island, about 10 miles W.N.W. of Polonnaruva.
4 Sigiri lies about 10 miles W.S.W. from the Minneri lake.
5 W. refers *hitesino* to *amanassan* "unto the faithful minister". I believe though, that it is a nom. plu. belonging to the subject contained in *dharmas*. From what follows it seems that Moggallana's henchmen wished to save the minister's life by offering him the prospect of service with the new King.
and spake these words: "While I was still in life I saw my master beheaded; shall I alas! serve another master besides him? After ye have slain him here will ye also take from him his shadow? Alas! ignorant are ye, I trow, and deluded."

After he had spoken thus he took hold of his master's feet and lay thus there. The henchmen (of Moggallāna) seeing no means of bringing him away, willy-nilly struck his head off too. Then they took the three (heads) and showed them to the King. He struck at them and rejoiced, being rid of his fear. To the treacherous Senāpati he granted the dignity of Malayarāja and gave his son the office of sword-bearer.

Moggallāna covered the three thūpas with new material and instituted a great thūpa festival throughout the territory of Laṅkā. With a great offering he celebrated with reverence the Hair Relic of the Master, likewise the Tooth Relic and the great Bodhi Tree. In accordance with ancient custom he held the entire Vesākha festival and the like. By a regulative act he reformed the Order of the Perfected One. With a great festival he instituted a recitation of the (three) Piṭakas and he honoured the learned priests by giving them specially high revenues. To all the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he presented a robe and in all their dwellings he had kāṭhina robes

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1 The covering over of the thūpas with white linen cloths was a token of festive homage. Cf. 52. 67 and 54. 37. The word sabbē belongs most likely to Laṅkātale (see note to 44. 11) and thūpe mahussavāsa is the same as thūpassa sa and takes the place of the compound thūpamahussavāsa.

2 The month Vesākha corresponds to April-May. The birthday of the Buddha was celebrated on the day of the full moon of this month.

3 See note to 39. 57.

4 By kāṭhina we are to understand a gift of clothing to the community carried out in a specially solemn form at the end of the Pa- vāraṇḍī festival (see note to 37. 90). It is considered highly meritorious. The term is att[hatakathino (lit. "outspread raw cotton"), kathinatthāra, in our passage kathināma athharāpati. The ceremony consists in the uninterrupted making of the garments in the course of a day and a night from raw cotton. The cotton is spun by women, the stuff woven, dyed and finally made up into garments. Cf. Vinaya I. 253 ff. (= Mahāvagga VII. 1 ff.).
made. He made images and repaired what was decayed. He made over to the community more than 300 salt-panes. In Kārapitṭhi he built the Moggallāna-vihāra, further the Piṭṭhi-gāma-vihāra and Vaṭagāma together with a village (assigned to it). He also built a cetiya temple in the Rakkha-vihāra and he granted villages to many vihāras for their maintenance. Thus the Monarch performed countless meritorious works in remembrance of the fleeting nature of the fortunes of the preceding king.

Now it happened that for some offence or other he became displeased with the Malayarāja. He remembered his shameful conduct towards the former king. He got him into his power by craft and had his hands and feet cut off. When the Sword-bearer heard that he betook himself with his son to Rohaṇa. Dwelling there he soon brought the land into his power. He sought out Jeṭṭhatissa who kept himself hidden in Malaya. In league with him he conquered in a short time the province of Janapada. He then betook himself to the Dohaḷapabbata and took up his position in an armed camp. When the King heard all that he (likewise) took up his position near him with an army and a train ready for battle. Now at that time many of the King's people suffered from fever and died. When the Sword-bearer heard that he took up the fight with vehemence. The King's army was too weak, it was scattered and fled. The King fled be-

1 I read Rakkhavihārake as against -kaṇu of the MSS.
2 See 44, 43.
3 The Malayarāja's son (44, 43).
4 I believe that we must read rathaṁ Janapadaṁ and that with this is meant the country often mentioned later (88, 110 etc.), situated in northern Malaya towards Dakkhinadāsa. The verb ghātentā is curious. The Dohaḷa mountain is most likely to be sought in the district of Janapada. The form of the name agrees in all MSS. The alteration to Dohaḷapabbata in the Col. Ed. is arbitrary. It cannot be the mountain Dolagaḷvēla. That lies on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga and occurs in the Mahāvamsa (10. 44) under the name Dolaḷapabbata. The scenes described in our verses took place without doubt somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Dambul. In v. 60 Sigiri (Sihapabbata) is also mentioned in connection with the battle.
60 hind it. When the Sword-bearer met him alone near Sihagiri
61 he slew the Great King together with his attendants. In order
62 a message: "Come and be King, come." Jetthathissa saw through
the plan, turned and fled to Malaya (for he said to himself;)
"Would he really hand over to me the royal dignity gained
with so much trouble?"

63 When after six years 1 he had slain the Prince Moggallana
64 surnamed Dalla 2, the Sword-bearer with army and train entered
splendid Anuradhapura, became king and rolled the wheel of
65 dominion over the earth's circle. He was called Silameghava
3, reverenced the Order and the Bodhi Tree, sacrificed to the three thupas and enlarged the Mahapali Hall.
66 During a bad famine he dispensed milk rice made with butter
and syrup to the community and (presented it) also with filters.
67 Through sheer generosity he won the hearts of the poor,
of travellers and beggars. To boys the bountiful (Prince) gave
68 money to buy cakes. In the Abhayagiri-vihara he honoured
the stone image of the Buddha by an offering. He had its
ruined temple (restored and) brightly decorated with divers
precious stones. He dedicated (unto it) the Kolavapi tank
to protect 4 the Victor and he continually instituted sacrificial
festivals at the greatest cost.

70 While the Monarch thus lived as a vessel 5 for meritorious
action, a general named Sirinaga, mother's brother of Jettha-
71 tissa, had betaken himself to the opposite shore 6. He returned

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1 The same number in Pujav. and Rajav.
2 The Sinhalese chronicles give this Surname to Moggallana II. See
note to 41. 63.
3 The Sinhalese chronicles do not mention the name of this king.
They merely call him osiggakahaka.
4 That is, as wages for the guarding of the image and its temple
he allotted the proceeds of the tank. The words arakkhatheyas jinassas
belong to datrana, not to the following.
5 The word bhajana is used in Skr. with the same figurative sense.
See BR. s. v., nr. 4.
6 I.e. to the mainland of India.
with many Damiḷas and began to take possession of (the northern province) Uttaradesa. At the tidings of this, the King advanced, offered battle at the village of Rājamittaka, beat the Damiḷas who had accompanied him, captured those who remained over from the slaughter, subjected them to all kinds of humiliation and distributed them here and there as slaves to the vihāras.

When the Monarch had thus gained the victory, he returned to the city and while he, after he had cleared the whole kingdom and was menaced from no side, dwelt there, a bhikkhu called Bodhi who had seen many undisciplined bhikkhus in the Abhayuttara-vihāra, though reckoned by the ceremony of world renunciation, he was still young, came to the King and begged him to proclaim a regulative act. The King had the regulative act carried out by him himself in the vihāra. Then all the undisciplined bhikkhus who had been expelled from the Order, took counsel together, murdered Bodhi secretly and annulled the act. When the King heard that, he was wroth, seized them all together and made them, their hands cut off and in fetters, guardians of the bathing tanks; another hundred bhikkhus there he expelled to Jambudīpa. In remembrance of Bodhi's efforts he thus cleansed the Order. When then he invited the bhikkhus of the Thera School with the others to celebrate together the Uposatha festival, he was refused. He flew into a rage and offending all respect, he abused and reviled them with harsh words. Then he betook himself without demanding pardon of the bhikkhus, to Dakkhiṇadesa. There he was attacked by a fell disease and died suddenly. Thus after nine years he left the earth.

1 See note to 39. 57.

2 The other bhikkhus meant here are those of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. As the King has expelled the unworthy members of the Order, he thinks the time come for a common celebration with the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra, which they however reject.

3 The same length of reign is assigned to Asiggāhaka in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv.
His son the young prince, Aggabodhi by name, then became king, known by the name of Sirisamghabodhi. He invested his youngest brother Māna with the dignity of uparāja and granted him (the province of) Dakkhiṇapadesa with fitting army and train. The King who did no discredit to the conduct of former kings, protected the kingdom in justice and deeply reverenced the Order. Jeśhatissa who heard all this in Malaya, betook himself to the Ariṭṭha mountain and brought the population over to his side. After he had brought the southern and eastern districts into his power and made them his friends, he began gradually to march with strong forces on the capital. He sent his minister Dāṭhāsiva to occupy the territory in the west and took up a position himself in the village Siripitṭhi. When the King heard all that he sent the Uparāja (Māna) with a force into the western territory. He went up and put Dāṭhāsiva to flight. The King thought: one can kill the fellow like a young bird in the nest and took

1 For the first time Sirisamghabodhi occurs as royal biruda. Wickremasinghe has made the happy observation that in the sequel this epithet is used alternately with that of Silāmeghavāna, so that when a king bears the biruda Sirisamghabodhi, his successor calls himself Silāmeghavāna and conversely. EZ. II, p. 9. As name Sirisamghabodhi is first met with Mhva. 36. 73 ff. (300 A.D.). The title was obviously chosen in honour of this pious king of the Lambakaṇṇa clan. The Sinhalese chronicles only know King Aggabodhi III. under the name Sirisangābō.

2 Now Ritigala, the isolated massif halfway between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva.

3 P. susamānase, not -so as in the Col. Ed. Jeśhatissa not only brings the districts into his power, but also wins over the inhabitants as adherents (samānassā “being like-minded”).

4 It seems to me that pacchimaṇḍisā in v. 88 as also pacchimaṇḍadesaṇi in v. 89 are not to be taken as proper names of a district, as little as pabbadakkhiṇe in v. 87, but merely as a general geographical designation.

5 See v. 84.

6 Dārakāṇ is probably to be taken in the oratio recta as S. and B. have it in their Sinhalese translation. The word is used contemptuously of the inexperienced amačca of prince Jeśhatissa.
prisoner the prince's minister (Dāṭhāsiva) who had marched to Māyetti. Then he thought: I will catch Jetṭhatissa in the same way, and with a few troops the fearless one marched recklessly against him. But Jetṭhatissa on the news thereof, fell with a skilled army and train on the King's army like a sea that has burst its bounds. The army of the King was scattered; the King mounted his elephant and fled at once alone and in disguise. In the sixth month after his accession he hastily took ship and betook himself to Jambudīpa, deserting wealth, country and kinsfolk.

Jetṭhatissa now became king in the city; he fulfilled all duties as was formerly customary and protected the Order. Mahādāragiri he granted to the Abhayuttara-vihāra, to the Mahāvihāra he made over the Bodhi Tree called Mahāmetta. To the Jētavana the King granted Goṇḍigāma. To the practising-house in the Mahānāga(-vihāra) he assigned the villages Mātulāṅgāpa and Odumbarāṅgāpa and to the Kassapagiri (-vihāra) (the village of) Ambilāpīka for the (supply of) food. The village of Kakkhalavīṭṭhi he gave to the Veḷuvāpa(-vihāra) and to the Gangāmātī-vihāra the village of Keheta; to 100 the (vihāra) called Antarāgaṅga he gave the village of Culla-māṭika and to the (vihāra) Mayettikassapāvāsa (the village of) Sahūnanagara. To the Kālavāpi-vihāra he assigned the village called Lada. This and other (vihāras) he provided abundantly with maintenance villages. What was ruinous he restored (at a cost of) three hundred thousand (kāhāpaṇas); to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island he presented the three garments.

The King (Aggabodhi) who had betaken himself to Jam- budīpa had brothers in blood. These hidden here and there, sought to make the land rebellious. When Jetṭhatissa heard this, he betook himself to Kālavāpi, made war on them and

1 For this vihāra see 42. 24. For padhānaghaṇa cf. 37. 232.
2 Inscriptional mention is made of this monastery under the name Kasubgiri on a tablet of Mahinda IV. See WickremaiSinghe EZ. I, p. 216. It is mentioned again in Cūlava. 48. 24 under Kassapa III.
3 See note to 44. 29.
took up a position with his army on the spot. The King (Aggabodhi) who had gone to the other coast and there hired Damila troops, came to Kālavāpi and began the combat. Jeṭṭhatissa ready for war with a well equipped force, first letting his minister Dāṭhasiva escape \(^1\) to Jambudīpa, mounted his armoured elephant, but seeing his troops fall back in the battle, he spake thus to the high dignitary who rode with him on the elephant:

"Take my message to the Mahesi, then mayest thou do what thou wilt: forsake O great Queen, the world, recite the sacred texts, learn the Abhidhamma \(^2\) and transfer the merit to the King." \(^3\)

After he had given this order, he hewed down the Damiлас as many of them as met him in the course of the battle. But when his strength was failing \(^4\) he saw a Damiḷa called Veluppa coming to fight with him. Then as he was wont to keep a knife in the betel-nut bag in his hand, he quickly drew his dagger out of that and cut his throat. Then leaning upon the elephant, he stuck the knife back in the sheath. The great army cried aloud. The high dignitary set off, thinking ever and only of how the King had cut his throat, and gave the Queen the message. Together with her he underwent in the Order the ceremony of world renunciation and after he had mastered the Abhidhamma together with the commentary, he

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\(^1\) P. *polāpetudā*. The translation "he sent" does not give the full sense of the original. According to v. 90, Dāṭhasiva had become the prisoner of Aggabodhi. But as it is expressly stated, v. 93, that Aggabodhi escaped alone (*eko*) in disguise to Jambudīpa, Dāṭhasiva can no longer be in his power. It is thus not a case of freeing Dāṭhasiva from captivity, the latter must be again in Jeṭṭhatissa's service. The idea is rather the following: Jeṭṭhatissa sends Dāṭhasiva to Southern India, to cut off Aggabodi's rearward communications, thereby unconsciously letting his minister escape the disaster overtaking himself.

\(^2\) The Abhidhamma is the third part of the Buddhist Canon, in which its philosophical content is systematically summarized — the third *piṭaka*. See 37. 221.

\(^3\) P. *pattim dehi rājino*. For the term *patti* see note to 42. 50.

\(^4\) P. *dūṃhi khayaṃ āgatē* perhaps "when his lifetime came to an end" according to his kamma.
came down (once) from the teacher's chair\(^1\) and seated himself on the ground. At the Queen's request: come and show me how the King died, he seated himself in front of her, cut his 116 throat, stuck the knife (in the sheath) and spake: “Thus died his Majesty”. When she saw that her heart broke through 117 heavy sorrow and she died. Thus after five months King Jeṭṭhatissa went to Heaven\(^2\).

After Aggabodhi had thus victoriously subdued the foe 118 in battle, he restored his royal dominion and resided in the capital. To the practising-house\(^3\) called Mahallarāja which had 119 been erected\(^4\) by himself in company with the Uparāja (Māna), he granted the two villages of Haṅkāra and Sāmugāma as 120 well as the royal share in (the revenues) of Kehella, and the whole of the (necessary) staff. To the Jetavana(-vihāra) he 121 gave (the village) Mahāmaṇikagāma and he honoured the Mayettikassapāvāsā(-vihāra) by the grant of Sālaggāma. To 122 the Cetiya mountain\(^5\) he granted Ambillapadara and in Pulatthinagara he built the Mahāpānāda(-vihāra)\(^6\).

The court officials of the King slew the Yuvarāja Māna 123 who had committed an offence in the women's apartments,

\(^1\) Dhammaśana is a raised seat in the centre of the assembly-hall of the bhikkhus on which the priest, who recites the sacred text, takes his place, his face turned towards the east. It differs from the therāśana on which the head of the Chapter has his seat, facing north. See Mhvs. 3. 21—22, 32, 35.

\(^2\) Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give Lāmāni-Kaṭusara-Deṭatis — so the King is called in these chronicles — likewise a reign of five months.

\(^3\) See 37. 232; 39. 58.

\(^4\) In the Col. Ed. the text of the MSS. has been arbitrarily altered. There is nothing surprising in the use of the loc. kārīte instead of the genitive kāritissa used with padhānugharakasā. Cf. Cālava. ed., Introd. p. XVIII.

\(^5\) Cetiyagiri = Cetiyamānuṭata here of the monastery erected on the Mihintale mountain. See notes to 38 75 and 42. 28.

\(^6\) For the form of the name see note to 44. 6. The name of the later capital of the kingdom, Pulatthinagara (now Polonnaruva) is here mentioned for the first time in the Cālavamsa. It does not occur at all in the older Mahāvaṃsa.
although they had promised him absolute safety. Therefore the King wishful of securing the succession (for his family), invested his youngest brother Kasappa by name with the dignity of Uparāja. Now when Dāthāśīva heard of the death of Māna he came in haste with Damīla troops to the village called Tintinī. At the tidings of his advance Aggabodhi marched out with his army, gave battle and was forced in the twelfth year (of his reign) to flee to Jambudīpa. At his flight he left everything behind. He took with him only the pearl chain of one string by which to make himself known, and departed quite alone. Even without the chain of one string of pearls Dāthāśīva became king, according to custom, known over the circle of the earth under the name of Dāthopatissa. The other (Aggabodhi) seized the opportunity and got hold of the government again by fighting. So each drove out the other in turn. But the whole people suffering under the wars of these two kings, fell into great misery and lost money and field produce. Dāthopatissa exhausted the whole property of former kings and seized all objects of value in the three fraternities and in the relic temples. He broke in pieces the golden images and took the gold for himself and plundered all the golden wreaths and other offerings. In the Thūpārāma likewise he took away the golden crowning ornament on the temple and smashed the umbrella on the cetiya which was studded with costly precious stones. The canoes in the Mahāpāli Hall he left to

1 I now believe that the conjecture aparajjhītvā of S. and B. instead of aparajjhitvā must be accepted with regard to 51. 8. The construction of the sentence is certainly irregular. The gerund aparajjhītvā is used like a Loc. absol. The court officials killed the Yuvarāja because an offence in the women's apartments had been committed by him.

2 As the yield from taxation of this village according to 41. 96 was assigned to the Mahāvihāra, it cannot be situated very far from Anurādhapura. Thus Dāthāśīva advances from the coast direct on the capital.

3 Obviously a peculiarly valuable part of the regalia, of the rāja-
sādhkana. Cf. Skr. ekāndīt, as well as 46. 17.

4 See note to 41. 97.
the Damiṣas; (and) they burned down the royal palace together with the Relic Temple. Later he repented and to acknowledge his wrong he founded the Sākavatthu-vihāra with the (necessary) revenues. His sister’s son also, the Mahādipāda, known among the people by the name Ratanadāśa, supported the King with his income. (Once) when Aggabodhi had by military superiority got hold of the kingdom, the Yuvarāja, Cassapa, the deluded one, to provide for his army led by evil-natured villains, broke open by force the cetiya of the Thūpārāma and plundered the valuable treasures given by Devānampiyatissa, the younger Aggabodhi and (other) former kings. He also broke open the cetiya of the Dakkhīṇa-vihāra and seized the valuable treasures and he had yet other (cetiyas) broken open. When he acted thus led away by evil-natured people, the King was powerless to prevent him — alas! evil-doers will not be hindered (in their action) — and as he could not hinder him he by the organisation of a festival, restored the cetiya of the Thūpārāma shattered by him, at the cost of a thousand (kahāpanas).

Now the Lord of men Aggabodhi was defeated by Dāṭhopatissa and betook himself to Rohapa to restore his army and train. While he sojourned there he fell ill and died in the sixteenth year (of his reign). Thereupon his youngest brother the Yuvarāja Cassapa, sent King Dāṭhopatissa flying to Jambudīpa and united the country under one dominion; but the crown he did not wear. Through intercourse with pious people he repented and with the thought: I will make an end

1 See note to 37. 95.
2 Younger brother of Aggabodhi III.
3 By Aggabodhi II. Cf. with this, 42. 51 ff.
4 The calculation evidently starts from the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi III. Thus the 15-16 years include the first period of Aggabodhi (6 months), the interregnum of Jetṭhatissa II, as well as the reign of Dāṭhopatissa who, according to v. 126, seized the sovereignty in the twelfth year of Aggabodhi. Pūjavī and Rājavī simply say that Jetṭhatissa reigned 5 months, Dāṭhopatissa (Lāmāni Dalupatī) 12 years and Aggabodhi (Sirisaṅgabō) 16 years.
5 Evidently Dāṭhopatissa had secured the Regalia.
of my evil doings\textsuperscript{1}, he laid out flower gardens, fruit gardens
and tanks and he honoured the three great cetiyas by large
offerings. To the Thūpārāma also he brought an offering
and granted it a village and he had the sacred texts recited
by all the foreign bhikkhus\textsuperscript{2}. In the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra) he
erected a very massive pāsāda and let the Grand Thera live
there who had his seat in Nāgasālā. While he sojourned there,
he provided him with the four necessaries and had the
Abhidhamma with the commentary recited by him. Then after
he had had the Nāgasālā dwelling put in order\textsuperscript{3} he made it
over to him also, and granted him the village of Mahāniṭṭhila
for the supply of the (four) necessaries.

Now Dāṭhopatissa came hither from Jambudīpa with a
great force; but when he offered battle to Kassapa he was
defeated by the latter who had a well equipped army, and
was slain. Twelve years had passed since he became king\textsuperscript{4}.

A sister's son of Dāṭhopatissa named Hatthadāṭha fled full of
fear from the great battle to Jambudīpa\textsuperscript{5}.

Thus in truth all joys are fleeting, hard to attain is their
delight and lasts but a moment. Therefore he who seeks his
salvation will give up his joy in these and will turn to the truth.

Here ends the forty-fourth chapter, called "The Six Kings",
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

\textsuperscript{1} Lit: I will bring about the destruction of my evil kamma.
\textsuperscript{2} The ḍagāniyabhikkhavo are the opposite of the bhikkhavo dipavasino,
the bhikkhus settled in the Island. Those are bhikkhus who come from
outside, on a pilgrimage to Ceylon, for instance. When W. translates:
"holy monks who lived not among the habitations of men", he was
probably thinking of ṛeśakā bhikkhavo.
\textsuperscript{3} We must take katu in the sense of "to restore", in which the verb
kar is often used. It would also be possible to translate Nāgasālakāsu
ādasaṃ katu by "after he had made a habitable-dwelling out of N."
In any case the meaning is that the former dwelling of the Mahāthera,
Nāgasālā, had become dilapidated and that until its restoration the King
assigned him as dwelling the newly built pāsāda in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.
\textsuperscript{4} If we compare this with the calculation in the note to 44.144, we
find that Dāṭhopatissa's death falls in the eighth year of Kassapa's reign.
\textsuperscript{5} See for this passage my edition of the Cūlavamsa, Introd. p. XIX.
CHAPTER XLV

THE FOUR KINGS

Hereupon Kassapa, the victor in the fight, whose aspiration was fulfilled, gave a most excellent repast in the Mahāpālī Hall to the community. He honoured the ascetic Mahā-dhammakathin who lived in the Nāgasālā by a great offering and induced him to recite the true doctrine. In honour of 3 the Thera who was a native of Kaṭandhakāra, who lived in the building erected by his brother, he had the sacred text written down with a short summary. What was delapidated he restored and had new works undertaken on the cetiyas and provided sundry revenues for the community in several places. He had three diadem jewels wrought which glittered with precious stones, and he gladdened a hundred Paṇḍu-palāsās by an offering of garments.

Kassapa had many sons, the eldest of them was Mānaka. They were not yet in riper years, children without much sense.

1 Kaṭandhakāravāsin probably refers to the home of the therā whose name is not mentioned, just as to-day when a bhikkhu enters the Order the name of his native place is prefixed to his adopted one. His abode was evidently the padhānagkara called Mahallarāja built according to 44. 119 by Kassapa's brother Aggabodhi III. in company with the Yuvārajā Māna. With "summary" (sāmpaṇa) of the sacred text one should compare titles like Abhidhammatthaśaṅgaha, Dhammasaṅgaha, Saddhammaśaṅgaha, Sūrasaṅgaha.

2 Evidently as crowning ornaments for the three great cetiyas — Mahāṭūpa, Jetavana- and Abhayagiri-Thūpa. Does the epithet nārāmaṇipamujjotanā indicate that each cetiya had its own particular colour?

3 W. (p. 32, note); "A pandupalāsa is a lay candidate for holy orders living in the vihāra until he could get his robes and alms-bowl made."
7 Now once when he was seized by a bad illness, he thought:
8 my sons are all still children, incapable of reigning, and he
sent for his very clever sister's son (Māna) who lived in the
province of Rohana and transferred to him the whole govern-
ment, together with the care of his sons. After he had
honoured the cetiyas with perfumes, flowers and other offerings
he made his peace with the bhikkhu community by supplying
them with the four necessaries. Thus the Lord of men practised
justice towards friends, officials and subjects and went
after nine years¹ according to his doing.
11 Māna having piously fulfilled the prescribed duties towards
his uncle, won over the people and had the Damilas² expelled.
12 But the Damilas banded themselves together with the resolve:
we will drive him out, and just while he was away they seized
13 the town. To Hatthadāṭha who was in Jambudīpa, they sent
the message: "It is time for thee to come and take over the
government." Māna also sent a message in haste to his father
to Rohana. When his father heard it he came hither from
15 Rohana without delay. The two took counsel together and
made a mock treaty with the Damilas. Thereupon they were
16 all in accord. Māna now crowned his father (Dappula³)
king. He when he was consecrated, presented the (three)
17 fraternities with three thousand (kahāpaṇas). Having thus
won over the Order and the kingdom, for himself, he sent all
provisions found in the palace to Rohana to secure them from
18 the enemy. When Hatthadāṭha heard the news of the Damilas
19 he came immediately to this Island with a Damila force. All
the despised Damilas who dwelt here, arose and joined him
20 on the way as he approached. And Māna thought when he
heard all that: it is no time to fight now, and sent his father,

¹ The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. where the king has the
name Pāsuḷu-Kasuḥu. Likewise in Rājaratn. and Nik.-a.
² The mercenaries whom Dāṭhopatiṣa had brought with him from
Southern India and who according to 44. 134 f. had become an un-
disciplined rabble.
³ The King's name is first mentioned in v. 36. The Sinhalese
chronicles agree in calling the successor of Pāsuḷu Kasubu Dappulu.
the King, with the valuable property to Rohaṇa. He betook 21 himself to the Eastern Province and bringing the people round to his side, took up his abode there. But Hatthadaśīha who had won over the party of the Damiṣas for himself, occupied the royal city and publicly took the name of Dāṭhopatissa. 22 After his mother's brother the people called him by this name. Having fetched his father's brother's son, Aggabodhi by name, 23 he placed him in the position of Yuvaraṇa and granted him the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. Upon his supporters he bestowed honourable office according to merit and towards the Order and the people he fulfilled every duty. In the Mahāpāli Hall 25 he had besides clothing, rice with sour milk, milk and milk rice distributed and keeping the Uposatha day, he hearkened to the sermon. As he made all offerings and had sermons preached, he by these and other merits made himself happy. To the Kassa-pāvana 1 he granted the village of Senamagama 27 and Mahāgalla 3 he gave to the practising-house. To the Mora-parivena 28 he granted (the village of) Kasagama and the cetiya of the Thūpārāma he honoured by the grant of Punṇali. In 29 the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) he built the Kappūra-parivena 4 and he built the vihāra called Tiputthulla and added it to the same (vihāra). As he was about to do this, the bhikkhus of 30 the Thera School wanted to prevent him, because the vihāra was situated within their boundary. 5 But he treated them without consideration and carried the thing through by force.

1 What is meant is probably the Kassapagiri-vihāra mentioned 44. 98 (see the note) and again 48. 24.

2 Cf. note to 44. 3. The "practising-house" is probably the padhāna-gārama Mahalūrāja mentioned 44. 119 and which is probably meant in 45. 8.

3 See note to 37. 172.

4 This parivena is mentioned again twice. Aggabodhi IV. built a pāsāda there according to 46. 21 and Sena I. according to 50. 77 a pariccheda (s. note to 42. 39).

5 The passage is surprising. As the Abhayuttara (Abhayagiri) is without doubt the northern thūpa it is difficult to understand how a boundary dispute can arise between it and the Mahāvihāra, the seat of the Thera Bhikkhus.
31 Then the bhikkhus of the Thera School were bitter against the King, saw in him an unbeliever and applied to him the turning down of the alms-bowl. For the wise Master hath said: "If an unbelieving layman thinks to lessen the income of the bhikkhus or taunts them, the turning down of the alms-bowl is to be applied." Hence they carried out this action against him — the laity thought otherwise — and they made the agreement that when a bhikkhu goes on the mendicant's round bearing the alms-bowl upright, he shall turn it down at the gate of his house. Now at that time the King was smitten with a fell disease and died in the ninth year (of his reign), since the end of his lifetime had come.

36 King Dappula had meanwhile betaken himself to his Rohaṇa and took up his abode there, heaping up a store of meritorious works. Now we will relate the history of his house in due order, because if it is related now it will cause no disturbance.

38 There was once a man of the lineage of Okkāka, known by the name of Mahātissa, rich in merit, a mine of heaped-up virtues. He had a wife known by the name of Samghasīvā, gifted with wealth and virtue, the daughter of the ruler of

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1 The meaning of pattavikkujjana is clear from this passage. If the bhikkhus wish a layman to be regarded as expelled from the society, they make this known by refusing to take alms from him, turning down the bowl as it were. V. 33'd is a parenthesis: Though the laymen did not approve it, the bhikkhus carried out the action.

2 Pujāv. and Rājāv. say also that Lāmāṇi-Dalupatissa reigned 9 years. They make him the successor of Dāpula. Nik-s. mentions two successors of Dāpula: Lāmāṇi-Dalupatissa and Pāsulu-Dalupatissa.

3 To judge by the form of the introduction to the following passage appearing so disconnectedly in the context, it seems to me beyond a doubt that the author has here made use of another source, apparently a chronicle of Rohaṇa and its dynasty. It must be the same source which is employed in 57. 3 ff., where just as abruptly as here, a section from the history of Rohaṇa is inserted. Cf. also note to 47. 1.

4 A mythical king (Skr. Ikṣvāku, Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 201), through whom (Mvs. 2, 1 ff.) the Sākya family from which the Buddha sprang, is derived from Mahāsārpama. See also Rockhill, the Life of the Buddha, p. 9 ff.
Rohana. She had three sons: the first was called Aggabodhi, 40 the second Dappula, the third Maṇiakkhika. She also had 41 a daughter who came to the court of the King. The eldest son was the independent ruler1 of the province called Rohana. Rich as he was, he had the Mahāpāli Hall built in Mahāgāma2 42 and there also the parivena called Dāṭhaggabodhi. In Kāṇagāma3 (he built) hospitals for the blind and the sick and a large image house in the Paṭimā-vihāra. There the wise (prince) 44 set up a stone image of the Buddha which he had made and which received the name of “the great”, produced as by a miracle. Further he built the Sālavāṇa-vihāra which bore his 45 name and the Parivena-vihāra as well as that of Kājāragāma4. He erected new buildings in the Dhammasālā-vihāra 46 and the discerning (prince) himself cleaned out the privies therein. Once having enjoyed the food left over by the 47 bhikkhu community he (being) pleased, granted the village of Maṇḍāgāma5 to the community. When he after performing 48 these and other meritorious works, had gone to Heaven, his next brother Dappula by name, became ruler (in the land). He carried on the government after subduing his enemies, 49 instituted a great almsgiving, (and) made Rohana secure. His 50 subjects were contented with him and said: he is our great lord and since then the people called him “Great Lord”.

1 This passage shows that Rohana about 600 A.D. was not yet incorporated with the kingdom with the capital Anurādhapura, but that it held or at any rate claimed an independent position beside it.

2 The name is contained in that of the present Magama (Census of Ceylon, 1921, II, 194, on the left bank of the Kirinda-oya not far from its mouth in the Hambantota district) whose cultivated land is watered by the Magum-Ela diverted from the Yoda-veva in Tissamahārūma. Mahāgāma is first mentioned Mhs. 22. 8 as the residence of Devānampiyatissa’s younger brother, Mahānāga.

3 The name means “village of the blind”.

4 Now Katāragamu north of Tissamahārūma, on the Menikganga, on the old road from Mahāgāma to Guttasālī (now Buttala). It is known by a much visited shrine of Skanda. According to the Census of Ceylon (II. 464) the village had 103 inhabitants in 1921.

5 A Madugama in the Mahavedirata Korale of the Badulla District (N. E. of Buttala) is mentioned in the Census of Ceylon II. 460.
51 When the Ruler of men Siladhātha\(^1\) heard of that he gave him his daughter (to wife) and delighted at his many good qualities, he granted him the office of Yuvarāja, indicating by that that he was fitted for the royal dignity. Mānavamma and other men of high repute were his sons. When he was with the Mahāthera who dwelt in the Pāsāpadipa (vihāra) and had heard the sermon of the sacred texts, he experienced believing trust in him and to honour him he built the Rohaṇa-vihāra\(^2\) and gave it to him. But the Therā made it over for the use of the community in the four quarters of the earth. Dappula built the Ambamālā-vihāra and many other vihāras; he also erected the Khadirāji-vihāra and offered to the god\(^3\). The discerning (prince) repaired the Anurārāma-pāsāda, the badly decayed Muttolamba-pāsāda\(^4\), the Sirivadgāha-pāsāda and a further one (called) Takkambila, and housed thirty-two bhikkhus therein whom he gladdened by the gift of the four necessaries. The village of Kevaṭṭagambhīra he granted to the Nāga-vihāra\(^5\), to the Rāja-vihāra he assigned the village of Gonna-gāma. In the same way he gave to the Tissa-vihāra (the

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\(^1\) The name as name of a king does not occur in this form in the Cūlavaṃsa — another proof of the separate character of the Rohaṇa Chronicle. King Silāmeaghavaṇṇa is meant; for in 45. 8, 11 Māna, the son of Dappula, is described as sister's son (bhūgineyya) of Kassaṭa II., the son of Silāmeghavaṇṇa. Thus Dappula was married to the sister of Kassaṭa II., a daughter of Silāmeghavaṇṇa.

\(^2\) The Col. Ed. has vihāraṃ Rohaṇa and W. accordingly translates "a vihāra in Rohaṇa". The MSS. reading meanwhile, is vihāraṃ Rohaṇa and it is quite correct, for in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also the building of the Ruhunuvehera is ascribed to Dāpula. Cf. Cūlava. ed., Introd. p. XIX.

\(^3\) Presumably there was at this spot a local Hindu cult, probably of Skanda, the God of Kājaragāma, a kind of patron saint of Rohaṇa; and the King did not neglect to reverence the deity.

\(^4\) I take Muttolambaṃ for the name of a pāsāda. At any rate W.'s translation "ornamented it with festoons of pearls" is impossible to reconcile with the text. The finite verb would be wanting.

\(^5\) One of the oldest vihāras in Rohaṇa, built by the founder of the dynasty, Mahānāga, the brother of Devanampiyatissa. Mhvs. 22. 9.
village of) Kattikapabbata and to the Cittalapabbata (-vihāra) the village of Gonnaviṭṭhi. Having granted to the Ariyākari 60 (-vihāra) the village of Mālavatthu, he built in that place a superb image house. For the (image of) the Victor (Buddha) 61 there he had a valuable tuft of hair (between the brows) made and a bandolier of gold and brought it every kind of offering. Decayed cetiyas he adorned with a new coating of stucco and further he had a statue fifteen cubits high made of the saviour Metteyya. These and other meritorious works without number the Prince performed himself and had them also performed in pious fashion by his retinue. Amongst the people surrounding him were many men of meritorious action; numerous vihāras furnished with (all) necessaries were built by them.

Once when Dappula was on the march in a pathless wilderness, he after finding quarters for his army, pitched his camp at night. As he lay there, well bathed and oiled and well fed, outstretched on a splendid couch and in a comfortable tent, he tried to sleep. Nevertheless he found no sleep and although with the thought, what then could be the cause, he pondered over all that he had experienced during the day, he found no cause in himself. Thus he thought it must lie outside (of his person) and entrusted people with the task of seeking it. He spake thus: "Without doubt worthy friends of mine have tarried during the night at the foot of a tree

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1 The Tissa-vihāra, now the Tissamahārāma near Hambantoṭa, and the Cittalapabbata-vihāra were founded by Kākavanṇatissa (Mhvs. 22.23). The ruins of the latter, now called Situlpav-vehera (Nik-s. 15.17) lie fifteen miles N.E. of Tissamahārāma not far from Katagamuva. See Jayavardana, Ceylon National Review II, p. 23. For an inscription in the Situlpav-vehera see E. Müller, Anc. Insr. Ceylon, Nr. 16, p. 29, 74, 110; Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 60, 67.

2 For the upsaloma and the hemapatti (or hemassaddha) on the Buddha images s. note to 36. 64.

3 About 221/2 ft. (= 6.86 m). See note to 37. 172.

4 Note to 37. 242.

5 The word anto which refers to the person of the King, stands in opposition to bahi.

6 The word ayyakā refers to bhikkhus.
70 and have become wet. Bring them hither!" Numbers of people with torches in their hands set forth to the search and found bhikkhus who came from Mahāgāma, under a tree. 71 They returned and told the tidings to the King. He hastened thither, and when he saw the bhikkhus brought them full of joy to his own tent, gave them red garments which he kept ready for constantly renewed gifts to the bhikkhus, took the wet garments himself and had them dried, practised the custom of feet-washing and the like, made them all sit on a well covered couch, offered them medicine, handed it to them himself, did for them also in the morning everything that had to be done, such as feeding and the like, gave them servants and let them go when they liked. Thus was the beginning of the day spent by him who had his pleasure in doing meritorious works.

76 While thus this most excellent of men directed his life and also the kingdom, thinking only of meritorious works, keeping all his subjects to meritorious action, Māna tarried in the Eastern Province and collected troops. Then he brought together his father’s army and resources and marched to Tisucullasagāma to begin war. Dāthopatissa also marched on hearing the tidings of this, with strong forces to Tambala. 79 When they met they fought a great battle. Dāthopatissa’s warriors sent Māna to Heaven. When Dappula heard that, he died also, pierced with the arrow of grief. Seven days long dwelling in Anurādhapura he had wielded the sceptre;

1 Gacesantā has the meaning of seeking as well as finding. The verb governs the acc. bhikkhū “when during their search they found bhikkhus... they returned...”
2 The reading of the MSS. tassādiṃvaṃ gataṃ (as emendation instead of gato) is very good and must not be altered as in the Col. Ed., into tassāsi divaṃvaṃ gataṃ. The point lies just in this, that already in the early morning the King could satisfy his desire for puṇā, how much more in the course of the day.
3 The greater number of my MSS. have this reading. Only in one of them is it corrected into Tipullahēyagāmakāṃ. The Col. Ed. reads Tipucullasagāmakāṃ.
4 Namely immediately after the death of Kassapa II. Then he re-
in Rohaṇa he wielded it three years: therefore we have spoken 81 of him in Rohaṇa as well as here¹.

Thus were the joys which a man won toilsomely only by 82 killing his foes in fight, effulgent but for a moment, like the lightning. What wise man would find his pleasure in them?

Here ends the forty-fifth chapter, called “The Four Kings”, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

tired to Rohaṇa, his son Māna to the Eastern Province. The events described in v. 75 ff. took place three years later, thus still in the first half of the reign of Dāṭhopatissa. According to Pūjāv. Dappula reigned 3 years and 3 months. According to Rājāv. 10 years. Both sources have in mind the reign in Rohaṇa.

¹ Namely in Anurādhapura.
CHAPTER XLVI

THE THREE KINGS

1 After Hatthadātha's death the younger brother of the king, the prince Aggabodhi became (king) under the name of Siri-
2 sampahabodhi. He was a just monarch, gifted with right views; therefore he performed meritorious works without number.
3 He took care of the eating-houses of the inmates of the three fraternities, enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall and decreed the keep-
4 ing of the command not to slay. He bestowed office accord-
5 ing to worth without preference, and by showing favour in accordance with rank, clans and so forth he won over these to himself. Wherever the discerning (prince) saw bhikkhus he honoured them and made them recite the Paritta which is contained in the doctrine (of the Buddha). (Once) when he visi-
6 ted the Thera Dāṭhāśiva who dwelt in Nāgasālā, rich in knowledge, virtuous, highly learned, he paid him reverence, heard from him the doctrine of the Perfectly Enlightened One,

1 From rājino we must supply the predicative substantive rājā.
2 P. anālayo, Cf. note to 42. 42.
3 Ceremonies at which a Paritta Text is recited are observed on the most divers occasions, joyful and sad, at the inauguration of a new house, on a journey or at similar undertakings, for warding off sickness, after cases of death, etc. For such a ceremony at which I was present see Journ. PTS. 1924—27, p. 227. The epithet sāsanogadha stresses the canonical character of the Paritta. The texts of the Paritta are taken from the canonical writings and the Khuddaka-Pāṭha itself is a kind of Paritta (s. Sandhasthikas, Khuddaka Pāṭho, trl. p. 2 ff.) I am inclined to believe that it is this book which is meant by the Paritta mentioned 37. 226. The Paritta ceremonies are derived from popular magic. This is clearly seen in the narrative 51. 80, 52. 80.
rejoiced fervently over the doctrine since it offers absolute peace. When then he heard of the many injuries done to the 8 bhikkhus of the Thera School by evil-minded villains, former relatives of his own kinsfolk, he restored the ruined vihāras and parivenas as they had been originally and granted them here and there maintenance villages with abundant revenues. Where the necessaries had been curtailed he brought them now as it were to new growth. Slaves he placed at the disposal of the community where they were wanted. For the above named Thera he built a practising-house which bore his name; the discerning (Thera) accepted it and made it over to the community. As maintenance villages the King granted it Bharattāla, Kihimbila, Kataka, Tulādhāra and Andhanāraka, Andhakāra, Antureli, Bālava, Dvāranāyaka, as well as Mahānikkadjhika and further Peḷahāla. Having granted these and other maintenance villages, the Ruler of men placed at its disposal helpers for the monastery who were even of his own kindred. Having further seen and heard that necessaries flowed sparingly to the vihāras of the two fraternities, he granted them also many maintenance villages. What need (is there) of many words? Also to the three fraternities he gave a thousand villages with large and assured revenues. Bearing in mind the splendid qualities of the three Jewels, he took the pearl chain of one string and made of it a rosary. Thus he was in all his dealings one to whom the teaching of the Buddha was the highest (good), and vying with him all the people also fulfilled the (commands of that) doctrine. The Damila by name Potthakukṭtha, who was in his service, erected the wonderful practising-

1 P. tassa; padhānagharassa must be supplied. All the foundations enumerated in vv. 12—14 had to do evidently with the “practising-house” mentioned in v. 11. For the monastery helpers (ārāmikā v. 14) see note to 37. 63.

2 Perhaps the Thūpārāma and the Maricavattī-vihāra. See note to 41. 97.

3 Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha, the Buddha, his doctrine and his Order are thus called.

4 See note to 44. 127.

5 P. akkhamālā = skr. akṣamālā with the same meaning.
20 house, called Mātambiya\textsuperscript{1} and assigned it the Ambavāpi (tank) at Būkakalla, the village of Tantavāyikacāti, as well as the 21 village of Nīṭhilavelṭṭhi together with slaves. In the Kappūra- 22 parivena, as well as in the Kurundapillaka (-vihāra) and (in the vihāra of) Mahārājaghara the same (Potthakuṭṭha) erected 23 pāsādas. In addition he granted, wealthy as he was, three 24 villages to the vihāras. The wise Senāpati, Potthasāta by 25 name, finished in the vihāra called Jeta a parivena that bore 26 the King’s name. The Damīla Mahākanda built the parivena 27 called after him, another (built) the Cullapantha (-parivena) 28 and Sāmghatissu, the Uparāja of the King, (built) the Sehā- 29 la-uparājaka. Many people besides erected these and other vihāras, emulating the King; for it is the rule with living crea- 30 tures: what he who is master does, evil or good, the same is done by his subjects; let the wise man take heed of that. 31 The highly virtuous Mahesi of the King, Jeṭṭhā by name, built 32 the Jeṭṭhārāma as abode for the bhikkhus and granted it two villages in the Pattapāsāṇa domain and the village of 33 Buddhabhelagāma, as well as a hundred monastery helpers. 34 The wealthy Malayarāja gave a costly reliq-house for the cetiya 35 in the Maudalagiri-vihāra\textsuperscript{3} and on the Lohapāsāda he covered the central pinnacle. The Bodhītissa-vihāra was erected by the 36 highly respected Bodhītissa. All the heads of districts in the 37 Island built here and there according to their means, numerous 38 vihāras and parivenas. The time of this Ruler of men con- 39 sisted as it were, in nothing but meritorious works; for fear 40 of prolixity they have not been fully enumerated\textsuperscript{4}. Even the foregoing form of the narrative which gives but a sur-

\textsuperscript{1} Wickremasinghe (EZ. II, p. 10, note 5) identifies with this building the Mātibīya parivena mentioned in the Timbiriveva pillar inscription.

\textsuperscript{2} A building in the Abhayagiri-vihāra according to 45.29.

\textsuperscript{3} Mentioned as Mādili giri in the Medirigiri inscription (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. p. 26), about 46 m. E. S. E. of Anurūdhapura in Tamanakaduva, N. E. of the Minneri lake. The ruins are described in the ASC., Ann. Rep. for 1897 (= XLII. 1904), p. 7.

\textsuperscript{4} P. vicāritaṁ. One must start from the meaning “explained singly (vī-), analyzed”.
vey of the most important matters, seems to me too long-winded.

At another time he had taken up his abode in Pulatthi-nagara whether he had betaken himself, amassing a store of meritorious works. He was attacked by an incurable disease and as he saw that the time for his death had come, he called his subjects, exhorted them to piety and went to his death. When he was dead his subjects mourned all in deep grief, performed for him on his pyre all ceremonies without fail, made for themselves medicine from the ashes of the pyre, then they took carefully all the royal treasures and the whole army and train under their protection and betook themselves to the town (Anurādhapura).

Thus the King went in the sixteenth year (of his reign) to Heaven, the Damiḷa Potthakuṭtha administered his kingdom. He seized the person of the Uparūja Dāṭhasiva, had him thrown into prison and ordered him to be strictly guarded. But as he thought: without a king it is impossible to rule the earth, he fetched hither the chief of Dhanapiṭṭhi Datta by

1 Lit.: A general view (upalakkhaṇa) of the cases (or examples, hetānaṃ, cf. the meaning of Latin causa) according to the degree of their importance (yathāpallāhaṇaṃ is used exactly like skr. yathāpradhaṇaṇaṃ). W.’s translation: “inasmuch as it has been mixed up with remarks on the nature and condition of things which lead men to good and evil” — a free rendering rather than a translation — misses the point.

2 Figurative in the original, the comparison with a road (maggā) which is overcrowded with people (ākula).

3 For the first time here Polonnaruva (cf. 44. 122 with note) is mentioned as a royal residence, though only temporarily.

4 A very characteristic trait of primitive mentality.

5 The Sinhalese chronicles call the king only by his epithet Sirisangbō. Pājūv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of 16 years. Both chronicles as also Rājaratna ascribe to him the building of the Piyagal-piriveṇa and of the Devanavara-vihāra. This is Devanagura, now Dondra at the southern point of Ceylon.

6 The guard (rakkhaṇaṃ) refers not as W. thinks, to the country, but to the prisoner, Dāṭhasiva.

7 A now uninhabited village, Dānpitigama, lies to the north of Ku-
name, who belonged to the royal family, and consecrated him
king; and in his name\(^1\) he administered the whole. Datta
erected in Dhanapiṣṭhi a vihāra which was called after him
and heaped up other meritorious works. After living exactly
two years\(^2\), he died. But Potthakuṭṭha after his death, sum-
moned another young man, Hatthadāṭha who was a native
of Uṇḍānagara. Him also he consecrated king and acted as
before. Having built the practising-house of Kāladīghāvika and
performed other meritorious works, Hatthadāṭha fell after six
months into the power of death\(^3\).

When the wise have once realised how baleful are trea-
sures, wealth and power\(^4\) they will surely give up the desire
for royal dignity and find their whole joy solely in meritorious
works.

Here ends the forty-sixth chapter, called “The Three
Kings”, in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and
emotion of the pious.

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\(^1\) Lit.: putting forth his (Datta’s) name.

\(^2\) In the Sinhalese sources the king is called Valpiṭūvāsi-dat. Pujāv.
gives him a reign of 2, Rājāv. one of 10 years. The place name Valpita
is often met with in Ceylon.

\(^3\) In Sinhalese sources he is called Huṇannaruriya-Daḷa or the like.
The length of reign given him in Pujāv. and Rājāv. is the same as in
the Cūlavaśa. 6 months.

\(^4\) P. vāhanāni “chariot” as emblem of the military power of princes.
[CHAPTER XLVII]

After the death of this king, Mānavamma\(^1\) became king. Of what clan was he? Whose son was he? How came he to reign\(^2\)?

Now there was belonging to the line of Mahāsaṃmata and bringing with him (as inheritance) the good qualities of his clan, a son of Kassapa, the depredator of the Thūpārāma and (there was also) a daughter of the Malayarāja King Samgḥā-\(^3\) māna.\(^3\) He wedded her and lived with her in retirement in Uttaradesa (the Northern Province). When this affair had been spied out by the prince Hatthadāṭha, he betook himself to Jambudīpa and sought out the ruler Narasīha, told him his name and entered his service. He satisfied the Lord of men in every way. When he felt assured of his friendly feeling, he let his wife come and took up his abode there, serving (the King) day and night. But the ruler of Kaṇḍuveṭhi\(^4\) who 

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\(^1\) Sinhalese documents call the king Mahalā-pāṇō.

\(^2\) Here it is again probable that the author has taken a new source for his narrative. Cf. note to 45. 57.

\(^3\) I consider the alterations of the text in the Col. Ed. bhedino for bhūjino in v. 2 and Samghā nām'assa rājini instead of Samghamānassa rājino as inadmissible in view of the complete agreement of the MSS. They are also unnecessary. The word bhūjina has also in Skr. the meaning of “exploiting” in an unfavourable sense, as we have to take it here. The verses 2 and 3 a. b. are evidently a kind of title, hence the absence of the finite verb. The name of the wife Samgḥā is first mentioned in v. 8.

\(^4\) Namely Narasīha. W. says erroneously “another king, Kaṇḍuveṭhi". The name of the territory Kaṇḍuveṭhi over which Narasīha ruled, reminds one of Kaṇḍuveṭṭi in 77. 79 used as the name of a vassal prince
governed the whole kingdom, well pleased with him, granted
him a large income. In wedlock with him his wife, Śamghā
by name, bore four daughters and four sons.

9 Now once as the King was taking an airing for pleasure
on the back of his elephant, together with Mānavamma, being
thirsty, he drank without dismounting, a young coconut, and
passed it then to Mānavamma whom he did not regard as his
equal. Mānavamma took it and thought: "My friend is mo-
narch here. Is there for such beings such a thing as leavings
in the strict sense of the word? It is right therefore if I
drink thereof". Thus he thought and drank thereof. Such
great efforts are made by those who wish for success. The
King saw that, was alarmed, and in his turn drank what the
other had left over. This is ever the way of acting of the
honourable. From that time onward he made him his equal in
food and dwelling, in equipment and means of conveyance.

15 While the two so lived (together), the Vallabha King

16 came to make war on Narasiha. Narasiha reflected: "This
(my friend) serves me untiringly night and day in the ex-
pectation that through my service he will gain the royal
17 dignity which belongs to him by right of descent. If he were

in Southern India. It is probably a case of writing the same name in
two ways. Hultsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 527 has shown that Kapđuvedṭṭi or
veṭṭhi is synonymous with Kāḍavāṇ, a designation of the Pallava kings.
Thus Narasiha was a Pallava.

1 Lit.: being there (namely on the back of his elephant).

2 It is contrary to custom to offer an equal the remains of one's own
meal. The word aṇha "not his equal" stands in opposition to sāhu in
v. 14. Narasiha realises his error and makes it good by taking the co-
conut from Mānavamma and drinking what he has left.

3 In this case the effort of self-restraint.

4 The Vallabhas are a South Indian tribe. Their ruler is simply de-
scribed (as also in 54. 12 ff.) as the Vallabha. Vallabha as the name of
a people occurs also in Skr. Banadur Vennayya EL III. 277; Hultsch
(JRAS. 1913, p. 528) has proved that Narasiha is identical with the
Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and his enemy the Vallabha with
Pulakeśin II. whose capital Vatāpi was taken by Narasiha. Fleer
(Hultsch l. c., p. 529) has calculated the date as A. D. 642. Cf. H. W.
Codrington, H. C., p. 35 - 6.
now to march out with me and found his death in battle, then all that he and I have planned together would be without result." Pondering thus, the King let Mānavamma return to 18 his town (and) he himself began the war against the Vallabha king. Mānavamma thought likewise: "If this king, while I 19 am in life, falls in this war, of what value would my life then be to me? His trust in me would have been an error 20 if I were to behave so. Why by making me his equal did he favour me? Is is therefore meet that I go forth with him 21 to the battle-field; for it is happiness for me to live or die with him here." Thus pondering, armed he mounted his fa- 22 vourite elephant, went forth and appeared before the King on he battle-field. When Narasīha saw him he cried out full of 23 joy: "Truly I have shown him friendship as I was bound to show it." Thereupon the army of Māna(amma) and the 24 army of the King scattered the army of the Vallabha king at their encounter. Mānavamma showed his heroism, distin- 25 guishing himself by his courage like Nārāyaṇa in the battle of the gods. But Narasīha rejoiced over Mānavamma’s bravery 26 and embraced him lovingly with the words: "It is thou who hast brought me the victory." He returned to his town, held 27 a festival of victory and showed all (honour) that was due to Mānavamma’s army. Now the King thought thus: "My friend 28 has done all that was due on his part; from to-day he is without obligation towards me. I will now also discharge my 29 debt by doing on my part what is due; for grateful people who remember what has been done for them are very hard to find." He assembled the dignitaries and spake these words: 30 "Ye are witnesses of the deeds of this my friend. I also must 31

1 He has favoured me in the expectation that I might help him in his difficulties.
2 The acc. sāmāthavāṇi is governed by abhi. I now see that he was worthy of what I have done him.
3 As Indra-Sakka is otherwise always considered as the protagonist of the Gods in the battle against the asuras or demons, we must take Nārāyaṇa here to be one of his names. In a passage of the Sānyutta commentary (ed. Cal. p. 273) the strength of the chaddanta elephants, elephants with 6 tusks, is described as Nārāyaṇa-bulam.
now show him all the love and happiness which are his due.
A return service for him who has earlier rendered us a ser-
vice is the duty of the pious." At these words the dignitaries
answered the Ruler: "Whatsoever the King wishes finds favour
with us." Thereupon the Sovereign gave Mānavamma an army
with the attendant train and the whole equipment and all the
necessary servants and spake to him: go forth then, and as
he gazed after him as he marched forth with the army, he wept
as for a son that goes to a far country. Mānavamma embarked in
the vessels at the sea-coast and arrived quickly, after he had
with speedy voyage crossed the sea\(^1\) and penetrated into
Laṅkādīpa with his army laying waste. At tidings of this
King Dāṭhopatissa fled. Mānavamma came into the town
(Anurādhapura) and without taking over the sovereignty\(^2\), he
arose and pursued closely the fugitive (Dāṭhopatissa). Then
the Damīḷa army heard that its Lord (Narasīha) was smitten
with a fell disease. On these tidings it departed. When Dāṭhopatissa heard that, he marched with a strong force
against Mānavamma and began the fight. Mānavamma thought:
"My whole army has gone; if I fall\(^3\) then the wish of my
foe is fulfilled; I shall betake myself therefore to Jambudīpa
to fetch troops there and recover the dominion." Therefore
he did so. He departed, sought again his friend Narasīha,
and cleverly satisfying him, he served him heedfully. During
the reigns of four kings\(^4\) Mānavamma stayed there. Then
Narasīha thought: "With pride unbroken, finding in honour
his wealth, my friend serves me for the sake of the royal

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1 The tām in 35 d must be supplemented by jaladhīpa from jaladhi-toṭe in b.

2 P. ahusa va nāraudhipo. What is meant is that he wasted no time in performing the ceremonies of abhiṣeka connected with the solemn ascent of the throne. Cf. 48. 26.

3 P. mate mama. Here the gen. mama takes the place of the loc.

4 These were the kings Dāṭhopatissa II., his enemy in his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne, as described v. 35—41, further Aggabodhi
IV., Datta and Hatthadāṭha.
dignity and will become old and grey-headed thereby. How can I when I see this, exercise dominion? If I cannot at this time by sending forth my troops, gain the kingdom for him of what use is my life to me? Having so pondered, he collected his army, equipped it with what was needful, gave it (the pay) it demanded, marched himself at its head to the sea-coast, had numerous strong ships of different shape built here and spake to the dignitaries: "Go ye with this man here." But all the people there refused to go on board. Then Narasīha reflected, hid himself, but gave his own armour, known everywhere as badge of the King, and all his own ornaments to Mānavamma, told him to embark and said: "Go thou and when thou art at sea have this drum called Koṭṭha sounded." He did all this. But the people in the belief it was their king who was going forth, went on board and left the Ruler of men alone behind. Māna(vamma) began the voyage with the army. The whole ocean was as a (floating) town. Having reached the port he landed with his army, remained there a few days that his troops might rest, took Uttaradesa (the North Province), brought the inhabitants into his power and began with his invincible great army to march on the town. When Potthakuṭṭha heard this he advanced against him with a large force. The two armies clashed with each other like seas that have burst their bounds. Mānavamma who fully armed had mounted his elephant, separated Potthakuṭṭha and the King and put them to flight. When the people in the country saw Hatthadāṭha fleeing, they seized his head and showed it to Mānavamma. Potthakuṭṭha fleeing reached Merukandara. When the chief (of the district) saw him there he thought: "He has been for long my friend; therefore when

1 The words imasmiḥ pada vārasmiḥ as far as na gahessāmi form a conditional introductory sentence without a conjunction. Such conditional sentences occur also in Skr. See Syrinx, Veditische und Sanskrit-Syntax, § 283. W.'s translation goes to pieces on the negative na.

2 He carried on the government for Hatthadāṭha who was nominally king, according to 46. 44 ff.

3 See note to 41. 19.
he, in his need, takes refuge with me I must not desert him.

60 But how can I towards these two, my master and my friend, remain free from blame?” and he ate poisoned cake and died.

61 Potthakaṭṭha ate of the cake with him and died likewise. Thus for Mānavamma the Island was freed of the briers (of enemies).

62 From that time Mānavamma set up in the Island the umbrella (of his dominion) warding off therewith as it were, all harm from the inhabitants of the Island. He performed many inestimable meritorious works; what man would be able to enumerate these in their order? After founding two villages, he the excellent one erected in the Padhānarakkha(-vihāra)

65 (of the one) the pāsāda called Sepañni and in the Sirisaṃghabodhi(-vihāra) (of the other) the blissgiving (pāsāda) Sirī. He roofed over the Lohapāsāda as well as the temple in the Thūpārāma. After he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he made it over to the Pampsukūlins.

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1 P. pamsukūlin denotes ascetic bhikkhus who only wore garments made of rags (pamsukūla) patched together. In Ceylon the word has without doubt come to designate a particular sect whose members were pledged to the observance described above. According to 51.52 the Pampsukūlins belonged up to the time of Sena II. to the congregation of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, when however, they seceded and formed a special group of their own.

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The MSS. are here all badly mutilated. Only the MS. of the Colombo Museum tested by me on the spot, gives a text at all capable of translation (Cf. Cūlava. ed., vol. II. Introd. p. II): “After building a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he made it over to the Pampsukūlins. What was decayed he restored, after providing that the vihāra could be easily supplied with (the four) necessaries. He even restored the umbrella on the decayed temple and he also granted to the adherents of the Dhammaruci (sect) the Rājinīdīpa-vihāra.” It seems to me beyond a doubt that we have here an attempt at emendation on the part of the copyist. The Col. Ed. also tries to restore at least v. 66. The text should be translated thus: “After
he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpūrāma, he handed it over to the Paṃsukūlinis. He repaired the decayed umbrella on the top of the cetiya; and he also restored numerous shrines which had fallen into decay."

Then too the Sinhalese sources name as successor of Mānavamma (Mahālāpānō) an Aggabodhi (Akbō). According to Pujāv. and Rājāv. he was the son of Mānavamma to whom, it is true, they ascribe the reign of 35 years, including no doubt the time of his sojourn in India, while Akbō is said to have reigned 6 years. Also in Mhvs. 57. 25 an Aggabodhi is named as eldest son of Mānavamma.

Now as the signature of our chapter describes it as the 48th, a 47th would therefore be entirely absent. Thus S. and B. have assumed that there is a gap in our MSS. The missing part should have contained as conclusion of chapter 47, the end of the reign of Mānavamma and in the new chapter 48 the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi V, the further course of which is described in the 19 verses which have been preserved. A gap might be explained by the loss of a leaf out of the archetype.

I have adopted this assumption in my edition and translation, must insist however, that the arguments taken singly are not compelling. That the Sinhalese chronicles insert a king who does not occur in the Cūlavāmaśa we have already seen (a. note to 41. 102). Yet on the other hand, the mention of Aggabodhi in 57. 25 must be taken into account. The absence of the chapter number 47 is also not decisive. Numbers 40 and 43 are also wanting without any gap being noticeable in the account of events. It is therefore not impossible that it is merely a case of the mutilation of single verses. The assumption of the loss of a leaf would in the first instance only explain a gap, it would not explain the mutilation of the text after v. 66. It is however, the combination of the two first arguments which make the assumption of a gap probable and the probability is perhaps strengthened by the fact that just at the place where the gap might have to be assumed, the text of the MSS. is in disorder.
CHAPTER XLVIII

THE SIX KINGS

1 . . . . . After he had made thereof a mansion for which the necessaries could easily be provided, he also presented the Rājintāpika (vihāra) to the bhikkhus of the Dhammaruci School. After building the Mahānettapādika cells (for dwelling in), he granted to the same (Dhammarucis) the village of Devatissa in (the district of) Kotṭhabātā. In Mahāthala he built (the vihāra) called Kadambagona, further in Devapāli the (vihāra) called Girinagara, in Antarasobbha the Deva-vihāra, further he built the Rājamātika monastery and gave it to the Paṃsukūlins. In the Gokaṃpaka-vihāra he erected a practising-house and the ruined temple of the Vaḍḍhamāna Bodhi Tree he had restored. In the vihāra called Sarpghamitta and elsewhere he, the highly-famed, had here and there new works undertaken on the vihāras. At a cost of six and twenty thousand gold pieces he restored whatever had fallen into decay on the Cetiya-pabbata. Having restored the Tālavatthu-

1 It is possible that besides Rājintāpikā arāman as object adā should receive the names of all the vihāras mentioned in v. 3 and 4.

2 Of the localities mentioned in v. 2-4 Antarasobbha alone is mentioned in Mhs. 25. 11 as a district. Instead of Kotṭhabātā Col. ed. reads Kokaṇāṭa which occurs 37. 42 and 47 as the name of a village and of a tank built by Mahāsena (4th c. A.D.). The MSS. however, give no authority for this reading. Mahāthala is probably the present Matale (north of Kandy) (Thus W. in Index s. v.). For the Paṃsukūlins s. note to 47. 66.

3 Built by Mahāsena according to Mhs. 37. 41.

4 Cf. below 49. 15. Like the images of the Buddha, the Bodhi trees had their special names.

5 P. suvarṇa. In Skr. suvarṇa is a weight = karṣa. This is according to BR. = 11.375 gr. This would give an expenditure of over £40,000 according to the present value of gold.
vihāra he granted (the village of) Paṇḍabhatta to the vihāra called after the Ruler of men Mahāsena¹. The Gondigāmika 9 tank which had burst he dammed up as before and to all living beings he gave as a gift whatever they needed. The 10 Uposatha day he observed with fasting together with the inhabitants of the Island, and preached to them the doctrine in order to procure them spiritual happiness. Everyone in his 11 kingdom cultivated action which leads to Heaven, for as the monarch acts so do also his subjects. Therefore should a wise 12 king ever practise piety; in every place where men dwell⁹ he will become renowned and finally, surrounded by his com- 13 panions, he enters Nirvana. Therefore the prudent man should contemplate that which is for his good and for that of others. For if all the subjects attain good discipline through an in- 14 dividual who himself has good discipline, how could a discerning man let such an one come to harm?³ No means for bringing 15 to beings happiness in both worlds was left untried by him who was unflagging day and night. The fine garments worn 16 by himself he gave to the Paṇḍukūlin bhikkhus as raiment. The employment (of officials) in wrong places, undeserved fa- 17 vor or unlawful seizure (of property) was unknown with him. To all creatures he gave the nourishment by which each of 18 them live, and whatever makes them happy with that he blessed them. Thus after the Ruler of men had performed 19 meritorious works for six years⁴ he, the peace-maker went (to the Heaven of) the King of the gods⁵.

¹ As neither Tālavatthu nor Paṇḍabhatta are otherwise mentioned it is difficult to understand rightly the sense of this passage. It seems to me that Tālavatthu was an older monastery which Aggabodhi restored and to which he granted a village, afterwards giving it the name of Mahāsena by whom perhaps the older structure had been built. A Buddha image in the Mahāsena monastery is mentioned in 51. 76.

² P. nīcuthaṁ nīcuthaṁ ṭhāne, lit. “in each inhabited place” applied by W. to the King “wheresoever he may dwell”, which is also possible.

³ The meaning seems to be this: it lies in his own interest to educate his people to piety by his own example, as this assures his own safety. He will have all the right-minded on his side.

⁴ The same length of reign in Pūjav. and Rājāv.

⁵ That is to the heaven of the Tāvatimsa gods at whose head stands the King of the gods, Sakka-Indra.
20 Now his brother next in age, the prince Kassapa, became king, well qualified for the royal burden\(^1\), for taking it over according to ancient custom. As a father (wins) his son, so he won his people by generosity, by friendly speech and by care for their welfare. Offices he bestowed on various people according to merit and he himself enjoyed the pleasures of life, free from all sorrow. For laymen, bhikkhus and brāhmaṇas the prince encouraged the way of life fitting for each and carried out the command to kill no living creature. The two Macchatitthas\(^2\), the mansion Heligāma, the monastery Vānijagāma, as well as Kassapagiri; further the superb practising-house called Ambavana, maintenance village\(^3\) . . .

26 Amongst them all the youngest was the prince called Mahinda. When the royal dignity came to him he was yet not king\(^4\), although he bore the burden of the kingdom. He had a friend by name Nila, with whom he had for long had intimate intercourse. But he had died beforehand. In memory of him he would not have it\(^5\). Alas! even the dominion over the Island he deemed not blissful, since his friend was wanting. Friends are so hard to get. Hence the Sage (Buddha)

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\(^1\) I believe that rājabhārassa (or raija\(^6\)) is directly governed by sa-mattho. In Skr. in the same way with samartha the thing for which one is qualified may stand in the loc. or the dative. Bhārassa would correspond to both. Instead of pubbavuttino I should prefer to read pubbavutthito, adverbial ablative.

\(^2\) Inscriptional Mastoṭa in an inscription of Mahinda IV. Wickremesinghe, EZ. I. 216, 221, 227.

\(^3\) Here again there is a gap in the recorded text. Of the MSS. with which I am acquainted one, at least, indicates this by leaving a space free for about 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) slokas. The finite verb is missing for the objects in vv. 24, 25. The missing verses must have contained the end of the reign of Kassapa III. According to Pujāv. and Rājāv. he reigned 7 years. Both sources as well as Rājaratn. mention the building of the Helagamaripaṇa. Of the other names which are mentioned above, Kassapagiri alone occurs again (44. 98).

\(^4\) P. nāhosī rājā, see note to 47. 37.

\(^5\) Namely the festivities connected with the abhiseka.
hath said: "All worldly things and all spiritual things which lead to Nirvana, these all are the lot of beings who have associated with a staunch friend; therefore must one ever strive after (gaining) staunch friends." Only as Ádipāda he administered the kingdom to protect as it were, during his life, living beings on the Island. On Aggabodhi, the son of his brother Kassapa he conferred the dignity of Uparāja and gave him abundant revenues. He assigned him (the Eastern Province) Pācīnadesa and sent him forth to take up his abode therein. (The province of) Dakkhiṇadesa the King gave to his own son. To the Mahāpāli Hall he gave an offering of ten cart-loads and beggars he provided with luxuries like his own. He ate nothing without first having given to the beggars, and if without thinking of it, he had eaten, he used to give them double of what he had himself enjoyed. For the bhikkhus he built an abode which was called after himself and granted them as convent boundary (the village of) Nagaragalla. He built the Mahindatāta monastery, provided it with the four necessaries and performed many another meritorious work, rejoicing at the worth of such works. After the discerning prince had reigned in this way for three years, he seeking his friend, entered into the world of the gods.

1 The kalyāṇamittā are often praised in the Canon. It seems to me that this passage is an allusion to Saṇyutta 8. 18 (= I, p. 88) where the Buddha after a eulogy of the kalyāṇamittatā, says of himself: mamānhi, Ananda, kalyāṇamittam āgama (cf. v. 30 u!) jātihammā sattā jātiyā parimuṇcauti etc. The passage occurs once again Saṇy. 45. 2 (= V, p. 3). 2 See note to 41. 36.

3 Who likewise bore the name Aggabodhi, (See v. 39). W.'s "the southern country (only)" gives a wrong shade of meaning to the context. The bestowal of Dakkhiṇadesa was in no sense a slight. It was just this province which was reserved for the heir apparent.

4 W. takes āramamariyādaka as the name of another village.

5 The Mahindatāta tank had already been built by Aggabodhi I and given this name in honour of the Thera Mahinda who converted the Island to Buddhism. See 42. 29.

6 The Sinhalese sources call this king Midelpanā or Midel only. The name is missing in the Nik.-s.; Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of three years like the Cēlava.
Now Prince Aggabodhi (son of Mahinda) who dwelt in Dakkhinadesa, had for some reason or other come to the cap-
ital. While he sojourned there the Ādipāda Mahinda died; thus the kingly power came into his hands. After taking possession of it and securing it he sent a message to Agga-
bodhi, the Governor of Pācinadesa. He came hither and became king under the name of Silāmegha. The dignity of Uparāja the monarch conferred on the Prince (Aggabodhi of Dakkhinadesa). The latter entreated the King thus: free thyself from the burden of cares and enjoy life’s pleasures, and administered the government himself. As was meet, he treated his subjects with severity and clemency and all undisciplined people on the Island the discerning one brought on to the right path. While the twain lived thus, the evil-minded found no opportunity for interfering, and they thought: the twain must be estranged. They went to the King and spake slanderously to him in secret: “Thou art King in name, in reality the other is king; the Uparāja will take the royal dignity for himself; the people he has already won over; in a short time he will be king, of that there can be no doubt.”

When the Monarch heard that he fell out with the Prince and the Prince when he noticed that, became a rebel against the King. He fled to his province, won over the inhabitants and with mighty forces began the war. At Kadalānivāta the

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1 A message to the effect that everything is ready for him to take over the government. As Aggabodhi of Pācinadesa is a son of the elder brother Kassapa, he is according to Sinhalese law, the legal successor of Mahinda. Mahinda’s son Aggabodhi willingly recognise this.

2 Sylvain Lévi (Journ. Asiatique, May-June, 1900, p. 418; cf. JRAS. Ceyl. Br. XXIV, Nr. 68, 1915-16, p. 87 ff.) communicates a Chinese account according to which an Indian monk, Vajrabodhi, on the way to India touches at Ceylon where he is invited by the king Chi-li-Chi-lo (i.e. Siri-Siha). S. Lévi identifies this king with Mānavamma (see 47. I ff.), but E. R. Ayrton (Ceylon Notes and Queries II. Jan. 1914, p. XXVII ff.) probably more correctly, with Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha.

3 Must be situated according to 44. 6, on the line of march from Dakkhinadesa, (more exactly from Mahāgalla, not far from the present Nikaveratiya) to Anurādhapura.
bitter fight took place. The Prince suffered a defeat and betook himself to Malaya. Later the King thought gratefully of his cousin's support, of the transference of the royal dignity and the rest and grieved quite openly. The Prince too on hearing this, became conciliatory. So they let each other know how they loved one another. The King betook himself quite alone to Malaya, took the prince with him and returned to his capital . . . . he married him to his daughter Sāmpghā by name. While he lived with her in intimate intercourse with the King, he (once) angered at some fault or other, struck her a blow. She went to her father and wept before him bitterly. "Without reason the husband thou gavest me kills me." Scarcely had the King heard this than he thought: of a truth I have done wrong, sent her at once to a home for bhikkhunīs and made her undergo the ceremony of world renunciation. Now the son of her maternal uncle, Aggabodhi by name, whose heart had been long filled with love for her, thought this was a favourable time to flee with her, seized her secretly and betook himself alone (with her) to Rohaṇā. The Ruler of men Aggabodhi took (his cousin) Aggabodhi with him and betook himself with him to Rohaṇā to slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi. (The Uparāja) Aggabodhi made his cousin (the King) Aggabodhi halt, and went himself to the western mountains so slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi. When at the head of a great army he had brought the whole 62 of Rohaṇā into his power, he delivered battle and seized him and his own wife Sāmpghā. From that time onward the three

1 Lit. "of his brother". As the father's brother is called father, so the sons of brothers are brothers.

2 The line a b of v. 54 is defective in all the MSS. I propose to complete it thus: hoti nissatāyaḥ dhīro iti tusḥa atta so "with the thought; he is no doubt firm, he, being highly pleased, gave him &c. &c.

3 The verb niśādāvetā stands here in a causative sense instead of niśādāpetvā. Cf. Culava. ed. Introd. p. XIV.

4 The western mountains of Rohaṇā are probably the not inconsiderable mountain range rising south-east of Ratnapura which reaches its greatest height (over 3000 ft.) to the south of Rakvana where it is crossed by the Bulutotana Pass.
lived happily and in harmony in mutual intimate intercourse 64 at their ease. The King built the Vāpārani monastery and the Mānagga bodhi monastery, further the Sabhuttadesabhoga 65 in the Abhayuttara-vihāra as well as pāsādas in the vihāras Hatthinukcchi1 and Punapiṭhi, in the Mahāpariveṇa2 and in Vābadipa3. In the Thūpārāma he restored the damaged doors of the temple as they were before and transposed the pillars4 therein. After performing these and other meritorious works according to his power, he passed away in the fortieth year of his reign according to his doing5.

68 Thereupon the Uparāja Aggabodhi, the fortunate, became 69 king, son of the wise Ādipāda Mahinda. To the Order and to the laity he showed favour according to merit. With the 70 dignity of Uparāja he invested his own son Mahinda. The ruined temple of the great Bodhi Tree he built anew and solidly; he also built two monasteries: Kalanda and Mallavāta. 71 By legal acts he carefully reformed the Order of the Conqueror (Buddha) and judging according to justice, he rooted out un- 72 just judges. He himself studied the medicinal plants over

1 See note to 42. 21. 2 See note to 42. 26. 3 Mentioned again 49. 33 under Udaya I and 49. 76, along with the Hatthinukcchi-vihāra, under Dappuḷa II.

4 It seems to me that what is meant by the temple (gheha) of the Thūpārāma is the superstructure of the cetiya. What makes this likely is the mention of the pillars which were re-arranged by the King. The pillars which surround the thūpa in four rows are in the Thūpārāma (as also in the Laṅkārāma cetiya) still partially preserved. They were intended to support the roof which was of wood. Cf. for plan Smīrtha Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura, p. 4 ff. Such superstructures are described as cetiya- or thūpa-gharāṇi or -ghehaṇi analogous to the bodhi- gharāṇi or -ghehaṇi. Smīrtha doubts it is true, whether the pillars at the Thūpārāma cetiya could have borne such a structure, while Pankua (Ancient Ceylon p. 270) quite admits the possibility. The custom of building over a cetiya is even to-day not unknown. I myself saw an interesting example in the Budumutava monastery at Nīkaveraṇī which I visited on the 20th April 1926 in the company of the Archaeological Commissioner Mr. A. M. Hocart. The term thūpaghara is inseparable from that of bodhi gharā (s. note to 38. 43).

5 Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give King Akhā a reign of 40 years.
the whole island of Laũkā (to find out) whether they were wholesome or harmful\(^1\) for the sick. He had rice by allotment\(^2\) distributed to the inmates of the three fraternities and delicious foods fitting for himself, to the Pamsukūlins. The King, having thus with unrestricted royal power, performed these and other meritorious works, died after six years just as he was sojourning in Pulatthinagara\(^3\).

Formerly Aggabodhi had a son; he had died as Yuvarāja.\(^4\) Since then no son existed as heir to the throne. There was however a son of the King Silāmegha\(^5\) by name Mahinda, fitted for the royal dignity, rich in merit, capable of winning the people for himself. On the day of his birth the King (Silāmegha) consulted the astrologers and when he heard their answer that the boy was fitted for the royal dignity, he gave them plenty of money and kept the matter a secret. But when he grew up he made him his senāpati. He gave the entire government into his hands\(^6\) and as independent ruler the discerning (prince) fulfilled the royal duties in a just way.\(^7\)

\(^1\) W. gives an entirely different rendering. He separates maṅgalanā cāvamaṅgalanā from bhesajjāṇi and translates: "ordained the form and manner of holding festivities and funerals". There is no verb in the text corresponding to "ordained". All the accusatives are governed by vicārayi. But if maṅgalanā cāvamaṅgalanā meant what W. assumes, the objects to be tested by the King would still have been very heterogeneous and the combination of m. cāvam. with bhesajjāṇi very amazing.

\(^2\) S. CHILDERS, Pali Dict. s. v. salākā: "Food belonging to the collective saṅgha of a monastery was sometimes distributed to the monks by tickets called salākā, and consisting of slips of wood, bark, bamboo, talipot leaf or other similar material. Food so distributed was called salākābhatṭam "ticket-food" ...

\(^3\) The same number in Pājāv. and Rājāv. Pulatthinagara is here again a temporary royal residence as in 46. 34.

\(^4\) Lit.: The kingdom was sonless. Yuvarāja is here used of Mahinda as uparāja above in v. 69.

\(^5\) I.e. Aggabodhi VI. Cf. above v. 42.

\(^6\) This happened evidently at the time when Aggabodhi VI. was in conflict with his Uparāja, afterwards King Aggabodhi VII. Cf. above v. 48 ff.

\(^7\) We have here one of these cases where in the course of a sentence the subject changes the gerund being used in the sense of a Loc. abs.
Therefore when (King Silāmegha) died, he as clever statesman took not the dignity of senāpati from the hand of his successor Aggabodhi (VII). (On the contrary) at that time he betook himself with some kind of commission from the King to the sea-coast and took up his abode in the seaport of Mahātīttha\(^2\). When he heard here of the death of his uncle he came hither in haste (fearing) rebels might seize the kingdom and destroy it.

Then in (the Northern Province) Uttaradesa the chiefs of districts together with the dwellers in the province seized the land by force and refused tribute to the King\(^4\). At the tildings of this Mahinda advanced with a great army to Uttaradesa, crushed all the chiefs of districts together with the dwellers in the province, betook himself then to the spot where the King had died, sought out the Queen, wept (with her), comforted her according to the circumstances of the time, and spake the following words: “Grieve not, Great Queen, that thy husband is dead. I will shelter the Island, thou mayest keep the royal dignity.” By her silence she seemed to assent; in secret the crafty one took measures to slay him, as she wanted to live in her own way. When the Senāpati (Mahinda) found this out, he had her watched and put her adherents, a great number of people, to flight in combat. Then he had the Queen put into fetters and brought in a chariot, took her

(See note to 39. 26). Aggabodhi is subject of katuḍ in 78b and katvāna in 79a. With so in 79c Mahinda is meant. W. gets out of the difficulty by apparently separating saṇyāvasi into saṇyā ṣasi and translating “he lived (without care and anxiety)”. But for this interpretation there are no corresponding words in the text for those which the translator has put in brackets.

\(^{1}\) P. saṇyāśa. One can perhaps see in such expressions the influence of the Indian Niti-literature. Cf. yathānayaṇa below in v. 96.

\(^{2}\) Now Mantai or Mantola not far from Mannar. It is already mentioned in Vijaya’s time (Mhvs. 7. 58) as the place where settlers from the Indian mainland land.

\(^{3}\) P. cūlapitum, lit.: of his little father. His grand-father and the father of Aggabodhi VII. were brothers. Cf. note to 51. 24.

\(^{4}\) Lit.: they made the country into one where the King’s taxes were cut off.
with him to the capital and seized the royal power together
with the (royal) treasure.

Now there was also a sister’s son of King Silämegha called 90
Dappula, an ādipāda who had at his disposal a large army
and considerable means. He sojourning in Kālavāpi, collected 91
his army and advanced to the neighbourhood of Saṅgagāma
to begin the war. At the tidings of these events the Senā-92
pati marched in haste thither, at the head of his army, taking
the Queen with him. A terrible battle took place there be-
tween the two. When the Ādipāda saw his army falling back
he took flight and escaped with his army into the mountains.94
After the Senāpati had put him to flight there, he lived
happily.

When the district chiefs of Uttaradesa heard that the ca-
pital was unoccupied they all came together and took the
town. But the Senāpati, a hero of indomitable courage, chased 96
them away again, entered the town himself and administered
the government according to the rules of statecraft. For the 97
bhikkhu community, for the laity, for fishes, game and birds,
for his kinsfolk and for the troops he did everything that was
meet for them. Later on Dappula who was in Malaya, brought 98
together a reserve army. He summoned his two sister’s sons
from Rohāṇa and taking all the inhabitants of the province 99
with him, he reached the town with a great army at night
time and broke over it like the ocean. The troops encom-100

1 See 39. 28; 41. 20.
2 As dhāgineyya of Aggabodhi VI. he held that he was the legal
heir before Aggabodhi’s son Mahinda. The same view is taken by
Dappula’s brothers (see v. 116) who believe themselves entitled to the
crown after him.
3 According to the Col. Ed. one should translate: “he climbed with
his train the Acchasela mountain”. This name does not occur in any
of the MSS. with which I am acquainted. The majority have simply
palāyitvānāmaruhiṭṭha savākano. Two MSS. insert sasene before saṭṭh-
āno, evidently a gloss to this word. The object of āruhiṭṭha is every-
where missing. I have supplied it according to the sense. Perhaps one
should read Malayam so sādhana.
4 See note to 48. 80.
passed the town with clangour on all sides. With the neighing of the steeds, the trumpeting of the elephants, the rattle of the drums with their rhythmic sound\(^1\) and the battle cries of the warriors the firmament was at that time near to bursting.

When the Senāpati saw the great army he was light-hearted and informed his own troops of the matter with the words:

"Three king's sons have shut in our town with a great force: what must ye then do?" Thus addressed, these warlike heroes answered: "On a day when they have not served their king there is for his servants no life\(^2\). If at such a time as this we were from love of life to flinch, for what then had our master maintained us for so long a time for our well-being?"

At these words Mahinda full of confidence, placed his army in readiness at night and at daybreak mounted his tried elephant, broke through a gate like a downrushing thunderbolt, and began with his thousand warriors the irresistible combat.

After scattering the troops of the Ādipāda in all directions, he gathered (his people) together at one spot and proclaimed a truce\(^3\). The Ādipāda Dappula already vanquished at early morning, fled with those who had escaped the slaughter to

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1. Tāḷavacarasaddanaṃ is adjective attribute to kāhalanayu.

2. The manuscript reading devaśevedine (= deva-aśevedine) alone gives the right sense: only when their whole life is absorbed in service of their king do his servants wholly fulfill their duty. W.'s translation "from the day that your servants entered your service, their lives have they given unto you" is impossible. It is made so by the loc. dine and by the negation in svaśevedine na jīvitaṃ which was simply not taken into account. In any case one would have to translate "their life belongs to his servants no longer". Even then the difficulty with dine remains, it cannot possibly mean "from the day".

3. P. niyattitum sampravādayu. The word niyatti is otherwise unknown. It is derived from the root yat with ni, which probably means "to unyoke (the horses), to rest". Also in the single passage in the Rigveda (I. 189. 11), where the verb occurs, it seems to me to have this meaning. I should be inclined to translate ni yā devāḥ yātate vasāyīr by "that (namely our supplication) which prays for good enters into (the abode of) the Gods". GRANDNER, Rigveda I. 241: "that ...... aspires to the Gods". The idea is that Mahinda to prevent further bloodshed, forbids the pursuit of the enemy.
Rohāṇa. But the two princes who had some time before come 110 from Rohāṇa, Mahinda captured alive and took with him to the capital. The hero who had thus gained the victory, now 111 that the Island was at peace, sent his army forth to subdue (the East Province) Pācīnadesa. They marched into the pro-

vince and also into (the North Province) Uttaradesa, subdued them in a short time and brought over a large force to their side. The King¹ however, made the Great Queen his consort, 113 as he thought she could neither be set free nor slain². In 114 consequence of their intercourse she became with child and brought forth a splendid son who bore³ on him the signs of (former) merit. After that she was very dear to the King 115 who granted his son the dignity of uparāja with the (cor-

responding) revenues.

When the two Ādipādas who were in Pācīnadesa heard 116 of this they said to each other: that is our undoing. They raised an army from both their provinces and large sums of 117 money, then summoned their brother (Dappula) from Rohāṇa, made with him a treaty and took up a position with large 118 forces on the bank of the (Mahāvālūka-)Gaṅgā. When the King heard all that he brought the district chiefs here and there 119 (by kindly speech) over to his side, imprisoned the obdurate and also had a few executed. He appointed a guard in the town, decreed exactly what was to be done and with a large 120 army and taking the Mahesi with him, he occupied an armed

¹ It is not by chance that the royal title is here for the first time awarded to Mahinda. At the beginning of the campaign against Dappula (v. 102) he was still called Senāpati. Probably he only underwent the ceremony of consecration (abhisēka) after his marriage with the widow of his predecessor, as a queen must also take part therein.

² By her marriage with the King this woman who was inclined to intrigue (v. 87) is kept under his supervision and influence, without the necessity of force being used against her. That distrust of the Queen still existed is shown by v. 120.

³ P. puṇñalakkhaṇasamāyuttam. The marks on the boy established by the soothsayers point to a favourable kamma, to the boy having accumulated abundant merit in former existences, so that he is called to greatness in this new existence.
camp at the village of Mahummāra. When the three Ādipādas had knowledge of his advance they began a great battle at Kovilāragāma. But the King with his strong army destroyed their forces. Dappula fled, the two Ādipādas fell.

Here also again victorious, the Monarch returned to the capital; he practised the royal duties and instituted a great almsgiving. For the great Bodhi Tree, that prince of trees, for the three great cetiyas and for the relics he, full of reverence, instituted a great offering. Dappula who had betaken himself to Rohaṇa, arriving there, raised troops to fight anew against the King. The King (wishing) to bring order into the land for his children and his children’s children assembled in the Thūpārāma all the bhikkhus and other wise persons who knew what is seemly and what is unseemly — he who was versed in all the duties of a king, they who were learned in statecraft. He informed them of the events, and after decreeing everywhere what was to be done throughout the land and in the capital, he with their consent set out with a great army consisting of the four members, and provided with all resources, and came within a short time to the Māra mountains. He laid waste the country and immediately thereafter ascended the mountains. When they saw that in Rohaṇa they yielded themselves through fear. Hereupon the haughty one made a treaty with Dappula. He received from his hands elephants, steeds and jewels, decreed the Gāhagāṅgā as the

1 The four anāgāni of an army are the elephants, the chariot fighters, the riders and the infantry.

2 A Maragala (probably = Māragallaka in 55. 26) is situated east of Madampe in the Atakalan Korale of the province of Ratnapura, Medapatta. If we can associate our Mārapabbata with this, Mahinda II must have pushed against Rohaṇa from the N.W. (Ratnapura—Pelmadulla—Madampe). The mountains he ascended would be the range to the South of Rakvana with the Bulutota Pass.

3 P. sadaṇḍaka contains a pun on Dappula’s name.

4 The MSS. undoubtedly point to this reading. The name Gāhagāṅgā is however, otherwise unknown. One might take it for a name of the Mahaveliganga since orāṅgaṅga “land on this side of the Gāṅgā” is always used of the territory on the left bank of this stream. In this
boundary of the rulers of Rohana and kept the land on this side of the river for himself, making thereof royal property.

Thus had the powerful (prince) freed the Island from all briers\(^1\), as sole monarch he entered the capital and lived therein happily. The mighty King founded the Dānavibhāra-parivena and the Sanniratittha (vihāra) in Pulattinagura. In the Abhayagiri he erected the Mahālekha-parivena. Then the wealthy (prince) having built at a cost of three hundred thousand (kahāpānas) the superb, many-storeyed Ratanaṇāda\(^2\), like a second Vejayanta\(^3\), and having at a cost of sixty thousand (kahāpānas) had made of pure gold an image of the Master, furnished with a costly diadem of jewels, he held with all pomp a magnificent dedicatory festival for the consecration of the Pāśāda, and dedicated (to the Buddha) thereby his whole kingdom\(^4\). He also had a splendid Bodhisattva made of silver and placed the beautiful (statue) in the Sīlāmegha home for bhikkhuṇīs. In the Thūpārāma he made a gold casing of the thūpa and for the sake of diversity he

treaty the Mahaveliganga would then be fixed for the first time as the boundary between Rohana and the territory immediately belonging to the king, being always held as such later on. The Col. Ed. reads Gā̄dhabhogaṇa.

\(^1\) See note to 42. 14.

\(^2\) A. M. Hocart supposes the Ratanaṇāda to be the very considerable building known by tradition as the "Elephant Stables" whose ruins lie to the west, not far from the Abhayagiri Thūpa (Northern Thūpa), Memoirs ASC. I (1924), p. 1 ff. According to the Mahāva, it was built by Kanitṭhatissa (223—241 A. D.) for the Thera Mahānāga who lived in the Bhūtarīma. It is, however, interesting that in the building which according to Hocart's discovery, lay below the later structure, there was an inscription belonging to Gajabāhu I. (171—193 A.D.) Mahinda II. evidently rebuilt the pāśāda of Kanitṭhatissa. A Ratana-Mahapahā is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 215, 218, 226.

\(^3\) Skr. Vejayanta, name of Indra's palace.

\(^4\) For this custom cf. 39. 31 (with note).

\(^5\) Probably the Bodhisattva Metteyya, the only future Buddha whom the Southern Schools mention by name.

\(^6\) The same convent for nuns is mentioned 49. 25 under the successor of Mahinda II.
had strips of silver introduced at regular intervals. There
too he repaired the decayed pāsāda. Instituting a great festi-
val, the discerning (prince) had the Abhidhamma recited by
the Grand Thera dwelling in the Hemasāli(-vibhāra) and
built a bathing tank there for his use. He restored many
decayed temples of the gods here and there and had costly
images of the gods fashioned. He gave the brāhmaṇas de-
licious foods such as the King receives and gave them milk
with sugar to drink in golden goblets. To the lame he gave
bulls as well as the needful maintenance, and to the Damiḷas
he gave horses, as they would not take cattle. The poor who
were ashamed to beg he supported in secret, and there were
none on the Island who were not supported by him according
to their deserts. Pondering how food could be provided for
cattle, he gave them young corn full of milky juice from a
thousand fields. He also strengthened the weir of the
Kūlavāpi tank. Such like meritorious works of his were
boundless.

His son, the Yuvarāja, was then already dead, but there
was still another son, born to him at the time when he was
Senāpati. The King fearing that the (other) princes might
kill him, thinking he was fitted for the royal dignity, let him
grow up without care, just as chance might determine. When

1 P. thūpa ʾkāsi sovaṃpakaṅkakau. When a thūpa became di-
lapidated one used to build round it a new casing of brick. Such a
casing was called kaṅkaka. Mahinda places a casing of gold and silver
plates on the cetiya of the Thūpārāma. In 49.81 we are told that
king Dappula II. also covered the thūpaghara in the same vihāra with
golden bricks, and in 50.35 that the gold plates of the Thūpārāma
cetiya were plundered by the Panḍu King.

2 The Brahmanical religion, Hinduism, had always a place in Ceylon
along with Buddhism and was recognised by the reigning princes.

3 P. vārīsapātā. Cf. 68. 35, 37.

4 Hence in the time before his marriage with the Queen Dowager
who bore him the son (see v. 116) who was appointed Uparāja and who
had in the meantime died. Note that neither of the princes is named.
Cf. below note to 49.1.
the town was surrounded by foes, this prince came to his father and begged from him a fighting elephant. The King gave him his big elephant, terrible as the elephant of Māra, and in addition a trained force versed in the use of arms. He spake: now it is time, girt his sword, mounted the mighty elephant, went forth from the town, scattered the whole almost invincible army and won the victory. When the King saw that he rejoiced and granted him the dignity of senāpati. He (then) betook himself with his forces to (the North Province) Uttaradesa and put to flight the Ādipāda Dappula together with his army. Therefore was Dappula filled with a great hatred towards him. When he met him face to face in the battle of Mahāummāra he grew furious and hastily spurred on his elephant to kill him. But the other rammed with his own elephant (that of Dappula) and put him to flight. When the King saw that he was highly pleased and as otherwise none was there (suitable) to claim the royal dignity, he conferred on him the office of his Uparāja.

After Mahinda had thus for twenty years enjoyed the full (dominion over the) Island he entered Heaven to enjoy the fruits of his meritorious actions.

Thus all the delights of fortune won by all kinds of means through bitter suffering disappear in a moment. Truly only fools can find delight therein.

Here ends the forty-eighth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

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1 See note to 41. 48.
2 This episode took place in the sortie (described in v. 106 ff.) from Anurādhapura when it was besieged by Dappula.
3 Refers to what is described in v. 112.
4 See above v. 120.
5 The same number in Pājāv. and Rājāv.
CHAPTER XLIX

THE FIVE KINGS

1 After his father's death the Uparāja (Udaya) became king¹, apt to mete out punishment and favour to foes and friends.

2 As Mahesī the King had the clever Senā by name and little children (had he) who were very dear to the king and charming

¹ There is no doubt that the Uparāja meant here is the one mentioned in 48.158, as the son of Mahinda by a former marriage (48.149). The name of this prince is, however, nowhere directly mentioned in the Cūlavamsa. The four Sinhala sources have Udā = Udaya as successor of Mahinda II, and the accuracy of their statement is indirectly confirmed by the Cūlavamsa: The successor of the unnamed king is his son Mahinda (III). After him comes an Aggabodhi (VIII) whose relationship with his predecessor is not mentioned. As however, there is mention (49.44) of his grandfather in a way which clearly points to Mahinda II., he must have been the brother of Mahinda III. and like him, the son of the unnamed king. Now it is said of this Aggabodhi VIII. in 49.45, that he built a parivena and called it Udayaaggabodhi by joining his father's name with his own. Hence the son of Mahinda II. and father of Mahinda III. and Aggabodhi VIII. was called Udaya. In the Sinhala translation of Sumangala and Batuwantudawa, also in Wijesingha's English translation and in all following publications, as far as I can see, this king gets the name of Dappula. I suppose on the ground of the following consideration: According to 49.30, the unnamed King built a Dappulapabbata and in 50.80, it is said that King Sena I. finished the Dappulapabbata begun in the time of King Dappula. Thus the unnamed king was called Dappula. This in no way upsets the absolutely conclusive argument for the name Udaya; the more so, since the two notices about the Dappulapabbata do not in the least agree. According to 49.30, it was an āvāsa erected (not: begun) by the King himself in the Ambuuyāna-vihāra and granted to the bhikkhus. In 50.80, it was a structure (vihāra?) commenced by one Mahūdeva under King Dappula and finished by King Sena I. This
to look at. The dignity of yuvarāja he bestowed on his 3 eldest son, the others he made ādipādas; of his daughters he made queens. Offices the King bestowed on these and those 4 persons according to their deserts, and his subjects he won by the four heart-winning qualities. Now the King had for 5 some reason or other betaken himself to Maṇihīra, and while he sojourned there he heard that the border-land was in rebellion. Thereupon he sent with all haste the Senāpati and 6 his son with the order to go thither and bring the district under his sway. When these had betaken themselves there, 7 slanderers who were planning strife, by all kinds of idle talk estranged the twain from the Ruler of men. Now the twain 8 began as foes (of the King) to get possession of the country for themselves. On tidings of this the King betook himself at once to Dūratissa. He slew the twain, took possession 9 of everything they had, slaughtered all their accomplices, and betook himself to Pulatthinagara.

Dappula can very well be Dappula II. (49. 65 ff.), the second predecessor of Sena I. It is a question therefore, whether the two Dappulapabbatas had anything at all to do with each other. If we assume that they had, then the building in 49. 30, is wrongly ascribed to Udaya I. or at least its name is due to a mistake. It was erected, as we are told by the more exact and therefore more trustworthy notice in 50. 80, under Dappula II. (W: D. III.). Sena finished the building and it probably only then got its name.

1 The Col. Ed. alters the reading khuddā puttā in which all MSS. agree, to khuddaputtā. W. translates: “(she) had a little son.” I merely point out that in the very next verse several sons and daughters are mentioned.

2 W.’s translation “and gave his daughters away to the other governor of the Rohana to be his queens” is quite wrong. We have to do with the granting of titles and honours (rājīnā acc. pl.). Cf. below 50. 58 and 54. 11.

3 See 42. 54 with note.

4 A Dūratissa tank is mentioned 79. 32, among the tanks restored by Parakkassamabāhu. The events described evidently take place in the North Province.

5 W.’s translation: “returned again to the city of Pulatthi” is inexact; for the text has gāni not paccāgāni. It also gives a wrong picture; for Udaya was not in Pulatthinagara before, but in Maṇihīra.
At that time there lived in the province of Rohana a nobleman Mahinda by name, a son of the Ādipāda Dāthāsīva who administered the revenues of the country. He fell out with his father and betook himself to the King. When the King beheld him he was much pleased and showed him grace according to his deserts. To strengthen the friendship with him he gave him his daughter, by name Devī, and sent troops to Rohana. Mahinda set out, laid Rohana waste with the help of the royal army, drove out his father to Jambudīpa and took possession of Rohana.

In the Mahāvihāra Udaya¹ built a fine, solid house for the distribution of food by allotment². To the Kholakkiya image of the Lord of Sages (Buddha) he granted, for the outlay on festivals, the village of Mahāmaga, having himself offered (to the image) according to his capacity. For the prince of trees, Vaḍḍhamāna³, he restored the broken down temple and granted for its guardianship the wealthy village of Koṭṭhāgāma. To the Nīḷārāma (monastery) he gave the village of Kāḷussa and to the bronze image (of the Buddha) he gave the village of Ārāmassa. What was broken down he restored and he had images fashioned as well as a great many pāsūṇas, cetiyas and vihāras erected⁴. In Pulatthinagara⁵ he built of his great pity a large hall for the sick, and likewise in Paṭāvi, each provided with a maintenance village, also halls for cripples⁶ and the blind in different places. Judgments which were just he had entered in books and (these) kept in the royal palace because of the danger of violation of justice. To the vihāra called Nāgavāḍḍhāna he made over several maintenance villages

¹ In the original the name is not mentioned, it simply says he built.
² P. salākkēgga; for salākkā cf. note to 48.73.
³ See note to 48.5.
⁴ I now prefer to add the accusatives pāsūde etc. in v. 18 a b to the preceding verse so that they are governed by kārṇya in 17 d. The new sentence begins then with Pulatthinagara.
⁵ Note how Pulatthinagara gains more and more in importance (cf. also 48.184).
⁶ P. pīṭhasappo, lit.: who moves with aid of a chair (pīṭha), i. e. a support that one pushes in front of one.
and without annulling ancient charters, and observing former decrees, he maintained permanently the great almsgiving instituted by his father and all the other meritorious works which he carried out without curtailment. The Mahesi, too, of the great King performed many meritorious works. The Queen built on the Cetiya mountain the Kathaka-cetiya, and having built the Jayasenapabbata(-vihāra), she granted it to the Damiḷa bhikkhu community. She also made over to them the village of Mahummāra. Then she built a home for bhikkhunīs called Silāmegha, and gave it to the (former) home for bhikkhunīs called Silāmegha. Villages which had been sold she redeemed, by giving the (necessary) money to the vihāra and granting the villages to the vihāra in question. Having had all the great trees on the Cetiya mountain clipped, the

1 P. lekhe. We have to do here with deeds of gift, so-called saṃnās, engraven on copperplates, occasionally on silver or gold, or written on palm leaves such as are still preserved in considerable numbers. H. C. P. Beke, Report on the Kīgalla-District, p. 91. This passage is probably the oldest confirmation of the custom.

2 In contradiction to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. alters the name into Kaṇṭakasam cetiyaṃ, apparently merely for the sake of getting hold of a familiar Pāli word (kaṇṭaka “thorn”).

3 Very doubtful. The MSS. are all corrupt. They read dāmīssadā, have thus a syllable too little. If my restoration dāmilassadā is right — it is at any rate nearer the MSS. than the gāmiṣsadā of the Col. Ed. — it would mean that also Damiḷas in Ceylon were Buddhists, but that the bhikkhus of this nationality formed a special group.

4 We must assume that the old convent of this name mentioned 48. 199, had fallen into decay. The Queen built a new convent, gave it the same name and granted it to the bhikkhunīs who lived in the former one, as their home.

5 That chedayīṭāna here means “after he had felled” is not plausible to me. But the clipping of the branches to facilitate the putting on of the flags and to enable them to be seen is quite intelligible. This makes the trees into votive “rag-trees”. For analogies s. R. Andrēk, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche (1878), p. 58 ff.; Manh·ardt, Wald- und Feldkulte (1904), I. p. 219 ff. and passim; v. Schrōber, Arische Religion (1916), II. p. 262.
King\(^1\) gave brightly coloured flags and streamers as offerings. In the domain of the Pucchārāma\(^2\) (-vihāra) he restored the pāsāda and for it he made out of the poor maintenance vil-

gage of Ussānaviśṭhi a rich one. The vihāra Giribhaṇḍa\(^3\) which had gone to rack and ruin he restored as it had been formerly, and granted maintenance villages to the bhikkhus dwelling there. In the Ambuyāna (-vihāra) he built the dwel-

ling house, Dappulapabbata\(^4\) and made it over, provided with the four necessaries to three hundred bhikkhus. Having built the beautiful monastery Nilagalla, he had a canal laid out which made fruitful much country and granted it (to the monastery). In the Arikāri-vihāra he renewed what was broken down and built (there) a house for the distribution of food by allotment, and a pāsāda which was formerly missing.

In Vāhadipa\(^5\) he built the Senaggabodhipabbata (-pāsāda) and in the three fraternities he, the deeply learned, had the sacred texts recited. To those among the bhikkhus who were engaged in the hardest studies\(^6\) he presented\(^7\) bronze alms-bowls and he left undone nothing of that which one calls a meritorious work. To widowed women of good family he gave ornaments and when they wanted food he handed them food

\(^1\) It is uncertain whether the works enumerated in 27-30 are to be ascribed to the Queen or the King. In 28 we have sā as subject, but in 31 so. I prefer to assume the King as author, the services of the Queen being usually devoted to the bhikkhunī.

\(^2\) The Col. Ed. changes the name, against the MSS., into Pubbārāma. See note to 50. 69.

\(^3\) Mhva. 34. 81 speaks of a great festivity instituted by King Mahādāthikamahānāga (66-78 A. D.) on the Cetiya mountain (Mihintale), which received the name Giribhaṇḍa-mahāpajā. This name is probably connected with that of the vihāra.

\(^4\) See below 50. 80 and above note to 49. 1.

\(^5\) See note to 48. 65.

\(^6\) P. suganthike from gantha, skr. grantha. Cf. ganthika-bhikkhu, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā ed. H. C. Norman, I. 156\(^3\). See Rhys Davids and Stede, PTS. P. D. s. v. ganthika. W.’s translation “compelled the priests to accept his offering of alms-bowls” is impossible. For that it would have to be bhikkhu instead of the genitive bhikkhunāy of the text.

\(^7\) Lit.: he let them receive (gahāpasi).
Mahinda III, Aggabodhi VIII

at night. To the cattle he gave young corn, to the crows 36 and other birds rice, and to the children grain with honey and syrup. Thus the King with his attendants performed 37 meritorious works, and after enjoying the earth, he had to leave it after five years.¹

Hereupon his son Mahinda by name became sovereign 38 of the Sihalas, a nobleman, equipped with excellence of every kind. Known all the earth round by the name of Dhammi- 39 kasilāmegha², he was a light of the true doctrine³, a banner of the doctrine⁴, to whom the true doctrine⁵ was the highest, and he performed without fail every work that followed the 40 right⁶ path and which had been done by former kings, but he avoided wrong. To allow of repairs being made at all 41 times on the Ratanapāsāda⁷ he granted it the Geṭṭhumba canal⁸. What was ruined he rebuilt, and performed (other) 42 meritorious works. After reigning for four years⁹ he went to his death.

Aggabodhi then raised the umbrella of dominion in the 43 capital, preparing unremittingly welfare and happiness for all creatures. He instituted a sacrificial festival for the relics, 44 worthy of all the virtues of the Master, and a great festival for the image of the Sambuddha set up by his grandfather.¹⁰ He, the Ruler of men, built the Udayaggabodhi-pariveṇa, 45

¹ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the same.
² In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the king is called Hāligāravil Iskābō Mihindu, in Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Sōmihindu.
³ Three times here the ambiguous word dhamma occurs in the text; for “wrong” adhamma. The compiler paraphrases the adjunct dharmīka in Mahinda’s biruda.
⁴ See note to 48. 135.
⁵ Whose waters could only be employed for tillage by payment of a tax, otherwise accruing to the king, to the inmates of the Ratanapāsāda.
⁶ Pūjāv. the same; Rājāv. 7 years.
⁷ Without doubt what is meant here is the golden statue mentioned 48. 137 as having been made by Mahinda II. This proves that Aggabodhi VIII., whose relationship to his predecessor is not mentioned in any of our sources, was a grandson of Mahinda II., a son of Udaya I. and brother of his predecessor Mahinda III.
choosing for it his father's name\textsuperscript{1} and his own. Further, he built the pariveṇa\textsuperscript{2} called Bhūta, furnished with (the needful) revenues and granted it to his own teacher and three hundred bhikkhus. To the Rājasāla-(vihāra)\textsuperscript{3} he granted the village of Cūlavāpiyaṇāma and two villages to the Kālūla and Mallavātā\textsuperscript{4} vihāras. On the Uposatha days he forbade the bringing in of fish, meat and intoxicating drinks into the centre of the town. When he had done reverence to the bhikkhus or the cetiyas, he used, when leaving, to clean his feet thoroughly, that no sand might be lost. All actions leading to Heaven and to delivrance, all those actions he performed with faith in the three (sacred) objects\textsuperscript{5}.

The King found pleasure in the serving of his mother day and night. He went to wait on her already early in the morning, rubbed her head with oil, perfumed the parts moist with sweat\textsuperscript{6}, cleaned her nails and bathed her carefully. He clad her himself in a new garment, pleasant to the touch, and the cast-off raiment he took and cleaned it himself. With the water therefrom he sprinkled his own head together with the diadem, and worshipped her perfectly with fragrant flowers as a cetiya. After making obeisance before her three times, and walking, with right side facing, round her and

\textsuperscript{1} The name Udaya. See note to 49. 1. The vihāra Udā-Agbō is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV. Wickremasinghe EZ. I. p. 216, 221, 227.

\textsuperscript{2} A Bhūtārāma is mentioned already under Kaniṭṭhatissa (223-241 A.D.). Here we have probably to do with a new building in this monastery.

\textsuperscript{3} According to my conjecture, Rājasālāya instead of rājā sālāya. The word sālā alone says too little.

\textsuperscript{4} Mallavātā-vihāra, built according to 48. 70, by Aggabodhi VII.

\textsuperscript{5} See note to 37. 214 and 41. 55.

\textsuperscript{6} W.'s translation "cleanse her body" is too general. The verb sabbatteti is used of rubbing in with some kind of perfumed substance. To the passages cited by RAYs DAVIDS and STREDE, I may add Dīghanik. II. 324\textsuperscript{14,16}; Vinaya ed. Oldenberg III. 329\textsuperscript{b}; Thūpavartsa ed. Col. p. 39\textsuperscript{11}; Mahāv. Tikā, ed. Col. p. 132\textsuperscript{a}. The word jallikā means "sweat drops" just as the more frequent rajojallā must be translated by "dirt and sweat". Cf. sedajallikā Sn. 198 (Rn. D. and Sr.).
giving her attendants raiment and the like to their heart’s content, he offered her delicious food with his own hand, partook himself of what she left and strewed thereof on his head. To her attendants he gave the best food such as was meant for the king, and when he had put in order her chamber, fragrant with sweet odours, he carefully prepared there with his own hand her couch, washed her feet, rubbed her gently with fragrant oil, sat by her rubbing her limbs and sought to make her sleep. Then with right side facing, he walked round her bed, did reverence three times in the right way, ordered slaves or servants as guard and without turning his back on her, went out. At a spot where she could no longer see him, he halted and three times again did reverence. Then happy at his action, and ever thinking of her, he went home. As long as she lived he served her in this way.

Once he addressed one of his slaves with the word “slave”; to make up to him for it, he let him use the same word towards himself. The wise (prince) made his mother offer his own person as a gift to the bhikkhu community, then paid down a sum equal to his own value and was thus again a free man. Thus holding meritorious works as the highest, he did good to the Island and went after (a reign of) eleven years to the world of the gods.

1 P. katvā niiddas upecca taṃ, a highly curious construction. niiddaṃ upecca would mean “after she had fallen asleep”. By the addition of katvā taṃ the causative meaning is given “after he had brought about that she fell asleep”. See Cūlava. ed., Introd. p. XV.

2 In the original this whole section from v. 55 to 61 forms one sentence. The fin. verb yāti is in the pres. to express continued repetition. All the preceding verbs are gerunds.

3 W.’s translation “it grieved him so that he himself sought to obtain his servant’s ‘forgiveness’” is too vague and overlooks the point, namely, that he permits his servant to call him by the same contemptuous epithet which he himself had used to him.

4 Pujāv. and Rājāv. have the same. In Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. the king is called Mādi-Akbō.
His younger brother Dappula\(^1\) now became king after his death. He kept closely to the conduct of the earlier kings.

At that time the sons of the ruler of Rohaṇa, Mahinda by name, driven out by their father, came to the King, their maternal uncle\(^2\). He beholding them and hearing their story, gave them a strong force and sent them away to fight with their father, concerned for the welfare of his kinsmen. But when the ruler of Rohaṇa, Mahinda, recognised the situation, he began on his part to make war on them with strong forces.

The twain had to retreat and after appointing a commander over the army, they returned to the King and abode there (in Anurādhapura) serving him. Their father was content therewith, but in combat with another kinsman he was slain and this kinsman too lost his life. Hereupon the King gave his sister's son Kittaggabodhi his daughter Devā to wife, gifted with all virtues. He (Kittaggabodhi) appointed (his brother) Dappula to the king's service and betook himself at the head of an army division to Rohaṇa. He became sovereign of Rohaṇa and favoured by every kind of good fortune, took up his abode there increasing in sons and daughters.

The King had the ruined temple of the Prince of Trees newly and durably built and gilded\(^3\). At the festival of his consecration he instituted a sacrificial feast which he so

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\(^1\) In accordance with the old Sinhalese law of inheritance three sons of Udaya I. reign one after the other. According to this law Dappula's legitimate successor would have been the son of his eldest brother Mahinda III. But cf. below 49. 84 and 50. 4.

\(^2\) Their father Mahinda according to 49. 10—12, was married to Devā the daughter of Udaya I., a sister of Dappula II. The quarrels in Rohaṇa about the succession described there, of the details of which we are ignorant, thus continue. It was the policy of the Sinhalese kings to exploit these to strengthen their position in Rohaṇa. Note the similarity of the events, as described in 49. 10 ff. and in 49. 66 ff., especially the repetition of the name Devā.

\(^3\) The construction of the sentence is not quite simple. W. translates it “the king rebuilt the old house of the Bodhi-tree, so that it may last, and ornamented it with works inlaid with gold”.
arranged that it was fully worthy of his own royal dignity and the perfection of the Master (Buddha). He rebuilt the ruined 76 pāsāda in the Hatthikucchi-vihāra, the Vāhadīpa monastery and the Lāvarāvapabbatā(-vihāra)\(^1\). For the vihāra called Jeta he 77 made a golden image of the Master and on its delivery to the Bodhi temple\(^2\) he held a sacrificial festival of unimaginable splendour. Every year he instituted in the Island a gift of 78 raiment. He enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall, and eager for the good of the refectory he dispensed as much (rice) as tallied 79 with the weight of his body\(^3\). Ruined buildings he restored, he kept to the conduct of former kings without neglecting anything. He had a discerning senāpati by name Vajira. This 80 (Vajira) built the Kacchavāla monastery for the Pamsukūlins. In the Thūparāma the King covered the temple of the thūpa 81 with golden bricks in the right way and put in doors of gold\(^4\). After the Ruler of men had thus reigned sixteen years\(^5\), he 82 went to that land whither all beings must go.

This King having gone to the world of the gods, Agga- 83 bodhi (by name) had the drums of dominion beaten the selfsame day\(^6\). His father (Dappula) to safeguard the succession 84

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\(^1\) Very doubtful, as all our MSS. are corrupt. For the first two names mentioned here, cf. 48. 65 with the notes.

\(^2\) We must assume that it was a figure seated in the attitude of meditation, and that it was placed at the foot of the Bodhi tree, just as the Buddha sitting under such a tree, received the highest enlightenment.

\(^3\) I am inclined now to assume that the words bhāttaggaś avalokīya in 78 belong to the following and not to the preceding.

\(^4\) Chādayi is here probably wrong, as also kārayi in the Col. Ed. It will perhaps be best to retain the reading of the MSS. pādayi (padeti = skr. pradā treated after the analogy of the causative, like kāreti).

\(^5\) So Pājav.; Rājav.: 12 years. According to Rājav. and Rājaratn. an incursion of the Damilas took place in this reign. They plundered Anurādhapura and carried away much valuable booty.

\(^6\) The original has tadā aḥū. This seems to give no sense, so in the edition (of the text) I have remarked at this passage: “we expect something like tadatrājo.” I am inclined now to think that we have here an etymological puerility, and that for the sake of the metre, tadāḥū has been split up into tadā aḥū.
for his sons, had not made his brother's son, Mahinda by name, āḍipāda. As the latter could not bring himself to show reverence to his younger kinsman, he fled in his confusion to the other coast. When he (the King) heard of their arrival he sent out a strong force gave them battle and seized their heads.

In the monastic fraternities he ordered everything that had to be done and throughout the Island he caused the prevention of evil action. The bhikkhus in the smaller vihāras used to receive rice gruel as medicine in the Mahāvihāra. When the King heard of it he was displeased; he granted (the small vihāras) the important village of Kaṇṭhapitṭhi, (the village of) Yāṭālagāma, (the village of) Telagāma and a well-filled canal and gave orders that the bhikkhus should receive their rice gruel in (their own) vihāra. After that they all received the gruel gratefully (in their vihāra). On the Island he had the drums beaten and summoned the beggars, distributing to them gold as much as they wanted, for three days.

Having performed these and other meritorious works, the King went after three years to behold the reward for his faith in the three (sacred) objects, driving, as it were, in a heavenly chariot to death.

1 Against the law of succession. See above note to v. 65.
2 Hence to southern India. The word refers to Mahinda's inner conflict. He sees no way of escape except by flight to the mainland.
3 The text at the beginning of the verse is surprising, since only one Mahinda was mentioned before. W. seeks to make the plural intelligible by supplemneting (v. 85) "with all his brethren". But that is not in the text. Besides, according to 50. 4, it is the succeeding king, Sena I. who kills Mahinda. I think we must assume a gap in our text. The missing part (perhaps only a single verse) dealt with friends and adherents of Mahinda who fought at first for his rights and were defeated by Aggabodhi.
4 What is meant are the smaller vihāras of Anurūdhapura in contrast to the three great nikāyas.
5 So Pujāv. In Rājāv. and Rājaratn. Aggabodhi IX. is not named. His successor Sena is also omitted. Nik.-s. calls him Pāsulu-Akbā.
Thus all corporeal beings are impermanent. Even the all-wise Buddhas are doomed to die. Hence a prudent man giving up (everything) that proceeds from the lust of being, will keep his thoughts fixed on nirvana.

Here ends the forty-ninth chapter, called The Five Kings, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 P. buddho vihāve bhareyya. Cf. skr. ḍhāḍh with ncc. or gen. "to direct the mind to something". In P. the loc. is used instead of the gen.
CHAPTER L

THE ONE KING

1 Hereupon his younger brother Sena\(^1\) raised the umbrella (of dominion) in the town, abounding in riches, who looked
2 on all creatures as on a dear son. He adhered to the con-
3 duct of former kings in accordance with tradition, and he per-
4 formed also pious actions before unheard of. Towards bhikkhus,
5 bhikkhunīs, his kinsfolk and (the other) islanders, towards
6 fishes, four-footed beasts and the birds he fulfilled every duty.
7 He had Mahinda who had betaken himself to the opposite
8 shore\(^3\), slain by agents. In such wise he cleared his path of
9 all who could dispute with him the royal dignity. He in-
10 stituted a great almsgiving for needy beggars, to bhikkhus
11 and brāhmaṇas (he dispensed) delicious food such as the king
12 receives. He had three younger brothers: Mahinda, Kassapa
13 and Udaya. Of these Mahinda was the Yuvarāja who, obedient
14 to him, served him in fitting manner. The Queen, Samghā
15 by name, was the queen-consort of the King.
16 Once when the King had betaken himself for pleasure to
17 a port on the sea, the Adipāda Udaya who had remained be-
18 hind in the town, took to wife the daughter of the wife of
19 his maternal uncle by name Nālā who was under the King's
20 protection\(^3\), and took her with him to Pulatthinagara. Without

\(^1\) Sena I. is called Matvaļasen in the Nik.-a.
\(^2\) See above 49. 85-86 with the notes.
\(^3\) P. rakkhatim is to be understood as pres. part. of the passive
rakkhati = skr. rakṣyate. The name Nālā is contained in that of the
monastery Nālārāma which according to the inscription of Mahakalattheva
(E. Müller AIC. nr. 110; p. 77, 112) the Grand Scribe Sena (cf. 52. 83)
built in honour of his mother and named after her. This Nālā however,
cannot well be as Wickremasinghe assumes (EZ. I. 154, n. 7), the daughter
of Mahinda of Rohaṇa and of Devā; since Devā was not the mātulāni,
but the pitucchā of Udaya.
being wroth with him the King made with him an inviolable treaty, sent the Mahādīpāda (Mahinda) to him, quieted him and brought him hither again. Thus the princes were again at one and lived sheltering the Order (of the Buddha) and the laity, in perfect peace.

Once later came the Pāṇḍu King with a great force from Jambudīpa and began to take possession of the Island. When the King heard thereof he sent a strong army against him, but owing to the discord among the high dignitaries, the prince, the Pāṇḍu king, found opportunity to get a firm footing; he laid waste the whole of Uttarādesa (the North Province) and occupied an armed camp in Mahātālātagāma. The many Damīḷas who dwelt (scattered) here and there, went over to his side. Thereby he gained great power. The great army which had gathered there (in Mahātālātagāma) began war with the King; the Pāṇḍu King went into the field riding on the back of his elephant. The Damīḷa army who beheld the face of its leader, was full of vigour and determination, and ready to lay down its life for him. But the Island army as its leaders were absent, was without zeal; it scattered in flight and fled in all directions. The great army of the Pāṇḍu King broke in at the same moment crushing in onset the people, like the hosts of Māra. When the King heard of the dispersion of his army, he took all his valuable property, left the town and turned towards Malaya. Thereupon the Yuvarāja, Mahinda, mounted his elephant; but when he saw in battle the flight of his army, he thought: “Alone it is impossible for me to kill all these; but death at the hands of these base people is not beautiful; therefore is death by my own hand to be preferred” and sitting on the back of his elephant, he cut his throat. When his men saw that, many of them like-

1 From the standpoint of the author: to Anurādhapura.
2 The Pāṇḍus or Pāṇḍiyas were a Dravidian people inhabiting the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula. Their capital was at first Korkai, later Madhurā. Cf. V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 385 ff. For the name of the Pāṇḍiya king who invaded Ceylon, cf. H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 52.
wise cut their throats and when the Da米兰a army beheld this it rejoiced with exceeding joy. When the 阿提伊达 Kassapa surveyed all that, just as it was, he mounted his favourite horse, armed, weapon in hand, and came alone as far as the Abhaya-vihārā. Even as a supaṇṇa when it catches a snake breaks through her watery abode, so he broke through this great army by storm. He forced the whole (army) to retreat and remained himself unscathed. His one horse looked as if it were a line of steeds. When he saw none following him he thought: “What would it avail if I alone (by my death) were to fulfil the wish of the foe? meanwhile I shall, if I remain in life, be able to fulfil my own wish. Therefore it is right if I retreat”. Therewith the great hero broke fearless through the great army and escaped to Kոուٔjvītā. The great army of the Paṇḍu King thereupon took the town. They showed the Yuvarāja’s head to the Paṇḍu King. When he saw it he had (the corpse) burned and gave orders for the observance at the pyre of all the ceremonies prescribed by the Paṇḍus for their kings.

The Paṇḍu King took away all valuables in the treasure house of the King and plundered what there was to plunder in vihāra and town. In the Ratanapāsāda the golden image of the Master (Buddha) the two jewels which had been set

1 Abhayagiri-vihāra. The pursuing enemy had thus already approached the northern gate of the town.
2 The words ogahitevā vidārayi belong to both objects mahāsenav and sālilīlaya. In W.’s translation the simile is not rightly grasped or at least blurred. For Kassapa’s breaking through the hostile army the expression o-gāh “to dive” has been chosen with reference to the simile. The Suṇaṇḍas are mythical birds griffinlike. They are considered the deadly enemies of the Nāgas. In this passage these are described as bhujjāṅgā, snake-like dwellers in the sea.
3 Lit.: preserved (or protected) himself well. Note in sugopayi the rarer association of su with a finite verb, as shortly before, in v. 4 satisodhesi.
4 W. has not understood the passage aright, nor I myself in my edition (but cf. the corrections and additions in vol. II). It deals with the golden image set up by Mahinda II (48. 185 ff.) in the Ratanapāsāda which he had built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. See also 51. 22 ff. We must therefore read Pāsāde Ratanas sabbasavaṇṇaṁ satthubimbakaṁ.
as eyes in the stone (image of the) Prince of Sages, likewise 35 the gold plates on the cetiya\(^1\) in the Thūpārāma, and the golden images here and there in the vihāras — all these he 36 took and made the Island of Laṅkā deprived of her valuables leaving the splendid town in a state as if it had been plundered by yakkhas\(^2\).

The King (Sena) had posted guards at various places along 37 the highway and in great alarm had taken up his abode at the confluence of the two rivers\(^3\). In order to make a treaty 38 with the Sihala ruler, the Paṇḍu King now sent dignitaries thither. When the Sihala sovereign saw them and heard 39 their message, he agreed to everything, bestowed favours on the ambassadors to their hearts' content, presented them with 40 a couple of elephants as well as with all his jewels and sent messengers to the Paṇḍu King, thinking of his own advantage. When the Paṇḍu King saw all this he was highly pleased, 41 handed over the capital on the same day to the messengers, evacuated the town and betook himself at once to the seaport. 42 There he embarked and returned to his country.

Thereupon the Ruler Silāmegha (Sena)\(^4\) entered the town, 43 brought the Island again to its former condition and lived in peace. His second brother\(^5\), the nobleman Udaya by name, 44

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\(^1\) Cf. on this 49. 140, as well as 49. 81.

\(^2\) By yakkha are meant the prehistoric inhabitants of Ceylon whom Vijaya found when he migrated to the island. They were believed to have magic powers, hence the word means superhuman, demoniacal beings generally. Ethnologists consider the Vādās as remnants of these aborigines. Cf. the monograph of A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yākṣas, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, Nr. 4. Washington 1928.

\(^3\) The mahāmaggas is probably the highway which led from Anurādhapura to Pulatthinagara and from here to Rohāpa. Mahāyādhikākāha gato above in v. 20 evidently gives merely the general direction in which Sena retreated. The “confluence of the two rivers” where he took up a waiting position must be the point of junction of the Mahaveligunga and Ambanganga where he commanded the two fords: Dastota (Sahastatittha) and Mahagantota (Kacchakatittha).

\(^4\) Silāmegha is the surname of Sena. Cf. note to 44. 83.

\(^5\) After Mahinda's death (v. 28) his brother Kassapa became heir to the throne. But as he was slain by the Paṇḍu King according to v. 46 the youngest brother of Sena I., Udaya by name, took up his position, but he died very soon so that the succession passed to Kassapa's eldest son.
he appointed mahādipāda and assigned him for his revenues 45 (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa. But he, after performing meritorious works as was meet, was seized after a short time with illness and fell into the jaws of death¹.

46 The Ādīpāda Kassapa while he sojourned in Pulatthinagara, was slain by the Paṇḍu King who had ordered it. 47 Now this Ādīpāda Kassapa by name, had four able sons endowed with the marks (of future) power. Of these the first was the prince Sena by name, a hero, a man of great energy, capable of bearing the burden of the royal dignity, an eminent man. To him the King assigned in accordance with the custom the dignity of mahādipāda and assigned him for his revenues Dakkhiṇadesa together with the (needful) troops.

50 The ruler of Rohaṇa, Kittaggabodhi, had four sons and 51 three attractive, charming daughters. His eldest son, the nobleman by name Mahinda, was murdered by his father’s sister who took the country with the royal treasure for herself. The three brothers enraged at the murder of their brother² took their three sisters and betook themselves to the 53 King (Sena). When the King who greatly loved them, in deepest pity³ beheld them, he brought them all up full of love in the best way possible as if they were royal princes⁴.

54 Then the Ruler of men sent the eldest of them, Kassapa by name, with forces: “Take possession of thy country, go!”

¹ According to the inscription mentioned above (note to 50.9) the marriage of Udāya with Nālā produced a son. He is there called Mahālā-Sen. That is the Sena of 52. 33, who under his cousin Kassapa IV., evidently at an advanced age, enjoyed the dignity of Mahālekha. But as according to v. 6, Kassapa was older than Udāya, his sons succeeded before those of Udāya.

² The MSS. point to the reading bhātugātike. But since the word refers to a female, S. and B. in conjunction with one MS. read -gātane. The MS. S 6 originally had this reading, but it is corrected to -gātike.

³ P. dayāmsukho. At the end of a compound mukha is used in the sense of padhāna.

⁴ Not as W. has it “as if they were the offspring of the gods.” The children of the house of Rohaṇa are treated as if they belonged to the family of the reigning king (deva).
set forth, slew her, brought the whole of Rohanā into his power and took up his abode there without mishap. Then 56 he fetched his two brothers Sena and Udaya, shared with them the country and dwelt with them. But King Sena 57 brought up the maidens in a most excellent way and when the three princesses were grown up, gifted and beautiful as divine nymphs, he gave the one called Sampārṇa to whom he 58 assigned the rank of queen1, to the Uparāja Sena to wife, with large revenues worthy2 of the royal dignity. The younger 59 brother of the Uparāja, Mahinda by name, was endowed with all virtues, practised in all sciences. To him the King gave 60 the two princesses, called Tissā and Kitti, with revenues which he deemed fitting. Thus the King showed favour to his kindred 61 according to (their) deserts. By favours such as almsgiving and the like he won the people for himself. Endowed with 62 the ten qualities of kings3, he enjoyed (while) performing meritorious works, the earth. For the Pāṇḍukūlla bhikkhus4 63 he built a monastery on the Arīṭṭha mountain5, erected as if by magic, and endowed it with large revenues. He granted 64 it also an equipment without flaw, worthy of a king, many helpers of the monastery and slaves as work people. In the 65 Jetavana-vihāra the Sovereign whose aspiration was directed to the Buddha step, erected6 a pāsāda of several storeys. After 66

1 It is possible to refer ṭhapetvā rājunīthāne to all three princesses. In 49. 3, we already had a case of the king granting the title of rājini to princesses in the same way as that of adīpāda to princes. Cf. further 54. 11, as also 60. 84.
2 The alteration of sarikkhakaṃ which all the MSS. have, into parikkhakaṃ is unnecessary. The skr. sadṛśa can also mean "suited to, worthy of". The context demands an adjectival attribute to mahābhogāṃ.
3 See note to 37. 107. 4 Cf. above note to 47. 66.
5 The Ritigala (see 44. 86 with note) is extremely rich in ruins. Cf. ASC. 1893 (= XXXVIII, 1904, p. 8 ff.). Then Plans and Plates for Annual Report 1893 (Colombo 1914). A. M. Hocart identifies the monastery built by Sena with the ruins of Banda Pokuna. See Memoirs ASC. I. 44.
6 A pun in the original on bhūmi in its three meanings of earth, platform or step and storey. Note the Mahāyānistic idea of striving after the attainment of future Buddhahood. It occurs here for the first time in the Mahāvamsa.
bringing thither the wholly golden image of the Victor (Buddha) that he had had made and having fixed large revenues for the pāsāda, he let bhikkhus take up their abode there. In the same vihāra he had the splendid pāsāda in the Mahāpariśena rebuilt, which had been destroyed by fire. In the Abhayuttara-vihāra he built the Viraṅkurārāma and granted it to the bhikkhus of the Mahāsāṅgha and of the Therā School. The Pubbārāma also furnished with the four necessaries, he built together with his royal consort Sāṅghā. Likewise together with her the discerning Monarch built in the Mahāvihāra, the dwelling-house Sāṅghāsene with large revenues. Having made of pure gold a reliquary for the hair relic he instituted a great sacrificial festival. The sublime (prince) dedicated to it the kingly dignity. To the Cetiya mountain he assigned the productive Kāṇavāpi tank, and to the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he had the three garments distributed. In Pulatthinagara he built at the Thusavāpi tank the Senagagabodhi shrine, endowed with villages and monastery helpers, and here

1 Thus I understand vaḍḍhētā. Cf. for the meaning Cūḷav. ed. II, Index of Words, s. v. vaḍḍheta.
2 Is mentioned in a Vessagiri inscription of King Dappula IV. (V.) Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 23 ff.
3 For the Mahāsāṅghikā who branched off from the Theravādins (Mhva. 5. 4-5), at the first Council, s. M. Walleher, Die Secten des alten Buddhismus, p. 24 ff.
4 If above in 49. 28, one reads with the Col. Ed. Pubbārūma instead of Pucchārāma, which however, is contrary to the MSS., then in our passage it is only a question of rebuilding the monastery. Cf. EZ. I. 188.
5 This is probably the SaṅgSEN-ARĀM mentioned in the inscription of Kassapa V. which was restored by this king together with the Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 41 ff.
6 The relic was brought to Ceylon by Silākāla. See Mhva. 39. 49 ff.
7 See note to 41. 29.
8 W. follows the reading vāpiyo of the Col. Ed. and translates accordingly: “with the help of the great tank Thusavāpi he built several smaller tanks ... and he also built” etc. In this case however, a ca in the second line of the verse would be indispensable.
beside this building, he built a large eating-hall where good food was distributed, as well as for all (the bhikkhus) an eating-hall in the Mahānettapabbata(-vihāra). He also had a 75 hall for the sick built in the west of the town and for the destitute he made an offering of rice soup with the solid food (belonging thereto). For the Pamsukulika-bhikkhus the sublime 76 (prince) built a separate kitchen and dutifully gave them permanent support. When he was (still) Mahādipāda he built 77 in the Kappūra-pariveṇa and in the Uttarālha(-pariveṇa) single cells which bore his name. Three times the wealthy 78 prince dispensed alms equal in weight to his body and yet other meritorious works of divers kinds were performed by the King. His royal consort, Samghā by name, had built 79 in the Uttara-vihāra a dwelling-house called Mahinda sena and let bhikkhus take up their abode there. The charming 80 Dappulapabbata-vihāra was begun in the time of the wise King Dappula by Mahādeva, and the Kassaparājaka(-vihāra) by the young prince called Kassapa — both these unfinished (buildings) the same king (Sena) completed. His Senāpati Bhadda built the parivena, called Bhaddasenāpati, endowed with slaves and revenues. The dignitary Uttara built in the Abhayuttara-vihāra the dwelling house, called Uttaraska, excellently provided with the (four) necessaries. In the same place Vajira (by name) built the dwelling house Vajirasenaka, and Rakkha (by name) built the dwelling-house, called Rakkhasa.

1 I supplement tasmiṃ yeva not with nāgare, as does W., but with āvase from 73 c to get the antithesis to sabbāsaṃ in 74 c. The first Mahāpāli hall belonged specially to the Senagabodhi house, the second was for general use.

2 Of the first we know from 45.29 that it belonged to the Abhayagiri-vihāra; the second parivena is mentioned again 51.75.

3 I. e. Abhayuttara-vihāra = Abhayagiri-vihāra.

4 Cf. with the verse the note to 49.1.

5 By Dārakassapa is probably meant the younger brother of the king whose death is announced in v. 46. W. takes it for the name of a minister. For Kassaparājaka s. note to 52.45.

6 Pun on the word uttara, occurring 4 times in the verse.
Thereupon after twenty years\(^1\) the King who had ever fixed his gaze on the highest, while sojourning in Pulatthinagara, pondering over the misdeeds of the Paṇḍu King, and in sense making way\(^2\) for the hero Sena, had to leave the Island and depart as a lamp (goes out) which the storm has quenched.

Riches are fleeting together with life, how much more so are even kindred and friends. Behold the King who forsaken fell into the terrible jaws of death.

Here ends the fiftieth chapter, called ‘The One King’, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^{1}\) So also Pujāv.

\(^{2}\) P. \textit{dadanto viya Senāsā nārassācasarāṃ}. He leaves to his successor the possibility and the opportunity to take vengeance on the Paṇḍus.
CHAPTER LI

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

After Sena had thus died the Mahâdipâda Sena by name 1 performed all that there was to do1 for him in pious manner, then with army and train he entered the town and was king over 2 the earth’s circle. Showing conduct like that of the kings of the first age of the world, pious, wealthy, heroic, generous, impartial, succouring the needy, equipped with large revenues, with army and train, he represented in his spotless fame and 4 his splendid ability, as it were, a union of the sun and the moon: richly gifted with unblemished qualities, practising every 5 kind of virtue, devoid of all sin, weary of the cycle of births, his gaze fixed on the highest. Sâmpghâ who was his consort, 6 he consecrated Mahesâ and gave her a dowry according to the custom. His younger brother, the able Mahinda by name, he 7 made uparâja, assigning him (the Southern Province) Dakhkâ- desa. As however, he had committed an offence in the wom-en’s apartments, he disappeared on being discovered by the King, and betook himself with wife and child unrecognised to Malaya.

At that time time the King’s consort Sâmpghâ bore him a 9 son who embodied2, as it were, in himself the princely form

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1 Namely the prescribed funeral ceremonies. Sena II. is called in Pûjâv., Râjâv., Râjaratâ and Nik.-s. Mugayin-Sen. In Pûjâv. he is erroneously called brother (sual) of his predecessor.

2 For Panâda or Mahâpanâda see note to 37. 62. It cannot be a question here of son of Panâda, as such does not otherwise occur, but of Panâda himself when he was prince. We must thus read kumâra-rûpaâ and this belongs to Panâdassa as well as to attano. For Mahâ-panâda as prince see Jâtaka IV, p. 323 ff. Surucel-Jâtaka.
of Panāda. When the King beheld the newly-born he was overjoyed, as Suddhodana over Siddhattha born in the Lumbini garden, (thinking): my son endowed with the qualities of power and virtue, is worthy of the royal dignity, not alone in this single island but in all Jambudīpa, and already on the day of name-giving he consecrated him uparāja in the most solemn manner and granted him (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa. The Yuvarāja (Mahinda) who was sojourning in Malaya, understood by prudent conduct to appease the sovereign, and with his brother’s consent, he came accompanied by the bhikkhus dwelling in the three fraternities, sought out the King, and made here at once an inviolable treaty with him.

The consort of the Yuvarāja, Tissā by name, the Queen, bore a daughter, named Saṃghā, and his other consort Kitti bore likewise four sons and a daughter. Then the King thought: under these circumstances my younger brother will be reliable for me, and he took careful counsel with his ministers and prudently married the beautiful daughter of the Yuvarāja, Saṃghā by name, to his own son Kassapa. Dakkhiṇadesa (the South Province) he granted in like manner to his younger brother, but to the Prince (Kassapa) he made over a special share of his own revenues and assigned him all the

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1 The son of Sena II. was Kassapa, later King Kassapa V. In an inscription of Anurādhapura he expressly says of himself: duṇa saṅghī me yusa-raj bisev-siri pāmāṇa “who at the same time that he was born (P. jāvita), received the consecration as yuvarāja”. WICKREMasinghe, EZ. I. 42 ff. As to the difference between the Cūlava. and the inscription regarding the title uparāja and yuvarāja see note to v. 16.

2 P. upāyena. W.: cunningly.

3 As the reconciliation between Sena and Mahinda has taken place the latter regains his rights as heir apparent, Dakkhiṇadesa (v. 19) being assigned him for the same reason. The more formal dignity of uparāja which is generally associated with that of yuvarāja, remained apparently with the son of King Sena.

4 P. evam sati: if he (the king) so acts as he intends, and as he acts subsequently, after holding counsel with his ministers: by kinship through marriage.
extraordinary revenues in the kingdom. But the administration of the whole island he looked after (himself), concerned for the welfare of the Island. In consequence of the living together of the twain (Kassapa and Samgha) who performed meritorious works, sons and daughters were born, endowed with the qualities of power and virtue.

Once when the Ruler with all pomp was holding high festival for the Tooth Relic, he ascended the splendid Ratana-pāsāda and when he beheld the pedestal of the golden Buddha empty whereon formerly the image stood, he asked why that was so. Thereupon his councillors replied: “Knowest thou not O Ruler! that in the time of the great King thy uncle, O Sovereign! the Pāṇḍu king came hither, ravaged this Island and departed with whatever belonged to the treasures of the Island?” When the King heard that, he was ashamed, as if he himself had suffered the defeat, and gave orders the selfsame day to his councillors to collect troops.

1 According to the reading of the Col. Ed. rajjasā pi sabdam tass’ eva paribhogaya daipayi one would have to translate: “also he assigned him the whole kingdom for the drawing of his income”. Rajja might mean that part of the Island that was later called Rājarāṭha and still later Patitiṭhāraṭha, but that would have been monstrous, since Sena would thereby have deprived himself of all rights and of nearly all his revenues. It would be difficult too to see how what is said in 19 could be distinguished from what is contained in v. 20 a b. The point here lies I believe, in the little word pari in paribhogas. It implies the idea of “more” of “acquisition” “addition to something” (Cf. BR., Wib. s. v. pari 2 a 8), thus paribhogas stands in contrast to the simple bhoga of the preceding line.

2 Without doubt the passage must be so translated, although the construction is not without difficulty. Cf. 50. 34 with the note.

3 The uncle of Sena II., his predecessor Sena I. is here described as “great father” (vahāpiṭā). The elder brothers of the father are thus described, the younger brothers being called “little father” (caḷapīṭā). See note to 63. 51.

4 The successful war of Sena II. against the Pāṇḍus is mentioned in several inscriptions. The King is called Sīri Sambav (so in the inscr. of Bilibeva, of Etaviragolleva and Elleveva, Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 39, 44 ff.; Bell, ASC., VIIth Progress Rep. = XIII. 1896, p. 45). The four Sinhalese sources also relate the victory over the Pāṇḍus and the regaining of the drum of victory and the jewelled goblet which they had captured.
Now at that time there arrived a son of the Pāṇḍu King who ill-treated by the king, had made the resolve to gain the kingship for himself. When the King (Sena) saw him he rejoiced greatly, treated him as was meet, betook himself then to the seaport Mahāṭīttha and while he sojourned there, collected a great force as well as all the appliances of war completely, like to a war-equipped army of the gods. Then the glorious (Prince) commanded his Senāpati together with the son of the Pāṇḍu King thus: "Arise, slay the Pāṇḍu King, bring hither all the jewels formerly carried away from here, transfer to him the royal dignity and come hither again at once". The Senāpati declared himself ready to do so, bade farewell to the Ruler, took the army and set sail on the spot. He came then to the opposite coast with his whole army and train and laying waste the neighbouring country, surrounded the town of Madhūrā. He blockaded the gates, cut off all traffic and set fire to towers, bastions and gates.

When thus the Sihala army had penetrated his town, pillaging the whole (town) and slaughtering the garrison, then the Pāṇḍu King at the news, collected his army, came on in haste and opened fight. But as his troops were not complete the Ruler who riding on the back of an elephant was himself wounded by a spear, left the town to its fate, took flight and lost his life at the place whither he had betaken himself. His consort who had come with him also found (her) death. Thereupon the Sihala army which had fearlessly entered the

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1. I. e. he fulfilled all the duties due to a guest of royal blood.
2. Now Mantai (Mantota) in the Mannar District.
3. P. anānaś is adverb.
4. S. gopuraṭṭālakottakake. According to the description of the plan of an Indian fortress given in Kauṭālya's Arthaśāstra, 2. 3. 21, gopura means a bastion-like structure above the gates, while attāla is a tower built on the wall. Cf. attālandāddāmaparikāhādīṇī DhCo. III. 48816 and pākāraparikāhāṭṭālakādāśī JāCo. VI. 34121, with which is meant the whole fortification of a town; also pākāro gopuraṭṭālako JāCo. VI. 4331. Deśaraṭṭāla also occurs in P. (Dīpava. 13. 21; 22. 10 and 19); JāCo. VI. 3002 distinguishes this last from antaraṭṭālaka. Thus deśaraṭṭāla is almost synonymous with gopura.
town, plundered it completely, as the gods the town of the asuras\(^1\). The Senāpati thereupon inspected the treasures in 40 the royal palace; and all the valuables which had been carried away from our island, as well as that found in the town and 41 in the country, he took for himself and carried on the administra- tion which he had seized. Hereupon he consecrated the son of 42 the Pāṇḍu King and transferred the country to him with cele- bration of the (customary) festivities. He took elephants and 43 horses and men also, as he pleased, and stayed here and there at his pleasure, from no side threatened. Then he betook 44 himself to the sea-coast, sojourned there so long as he chose, embarked with unruffled calm, as if for amusement, came to 45 Mahātīththa, greeted the Ruler respectfully, gave a report and showed him the treasures he had brought along. “Good”, 46 said the King, showed him favour and entered the capital with his joyful army. He held a victory banquet and cele- brated a festival of victory and instituted a great offering for beggars according to their hearts’ desire. He restored all 48 valuable property in the Island as it was heretofore, without partiality, and the golden images he set up in the places where they belonged. The empty pedestal (of the statue) of 49 the Master in the Ratanapāśāda he filled again\(^2\) and he made the country secure by setting up guards against every danger. From that time onward he made the Island hard to subdue 50 by the foe and made it increase in wealth like the land of the Uttarakurus\(^3\). Living beings on the Island who in the 51 time of the former king had been in distress, felt themselves delivered in that they came to peace as from heat into the shade of clouds.

\(^1\) The Indian epics speak of three towns of the asuras. They are built by the demon Maya of gold, silver and stone, in Heaven, in the firmament and on the earth. Śiva destroys them with fire and is therefore named tripurāghna, tripurādahana, tripurāhan etc. See BR. s.v. tripura; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 50.

\(^2\) By setting up the recaptured image.

\(^3\) A mythical people of sages and seers who live beyond the Himā- laya. Their country is often held to be the land of bliss. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 186.
In the twentieth year of his reign, in the Abhayuttara-vihāra the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus separated and formed special groups. The Yuvarāja Mahinda had built for the Prince of trees of the Master a beautiful, wonderful, graceful temple. The carpenters who were building the Bodhi house, noticed that a branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree by striking on a beam, threatened to break. They considered what should be done, and informed the Yuvarāja (of the matter). He came hither, reverenced (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering (and said): “If the Master is born for the salvation of all living beings, as one that accepts the priceless merit which lies in the building of the temple, then let the branch bend upwards so that it is possible to build the temple.” Having thus favorably influenced it and done it reverence he went home. Then the branch on the Prince of trees during the night bent upwards and all the workmen made it known to their master. The Yuvarāja was highly delighted, told his brother, the King, and reverenced (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering for which he spent much money. Having built the parivena called Mahindasena he made it over to the community together with

1 See note to 47. 66. Here we must keep strictly to the MSS. reading gaṇāhesuṃ (for which gaṇāhesuṃ in some MSS. is merely a frequently recurring inaccurate spelling). The alteration into gaṇāhesuṃ of the Col. Ed. is poor. Gaṇa means a group of persons closely associated for the pursuit of common aims, a corporation, here an independent branch of bhikkhus, a sect. Wilson, Dict. in Skr. and Eng., gives for gaṇa etc. also the meaning “a sect in philosophy or religion”. Cf. also gaṇassa sattha Sāmyutta L. 6624, 31.

2 See note to 38. 43.

3 For bhindantena cf. Cūlava. ed. I. p. XV.

4 Here we have a saccakiriyaṃ (Mhvs. trsl. p. 125, note 3) of which the formula is: as certainly as this or that is the case, so certainly will this or that occur. W. changes the subject between 1 and 2. In line 2 he takes “I” as subject: “and if by the building of this house... I shall gain merit.” That is impossible. In such a case ahena would not be absent. The idea is rather this: The building of the temple is an offering, a pājā which the Master — sattha remains the subject — shall graciously accept. In it there lies at the same time great merit, of course for the builder. Hence the work is described as paññā.
the (needful) revenues and accumulated still further merit. He 61 dispensed raiment, umbrellas, shoes which had come to himself, further rice for wayfaring (bhikkhus) and baths with cheer. After the mighty Prince had thus carried out all kinds 62 of works of inferior merit, he passed away in the thirty-third year of the King's reign in accordance with his doing.

He being dead, the King set his younger brother Udaya 63 in his place and assigned him all that had belonged to the other. With an offering equal to the weight of his body he 64 comforted the poor and the helpless and by a regulative act he, at the same time, reformed the three fraternities. He had 65 a thousand jars of gold filled with pearls and on the top of each he placed a costly jewel and presented (it) to a thousand 66 brähmapās whom he had fed with milk rice in pure jewelled goblets, as well as golden threads. He clothed them also, 67 as a friend of meritorious works, with new garments at their hearts' desire, and gladdened them with festive pomp. To the 68 bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he dispensed the three garments, and presented all the women with quite exquisite raiment. Having restored the Lohapāsāda so that it resembled 69 the Vejayanta palace he brought thither an image of the Buddha of closely jointed gold mosaic. When he heard that 70 the pāsāda had been an Uposatha house for all the great sages, he made it into a dwelling for the community with the wish that it should never stand empty. He assigned it maintenance villages, placed guards and ordered that thirty-two bhikkhus should dwell there. On the (Mahāvaluka-)gaṅgā he 72

1 Cf. with sapatiṣamābhattatvathavatthu the phrase savatthu paṭiṣamābhattatvam in 52. 14.
2 Vin. I. 292 has āgantukabhatta "rice food for newly arrived bhikkhus" and gamikabhatta beside guñānabhatta. These are the monks who are unable to live by pīṇḍapāta, that is the almsfood collected on the regular mendicant round.
3 The idea here is of the cotton thread which, according to brahmanical rite, the three highest castes wear over the shoulder. In this case these were evidently interwoven with gold thread.
4 See note to 48. 136.
5 See note to 50. 66.
6 P. suvanṇaghanakottimāṇi; cf. DhCo. iv. 185⁴; Mhvs. 30. 97.
had the Mañimekhaḷa dam built and on the Mañihira tank he 73 built an outlet for the water. At Katṭhantanaḷaṛa he dammed up the Kāṇavāpi⁴ (tank) and on the Cetiya mountain he built 74 a hospital. The Buddhagāma-vihāra, the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra³ and the Kuṭatissa-vihāra⁴ he enriched with a maintenance 75 village. To the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra⁵ he made over villages which belonged to himself and in the Uttarāḷha-parivena⁶ he 76 built a pāśāda. To the Mahāsenā⁷ Buddha he granted a vil- lage and gave it watchmen, in the Sobbha-vihāra he built an 77 image house. He brought figures of Bodhisattas into the Mañimekhaḷa-pāśāda and the ruined temple of the stone statue 78 of the Prince of Sages⁸ he restored. The King united there-

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¹ Here it is a case of restoring the dam, as the tank itself existed already at the time of Sena I. Cf. 50. 72.
² P. vaṭṭasalā, lit. hall of physicians. The sick there found medical assistance.
³ Now Alutnuvara on the right bank of the Mahaveligàṅga in the Bintenne district. Evidently an ancient place of worship, probably already in pre-Aryan times, if the tale related in Mhvs. 1. 14—43 rests on any kind of tradition. The thūpa in Alutnuvara is held to be the oldest in the Island. The Dutchman Spilberg saw it in the year 1602 in good condition, white as marble and crowned by a gilded pyramid (See Tennent, Ceylon II. 421). This was certainly not its original form. In Tennent's time it lay in a ruinous condition "a huge semicircular mound of brickwork three hundred and sixty feet in circumference, and still one hundred feet high, but so much decayed at the top, that its original outline is no longer ascertainable". Later the thūpa was apparently repaired in the usual way by a casing. When we visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa it lay again in ruins. The year before the southern half had been pulled down and the relic chamber also destroyed. What it contained in the way of votive gifts, as far as I saw these, belonged to more modern times.
⁴ Mentioned as Kuṭutisa-rad-mahevere in the pillar inscription of Mahinda IV. in Polonnaruva, Rāja-Māligāva, EZ. II. 50, the reading of the name is however, not quite certain.
⁵ For this see note to 46. 29.
⁶ See 50. 77.
⁷ This means most likely the Buddha image in the Mahāsenā-vihāra. For this cf. note to 48. 8.
⁸ See note to 38. 61.
with the Bodhisatta with the temple. Having dammed up ( anew) the irrigation trench of the Prince of trees he held a great festival. He had the whole of the Ratanasutta written down upon a golden plate and held for it a great sacrificial festival. He had the Abhidhamma recited. The image of Ananda he brought into the town, walked round it facing to the right and made the community of the bhikkhus recite the Paritta in the usual way. By sprinkling with the Paritta water the King charmed people against illness and so removed the danger of plague from his country. After receiving the consecration at the Hemaväluka- cetiya he decreed in writing that this action should be performed every year. On the four Uposatha days in the month he dispensed to four thousand (persons) a gift of garments and rice food to boot. The Vesākha festival he celebrated in common with the poor, giving them food and drink and clothing as they desired. For the

1 The passage is not clear. It seems to deal with the affiliation of the Mañimekhalapāsāda to the shrine of the Silūmayabuddha. It is curious that in v.77 Bodhisattas are mentioned, whereas in v.78 only one Bodhisatta is spoken of. According to an inscription in Jetavana the Miśimevulā-maha-pañhā was built by the grandfather of Mahinda IV. (EZ. I. 214).

2 Such a trench had already been dug by Mahānāga according to 41.94.

3 Sutta I in the Cullavagga of the Suttanipāta (v. 222 ff.) This Sutta exists also in "Sanskrit" in the Mahāvastu (ed. Sāmak I. 290 ff.).

4 Ananda was the Buddha’s favourite disciple and his constant companion. What portrait of him is meant, and where it used to be formerly we do not know.

5 W. translates: "and carried it in procession round about the city". But it is impossible to get this meaning out of katvā padakkhiṇaḥ.

6 See note to 46. 5.

7 The same as the Mahāthūpa (in Anurūdhapura), now Ruwanvāli Dāgoba.

8 Tradition places the parinibbāna of the Buddha on the day of full moon of Vesākha (April-May). See Mhvs. 3. 2; Fleet, J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 6 ff. The Vesākhpūjā is often mentioned in the Mhvs., thus 32. 35, 35. 100. It was a favourite day for specially solemn actions such as the crowning of King Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs. 11. 42), the laying of the foundation stone of the Mahāthūpa (Mhvs. 29. 1) etc.
bhikkhu community of the Island he instituted a permanent offering and the poor, travellers and beggars he comforted by gifts. The Mahêsë of the King, Saṃghā by name, built in the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) the building called Saṃghasena-pabbata\(^1\) together with the (necessary) revenues. She placed a dark blue jewel diadem on the stone image of the Prince of Sages and instituted at great cost a sacrificial festival for the Master (Buddha). His Senāpati, the hero Kuṭṭhaka\(^2\) by name, built the parivena called Senasanāpati with great revenues. Thus the glorious (prince) with his court performed many meritorious works and entered in the thirty-fifth year of his reign\(^3\) into the world of the gods.

Thereupon his next youngest brother, the nobleman Udaya\(^4\) by name, became king, concerned in every way for the wel-

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\(^1\) Different from the Saṃghasena-rāma named 50. 70 (see note here) which belonged to the Mahāvihāra. Cf. also note to 52. 46.

\(^2\) Here again inscriptions offer a valuable confirmation of our Chronicle. The Sena-virad Kuṭṭhā = Senāpati Kuṭṭhaka and the Sena-virad Pirivena = Senasanāpati-parivena are mentioned in the Rambeva inscription as well as in the Irippinniyeva inscription (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 164, 176). In my edition I have given the name of the Senāpati in the form Tuṭṭhaka, as all my MSS. read thus. Now however, I am more inclined to regard the difference as being due, less to varying tradition, than to a slip of the pen, as Ball has already done, ASC. VII th Progress Rep. 1891 = XIII. 1896 p. 59 n. 2. Cf. Errata et Corrigenda, Cūlava. ed. II. We may thus change Tuṭṭhakandamako into Kuṭṭhakandamako which is also the reading according to Wickremasinghe, of a MS. in the Indian Institute at Oxford.

\(^3\) Pūjāv. 35 years, also Rājāv.

\(^4\) Without doubt the inscriptions of Irippinniyeva and Rambeva (EZ. I. 163 ff., 172 ff.) belong to this king, Udaya II. (as I have, otherwise Udaya I.). In these the king calls himself Salamevan = Silāmeqha-vanana, which would not fit Kassapa IV., as his biruda was Sirisampagabodhi. The king in the Kirigalleva and Noccipotana inscriptions (EZ. II. 1 ff. 5 ff.) of the 2nd and 9th years of his reign has the same name. He is mentioned as a brother of Kassapa (IV.) in the Moragoda and the Timbiriveva inscriptions. See note to 52. 1. The Negama inscr. (EZ. II. 14 ff.) dates from the time before Udaya's (II.) ascent of the throne, as he still calls himself there Udā Mahāpā, i.e. Udaya Mahādīpāda. This Udā Mahāpā cannot be Udaya III. who reigned later (Udā
fare of the islanders. While himself king, he raised his 91 youngest brother Kassapa to the rank of Mahādīpāda. The 92 King considered that one should show favour to his kindred and gave his brother's son (likewise) called Kassapa, the 93 daughter of the Yuvarāja (Kassapa), Senā by name, to wife. The King himself took the other (daughter) called Tissā.

The son of the (former) Uparāja, Mahinda, and of the 94 princess Kittī, the Ādīpāda Kittaggabodhi, the deluded one, rebelled against the great King, escaped by night and came 95 alone in undiscovered disguise to Rohaṇa. He brought all the 96 people into his power, laid waste the whole province and had his maternal uncle who dwelt there murdered. When the Monarch heard this he was filled with rage and sought a means of bringing him hither. He summoned the son of his brother, 98 the Yuvarāja Kassapa, and spake to him thus: "Most excellent One, thou must be my helper". Said the other: "What 99 shall I do?" The Ruler replied: "Thy son, the powerful Mahinda, has become a man. He has from his father and 100 his mother a claim on the province of Rohaṇa. He is brave,

Mahāyāna, note to 53.13), because apart from palaeographical reasons, the reigning king in the Negama inscr. has the biruda Sirisangbo. This fits Sena II. whose Yuvarāja was Udaya II. at not Dappala IV. Silāmeuθavanaṅ the predecessor of Udaya III.

1 The Mahādīpāda or Yuvarāja Kassapa is the king who reigns later as Kassapa IV.; the son of Udaya's brother (Sena II.) is the later Kassapa V.

2 The brothers of Kittī, the mother of Kittaggabodhi, were according to 50. 50 ff. Kassapa, Sena and Udaya. It is the first of these probably who is meant here.

3 With the reading yuvarājassa which is accepted in the Col. Ed. nothing can be done. We must decide therefore for the reading yuvarājaṃ sa. Still the designation of the brother's son (bhūtuputta) of Udaya II. as Yuvarāja is curious. In the verse 93 not this Kassapa is called Yuvarāja, but on the contrary, the youngest brother of the King, who is likewise called Kassapa. Nevertheless according to the Sinhalese law of succession, the nephew Kassapa was heir to the throne after the brother, and probably for that reason he is here, in anticipation, called Yuvarāja.

4 On the father's side, because Mahinda's father Kassapa (later Kassapa V.) was the son of Samghā, the daughter of the Rohaṇa prince Kittaggabodhi, and on the mother's side because his mother, the younger Samghā, was a daughter of Tissā and thus granddaughter of the same Aggabodhi.
able, a hero, adroit, skilful in the management of the bow, warlike, discerning, prudent and experienced in statecraft. We will send him to bring the villain hither who slew his uncle.”

When Kassapa heard the King’s words he spake full of reverence: “O King, summoned by the King, I would myself go, how much more so my son. My line is safe and thy good graces, O Monarch; do therefore, that time be not lost, what thou desirest.” When the Ruler of men heard his words he rejoiced greatly, had a great force completely equipped and gave orders to the general Vajiragga to take the young prince Mahinda with great care under his protection. Having thereby made the town empty as it were, he gave the whole army and train with all the appliances of war to Mahinda.

The Ruler of men himself accompanied him on foot and enjoined him: “O excellent One, go hence and defend the kingdom.” Mahinda shone glorious as great Indra when he set forth at the head of the army of the gods for the great battle between gods and demons. He arose and speedily came to Guttasāla. All the inhabitants, the chiefs of districts, as well as those of the provinces who had been oppressed by the murderer of his uncle, came hither and joined him thinking:

our (lawful) lord has arrived. The rebel who was in Giri-

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1 The sense is: so long as I enjoy thy favour the continuance of my family is assured. Therefore I shall always fulfil thy desires.

2 A descendant of a Meküppar Vādārum Vijuragu is mentioned in the Buddhanehebela inscription. As this inscription (see Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 191 ff.) belongs in all probability to the time of Kassapa V., the Vijuragu named there may well be our Vajiragga. In the same inscription there is mention of a Viduragu and in the Moragoda inscription of Kassapa V. of a Vadurā in the same connection, possibly variants of the same name. Bell, ASC., VIIth Progress Rep. (= XIII. 1896), p. 60.

3 Punning comparison of the name Mahinda with Mahinda, Skr. Mahendra “the great Indra”.

4 Now Buttala in the Korale of the same name in the Badulla District, Province Uva. Guttasāla or -hāla is already mentioned at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The importance of Guttasāla was due to its lying on a main road which led from Mahāgāma to Mahiyāganā and from there along the Mahāvālukagāna to Pulattinagara. The older form for the name Buttala is Guttala. It occurs for instance, in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṇṇa (ed. W. Dhammaratana, 1889, p. 133).
maṇḍala, lost courage; he seized all valuable royal property and withdrew with elephants and steeds to Malaya. Mahinda’s army defeated his army at different places pursued it on foot, and when it caught sight of the elephants and the horses, seized them before Malaya, and convinced that he was there, entered Malaya, hewing down the whole wilderness of forest of Malaya and making rivers and tanks (look) like roads. When the fool saw the people (advance), he overcome by fury, flung all his treasures into rivers, bogs, chasms and the like and hid himself alone in the forest in a rock cave. People who sought him found the ruthless one and captured him. Full of joy the people took him with them, came with haste and showed him to Mahinda who had halted in Guttasāla. When the latter saw him he asked him laughing: “Well hast thou enjoyed Rohana?” and gave him in charge to Vajiragga the King’s general. He himself took the army and betook himself to Mahāgāma. He became ruler of Rohana, showing kindness to the people. He saw to it that the people who had been oppressed by the fool recovered, and he restored the Buddha Order which had been injured by him, to the place (befitting it). He laid out gardens of fruit and flowers at divers places, enclosed tanks and dammed up the Mahānadi. Everywhere he brought the four necessaries within reach of the (bhikkhu) community. By keeping down the evil-minded district chiefs and the chiefs of the provinces, and by rooting out the rebels and making (the country) free from briers, he made the whole people content, exercising generosity and giving himself up to enjoyment. As one who must be honoured by prudent men and served by those who wish for their own advantage, he was like to a wishing tree, a dispenser of blessings for all the needy. He

1 Corresponds perhaps to the modern Kandapalla-Korale embracing the hill country to the west of Buttalala, south of the Koslanda-Haldu-mulla road.
2 At that time the capital of Rohana. Cf. note to 45. 42.
3 Perhaps name of the Menik-ganga?
4 P. kapparukka = skr. kalparīkṣaṇ. For the Indian tales about heavenly trees which fulfil wishes and offer mankind all that it needs and desires, see Hopkins, Epic Mythology, 7.
abandoned the evil conduct practised by former rulers, and took
up his abode there, cherishing justice.

126 The General (Vajiragga) took the Ā vidé (Kittaggabodhi)
with him and betook himself to Anurádhapura and showed
127 him to the King. When the King saw him he was furious,
had him at once thrown into prison, appointed a secure guard
128 for him and ill-used him in all kinds of ways. Three times
he the glorious one gave an offering (of rice) equal to his
body weight and he had the thúpa in the Thúpráma covered
129 with golden plates. There too he built a pásáda and caused a
bhikkhu community to dwell there. In vihára and town he
130 restored what was ruined. On the Kadamba-river\(^1\) he provided
an overflow of water with a strong weir, and he enlarged
131 the dam of the Mayetti-tank. There too the Monarch built
an overflow of water and every year\(^2\) he had distributed
beautiful, specially fine stuffs for (the making of) the robes.
132 During a famine he had alms-halls built for all living beings
and instituted a great alms-giving; he also enlarged the Mahá-
133 páli(-hall). Amongst the inmates of the three fraternities
he had rice with sour milk distributed, as well as rice
continuously for the destitute and rice soup with solid food.
134 Having thus performed these and other meritorious works
which lead to Heaven, he entered after reigning eleven years\(^3\),
135 into the company of the gods. The gold that he had spent in
these eleven years was estimated at thirteen hundred thousand
(kahápañas).
136 Thus after these two Rulers of men had brought into their
power the one the formidable Pañdu King, the other Rohána
with its terrible wildernesses, they themselves fell into the
power of death.

Here ends the fifty-first chapter, called "The History of
the Two Kings", in the Mahávamsa, compiled for the serene
joy and emotion of the pious.

1 See note to 41. 61.
2 Anuvássana belongs to dápâyí, not to aká as W. has it.
3 The same number of years in Púja. In Rája, on the other hand,
40 years. Both sources, as well as Rájaratn. ascribe to King Udáya the
building of the Mahatumburupá-vihára in Rohána. Udáya II. is men-
tioned under the name of Udá Abhay in the Moragoda inscription
where he is credited with having subdued Rohána and Maláya. Bell,
ASC. VIIth Progress Rep. 1891 (= XIII. 1896), p. 60 ff. Wickremasinghe,
EZ. I. 200 ff. See also note to 51. 90.
CHAPTER LII

THE TWO KINGS

Thereupon Kassapa\(^1\) took over the government and as-1 signed to the discerning Yuvarāja called Kassapa\(^2\) (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa. The consecration as chief 2 queen\(^3\) he conferred on the daughter of the Yuvarāja, the princess Tissa who was his consort. For mendicant artists\(^4\) 3 who came from different regions the King dispensed permanently an offering which was called Dāṇḍissara.

The Ādipāda Mahinda who sojourned at that time in Rohaṇa, advanced with forces to seize the Royal Province\(^5\). At the tidings thereof the indignant King sent his own army against him, but Mahinda, a great warrior, defeated it in battle. Thereupon the King to prevail upon him to turn back, 6

\(^1\) Several inscriptions date from the time of Kassapa IV. as for instance, the Moragoda inscription just mentioned (note to 51. 134) where Kasub Sirisāṅgbo is described as brother (sohowr) of Udā Abhay (= Udaya II.) Also in the inscription of Timbiriveva (EZ. II. 9 ff.). In the inscription of the Kiribat-vehera (EZ. I. 153 ff.) the King calls himself merely Sirisāṅgbo, as also in the Mahakalatteva, Kongollewa and Inginimitiya inscriptions (E. Möller, AI. C. nr. 110, 112, 113), also in the Negama inscr. (EZ. II. 14 ff.), in that of Kukurumahandamana (ib. II. 21 ff.) as also in that of Alutveva which Wickremasinghe (ib. II. 280) ascribes for palaeographic reasons to Kassapa IV.

\(^2\) The son of Sena II. See note to 51. 98.

\(^3\) P. aggābhiseka means the same as abhiseka as aggamanesti.

\(^4\) Yācakānaṁ sippinsaṁ belong together, the first being in apposition to the last, on joins the sentence with the preceding one. Cf. 58. 30; 60. 22.

\(^5\) P. rājino raṭṭhaṁ. Here for the first time the name Rājarattha occurs in a less conventional form. It means in the sequel northern Ceylon with Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara as capitals as distinguished from Rohaṇa and from Dakkhiṇadesa, the province of the Yuvarāja.
7 sent forth his father, the Yuvarāja Kassapa. The latter be-
took himself to his son, made all kinds of prudent remon-
strances accompanied by various instructive tales, induced the
8 son to give up the fight and then returned. But later the
Ādipāda (Mahinda) had (several) chiefs of districts executed,
and when he saw that the people rose in rebellion, he approach-
ed the capital. The bhikkhu community brought him to
the King and presented him to him. The King gave him his
daughter to wife and sent him back to Rohaṇa.

10 When the King had expelled those bhikkhus in the three
fraternities whose discipline was bad, he let new bhikkhus
11 take up their abode here and there. Through his nephew
who was born of the twice consecrated queen he had
amid celebration of a sacrifice the soil about the Bodhi
12 Tree in the Mahāvihāra increased. In the three frater-
nities he put up three stone images, thereto boards of gold
13 with rays and umbrellas, as well as diadems jewels. Having
built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra a pāsāda with his name, he

1 P. sāmakā. The brother's son is called "son", just as the father's
brother is called "father". See note to 51. 24.
2 The title p. dvayābhīsekajāta or dvayābhīsekasayajāta (v. 37) is
applied to Kassapa (afterwards K. V.), the son of Sena II. by Samghā,
a daughter of Kittagabodhi (1) and of Devā. Kassapa V. has the same
title in the Sinhalese form dehiscejātā in an inscription of Anurādhapura
(Wickremasinghe EZ. I. 50, note 17), as well as in the Medirigiriya inscr.
(EZ. II. 30: dehiscehudd) and in that of Bilibeva (EZ. II. 41: dehiscecadd). According
to W. (Mhva. tral., p. 78, n. 11) the epithet dehisacjajā also oc-
curs in the signature to the Dampiyā-ātuvā-gātapādana.
3 The passage is certainly difficult, but the emendations of the Col.
Ed. are much too arbitrary. In the first place tiṣṭi bimbe silāmaje is
quite unobjectionable. We have in the same way Mhva. 41. 58 pitake
tiṣṭi. Even rassiphalaka needs no alteration. We have merely to rea-
In the case of bronze
statuettes, boards were fastened on which the rays emanating from the
Buddha (the mandorla) were painted. Suvamāye is more difficult to
place. It probably belongs to the following dvandva-compound and is
put in the plural because one is dealing here with two different ob-
jects... Perhaps one should read tathā rather than taddā.
4 Wickremasinghe (EZ. I. 216) identifies with this the Kasub-vad-mahapahā mentioned in an inscr. of Mahinda IV. in the Jetavanārāma.
made bhikkhus dwell there and assigned them a village. To 14 the cetiya in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra\(^1\) he granted a village; and to all the bhikkhus he distributed his own garments as they had come to him\(^2\). To all creatures on land and water 15 he granted safety and observed in all respects the conduct of the ancient kings. His Senāpati, Sena Ilaṅga, who was of 16 royal lineage, built for the bhikkhus of the Thera School a dwelling in the west of the Thūpārāma. For the Dhammarucika bhikkhus he founded the Dhammarāma and for the Sāgālikas\(^3\) the (monastery) called Kassapasena\(^4\). On the Cetiya 18 mountain he built the perivena called Hadayunha and made it over to the Dhammarucika bhikkhus. For grove-dwelling 19 bhikkhus\(^5\) the General built in the groves here a hut and there a hut and gave them to them. On the Rattamūla mountain 20 he built a pleasing, agreeable, charming hut and handed it over to the ascetics, the Masters of the Order\(^6\). In the 21 Mahāvihāra he had the splendid parivena called Samuddagiri built and made it over to the Pamsukūlika bhikkhus\(^7\). Having 22 made a dwelling in the wilderness\(^8\) called after his family, he granted it to the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra who dwelt in the forests. In ruined vihāras he had renovations undertaken 23 and to all bhikkhus he gave patches for their worn out gar-

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\(^1\) See note to 51. 74.

\(^2\) See 51. 61 with note.

\(^3\) The two sects are also mentioned together in 39. 41.

\(^4\) Mentioned as Kasub-senevirad-pirivena in the Bihāvā inscr. of Kassapa V. (EZ. II. 40).

\(^5\) The āraṇikā bhikkhavo must not be confounded with the monastery servants which are called āraṇikā (see note to 37. 63). The term coincides with āraṇānakā bhikkhavo or is at any rate closely allied to it. Cf. 52. 22 and 64.

\(^6\) P. sāsanassa sānikānaṁ reminds one of the honorific title vatihimiya occurring not infrequently in inscriptions. (cf. EZ. I. 38, l. 12; 48, l. 29 etc.) or bīk-sang-h. (EZ. I. 91, l. 13; 92, l. 17 etc.) or merely himiyā (EZ. I. 94, B, l. 1).

\(^7\) See note 47. 66.

\(^8\) By araṇāha is meant the taposana (see 53. 14 ff.), the forest district to the west of Anurūdhapura in which the group of the so-called Western Monasteries lies. On these ruins see A. M. HOCART, ASC. Mem. I. 18 ff.
ments. The Tissärāma¹ he built as a home for bhikkhunīs and entrusted these with the care of the sacred Bodhi Tree in the
Maricavaṭṭī(-vihāra). In Anurādhapura and also in Pulatthinagarā he had hospitals built for combating the upasagga disease². To the dwellings that he had built (for priests³) he granted maintenance villages and villages which were bound to provide helpers for the monastery⁴, and ornaments for the images. He built houses where medicine was to be had in different parts of the town and to the mothers of the Pamsukulika (-bhikkhus) he dispensed rice and clothing. Many quadrupeds were freed by the Senāpati from their captivity, and to the poor he had large offerings dispensed. Having brought together spices, rice, broth, and all kinds of solid nourishment, he distributed sugar to the bhikkhus in the form of pigs⁵. In performing these and other meritorious works Sena, the general of the army, illumined the land with the moonlight beams of his glory. A kinsman of his, the general Rukkha by name⁶, built in the village of Savāraka a very charming vihāra and handed it over to the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, laying down as the best (requisite) for the attainment of the degrees of salvation the strictest fulfilment of duty⁷. The Grand

¹ Mentioned in the Ayitigeveva inscription of Kassapa V. (EZ. II. 34).
² Cf. also 52. 77. What disease was meant by upasagga is impossible to determine. According to JOLLY, Medizin, p. 48, 87, the Skr. word upasarga means: “sequelaes” or “complication”. According to BR. it denotes “possession”. Perhaps upasagga is just any kind of epidemic, as “influenza” with us.
³ W. connects attanā katavāsānaṃ with the vejjasalā mentioned in the preceding verse and translates: “to these buildings”. That this is wrong is proved by the mention of the helpers of the monastery and of the images.
⁴ P. ārāmikagāne. See note to 37. 63.
⁵ It will be as well on the whole to keep to the reading of the MSS.: sākararupanā. Guṇa always means sugar kneaded into a shape. We have to do here with some kind of form (cf. our sugarloaf) which may have had very little likeness to a pig.
⁶ I see no reason for altering the traditional MS. rendering rukkasavhayaṃ into rakkhasavhayaṃ. Rukkha reminds one of the Skr. rukṣa meaning “rough”.
⁷ A difficult passage. I take sāra in a concrete sense, meaning “the essential, the highest”, here in the plural: the various stages on the
Scribe\textsuperscript{1}, Sena by name, built in the Mahāvihāra the Mahālekhaspabbata house, an excellent abode for the bhikkhus. A minister of the King called Coḷarāja, repaired the charming 34 pariveṇa that had been destroyed, so that it had again solidity. In the three fraternities the King (himself) had maṇḍapas 35 built, resembling Vejayanta, painted in different colours, in a fashion (rendered) charming by figure ornaments. And after he had instituted relic festivals to the delight of the people 36 he passed away in accordance with his deeds after a reign lasting seventeen years\textsuperscript{2}.

Hereupon the Yuvarāja, Kassapa\textsuperscript{3} born of the twice 37 consecrated queen\textsuperscript{4}, attained the royal consecration in the kingdom of Laṅkā to which he came in order of succession. He was pious, had reached the path of salvation, wise as one 38 who possesses supernatural powers\textsuperscript{5}, eloquent as the teacher

road to salvation. For the combination sārānam paṭipatti cf. paṭipatti-
sāro JaCo. I. 418\textsuperscript{7}. Sādhu “the good, the right, the best” is the predicative object of ūhapetvā. It was evidently Rukkha’s intention that the vihāra built by him should serve as a paṭhāṇagāra (note to 37. 232). W.’s translation is too general and vague. The word “daily” inserted by him is not in the text.

\textsuperscript{1} He is mentioned as Mahalā Sen (= Seno mahālekho) in the Mahakantakeva inscr. in which the building of the Nālārāma is ascribed to him. See note to 50. 9.

\textsuperscript{2} Pāñjāv. the same. Rājāv. does not mention Kassapa IV., the only Kassapa mentioned there is Kassapa V.

\textsuperscript{3} There is an excellently preserved inscription belonging to this king in Anurādhapura (Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 42 ff.) which confirms a number of statements made by the Mahāvamsa. The Medirigiriya and the Budannehela inscriptions of the same king are dated in the 3rd year of his reign, that of Ayyigeveva in the 5th year and that of Bilibeva in the 7th year (EZ. II. 27, 35, 39). In all inscriptions he has the name Abhā Salmonaevan = Abhaya Siḷāmeghanappu. For the literary work ascribed to king Kassapa V. cf. H. W. Codrington, H. C., p. 38.

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. note to 52. 11.

\textsuperscript{5} P. sādhana. The five abhīna are: 1) magic power, 2) the heavenly ear, 3) knowledge of the thoughts of others, 4) the memory of former births, 5) the heavenly eye. They are often described in the canonical works. (Cf. amongst others, SN. trsl. by Gethke, II. 165 ff.). HILKHE, Die buddhistische Versenkung, p. 26 ff.
of the gods (Bṛhaspati), generous as the dispenser of treasure
(Kubera), deeply learned, a preacher of the true doctrine,
practised in all the arts, adroit in proving what is right and
what is not right, versed in statecraft, immovable as the pillar
of a gate, standing firmly in the teaching of the Leader on
the path to deliverance, not to be shaken by all the storms of
other opinions, keeping himself free from all evil such as guile,
hypocrisy, pride, a mine of virtues as the ocean (is one) of
all jewels. The King who was a moon for the earth, granted
to the Ādīpāda Dappula, a scion of his house, the rank of
yuvarāja. Carrying on the government with the ten (royal)
virtues and with the five means of winning hearts, he pro-
tected the world as an only (son) of his own. He reformed
the whole Order of the Master by regulative acts, took in
young bhikkhus and thus provided for the filling of the
dwellings. The Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi,
which had been destroyed, he restored, adorned with various
dwellings, made it over at the celebration of a festival to the
bhikkhus sprung from the Thera School and granted them,
who were five hundred (in number), maintenance villages.
There the Ruler of Lanka revealed, as it were, to the world
that Master of the worlds Metteya who in the delectable Tu-
sita Heaven, at the head of the assembly of the gods, preaches

1 See below note to 58. 1.
2 P. ekam va attano, thus all the MSS. The Col. Ed. alters the text
arbitrarily into nattaṁ va attano. But the text gives perfectly good
sense, as a comparison with 54. 6 shows. Ekaṁ must be supplemented
by puttaṁ. See also notes to 37. 107 and 108.
3 The restoration of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra by Kassapa V. is also
mentioned in the inscription at Anurūdhapura (l. 6) cited above (note
to v. 37). Along with Mirisiviṭṭi Sangsen-aram and Kasubraj-vehera
are also mentioned there. The former was built, according to 51. 86, by the
mother of the King, the latter according to 50. 81, was finished by
Sena I. There is no contradiction between the Cūlavānṣa and the in-
scription. As the association with the Maricavaṭṭi shows, it was a case
of renovation with the latter. Wickremanayak also translates the verb
karay (ger.) by "(re)built".
4 Tesan is not as W. thinks (to five hundred of them) gen. part.,
but obj. to dāpayi and pañcasatānaḥ attrib. to tesan.
the glorious doctrine of the truth, in that he himself in the 48 perfectly equipped vihāra, sitting in a maṇḍapa decorated with all kinds of jewels, surrounded by all the bhikkhus¹ of the 49 town, recited the Abhidhamma with the grace of a Buddha. He had the Abhidhamma-piṭaka written on tablets of gold, the 50 book Dhammasaṅgaṇī, adorned with all kinds of jewels, and having built a splendid temple in the midst of the town he 51 placed the book in it and caused festival processions to be held for it. The position of Sakkasenāpati he granted to his own son² and 52 entrusted him with the care of this sacred book⁴. Every year 53 the King had the town festively decorated as the town of the gods, and surrounded by his decked-out army, resplendent as 54 the King of the gods in all his royal robes, riding on the back of his elephant, he marched through the streets of the town and brought with great pomp (that book containing) the 55 summary of the true doctrine to the vihāra built by himself, delectable, perfectly equipped. There, in the relic temple, 56 under a graceful jewel-studded maṇḍapa, he placed it on the relic cushion and held a sacrificial festival. He restored the 57 Ganthākara-parivena⁴ in the Mahāmeghavana, built a hospital in the town and assigned it villages. In the Abhayagiri(-vi- 58 hāra) he built the Bhāṇḍikā-parivena⁶ and the Silāmegha-

¹ I regard nāgarehi not as subst. with W., but as adjective attribute to bhikkhūhi. The ca joins nissinno with parivārito.
² See notes to 37. 225 and 44. 109. I believe that dhammasaṅgaṇī-
kanthā paṭhāma is in apposition to abhidhammapiṭakaṃ.
³ Unfortunately we do not learn the name of this son. It cannot however, be the Mahinda mentioned 51. 99 ff., as this M. was apparently a son of Saṃghā, not of Devā. (Cf. v. 64 and note to 54. 48.)
⁴ P. dharmaputtaṃ “a work belonging to the dhamma”, the collection of the sacred books.
⁵ The Ganthākara-vihāra is already mentioned in 37. 243 as the place of Buddhaghosa’s sojourn. It belonged to the Mahāvihāra which was situated in the grove called Mahāmeghavana. We must assume therefore, that akā in our verse is used in a double sense: “restored” and “built”, or we must translate Ganthākara-parivena by “a parivena belonging to the Ganthākara (vihāra)”.
⁶ Evidently called so in honour of his mother Saṃghā who has the name of Saṅg Bahīḍay in the Anurūḍhapura inscription (I. 8). EZ. I. 23, n. 6.
pabbata\(^1\) and granted them villages. In the vihāra of the
Jotivana the King, the Sovereign of Laṅkā, granted to the
eating-house a village, and the same to the one in the Abhayagiri\(^2\). To the vihāra called Dakkhiṇāgiri\(^3\) the King who was
filled with the deepest piety, granted out of gratitude a vil-
lage. The Sakkasenāpati\(^4\) had a graceful parivena that received
his name, built in a charming fashion and handed it over to-
together with villages to the adherents of the Thera School.

His wife Vajirā handed over to the same (bhikkhus) a pari-
veṇa bearing her name which she had built, together with a
village. Further she had a home built in Padalaṅchana\(^5\)
and granted it to the bhikkhus of the universally revered
Thera School. Devā, the mother of the Sakkasenāpati, built
for the bhikkhus who lived in the wilderness\(^6\) and who were
the light of the Thera stock, a dwelling which received her
name. Further she made for the image of the Master in the
Maricavaṭṭi a diadem jewel, a net of rays\(^7\), an umbrella and
a garment.

On the king’s demesne the King built a royal dwelling
named after himself, (and) the delightful pūśāda bearing the
name of Pālika\(^8\). Another consort of the King, called Rājini,
honoured the Hemamālika-cetiya by the dedication of a co-
vering of cloth\(^9\). She had a son by name Siddhattha who

\(^1\) Again confirmed by the Anurādhapura inscr., I. 13 (Salameyvan-
pavu). The word pabbata "mountain" often appears at the end of the
names of monastery buildings.

\(^2\) The vihāra of the Jotivana (see note to 37. 65) is again the Jeta-
vana-vihāra situated in the Jotivana. This is shown also by the com-
bination with the Abhayagiri.

\(^3\) See note to 38. 50, also 42. 27.

\(^4\) The son of the King according to v. 52. \(^5\) Cf. 54. 44.

\(^5\) P. draṅkākābhikkhūgam. See notes to 52. 19 and 22.

\(^6\) For cūḷāmāy and pāḍājāla see note to 38. 64.

\(^7\) The wording of the text makes it likely that v. 66 deals only with
one building. This was called, therefore, either Kassapapālika or ori-
ginally Kassapāvāsa and later, at the time of the author of the passage,
Pālikapāsāda.

\(^9\) See note to 44. 44. Hemamālika or Ratanavāluka (now Ruvanvāli)
is the name for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.
being placed over the government here\textsuperscript{1}, was known by the title of Malayarāja; he was beauteous as the God of Love. After his death the King built a splendid hall for the bhikkhus\textsuperscript{69} and instituted an offering of alms, transferring to him the merit\textsuperscript{2} thereof.

While thus the Sovereign of Laṅkā held sway in justice,\textsuperscript{70} the Paṇḍu King was vanquished in battle by the Coḷa King. To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The King, the 71 Ruler of Laṅkā, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasenāpati as leader of the troops and betook himself to Mahāśūttha. Standing at the edge of the coast he spake of the triumph of former kings and having thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasenāpati thereupon safely crossed\textsuperscript{74} the sea and reached the Paṇḍu country. When the Paṇḍu\textsuperscript{75} King saw the troops and him he spake full of cheer: “I will join all Jambudīpa under one umbrella”. The King took the two\textsuperscript{76} armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the King) of the Coḷa line, he gave up the fight and retired. The Sakkasenā-\textsuperscript{77}pati set forth once more, with the purpose of fighting further, made halt, and died of the upasagga plague\textsuperscript{3} to the undoing of the Paṇḍu (king). When the Ruler of Laṅkā heard that the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity he had the army brought back\textsuperscript{4}. He then granted the position\textsuperscript{79} of Sakkasenāpati to the son of the dead (man). He honoured

\textsuperscript{1} I. e. over the government of the Malaya province.
\textsuperscript{2} P. pattiṃ. For this term see note to 42. 50.
\textsuperscript{3} See note to 52. 25.
\textsuperscript{4} Therefore the campaign was unsuccessful. The Coḷaking who vanquished in battle the Pāṇḍya king, was no doubt Parāntaka I. who ascended the throne in A. D. 907. In the Udayēndiram plates he actually boasts of having defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha and of having routed an army of the king of Ceylon. This inscription is dated in the 15th year of Parāntaka's reign (\textsuperscript{=} 921-2). In another inscription of his 12th year, noticed by R. B. Vāmkayya, the king "refers incidentally to an invasion of the Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon". See Hultsch, \textit{JRAS.} 1918, p. 525 f.; H. W. Codrington, H. C. p. 38, 52.
80 the latter by making his son leader of the army. By the
inmates of the three fraternities he had a Paritta cere-
mon[y] observed in the town and thus ward[ed] off from
81 his people the danger of plague and bad harvest. Having
thus secured for the Order and for his people by all manner
of means peace, the King in the tenth year (of his reign) entered happily into Heaven.
82 Even as this ruler of kings, Kassapa, who so long as he
held sway in Laṅkā, was a reader of the Tipiṭaka, a light of
all knowledge, a ready speaker, a monarch among poets, a
shining light in presence of mind and determination, a teacher,
a saviour, gifted with wisdom, faith and pity, rejoicing in the
welfare of others, wise in knowledge of the world, loyal (to
his people) — even thus, rich in spotless virtue, should the
whole world be.

Here ends the fifty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings",
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

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1 W. translates the passage thus: "And then he gave the office of
Sakkasenāpati to his (the late general's) son, and made him the chief
of the army and brought him up in the father's name."
2 On paritta see note to 46. 5.
3 According to Pājāv. and Rājāv. (here only one Kassapa is named)
the king reigned six years. Both sources relate that under him the
Queen Sangā (Pājāv. calls her the mother of the King) enriched the
Lohamahāpiṇḍā by providing it with a crowning ornament.
CHAPTER LIII

THE FIVE KINGS

Thereupon the Yuvarāja by name Dappula\(^1\), became king. \(^1\) To the dignity of uparāja he appointed the Ādipāda of his own name. \(^2\) To the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra he granted a village. \(^2\) And then the King who in the town maintained the pious ways of former kings, unable on account of former deeds\(^3\) to enjoy this kingdom for a longer time, fell in the seventh month (of his reign) into the jaws of death.

The Uparāja Dappula\(^3\) then became king after him. He \(^4\) granted the position of yuvarāja to the Ādipāda Udaya. At

\(^1\) The nomination by Kasāpa V. of Dappula III. (otherwise D. IV.) as yuvarāja is related in 52. 42. Neither Pūjāv. nor Rājāv., nor any other Sinhalese source explains in what relationship he stood to his predecessor. Mhvs. 52. 42 says of him merely varṣe jātassa attano.

\(^2\) P. pabbakkammeva attano. What is meant are his actions in a former existence. His short reign is thus attributed to his unfavourable kamma. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give him a 7 months’ reign.

\(^3\) In Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Dappula IV. (V) is called Kuḍā-Dāpula to distinguish him from his predecessor. The three first call him brother (mañ) of the latter. The Vessagiri inscription (Wickr.Masinghe, EZ. I. 23 ff.) which must be placed palaeographically in the 10th cent. belongs to this King. He calls himself here Buddhas Abhay Salamevān Dāpulu, son of Buddhas Sirisanghbol Abahay and of Devā Rājna. The name Sirisanghabodhi can only apply to Senā II. or Kasāpa IV. The latter is ruled out since according to the Sinhalese right of succession, sons of Kasāpa IV. could not possibly come to the throne before Udaya III., the son of Mahinda, the younger brother of Sena II. Thus Dappula IV. (and of course his predecessor D. III.) was a brother of Kasāpa V., but by another mother (Devā) who is however not mentioned in the Mhvs. The Etaviragolleva inscription AIC. nr. 117; EZ. II. 44 ff.) might be attributed either to Kasāpa V. or to Dappula IV. The latter is the more likely, as Kasāpa V. has as a rule, the special
that time the Paṇḍu King through fear of the Coḷa (king) 6 left his country, took ship and came to Mahātīṭṭha. The King had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him, gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling 7 outside the town. When the King of Laṅkā had armed (with the purpose): "I will make war on the Coḷa King, take from him his two thrones\(^1\) and give them to the Paṇḍu King", the nobles dwelling on the Island for some reason or other stirred up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu King\(^2\). The Paṇḍu King thought his sojourn here was of no use to him. He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook 10 himself to the Keraḷas\(^3\). When the strife was ended the King granted a village near the town to the temple of the great 11 Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra. His Senāpati Rakkha Ilaṅga built a dwelling house not far from the Thūpārāma, that was 12 called after the King. The King kept to all that former kings had done and on reaching the twelfth year\(^4\) (of his reign) he passed away in accordance with his doing.

18 The Yuvarāja Udaya\(^5\) now became monarch over the dwellers in Laṅkā. He invested the Ādipāḍa Sena by name,

title de-bīrevā-dā (see notes to 52.11 and 37) which is not the case with the king Abhā Salamevan mentioned in that inscription. Further we have the Elleveva inscription of Dappula IV. (AIC. nr. 116) in which he calls himself Abhā Salamevan Dāpuḷu. Lastly, the Mahādipāḍa Udaya (afterwards U. III.) issued the Puliyanakulam inscription (EZ. II. 44 ff.) in the last (12th) year of the King's reign.

\(^1\) P. sayanaḍeṇaṛaṃ. Thus in all MSS. with which I am acquainted. The Col. Ed. alters the word arbitrarily into paṭṭanaḍeṇaṛaṃ.

\(^2\) Cf. with pāpakammeṇa Paṇḍuno the phrase pāpena Paṇḍuno 52. 77. The two passages cannot be separated from one another.

\(^3\) A people settled on the Malabar coast of southern India where Malayālam is now spoken. The fact that a Paṇḍu king left his crown in Ceylon is confirmed by a south Indian inscription of King Rājendra Coḷa who boasts of having brought it back (Hurzaum, JRAS. 1913 p. 522).

\(^4\) Pujaṅ. and Rājāṅ. also give Kuḍā Dāpuḷu a twelve years' reign. They tell of a victorious fight with the Damīḷas who came from the Soḷi land. Rājārātṛi. the same.

\(^5\) The Puliyanakulam inscription (EZ. I. 182 ff., cf. note to v. 4) belongs to the time just before his ascent of the throne. It is dated in the
with the dignity of uparāja. At that time officials of the 14 Court fled for fear of the King to the Grove of the Penitents. The King and the Uparāja went thither and had their heads cut off. Being indignant at this deed, the ascetics dwelling there left the King’s land and betook themselves to Rohaṇa. Thereupon the people in town and country and the troops became rebellious like the ocean stirred by wild storm. They climbed the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayuttara (vihāra), terrified the King by threats, struck off the heads of the officials who had helped the strife in the Penitent’s Grove and flung them out of the window. When the Yuvarāja and his friend, the Ādipāda, saw that, they sprang over the wall and fled in haste to Rohaṇa. A division of troops pursued them to the banks of the Kaṅha-nadi, but as they could get no boats
twelfth year of Dappula IV. Udaya III. (II.) still calls himself here Uḍā Mahayā, son of Mihind Mahayā and of Kiti. The title mahayā must actually be mahādipāda. Linguistically there are difficulties. According to the example of āpā = ādipāda, we should expect the p to be retained in the joint of the compound. In the Galpota inscription at Polonnaruva (C, I. 19; AIC, p. 99; EZ, II, p. 114) we have the combination āpā mahāpā which Wickremasinghe (EZ, I, 187, n. 7) has pointed out. We meet also repeatedly in inscriptions with the phrase āpā mahayā siri vindā (EZ, I, 25, 91, 221) for which curiously enough, ayipaya mahapaya siri vinda stands in the Jetavannāraṇa inscription of Mahinda IV. (1, 4, EZ, I, 284). From this it looks almost as if mahayā were a specially worn down form of mahādipāda or mahāpāda. As regards the parents of Uḍā Mahayā, there is no doubt that the father was Mahinda, a younger brother of Sena II. According to 51. 7 he enjoyed the dignity of uparāja, was therefore Mahādipāda, and he was married to Kittī or Kittā (50. 60). He quarreled with the King, was reconciled with him and bore from that time the title of Yuvarāja (for ex. 51. 15). But he never became king, since he died according to 51. 63 before Sena II. He remained therefore as the inscription says mahayā all his life.

1 P. tapovana. See note to 52. 22. 2 See note to 48. 135.
3 Lit. “by showing him a horror”. Cf. 53. 47.
4 The Yuvarāja is Sena (v. 13), his friend (v. 26) is Udaya, later King Udaya IV.
5 P. yāva Kaṅhanadītaṇu. The Kaṅhanadī seems to be the same as Kālanadī (86. 40, 44), the river forming the boundary of Rohaṇa.
21 and the two were already across, they returned. The princes who in the Penitents’ Grove had broken (the precept of) inviolability betook themselves to the ascetics, threw themselves 22 to the ground at their feet, with their damp garments and hair, wailed much, lamented and whined and sought to conciliate the penitents. Through the influence of the peaceability and benevolence of the Masters of the Order\(^1\) the good deeds 24 of the Island princes told in their favour\(^2\). When the army had calmed down, the inmates of the three fraternities 25 went to pacify\(^3\) the troops of the Yuvarāja. The two princes who were cultured and well-instructed people turned imploringly to the Pāṃsukūlin(-bhikkhus)\(^4\), and returned with 26 them to their town. At the head of the bhikkhus\(^5\) the King advanced towards them, obtained their pardon, took them with him, brought them back to their grove and betook him- 27 self to the royal palace. From that time onwards the King observed the conduct of former kings and passed away in the third year\(^6\) (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds.

The princes were pursued up to this point. When they arrived in Rohaṇa their garments and hair were still damp from crossing that river (v. 22).

\(^1\) P. sāsanasāmināy. The word sāmin as title of honour of the bhikkhus corresponds to the hīmiyā so often used in inscriptions. Cf. also mahāsāmin 86. 38; 89. 64. See 52. 20 with note.

\(^2\) P. puṣāmiyāyu ahu. Cf. with this note to 37. 189. W.’s translation “the great kindness and long-suffering of these lords of religion moved the king towards the two offenders” is something quite different to what stands in the Text.

\(^3\) The alteration of the Text by the Col. Ed. into te saṃānetuṣṭā is quite unnecessary. The reading of the MSS. tosam ānetuṣṭā gives excellent sense.

\(^4\) The Ascetics are meant who had left the Penitents’ Grove and gone to Rohaṇa. As the King was implicated in the wrong that had been committed in the Penitents’ Grove, he had also to get their pardon (v. 26).

\(^5\) That is of those inmates of the three fraternities who were working for conciliation. At their head the king advances towards the ascetics coming from Rohaṇa in company of the princes.

\(^6\) Pūjāv. 3 years; Rājāv. 8 years.
After receiving consecration as king in Laṅkā, the discerning Sena made his friend, the Ādipāda Udaya, yuvarāja. A thousand kahāpanas the Ruler of men was wont to give 29 away to the poor on the Uposatha day, being all his life long one who kept the Uposatha vow. To the bhikkhus the 30 Ruler gave food and raiment for the images and to mendicant artists the Danjissara offering. Having had built in 31 various places for the bhikkhus graceful pāsadas, the Ruler granted them maintenance villages. At a cost of a thousand 32 or five hundred kahāpanas he had ruined dwellings in Laṅkā restored. Forty thousand kahāpanas did the Ruler lay out 33 for a stone paving of the Abhayuttara-cetiya. On the great 34 tanks in Laṅkā he had the decayed outflow canals renewed and the dams made firm with stones and earth. In the royal 35 palace he built a beautiful, costly house for flowers and he retained in full the almsgiving instituted by former kings. Once when visiting the Nāgasāla-parivena built by the Ma-layarāja, the minister Aggabodhi, he granted it a village. In 37 the four vihāras he set up in pious fashion sculptured figures, built beautiful maṇḍapas and held constantly sacrificial festivals for the relics. After performing these and even many 38 other meritorious works of divers kind, he passed away in the ninth year (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds.

Hereupon the Yuvarāja Udaya received the consecration 39 as King in Laṅkā and ordained as uparāja the Ādipāda Sena

1 He was according to Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratna., the brother of his predecessor.
2 So I understand the compound paṭimābhattavatthānu. This would mean that a certain cult was accorded the images whereby food was placed before them and garments swathed about them.
3 Cf. note to 52. 3; 60. 22.
4 P. silāpattharaṇatthāya. It probably means the paving of the square terrace on which the thūpa stands.
5 Probably the four large monasteries Mahāvihāra, Jetavana, Abhayagiri with the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.
6 Pūjāv.: 9 years, Rājāv.: 3 years (mistake for Sena IV. see note to 54. 1).
7 None of our sources contain any information as so the relationship
by name. The King was slothful and a friend of spirituous
drinks to the undoing of his subjects. The Cōla (king) hear-
ing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to
achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍu kingdom, he sent
(messengers) about the diadem and the other (things) which
the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Laṅkā). The King did
not give them up, so the mighty Cōla equipped an army and
sent it forth to fetch them by force. Now at that time the
Senāpati here was absent in a rebellious border province.
The King had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the
war. The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the
fight. Thereupon the King (Udaya) took the crown and the
rest and betook himself to Rōhaṇa. The Cōla troops marched
thither, but finding no way of entering Rōhaṇa they turned
and betook themselves through fear from here to their own
country. Thereupon the Ruler of Laṅkā appointed the general
Viduragga, a man of great energy and discernment, to the
position of the Senāpati. The Senāpati laid waste the border-
land of the Cōla King and forced him with threats to restore

of Udaya IV. (III. in W.'s list) to his predecessor. WickremaSinghe
(EZ. II. 59, Genealogical Tables) supposes him to have been a younger
brother of Udaya III. (II.) and of Sena III. This makes it possible for
him to insert Mahinda IV. in the genealogical tree. (See note to 54. 46).
1 P. pāpēṇa juntunāṇa. Cf. 52. 77 and 53. 8 with note.
2 See 53. 8.

3 I. e. in Ceylon, of course, or, as in v. 45 and 47, from Ceylon.
4 It is inexplicable why W. should have added to rājā so the words
(of Cōla). What could the Cōla King then have done in Rōhaṇa? On the
other hand Rōhaṇa has forever been the refuge of the Sinhalese kings
after being worsted in fight with the Dāmilas. The meaning of the
passage is accordingly (as Hatzsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 525 rightly saw):
the Cōla King wins the battle, it is true, but King Udaya flees with
the valuables which the former wants to get back — makuṭādīni in v. 44
must be the same as makuṭādīnaṇya in v. 41 — to Rōhaṇa. The Cōla
troops pursue him, but as they cannot penetrate into Rōhaṇa, they are
obliged to return empty-handed. The Cōla King therefore, did not
get hold of the Crown jewels. Hatzsch supposes the Cōla King might
have been Parāntaka I. who calls himself in his latest inscription
5 For the name Viduragga or Vējuragga see note to 51. 105.
6 See note to 53. 17.
7 P. ānāpesi: lit. "he had brought hither".
all that he had carried away from here (as booty). Thereupon 48
the King had distributed to all the Pamsukulika-bhikkhus
dwelling on the Island articles of equipment in costly fashion.
For the image of the Master in the Mahavihara the Monarch 49
of Lankā fashioned a diadem of jewels which sparkled with
the rays of precious stones. One of the ladies of the harem, 50
Vidura, honoured his stone image with a network of rays¹
which glittered with jewels. When he had begun to rebuild 51
the so-called Manipśāda which the troops of the Coḷa King
had burned down, he died in the eighth year (of his reign)².

These five rulers of the earth who ruled over an earth united 52
under one umbrella and who had governed the whole world
with severity and clemency, (they all) with wives and chil-
dren, ministers, women and henchmen fell into the power of
death. Hence should the wise ever be minded to give up
sloth and pride.

Here ends the fifty-third chapter, called "The Five Kings",
in the Mahāvarṣa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

¹ For pāḍajāla (mandorla) see note to 36.64, as well as 52.65.
² Pājāv.: 8 years, Rājāv.: 8 years. But cf. note to 54.6.
CHAPTER LIV

THE THREE KINGS

1 When thereupon Sena \(^1\) had by inheritance attained consecration as king in Landā he made over the dignity of yu-2 varāja to the Ādipāda Mahinda \(^2\). The King was wise, an excellent poet, learned, impartial towards friend and foe, ever 3 full of pity and goodwill. Without letting the right season pass, the god at that time sent showers of rain streaming in the right way, the people who dwelt in the land were ever 4 happy and without fear. The King was wont sitting in the Lohapāsaṇā, surrounded by the inmates of the three frater-5 nities, to explain the Suttantas. He fashioned a casket for the Tooth Relic ornamented with various precious stones and

\(^1\) In the Sinhalese sources the order of the kings after Dappula IV. (V) = Kuṇā Dāpula is as follows:

Sen (9) Sen (3) Sen Sen  
Udā (8) Udā (3) Udā Udā  
Sen (9) Sen (9) Sen Pāsuļu-Sen  
Sen (3) Sen (3) Sen Mādi-Sen

Mhvs. Udaya (2—3), Sena (8—9), Udaya (7—8), Sena (3). The figures in brackets denote the number of years reigned. The main difference is that the Sinhalese sources insert two Senas after Udaya IV. (III.) and before Mahinda IV. (see note to 54. 7) whereas Mhvs. has only one. We shall probably have to keep to the older source. It should be noted that Pājāv. and Rājāv. call the last Sena of the above list the son of his predecessor.

\(^2\) Wickremasinghe considers this Mahinda to be the later Mahinda IV., a younger brother of Sena IV., because in an inscription in the Jetavanārāma (EZ. I. 214) Mahinda IV. says of the Huligam-piriven, that his brother, the Great King, had begun it while he himself had finished it. This parivena might be the one mentioned in v. 6. But cf. note to 54. 7.
in the four vihāras\(^1\) he instituted, in divers ways, sacrificial festivals for the relics. After turning Sīthāgāma where he 6 had himself dwelt, into a parivēṇa and after protecting the world like a son he entered into Heaven after a three years' reign.

The Yuvarāja Mahinda\(^2\) became king after him, rich in 7 merit, rich in splendour, rich in military power, rich in fame. He united Laṅkā under one umbrella after overcoming the 8 peril (threatened) by rebels. The chiefs of districts always upheld him. Although there was also in Laṅkā a race of 9 nobles\(^3\), the Ruler of men had a princess of the line of the ruler of Kāliṅga fetched and made her his first mahēsī. Of 10

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\(^1\) See note to 53. 87.

\(^2\) P. Goldschmidt, E. Mūller and Wickremasinge ascribe to King Mahinda IV. a series of inscriptions in which the author calls himself Sīrisangboī-Abahay (Sīrisangphabodhi Abhayya). These are: 1) a slab inscription in Vessagiri (EZ. I. 29); 2) the two well-known inscriptions halfway up the Mihintale mountain (EZ. I. 76); 3) the pillar inscription of Rāja-maligāva in Polonnaruva (EZ. II. 49); 4) two slab inscriptions in the Jetavanārāma (EZ. I. 218); 5) a slab inscription in Vevelketiya (EZ. I. 241), with a parallel inscription in Kahata-gadaligiliya, Bell ASC., 7th Prog. Rep. 1891 = XIII. 1896, p. 51; 6) a slab inscription in Rambetta (EZ. II. 64). In addition there in 7) the pillar inscription of Mayingastota in which the author merely calls himself āpa Mihindu, that is Ādipāda, not king. No. 1 is the most certain because the author in addition to his biruda SSB. calls himself Mihindu, and because in it the Senāpati Sema is mentioned with an allusion to the successful campaign against the Damiḷas, which is mentioned in Mhva. 54. 12. For the rest there are certain difficulties. The author of inscrs. 2 and 3 names as his parents Sālamevān (Silāmeghavānna) — which fits Kassapa V. father of Mahinda IV. — and Dev Gon. Inscr. 7 however, speaks of these as Sālamevān and Sāng Gon. Again they are called in inscrs. 4 and 6 Sīrisangbo and Dev Gon. In nr. 5 the father is likewise called Sīrisangbo while no mother is mentioned. Wickremasinge (EZ. I. 213) explains the difference in the father's name by assuming that Kassapa V. used both birudas SSB. and SMV., a way out of the difficulty which I adopt very unwillingly, being more inclined to believe in a regular alternation of the two epithets. The difficulty with Dev Gon and Sāng Gon has not been got rid of. Cf. below note to 54. 48.

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\(^3\) Vijjamāne must be supplemented by venūse from pūda d.
11 her were born two sons and a charming daughter. He made his sons ādipādas and his daughter a queen: thus the Ruler founded the royal house of the Sīhalas.

12 The Vallabha King\(^1\) sent a force to Nāgadipa to subdue this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the King sent thither the Senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha King. The Senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) King, defeated them and remained master of the battlefield. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our King, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Laṅkā. In this way the fame of the King penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Laṅkā and crossing the Ocean.

17 The priests who preached the true doctrine the King treated with the most marked distinction. He hearkened to the doctrine and believed in the Order of the Buddha. The King assembled the Pāmśukūlin bhikkhus, invited them in a friendly manner and had them brought into his house. He had seats prepared for them, made them sit down and had pure\(^2\) food abundantly set before them, and this always as on the one day\(^3\). To the ascetics living in the wilderness\(^4\) the King sent continually food pure, costly and abundant, with all kinds of seasoning. To sick ascetics the King who was a fount of pity, sent physicians and sought continually to heal them. Pieces of sugar baked in melted butter, juice of garlic, and betel as sweet odour for the mouth, he gave them always as dessert. He had the alms-bowls of the Pāmśukūlika bhikkhus filled with garlic, black pepper\(^5\), long pepper\(^6\) and ginger,

\(^1\) For Vallabha, which is not a personal name as W. thinks, see note 47. 15. On Sena’s campaign see note to v. 7.

\(^2\) P. suddha pure in a ritual sense. What is meant are foods of which ascetics may also eat.

\(^3\) W.”s translation: “thus did he always, as if it seemed to him the work of one day” is certainly wrong.

\(^4\) See notes to 41. 99, 52. 22, 53. 14.

\(^5\) P. marica, Piper nigrum.

\(^6\) P. pippalā, Piper longum.
sugar and the three kinds of myrobalans\(^1\) and to every single 24 (bhikkhu) he distributed continually melted butter, oil and honey, as also cloaks and blankets\(^2\). All necessaries such as 25 clothing and the like the Ruler had made and distributed among the Parṣukūlin bhikkhus. In the Mahāvihāra the King 26 had new cloth to make robes therewith provided for every single bhikkhu. To the Lābhavāsin bhikkhus\(^3\) dwelling in 27 the three fraternities the Ruler twice dispensed (rice) equal in weight to that of his body. The decree “Kings shall in 28 future take no revenues for themselves out of the revenues of the Order” the King had engraved in stone and set (the stone) up\(^4\). He made poor people recite the formula of the 29 (threesome) refuge\(^5\) and the nine qualities\(^6\) of the Buddha and then gave them food and clothing. He built an alms-hall on 30 the grounds of the Elephant House and gave to beggars alms and couches. In all the hospitals he distributed medicine and 31 beds, and he had food given regularly to criminals in prison. To apes, the wild boar, the gazelle and to dogs he, a fount 32 of pity, had rice and cakes distributed as much as they would. In the four vihāras the King had raw rice laid down in heaps 33 with the injunction that the poor should take of it as much as they wanted. While holding various sacrificial festivals 34 and while instituting a great feast he had the Vinaya recited by learned bhikkhus. Having made presents to him he 35

\(^1\) P. *tiphala* = skr. *triphala*, the fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*, *Terminalia bellerica* and *Phyllanthus emblica* (P. *haritaka*, *vidhitaka*, *āmalaka*).

\(^2\) P. *pāpurattaraṇānī* is an abbreviation of *pāpurāṇa-attharaṇāṇī*.

\(^3\) It is clear from 60. 68, 72, that the Lābhavāsins like the Parṣukūlins formed a group of ascetics within the great community.

\(^4\) It is of course, impossible to determine to what inscription of the King this alludes. The Mihintale plates as far as I can see, have no injunction identical with the above.

\(^5\) P. *saraṇānī*. What is meant is the formula *buddhāṃ saraṇāṃ gacchām, dharmam s. g., saṃgham s. g.* which is usually repeated three times.

\(^6\) P. *gāye nava*. Cf. on the navagāna formula *tī pi so bhagavā* etc. CHILDERS, PD. s. v.
had a commentary to the Abhidhamma written by the Thera Dhammamitta¹ who dwelt in the Sitthagāma(-pariveṇa)². By the Thera called Dāhānāga, dwelling in the wilderness, an ornament of Laikā, he had the Abhidhamma recited. He paid honour to the Hemamālika-cetiya by the gift of a covering of stuff, by dance and song, by parfumes and flowers of divers kinds, by garlands of lamps and incense of many kinds, and he presented the bhikkhus there with raiment which he himself distributed among them. Continually from the gardens³ here and there in his kingdom he had flowers brought and paid honour therewith to the three Jewels. He began to build the pāśāda called Candana in the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra) and granted the bhikkhus maintenance villages. There the Ruler had the Hair Relic preserved, had fashioned (for it) a reliquary of jewels and (this) set up as a dedicatory gift. The Ruler had the cetiya in the Thūpārāma covered with stripes of gold and silver and instituted for it a sacrificial festival in accordance with his royal dignity. In the relic temple there the King had a golden door put up like to Mount Sineru⁴ gleaming in the beams of the sun. He restored the beautiful temple of the four cetiyas in Padalaṅchana⁵ which had been burnt down by the troops of the Cōla King. (In like manner) he restored the burnt temple of the Tooth Relic⁶ in the centre of the town, the Dhammasaṅgaṇī house⁷ and the Mahāpāli Hall. The Ruler having had a betel-mapḍapa⁸ built, made over the earnings from it to the

¹ Wickremasinghe (EZ. l. 215) supposes that this thera might be the thera mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda’s in the Jetavana as Mahadāmi (P. mahādhamanika).
² See above v. 6.
³ The loc. uuyānesu stands here instead of the abl.
⁴ Name of the mythical mountain Meru (Sumeru, Homamcru). See 37. 79.
⁵ See 52. 63.
⁶ Evidently the temple mentioned 37. 93-95 which was situated near the palace, thus nagaramañjhamhi.
⁷ See 52. 50-51. This building also was situated nagaramañjhamhi.
⁸ I.e. a pavilion where betel was sold.
bhikkhus of the Thera School\(^1\) for (the purchase of) medicines. He built a home called Mahāmullaka and made it over 47 to the bhikkhunis proceeding from the Thera School. Now 48 too the Monarch completed the so-called Mañcipāda, begun by his mother's brother, the pious King Udaya\(^2\). Four officials 49 of the King thereupon had four parivenas built in the Jetavāna. The gracious consort of the King Kittī by name, his 50 equal in fame, built a beautiful parivena west of the Thūpārama and in this parivena, in Kappāsagama and in the Cīvara-cetiya she laid down three pure bathing tanks. To the Hemāmālikā-cetiya she dedicated, rich in meritorious works, a golden banner twelve cubits long. For the laity her son built a hospital in the town, and the able Sakkasenānī\(^3\) one for bhikkhus outside of the town. In the four vihāras the King had mañ-54 ḍapas erected, like to heavenly palaces and by holding sacrificial festivals in divers ways for the relics for longer than 55

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1 P. theravasice (loc. instead of gen. -sāsas). W. remarks about this passage that the Therā bhikkhus “traced their line of succession from the great apostle Mahinda”. The term theriya however, goes back (Mhvs. 3. 40) to the First Council. The expression vaṇa is used here as in 52. 63, figuratively for “School”, likewise again in v. 47.

2 The drawing up of the family tree of Mahinda IV. is beset with difficulties. Wickremasinghe (plate to EZ. II. 59) has tried very ingenuously to remove them. He assumes that Udaya IV. was the younger brother of Sena III., and Sena IV. (cf. note to 54. 1) the elder brother of Mahinda IV. In this way as Cāṅghā the wife of Kassapa V. (see 51. 18) was a sister of Udaya IV., the latter could be called the mātulā of Mahinda IV. Two objections remain. Udaya IV. is twice (53. 19 and 28) called the “friend” of Sena III. This term used of a younger brother is surprising. Further, the mother of Mahinda IV. was, if the Mihintale plates are really his, not Cāṅghā, but the Devā mentioned 52. 64. — Possibly the following hypothesis may help to clear up the matter. Kassapa V. had two sons called Mahinda, one by Cāṅghā, and one by Devā. The first is the Mahinda mentioned in 51. 99 ff., the author of the Mayilagastota inscription (Nr. 7 in note to 54. 7). He never became king but died earlier, of which however we have no account. The second Mahinda is the later king Mahinda IV. Let us assume further that Devā, the second wife of Kassapa V. as to whose origin we know nothing, was a half-sister of Cāṅghā, then Udaya IV. would be the mātulā of Mahinda IV. I must point out that my Udaya IV. is W.'s U. III.

3 The same as sakkasenāpāti. See 52. 52. This is probably the son of the Sakkasenāpāti (the son of Kassapa V.), who (52. 79) after his father’s death, inherited his dignity.
a year, he kept to the pious ways of former kings. Having thus performed these and other eminent, meritorious works in sundry ways the King entered in the sixteenth year (of his reign) into the heaven of the gods.

Sena, the twelve years old son of the King by the Kalinga princess now came to the throne. The position of Yuvarāja he conferred on his younger brother Udaya. Sena, his father's senāpati, was also his senāpati. Once when the Senāpati was away with the army in the border country he had his younger brother Mahāmalla who had committed an offence with his mother, slain and made a court official Udaya by name, who was loyal to him, senāpati. When the Senāpati Sena heard this he was wroth and came with his army, intending to take his foes captive. Hearing the tidings thereof the Monarch thought: I shall bring herewith my court official who has (always) carried out my decrees, into safety, left (the town) and betook himself to Rohaṇa. But his mother turned back, took the Yuvarāja (Udaya) and the Queen with her, and wroth with him (the King), summoned the Senāpati (Sena) to her. Supported therein by her, he collected Damilas, gave over the country to them and took up his abode in Pulatthi-nagara. To fight him the King sent troops from Rohaṇa, but the Senāpati annihilated the whole army of the King.

1 Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Nik.-s. call the King Kuḍā-Midel, Rājar. Midel-Salā. Pūjāv. gives him a reign of 16, Rājāv. one of 12 years.
2 Thus according to the reading rājava of the Col. Ed. which I now prefer to rāja of the MSS. Jāto pāṭicca tassa rājava, lit.: born to the king.
3 W. connects Mahāmalla wrongly with Udaya, whereas it belongs to bhātara in 59 d.
4 W.'s translation: "who dwelt in his mother's house" says nothing and misses the point. As regards the meaning I have adopted for sattantāp, I refer the reader to skr. cart (BR. s. v., 7) which is likewise used in the sense of forbidden sexual intercourse with a woman.
5 The reading of the text and the translation are very doubtful. W.'s rendering: "And when the King heard thereof, he departed and fled to Rohaṇa taking with him the minister who had been as a slave unto him, and whom he regarded as his saviour" can scarcely be reconciled with the text as contained in the Col. Ed.
6 The Queen-mother is angry with her son because he has done away with her lover, so takes the part of the Senāpati Sena, the elder brother of the murdered man.
The Damijas now plundered the whole country like devils and pillaging, seized the property of its inhabitants. In their distress the people betook themselves to Rohana to the King and told him of the matter. He took counsel with his ministers and to protect the Order of the Buddha, he sent his Senapati forth from the kingdom, made a treaty with (the Senapati) Sena and came to Pulatthinagara. He made the daughter of the latter his mahesi, to continue his line. With her he begot an excellent son, called Kasappa. But while now the Ruler of Lanka had his abode there his low class favourite who obtained no leave from their teacher to drink sura, praised in his presence the advantages of drinking intoxicating liquors and induced the Ruler to drink. After taking intoxicating drinks he was like a wild beast gone mad. As he could no longer digest food the Ruler had to surrender the dearly-won place and died in the tenth year (of his reign), still youthful in years.

When they see from this that the yielding to evil friends leads to destruction, let those who seek their highest good here or hereafter, avoid such (evil friends) as a snake full of deadly poison.

Here ends the fifty-fourth chapter, called "The Three Kings", in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The Col. Ed. changes the raṭṭhā of the MSS. into raṭṭhasa which then stands next to saṃsāra. We miss ca. W. translates after the Col. Ed. text, "to save the religion and his country".

2 Namely in Pulatthinagara.

3 P. hīnajā. W.'s translation "who cared not for him" is wrong.

4 Thus, if my conjecture tassa santike instead of tassa sattavo is right. If one keeps to sattavo, then the passage would have to be translated thus: "his low-class favourites who otherwise found no opportunity of drinking sura, being his teachers (and at the same time) his foes, praised the advantages etc.".

5 The Sinhalese sources call the King Salamevan after his biruda (Silameghavaṇa). His predecessor had the surname Sirimaṃghabodhi. Pajīv. and Rājīv. give Salamevan a reign of 10 years. They tell of his initial successes against the Damijas and of his conflict with the Senapati who then brought an army of 95000 Damijas into the country.
CHAPTER LV

THE PILLAGE OF LAṆKĀ

1 The Prince Mahinda¹, his younger brother, who after his death raised the white umbrella in splendid Anurādhapura which was full of strangers brought hither by the Senāpati Sena, abode there ten years amid difficult circumstances². As he wandered from the path of statecraft and was of very weak character, the peasants did not deliver him his share of; the produce.

4 As the Prince in his tenth year had entirely lost his fortune, he was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay.

5 All the Keraḷas³ who got no pay planted themselves one with another at the door of the royal palace, determined on force, bow in hand, armed with swords and (other) weapons, (with the cry) “So long as there is no pay he shall not eat.”

7 But the King duped them. Taking with him all his moveable goods he escaped by an underground passage⁴ and betook himself in haste to Rohaṇa. In Śidupabatagāma he set up an armed camp and took up his abode there, after making his brother’s wife mahasī. When she died shortly after, he raised his brother’s daughter to the rank of mahasī. When of this Queen a son was born who received the name of Kassapa, the Ruler gave up the stronghold inhabited by him

¹ We hear nothing of the reasons why Udaya who according to 54. 58, was appointed yuvarāja, did not come to the throne.
² P. kicchena (“with trouble”) dasa vaccharc. W. has “twelve years”.
³ See note to 53. 9. The Keraḷas were enlisted as mercenaries by the Sihala king.
⁴ The Kauṭaliya speaks I. 20. 1 ff. of secret exits, underground tunnels which have to be made in the royal palace (antalypura). Cf. Kauṭiliya’s Arthaśāstra, trsl. by R. SHAMABASTRY, p. 45 ff., J. J. MEYER, Das Altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 49. The skr. expression in the Kauṭaliya is suruṇgā. See O. STRIM, ZII. 3. 313.
and founded a town at the village of Kappagallaka and dwelt, carrying on the government, for long time among the people of Rohana. But in the remaining parts of the country Kerajas, 12 Sihalas and Kappataas1 carried on the government as they pleased. But a horse-dealer who had come hither from the 13 opposite coast, told the CoJa King on his return about the conditions in Lankā. On hearing this, the powerful (prince), 14 with the purpose of taking possession of Lankā, sent off a strong body of troops. They landed speedily in Lankā. From 15 the spot where they disembarked, oppressing the mass of the inhabitants, the CoJa army advanced on Itohana. In the six 16 and thirtieth year of the King’s reign the CoJas seized the Mahesi2, the jewels, the diadem, that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, 17 a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth3. But the Ruler himself who had fled 18

1 Kappataa embraced the territory of the present Mysore and adjoining strips of country. The name is preserved in that of the Kannarese language. LSI. IV. 362.

2 For the acc. mahesi etc., the governing verb agrahisam must be taken from v. 18. To the articles of the regalia (rajasadhana or rajabhastha) belong also the umbrella (chattra) and the so-called ekavali, a chain consisting of one row of pearls. Their possession means at the same time that of the royal dignity. In times of danger, therefore, the first thing the king does is to secure the insignia (41. 20). A new king takes care to get hold of them in order to legalize therewith his possession of the throne. Thus Moggallana I. after the suicide of Kassapa I. (39. 28), so also in Rohana the aunt of Mahinda after his murder (desaw gahti susadhana, 50. 51; cf. also 48. 89). After the death of Aggabodhi IV. as there is no heir, the people take charge of the rajabhastha (46. 38). After the death of Mahalaanakitti the CoJas take possession of the diadem and the other valuables (karitadiadhana, 56. 10). The CoJa king claims therewith symbolically the dominion over Lankā. When Aggabodhi III. flees, he takes the string of pearls ekavali with him. It is expressly said of Dathopatissa, that he became king without the ekavali (44. 127-8), thus something of his dignity is wanting. It is significant too, that when Samghatisas’s royal umbrella by a mere accident falls into the hands of the rebel Moggallana the army at once recognizes him as the legitimate king (44. 18—20).

3 W. translates: “and the sacred forehead band” and adds in a note
in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence
of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all
the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to
the Colo Monarch. In the thre fraternities and in all Laṅkā
(breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many
21 costly images of gold\(^1\) etc., and while they violently
destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-
sucking yakkhas\(^2\) they took all the treasures of Laṅkā for
22 themselves. With Pulatthinagara as base, the Coloas held sway
over Rājaraṭṭha\(^3\) as far as the locality known as Rakkha-
23 pāsaṇakaṇṭha. People in the kingdom took the young prince
Kassapa and brought him up, carefully protecting him through
24 fear of the Coloas. When the Colo King heard that the boy had
reached his twelfth year, he sent high officials with a large
25 force to seize him. They brought with them warriors a hundred
thousand less five thousand (in number) and they ransacked

"the term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet
worn round the forehead". This translation of chinnapaṭṭikāḍhātuka is
perhaps not impossible. Apparently a piece of stuff is meant of the
Buddha's dress which belonged as highly prized relic to the regalia of
the Sinhalese kings.

\(^1\) For the acc. dhātugābha in v. 20 we must take as governing verb
the gerund bhāṅgita from v. 21 and from the same verse aggahuṣ for
governing paṭibimbe in v. 20.

\(^2\) The ojohārino yakkhā correspond to the vampires of Slav popular

\(^3\) The designation so frequently used later of Rājaraṭṭha "King’s
Province" for northern Ceylon is used in contrast to Rohaṇa (cf. for ex.
70. 184 f.) as well as to Dakkhipadesa (for ex., 72. 176-79). Later the
name Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha is substituted for it (a. note to 82. 26). The Coloa
king who conquered Ceylon was, according to Hultsch, JRAS. 1913,
p. 522 ff.) Parakesari varman alias Rājendra-Colo I. who in the Tiru-
malai Rock Inscription (El. IX, p. 229 ff.) boasts of having seized the crown
of the king of Ceylon, the crowns of the queens of that king, as well
as the "crown and the necklace of Indra" which the king of the South
(i. e. the Pāṇḍya king) hat previously deposited with the king of Ceylon.
The conquest of Ceylon is first recorded in inscriptions of Rājendra’s
6th year = 1017-8 A.D., but not mentioned in those of the 5th year,
and consequently it must have taken place in A. D. 1017. See also
the whole province of Rohana in every direction. A court official called Kitti, who dwelt in Makkhakudrūsa, and a minister named Buddha, a native of Māragallaka, these two valiant men, well versed in the ways of war, made the resolve to destroy the Cola army completely. At a place called Pa- luṭṭagiri they took up fortified positions, carried on war for six months and killed a great number of Damiḷas. The 29 Colas who had survived the slaughter in this fight, seized with fear, fled and took up their abode as before in Pulatθinagara. When thereupon the Prince saw the two victorious officials, he was highly pleased and spake to them (thus): “Choose a wish my friends”. Buddha asked as wish for the 31 village in which his family dwelt; Kitti chose as wish that the part of his revenues which the bhikkhu community had appropriated might be remitted. After the most excellent of 32 officials had their wishes fulfilled by the most excellent of princes, these brave men, fearless, and full of humility, worshipped his feet.

King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in Cola land and entered 33 into heaven in the forty-eighth year (from his ascent of the throne).

Thus fortune’s goods if they were gained by one smitten 34 with indolence, are not abiding. Therefore should the prudent man, who strives after his salvation, ever display ceaseless endeavour.

Here ends the fifty-fifth chapter, called “The Pillage of Lankā”, in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

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1 For Māragallaka, now Maragala see note to 48.129.
2 Cf. 58.18 with note.
3 Cf. v. 16. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. ascribe a reign of 48 years to Mahinda, without a word about anything that happened during it. According to them the arrival of the 95000 Damiḷas took place in the time of his predecessor.
CHAPTER LVI

THE SIX KINGS

1 After they had given the name of Vikkamābhāhu to the Monarch's son, all the Sīhalas acted full of humility according to his command. The King collected by every means, money for defeating the Damiṣas, showing, as was meet, favour to his adherents. At the request of his court officials he had ornament and diadem, umbrella and throne made ready for the festival of the King's consecration, but he refused (the festival with the words): "What boots me the ceremony of the raising of the umbrella so long as the possession of Rājarāṭha is not achieved?" Then the mighty (Prince) assembled a hundred thousand men. But as at the time when the campaign should have begun, he was suffering from the wind disease, he thought it not the time to carry on war and entered suddenly in the twelfth year (of his reign) into the city of gods and came into the company of the gods.

7 A court official called Kittī, who was invested with the dignity of senāpati, aspired to the kingship and maintained his authority for eight days.

8 He was slain by the mighty Mahālānakitti, who attained consecration as king, and holding sway over the province called Rohaṇa, was vanquished in his third year in battle against

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1 Vikkamābhāhu is still restricted to Rohaṇa. See note to 55. 22.
2 P. vātaroṣa. For the various diseases which Indian medicine groups under this term (vātasyāduḥ) see Jolly, Medicine, p. 118 f.
3 The same length of reign (12 years) is ascribed to Vikkamābhāhu by Pājāv. and Rājāv. They say of him, though certainly wrongly, that he drove out the Damiṣas who had entered the country under his father. Rājar. and Nik.-s. merely mention his name.
the Colas and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death\(^1\).

Thereupon the Damišas took the chief treasures, such as 10 the diadem and the like and sent them to the Monarch of the Cola land. The only son of the Prince (Mahālānakitti) known 11 by the name of Vikkamapanḍu, had through fear left his kingdom and was sojourning in the Duḷu country. But when 12 he had tidings of the events in Laṅkā, he betook himself to the province of Rohaṇa, and dwelling in Kālalitha\(^2\), carried on the government there for a year\(^3\).

Then a powerful prince of the line of Rāma, known by 13 the name of Jagatipāla, a Sovereign's son who had come from the town Ayojjha\(^4\), slew Vikkamapanḍu in battle and 14 ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa four years\(^5\). Him also the 15 Colas slew in battle and sent the Maheśi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cola kingdom.

Then King Parakkama, son of the Pāṇḍu King, reigned\(^6\) 16 two years\(^7\). The Colas slew him also when fighting with him.

These (princes) who were too much swayed by the power 17 of desire, went without exception, helplessly to destruction. Wen the wise man has recognised this, he will doubtless ever be bent on the annihilation of desire.

Here ends the fifty-sixth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

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1 The Sinhalese sources pass over Kittī entirely. They call his successor Mahālānakitti Mahalō. He reigned according to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 8 years.

2 Now Kalutara at the mouth of the Kaluganga.

3 According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv, Vikramapanaḍī had reigned 3 years.

4 Skr. Ayodhya, the present Oudh in India, situated on the river Gogra.

5 Pūjāv. the same; Rājāv. 1 year.

6 Akā must be supplemented by rajjasu from v. 14. Vikkamapanḍu is probably meant by the Pāṇḍu King.

7 Pūjāv. 1 year; Rājāv. 6 years. In Rājar. the name is missing. In Pūjāv, he is called Parākramapanaḍī, in Rājāv. Parākramabuddha-pāṇḍi, in Nik-s. Parākramapanaḍiyan.
CHAPTER LVII

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ENEMIES OF ROHAṆA

1 An army leader called Loka¹, who dwelt in Makkhakudrūsa, a trustworthy, determined man, capable of breaking the arrogance of the Cojas, after bringing the people over to his side, took possession of the government in the district of Rohaṇa and dwelt in Kājaragāma², versed in the conduct determined by custom.

2 Ad that time there lived a powerful prince of the name of Kittī. The history of his lineage will now be told in the sequel³.

¹ In the Sinhalese sources he is called Lokesvara. Pujāv. gives him a reign of six years. The end of Loka’s reign is related 57. 45-54. For the following period of Sinhalese history it is very difficult to bring the statements of South Indian inscriptions into accordance with those of the Cilavamsa. I refer to Hultsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 519—21; H. W. Codrington, H. C., p. 55 ff. ² See note to 45. 45. ³ From the way it is introduced, the following section seems to be taken from a new source, possibly (see note to 45. 37) from what I have called the “Chronicle of Rohaṇa”. There are however certain differences between its statements and the rest of the contents of the Cilavamsa. That the Kassapa in v. 4 is meant for Kassapa II. (44. 144, 45. 1 ff.) seems certain. But there is a confusion about the names Māna and Mānavamma. Māna is called the eldest son of Kassapa II. in 45. 6. The question is whether he is identical with the Mānavamma who later (47. 2, 62) ascends the throne. In the Rohaṇa Chronicle (57. 5) the elder son of Kassapa is called Mānavamma, the younger who comes to the throne, 57. 14, Māna, but in 57. 25 Mānavamma. Of all the difficulties which according to the Cilavamsa (47. 2 ff.) preceded Mānavamma’s ascent of the throne, the Rohaṇa Chronicle apparently says nothing. A similar difference exists as regards the names of the sons of Dappula I. According to the Rohaṇa Chronicle the eldest of these is Mānavamma; the Cilavamsa speaks of the sister’s son of Kassapa II. only as Māna.
King Kassapa had a son known by the name of Māna. He was ādīpāda, a brave man and distinguished by his good conduct. His elder brother the wise Mānavamma had at one time seated himself on the bank of the river in the neighbourhood of Gokarnaṇaka and had made full preparations according to custom for an incantation. He began after taking the rosary in his hand, to murmur the magic verse. To him there appeared Kumāra on his riding bird. The peacock pecked with its beak at the plate with the offerings, but finding no drink in the old coconut shell with its holes, out of which the water had run, he flew at the magician's face. The latter thinking (only) of future success, offered it his eye. The peacock slit it open and drank thereout violently. Kumāra was pleased, he granted the Prince his prayed-for wish and departed brightly gleaming through the air. When his court officials beheld Mānavamma with his destroyed eye, they grieved, but he comforted the people by telling them of the

1 See note to 41. 79.
2 See note to 46. 17.
3 The God Skanda, who is worshipped in Kājaragūma, riding on the peacock which is sacred to him. Horxiss, Epic Mythology p. 227.
4 P. balipatta. W. has a note to this: "The tray or bowl in which food, flowers, etc. are presented to spirits at the performances of magical rites". P. patta may mean "tray", but for "bowl" we should expect patta = skr. pātra.
5 W.: "Water is generally placed in a coconut shell on the altar for the benefit of the evil spirit".
6 P. japantassa mukhāṃ gato. W. translates this by: "He went up and stood in the presence of the wizard". That is misleading.
7 P. bhāviniṃ siddhiṃ apokkhaṃ. W. interprets the passage quite differently. He translates: "The wizard remembered the Bhāvini siddhi" and remarks thereto in the note: "A course of action under certain emergencies, prescribed in magical rites".
8 Popular tradition places the legend of the incantation described in v. 5 ff. in the Vākirigala-vihāra in the Kegalla District. The magician is mentioned only by his later monk's name of Mayurapāda. The Vākirigala-vihāra is said to have been called in former times Mayurapāda-pāya after him. Brāh. Report on the Kegalla District, p. 45.
fulfilment of his wish. Thereupon his companions were content and urged him to come to Anurādhapura and carry out his consecration as king. "What boots me the royal dignity now that I have a maimed body? I will practise asceticism as soon as I have undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation. Let my younger brother, Māna by name, preserve the inherited reign of Laṅkā." With that he rejected the royal dignity which had come to him. Having thoroughly grasped his purpose, his court officials sent people to tell that his younger brother. At the tidings thereof, the brother came speedily hither, sought out his brother, fell at his feet, wept and grieved sore and betook himself along with the elder brother, to Anurādhapura where in accordance with the purposes of the elder (brother), he took over the crown. Hereupon he betook himself to Abhayagiri and doing reverence, besought the ascetics for admission for his brother to the ceremony of world-renunciation. Thereupon the ascetics carried out with the cripple the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission into the Order without regard to the regulations\(^1\). The Ruler built for him the superb parivena Uttaramūla and made him head of the parivena. He placed under him there six hundred bhikkhus, gave him the seven supervisory officials\(^2\) and the five groups of servitors\(^3\). He gave him further assistants who

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\(^1\) According to the Vinaya (Mahāvagga I. 71 = Vin. ed. OLDHAMBERG I. p. 91) cripples are not admitted to the Order.

\(^2\) P. paṭihāra catta. According to Abhp. 1018, paṭihāra is equivalent to deśaraṇālaka. That is too narrow an interpretation if it is a case here of "seven paṭihārā". The word probably means in general a monastery official. In fact the Mihintale tablet A (line 20-21) enumerates seven of these: 1) sēher-pirivahanuva, 2) niyam-jeṭu, 3) a-kāmiyā, 4) pasak-kāmiyā, 5) sēher-leya, 6) karaṇḍ-leya, 7) karaṇḍu-atsamu. For attempts at explaining these difficult terms see WICKRAMASINGHE, EZ. I. 101. In slab B, line 5 an eighth is added, sārāyin-gannak. The mangu-jeṭak mentioned here in line 6 corresponds probably to the niyam-jeṭu in A.

\(^3\) Cf. 67. 58, as well as 84. 5. In the last passage, in addition to the five groups of servants, ten others are also distinguished. W. says in a note to our passage that the five mean "carpenters, weavers, dyers, barbers and workers in leather". I believe rather that what is meant
were versed in various handicrafts and placed under him the guardians of the Tooth Relic. His (the King’s) counsellors were the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri(-vihāra) and the King protected the people wholly according to his (brother’s) advice. But certain people who were of his lineage, but had no desire for world-renunciation, dwelt as they liked and were addressed by the title of “Great Lord”\(^1\). From the pure race of this King Mānavamma versed in the law and in statecraft, that was propagated in sons and grandsons with Aggabodhi\(^2\) at the head, that was first among princely dynasties, there went forth sixteen (sovereigns) of equal birth who held legitimate sway in Laṅkā.

The monarch Mahinda had two (cousins) daughters of his mother’s brother. These fair (maidens) were known by the names of Devalā and Lokitā. Of these two daughters, Lokitā conceived by the son of her father’s sister\(^3\), the handsome prince Kassapa by name, two sons called Moggallāna and Loka\(^4\). The elder of these, versed in all the ways of the world and the Order, known by the title “Great Lord”\(^5\), are workmen as enumerated in the Mihintale tablet B, line 7 ff. We have no idea it is true, of the principle on which the division of these servants into five or ten groups was made.

\(^1\) P. mahāsaṃlipadāsita = Skr. mahāsvāmipradarāśita. On the title himiṣi = P. sāmi used of bhikkhus see note to 52. 10.

\(^2\) Aggabodhi V. It is true he is not mentioned by name in the list of kings in the Cullavasāsa, perhaps owing to a gap in the text. See above 48. 1 ff. It should be noted that here the King, father of Aggabodhi, is not called Māna as in v. 14, but Mānavamma. Cf. note to 57. 3.

\(^3\) P. mātulattaya. I am inclined to assume that mātulā here is used in the sense “father’s sister”. This would bring us back to the family tree as still has drawn it up in the Index to the Māsas. Kassapa the husband of Lokitā, would then be the son of Mahinda V. (55.10), later King Vikramabāhū I. (56. 1).

\(^4\) I take Moggallāna sa Lokarke for a disintegrated compound. The change into Moggallānalo karke of the Col. Ed. is suggestive, but gets no support from the MSS.

\(^5\) This title apparently customary in Rohaṭa is derived according to 45. 50 from Dappula I.
zealous in the service of the community, a habitation of many choice virtues, took up his abode in Rohāṇa.

31 A grandson of King Dāthopatissa¹ who had undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation in the Order of the Holy Buddha, dwelt full of faith, practising asceticism, controlled by discipline, self-controlled in spirit, as hermit in a solitary spot. The gods who had pleasure in him, praised everywhere his virtue.

32 When the Ruler of Laṅkā heard of his excellence, the fame of which had spread everywhere, he sought him out, bowed before him and sought to gain him as his counsellor². But as he would not, he besought him again and again, had him fetched and made him take up his abode in a finely built pāsāda. The King who prized highly the excellence of the Master of the ascetics, as long as he dwelt there, ruled the people in justice, walking in the way marked out by his advice. But because the Master among ascetics in consequence of the invitation given him in honourable fashion by the Master of Laṅkā had of his pity forsaken the mountain world³ and having gathered bhikkhus round him, had taken up his abode there, (the pāsāda) got the name of Selantarasaṃgha. Since that time the sovereigns of Laṅkā make a bhikkhu spend the night in a small temple⁴ of the gods and

¹ It is impossible to determine whether Dāthopatissa I. or II. is meant here.
² The inf. kātaṃ attānasāsanāṃ, “to give him counsel” is governed by ādrādhayaṃ in 34a. Which King of Laṅkā is meant we do not know. Perhaps Mānavamappa? The fragment vv. 31—39 has evidently only the object of leading from Mahinda from whom Kittī is descended on his father’s side, to Dāthopatissa from whom he is descended on his mother’s side through Lokitā (v. 41).
³ P. selantarā lit. “rock interior” (perhaps = “rock cave”) with reference to the name Selantarasaṃgha. Cf. saṃgheta in v. 37a.
⁴ P. devapalli. Cf. skr. pālli “hut”. The whole passage is very curious. We are told here of a mūlatthāna, that is (according to v. 39) of the position of a premier and highest counsellor (cf. mūdāmacca, 69. 34; 70. 151). It is held by a bhikkhu who must be confirmed in it by a kind of oracle. This confirmation again is granted by the devatās, another proof of the way in which Buddhism is interwoven with popular ideas.
place him, if he has found favour with the deity, in the leading position and when they protect Order and people, they act according to the counsel of the ascetics who hold the leading position.

By Prince Bodhi of the line of Dāthopatissa te Princess Buddhā of like lineage conceived a daughter, Lokitā by name, distinguished by most excellent marks. Afterwards she was wedded to the able Moggallāna. She conceived by him four children, Kittī, the princess Mittā, Mahinda and Rakkhita. The eldest son (Kittī) was (already) in his thirteenth year a plucky hero, and extremely skilled in the use of the bow. Swayed by one thought alone: how shall I become possessed of Lankā once I have rid it of the briers of the foe? he dwelt in the village called Mulasālā.

A powerful man known by the name of Buddhāraja, quarrelled at that time with the general Loka. He fled in haste to the district called Cuṇnasālā and having there by every means made subject to himself many people, such as Kittī and others, he dwelt together with numerous warlike kindred at the foot of the Malaya mountains where he was difficult to reach. To him there came a distinguished astrologer Samgha by name, and portrayed the character of the prince (Kittī) in favourable fashion. "The eldest son of the Great Lord (Moggallāna), who bears the name of Kittī, carries on him the marks of power and is gifted with insight and courage. Even in Jambudīpa he would, I believe, be capable of uniting the whole realm under one umbrella, how much more so in the Island of Lankā!" When the other heard that, he made the resolve to support the Prince and sent people to the Prince. When the illustrious hero heard their message, he for fear that they might hold him back, left the house without

1 The Loka described in 57. 1 as camānātha. W. inserts here the words: "who ruled Rohana". That is not in the text, but it is correct as far as Loka resided in Kājaragāma. It is also not said that Buddhāraja was a "prince".

2 P. sanvecccharīkaṇāya, lit. a chief of the s. Cf. skr. sanvecaśarīka BR., s. v. nr. 2.
53 his parents’ knowledge, with nothing but his bow and seeing all kinds of favourable signs, he prudently betook himself in haste to the village of Sarivaggapiṭṭhi. While sojourning there, the hero sent away his servants and captured the village of Bodhivāla then in possession of the opposite party. Thereupon the arrogant general (Loka) sent his army thither; it surrounded the village and opened fight. The prince who full of impetuous courage, fought with his soldiers against them, scattered them in all directions, as a stormy wind (scatters) cotton. He then betook himself, knowing the opportunity, to the Cunnapala district and during his sojourn there brought the whole region of Malaya into his power. Even now the general sent off his army over and over again, but as he could not gain the upper hand, he became furious. A son of the henchman Kittī dwelling in Makkhakudrūsa, a powerful man known by the name of Devamalla, now came hither, accompanied by kinsmen and friends, at the head of many people dwelling in Rohapa, and with reverence sought out the Prince (Kittī). He able and farfamed, at the age of fifteen girt on his sword and demanded the dignity of ādipāda. Thereupon he betook himself with a mighty force to Hiraṇnämalaaya and built there on the Remuña rock a stronghold. Thither too the general sent his army, but as he did not stay victorious in battle, he gave up the idea of renewing the war. The ruler Loka, the army’s commander, now forsook this his world,

1 Namely of the general Loka.
2 The dat. sanāgānīya with sanārabhi (instead of the acc.) is irregular.
3 P. seninda is like senani a synonym of senāpati. The title of “King” is never accorded to Loka.
4 See above 55. 26, 31.
5 P. camāpati stands in the text and v. 64 camānātha, both synonyms for senāpati (Loka).
6 In their list of Errata S. and B. correct lokanātha into lokanāmo. That is certainly wrong. Without doubt a pun is intended with camānātha, and the form Lokanātha corresponds to the Lokescara of the Sinhalese sources. Another pun is that with loka. The word is contained in the name, in lokaṃ sakāma “his world” or “his people” and in paraloka.
and in the sixth year of his reign his goal was the other world.

Now a Chief of the Kesadhātus, Kassapa by name, got 65 the upper hand of the people and carried on the government in Rohaṇa. At the tidings of this the Coja general, armed 66 for war, set out from Pulatthinagara and marched against Kājaragāma. But the Kesadhātu scattered the forces of the 67 Damilas in a battle, set up guards at the frontier of Rakkha-pāsāna, and then the hero proud of his victory, returned 68 with his great army and entered Kājaragāma. When the vigorous Adipāda (Kitti) heard all this, he quickly equipped an army, to overwhelm the Kesadhātu. When the latter had 70 tidings of this he advanced full of pride with befitting troops from Kājaragāma to Sippatthalaka. But when the invincible 71 Prince (Kitti) at the head of many of the inhabitants of Paṅcayojana and other districts drew near, he betook himself, perceiving that many of the dwellers in his own district were averse from war, (and) believing that a battle here would be difficult, to Khadiraṅgaṇi. With a great army 73 the royal youth (Kitti) aged sixteen years, entered at once free from all fear, into Kājaragāma. Having ruled Rohaṇa 74 six months, the Chief of the Kesadhātus full of bitterness,

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1 Here we meet for the first time with the remarkable expression so frequently used later of kesadhātu. W. translates kesadhātunāyaka by “the Chief of the Hair Relic”. But nāyaka is used here in the same way as in saṇvāccharikānāyaka, v. 48, for in the sequel kesadhātu is used alone. Cf. on this title the “Introduction” III.

2 W. suggests doubtfully Rakvāna.

3 P. sutthiradḥātuko. The word ḍātu at the end of a bahuvrhi compound often means “kind, nature, peculiarity, character” and is much, almost exclusively, used periphrastically. Thus in samadhātuka “of similar kind”. JaCo. II. 31\(^{22}\); kiliṭṭhadhātuka “defiled” JaCo. I. 489\(^{30}\); badhiraṅḍhātuka “hard of hearing” JaCo. II. 63\(^{12}\).

4 See also 58. 7.

5 Now Pasuṇu-Koraḷe, east of Kalutara, in the province Sabaragamva. The P. word raṭṭha is frequently used quite in the sense of the Sinh. koraḷē.

6 See also 58. 36.
75 marched thither to battle. But the army of the royal youth (Kitti) engaged him in hard battle and the mighty one captured the head of the Chief of the Kesadhātus.

76 Having reached the age of seventeen years, the Prince the glory of whose great fame had spread on every side, who was extraordinarily skilled in the use of the many expedients such as kindness and the like had freed the whole of Rohapa from the briers of the foe.

Here ends the fifty-seventh chapter, called "The Subjugation of the Enemies of Rohapa", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER LVIII

THE ADVANCE TO ANURĀDHAPURA

The name Vijayabāhu\(^1\) of the Prince wise in statecraft, 1 who now found himself in the position of yuvarāja, was known everywhere. Gifted with abundant knowledge, he had the 2 drums beaten for his entering on the government and placing numbers of his followers in befitting positions and applying 3 the four methods\(^2\) of warriors for the destruction of the Colas who were ravaging Rājarāṭha, he took up his abode there (in Rohaṇa). When the Cola King heard of that, he sent off 4 his Sēnāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara, with army and train. As Vijayabāhu recognised that the (Cola) general who 5

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\(^1\) Kittī adopts this name when he wins his claim to the throne. In the rock inscription of Ambagamuva (BRU, ASC. Ann. Rep. 1910–11 = III. 1915, p. 121, no. 196; Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 202 ff.) the king calls himself Śirīsandʒbo Vijayabāhu. He names as his parents Abhā Sālamevan and Dev Kon, names which seem to have been taken over mechanically from the Rāja-mālīgāva inscription of Polonnaruva on the introduction to which that of the Ambagamuva inscription rests (See note to 54. 7). Important for the history of the reign of Vijayabāhu I. is the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva dealt with by C. Rāsanāyaṇa Mudaliyar in JRAS. C. Br. xxix, no. 77, 1924, p. 266 ff., and recently also by Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 242 ff.

\(^2\) According to Abhp. 348 the catuṣro ṣūḍyā the four means of success are bheda “division (of the enemy))”, daṇḍa “open war, offensive”, sāma “friendly negotiations, treaty” and dānāni “gifts, bribes”. The doctrine of the four ṣūḍyā is also well known in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Mahābhārata, in the Amarakośa, in Hemacandra’s Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi, in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, in Maṇu, 7. 109 (BR. s. v. daṇḍa 11). Finally they are enumerated in Kauṭalya’s Arthaśāstra 2. 10, 28: ṣūḍyāḥ sāmopapradānabhedadaṇḍāḥ as a method of royal policy. See J. J. Mīssr, Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 105.
had advanced close to Kājaragāma, could scarcely be defeated, 6 he withdrew into the mountain jungle. The (Cola) general plundered Kājaragāma in haste, but as he could not stay 7 there, he betook himself again to his province. Thereupon the Mahādīpāda¹ came hastily from Malaya and besieged 8 Sippatthalaka² with strong forces. The King (Vijayabāhu) sent to the King in the Rāmāñña³ country numbers of people and 9 much costly treasure⁴. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandelwood and other 10 goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him and with large forces at his command, he took up his abode in Tambalagāma⁵.

11 All the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha grew hostile to one 12 another and paid no further tribute. The adversaries of the Cola King full of arrogance, left his commands unheeded, ill-treated the appointed officials and did what they pleased. 13 When the Cola Monarch heard this, he was filled with rage 14 and he sent off one of his henchmen with a great army. The latter landed in Mahātittha, slew many people here and there 15 and subdued the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha. Later on he came then, cruel in his commands, to Rohana and fell upon it with

¹ The title mahādīpāda belongs to Vijayabāhu in his position of yuvarāja.
² See 57. 70.
³ Name for Burma. Note that Vijayabāhu from now onwards is called Rājā.
⁴ P. sāraṃ dhanajātaṃ. The word sāra is here (as also in v. 21) used as an adjective (see skr. sāra, BR. s. v., 4); dhanajāta which is also used in v. 10, is nearly always a mere paraphrase for dhana.
⁵ A Tambalagama lies (Census of Ceylon 1921, II., p. 182) in the Hinidum-Pattava of the Galle District not far from Batuvangala on the upper Gin-ganga. If this is our Tambalagāma that would mean that the centre of gravity of Vijayabāhu's influence was in the west of Rohana, on the borders of Dakkhiṇadesa. The fact that the troops which Kittī led against the Kesadhātu Kassapa came according to 57. 71 chiefly from the Pañcayojana-raṭṭha supports this. It is supported too by the further development of events. The Tambala mentioned 45. 78 cannot be identified with the Tambalagāma of our passage.
his army like the ocean which has burst its bounds¹. Two 16
mighty men, Ravideva and Cala by name, became opponents
of the King (Vijayabāhu) and went over both of them, to the
Damiya commander. When the general saw them accompanied 17
by a great troop of adherents, he believed Rohaṇṇa would
shortly be in his power.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) the King (Vijayabāhu) 18
put up an entrenchment for the conquest of the Coḷas, on the
Paluṭṭha mountain² and took up his abode there. The Coḷa 19
army surrounded the rocks on all sides and a terrible fight
between the two armies took place. The King’s soldiers 20
annihilated the Damiya army, pursued the fleeing general of
the Coḷa Sovereign and got possession of his head at the vil-
lage of Tambaviṭṭhi³. Taking with them all the captured
implements of war, together with draught animals and chariots 22
and all valuable treasures, they showed it (the head) to the

¹ I feel bound to keep to the text ajjhottharittha senāya saṃbhinnan-
velo va sāgaro as adopted by me in my edition. The fact of the second
pāḍa having a syllable too much is of no account. See Cūlavas. ed., Introd.
p. xii. If one compares the MSS. it is almost certain in the first place,
that ajjhottharittha and saṃbhīna are right, since they have been pre-
served in all groups of the MSS. The only question is as to what came
between the two words. The Col. Ed. with ajjhotthari janena sa bhīna⁴
follows closely the MS. S 8. But what is remarkable is that this MS.
is here quite isolated and differs also from S 7. This looks as if we
had to do with an arbitrary alteration on the part of the copyist. And
how is tato or nato in all the other MSS. to be explained? I think
thus: In the archetype a tato was added by mistake to senāya, intended
originally for ānteśāna in pāḍa a. In group S 1, 2, 4 the word is in-
serted besides senāya, in S 6, 7 it has ousted this entirely.

² P. Paluṭṭhapabbata, identical with the Paluṭṭhaagiri mentioned
55. 28. As this occurs here in association with Māragallaka (see Note
to 48. 129), the mention of the Paluṭṭha mountain would take us to the
west of Rohaṇṇa, to the borders of Dakkhiṇadesa. Mr. Hocart however
is inclined to identify it with Palatupana, 8 miles East of Tissama-
hāranā. ASC. 1928, p. 17.

³ If this is the Tambavita in the Paranakuru Korale of the Kegala-
District, the pursuit must have extended far to the north, into Dakkhiṇa-
desa. That is also not unlikely, for up to his occupation of Pulatthin-
gara Vijayabāhu evidently meets with no further resistance.
King and spake to him (thus): “It is time to march to Pulatthinagara.” When the Monarch heard these words of his followers he betook himself now with large forces to Pulatthinagara. When the Coḷa Sovereign heard of all these events he was overcome with fury, and as he desired to capture the Monarch (Vijayabāhu), the hero went in all haste himself to the harbour on the sea-coast and sent a still larger army to the Island of Laṅkā. When the Ruler (Vijayabāhu) heard that he sent off his general with a great force to fight with the Coḷa army. The general marched to the neighbourhood of Anurādhapura and gave the Damila host a fiery battle. There fell in this fight many warriors of the Monarch and still more of the inhabitants of his kingdom came into the power of the Damiḷas. Thereupon the Monarch abandoned Pulatthinagara and betook himself in haste to the district called Villikābā. Having removed the two officials who were placed over this district, he took up his abode there, gathering his soldiers. On the tidings that the Coḷa general was pursuing him, he betook himself, aware of the right time, to the rocky hill of Vātagiri. At the foot of this mountain he built a stronghold and fighting, kept the Damiḷas three months at bay.

The younger brother of the Chief of the Kesadhātus who had been slain earlier in battle, had meanwhile gathered together a large troop of adherents and nursing wrath in his heart at the slaying of his brother, he raised the whole district of Guttasāḷa in rebellion. Thereupon the Sovereign of

1 That is, he knew well that the time for open resistance to the Coḷas had not yet come.

2 From 60. 29 it is clear that Vātagiri was situated in the province of Dakkhipadesa. Thus Vijayabāhu retires not as one might expect, eastwards or south-eastwards over the Mahaveliganga but to the south-west. Evidently he seeks to regain the base in the borders of Rohapa and Dakkhipadesa from which he started. Vātagiri is no doubt the mountain Yakirigala in the Galboda Komle of the Kegalla District. Bell, Rep. on the Kegalla District = ASC., xix, 1892, p. 45.

3 See above 57. 65 ff.

4 See note to 51. 109.
Laṅkā marched thither in haste with a large force and set up an armed camp at the place called Maccutthala. Then when sā he had driven his foe in fight out of the stronghold Khadiraṅgani⁴, he chased him, still fighting, from Kubulagalla. He left his ample possessions together with wife and child as well as his troops in the lurch and fled in haste to the province occupied by the Colas. Thereupon the Lord of men (Vijayabāhu) took to himself the whole of his possessions and betook himself to Tambalagāma² where he erected a new stronghold.

In the course of time he went to the town called Mahānāgahula³ and sojourned there arming his troops to fight with the Colas. Thereupon the King summoned two of his henchmen and sent them with large forces to Dakkhiṇadesa⁴ to subdue the inhabitants there. Another pair of able officials sent to the coast highroad⁶ to destroy the arrog-

¹ See above 57. 72.
² After Vijayabāhu had protected his rear by subduing the rebellion in Guttaśāla, he returns at first to the position which is to serve him as basis for his future operations (see note to 58. 10) and strengthens it by fortifications. He next betakes himself to the place which may now be looked upon as the capital of Rohaṇa, to make further preparations for the Cola war.
³ According to native tradition we must look for Mahānāgahula on the lower Valave-ganga, N.W. of Ambalantota where to-day there are extensive rice-fields similar to those of Tissamahārāma (H.W. CODRINGTON, Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth Century II, from a proof slip which I owe to the courtesy of the author). In agreement with this is the statement in v. 10 of the Māṇāvulu-sandesa that the river on which the town stood was the Vaṇarāhiṁ. Mr. Jayaratana of the Colombo Museum drew my attention to this passage. The Commentary explains the name of the river by rala-hoya, which is the Valave-ganga.
⁴ H. W. CODRINGTON (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, JRAS. C. B. Nr. 75, 1922, p. 64) rightly stresses the fact that dakkhiṇasaṃ passaṁ does not mean "southward" as translated by W. but is the same as dakkhiṇasaṃ desaṁ.
⁵ P. kakkhaḷa "hard" in a good sense, as much as firm, enduring, energetic.
⁶ Vijayabāhu’s strategy is clear. He attacks the position of the Colas from two sides: from Dakkhiṇadesa in the direction of Anuradhapura and eastwards from the mountains in the direction of Polonnaruva. The
ance of the Coḷas. The officials sent with large forces to 
Dakkhiṇadesa, took the stronghold at the village of Muhunnaru, 
further Badalatthala, the stronghold at Vāpinagara, Buddhagāma, Tilagulla, Mahāgallā and Maṇḍagalla. When later

"coast highroad" I would identify with the old road which avoiding the hill country, led from Mahāgāma to Dastoḷa or Mahagantota on the Mahaveliganga not far from Polonnaruva. I am inclined to look upon the embankment called Kalugalbāmma which is crossed between Ekiriyankumbura and Mahnoya by the Passara-Butṭicaloa road as the remains of this road. The road does not run along the sea, it is true, but it runs from coast to coast, from Mahāgāma to Mahāḷitiṭha. It is doubtful whether the southern part of this road led over Buttala. The Ratemahatmaya Bibile informed me that one can recognize the southern continuation of the Kalugalbāmma further east at Kadiyangoda and that the road runs from here beside an old beaten elephant track direct to Mahāgāma. At any rate the northern continuation of the Kalugalbāmma does not lead to Mahiyangana, but leaving this to the left, it seems to lead by Dolagalvela direct to the Mahaveliganga. Thus this highroad must be distinguished from that which runs from Mahāgāma by way of Kataragama, Buttala, Medagama, Bibile to Mahiyangana and from there along the Mahaveliganga towards the north. I myself found remains of this road in Bibile, other remains might perhaps come to light at Alut-nuvara (Mahiyangana) behind the hospital. Vijayabāhu apparently took advantage of a civil war raging at that time in the Coḷa country. It ended with the accession to the throne of Kulottunga Coḷa I. in A. D. 1069—70. H. W. Cowanorton, H. C., p. 56.

1 The topographical identification of the greater part of these localities we owe H. W. Cowanorton in the treatise cited above (note to 58. 39). Of the names occurring here the following are mentioned elsewhere 1) Badalatthala, 2) Buddhagāma, 3) Tilagulla and 4) Mahāgallā. Muhunnaru and Vāpinagara are doubtful. Badalatthala has been identified by Cowanorton (following Pakker) with Batalagoda in the Ihalavisideke Korale West of the Kurunegala District. Storrs on the strength of the mention in an inscription of the Budgam-vehema (ASC. 1906 = S. P. VI. 1913, p. 14-15) considers Buddhagāma to be Menikdema (see ASC. 1906 = VI. 1913, p. 13 ff.) in the Vagapanaaha Udusiya Pattu of the District Matale North, where the two roads leading from Kurunegala and from Nalanda to Dambul approach one another, and Cowanorton supports this assumption. As to Tilagulla, Mr. Cowanorton refers me by letter to Tilagalle Ela in the Katuvanna Korale of the Kurunegala District. According to 68. 44 it is at least certain that it was situated in Dakkhiṇadesa. For Mahāgallā see note to 44. 3.
they had also taken Anurādhapura, they brought the whole kingdom into their power and pushed forward to Mahātiṭtha. The two generals sent out to the coast highroad, plundered 45 Chagāma and other armed camps here and there, and when later they had got near to Pulatthinagara, they sent messengers to the King that he should speedily come hither. When the Ruler heard of the extraordinary deeds of heroism accomplished by the generals whom he had sent in two directions, he aware of the time being propitious, equipped his whole army and experienced in methods of war, he left the town (Mahānāgalahula) to exterminate the Coḷas. During the march the Sovereign set up a camp on the (Mahāvāluka)-gaṅga not far from the Mahīyaṅgapa-thūpa and took up his abode there for a time. Afterwards the great hero aware of the opportunity, betook himself to the neighbourhood of Pulatthinagara and set up here an extremely strong fortification. But all the warlike, valiant Coḷas who were to be found here and there, gathered together in Pulatthinagara to make war. The Coḷas came forth from the town and engaged outside in a great battle, but they were beaten and returned to the town. Then having secured all the gates of the town, they carried on with great strenuousness a terrifying fight from bastions and towers. For a month and a half the great army of the Monarch kept the town surrounded but could not subdue it. The great heros, the great fighters, the great warriors of the Great King, the mighty ones with great pride, Ravideva, Cala and the others scaled the walls, broke furi-

Finally Mahādagalla is according to Mr. C. = Mahamadagalla in Hiriyula Hatpattu N.E. of Kurmeγala. A Madagala is also marked on sheet F. 9 of the map (scale one mile to the inch) 5 miles S. S. W. of Anurādhapura as name of a mountain. All the evidence points, at any rate, to the progress of the operations against Anurādhapura from South to North through Dakkhiṇadesa.

1 Chagāma or Chagāma, it seems to me, has not been identified with certainty. That it was situated in eastern Rohaṇa is clear from 75. 3.
2 See note to 51. 74.
3 It was stated in v. 16 that these two generals had gone over to
ously into the town and at once exterminated all the Damijas root and branch. After King Vijayabāhu had thus achieved the victory, he the discerning one, had the drums of his dominion beaten in the town. But when the Ruler of the Cojas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: the Sīhalas are (too) strong, and sent out no further army.

When the hero the discerning one, who had utterly destroyed the best of the proud Cojas, had placed the whole of Rājaraṭṭha on a sure foundation, he the best of kings, greatly rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anurādhapura.

Here ends the fifty-eighth chapter, called “The Advance to Anurādhapura”, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Cojas. It would seem that later they again acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayabāhu. Or we have to do with a mistake of the compiler.

1 P. mūlāghaccom aghātayaṃ. I think we have to take mūlāghaccom as adverb. Cf. Dh. 250 m. samūkhaṃ “radically removed”, as also m. kar D. III. 67 ff., 68. Of the overthrow of the Damijas by Vijayabāhu the Ambagamuva inscription (see note to 58.1) says: “through his own courage he drove away the whole darkness of the Damija forces and brought the whole of the Island of Lāṅkā under his umbrella” (line 23).

2 I.e. he made known by beat of drum that he had ascended the throne.

3 P. susādhu (adv.) ṭhapitākhilurājaraṭṭha. We have here no doubt in Rājaraṭṭha the name of the province freed from the Damijas. See note to 55. 22.

4 The fact that the King entered Anurādhapura is mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva line 7—8; cf. note to 58. 1.
CHAPTER LIX

THE BESTOWAL OF FAVOURS

With the protection of Lanka in the vicinity of the sea the King charged powerful followers, acknowledged warriors, in regular turn. Since for the festival of the royal consecration a pāśāda and many other things had to be prepared, he (likewise) charged one of his followers with this and after he had there done reverence to the various places deserving of honour, he returned, after a sojourn of three months, to Pulatthinagara.

A troop leader known by the name of Ādimalaya rebelled quite openly against the Monarch and came, the deluded one, hither with all his troops to fight, as far as the village known by the name of Andu, in the vicinity of the town. The Ruler of Lanka marched thither, destroyed the haughty one and returned to Pulatthinagara after bringing his troops into his power.

From the time that he was yuvarāja, the wise Prince, that best of men, had seventeen years chronicled in writing.

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1 I read paṭipāṭīna and take the accus. in an adverbial sense. His followers had to take over alternately the protection of the coast. The Col. Ed. has paṭipattis and W. accordingly translates: “having (before) instructed them in their duties”.

2 I should prefer now to put abhisekamaṅgalattathāṇi in the oratio recta.

3 Namely in Anurādhapura.

4 Pun on uddhārite, uddhata. For the meaning of “annihilate” cf. skr. har + ud, BR., 8.

5 The passage is important, since it shows that annals were kept at court of the events during each year of the reign. The narrative of Vijayabahu’s reign bears in particular a strongly annalistic character.
8 Having betaken himself hereupon to Anurādhapura and well versed in custom, had enjoyed the high festival of the coronation after the manner of tradition, keeping not to evil but keeping firmly to pious action, he, secure (in the royal dignity), had the eighteenth year chronicled. Thereupon he betook himself to splendid Pulatthinagara and dwelt there, known by the name of Sirisamghabodhi. He invested his next youngest brother Virabāhu with the dignity of uparāja and distinguished him in the customary way, by making over to him the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. On his youngest brother Jayabāhu the Prince conferred the dignity of an ādipāda and bestowed on him the province of Rohaṇa. But on all his ministers he bestowed office according, to merit and directed them to collect the dues in the kingdom in fitting manner. The administration of justice which had long lain low, the Sovereign a fount of pity, carried out himself, keeping to the law, with justice.

15 While now the Ruler of men having rooted out the heaped up briers of numerous foes, ruled his realm of Laṅkā ever in most excellent fashion, three brothers, the Head of the umbrella bearers, the President of the Court of Justice and the Chief of the merchants became hostile to the King and betook themselves, in flight, to Jambudīpa. In the nineteenth year they landed again in Laṅkā. Together they soon roused revolt in the province of Rohaṇa, the district of Malaya and the whole of Dakkhiṇadesa. The prudent (Prince) marched to Rohaṇa and the Malaya district, slew here and there many enemies and when he had thoroughly pacified the country,

Cf. 57. 43, 61, 73, 76; 58. 18, 59; 59. 9, 17; 60. 36, 45, as also the chronological summary of Wickremasinghe, E.Z. II. 207-8. It is noteworthy too that the King's coronation is celebrated in the anciently sacred town of Anurādhapura although Pulatthinagara is the capital.

1 Pā. on aṭṭhisā, sattisā, sānāṭhisā. 

2 P. bāhāja, the same as khattiya, because the caste of the Khättiya issued from the arms of God Brahman.

3 P. chattagāhakānātha, dharmagāhakānāyaṇa, sattisāṭhisā. 

4 P. tāṇ, namely Rohaṇaḥ tathā Malayaṃṣaṇḍalam.
and appointed officials there, he, the able one, advanced himself with great forces to Dakkhipadasa. The hero there sent 21 on a general of the lineage of the brother of Samanï, captured his foes in bitter fight, had them impaled and after 22 freeing Lañkã from the briers (of the rebels) he returned to Pulatthinagara which was now devoid of all fear.

At that time the royal consort of Jagatipala who dwelt 23 in the Cola Kingdom, had escaped with her youthful daughter Lilãvati by name, from the power of the Colas, had embarked 24 in haste, landed in the Island of Lañkã and sought out the Sovereign of Lañkã. When the King heard the story of her 25 lineage and saw from that that she was of irreproachable descent, he had Lilãvati consecrated as his mahesi. The Mahesi conceived by the King a daughter and the Ruler gave her the name of Yasodharã. Together with the province of 27 Merukandara the King gave his daughter to Viravamma. She conceived two daughters. The elder received the same name 28 as her grandmother, Sugalã by name was the younger of the two. The King wishful for the continuance of his line, fetched from the Kalinga country the charming young princess of the royal family of Kalinga, Tilokasundarã by name, and 30 had her consecrated as his mahesi. She conceived five 31 daughters: Subhaddã, Sumittã, Lokanãthã, Ratanãvali and Rûpavatî and a son Vikkamabãhu, furnished with the marks 32

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1 I believe that by Samanï the foster mother of the Buddha, Mahã-pajûpati, is meant. As she was according to the Cullavagga X. 1 (= Vin. II. 253 ff.), the first woman to receive the upasãµpadã she can be described as "the Nun" pure and simple. The general (saciã) belonged thus to the family of Gotama.

2 Or with the Col. Ed. nirãtañkañ "free of harm". The MSS. vary. W. refers the word as predicative object, like vigatakvanjakañ to Lañkã. From the position of the words it seems to me more correct to combine nirãsãkvanaj with the following Pulatthinagarañ.

3 See 56. 15.

4 Like her mûtãmahã, the mother of her mother. She was called therefore, Lilãvatî.

5 Vijayabãhu had, therefore, two mahesĩs, Lilãvatî (v. 25) and Tilokasundarã.
of future power. Now that he had obtained increase of offspring, his wives won the King's heart. Of the other women of the court, except the wives of equal birth, none conceived by the Monarch a fruit of the womb.

34 Now one day as the King surrounded by the throng of his courtiers, gazed on each of his daughters standing there and, versed in signs, perceived on none of his other daughters except on Ratanāvalī the sign indicative of the birth of a son (himself) furnished with the signs of power; seized by loving emotion, he called Ratanāvalī to him, kissed her on the head, and with tender joy spake to her thus: “This thy body shall be the place for the birth of a son who will surpass all former and future monarchs in glorious qualities, generosity, wisdom and heroism, who will be able to keep Lankā ever in safety and united under one umbrella, who will be in perfect wise a patron of the Order, and who will display an abundant and fine activity”. Though repeatedly entreated by the Cola Monarch, the King, proud of his family, would not give him his younger sister. On the contrary, he fetched the Paṇḍu King who came of an unblemished line, and wedded to him his royal sister Mitṭā by name who had been born after him.

37 She bore three sons, Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimēgha by name, and him who was called Sirivallabha. (His daughter) Subhaddā the Ruler gave with ample dowry to Virabāhu and Sumittā to Jayabāhu. To Mānābharaṇa he gave his daughter Ratanā-

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1 I believe that harantā which all MSS. have, should be separated into haraṇ tā. By tā are meant the two queens Līlāvatī and Tilokasundarī who have borne children to the King. There is no need to change the text.

2 That is of course the two Mahesā. The word itthāgāra, lit. “women’s house” = Harem women, is used for the inmates, like the German “Frauenzimmer”.

3 A prophecy concerning Parakkumabāhu the Great, the future son of Ratanāvalī.

4 The Col. Ed. has here nirāsāṅkaṃ contrary to all the MSS. while in v. 22 it has nirātāṅkaṃ.

5 See below note to 63. 15.

6 Virabāhu and Jayabāhu were younger brothers of Vijayabāhu.
valli, the one with the name Lokanāthā to Kittisirimegha (to wife). As the one called Rūpavatī had died, he gave to Sīrī- 45 vallabha the princess called Sugalā. When he beheld the 46 princes Madhukāṇava, Bhūmārāja and Balakkāra, kinsmen of the Mahesī (Tilokasundari), who had come from Sīhapura¹, the Monarch found pleasure in them and granted each of them 47 befitting maintenance. All of them having enjoyed such honour 48 and distinction, dwelt ever loyal to the Ruler, where they pleased. The younger sister of these princes, Sundari by name², 49 he, concerned for the continuance of his house, gave to Vikkamabāhu (to wife). Further he also gave Vikkamabāhu 50 the excellent Līlāvati together with (befitting) income, taking pleasure in the welfare of his kindred.

Thus caring for those belonging to him, full of riches, 51 above all bent on kindness, he did what served the good of his kindred and what at the same time was politically wise.

Here ends the fifty-ninth chapter, called "The Bestowal of Favours", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Sīhapura is the town which according to the legend (cf. Mhvs. 6.35) was founded in Līla by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu. Līla borders in the north on the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundari, as must be inferred from Mhvs. 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutiā Nagpur to the west of Bengal, is still called Singhbhum.

² All the MSS. have the form Sundari with the single exception of S 7, which has Sundari. The latter is confirmed by an inscription. In the rock inscription of Dimbulagala (EZ. II. 184 ff., 194 ff.) the Queen calls herself Sundaramahadevi, consort of the King Vikumbā (i.e. Vikkamabāhu) and mother of Sāja-bāhu-deva. In the course of the inscription she refers to a meritorious work which she had performed in the reign of her husband's predecessor Jayabāhu.
CHAPTER LX

CARE FOR THE LAITY AND FOR THE ORDER.

1 The Ruler chose people of good family whom he had all around him\(^1\) and, as was customary, charged them with his 2 protection\(^2\). In Pulatthinagara he had a high and strong wall built, provided with many bastions, well faced with stucco, 3 defended round about with a long, broad and deep trench and equipped with high parapets\(^3\) difficult for the foe to reduce. 4 As the number of the bhikkhus was not sufficient to make the chapter full for the (holding of the) ceremony of admission into 5 the Order and other acts, the Ruler of men who had at heart the continuance of the Order, sent to his friend, the Prince Anuruddha\(^4\) 6 in the Rāmaṇa country messengers with gifts and had fetched thence bhikkhus who had thoroughly studied the three

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\(^1\) P. sabbe samādiya, overlooked in W.'s translation.

\(^2\) They were his permanent bodyguard. P. yathācārama "as was customary" like the skr. yathācāram, with the same meaning. BR., s. v.

\(^3\) P. patthaṇḍīla. The word occurs again M. I. 155 as the designation of a part of a hermitage and in the combination -dīle caṅkamāno. The skr. sthayāḍīla = pa-tthāṇḍīla means "a level floor, bare floor". What patthāṇḍīla is in a fortification cannot be determined. Unfortunately the descriptions which Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra 2. 3, 21, gives of the construction of a fortress, are so obscure and difficult that they do not help us further.

\(^4\) King Anuruddha of Burma, the national hero of the Burmese, was crowned in the year 1010 (Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 22). There are chronological difficulties about Anuruddha's being the contemporary of Vijayabāhu I. The assumption is probably an arbitrary one on the part of the author of our part of the Mahāvaṃsa or of his source. That Vijayabāhu fetched bhikkhus from Burma is confirmed by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva mentioned above (note to 58, 1). The fact is also related in Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Nik.-s.
Piṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues, (and) acknowledged as theras. After distinguishing them by costly gifts, the King had the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission into the Order repeatedly performed by them and the three Piṭakas together with the commentary frequently recited and saw to it that the Order of the Victor which had declined in Laṅkā again shone brightly. Within Pulatthinagara he had many charming vihāras built at different places, made bhikkhus who belonged to the three fraternities, take up their abode there and gladdened them by abundant (gifts of the) four necessaries. After building a vihāra beautiful by reason of its threshold pillar, provided with wall and trench, beautified by a splendid five-storeyed pāsāda, well equipped with charming rows of dwellings round about, filled with people, provided with a roomy, superb, sumptuous gateway, he, holding precious above all things the three (sacred) objects, made it over to the bhikkhus dwelling in the three fraternities. For their support with food he granted to the community the whole district of Āḷiśāra together with the canal diggers dwelling there. To several hundred bhikkhus he assigned dwellings there, supplying them regularly with the four necessaries in ample

1 P. padesasmiṁ tahiṁ tahiṁ, equivalent to tasmiṁ tasmiṁ padese.
2 See below note to 60. 56.
3 It is doubtful whether ēḷakatthambha is to be understood as a dvandva or as a tatpurṣa compound. At any rate what is meant is the whole frame of the entrance gate on which great care was expended in the buildings of Ceylon.
4 What is meant probably are the monastery servants who were present in great numbers.
5 P. gopura here probably the main gateway of the whole establishment.
7 P. nettika “one who makes conduits for irrigating rice-fields” (Curzon). Cf. udakany hi nayanti nettikā Dh. 80, 145; Thér. 19; M. II. 1053. These people had to keep in order the rice fields granted to the monastery. W.’s translation “the chiefs of the people who dwelt there” is wrong.
measure. After building for the Tooth Relic a beautiful and
costly temple\(^1\) he instituted permanently for the Tooth Relic a
great festival. Holding himself aloof from intercourse with a
large circle\(^2\), he translated the Dhammasaṅgani every morning
in the beautiful preaching-hall\(^3\). While instituting many offerings
of sweet-smelling savours, flowers and the like with dance
and so forth, he was wont, joined with him in faith, to wor-
ship the Enlightened One with bowed head. The many schol-
ars\(^4\) who came from Jambudipya and who were worthy of a
gift, the mighty Monarch who was a hero in giving, gladdened
with gifts of money. For the preachers of the true doctrine
he instituted offerings of divers kinds, and rejoicing ever at
the merits of the doctrine, made them teach the true doc-
trine. Thrice he dispensed alms to the poor of a weight
equal to that of his body\(^5\) and on the Uposatha day he kept
the Uposatha vow in blameless fashion. Every year the So-
vereign instituted a Dāṇḍissara offering\(^6\); he had the Tipiṭaka
23 copied and presented it to the bhikkhu-community. By the
sending of costly pearls, precious stones and other jewels,
he reverenced, sacrificing many times over, the sacred Bodhi
Tree in Jambudipya.

24 Envoy sent by the Kaṇṭā Monarch\(^7\) and by the Coḷa
25 King came hither with rich presents. They sought out the
Monarch. He was greatly pleased thereat and after rendering
26 both embassies what was their due, he sent at first\(^8\) with the

\(^1\) Confirmed by the Tamil inscription cited above 58. 1.
\(^2\) P. gaṇasāṅgaṇīkā, the same meaning as DhCo. 4. 143\(^12\), here a
\(^3\) P. dhammamandivā, synonym for dhammasālā.
\(^4\) P. sūraṇa, plur. sūrayo. At the end of a compound, Mhvs. 85. 44 with
\(^5\) confirmed again by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva i. 11.
\(^6\) The origin of the name is unknown. All we know from parallel
\(^7\) See note to 55. 12.
\(^8\) P. teso (i.e. of the two embassies) ātavo (at first). The envoys of
the Coḷa king were thus at first retained.
Kaṇḍāta messengers his own envoys to Kaṇḍāta with choice gifts. But the Coḷas maimed the noses and ears of the Sibala messengers horribly when they entered their country. Thus disfigured they returned hither and told the King everything that had been done to them by the Coḷa King. In flaming fury Vijayabāhu in the midst of all his courtiers had the Damila envoys summoned and gave them the following message for the Coḷa king. "Beyond ear-shot, on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom and of mine a battle shall be fought at a spot to be determined by thee: exactly in the manner I have said it shall ye report to your master". After these words he dismissed the envoys clad in women's apparel in haste to the Coḷa King, then he betook himself with his army to Anurādhapura. To the seaports Mattikāvatittha and Mahātīttha he sent two generals to betake themselves to the Coḷa kingdom and begin the war. While the generals were procuring ships and provisions in order to send the troops to the Coḷa kingdom, then, in the thirtieth year (of the King's reign), the division of the troops called Velakkāra revolted as

1 On the way into the Kaṇḍāta-country.
2 Some MSS. have sanaḥ vīnaḥ, some sotaḥ vīnā which comes to the same thing n and t being constantly mistaken for each other. I keep to sotaḥ vīnā which gives excellent sense, but believe that we must derive sota from the Skr. śrotā rather than from śrotas. The alteration of the Col. Ed. into senaḥ vīnā would merely be tantological.
3 The name means "clay-pit landing-place". The place is otherwise never mentioned.
4 Nothing is said about any answer of the Coḷa King to Vijayabāhu's challenge.
5 In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva the Veḻaiikkāra are mentioned as the troops which had taken over the guarding of the Tooth Relic. They were a group of soldiers or a military clan and accompanied, as we learn from inscriptions of Southern India (Wickremesinghe, E.Z. II. 247), King Rājendra Coḷa I to Ceylon. Since that time they had great influence in the Island, serving as mercenaries to the king. According to Rāsamanādaya Mudaliyar (JRAS. C. Br. xxix, nr. 77, 1924, p. 268 f.) they took the vow to kill themselves if any evil befalls
they did not want to go thither. They slew the two generals and like rutting elephants in their unbridledness, they plundered the country round Pulatthinagara. They captured the younger sister of the King with her three sons and burned down with violence the King’s palace. The King left the town and betook himself in haste to Dakhinadesa and having hidden all his valuable possessions on the Vātagiri rook, he advanced together with the Uparāja Virabahu, of lion-like courage, and surrounded by a great force, to Pulatthinagara where after a sharp fight he shortly put the assembled troops to flight. Placing them around the pyre on which were laid the remains of the murdered generals, he had the recreant leaders of the troops, their hands bound fast to their backs, chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames blazing up around them. The Ruler having (thus) executed there the ringleaders of the rebels, freed the soil of Lankā everywhere from the briers (of the rebels).

The King did not lose sight of the aim he had set himself of fighting with the Coja (King), and in the forty-fifth year (of his reign) he marched with war-equipped troops to the port on the sea and stayed there some time awaiting his arrival. But as the Coja (King) did not appear, the King dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulatthinagara and resided there a considerable time.

The tanks Mahāheli, Sareheru and Mahādattika by name, Kaṭunnarū, Paṇḍavāpi and Kalalashallika by name, the tank the king. Although their disloyalty was punished by Vijayabahu with bloody severity, rebellions of the Velakkaras took place even at the time of Gajabahu (63. 24 ff.) and Parakkamabahu I. (74. 44 ff.).

1 The Princess Mittā with her sons Mānabharna, Kittiśirimegha and Sirivallabha. See 59. 41-2.

2 See 58. 31 with note.

3 In mānāmaṅa gaṁgaṅī the latter must be taken as acc. pl., the former as gen. pl. Mānā “proud, arrogant” is evidently the same as “unbridled, rebellious”, as noun “rebel”. W. translates: “moreover, the king laid waste the lands of the haughty nobles who dwelt there”. But v. 44 still evidently refers to the execution of the rebel leaders.
Eraṭṭegalla and the Dīghavatthuka tank, the tanks Māṇḍavaṭaka and that of Kattagrabodhipabba; the tanks Valūhassa, 50 Mahādāragalla and Kumbhiḷasobhaka, the Pattapāṣaṇa tank and the tank called Kāṇa: these and many other tanks whose 51 dams had burst, he had (newly) dammed up, since his efforts were ever directed to the welfare of the distressed. By building dams here and there on brooks, rivers and streams the Sovereign made his kingdom fruitful. While damming up 53 (anew) the damaged Tilavatthuka canal he filled the Maṇihīra tank with water. His own Mahesī who disturbed the peaceful life of the vihīras, he deprived of her revenues and had her led out into the town with an iron collar, conciliated the 55 community and thus testified to the world his reverence for the Order. In the three fraternities in Mahāgāma he restored 56 the relic shrines destroyed by the Coḷas and likewise the

1 Of these lakes several have been already mentioned, others are mentioned later. The Mahādattika is mentioned 38. 50 under Dhātasaṅga, the Valūhassa 37. 185 under Uṇatissa II, as well as 42. 67 under Aggabodhi II. The Pattapāṣaṇa was built according to 41. 61 by Moggallāna by the damming-up of the Kadambanadi which flows past Anurādhapura. The Kāṇa which is mentioned under Sena I and II, 50. 72 and 51. 78, must probably be looked for in the vicinity of the Mihintale mountain. Amongst the many tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu I, which are enumerated 79. 31 ff., the Mahādatta, the Valūhassa, the Kumbhiḷasobhaka, the Mahādāragalla, the Pattapāṣaṇa and the Kāṇa recur. Lastly, among the lakes made or restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dikkhipadesa before his ascent of the throne (68. 43 ff.) are the Kāṭunnaṇa and the Kalalhaliṅka (cf. also 70. 78, 169). The Paṇḍavāpi according to 68. 39 was enlarged by him. This must surely be the Paṇḍavāva in the North-West Province, about 16 miles N. W. of Kurunegala, notwithstanding Parker’s opinion against it. See Corrington I. 70.

2 Lit.: “by having her caught by the neck”. It would seem that the Queen had infringed the right of asylum (abhaṇa) of the vihīra.

3 P. dhātugabha, equivalent to Sinh. dāgaba, dāgoba, dāgāva. The word occurs already in the Mvs. 31. 94. Note that Pulattihimangara (60. 10) and Mahāgāma had each its three monastic fraternities (taya nīkāya, note to 41. 97) just as Anurādhapura.

4 Refers probably to the plundering of Rohaṇa by the Damiṣas under Mahinda V. See 55. 15 ff.
two Thūpārāmas. At the place of his mother's fire-burial as also at that of his father in Budalavīthī he erected five large dwelling houses (for bhikkhus). The vihāras Paṇḍavāpi, Paṭhīna, Rakkhacetiyaapabbata, likewise Maṇḍalagiri, and the Madhutthala-vihāra, the vihāra called Uruvela and the vihāra in Devanagara, the vihāra Mahiyaṅgaṇa and the cave temple Sītalagāma, the Jambukola-vihāra and Girikanda, the Kuruṇidiya-vihāra and the cave temple of Jambukola, the Bhallataka-vihāra and Paragūmaka, the vihāra called Kūsagalla and the vihāra called Candagiri, the Velagāmi-vihāra and that in the village Mahāsena by name, the vihāra in Anurādhapura and the temple of the Bodhi Tree (there): these and many other vihāras which had fallen into decay, the Sovereign restored and granted villages to every single one of them. With the wish that all

1 That the Thūpārāma of Anurādhapura and that of Pulatthinagāra are meant is not at all certain. According to the wording of the text Mahāgāma stands at the beginning of the whole verse one would expect the Thūpārāma vada yaṁ to be in Mahāgāma.

2 Of these vihāras that of Paṇḍavāpi lies without doubt near the lake mentioned 60. 48. Whether the Rakkhacetiyaapabbata is identical with the Rakkhā-vihāra of 44. 51 remains doubtful. Cf. note 46. 29 for Maṇḍalagiri. Madhutthala is mentioned 75. 147 as a fortified place (daggaga), and this is identified by Cetasikas (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, II) with Migoda, a hamlet not far from Urubokka (Moravak Korale, Matale District). The Census of 1921 (II. 142) mentions a Migoda (and also a Madugoda) in the Talpe Pattuva of the Galle District. That sinh. goḍa is the equivalent of thalā in the Pali form of place names in the Mhvs. is a discovery whose credit belongs to Cetasikas. Devanagara is the present Dondra. One could also translate v. 59 as follows: "the vihāra called Uruvela in Devanagara". Jambukolavihāra and Jambukolalena are the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale, and its celebrated rock temple. The Bhallataka-vihāra was built according to 38. 47 by Dhātusena. Kuruṇidiya might be identical with the Kurunda mentioned in 42. 15 as a foundation of Aggabodhi I. I believe the Candagiri-vihāra to be the monastery belonging to the Sandagiri Tope in Tissamahārāma. A Mahāsena-vihāra is mentioned 48. 8 and 51. 76, a village Mahāsenaṇgāma 75. 103. Mahiyaṅgaṇa is known, see 51. 74, note. The other vihāras are only named in our passage. The reading Kūsagalla is doubtful.
the people who trod the difficult road to worship the footprint of the Sage on the Samantakūṭa
devoted not to become weary, he granted for the dispensing of gifts, the village called Gilimalaya
where there were rice fields and the like, and had rest-houses built on the road past Kadali[village] and on the path from the province of Hūva hither, granting villages to each of these (for providing maintenance) and after having the words "In future kings shall not take possession of these" engraved on a stone pillar the Monarch set this up.
The villages of Antaravittīhi, Samghātagāma and Siriamādagala-gāma he granted to the Lābhavasin (bhikkhus). To the 69 Vantajivaka bhikkhus he gave the four necessaries and to their kindred he granted maintenance villages. In the cool season he gave to the bhikkhus abundantly of rugs and charcoal pans, as well as of all kinds of medicine. He dispensed, the discerning (Prince), to the bhikkhu community in careful fashion over and over again all articles of necessity and of

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1 The old Mahāvaṇṇa has only Sumunakūṭa as name for Adam's Peak. In the second part Samantakūṭa is the form used. From chapter 86 onwards the old name appears with it and is used by preference.

2 Gilimalaya situated in the Kuruviti Korale of the Ratnapura District (Census of C. 1921, II. 476), is an example of resumption of a royal grant in Ceylon. Under the Kandyian government it was a royal village. H. W. Courington, H. C., p. 54.

3 Kadali[gāma is without doubt the present Kehelgamuva (Courington) north of Adam's Peak, situated on the small river that joins the Maskeliya a little further down. The river then joins the Kelaniganga at Yatiyan[tota]. The sacred mountain was climbed from the North by way of Kadali[gāma. From the East the path of approach led through the province Hūca, i.e. now Uva. The inscription of Ambagamuva (note to 58.1) describes minutely all that the King did for the famous place of pilgrimage and so confirms the content of our passage.

4 See note to 54. 27. Of the three villages mentioned Antaravittīhi occurs also in 61. 46 and 70. 322. It was situated in Rājarāṭha apparently not far from Pulatthinagara.

5 Evidently an ascetic sect similar to the Lābhavāsins just mentioned. The name means "one who has thrown away his life".

the necessaries he gave eight-fold. The many villages in Rohaṇa granted by former kings, for the feeding of the community, to the Lābhāvīsin bhikkhus and to those who made it their duty to sacrifice to the cetiyas and other sacred objects, did he further without exception decree for the same purpose. To cripples the strong one gave strong oxen (for work) and to crows, dogs and other animals he dispensed food, great in pity. To many authors of poems he gave, himself an eminent poet, great possessions with heritable villages.

Did he hear verses composed by the sons of royal officials and by others, this prince of poets gave them befitting gifts of money. To the blind and the lame he granted villages separately and of that which was formerly spent for the shrines of the gods he took nothing away. To women of good family who were unprotected or widowed, the Sovereign gave according to their deserts, villages, food and clothing. The highly gifted King stood in the composition of Sīhala poems at the head of the Sīhala poets. The Uparāja (Virabāhu) who hung with reverence on the beautiful Baddhagūpa-vihāra, had the cetiya here that had been destroyed by the Coḷas restored.

Generous as he was, he then made over to this superb vihāra fine villages and instituted regular sacrificial festivals. Near to the forest which lay close to this vihāra, he had a tank built which was solid and held abundant water. In the Kappūramūḷḥyatana the King’s daughter Yasodharā built

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1 The aṭṭha parikkhārā of the bhikkhu are the alms-bowl, the three garments, girdle, razor, needle and water sieve. For the catupaccayā, on the other hand, see 37. 76 note.

2 P. paśeṇigāma is a village that remains in possession of the family. The word is formed like paśeṇirāja DhCo. I. 169.

3 The temples of the Hindu deities are meant.

4 See 59. 11; 60. 40.

5 P. muttaçāy for otherwise muttaçāgo (Skr. muktaçāya) S. I. 226⁷; A. I. 226¹²; DhCo. I. 42¹³; Mhvs. 51. 3.

6 P. upacāravana. Cf. PTS. P. D. s. v. upacāra 4: entrance, access, i.e. immediate vicinity or neighbourhood.

7 As ṣvāyatana at the end of names is used occasionally as vihāra
a massive, charming and large image house, and in the Se-

lantarasarunaha (-vibha)¹ she, created Queen² by the King,
erected a beautiful, lofty pása which received the name of
Pasáda³. In the same way many courtiers and women of his 85
harem amassed many merits in many ways.

While thus the Sovereign of Laúká reigned over Laúká, 86
the Uparája (Virabáhu), a man of excellent character, was
brought by cruel death into his power. After performing all 87
the funeral rites for him, he granted the dignity of uparája,
at the counsel of the bhikkhus, to Jayabáhu⁴. The rank of 88
ádipáda he bestowed on Vikkamabáhu, and when later a son
was born to Vikkamabáhu, known by the name of Gajabáhu,
the King having taken counsel with his ministers, made over to 89
him, desirous of the welfare of his son, the whole of Rohana
as dwelling-place. He (Vikkamabáhu) betook himself thither, 90
made the town of Mahánágahula⁵ the capital and took up
his abode in it.

After this Ruler of men, Vijayabáhu, had thus for five 91
and fifty years rolled the wheel of dominion⁶ without its

(cf. Selantaráyata, 78. 10) Kappúramulláyata may be meant for the
Kappúra-pariveśa (46. 29; 46. 21; 50. 77) belonging to the Abhayagiri.

¹ Cf. 57. 37.

² I retain the reading rásinikatá to which the MSS. point. We know
from 49. 8; 50. 58; 54. 11 that rásini is a title bestowed by the King
on his female kinswomen. It is thus clear from our passage that the
King raised his daughter Yasodhará to the rank of rásini and that she
then built the structure described in the verse.

³ The name was thus probably Pasádapaśáda, so called because of
the satisfaction (pasáda) felt by Yasodhará at the distinction con-
erred on her.

⁴ This is quite in keeping with the Sinhalese law of succession
according to which before the son, in this case Vikkamabáhu, the younger
brother, has claim to the throne.

⁵ See note to 58. 39.

⁶ In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva (note to 58. 1) it is said
that the King Sírimmapghadhiwarman Sírivajayabháudóvar reigned
55 years and celebrated 73 birthdays. According to Pájáv. he reigned
over 50, according to Rájáv. even 80 years.
wavering, and had served the Order as also the people sore vexed by fear of the wicked Damijas, he ascended to the heavenly world to behold the rich reward that had sprung from his meritorious works.

Here ends the sixtieth chapter, called "Care for the Laity and for the Order", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER LXI

HISTORY OF THE LIVES OF THE FOUR KINGS

Thereupon Mittā, the younger sister of the King, her three sons, the highest dignitaries and the ascetics dwelling in the district met together and without sending news of the Monarch's death to the Ādipāda (Vikkamabāhu) dwelling in Rohaṇa, they took counsel together and when they had become of one mind they bestowed the consecration as king of Laṅkā on the Yuvarāja (Jayabāhu). But to the dignity of uparāja they appointed the prince called Mānābharāṇa, all thereby quitting the path of former custom. And all three brothers with Mānābharāṇa at the head, in company with Jayabāhu, took forcible possession of all valuables regarded as specially costly, such as pearls, jewels and the like, as well as of the vehicles, and of the elephants and so on, and left Pulatthinagara with the whole army (with the intention): we will speedily seize the person of Vikkamabāhu. At the tidings of all these events Vikkamabāhu thought: "Unhappily I had no chance of paying my father the last honours, I will now betake myself in haste to Pulatthinagara and by gazing on my father's funeral pyre, assuage the heavy grief which weighs on my soul." With this firm resolve the Ādipāda left his town

1 Jayabāhu's ascent of the throne is lawful (see note to 60. 87), unlawful on the other hand, is the appointment of Mānābharāṇa as uparāja, which at once makes him heir to the throne. After Jayabāhu, Vikkamabāhu is heir, as son of Vijayabāhu. Evidently descent in the female line has to do with this, the dhāgineyya the son of the sister, having an exceptional position, a circumstance utilized by Mittā in furtherance of her ambitious plans. Jayabāhu is, as will appear, a puppet king. The whole influence is now already in Mānābharāṇa's hand.
11 (Mahānāgahula) and full of high courage, accompanied by a force seven to eight hundred strong, set out for Pulatthinagarā. While still on the way, in the district of Guttasālā at the village of Panasabukka, he caught sight of the great army approaching in battle array, but he wholly a hero\(^1\), free of all fear, opened fight and at once scattered the foe in all directions. Having suffered this defeat, the three brothers, stubborn-minded, armed troops and train anew, and gave battle in the district called by the name of Ādipāda-jambu, but Vikkamabāhu routed the three (brothers) still more severely in the battle. For the third time he fought them at Kaṭagāma, for the fourth time at Kālavāpi, for the fifth time at Uddhanadvāra, for the sixth time at Paṅkavelaka\(^2\) and ever he was victorious, and reached Pulatthinagara accompanied by his ministers and attendants. In the intended way he visited his father’s place of burial and freed of his great grief, and comforted he took up his abode in the town. On his ministers who had been his friends in need he bestowed according to merit, full maintenance by means of office; and to all the soldiers also who had come with him, he gave fitting reward mindful thereof that they had stood by him in his need.

21 The Monarch Mānābharaṇa with the other brothers seized

\(^1\) P. ekasītro, wrongly translated by W. “being the only brave man in his company”. Eka here has rather the sense of “only, purely, nothing but” as in sakalanivesanāṃ ekurasanā kateva JaCo. I 486\(^3\), aggiṇā ekajālasamāhitānā Jn. VI. 495\(^2\) etc.

\(^2\) It can be proved that all these skirmishes took place in a comparatively narrow space to the north and north-east of Buttala. This is proved by the mention in the last place but one of Uddhana-dvāra (= sinh. Uundorna). The position of this place which is mentioned several times in chapters 74 and 75, has been in the main determined by Commissen in his second article on the Topography of Ceylon in the 12th century. According to a notice in the Daḷāda-Pujāvali Uundorna was situated at the mountain Amaragiri and this, as the Rate Mahatmaya Bibile was able to prove, is the older name for Monaragala N. E. of Buttala. Kālavāpi, if the reading is right, has at any rate nothing to do with Kalaveva.
Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa, and thereupon conferred on Kittisirimegha the province of Dvādasasahasraka and ordered him to take up his abode there. Charged by his brother, the 23 Ruler of men Kittisirimegha betook himself thither and dwelt in the town called Mahānāgahula. To the Prince Sirivallabha by name he granted the region called Atthasahassaka and commanded him to dwell there. So the latter betook himself thither, made of the village of Uddhanadvāra by name, the royal capital and dwelling there, ruled the land. He himself advanced with the army to Dakkhinadesa and dwelt, under the name of Virabahu, in Puukhagāma. The mother of the three brothers and the Monarch Jayabahu sojourned at that time with Kittisirimegha (in Mahānāgahula).

A year having passed, Mānabharana and the others remembering all the shameful, severe defeats inflicted on them in battle by Vikkamabāhu, egged on ever and again by their 28

1 A complete change of front has taken place. Vikkamabāhu has lost the province of Rohaṇa and in addition Dakkhinadesa to his enemies. On the other hand, he is now master of Rājaraṭha which was formerly in the hands of Jayabahu and the sons of Mittā.

2 The name means "Province of the twelve thousand (villages)". The Sinhalese Dolosdās corresponds to this (Codrin contenders I. p. 69. 78). This name is even now, as I was able to verify in Matara, used as designation of the Giruva-Pattu of the Southern Province on the right bank of the lower Valavegang. Cf. also note to v. 24.

3 In our passage the form Mahānāgasula is used.

4 Whether the name Atthasahassaka "the province of the eight thousand (villages)" may be compared with that of the Atakalan Koraļ in the Ratnapura District is doubtful. At any rate, another district was meant at the time to which our passage refers. This is already proved by the fact that Uddhanadvāra (note above to v. 16) was according to v. 25, made the capital of Atthasahassaka. It seems that the whole of Rohaṇa at that time was split in two. The region west of the Valavegang was called Dvādasasahasra, that east of the river Atthasahassaka. Codrin contenders I. c.

5 We do not know where Puukhagāma is situated, although according to 79. 61 Parakkamabāhu I. erected a tope there 120 cubits high of which there ought still to be traces.

6 P. durussaha, lit. "difficult to endure".
stubborn pride, thought thus: "How in Rājarāṭṭha of the Kings of consecrated head dare this single man hold sway without the royal consecration?" Their envy reached its highest point and with still more followers (than the first time) they set forth united to begin the war. When Vikkamabāhu learned of this matter from messengers he advanced at the head of a large army thither where they were. In Dakkhiṇadesa by the village of Bodhisenaapabbata Vikkamabāhu defeated in battle the three (brothers). With the intention to root out now all his enemies he pursued the fugitives at their heels. They withdrew into a stronghold in the province of Pañcayojana, but he in order to capture them, advanced to Kalyāṇi.

A warrior, lord of the Ariya country, Viradeva by name, sole sovereign of Pandalipa, a most foolhardy man, landed at that time with brave warriors in Mahātiṭṭha in the belief he would be able to bring the whole of Lanka into his power. Now when the Sovereign Vikkamabāhu heard of the matter, he thought: so long as he has not yet gained a firm footing in Lanka he must be rooted out. So he marched from Kalyāṇi and betook himself to the village called Mannāra near Mahātiṭṭha. Viradeva offered the King battle. Two princes, brothers, Anikaṅga and the other, as well as the Commander-in-chief, known by the name of Kittī, he killed by violence as well as many people, acknowledged warriors. The Senāpati

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1 I connect bhūyo with sanyagāha sāvaka. To change the MSS. reading bhūyo into bhūyā is unnecessary. The compilers of the later Mahāvamsa were strongly influenced by Sanskrit.
2 P. tesaṃ visayam, lit. "to their domain or district".
3 If Mānabharna and his brothers retire as far as Pañcayojana (see note to 57, 71) then they must surrender the greater part of Dakkhiṇadesa. In the pursuit Vikkamabāhu penetrates to Kalyāṇi that is to the district on the lower Kālanī-ganga (Colombo and its hinterland).
4 We have probably to read Ariyadesesā = Ariya-desa-īsa.
5 The present Mannar in the district of the same name in the Northern Province.
6 I prefer to read tena rājino with the Col. Ed. against the rājino of the MSS.
Rakkhaka he captured alive, and after defeating Vikkamabāhu and his army, he followed him at his heels. Fleeing in terror Vikkamabāhu reached his capital, took all his movable property and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra. Vira-
deva who was ever hard at his heels, reached the capital and took up his abode there for some days, then he set off in haste thither to capture Vikkamabāhu. But the latter sent off his whole large army, forced Vira-deva to fight in a great swampy wilderness near the village of Antaravīṭṭhika, slew him and dwelling then with might in Pulatthinagara, without the royal consecration it is true, he held sway as monarch in Rājarattha.

The three brothers now gave up their lust for war and dwelt each in his province to which he had betaken himself. But despite their efforts, the four princes, were quite unable to unite this country under one umbrella. In their heedless way of acting they slighted people of good family and placed ambitious men of the lower classes in leading positions. The deluded ones injured the Order and the laity who had variously been furthered in the best possible way by Vijayarāhu. From people of good family even in the absence of an equivalent offence, they would seizing forcibly their possessions. In their insatiability and money lust they squeezed out the whole people as sugar cane in a sugar mill, by

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1 This passage together with 70. 305 and 71. 6 makes it certain that Koṭṭhasāra was situated in the east (south or north-east) of Pulatthinagara. Codrington II. says also: "This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantali and was in the King's Country".

2 Antaravīṭṭhi must thus have been situated about halfway between Koṭṭhasāra and Pulatthinagara. The name occurs also in 60. 68, and again in 70. 322 in an account of battles which apparently took place in the neighbourhood of Pulatthinagara.

3 The three brothers and Vikkamabāhu.

4 I take sābhīmata to mean the same as sābhīmāna (skr. the same) "proud". The p. part. abhīmata stands as so frequently, instead of the abstract substantive (cf. for ex. mata "dying, the death" = maraṇa Therag. 194 etc.).

5 Most likely we have to read te ḍhīnatoṣā.
levying excessive taxes. King Vikramabāhu took the maintenance villages which belonged to the Buddha and so forth and gave them to his attendants. In Pulatthinagara he gave over several vihāras distinguished by (the possession of) relics, to foreign soldiers to live in. Precious stones, pearls and the like, presented by the pious as offerings for the Relic of the Alms-bowl, and for the sacred Tooth Relic, the sandelwood, the aloes, the camphor, the many images of gold and the like which he took forcibly, he used as it pleased him. Beholding this manifold evil committed against the Order and the laity, the ascetics in the eight chief vihāras\(^1\), looked up to as people worthy of honour, and the Pāṃsukūlin bhikkhus belonging to the two divisions\(^2\), were wroth at the matter and thinking it were better to remove themselves from the vicinity of people who like those erring from the faith, wrought in this way so much evil against the Order, they took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, betook themselves to Rohaṇa and settled themselves here and there in places where it pleased them. In the same way people of good family, scattered here and there, kept themselves hidden in places which seemed good to them and made their abode there.

The officers belonging to the retinue of the monarchs on both sides who were established on the frontiers, fought with each other continually. By setting fire to many flourishing villages and market towns, by piercing tanks filled with water, by destroying everywhere the weirs on all the canals and by hewing down all useful trees like the coconut palm and others, they in fighting each other, so devastated the kingdom that it was impossible to trace even the sites of the old villages. And even the rulers did evil to the people letting their retainers plunder the towns and commit highway rob-

\(^1\) P. āṭṭhamulavāṭhāresu in Pulatthinagara. Later (84. 4, 18) āṭṭhā-yatanāni are mentioned in Jambuddoṇi = Dambadeniya.

\(^2\) We hear nothing further of this organisation of the Pāṃsukūlins. It is worth noting that the sect now wholly vanishes. It is never mentioned again.
bery. The slaves too and the workmen of people of good family despised their masters without respect and void of all fear. They became mercenaries to the kings and worming themselves into their confidence, they, by means of offices conferred on them, attained ever greater power. The people dwelling in places difficult of access like the Samantakūṭa and so forth, no longer paid to the monarch the taxes formerly levied on them. They despised the king, became rene-gades and dwelt independent, each in his own region. "What is based on wrong speedily changes," this proverb was by no means true of the land of Laṅkā at that time.

Like (greedy) tenants of villages wholly and ever void of all dignity, their mind bent on destruction without end, wholly lacking in royal pride, false to their own or to others' welfare, without any restraint in their efforts: thus lived all these rulers forsaking the path of (good and ancient) custom.

Here ends the sixty-first chapter, called "History of the Lives of the Four Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 Here we meet for the first time a word frequently occurring in chapters 74-76 dāmarika, in the abstract form dāmarikattana (suff. -ttana = skr. -tana, cf. Whiiteney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1240). I find dāmarika for the first time in Buddhaghosa, in the Samantapūsamikā, Olsson, Vinaya III. 320. In Skr. we have dāmarika with cerebral initial sound, for ex. Kauṭ. 4. 9 (84) near the end.

2 Lit.: "The land Laṅkā never came at that time to such a condition that one could say: "What is based on wrong etc." One should compare with this ādī rattattabatāṃ nāpajjati DhCo. IV. 44. We have to do evidently with the quotation of a popular proverb equivalent to the English saying: "Ill gotten good seldom thrives". But this proverb could not be applied to Laṅkā at that time, had no bearing on Laṅkā (the nīeva of the MSS. must not be altered to yeva), since the evil, the wrong was just in full bloom.
CHAPTER LXII

THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE

1 The Ruler Jayabāhu¹ and the Queen Mittā by name who 2 had sojourned in Rohaṇa, departed now by death. The con- 3 sort of Sirivallabha, Sugalā, bore two children, a son Mā- 4 nābharaṇa and a daughter Līḷāvati. The royal consort of 5 Prince Mānābharaṇa also bore two daughters, Mittā and Pa- 6 bhīvatī. When the Mahādipāda Virabāhu² beheld these his 7 two daughters, he was struck by the following consideration: 8 "We are sprung from the pure dynasty of the Moon³, highly 9 esteemed in the world, at the head of all royal houses. In 10 outward appearance (we are) enviable, distinguished by every 11 aptitude, experienced in the various sciences, skilful in the 12 managing of elephants, horses and the like. And yet we 13 three have over and over again suffered severe defeat in fight 14 by the single Vikkamabāhu and there is no prospect of the 15 birth of a son who would be capable of wiping out this stain. 16 Ah, how small is our merit! What avails me a royal digni- 17 tity which is defiled by the evil tattle of the people? I must 18 now give up my bent to worldly things and spend⁴ my days

¹ The length of the reign is not given. According to Pūjāv. it was 18 years. Rājāv. where we have the name Vijayabāhu, not Jayabāhu, says 3 years. In Rājaratn. a Vijayabāhu is inserted after Jayabāhu. Here it is evident that the name of the father of Vikkamabāhu which is expressly given in the two other sources, has crept into the text as the name of a new king.
² I. e. Mānābharaṇa, who according to 61. 26 had assumed this name. He bore the title Mahādipāda being considered by his brothers the lawful successor of Jayabāhu.
³ P. somavāṃśa, skr. somavāṃśa. Soma is the Moon deity.
⁴ Netabbā instead of the meaningless te tayo is apparently a conjectural reading by S. and B. At any rate it is so convincing that I adopt it without scruple.
unweariedly in pious works." He made over the whole administra-
tion of the kingdom to his ministers¹ and while he himself sojourned there seven or eight months, he camped one night in the temple of the King of the gods², observing the precepts of moral discipline. Now about dawn the Ruler saw in a dream a wondrous god with glittering raiment and ornaments, adorned with fragrant flower wreaths, illuminating with his sublime beauty and the glory of his presence the whole heavens³ like to the sun when it has risen on the firmament and he heard him speak thus: "Be content, O greatly blessed! be joyful, O King! A splendid son, furnished with the tokens of power, who shall be able to carry out his designs, well instructed, of a courage whose splendour shall spread through the world, glorious in might and strength, honour and fame, a fount of excellent qualities, a furtherer of the Order and of the laity shall be attained by thee ere long, O mighty King! Now go at once to the town where dwell wife and child." As at daybreak he awoke full of joyful excitement, the best of men betook himself to Puñkhagāma. Even as he had seen it so the Ruler related the beautiful dream to his ministers in the presence of the Mahesi. He then in company with the Mahesi, with the wish for a distinguished son, amassed all kinds of good deeds, such as almsgiving, the observing of the moral precepts and the like. And one day at morn he saw himself in a dream entering the sleeping chamber of the Mahesi holding gently by the ear a beautiful, pure white elephant calf endowed with all auspicious marks. When he awoke he rose from his splendid couch and his heart merry with joy and rapture, he betook himself at this time to the sleeping chamber of the Mahesi and told her the dream, as he had seen it. "I also

¹ Here we must supplement "and withdrew into solitude".
² Name of Indra = Sakka.
³ Acesāsā ( = acesa-āsa, skr. āśā) Another excellent emendation by S. and B. instead of acesāyo. Perhaps acesadāyo would be even better in spite of the metrical irregularity. It might then be assumed that it was just this which led to the corruption of the text.
in a dream have embraced such a young elephant. It walked round my bed its right side turned towards it, then stood still. 26 Drawing it by the trunk to me and raising it up to my couch (I tenderly embraced it)." Thus the Queen told him. 27 The twain having thus made known to each other what they had seen, awaited joyfully and without slumbering, the break of day. In the morning they inquired of the house priest¹ who had come to pay his respects, and the soothsayers. When these heard this they announced full of joy: 29 "Within a short time, without doubt, the birth will take place of a son who shall bear on him the marks of (future) power". When they heard that, then all of them — ministers, citizens and the Ruler of men had the feeling of a great festival of joy. From that moment onward the Prince who wished above all a happy issue, had the Paritta recited over and over again by the community of the bhikkhus. To countless beggars he distributed daily as alms costly gifts — jewels, pearls and the like. Rites like the Homa² sacrifice and others held to be salutary, he had performed by the house priest and other brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda and the Vedaṅgas³. 34 Ruined vihāras and relic shrines and destroyed tanks he ordered the royal workmen to rebuild. While the Lord of men thus spent the day in pious action there grew shortly in the womb of the Queen a splendid fruit. When the Lord of men heard this, full of joy, he had an ample pregnancy gift⁴

¹ P. purihi. He was a Brahman. Cf. below v. 33 and specially v. 46 ff. The court life was organised according to Brahmanical rules.
² Skr. homa (from hū "to pour into the fire") is the general term for "sacrifice". Ṭhūti is older. An enumeration of the different homā with a terminology differing in part from that of Sanskrit ritual literature, is given D. I. 9 (= I. 1. 21). This passage has already been alluded to by Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber, p. 18.
⁴ P. gābbhāparīhārā. By parīhārā is meant every extraordinary grant
bestowed on the Queen. When in course of time the fruit of her body grew ripe, the Queen bore a son at a moment marked by a lucky constellation. Clear at this moment were all the quarters of the heavens and cool, fragrant, gentle breezes blew. With the trumpeting of the elephants and the neiging of the horses the royal courtyard was filled with resounding din. When the Ruler Mānābharāṇa full of astonishment beheld the extraordinary signs and wonders manifested in such divers ways, and when he then heard the news of the birth of his son, he was filled with joy at the fulfilment of his wish, as if anointed with ambrosia. He set many free who lay bound in fetters in prison and gave a splendid alms to the samāpas and the brāhmaṇas. And the people who dwelt in the town, with the ministers at the head, adorned the whole of the royal capital in divers ways, with arches of banana leaves and the like and trimmed and beautifully clad, they held for several days a great and joyous feast. According to the rules laid down in the Veda, the Monarch had the birth rites and the other ceremonies performed for the boy. He then summoned the house priest and the other brāhmaṇas versed in the lore of body marks and having shown them the customary reverence and distinction, he charged given for a special occasion. Gūbaperahāra in Sinhalese means a particular ceremony to be performed when pregnancy has taken place (the Kusājātaka v. 160, ed. by A. M. Gomaraka has gūbaperahāra); but the verb addāpayi does not agree with this meaning.

1 Amongst the ancient Germans the neighing of a horse was also regarded as a propitious sign. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 3. 442; cf. Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, S. 183. We are familiar with the tale of Herodotus 3. 84, 85, according to which Darius gained his crown through the neighing of his horse. The Slaves on the other hand, consider the restlessness and neighing of horses as an ill omen. Thus in the Serbian folk song of Ibrāhim Nukić, F. S. Krauss, Slavische Volksforschungen, p. 397.

2 P. jātakrama = skr. jātakarman in which four ceremonies are to be distinguished: 1) āyusya “giving of life”, 2) medhājana “the giving of understanding”, 3) stānapratidhāna “the giving of the breast” and 4) nāmakaraṇa “the giving of the name”. Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 45. Speiser, Jātakarman, Leiden 1872.
them with the determination of the body marks of the boy. After carefully observing all the marks on his hands and feet they announced joyfully to the King who stood amid the throng of his courtiers and to the Queen thus: “Apart from the island of Laṅkā he is able to unite under one umbrella and to rule even the whole of Jambudīpa.” The King gladden them with gifts and asked further courteously: “Is there any unfavourable sign to be seen or not?” “The boy will have a long life but there is an unfavourable constellation for the father,” they answered the Ruler. Having regard to the heroic strength of his foe-crushing arms, he received the significant name of Parakkamabāhu. Versed in the ritual, his father had the ceremony of the piercing of the ears and the ceremony of the first rice food performed exactly according to custom. He then sent his messengers to Pulatthinagara to bring Vikkamabāhu the news of the birth of his son. When Vikkamabāhu heard from them of the splendour promising qualities of his sister’s son but also of the inauspicious constellation for the father he thought: “A splendid nephew, gleaming like a jewel that is the centre stone in the chain of kings beginning with King Vijaya

1 The ceremony of the nāmakaraṇa is performed according to most of the Grhyasūtras on the 10th day. According to others even later, after a hundred nights or after a year. Hillersbrandt, l. c., p. 46 f.

2 P. karpavedha = skr. karpavedha, a ceremony mentioned only in one MS. of Pāraskara’s Grhyasūtra, performed in the third or the fifth year. Speiser, l. c., p. 21; Hillersbrandt, l. c., p. 50.

3 P. annapāśana = skr. annaprāśana. According to the rule common to all the Grhyasūtras the ceremony is performed in the 6th month. Hillersbrandt, l. c., p. 48. There is no mention here of the ceremony of the taking out of the child for the first time that he may see the sun adityadarśanārtham. It takes place according to Manu I. 34 caturthe māsā.

4 One may assume from this passage that after their unsuccessful wars against Vikkamabāhu the princes of Rohaṇa recognised him as king.

5 P., skr. nāyaka. For the meaning of “central gem” see BR. s. v., 3. The fundamental meaning is “leader, chief”.
hath he begotten me. That no harm may at any time befall him, the boy shall grow up here in my immediate neigh-
bourhood. To win unachieved and to keep achieved advantage this my son Gajabāhu will in no case be able. And my other son Mahinda, though gifted with heroic courage and other excellent qualities, stands lower owing to his mother’s origin and is unworthy of the crown. My sister’s son shall one day enjoy to his heart’s desire the dominion which is prosperous through the treasures I have amassed in many ways.” He then sent messengers to fetch the boy and gave them orna-
ments for the boy and other valuables as gift. When the Ruler Virabāhu heard all this out of the mouth of the mes-
sengers he said to himself: “These prudent words he hath spoken in thought for my good. Nevertheless it is not meet to send away such a jewel of a son of one’s own body for the warding off of evil which threatens me. Moreover, if the boy is taken thither, the party of Vikkamabāhu like fire joined with the strength of the storm, will gleam with mighty, up-shooting flames, but our misfortune, alas so great, will become still worse!” So he gave not his son to the mess-
gers who had arrived in his dominions but dismissed them after satisfying them with a gift of money.

The Lord of men who leading there with wife and child a harmonious life, was attacked by an evil disease and was forced to give up his life at the same moment with the royal dignity.

Here ends the sixty-second chapter, called “The Birth of the Prince”, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The translation rests on the conjectural reading of the Col. Ed. samājālissati in place of the sampākūlissati of the MSS.
CHAPTER LXIII

THE ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF SANKHATTHALI

1 When the two other brothers heard of the death of the eldest, they came hither in haste and had the last rites performed for him. Kittisirimegha hereupon took possession of the province of his elder brother. He then summoned the youngest brother (Sirivallabha), made over to him the two other provinces and ordered him to live there. The latter obeyed the orders of his elder brother, took the boy (Parakkamabahu) and the Queen Ratanavali and her two daughters and betook himself to the town of Mahanagahula. While he dwelt there in harmony (with them) he had the ceremony of the first dressing of the hair performed on the boy and brought him up with great pomp. Thereupon he wished to marry the eldest daughter of the Queen, Mitta by name, to his son (Manabharana) and took counsel thereupon with his ministers: "Princes of the dynasty of Kalinga have many times and oft attained to dominion in this island of Lanka. If now this Queen were to send her daughter away secretly to wed her to Gajabahu who is sprung from the Kalinga stock, he would in connection with the marriage become mightier, but my son here would be without any support at all. Hence it is advisable to give the princess to my son: as the matter lies this will be for our advantage." When

1 Mitta and Pabhavati, 62. 3.
2 P. sikhamaha. This corresponds to the caqakara of the Ghyasa-sutras. According to Saqkhayana this ceremony should be performed on a Kshatriya in the fifth year, otherwise the third year is generally given. HILLESBANDT I. c., p. 49.
3 He was the grandson of Vijayabahu I. and of Tilokasundari who came from the Kalinga country.
the Queen who was an ornament of the Sun dynasty, heard all this, as she by no means wished the affair, she spake to the Ruler thus: "After the Prince named Vijaya had slain 12 all the yakṣhīs and made this island of Laṅka habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with 13 ours by unions above all with scions of the Kalinga line. Union with other princes was also hitherto unknown with 14 us save with kings of the Moon dynasty. How then, just 15 because he is your son, could there be for us a union with that prince who has sprung from the Ariya dynasty? Al- 16 though the Queen in this wise protested over and over again, he nevertheless forcing (the matter) wedded the princess to his son. This (prince) accompanied by his consort, distin- 17 guished by many virtues, winning all people for himself, dwelt with his father.

Vikkamabāhu having enjoyed the royal dignity one and 18 twenty years, death ensuing, he passed to the other world. Hereupon Gajabāhu took possession of the flourishing king- 19 dom endowed with army and train, and dwelt in Pulatthins- gara. When however the Monarchs (of Rohaṇa) Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha heard of the event, they reflected thus: "As 21 Vikkamabāhu was the elder, his dominion in the chief king- dom could in no wise be a reproach to us, but that his son 22

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1 What is meant is the Aryan dynasty of the Pāṇḍya (called Paṇḍu in the Mahāvamsa) in Southern India. The mother of Sirivallabha and grandmother of the young prince Mānabhārana, Mittā, was according to 59, 41, married to the Paṇḍurāja. Ratanāvali evidently denies to Mittā's offspring the connection with the Moon dynasty of which they boast in 62. 5.

2 According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Vikkamabāhu reigned 28 years.

3 It is worthy of note that of the four Sinhalese sources which I have consulted for comparison, only Nik.-s. mentions Gajabāhu. Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. pass from Vikkamabāhu at once to Parakkamabāhu, whom the two first, in addition, describe as the son of Kittisirimegha. It was mentioned above (note to 59. 49) that Gajabāhu is named in the Dimbulagala inscrption as son of Sundarī and Vikkamabāhu. An inscrption of Gajabāhu at Kapuru-vedu-oya (Matale District) was published by H. W. Codrington, JRAS. C. B. xxvi, Nr. 71, 1919, p. 53 ff.
who is not of age should now rule in the main realm — it is
23 in truth not meet for us to permit that. So long as he has
not taken root in his province, we must take forcible pos-
24 session of this province.” The whole of the Velakkāra trope
they suborned by gifts of money. Save for a few retainers
of his immediate retinue, all the inhabitants of the kingdom
soon fell away from their ruler Gajabāhu and sent messengers
26 over and over again to the two kings: “With one accord we
will seize the kingdom and give it over to you, but ye must
27 give us support.” Thereupon the two brothers equipped in
haste their army and advanced from two sides to the centre
28 of the kingdom. They sent off envoys. The Monarch Ga-
jabāhu assembled thereupon his ministers and took counsel
29 with them: “The whole of the Velakkāra troops are in open
revolt; the two kings have advanced to fight against our realm.
30 If we first can deal the mightier part of them a decisive
31 blow⁴, then it will be easy to get rid of the others.” Having
thus resolved, he took his whole army and marched against
32 King Sirivallabha to fight him. King Sirivallabha fought an
33 extraordinarily bitter action from morning till evening. But
being unable to defeat the other he beat a retreat and betook
34 himself in haste to his own province again. The Ruler Kittisirimegha also, vanquished by Gokappa⁵, an officer of Gaja-
35 bāhu, returned to his province. The Ruler of men, Gaja-
bāhu, who had suffered no harm in this war, also be-
took himself again to the neighbourhood of his capital. After
the powerful (Gajabāhu) had punished many generals who

¹ See note to 60. 36.
² The centre of the kingdom is the capital Pulatthinagara. Kittisirimegha must have marched against it from Dakkhīnasdesa that is from the South-West, Sirivallabha from the South-East.
³ Evidently to Gajabahu, demanding that he should voluntarily surrender the kingdom.
⁴ P. mukhābhaṅga lit. a “smashing of the face or the mouth”, an expression evidently borrowed from the terminology of the prize fighter. It occurs again 76. 76.
⁵ For this general who had his headquarters in Kālavāpi, see further below 66. 35 ff., 70. 68 ff.
had offended against him, and having pacified the kingdom, he entered his town. After that the (three) Monarchs each 37 in his province, lived in amity with one another. But the 38 Monarch’s son¹ Parakkamabāhu, the discerning one, who was well schooled in all the arts, with his intelligence, capable 39 of distinguishing amid the multitude of things what should and what should not be done, with his soaring plans and his extraordinary greatness, cared not at heart for the comfort 40 of a life lived together with his mother and sisters, nor for the delight of the many childish games. He thought: “Prin- 41 ces like myself, gifted with heroism and other such like qualities—how can they live in such a secluded district? I will 42 betake myself now to the land of my birth which as Yu- 43 varāja I may enjoy”, and he left his place of abode, accom- 44 panied by his retinue. In course of time he came near to 45 the village which bore the name Saṅkhanāyakatthāli². When Kittisirimegha heard of it the heartache he felt at being 46 so alone, because he lacked a son fit to inherit the royal dignity, was assuaged and he thought: “My great, enduring 47 merit is rewarded in that I now can behold in him who is his living image, as it were my elder brother”. Swayed by 48 joyful excitement, the Ruler of men had the charming town decked out abundantly with triumphal arches and the like and on a day and under a special constellation held to be 49 propitious, he, surrounded by his hosts, went forth to meet him. And when he beheld the Prince gifted with qualities 50 with which those of others could not compare, and with all

¹ P. mandana, here “son” like skr. nandana. Cf. v. 51, note.
² The situation of this place, called also Saṅkhanaṭṭathālī (66. 9; 67. 78, 82) or Saṅkhatthali (64. 22), is unknown. According to 65. 4 ff. it was about 5 gāvā (about 10 miles) distant from Badalathalī. It is clear too from 67. 81-82, that the two places were not far from each other. Badalathalī must indeed have lain on the borders of Dakkhina- desa. As Badalathalī or-la (see note to 58. 43) is probably the present Batalagoda, N. E. of Kurunegala, Saṅkhatthali would have to be looked for somewhere in the region of Polgahawela or Kegalla. At any rate under Kittisirimegha it was the capital of Dakkhiṇadesa.
favourable marks, then full of joy he embraced him tenderly, drawing him to his breast and kissing him again and again on the head, whereby in face of the great multitude he shed continuously from his eyes floods of joyful tears. Thereupon he mounted with his son a beautiful chariot and filling the ten regions of the firmament round about with the clanging of the drums, he entered the town and showing his son all the beautiful decorations there, he entered the royal palace (with him).

When then a numerous retinue such as crowds of chamberlains, cooks and the like had been bestowed on him, he lived happily with his father whose heart was contented by his manifold excellences.

Here ends the sixty-third chapter, called "The Arrival in the City of Saṅkhathali", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The brother’s son is called “son” just as on the other hand, the nephew calls the brother of his father simply “father” (v.53, cf. note to 51.24). Cousins who are sons of brothers, call each other brothers, thus 48.51, 61. Aggabodhi VI. and VII. Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the "brother of the Buddha" because he was cūḷapūta putto (Sumanāgalavilāsinī ed. Revs Davids and J. E. Carpenter I. p. 422) The position of the sister’s son (bhāgānīcaya) is thereby the more marked.

2 Namely the four chief regions of the heavens, the four intermediary regions, zenith (skr. ārdhānā) and nadir (skr. tīrṇak or adhaka). Cf. skr. daśa diśāḥ.
CHAPTER LXIV

THE DEPARTURE FOR THE OTHER COUNTRY

After the arrival in his beloved native land, his heart's desire was fulfilled and all anxious yearning left him. And now with the help of his lightning-like intelligence he learned easily and quickly from his teachers the various accomplishments. In the numerous books of the Victor (Buddha), in the works on politics, as in that of Koṭalla\(^1\) and others, in grammar and poetry together with the knowledge of vocabulary and ritual\(^2\), in dance and song, in the art of driving the elephant and so forth, above all in the lore of the manipulation of the bow, the sword and other weapons he was past master. Admirably trained, he did everything that accorded with the King's, his father's wishes and was never lacking in reverence.

\(^1\) Conjectural reading for the kosalla, kosalla or kocalla of the MSS. Cf. 70. 56. I believe that Kauṭalya i.e. Cāṇakya, the famous minister of Candragupta is meant. He is alleged to be the author of a text book on politics, Artha-śāstra, which has been recently discovered. What is important is that the Cālavamsa seems to confirm the name Kauṭalya as against Kauṭūlya. It is handed down by Hemacandra, Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi 853 (see BR. s. v., Hillebrandt, Ueber das Kauṭilīyaśāstra und Verwandtes, p. 1) and seems to be the reading of the best MSS. so that in GANAPATI's new edition it appears throughout. I regard it as the original form for the following simple reason. The fact that the forms Kauṭalya and Kauṭīlya have been handed down together is indisputable. Now kauṭūlya as a variant of the original kauṭalya, in allusion to the content and character of the Artha-śāstra (skr. kuto “crooked, cunning”) is quite intelligible. On the other hand, it is not easy to explain why a word so distinct and of such definite meaning as kauṭūlya should be changed into kauṭalva. See however J. JOLLY, Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik V. 216 ff.

\(^2\) P. sanighanāṭukakeṭubhe. See PTS. P. D. s. vv. nighaṇṭu and keṭubha.
The Ruler (Kittisirimegha) at heart ever well pleased with the virtue (practised by the Prince) of reverent demeanour, enjoyed with him as with a good friend various pastimes, such as sport in the garden and in the water and while he was travelling here and there about the country with him, he came one day near the village called Baladalathali which served as the abode of the loyal, powerful Senāpati Saṅkha who was entrusted with the defence of the frontier. When the Senāpati heard that, he had the village at once made ready, went forth to meet the Monarch and his son and remained, after he had bowed himself, standing before them. The twain, father and son, addressed him with friendly words and being satisfied by him in various ways, they visited the village. When the Monarch had sojourned there some days he summoned the Senāpati to him and spake the follo-wing words: "My son is now grown to manhood and is ripe for admission. To perform the ceremony of admission great preparations are necessary." When the Senāpati heard that, he made at once the best of preparations for the festival. After instituting with sweet savours, lamps, flowers and other things of the kind for three days an abundant offering for the three jewels and after he had the ceremony performed, in a manner befitting his high rank, by Brahmans versed in the ritual of the Veda, the Ruler together with the Prince Parakkama in the midst of his courtiers set about enjoying a great spring festival.

1 P. skr. upanayana. This is the ceremony of taking the son to the Brahman teacher. With the Kshatriya it takes place between the 11th and the 22nd year. With this is associated at the same time the admission to the religious community as fully qualified member. BR. s. v.; HILDEBRANDT, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 50 ff.

2 P. pabbakāra. The expression is found also in A. iv. 2516, 27, where among things harmful for the lay brother is mentioned the choosing by him outside of the Order, (ito bahiddhā) of a person who seems worthy of reverence, a dakkhiṇeyya, tattha ca pabbakāran karoti.

3 Cf. skr. vasantotana, vasantamakotsava or vasantasamayotsava as below in v. 21 vasantasamayussava.
Now King Kittisirimegha learned through messengers who came from Rohaṇa that his brother named Sirivallabha who dwelt in Rohaṇa, was dead and that Sirivallabha's son Mū- nābharāṇa by name, had taken over the government and had made Mittā his queen. He overcame the grief heavy to be borne caused by his brother's death through hearing the news of the birth of a son to Mittā. But he gave up the spring festival and returned, leaving the Senāpsti named Saṅkha behind on the spot, with his son to the town of Saṅkhaththali. While the Monarch lived there happily with Prince Parakkama a year passed. The second queen of the Monarch Mānābharāṇa, Pabhāvati, likewise bore a son, named Kittisirimegha. When Kittisirimegha heard that he thought: our line has become great, and felt still happier.

The Prince (Parakkamabāhu) urged by his great, incomparable merit by whose virtue alone he was destined for the dominion over Laṅkā, valued not so much as grass the love shown him by his father as by a good friend, and his great tenderness, as well as the services of his many retainers performed for him from fear and devotion. And in his zeal to (unite and thereby) make Laṅkā happy under one umbrella as speedily as possible, he thought to himself thus: "Since it has ever been the home of the hair, collar-bone, neck-bone, tooth and alms-bowl relics as well as of the

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1 See 63. 6 ff. Deviyā Mittāya paṭilābhāṃ Sirivallabhāsūnūno does not mean, as translated by W. "a birth of a son, Siri Vallabha, to the Queen Mittā".

2 See note to 63. 43. Nisattitrāṇa must be understood as gerund of the caus. nisatteti, one MS. even reading -ttevāṇa. Parakkama's Upanayana festival had taken place in Badalaththali. There Kittisirimegha receives the various news from Rohaṇa. He leaves the general Saṅkha, who had to prepare the festival, behind in that place (tatt'Neilla) and betakes himself with his nephew to the capital, Saṅkhaththali.

3 We see from this that Sirivallabha's son had married both the sisters of Parakkamabāhu, Mittā and Pabhāvati.

4 Lit.: whereby fear and devotion went before, i.e. were the motive. W's translation is inexact.

5 The hair relic (kṣaṇāḥātī) was (Mhvs. 39. 49) brought to Ceylon by
token of the footprint of the Master and of his sacred Bodhi
31 Tree branch, further of the eighty-four thousand sections of
the doctrine which give a picture of the Perfectly Enlightened one, and as it is a mine of gems, pearls and many other treasures, this island although not so large, has always counted for something special. My three fathers, the Monarchs, and also my mother's brother were not able to unite it under one umbrella. They divided it therefore and with the thought: if we only rule it to this extent we have done our duty, each in his province renouncing the desire customary in our family for the royal consecration, carried on the government like village chiefs whose one aim is their farming and the like. Of these save my father's brother, Kittisiri-mejava, the three remaining monarchs have passed away in accordance with their deeds. Man's longest span of life is now alas, but meagre; boy, youth, grey beard, all these living beings will one after another suffer death, so fixed a rule as this there is otherwise nowhere else in this world. Therefore must sons of kings such as I am, take no heed of this frail, worthless body which is despised by all whose eyes are fixed on what is precious, and must ever pay heed to that which is worthy of aspiration and is abiding, namely fame. (I hear) in tales as in the Ummaggajatakas and

Silākāla under Moggallāna I. The relic of the neck bone (gātvatthi) was according to the legend, brought by Sarabho to Mahiyānga immediately after the death of the Buddha (Mhvs. 1. 37), the alms-bowl (pattia) by Sumana from Pātaliputta (Pupphapura) to Anurādhapura in the reign of Devañappiyatissa. Sumana is also said to have fetched the relic of the (right) collar bone (akkhaka) from Indra's Heaven (Mhvs. 17. 14 ff., 20). For the tooth relic (dāṭhādhātu) see above 37. 92 ff.

1 The three fathers are the father Mānūbharāṇa and his two brothers. The brother of his mother (Ratanavali) is Vikkamabāhu II.

2 Lit.: "to that body of fame which is worthy of aspiration" (pihāniyige yasodehe).

3 Verses 41-47 form one sentence. The accus. caritaṃ in 41, vikka- maraṇa in 42 etc. up to suladhāraṃ jīvitaṃ in 47 are all governed by su.ted in v. 45. The verse 46 is a parenthesis.

4 Mahāummaggajatakas, no. 546 in FAHNSYLL's edition of the Jātakas (VI. 329 ff.).
others, of deeds done by the Bodhisatta in the different stages of his development\(^1\), the outcome of his heroic nature and of other qualities. (I hear) in secular stories, in the 42 Rāmāyana, the Bhārata and the like of the courage of Rāma who slew Rāvana and of the extraordinary deeds of heroism performed in battle by the five sons of Pāṇḍu, how they slew Duyyodhana\(^2\) and the other kings. (I hear) in the 44 Itihāsa\(^3\) tales of the wonders worked from of old by princes like Dussanta\(^4\) and others in combat with gods and demons. — (I hear) of the great wisdom of Cānakkha\(^5\), that best of Brāhmaṇas who uprooted the kings of the Nanda dynasty. — All these deeds though they belong not to our time, have attained among the people up to the present day, the highest renown. — When I hear such a happy and incomparable life of those who are able on earth to accomplish extraordinary deeds, then if I, sprung of a noble stock, do not that which befits the best among noble heroes, my birth will be useless. These were aided alone by favourable conditions of the time, but were they superior to me in insight and other qualities?" After he had thus reflected he thought further: "My father, the King, is now on the last stage of life; if now this my father's kingdom comes to me, but in consequence of the enervation of my spirit under the influence of royal pleasures, I am not so successful as I wish, my harm will be the greater. But if I now staying here on the spot, send out my scouts\(^6\)...

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\(^1\) P. dhūmisu. For the ten "stages" or "steps" of the Bodhisatta see Senart, Le Mahāvastu I., p. 77 ff., 436.

\(^2\) Duyyodhana, skr. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dṛtarāṣṭra, the chief of the Kuru who was vanquished and slain in the great battle on the Kuru field by the five Pāṇḍu brothers Yudhiṣṭhira etc. Duryodhana fell on the last day of the battle by the hand of Bhīma.

\(^3\) Itihāsa is the collective name for all the literature of historical narrative based on tradition. Knowledge of the Itihāsa is part of Brahmanical education. Cf. D. I, p. 88 (= III. 1. 8), M. II, p. 133 (= 91).

\(^4\) Skr. Dusyanta, the husband of Śakuntalā, a king of the Moon dynasty.

\(^5\) Skr. Cānakkha. See note to 64. 3, as also Lassen, Indische Altertumskunde\(^2\) II, p. 212 ff.
and let them find out how conditions really are in the other country, — my scouts might be in a position to discover a weakness among my enemies favourable to my plans, or not\(^1\) — all the people here will describe\(^2\) the strength of the foe to me in all possible ways. (They will say:) 'For the three Monarchs, thy fathers, of whom each was lord of a province, although united they undertook war seven times, it was difficult to conquer the kingdom. How then shall a solitary youth who merely rules a small province, take possession of it? But it is easy to govern over the original province: therefore thou must give up thy baneful project'. With such words — boring glowing rods into my ears — they will describe again and again, in every possible way, the greatness of the other country. But one should really refuse to believe all this tattle of fools who speak without knowing the real state of affairs. So under some kind of pretext I shall myself go to the other country and find out its conditions. But my father the Monarch, if he hears of these plans, through fear that some evil may befall his noble son, the light of his line, if he betakes himself into the country of the foe, will, tender-hearted as he is, hinder my departure. There will then be no fulfilment of my designs. It is therefore best if I go in disguise".

When the clever Prince who knew well what (right) occasions are, one day at night-time found such an occasion, he who was certainly not lacking in resources, left the house in such wise that his father knew nought of his departure.

Here ends the sixty-fourth chapter, called "The Departure for the other Country", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) If we regard v. 53 as a parenthesis, we get rid of all difficulties of language and content. The sense is: nothing is to be gained by spying from here, for whatever the result, the people here will always exaggerate the dangers and in consequence will not join me. They must be encouraged by my lead.

\(^2\) The pres. kathayanti is remarkable. One expects kathessanti.
CHAPTER LXV

THE KILLING OF THE SENĀPATI

As the Prince set forth accompanied only by his weapons, 1 there sounded at the same moment in front of him the peal of a shell trumpet. Hearing it he versed in the divers omens, 2 knew that his plan would shortly succeed and was full of joy. 3 Without the watchmen placed at different points noticing it, he got out of the town free from fear, lion-hearted. In haste he 4 covered a distance of five gāvutas1 and reached in a region not far from Badalatthalagāma2 a village called Pilīmvatthu. 5 It had been fixed as goal for the meeting together of his people, to halt here before his own arrival, awaiting 6 him on the way. Now when he saw that of those who had received orders only some had appeared on the spot, the 7 Prince asked why so few had come. But they answered:

"Why doth our Lord speak so, though he knows the whole 8 demeanour of the people. With whom is there no fear of death? Our Lord is at an age immediately following that of 9 boyhood, even to-day the odour of milk plays about his lips. There is no separate fortune acquired by thee, nor is there 10 any other accumulation of resources save these present. Ex- 11 cept for ourselves whose character has long been tested and whose devotion is firmly rooted, who otherwise would follow thee? And what thy father the Sovereign, will do with us 12 who have come hither, no man knows. In our path there is 13 still the Senāpati Saṅkha by name, a great and mighty hero who has his abode on the frontier, apart from other foes, 14

1 A gāvuta (skr. gauvāti) is a quarter of a yojana (DhCo. II. 184), thus about two miles. PTS. P. D. s. v.
2 See note to 58. 43; 64. 43.
and we few people are made one by the other ever more terror-stricken. And the time of daybreak is now close at hand". Thus each for himself made known the fear that dwelt in their hearts. When the Prince heard their words he smiled kindly, looked them fearlessly in the face and spake:

“Although all these people here who have such fear, have lived together with me a long time, yet have they not learnt to know me”, and to chase away the fear that had risen in them, the lion-hearted let sound a mighty lion's roar. “Leave all men aside; when I have my weapons in my hand, what can Sakka, the King of the gods, do even if he is enraged? Because ye thought I am a boy these foolish thoughts have come to you. Have ye not heard that one looks up to splendid might, not to age? But if ye fear my father's army will pursue me, then will I — by a single deed that I have devised to carry out and in such a way that the people in my own and in the other country shall offer me fear and devotion and ye shall rid yourselves of this your terror — at once, as soon as this night is past, manifest my pre-eminent insight, determination and courage. Go forward!”

With these words the hero seized his weapons, left that village full of determination and like to a second image of the sun risen in the western heavens to surpass the sun disk standing on the summit of the eastern mountain, he lighted up the lotus thicket of the eyes of his attendants and came at early morn to Badalatthali.

1 It is interesting here to note the fundamental difference between the narrative of the Cālavānsa and that of the older Mahāvaṃsa and between the ideas of their authors as shown particularly in the comparison of the personalities of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Parakkamabāhu. In the one case deeds of true heroism, culminating in the dauntless duel with Eḷāra, in the other big, high-sounding words as prelude to an action of very doubtful courage and of still more doubtful moral justification. It is therefore significant that in Ceylon, more especially in Rohana, one meets again and again with traditions connected with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He is the real national hero of the Sinhalese and his name still lives in the popular memory. Parakkamabāhu is almost forgotten though he is nearer by more than a thousand years to the present than the other.
By the peal of the victorious trumpets the Senāpati (Saṅkha) awoke. With consternation he perceived that the Prince had come. Accompanied by a great host he went forth to meet him and full of reverence, bowed himself to the earth to offer the customary homage. When with the thought: what may not this man do to us if he remains alive? he must be slain on the spot, the soldiers looked at their leader, but he checked them with a sign, for he thought: it is unworthy of a man to kill anyone against whom no guilt can be proven, only in case of hostile demeanour is the death penalty permitted. The lion-like (Prince) took the hand of the Senāpati, spake friendly words to him and entered his abode. The Senāpati thought: “The Prince’s departure must have taken place without the King’s knowing of it. Until I learn the state of affairs these people who have come with him, must be each separately housed so that they may not remain in communication with him, the Prince however, must dwell in my house”. He did so, and in order to dupe the discerning (prince), he paid him the honours due to a guest and sent messengers to the King. Now when the Prince perceived the deception practised by Saṅkha he thought: “If now without doing what must be done, I remain inactive, of a truth my plan will come to nought: this man must needs now be slain”. He gave one of his attendants the order to strike down the Senāpati. A great tumult arose: the Senāpati is slain. A soldier of the Senāpati hearing that the general had been murdered, cried: For what reason did the murder of my Lord take place? and sword in hand, risking his own life for his Lord, he rushed at the Prince standing there alone. But when he glanced at the Prince’s countenance, trembling with fear, he could not stand upright and flung himself at his feet. Before the Prince could say the words: “Seize him”, one of the soldier’s com-

1 P. saṅjātasaṁbhano. Not translated by W.
2 As it is described here, the murder of Saṅkha who was a loyal and devoted adherent of the royal house, is an act as brutal as it is senseless. Probably the whole episode is in this form unhistorical. See Introduction I.
42 panions himself struck him down. "The deed he has done without my orders is unseemly", with these words the Prince had him punished accordingly. But the terrible excitement which had arisen at the same time, the Prince stilled by the mere wrinkling of the brows.

44 The hero whose greatest wealth was fame, the Prince of firm character, who well understood the rewarding of his heroes, whose most precious treasure was his famous name, left his soldiers to take all what they would of the abundant property amassed by the Senāpati.

Here ends the sixty-fifth chapter, called "The Slaying of the Senāpati", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER LXVI

THE SPYING OUT OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE OTHER COUNTRY

"If I were to set forth to-day to carry out my plan, 1 these people would think: the Prince has left through fear. I will stay here and see what my father does as long as he has not 2 heard that I am staying here after the slaying of the Senāpati". With such reflections the hero, the best of all far-seeing men, 3 sojourned a few days on the spot. The soldiers of the Senā- 4 pati and many people who dwelt in the province, who in consequence of the slaying of the Senāpati, were seized with 5 terror were not able to remain each in his place, but sought out the Prince, streaming together from all sides. "Acting in 6 opposition to his father the Prince has slain the Senāpati", thought the inhabitants of the province. "If powerful people 7 like ourselves, whose devotion is deep-rooted, are his slaves 1 what then is impossible for our Lord? If the (lawful) Lord 8 is in life, how dare thy uncle under the pretext, the prince is still a boy, hold sway in the kingdom belonging to thy father? We will join together, march on the town of Sañ- 9 khatthali and fetch hither by force the king together with his treasure and his harem". With this firm resolve and bent 10 solely on the gaining of the dominion, they betook themselves to the place Paḍavārāsasūnakanda by name. The Prince sent 11 some of his people thither, summoned the leaders of the soldiers to him (and spake to them): "Ye must not think that 12

1 I read with the MSS. dāsesu. S 2 alone differs, for damasesu in S 3, 7 is only a variant in the writing. The dakkhesu adopted by S. and B. is an unnecessary alteration.
the slaying of the Senāpati by me took place out of enmity to my father; away then with your agitation! I have in no wise come hither in enmity to my royal father, nor do I mean to bring this part of the province into my power. For sons such as I am is there not but one thing to do — to cause little sorrow themselves to their aged fathers and to ward off the evil which may be done them by another and so ever to serve them with devotion. Why have ye such thoughts?" Therewith the prudent one removed their scruples and reflecting on his further course, came to this decision: "If I sojourn here some days, illmeaning people will try to sow discord between us twain, father and son. Without lingering here I must arise and busy myself with the carrying out of my former plans". Therewith the Prince left the village of Badalatthali to betake himself to Buddhagāma near the Siridevi mountain. Before he reached the village of Siriyāla the inhabitants who had banded together, fled on every side. Accompanied alone by his own followers, the heroic prince now advanced well armed along the highway. "Now if we quietly suffer the prince to escape after his having slain the Senāpati, what

1 W. translates "ill-will towards me". That is, I believe, wrong. The context is rather this: the people have taken the killing of Saṅkha as a sign that the prince is in open rebellion against his uncle. They take his side and civil war threatens. To hinder this, Parakkamabāhu explains to the people that there is no enmity between himself and his uncle, and exhorts them to keep quiet.

2 The topographical problems have been most satisfactorily solved by Compton (I. 66). Following Mr. Stroox, he identifies Buddhagāma (see note 58. 43) with Menikdeṇa, S. S. W. of Dambul, since an inscription was found there in which a Budgam-vehera is mentioned (ASC. 1903 = VI. 1913, p. 14 f.). Near there is a mountain Nikula which, according to Foakes, was formerly called "Heereedevatai", that is, Siridevi. Before Parakkamabāhu got there he passed Siriyāla. That is without doubt the present Hiriyalalgama in the Gantehe Korale, which gives its name to the Hiriyalala district north of Kurunegala.

3 While the inhabitants of the Badalatthali district were not disinclined to support the Prince against his uncle, those of Siriyāla and later, to a greater extent, those of Buddhagāma showed themselves hostile, even inclined to capture him and give him up to the King.
kind of loyalty would that be on our part to the King who
gives us our daily bread?" So thought certain traitors, con-
ceived the plan of capturing him and pursued him from be-
hind while he was on the march. Without being in the least af-
fair of them, the Prince fought them sword in hand and
scattered them in flight. Together with his followers among whom no falling off was noticeable\textsuperscript{1}, the discerning Prince,
free of all danger, reached Buddhagāma. When a few days of
his sojourn there had passed, the inhabitants assembled
together to capture the Prince. Raining a furious, uninter-
rupted shower of arrows, they surrounded the village full of
zeal to begin the fight. "We must give up our lives if he benefits thereby" thought the soldiers who had come with him and, flurried by fear all, save the umbrella-bearer and the sword-bearer of the Prince, fled on every side before the Prince's eyes. When he saw his soldiers fleeing, he smiled a little and having now found an opportunity of showing his extraordinary courage, the Prince thought: "With my weapon even will I strike terror into the foe and scatter him in flight", and cried with vehemence: "Give me my sword!" When the soldiers who had at first fled, heard along with these loud and resoundingly spoken words, the blare of the victorious trumpets penetrating the circle of the firmament, and when they saw the struck off heads of the foe, falling to the ground, they turned and fighting, scattered the troops some thousands in number in flight, surrounded the Prince and praised his courage.

While now the Prince sojourned there he desired to have the nagaragiri\textsuperscript{2} of King Gajabāhu, Gokaṇṇa\textsuperscript{3}, who had the control of Kālavāpi, in his presence, to find out his views.

\textsuperscript{1} P. adiṭṭhaparāhārike, quite ignored in W's translation. It must however be emphasised that not one of the original followers of the Prince had deserted him.

\textsuperscript{2} The title nagaragiri is met with here for the first time (cf. also 66. 62 and 70. 68). See Introduction III.

\textsuperscript{3} Gokaṇṇa is probably a clan name (see above 38. 13, note); skr. gokarṇa, P. gokaṇṇa denotes a species of stag, an elk.
He sent therefore, one of his henchmen to him with a letter. 37 When the latter saw the missive he nodded consent, read it 38 and learned from it of all that had taken place. Believing 39 that the superiority of the Prince’s forces made disobedience 40 to his commands an impossibility and without waiting for news as to the opinion\(^1\) of his own Monarch, he came to 41 Buddhagāma and sought out the Prince with reverence. “Thou hast heard how I have come hither away from my father the 42 King, how I have caused the violent death of the mighty 43 Senāpati, and how I have performed marvellous deeds of heroism against the foe following in my rear. Without even a thought that thou shouldst learn the opinion of thine own king, while before the sending of my messenger no connection (between us) existed, thou (nevertheless) settest out to see me the moment thou didst see my letter; thou hast done well,” with these words the Prince full of joy, presented him with all the ornaments he had himself worn, consisting of divers precious stones, along with an excellent elephant. To the leaders among his soldiers he gave valuable ornaments of divers kinds, such as costly earrings and the like. Hereupon he dismissed the chief (Gokanṭa) with his soldiers that they might rest, having shown himself friendly to them by the assigning of dwellings, food and the like.

47 Arrived in his quarters for the night, Gokanṭa beheld himself in a dream in the form\(^2\) of the Senāpati who had been murdered at the Prince’s command, surrounded on all sides by robbers with swords in their hands to kill him. In mortal terror he gave a shriek and fell from his bed to the ground, and without heed for the people who bore his sword, his umbrella and the like, he left the whole of the force which had come with him in the lurch. But as he could not even find his way by the heavens, he got into a great forest and losing the path, wandered about in it. Only at daybreak did

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\(^1\) P. ṭhāca (the same in v. 42) in reality “kind, character”, then “attitude towards something, conception”.

\(^2\) Thus I explain the viya: he saw himself (attānaṁ) as the Senāpati.
he find the road leading to Kālavāpi, followed it in haste and reached his village. His men too, when they heard of the flight of their lord, seeing no other escape, smitten with the greatest terror, left each of them his weapons behind and wandered like their master bewildered about the forest, reaching Kālavāpi in haste at break of day. When the Prince heard the story of the flight he smiled and remained there (in Buddhagāma) a few days longer. And from that time this story was for him who appreciated humorous tales, a means in moments when he was downhearted, of chasing away his depression.

When Kittisirimegha heard of all these events he summoned his great dignitaries together and took counsel with them: "The Prince has escaped in disguise from our well-protected town, looked after by officials and filled with soldiers. Thereupon together with certain villainous and undutiful people who went with him from here, he has fled, has slain the mightiest vassal in my kingdom, the Senāpati, has seized the whole of the costly property accumulated by him, has then in his flight slain here and there many soldiers among the country folk who pursued him, has summoned to him the nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa of King Gajabāhu and has brought him under his influence and now sojourns in Buddhagāma. This is no time to look on inactively. If the foe in this threatening situation

1 Note the free treatment of the gender in āyudhāni... sake sake.
2 P. nāndbhassarasa, lit. "for the many kinds of tastes in narratives". One might read nāndhassarasa: hassa = skr. hāsya is the cheerful laughter-rousing fundamental character (rasa) of a literary work.
3 The MS. reading te tato in 59b is disturbing. It is difficult to place te in the construction of the sentence and tato stands already at the beginning of the verse. I propose reading ten'ato: tenā is comitative "with him" and ato means "from here" that is from Saṅkhāthattāli.
4 The same wording as in v. 35c b.
5 The present part. vasanā stands here again instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state. Cf. note to 41. 89.
6 P. assia chiddamhi, lit. "at this break" (= weakness, want), or possibly in the original meaning "at this moment where a division (an estrangement between me and my nephew) has taken place".
64 make a treacherous treaty with the Prince who is favoured by fortune and gifted with insight and courage, and think to begin war, that will be for us a great misfortune. Before he can think out other worse plans he must be seized during his stay in that village". Thus resolved, he summoned the two Adhikārins¹, Sena and Mahinda by name, further Mahgalāna, the son of a royal servant², as well as other retainers and sent them forth with the words: "Take with you all people in my kingdom who live by soldiering, go forth in haste and bring the Prince hither by force". These took each his great army and with powerful forces divided into ten columns they approached Siriyāla. When the Prince heard thereof he thought: "I will take up my position at a spot difficult to pass³, in such a way as to force the troops which are marching separately in ten columns, to join each other and then I shall immediately destroy them". The hero betook himself in haste from Buddhagāma to Saraggāma⁴ in the district of Mahātīla. The officers (of Kittisirimegha) thought however: "if the Prince flees from Buddhagāma and withdraws into an impassible region surrounded by mountains, his capture will be difficult, whatever means one uses⁵", and marched united thither. When the Prince heard that he rejoiced at the success of his plan. In front he left space for the advancing army, placed his numerous men on both sides of the road, hidden, well

¹ From 70. 278 it is clear that adhikārin denotes a certain office or a certain rank. See Introduction III.

² W. seems here to adopt the reading mahālāna of the Col. Ed. which however has no support from the MSS. and translates "the mahālāna" — with the note "chief secretary" (?) — Devapādamāla Dāraka". The word pādamālaka or -nika with the meaning of "servant" occurs frequently in the Jātakas (PTS. P. D. s. v., also DhCo. I. 183 ⁴).

³ Not "at such a stronghold" as W. translates. It is a case of a narrow pass in the mountains.

⁴ Saraggāma has certainly nothing to do with Saragāmatīthha on the Mahāvīlakagāna (71. 18; 72. 1, 31). Conze identifies it, following Sronxy, with Selagāma in the District Matale, Asgiri Pallesiya Pattuva (Census of C., 1921, II., p. 94). Instead of "from Buddhagāma" the text has simply tato "from there", the same in v. 72.
armed, such as were deemed especially brave. Then when 76
the mighty one saw that the whole of the hostile force had
advanced to the centre, he experienced in the art of war,
had numbers of soldiers cut down. Those who remained over 77
from the slaughter threw their weapons away as the case
might be and fled, with no thought of renewing the fight,
on all sides. The victorious Prince left the place thereupon 78
and betook himself to Bodhigāmavara¹ there to await his father’s
decisions². Sojourning there the hero spent several days and 79
after scattering in that same place a (further) army which
came forth to fight at the command of his father the King, 80
he retired from thence and betook himself to the village of
Ranambura in the region of the Lankā mountains³. To 81
remove the footsoreness of his soldiers the intrepid one
spent several days sojourning there. Then he reflected thus: 82
“Although my foes have all been repeatedly crushed by me
in battle, they will not retire out of fear of my father, gi-
ving up the hope (of success) in fight. Because their evil 83
counsellors have wrongly thought: this Prince falls not into
our power only because he is in inaccessible country, there-
fore I shall now betake myself to the spot where they are
sojourning and drive away their evil thoughts”. He advanced 85

¹ W. translates “returned to the village Bodhigāma. He thus
obviously considers Bodhigāmavara to be the same as Buddhagāma. But
the text has not vassagā “he returned”, but ogā “he went”. COOKINGTO
(I. 69) regards Bodhigāmavara as the present Bogambura in the Matale
Pallesiya Pattuva (N. E. of Matale). The prince thus stayed near the
battlefield to await the development of events.

² P. pitucittāmirakkhattha. W’s translation “that he might calm
the anxiety of his father” is wrong. All Parakkamabāhu’s actions have
the character of open enmity and are opposed to the fiction of the
compiler that no conflict had taken place between uncle and nephew.

³ The Prince withdrew from Bodhigāmavara further E. or N. E. There
is no doubt that the name Laṅkāpabbata or Laṅkāgiri (thus 70, 88,
mentioned again in connection with Bodhigāmavara) is preserved in the
present Laggula, the name of a district between Matale Pallesiya Pattuva
and the Mahaveliganga. It is also advisable to read instead of the
Ratamburā of the Col. Ed., Ranamburā in which COMARROW recog-
nises the present Ranamūre in Laggala Udasiya Pattuva.
to the village of Khiravapi occupied by their army and
reached the district called Ambavana\(^1\). He occupied it and
having found out himself from the people there the exact
route to march against the foe\(^2\), he set out in the evening
and reached the village at night. When his soldiers reached
the enclosure consisting of terrible briers full of prickles from
top to bottom\(^3\), they stayed without, being unable to pene-
trate it. The hero placed himself at the head, broke fearlessly
through the fence, and standing in the middle of the village
called out his name. The enemy who had already witnessed
the marvellous courage of the Prince, were seized with terror
when they heard his resounding voice and all (of them)
without even thinking of clothes or weapons, fled on all
sides, like gazelles that have caught sight of a lion. His
soldiers who had entered by the way he had forced, slew
whomsoever they caught sight of, and set fire to the village.
The Prince immediately marched to the village of Navagirisar
and resting there awaited the dawn.

The dignitaries of his father, the King, now assembled
and spoke with each other of the great energy (of the Prince)
in the various battles: "With our plan of capturing the Prince
quickly with our forces of so many thousand men, we have
brought ruin on our own army, and since they have everywhere
fled in fight, we have only caused the Prince's fame to become
more widely known. But if we disregard the terrible com-
mand sent us repeatedly by the King, then the life of our
kinsfolk is at stake\(^4\). It is not meet that we spend our time
here without taking pains to carry out the King's command
by every possible means. Even at the cost of our lives we

1 The name is preserved in that of the Ambanganga (Consuerus) which flows through the valley of Matale and turns eastward at Nalanda towards the Mahaveliganga.

2 P. etehi refers to the inhabitants of Ambavana, tesari to the enemy; samadira means the possibility of approaching the enemy.

3 So I understand tikkhaggapada "where the top part (agga) and the
foot end (pada) are sharp".

4 They are hostages in the hands of the king.
must satisfy the Lord who gives us our living, and thereby ensure the protection of our kindred". Therewith full of 99 defiant courage, with large, well armed forces, they set forth like the army of Māra on a road shown them by scouts. From four sides they forced their way into the village and 100 surrounded the Prince's house. As the hilly region was cool, 101 the latter had donned a red woollen shawl and sat there playing a game to which he was accustomed from his childhood. From the noise he noticed that the foe was quite 102 near, but since he saw not one of his own followers, he at once bound his topknot fast, wrapped himself tightly in the 103 woollen shawl he had been wearing, and terrible, sword in hand, he plunged like a savage lion into the middle of the 104 fight and in a moment chased the whole of the enemy to the world's end. Then after raising his voice and calling 105 together his own people who had come with him and who terrorized by the clamour, had fled into the wilderness, he reflected: "The fear which must beset the King of the hostile 106 party when he thinks what may be the cause of my leaving the King my father and coming hither — all that I have hitherto done, beginning with the slaying of the Senāpati, suffices to remove it. I must now betake myself to the other country". Therewith he set forth thence and at the place Porogāhāli- 108 khaṇḍa he cleansed by the pouring over with water the blood stains from sword and hand, laid aside the blood.

1 Lit.: "he made the enemy (disce) into such as turned themselves to the end of the firmament (disānta)".

2 I. e. Gajabāhu.

3 The train of thought is this: It is intelligible that Gajabāhu should regard my coming with distrust. He may fear that I intend evil towards him. But all my actions so far have been directed not against him but against my father. This should allay his fears so that I can now enter his country without danger.

4 I prefer to read "gāhāli" (instead of "gāhāli") because the name seems to me to contain the word ali "canal" (Sinh. ali). Khāṇḍa means "district", a narrower area than raṭṭha or maṇḍala.

5 Lit. "the union with the red blood".

6 Or perhaps "from the sword hand", from the hand which had wielded the sword.
soiled mantle that he had worn and enjoyed after a change of garment a comfortable rest. He then crossed the frontier of the province of his royal father and reached in the realm of Gajabāhu the small place called Janapada. With all kinds of sportive games, such as were customary in the country, he spent several days, sojourning there.

Now when Gajabāhu heard from the mouth of his watchmen of the gradual approach of the Prince he was seized with great alarm. He spoke with his councillors and after determining what was to be done, he sent him a gift of raiment, ornaments and the like. To his envoys he gave this message: "Since hearing of thy leaving my uncle, the King, and of the wonderful deeds of courage which thou hast performed on the way and that thou instead of applying elsewhere, hast entered my realm, my heart has become narrow through expanding joy. Besides myself what kindred hast thou who would be ready to serve thee? A coronation festival truly is thy visit for me. Since my uncle, the King, in his old age does not hold such a jewel of a son as his most precious possession and by some prudent attitude has let him come into my hands, that means for me the reward in full for a highly meritorious action. If we twain are now for ever united, what foe will dare to make war on us? My splendour will now in every respect become great, even as that of the fire when it has gained the storm wind as its ally. Once we

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1 Janapada is often mentioned as borderland of Rājarattha towards Dakkhiṇadesa. Cf. 67. 22; 70. 87. It is probably to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the present Vagapanaha, Udasiya Pattaiva, east of Dambul.

2 Cf. v. 122; iti vatacāna etc.

3 Kittisirimegha was married to Lokanāthū, the sister of Gajabāhu’s father Vikkamabāhu, according to 59. 44.

4 With the majority of the MSS. we must read here āgantuḥā hūnattha. If with the Col. Ed. we read āgantuḥ (thus only in MS. S 6) aṅnattha remains unintelligible, for the meaning is not “somewhere or other” (W. “into a place”), but “somewhere else”.

5 P. vassabandhavē. I take vassa = Skr. vāśya as “tractable, obedient” W. has “kinsfolk ... on your mother’s side”.

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have met each other, I shall have no difficulty in conferring on the prince the royal dignity which belonged to his father. Meanwhile thou must without loss of time carry out thy visit 122 to me". With this message he dismissed his envoys. When 123 the Prince whose intelligence was well capable of discrimi-
nation (between the true and the false) heard this news from
the envoys, he thought: "It is ever very hard to see through
the craftiness of princes; I will test him and then set off", 124
and he sent together with the envoys, a warrior Nimmala by
name, versed in all expediens. After learning (through him) 125
the true character of the king as well as that of all his ad-
visers, the Prince advanced further towards Pulatthinagara.

Thereupon King Gajabāhu advanced to meet him at the 126
head of a great army, showed him in joyful zeal many fa-
vours, let the Prince mount the elephant on which he him-
self was riding, showed him the beauty of the town and
betook himself (with him) to the royal palace. The Prince 128
made known his joy called forth by the seeing Gajabāhu and
after spending some days there he in order to become ac-
quainted with those of the King's people dwelling in the
outlying districts who were for him and against him1, sought 130
out such as understood all kinds of tricks and knew the dia-
lect of the various regions and who were distinguished by
devotion to their Lord. Of these he being versed in the 131
methods to be applied, made those who understood the mixing
of poisons2, adopt the garb of the snake charmer. Others 132
skilled in telling of the lines of the hand and other marks

1 The work of espionage now begins. That the compiler was influ-
enced by the reading of text books on niti, as for instance, Kauṭalya's
Arthaśāstra (I. 11, 7 ff.) is unmistakable. The sānuṛāga and sāparāga
of our passage correspond to the akṛtya and kṛtya of K. I. 13-15, the
faithful who cannot be influenced and the unfaithful whom one can win
over to oneself. Cf. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. R. Shama Śastry, p. 22 ff.;
Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra tral. by R. Shamaśtr oy p. 26 ff.; Das altindische
Buch vom Welt- und Staatesleben, das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya, übers.

2 P. visavijāsā kovide corresponding to the rasaddh of Kauṭalya
I. 11. Cf. also with this the rasakričāsthiṇa below in v. 188.
on the body\(^1\) he had disguised as wandering musicians, as 
candrālas and as brāhmaṇas. Amongst the many Damiḷas and 
others he made such as were practised in dance and song\(^2\), 
appear as people who played with leather dolls and the like. 
Others again after they had laid aside their own garb, he ordered 
to go round\(^3\) selling goods such as rings and bracelets of glass and 
the like. Others again he sent forth with the command that they 
should go in the garb of ascetics\(^4\), with the equipment of such, 
the umbrella, the beggar's staff and the like, wandering like 
unto pious pilgrims from village to village and thereby 
performing their devotions in front of the cetiyas. People 
versed in the art of healing he commanded to seek out vil-
lages and market towns and there to practise the healing 
art\(^5\). Such as understood the instruction of boys in the art 
of writing and in the handling of weapons, who were skilled 
in the preparation of magic potions and versed in spirit in-
cantation as well as craftsmen possessed of skill in the work-
ing of gold and the like he ordered to move from place to 
place, practising their profession. In order to find out him-
self the actual conditions as these existed amongst the in-
habitants of the inner district (of the town), he by showing a 
great innocence founded on his youth, learned amongst the 
people who came to him under the pretext of entertainment 
and who dwelt on the weakness of the King, to distinguish 
amongst the highest officials, officers and soldiers those who were 
ambitious, those who nursed a grudge, those who were afraid

\(^1\) According to the Kauṭalīya I. 12, the knowledge of the lakṣaṇa 
and of the aṅgavidyā belongs to the equipment of a particular kind 
of spy. These are the so-called sattriṇaḥ saṃsargavidyāḥ.

\(^2\) The naṭa-nartaka-gāyana-vādaka-vāgītavana-kuśṭalavāḥ of the Kauṭalīya (I. 12).

\(^3\) In the Kauṭalīya (I. 11) the vaidehakavyaṅkanaḥ, the spy disguised 
as trader. Peddling with bracelets of glass and similar trinkets is com-
mon in the villages of Ceylon at the present day.

\(^4\) Kauṭalīya I. 11 deals with the tāpasa as spy (maṅḍo vā jaṭilo vā 
upitikāmastaṭapasyaṅkanaḥ).

\(^5\) The strolling quack is missing in the Kauṭalīya, as well as the 
strolling schoolmaster and the strolling craftsman.
and those who were avaricious. He took care, too, that spies who were versed in the divers rites and ceremonies in use in the various schools and who knew the tales from the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and many other books, should visit the different houses in the assumed garb of sāmaṇas. As soon then as confidence in them had been established, and when they had found trust and reverence, they came forward as (spiritual) advisers, estranged the people and brought them under their influence. Believing that if the King were made un-suspicious, he could then move about as he would, and easily learn the actual conditions in the interior of the country, he fetched thence his younger sister, the charming Princess Bhaddavatī, as well as abundant money, under the pretext that it was her property. The money he took to himself but the Princess he wedded to the Lord of men Gajabāhu and so managed matters that the Ruler completely trusted him even as also the royal family. He used also under the pretence of sport, to go about the streets with a rutting elephant that

1 The Kauṭāliya I. 14 distinguishes in exactly the same way, four groups amongst those who can be manipulated and won over for one's own schemes. The close relation of our passage to the Arthasastra and the allied literature is shown by the fact that the terms are the same in Sanskrit and in Pāli: 1) the kuṭṭāvargaḥ = P. saṇkuddha, the group of the indignant, 2) the bhūttavargaḥ = P. bhūtā, the group of the fearful, 3) the luddavargaḥ = P. luddha, the group of the avaricious and, 4) the māśīvargaḥ = P. adhīmānino, the group of the ambitious. The last group is placed first by the Čulavamsa. For the whole subject cf. W. Gmeiner, Kenntnis der Indischen Nītiliteratur in Ceylon, Festeschrift für H. Jacob (Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens), p. 418 ff.

2 P. vidhānaṃ tathā kari yathā . . . in v. 145: "he acted in the way, arranged it so that . . ."

3 P. upāya-vidhāna, not "folklore" as translated by W. The Kauṭāliya I. 9 uses upāya along with atharvā in the meaning of "rite, sorcery".

4 W's translation is wrong. He has not realised that tato rājakulaṃ belongs still to the preceding. The Sinhalese translators S. and B. have also overlooked it.
151 had run discharge, and when he was pursued by it would quickly flee under the pretext that refuge was difficult to find, into the house of people who were to be brought under his influence. He then gave them fitting money reward, costly ornaments and the like and brought them thus imperceptibly under his influence. All the people down to the lowest grades, and the soldiers who dwelt in the town, thought, each for himself that this courtesy was paid to him. Thereupon he ordered his skilled scribes to make an estimate of the King's revenues, of his stocks of grain, of his troops, of his various war material and so on, with the charge: record these by stealing into the various departments of the administration. Others he appointed to find out the inmost thoughts of the people entrusted with the guarding of the town and (of those) of the leaders of the army. He himself under the pretext of youthful pastimes, roamed about everywhere and thus, avoiding every peril, explored the conditions in both spheres.

158 When the wise man realises how all enterprises undertaken by beings equipped with a great fulness of meritorious deeds accumulated in previous existences, have a successful issue, not meeting with any hindering cause, he will certainly do good.

Here ends the sixty-sixth chapter, called "The Spying out of the Conditions in the other Country", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 Lit. "groups of scribes (lekha)".
2 What is meant is antomāṇḍalasy the territory inside the town, and bahimaṇḍalasy that outside of the town. Cf. above v. 129, 140.
CHAPTER LXVII

THE FESTIVAL OF THE MAHĀDIPĀDA

Now one day the Prince mounted his chariot and drove, 1 accompanied by his retainers, along the King's highway. Then 2 a terrible buffalo broken loose, that killed everyone it saw, with rolling bloodshot eyes sprang upon him. When the 3 charioteer and the people of the retinue saw it dashing on- wards, seized with fear they fled in haste. Then the Prince 4 thought: it is not meet for me to flee like those there, and fearless and without excitement, the hero swiftly went for him 5 and called to him suddenly with loud resounding voice. When 6 the buffalo heard this, like to a lion's roar, it turned in terror and ran away, killing or trampling down everyone it met. All who had seen the miracle with their own eyes or had 7 heard of it broke, full of astonishment, into words of admira- tion: "Behold the heroism, behold the courage, behold the 8 determination, behold his steadfastness, behold the effect of his meritorious deeds!"

When the Ruler of men Gajabāhu heard how the people 9 praised his bravery and his other qualities, he thought: that 10 is a great man, of terrible courage whose extraordinary might cannot be compared with that of others, and he began to be afraid of him. Now when the Prince perceived the suspicious 11 thoughts which had arisen in the King Gajabāhu he reflected thus: "If I wish while sojourning here, to achieve the so- 12 vereignty, I shall without doubt succeed by the mere wrinkling of my brows. But in this case my dignity, and my extra- 13 ordinary courage and the strength of my arms will have no renown in the world. And the incessant twitching in my arms 14 will nevermore cease without the pastime of a war game.
Therefore I will return to the land of my birth, overwhelm this king by war and capture him and his retainers alive.

Then when I bring my father Kittisirimegha into this town and by the water of the royal coronation which will be poured on his head, I efface the shame of the defeat of my three fathers — then will my fame spread itself also over Jambudīpa.”

Hereupon he found out through hunters a way of approach for the army in making an assault on the town and a way for its retirement, if there should be cause for retreat, as well as a way suitable for his own spies, well understanding how to discriminate between the different ways, while he himself under the pretext of the chase, wandered about the forest near the town, and distinguished the main roads from the bypaths by particular signs.

Mindful of the words of the Buddha: if one lets time slip away, time drinks up the best¹, he with the intention of be-taking himself to his own country, then sent away first of all his followers having fixed the goal where one should meet, in the locality of Janapada². But as he thought, that after having stayed there so long it was not in keeping with his manliness, to leave without giving notice thereof, he paid a visit in the evening in richly decorated attire, to the King Gajabāhu. Then when twilight had come when people were wont to amuse themselves with divers games, he smiling, with cheerful mien, spake thus: “I must start even to-day to be-take myself to the province of the Yuvarāja, and having paid a visit to my father, then return hither in haste.” When the King heard this, thanks to his naturally defective under-standing, he thought he had said this with reference to his

¹ Lit.: “In the passing of time time drinks away the sap (raka) thereof.” That is: a work loses its value if it is not carried out without hesitation. This is held to be a buddhāsaco, like many ancient sayings of wisdom. S. and B. have changed the word evidently because it is not to be found in the Canon, into evaddhasaco “ancient saying” (thus W.) I think however, that evaddha is only used of age in respect of human life.

² Thus already near the frontier of Dakkhinapadesa. See note to 66. 110.
intention to betake himself to his house\(^1\), and said to him with cheerful smile the favourable words: "May what you have in mind be swiftly fulfilled!"\(^2\) The chief Brähmapa who stood near the King likewise at the same moment spake a favourable word of happy augury of which it is acknowledged that it aims at the abundant accumulation (of means) for the attainment of an object, for peace and victory and for the destruction of the hostile party. When the Prince heard that, he thought with joy: the present constellation is favourable to my course, and betook himself to his home.

Thereupon the Prince great in virtue and insight, hearing and seeing favourable omens of many kinds, left the house. Running as if in fun after his elephant called Rāmakula, he roamed from street to street and left the town at night. By moonlight wandering thence, he met a man resting at the foot of a tree and asked him who he was. When he heard that he was a wayfarer he spake quickly with raised voice: "Dost thou know me?" The other stood silent from fear. "Ādipāda Parakkamabāhu, so they call me; fear not". With these words he quickly quieted him and won him for himself. He spake to him: "That I met thee here was in truth for me a great gain. Betake thee now in all haste to the camp and tell there thou hast seen Prince Parakkamabāhu on the way into his own country". With that he sent him off hurriedly. Near the Khajjūrakavādhamāna tank he kept a lookout whether a force were in pursuit of him. As the Prince saw no troop pursuing him, he set out to betake himself to (the place) called Kānapaddāuda. A dreadful, savage she-bear, with great sharp claws\(^3\), sprang at him in the vast wilder-

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\(^1\) Lit.: "with reference to the going to his own house". Thus Gajabāhu takes yuvādārāṭṭha as a joking expression of Parakkamabāhu's for his house, as he is of course playing the part of yuvāṭṭha. The King does not for a moment think that Dakkhiṇadesa is meant. Even the words vidhūya pitudassanaṁ he refers to himself not to Kittisirimegha.

\(^2\) These are words of favourable augury, vacanaṁ maṅgalasamhitāṁ, which the Prince at once applies to his high-soaring plans.

\(^3\) The jungle bear (melursus labiatus) native to Ceylon, is distinguished by its enormous claws.
42 ness with her cubs, with a fearful howl. Forcing her down with the edge of his shield, he split her with his sword in two halves, but with the back of his foot he quickly cast off the cubs. He then called together his comrades who had fled in fear into the forest. While hereupon still free from fear, he passed over rocky country\(^1\), he brought down a boar terrible beyond all measure, who had attacked him as if it were a whole herd\(^2\), and who gave vent to a terrible grunt. Then when marching further at the village of Demeliyagama\(^3\) at daybreak, he beheld the peasants who were named after it\(^4\), setting forth sword in hand on some kind of enterprise, he thinking they came at the head of the (pursuing) army\(^4\), smote vehemently with his sword on his shield and with a savage cry: “I will slay the villains” sprang into the midst of them like a lion among gazelles. They fled frightened into the big forest, throwing away their weapons. Thereupon the Prince looked thither on every side and when he saw a man who had fallen into a chasm, he drew him out of the abyss and asked him who they were. When he had heard out of his mouth the state of affairs in accordance with the truth, he spake full of pity: “Leave off fearing everyone and take up your weapons”, and declared to them openly his own purpose. Near Maṅgalabegāma he saw for the first time sol-

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1. P. silākhāyaṭaṭa. W. takes the word for a proper name.
2. The Col. Ed. changes the MSS. reading yathā yathābhiyantam unnecessarily into tathā y.\(^5\) W. accordingly translates “leading a herd”.
3. The form of the name is quite uncertain. The MSS. waver. The Col. Ed. has Demeliyamaga but it is just the m which is present in all the MSS.
4. The passage is very difficult. W. takes vopanāmike as a place name, but the locality is already given in Demeliyagamāvahye gāme. I think that vopanāmike belongs to the immediately preceding gāmike and that the word corresponds to a Skr. “upanāman (surname, nickname”). Gāmike vopanāmike thus means the same as Demeliyagamāmike.
5. We must connect puretaraṇa with yāna (abl.); yāna has the meaning of the Latin agmen. Lit.: here they come in advance of the army (oratio recta).
iders of his retinue who had come according to the agreement, and accompanied by them, he betook himself to the locality called Janapada and joined his retinue who had arrived there beforehand. The Prince tarried there with his people two or three days, giving himself up to the pleasures of the chase and various other entertainments.

When King Kittisirimegha now learned from a letter sent him by his watchmen, that his son had betaken himself thither, he rejoiced in the thought that after the Prince had sojourned so long with the enemy, he had now without taking any harm, happily escaped out of the power of the foe. With the command: “Ye must, my friends, without delay bring hither to me the son who chases away my grief, and before a hindrance arises, show him to me”, he sent to him people from the five groups of menials, who were known to be courageous, together with an autograph letter and gifts.

1 P. bhaṭe sahavāḍḍhite. Cf. with this sahavāḍḍhitam anaccānaṃ 68. 5, sahavāḍḍhitayodhēhi 70. 189, as well as sadhilāvāḍḍhitaposeṣu 70. 277. The meaning of sahavāḍḍhita is apparently the same as that of sahāgata “come along with”, and then “belonging to the immediate retinue”. Is there perhaps a connection between vāḍḍhita and the Sinh. vādīnarā?

2 The localities, Khajjāraṇāḍḍhamāna, Kānapaddāṇa, Demeliyagama and Maṅgalabegāma all lie on a line running from Polonnaruva to east of Dambul. See note to 66. 110. The Prince had covered the distance — about 20—25 miles as the crow flies — in a night and part of the following day, reaching Demeliyagama at daybreak. His retinue expected him according to agreement (see 67. 22) at Janapada, and from here according to orders, some people have come to Maṅgalabegāma to meet him. Of this place Codurawas says (l. 70): “Maṅgalaba seems to represent some such name as Magul-ebē; a Makul-ebē is said locally to be between Konduraveva and Puvakgha Ulpota in Matale District.”

3 The Col. Ed. has nāyaṅka and W. accordingly translates: “reputed heads of the five trades”. But the MSS. have all nāsaṅka which points rather to nāsaṅka (after jāne = anāsaṅka). Kittisirimegha entrusts with the commission people whose hearts are in the right place, bearing in mind the violent death suffered by the Senāpati Saṅkha. According to W. pessiyā were artisans, such as carpenters, weavers, washermen, barbers and shoemakers (note to the passage). In 84. 5 in addition to
59 The Prince was glad when he saw the people and the presents they had brought, and betook himself thence to Saraggāma\(^1\) desirous of meeting again with his father. Now when Kittisirimegha heard that his son was there, he sent thither the head of the Kuṭhārasabhā\(^2\) as well as Abhaya, the chief of the ascetics, who dwelt in the Pañcaparivenānūla monastery with the order to fetch him hither without loss of time.

62 When the Prince had learned the circumstances of his royal father as narrated by them, he spake: if the stars are favourable, I will depart and ye must go with me, and for yet a few days he passed the time with games at waterfalls and other pleasant places.

64 When the Prince’s companions saw the soldiers who came from every side, to seek the officials with the chief of the Sabhā at their head, they remembering the wrong they had themselves formerly done\(^3\) the King by their adherence to the Prince, became agitated through fear. And they spake to one another: “Many soldiers are gathering here from divers places. Hard to see through are the intentions of these officials. They are all united here, surround us on every side and taking us in the centre, have occupied the various places”.

68 And being perturbed, they told the matter also to the King’s son. He was wroth. “Never and nowhere do all these cowards look at things as they really are, and therefore they see nothing but danger where no danger is. At the sight of the village guard who have come to see the head of the Sabhā they

the five, ten pessiyavagga are distinguished. They are rājakulāyattā, belong to the royal household.

\(^1\) See note to 66. 71.

\(^2\) Kuṭhārasabhā is, as so often, nothing but a paraphrase for Kuṭhārasabhā (see note to 44. 6). It is a case of some kind of council chamber (sabhā). The word kuṭhāra means “axe”. Instead of oṣasi 'bhaya\(^3\) the Col. Ed. reads oṣaśīca; thus the name of the priest is missing here.

\(^3\) The following translation is also possible: “remembering the wanton deed which they themselves in common with the Prince, had committed against the King.” The sentence would then contain an allusion to the murder of the Senāpati Sāṅkha.
talk contemptible nonsense to me" — and he spake to them 71 words to this effect. But they melted away gradually hither and thither. When the Prince heard of it he spake: "Although 72 they have witnessed my courage on divers occasions and their own rescue over and over again by me from evil situations, 73 their inborn cowardice doth not forsake these cravens. What boots it me whether they stay here or run away, and what 74 man can plot anything and what (can he plot) so long as I live?" And he spent yet some time tarrying there.

When Queen Ratanāvalī heard that her son was there, 75 but that he was not coming with the (envoys) sent out by his father, she thought: "It is not meet that grief should 76 be caused to the King by my son passing the time without coming; I will myself at once bring my son to the Monarch and 77 present him, to him". Thereupon she came in haste from Rohaṇa hither, betook herself to Saṅkhanāthatthalī, sought 78 out the Ruler, exchanged with him many friendly words and, asked by the Monarch, she informed him of the reason for her 79 coming. Then she went thence to Saraggāma, sought out her 80 son, the Thera, the chief of the ascetics, and the head of the Sabhā and took close counsel with them as to what was to be done. And as (in her opinion) it was not at all seemly 81 to linger far (from the capital), she took the Prince along with her and betook herself to Badalatthalī. Together with 82 the Senāpati Deva¹ stationed there she went to Saṅkhanā- thatthalī and presented (the Prince) to his father, the King. When then Kittisirimegha beheld his son, he spake in his 83 love to the highest officials thus: "To-day the arrow of 84 anxiety as to who here might look after me in my old age and show me the last honours, is taken out of my soul. But 85 think not that it is for me only a blessing, is it not also for you a reward brought forth by former merits? From now 86 onwards ye must all yield obedience to the Prince". With these words the King commended to them his son. While 87

¹ Deva who is here called senādhīpati, was apparently the successor of the murdered Saṅkha. Like the latter he lived at Badalatthalī.
the officials full of zeal, did according to his command, King Kittisirimegha departed this life.

88 The steadfast Prince who knew the writings of the Master (Buddha)\(^1\), was not mastered by the agitation called forth by the grief at his father’s death. He comforted the inhabitants of the kingdom beginning with the high dignitaries, carried out the fire burial of his father in a manner worthy of him, appointed here and there in the country and on the frontiers of the realm loyally devoted officials amongst his immediate followers\(^2\). Then versed in the laws valid for the nobility, at a favourable constellation, during the festival of the binding on of the frontlet denoting the rank of mahādīpāda he held a solemn procession — he the ornament of Laṅkā, adorned with all ornaments, around the town adorned with every ornament in every way — he the mighty round the troop-filled (town), he the most dexterous riding on his elephant — even as the King of the gods round the city of the gods\(^3\). By the rain of an abundant gift of money to the sāmaṇas and the brāhmaṇas and others he stilled then the persistence of the glow of their poverty. To the King Gajabāhu and to the King Mūnābharana he sent hereupon his envoys to inform them of the affair\(^4\).

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1 P. sātatasattāgama. It is doubtful whether sattha contains the Skr. śāstra or śāsty (P. satthar). W. seems to assume the former, since he translates: “versed in all knowledge and religion”. I think the latter and take satthāgama as a synonym of buddhāgama. The Buddha teaches in the sacred scriptures, absolute quiet of soul, indifference towards joy and sorrow.

2 W. translates “officers whom he had trained”. That is in itself unobjectionable. Nījaravadāhita would correspond then to skr. nījaravardhita = sauvardhita (BR. a. v. nīja, near the end). I find it difficult however, to separate nījaravadāhita from the sauvardhita so often used in the same context. See note to 67. 52.

3 The whole section is full of puns. Notice in v. 91 nakhatte and khatta, in v. 92 alamukāra and alamukutu, ukekhi and ukekadhī, in v. 93 pahala and bula, dakkhiṇagga and padukkiṇa (which I have rendered by “solemn procession”), as well as akari and kuriw, surindo and surālayaw.

4 Thus be observes diplomatic courtesy in notifying the change of
He (Parakkamabahu) who had won\(^1\) the hearts of his many officers through the fulness of his excellent qualities, who had reduced all hostility to nothing\(^2\), who had won lustrous glory, whose wealth consisted in his renown which filled the whole universe, dwelt in that town doing much good.

Here ends the sixty-seventh chapter, called "The Festival of the Mahādīpāda", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

reign. But it is to be noted that he assumes the title of mahādīpāda. This looks like modesty, but it includes as against Gajabahu, for future time the claim to the crown in the whole of the kingdom.

\(^1\) \textit{sa}ta, lit. "directed, led" is to be taken in the sense of \textit{vasa}ṃ \textit{ni}ta "brought under his influence, won over for himself".

\(^2\) For \textit{vidhunī}ta cf. skr. \textit{dhūt} with \textit{vi}, in BR. 2.
CHAPTER LXVIII

THE IMPROVEMENT OF HIS OWN KINGDOM

1 With his high-soaring plans and with his exact knowledge of the other country, though now in possession of the royal dignity, he did not give way to empty boasting (such as): “the reward of my royal dignity, after the subjugation of all my foes, consists (now already) in the gain of prosperity and welfare for the laity and the Order”, but he thought: “It is true, I have by my extraordinary insight brought my kingdom although it is small, so far that much in it has prospered, but I will now within a short time further it so greatly that it will surpass the greatness of other kingdoms”.

2 With this reflection the Prince granted to all the dignitaries amongst his followers, to each according to his merit, posts

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1 A difficult passage. The alteration of pāda e in the Col. Ed. into tattha mantanam-āpajja (W. “he took counsel with . . .”) is unnecessary. I believe that kathamattam andāpajja which some of the MSS. have, while the writing of others suggests it, gives quite good sense. That would be the skr. *kathāmad śram (*kathā “boasting” from the root kath). At most a quite slight alteration might be made — kathananattam: kathana (skr. the same) and suff. -ta (skr. -tva) “condition of boasting”. Neyuttaka in d I regard on account of the e in the first syllable, as a secondary derivative of niyutta (skr. niyukta) and as a substantive at that, formed like rāmaṇīyaka “loveliness”. Pāṇini’s rule 5. 1. 132, it is true, allows this formation only with adjectives in -yu. Strophe 2 gives then the content of the boasting from which Parakkamabāhu refrains, being conscious of the great tasks which still await him. He is not satisfied by what he has achieved till now and by a quiet and pious life in his present realm, but he aspires after the sovereignty over whole Ceylon.

2 See above notes to 67. 52 and 90. W. translates here and also in
and inclined them to himself by gifts of money. From the 6 Samantakūṭa mountain to the port at the sea he divided his army along the frontier of the kingdom into various camps, and reflecting that in the first place, in every possible way 7 grain must be stored in mass, he spake thus to his henchmen: "In the realm that is subject to me there are, apart 8 from many strips of country where the harvest flourishes mainly by rain water, but few fields which are dependent on 9 rivers with permanent flow or on great reservoirs. Also by 10 many mountains, by thick jungle, and by widespread swamps my kingdom is much straitened. Truly in such a country 11 not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow into the ocean without being made useful to man. Except at 12 the mines where there are precious stones, gold and the like, in all other places the laying out of fields must be taken in hand. For a life of enjoyment of what one possesses, without 13 having cared for the welfare of the people, in no wise befits one like myself. And when it is the case of a difficult task, 14 ye also all with untiring energy must not regard it as hard; without neglecting the command given by me, ye must fully 15 carry out the work as ordered". The highly renowned gave 16 the order to rebuild on the river Jajjara 2 the great causeway known as Koṭṭhabaddha which had since long been in ruins, so that the name alone remained, and which had caused the 17 kings of former times the greatest difficulties. The officials 18 all described in every way the difficulties of the work and its lack of permanence even if it were carried out. The King 19 Parakkamabāhu 3 repudiates the word: "What is there in the world that cannot be carried out by people of energy? That 20

70. 189 and 277 "officers that had been brought up with him", but in 67. 52 "his fellow soldiers".

1 See note to 60. 64.

2 Now the Deduru-oya. The river rises southwest of Kurunegala, flows at first in a northwesterly and northerly direction, turns west below its junction with the Kimpulwana-oya, flows at no great distance past Nikaveratiya and falls into the sea to the north of Chilaw.

3 Note that from now onwards Parakkamabāhu has the title of King.
even Rāma had a great causeway built by the monkey hosts over the ocean — this tale lives among the people to this day. 21 If my extraordinary power should be the cause of the furthering of the laity and the Order by the union of Laṅkā under one umbrella, then even at the beginning of the enterprise one sees (in anticipation) its fulfilment". By such words the energetic one fired their energy. From the causeway as starting-point to the district called Rattakara¹ the discerning ruler before building the causeway, laid down a large canal, in depth many times the length of a man, very broad and exceedingly solid. As in this district there was a lack of stone masons², the far-famed (King) called together in great number coppersmiths, blacksmiths and goldsmiths and made over to them the business of masonry and made them lay down a dam in which the joints of the stones were scarcely to be seen, very firm, quite massive, like to a solid rock³

¹ W. is thinking of the Ratkerauva (?) in the Atakalan Korale of Sabaragamuva; that is of course geographically quite impossible. Ceylonprav (I. 70) refers us to Ratkaravva, about 4½ miles N. W. of Kurunegala in the Kuda Galboda Korale. If this is right, then the small river that flows immediately past Kurunegala and joins the Deduru-oya further north, would be included in the irrigation system. The great reservoir must then be sought not far from the spot where the road from Kurunegala to Dambul crosses the Deduru-oya. But I believe that the form of the name is Rattakara, and -awaya the word -awja occurring so frequently at the end of names with the meaning "called so and so". The large map of Ceylon too has not the form Ratkaravva but Ratkara-veva.

² I believe that my emendation of the MSS. silakoṭṭakānammaḥaka-pālohaḥakarke into "kānam abhāna lōha" is simpler than that of the Col. Ed. "kānaṁ niśahāna lōha"; bha is very easily confused with ha and so with pa. The familiar mahā led to a doubling of the m. The sense is now even more pregnant. If a number (niśaha) of stone masons had been available, one would not have needed the various smiths for the building of the reservoir and the canal. For they are only employed for silakoṭṭaḥanakamma.

³ P. pithhipāḍa, according to PTS. P. D. s. v. "a flat stone or rock, plateau, ridge". The idea is: the whole causeway looks like a single immense slab of stone, like a monolith.
and provided with a complete coating of stucco. As a be-28 
liever he placed on the height of the causeway a bodhi tree, 
an image house and a relic shrine. And expert as he was, 29 
he so arranged matters that the whole quantity of water was 
borne through the canal to the sea. On both sides of the 30 
canal he had the great wildernesses cleared and many thou-
ousands of day’s work fields laid out, and because the land 31 
was thickly studded with granaries full of untrussed rice he 
caused it to be called by the fitting name of Koṭṭhabaddha.

Hereupon at the place of union of the two rivers Saṅkhā- 
vaḍḍhamānaka and Kumbhīlavāna the Soverign had the place 33 
Sūkaranijjhara dammed up in the aforesaid way and likewise 
a canal laid down. He had the water from there carried to 34 
the Mahāgallaka tank and after he had dammed up every-
thing there that was decayed and ruined, having first cleared 35 
out the drainage canals, he built a weir of larger propor-
tions than before. From this place as far as Sūkaranijjhara 36 
he had fields made and collected in this way stocks of grain. 
In the middle of the Jajjārā river at the place Dorādattika 37 
he built a dam and a large canal and also from there as far 38 
as Sūkaranijjhara he had fields made and brought together a

1 P. dhātugabbha. Here, as already in 60.56 and below in 79.14, 
the word appears with the meaning of the Sinhalese dāgūba or dāgoba, 
not as originally for the relic chamber built into the stūpa, but for the 
stūpa itself (dhātugabbha = thūpa).

2 P. ṛāha, a land measure, as much ground as one can cultivate 
with a “load” of seed corn.

3 The reading abaddhavati of the MSS. which has been arbitrarily 
altered in the Col. Ed. into akhaḍavati, is necessary, in order to explain 
the second part of the name Koṭṭhabaddha.

4 These are the rivers Hakṣaṇuṇu-oya and Kimbulvana-oya (Covarru

5 As the Mahāgallakāvāpi is in all probability the Magalle-veva 
reservoir in the Magul Otaṭa Korale near Nīkaveratiya, the canal must 
have followed the right bank of the Deduru-oya for a length of about 
16 miles. Cf. note to 44.3.

6 P. vāripāta, lit. “waterfall”. Cf. 48.148 and 79.66, 67 with the 
notes.
39 large quantity of corn\(^1\). The Pañḍavāpi\(^2\) tank which was formerly quite small he provided with a solid dam whose height, length and breadth were enlarged (as compared with former dimensions), and (also) with an immense, high\(^3\) weir and with overflow canals and gave it the name Parakkamasamudda. 41 On the island in the middle of the tank he built on the summit of a rock a cetiya that showed forth the beauty of the Kelāsa mountain\(^4\). In its centre he built a royal pleasure house three storeys high and very beautiful, which was a habitation for a fulness of worldly joys. The reservoirs Mahāgalla, Seṭṭhivāpi and Chattunnata, Tabbāvāpi, as well as Ambavāsāvāpi, Giribāvāpi, Pāṭala, Maṇḍika, Moravāpi, Śādiyaggamavāpi and also Tilagullaka; Mālavalli and Kāli as well as Kittakanḍaka, Kappikāragallavāpi and Buddhagāmakani jihara; Sūkaraggamavāpi and Mahākīralavāpi, Giriyāvāpi, Rakkhamāna, 47 Ambāla and Kaṭunnaru; Jallibāva, Uttarāla and Tintipigāna, 48 Dhavalavīṭṭhikagāma, Kirāvāpi, Naḷannaru; Karavīṭṭhavilatta, as well as Udumbaragāma, Munaru and Kasālla and Kalala-hallika; Mūlavārikavāpi and Girisīgāmuka, Polonnarutala and also Visirāṭṭhala\(^5\) — these many tanks and sixteen others in

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\(^1\) The statement mujhe Jajjaranajjāya is too vague, to allow of fixing the position of Dorādattika with certainty. I think, however, that it must be looked for above the mouth of the Kumbhīlayāna-nadi. If it were below, the canal described in vv. 32 ff. would stand in the way of a diversion from the right bank. With a diversion from the left bank however the junction with Sūkaranijjhara would cross the Deduru-oya itself.

\(^2\) See note to 60. 50.

\(^3\) P. abbhunnata. It is difficult to say what the special meaning of the word is here.

\(^4\) By the brilliant white of the coating which reminds one of the summit of the Kailāsa wrapped in eternal snow. This is a mountain group of over 20000 ft. in height, belonging to the trans-Himalayan system. The Tibetans call the mountain Kang-rimpotsche and, like the Hindus, they hold it sacred. Cf. SVKH HIND, Transhimalaya II. 91 ff., 164 ff., III. 170 ff.

\(^5\) Mr. Conomngton had the kindness to send me by letter (19. 10. 1926) a series of identifications established by him for vv. 43-49: 1. Mahāgalla = Magalleveva (see notes to 44. 3 and 68. 34); 2. Vāsāvāpi =
which the weirs were destroyed\(^1\) he whose heart was chained to pity\(^2\), had restored in his realm. In the Pañcayojana District where there were great swamp ponds, he took the water from there and conducted it to rivers, laid out fields and collected a large quantity of grain. In the wildernesses there and at very many other places he determined everywhere what was to remain as wilderness\(^3\), and assembling all the village chiefs, he entrusted the inhabitants with the cultivation (of the remaining country). The discerning (Prince) thereby brought it about that the new fields yielded a tax which was greater than the old taxes produced in the kingdom, and at the same time brought it to pass that the inhabitants of the country never more knew fear of famine. Versed in administration he thought: in my kingdom wherever it may be, there shall not be even a small courtyard without its roofing of leafage, and had therefore here and there charm-

Vasiyava in the Magul Otota Korale (near Nikaveratiya); 3. Giribāvāpi = Girihava in Mi-oyn Egoda Korale (on the left bank of the Kala-oya); 4. Maṇḍika = Mediyava in the Pahala Visideke Korale (north of Maho); 5. Tilagullaka = Talagalle Ella (see note to 58. 49), in the Katuvana Korale (east of Magul Otota K.); 6. Kāli? = Kaliyavaḍana, a large irrigation work in Pitigal Korale (at Chilav); 7. Buddha gāmakānijjhara? = Butgoma-oya, Yatikaha Korale (20 miles west of Kurunegala); 8. Sūkara'gāmavāpi? = Urapotta, Kiniyama Korale (left bank of the lower Dedaru-oya); 9. Mahākīrālavāpi = Mahagirilla, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (north of the Magul Otota K.); 10. Giriyāvāpi = Galgiriyāva, Nikavagampahe Korale (north-east of Maho); 11. Ambūla = Ambale, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (see under 9); 12. Tittiṣgāmakā = Siyambalangomuwa, Hatalispha Korale (between Nikavagampahe K. and Mi-oyn Egoda K., a large now abandoned tank north-east of Galgamuva); 13. Kirāvāpi = Kiraveva, Yagam Pattu Korale (10 miles E. of Chilav); 14. Kura-vijṭhavilattā = Kuravita and Vilattava, Pitigal Korale North (at Chilav), and Yagam Pattu Korale (see under 13). — For Moracāpi see notes to 69. 9, 70. 67.

\(^1\) I think we must read naṭṭhanijjhavarāpiyo instead of naṭṭhā niṭṭhā.
\(^2\) Pun on dayābaddhamano and bandhāpesi.
\(^3\) Lit.: "determining the wilderness places"; varatthā is a gerund and stands for -ṭhāya with a causative meaning. Thus he separated the cultivable land from that which was incapable of cultivation.
58 ing parks laid out, filled full with numerous species of creepers and trees which bore fruits and which bore blossoms, and which offered many delights\(^1\) and which were beautified by all kinds of garden beds\(^2\).

59 Aware of the right method, the Prince so acted that in consequence of his extraordinary insight his own kingdom though small, (now) brought to such prosperity, surpassed another, even a great kingdom.

Here ends the sixty-eighth chapter, called "The Improvement of his own Kingdom", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) P. aneka-anubhava-adhāra "the foundations of many delights". For the meaning of anubhava cf. those of the kindred verb, anu-bhū.

\(^2\) P. nānānuyyānasundāre, which I split up into nānā anuyyāna s\(^3\); anuyyāna corresponds to uyyāna as anudhamma to dhamma and is used of the smaller secondary garden-like beds in the ārāmā.
CHAPTER LXIX

THE COLLECTION OF MILITARY FORCES AND MONEY

When Parakkamabāhu had thus set his whole kingdom in 1 order in the best possible way, he pondered over what was now to be done: "Former foolish kings to whom good direc- 2 tion of affairs of state was unknown, for long injured at their pleasure people and Order. The ascetics made the 3 Order abandon the teaching and discipline of the Master; they neglected religious duties and lived according to their own pleasure. If now I soon unite Laikā under one umbrella, 4 I shall perchance be able to raise up again Order and people." After these reflections he gave orders to officers and district 5 chiefs to put troops and war material in readiness. First of 6 all the Prince summoned to him the official with the title of King of Malaya who was leader of the Damiļa army in the district called Rattakara¹, and after he had placed in 7 readiness many thousands of men, as well as armaments and weapons, he sent him away to take up his abode there. From 8 the Tabbā district, from the Giribā district, from Moravāpi, from the Mahīpūla district, and from the Pilaviṭṭhika district; from the Buddhagāma district and from the district called 9 Ambavana, from the Bodhigāmavara district and from the 10 Kauṭakapeṭaka² district he summoned the officials of the

¹ See note to 63. 23.
² Of the names mentioned here the following are already known: 1) Tabbā in Tabbāvāpi 68. 43; 2) Giribā in Giribāvāpi, cf. note to 68. 49, nr. 8; 3) Moravāpi 68. 44; 4) Buddhagāma, cf. note to 68. 43; 5) Ambavana, cf. note to 66. 85; 6) Bodhigāmavara, cf. note to 66. 78. It is clear that here we have the enumeration of the frontier districts of Dakkhiṇadesa towards Rājaraṭṭha from N.W. to S.E.
frontier guard singly, placed at their disposal many thousands 
11 of men, strong mails and divers weapons, such as swords, 
javelins, lances and the like and sent each of them to his 
12 place to dwell there. At that time Laṅkāmahālāna, Sīkhanī-
yaka, Jayamahālāna, Seṭṭhināyaka and Mahinda by name — 
these five highly respected men belonging to the Lambakāṇṭhas¹ 
14 dwelt in the Moriya² district. He made each one of them 
supply a thousand warriors and ordered them to get ready 
15 the (necessary) war equipment. In the interior of the country 
the King set up twelve district chiefs and allotted to each 
16 of them two thousand men. Further he appointed eighty four 
officers, men tested by victory, and entrusted to each of them 
17 a force of a thousand men. He also raised several thousand 
soldiers armed with clubs, tall men and strong, and the (need-
ful) war appliances. Of the foreign soldiers, such as the 
Keraḷas and others, who were in his service, he raised several 
19 thousand. Of one thousand he made moonlight archers, versed 
in night-fighting, and gave them leathern doublets and the like. 
20 Many thousand Vyādhas³ too he brought together, (men) who 
understood their task and gave them what was fitting for 
21 them: spears, drums⁴ and the like. Of the many work people

The Tabbā district accordingly lies in the extreme northwest on the 
left bank of the lower Kala-oya probably in Rajavelni-Pattuva. I find 
a Mahatabbova marked on the 12-sheet-map. Moravūpi, Mahīpāla and 
Pilaviṭṭhika must be looked for in this order between Giriba and Me-
nikdeva. It is clear from 72.168, 170 that Pilaviṭṭhi or Pillaviṭṭhi 
(the two are certainly identical) lay not far from Kālavāpi. Possibly 
Kaṇṭakapeṭṭaka lay east or northeast of Matale.

¹ Cf. note to 39. 44.
² Moriya is otherwise (38. 18, 41. 69) a clan name.
³ That vyādha here is a rendering of the Sinh. raddā seems to me 
certain, though this does not prove that the etymological derivation of 
the latter from the former is correct.
⁴ W. separates sattikāḷambara into satti-kāḷa-ambara and translates 
"swords, black clothes". That is certainly wrong. We must separate 
into sattikā-āḷambara. Sattikā is the diminutive of satti "spear" = skr. 
śakti. One might also derive it from satti "knife" = skr. ṣastrī, but I 
consider that less likely. Āḷambara is the skr. āḍambara "drum".
the King then ordered each thousand to perform the work appropriate to them. With the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants or horses and of handling the sword, in the use of foreign tongues, in dance and song, in court service should increase in number, the Sovereign brought up many of the sons, brothers and grandchildren of distinguished families in his own palace. Of the many groups such as the Churikaggāhaka, the Kappūravādḍhaka, the Khuddasevaka, the Siḥalagandhabba, the Santikāvacara and so on he supported several thousand of each of them at the royal court. To the young people among the chamberlains, barbers and the like he gave weapons and commanded them always to acknowledge the eldest among them as their leaders. Having established through the people who had been the treasurers of his father the King, the state of the finances, he came to the decision, that with such means it would be impossible to establish a universal dominion in Laṅkā, and collected without oppressing the people (further) money in the following way: The monarch separated finance administration and the army from each other and made them over to two officials who were the chief officials. The whole realm ruled by him the King divided equally (into two halves) and appointed a couple of auditors who came in regular ad-

1 Parakkama thus supplies the demand for workers for the army by recruiting from the castes.

2 It is not possible to determine what various groups (vaggaabheda), castes or guilds are meant. Taken in order the names singly denote: 1) knife bearers, dagger bearers, 2) camphor producers (cf. cāravādḍhaka "makers of clothing"), 3) little servants, 4) Siḥala musicians, 5) comrades of the immediate entourage.

3 Parakkama must thus have created two chief ministries, a ministry of War and one for the internal administration, each with a highest official at the head. For simplification the latter was locally divided into two parts (v. 30) to which a third was added which embraced in particular the administration of the mines (ṣāraṭṭhāna, v. 32). It is clear that the compiler is here describing the system of administration set up in certain works of the Niti literature. It is of course possible that Parakkama himself adopted this system.
vancement\(^1\) (to the office). From the district on the sea coast\(^2\), from the district Ratana\(^3\)kara, from the great Malaya country and from other districts the Ruler separated all land of extraordinary value and placed it under an official for whom he created the so-called "Office of the Interior"\(^4\). By ship he sent off many precious stones, traded with these and so increased the money resources. In charge of the two chief officials he caused to supply war material and troops of many thousand men, and in that of the three (other) officials also, him of the office of the Interior and the two heads of provinces, he raised very many troops. To test the military fitness of the soldiers\(^5\) he arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled and granted them high distinction. Those unfitted for fight he dismissed out of pity: they were to till the fields and perform other work and live in peace.

Thus versed in right method, he placed in readiness mails and weapons and skilled troops and without oppressing the people, he collected with ease large resources in money.

Here ends the sixty-ninth chapter, called "The Collection of military Forces and Money", in the Mahāvaṁsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) P. kamāgate. I believe that what is meant is that these officials, in order to have the necessary expert knowledge, had to work their way up through the various grades of service.

\(^2\) Here it is probably a case of the strips of coast where pearl fishing was carried on.

\(^3\) I have no doubt that the district meant is that in which the present Ratnapura lies (cf. W., note to the passage), and which was ever and again the "mine of precious stones" (ratanākara).

\(^4\) P. antaraṅgadhura. See skr. antaraṅga.

\(^5\) By ḍhaṭa are meant all people of an age to bear arms.
CHAPTER LXX

THE SURRENDER OF THE ROYAL DIGNITY

Hereupon, after Parakkamabāhu had surveyed his great army and the abundant stocks in money and corn and his whole war material, he thought: quite apart from the island of Sihala it would not be difficult to conquer even Jambudīpa, and he set about getting the royal dominion into his power. Into the great Malaya country which was difficult to penetrate owing to the inaccessibility of the many mountains and on account of the danger from wild animals, shut off from intercourse with other men, passable only on footpaths, offering all kinds of perils and dangerous by reason of deep waters with man-eating crocodiles, in Yaṭṭhikāṇḍa and Dumbara, he summoned Rakkha the daṇḍādhināyaka of King 6 Gajabāhu, and graciously showed him great distinction. He then gave him the order to take possession of the Malaya country and make it over to him. When the inhabitants heard of the affair, they agreed that they would kill the general when he came to them. At these tidings the general came hither in haste, fought, scattered the enemy in flight and occupied the district of Dumbara. Thereupon he continued the fight in

1 Parakkamabāhu goes to work with great deliberation. Before undertaking the attack on Rājaraṭṭha, he secures his right flank by occupying the mountain country of Malaya. This is called, as in 60. 31, Mahā-malayadesa.

2 Probably the province of Dumbara (Pata D. and Uda D.) which stretches N.E. of Kandy, though possibly its scope was more restricted in ancient times than now. See below note to v. 14.

3 The title occurs in different forms; also daṇḍanātha (so v. 7, 8), daṇḍāghyaka (70. 279 etc.). It seems to be of a military character; daṇḍa is probably to be understood as “army”.

31 vancement¹ (to the office). From the district on the sea coast², from the district Ratanākara³, from the great Malaya country and from other districts the Ruler separated all land of extraordinary value and placed it under an official for whom he created the so-called "Office of the Interior"⁴. By ship he sent off many precious stones, traded with these and so increased the money resources. In charge of the two chief officials he caused to supply war material and troops of many thousand men, and in that of the three (other) officials also, him of the office of the Interior and the two heads of provinces, he raised very many troops. To test the military fitness of the soldiers⁵ he arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled and granted them high distinction. Those unfitted for fight he dismissed out of pity: they were to till the fields and perform other work and live in peace.

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Yaṭṭhikandā and seized the head of the chief there, after he had beaten the foe. At the village of Tālakkhetta he twice offered battle and he likewise fought two combats at Nāga-pabbata. Also at the village Suvaṇṇadōṇi by name, at Rāmucchuvallika and at Demaṭṭhapādatthali he delivered at each in turn an action, and after all the enemy inhabiting the different places were subjugated he took possession of the Yaṭṭhikandā district with strong forces. After leaving there his younger brother behind with the army, he betook himself to the King to consider what was to be done. The soldiers at the head of whom was his brother, now marched forth and after a fight with the enemy, seized the district called Nilagallaka. The general returned and after he had successively delivered battle at Sayakhattaka, at Rattabeduma and at Dhanuvillika and had slain the foe, he made the conquered district Nilagallaka into a safe possession. Hereupon he twice offered action against the powerful Otturāmallaka the chief of Dhanumāṇḍala, and after conquering the Nissepikkhetaka district and clearing it of the briers (of the foe), he brought Otturāmallaka and his people into his power. Thereupon the King summoned the general Rakkha to him and conferred on him the dignity of a Kesadhātu and great distinction.

1 The place mentioned here has nothing to do with the Nakapawata vihāra mentioned in the Tammanakanda inscription (E. MÜLLER AIC., No. 55).
2 Corresponds probably to a modern Randeniya. The Census of 1921 mentions five localities of this name; but the position of none of them fits our Suvaṇṇadōṇi.
3 A Nilgala lies in Udasiya Patta North in Dumbara (thus Commodore), that is in the mountains north of Teldeniya. If the indentification is right, then the engagements described in vv. 8 ff. must have taken place in a comparatively restricted area in the region N. E. of Kandy. The names in vv. 8 and 9 do not occur again. Rāmucchuvallika (v. 11) might be meant for Rambukvela in Gampaha Korale West, 7 miles east of Teldeniya (cf. W. note to passage).
4 A Dunuvīla lies about five miles S. E. of Teldeniya, only just over two miles south of the spot where the last king of Ceylon was captured. Thus also Codrington.
5 Cf. the note to 57. 65. The Order of the Kesadhātu was not founded for the first time now, as one might assume from the note in W’s translation. It existed already at the time of Vijayayabāhu I.
The King sent him forth to take the district of Majjhima-vagga\(^1\). He betook himself to Nilagiri\(^2\) and after he had armed his troops there, the mighty one fought in the province Vāpiṇāṭaka by name and in Majjhima-vagga and won the victory. When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these events, he sent out a great army to fight him. At news of this the Kesadhātu, who had with him a correspondingly strong army and train, scattered the enemy forces and occupied Majjhima-vagga. Lokajitvāṇa by name and the Laṅkādhināyaka Rakkha\(^3\), the lion-hearted ones, armed a division, marched forth and fought the Laṅkānātha Hukitti; they defeated him and brought the district called Rerpallika into their power. In Kosavagga the King brought Samantamalla 26 by name by amicable means under his influence and showed him great honour; he then sent him war material and a big army and charged him to seize Kosavagga. Samantamallaka 28 by name, Otturāmallaka and his people fought with the hostile army and slew many in the battle. After they had fought a great battle at the place called Śisacchinakabodhi, the mighty ones got hold of the Kosavagga district\(^4\).

When he had thus made peaceful the province of Malaya 30 where owing to its inhabitants there had been no peace, he dwelt at ease in his town and passed the time with games 31

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\(^1\) Contrary to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. reads rājaratṭhaṃ instead of rājā raṭṭhaṃ. Accordingly W. translates "sent him to the king's country to take the district of Majjhima-vaggaka". That is wrong. The scene is not yet Rājaratṭha but Malaya. Majjhima-vagga is identified by Cumanxoros with Médivaka in Gampaha Korale, Dumbara.

\(^2\) Nilagiri is probably identical with the Nilagallaka mentioned above. It is now the base for further operations.

\(^3\) Laṅkādhināyaka (variants laṅkanātha, ex. 70. 25, or laṅkādhinātha, ex. 70. 232) is again a title which occurs frequently in just this pariccheda. The Laṅkādhināyaka Rakkha is of course different from the Daṇḍādhināyaka ("general") Rakkha, now Kesadhātu Rakkha. The two are mentioned together 70. 282, 283. Cf. also note to 70. 278.

\(^4\) We must very likely assume that the military engagements described from v. 20 onwards, took place north of the Dumbara district, so that Parakkama's troops worked their way gradually to the frontier of Rājaratṭha.
in the garden and in the water, with dance and song and the like, fulfilling the duties of a king, and for the sake of the exertions for the subjugation of hostile kings and for defeat of rebels, the Ruler was wont to follow the chase.

Now one day the King together with the chief Mahesi, with ministers and retainers went hunting. When then the Sovereign beheld a big forest that had signs of being inhabited by game, he made the Mahesi take her stand on the one side and then had the whole forest surrounded by hunters with spears in their hands and nets and caused them to make a noise here and there. Now when an elk bull large as an elephant calf, heard the frightful noise, he broke out of the forest thicket. Glancing in all sides, he roused by fear came running thence, plunging down the mountain slopes, leaping mountain gorges, cracking the tree branches, dragging creepers after it like a net, trampling down the brushwood in the forest, tearing asunder the outspread net, killing everyone he met or putting them to flight — thus he dashed straight at the Mahesi with the fury and the swiftness of the storm.

Everybody who beheld him rushing onwards fled on all sides, overcome by fright, and left the Mahesi and the King in the lurch. When the King beheld the fearful stag approaching he ran towards him with terrible courage and hit him with hurled spear. Wounded by him, the stag lowered its head to slay the King, but shedding both its antlers, flung itself at his feet. The ministers, the hunters, the chamberlains, the barbers and the others hearing the cry that the animal gave forth after receiving its severe wound, turning back, came

1 In order to be capable of those exertions. I do not think that vayamattham is in a parallel position to the two nisedhattham as W. assumes, but that these latter are dependent on the former.

2 P. gokaghramgo, Sinh. gōnā, Rusa Aristotelis, the Sambar, living in India and Ceylon.

3 Lit.: When by him (the stag), that had received the (spear) wound the head was lowered to kill him (the King), he fell . . ."

4 The MSS. have laddha pahāraṃ karaṇaṃ. I have changed only the last word into karaṇaṃ "plaintive, pitiful". The gerund is subject to the part. ravo. The Col. Ed. has laddha pahārakaraṇa, which gives neither clear construction nor clear sense.
together from all sides. When they beheld the two antlers and the lion-hearted Ruler they were full of astonishment, and overjoyed and happy, they filled the whole forest with the clamour of their loud praises. Ever and anon praising the extraordinary bravery of the King, his great good fortune, his heroism and his manly courage, they took the antlers and surrounding the King, entered the town which was adorned like the city of the gods, told the great dignitaries of the astonishing events and showed all of them the two antlers. When the high officials heard of the miracle, they came together and spake with one another with astonishment about the extraordinary occurrence: "Were this man with his majesty born in Jambudīpa, he would become without doubt a world-ruuling king". With these and words of like praise they lauded his inflexible courage hard to surpass, and placed the two antlers, having had an inscription put on them, in the treasure house where they are to this day.

When hereupon the Lord of men (Parakkamabāhu) heard that the Ruler Gajabāhu had fetched nobles of heretical faith from abroad and had thus filled Rājarāṭha with the briers (of heresy), wrath seized his soul and he thought: though people of my kind are there, possessing insight, virtue, miraculous power and extraordinary courage, he has nevertheless acted thus — and he commanded his generals to take possession also of Rājarāṭha. With careful consideration of the works profitable for the carrying on of war, such as the text book of Koṭalla, the Yuddhāṇava and others he, versed in the procedure of war, worked out with ingenuity in a way according with the locality and the time, the plan of campaign, wrote it down, had it handed out to the officers and gave the order: "Doubt not that ye do a thing of great moment, if ye do but swerve

1 In the same way as they had already conquered Malaya.
2 For Koṭalla = skr. Kauṭalya see note to 64. 3.
3 I do not know a work with this title. Chapters 123—125 of the Agnipūrāṇa are however called Yuddhāṇāyārṇava. ÁVRECHT, Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 219.
4 P. yuddhāṇāyaṃ. For upāya cf. note to 58. 3.
by a hair's breadth from this my instruction". They all received the words of the King with bowed head and went forth with large forces to open the campaign.

The Lord of men Gajabāhu had as chief of the umbrella bearers Komba, equipped with an army and experienced in war. The latter had built a very strong fortress at the village of Mallavāḷāna¹ for defence against the foe and had long had his dwelling there. The Malayarāyara who held the stronghold Vālikākhetta², fought with him, put him to flight and took his fortress. Then the hero marched thence at the head of a strong force and came by ship on the water to Muttākara³. The mighty one fought a great battle in the middle of the sea against the general there, in which the enemy troops were scattered. He then fought even a second bitter action at the selfsame spot and sent many thousands (of the foe) to (the god of death) Yama. The forces also of the Chief of the Kesadhātus, called Tamba, and other troops destroyed the foe at (the place) Mālavalliya by name, and the officer in Moravāpi, Nilagallaka by name, came to Kaṭiyāgūma and slew great numbers of the enemy⁴.

In the village of Kālavāpi Gajabāhu had the general known by the name of Nagaragiri Gokāṇṇa⁵ stationed. He was

¹ The operations begin on the extreme left wing of Parakkamabāhu who evidently intends to cut off Rājaraṭṭha from the sea. Mallavāḷāna should therefore be looked for not far from the coast, somewhere about the mouth of the Kala-oya.

² Malayarāyara is a variant of Malayarāja (cf. note to 41. 85). Vālikākhetta is identified by Comnaro (L. 71) with "Vellavela in Anai-vilundan Pattava near Battulu Oya". There is no Vellavela in the list of places in the Census of 1921.

³ "Pearl mine". What is meant are probably the pearl banks stretching from the south of Mannar to near Portugal Bay.

⁴ These fights take place, since Kālavāpi is mentioned in the sequel, west of this lake, about the Mi Oyen Egoda Korale. But the Moragasaeva situated here can scarcely be identified with the Moravāpi named in v. 67. Moravāpi is also mentioned in 69. 8 and 70. 67, 72. 177 (see the note).

⁵ For Gokāṇṇa see above note to 66. 35.
gifted with high heroic virtues, in possession of a fitting army and train, skilled in war, a loyal and devoted adviser of his Lord. The general Rakkhadivāna of the Lord of men 70 Parakkama vanquished him in battle at the place Goṇagāmuka. The officer Gokaṇṭa grown lax through his defeat, after equipping 71 an army again suffered defeats at the fortress of Pilaviṭṭhika and at the fortress called Kasāḷaka, at Taṭavāpika, at Jambukola, 72 at Vajiravāpi, at Nandivāpi, at Pallikāvāpi and at Kalalahallika, 73 after he had on each occasion offered battle¹. Then he thought: “My army that was formerly victorious even in battle with 74 the King², has now when it is double as strong, fighting with two or three officers of Parakkamabāhu at the border 75 of the kingdom, each time suffered defeat, and the leaders of the troops have fallen: now it is no longer capable of 76 fighting”, and he sent a report of all that had happened to Gajabāhu. When the Ruler Gajabāhu heard all this, he took 77 counsel with his ministers and spake as follows: “Never formerly have we heard that we were defeated; now we have suffered a defeat and that was a great injury for us. Even 79 he who among my dignitaries was of special power and courage, has been vanquished several times in battle. Were 80 another misfortune to overtake him that would not be good for me”. Having thus taken counsel with his ministers, he made ready abundant money, troops and troop leaders, as 81 also divers weapons and impenetrable armour and sent these off to Gokaṇṭa. The general Gokaṇṭa now made the army 82 sent by the king, his own former army as well as the army of the inhabitants of the country³ in all haste ready for 83

¹ The localities named in 70 to 73 must all be situated southwest or south of the Kalaveva, Goṇagāmuka probably farthest away (Goṇagama in the Gantihe Korale south of Galgamuwa). For Pilaviṭṭhika see note to 69. 10). Jambukola is probably Dambul, though Cunnaroton inclines to identify it with Dambagolla in Gangala Palesiya Pattuva, west of Elahera. The names Kasāḷa and Kalalahallika are met with also in 68. 48 amongst the tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa.

² Cf. the defeat of Kittisirimegha by Gokaṇṭa in 63. 34.

³ The militia in contrast to the regular, standing army.
battle, advanced again to Nilagala\(^1\) and fought a great battle with the general Māyāgeha. In this action many of his people fell or flung away their weapons and fled into the wilderness. It went so far that one was forced to say that nobody had escaped\(^2\). He himself also left chariot and umbrella in the lurch and fled into the forest. From now he gave up the idea of fighting and stayed in Kālavāpi after building a strong fortification there.

87 Thereupon the officers stationed in the Śūraambavana\(^3\) district pressed forward to Janapada and cut down the hostile army. The troop leaders who had been sent to the province of Bodhigāmavara entered Laṅkāgiri\(^4\) and destroyed the foe there.

89 The troop leaders at the head of whom stood the Nagaragiri Mahinda, were sent again by Parakkama to the district of Mallavāḷana to fight\(^5\). He marched thither, drove back the mighty enemy, penetrated the province, conquered

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\(^1\) This is very probably the Nilagallaka mentioned earlier (70.14 with note) or Nilagiri (70.20) in Dumbara. Thus Gokana, successful perhaps at the outset, had penetrated far to the south into the districts of Malaya which Parakkama's soldiers had already occupied (hence puna), before he suffered his decisive defeat.

\(^2\) Lit.: "there were none of such (v'attahi) who had gone after they had freed themselves". Muccitvāna gatā is a periphrastic formation akin to analogous Sinhalese expressions. Cf. Sinh. pald-yanavā, prt. paldgiyā.

\(^3\) Śūraambavana is manifestly a part of Ambavana, name of the region of the Ambanganga (see above note to 66.85). Parakkama's officers thus press forward, pursuing the beaten enemy northwards through Ambavana Korale to Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattuva (= Janapada, note to 66.110).

\(^4\) For Bodhigāmavara see note to 66.78, for Laṅkāgiri now Laggala, east of Vagapanaha, note to 66.80, C. P. T. C. I. 71.

\(^5\) According to 70.60 ff. Mallavāḷana had already been taken earlier by the Malayarāyara. There must have been a reverse in the interval in which the territory gained was again lost. As to this failure the chronicle is silent. Now after the victorious advance of the right wing the operations on the extreme left wing are begun again in the former way (see note to 70.61).
it and brought it into safe possession. From there they all 91 started off, gave battle at sea with many hundreds of ships and after seizing the general stationed there and (the Nor- 92 thern Province) Uttararaṭṭha¹, they sent the pearls found there to their Lord. Thereupon the Monarch had a fortress 93 built at the place called Pilavasu and made the troops take up their abode there.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these events, 94 he took counsel with his ministers and set about sending out troops. When Parakkamabāhu who well understood the (right) 95 method, learned thereof, he sent the Laṅkānāṭha (Rakkha)² to the district called Janapada. At the tidings of this action 96 the Lord of men Gajabāhu gathered his army together, divided his forces and sent in two directions an army equipp- ed with armour and weapons — to the locality Janapada and to the fortress called Pilavasu. The Laṅkādhināṭha Rakkha 98 advanced thereupon at the head of a strong force for the destruction of the hostile army, to Ambavana³ and after cut- ting up in battle many foes at the village called Bubbula⁴, he put the army of the enemy to flight. The inhabitants of 100 the country now made the roads difficult of access by hewn

¹ The MSS. are without doubt corrupt. But I cannot accept the reading of the Col. Ed:catidhaṃ đanānāthaṃ taṃ muttā raṭṭhaṃ balam pi ca. It is too violent and arbitrary. I would far rather read with slight alteration, catidhaṃ đanānāthaṃ ca (—thāca, which differs slightly from the -thāba- of the MSS,) raṭṭhaṃ taṃ Uttarasaṃ pi ca. Parakkama wants above all to get hold of Uttararaṭṭha, the province north of Anurādhapura, in order to cut off Rājaraṭṭha completely. Still better perhaps would be the emendation raṭṭhaṃ Muttākaraṃ pi ca especially in consideration of 70. 63. The translation would then run: "and after they had seized the general stationed there and the province of Muttākara".

² See 70. 24 with the note.

³ As according to 70. 87 Ambavana lies further south than Janapada, it must be assumed that Parakkama's troops who had already advanced to Janapada, had at first retired southwards, till Rakkha restored the balance.

101 down and felled trees and by thorny creepers and posted in ambush on the road, continued the fight. The Laṅkānātha
determined to annihilate the foe, pursued them in every
direction, broke even through the stockades and pushed for-
dward delivering big engagements at divers places, to Janapada.
103 After taking Janapada he following instructions of Parakkama-
bāhu, built an entrenchment and took up his abode there.
104 Thereupon King Gajabāhu sent the Laṅkādhināyaka Deva and
105 Daśābhāra by name to withstand him. The Laṅkādhinātha
(Rakkha) thereupon delivered a great battle, defeated them
106 and took Yagālla. The Lord of men Gajabāhu sent to the
Ālisāra¹ district the so-called four companies² to renew the
107 combat. The Laṅkānātha (Rakkha) likewise marched forth,
fought with them, captured several alive and occupied Ta-
108 lāththala³. King Gajabāhu sought now by a kindly gift to
bring him under his influence and sent him abundant pre-
sents, such as costly ornaments of jewels and divers garments
of linen, silk and other stuffs as an offering. The general
accepted the gifts, mutilated the envoys and sent presents
111 and messengers to his Lord. When the King (Parakkama)
saw that, he rejoiced greatly and sent him back the whole
112 treasure and costly gifts (in addition). The general now left
the fortress of Talāththala and took up a position in the
113 stronghold of Āligāma⁴ at the side of the river. Thereupon
Gajabāhu sent the general Sīka and other skilful warriors
114 with great forces to fight once more with him. They all set
forth equipped with troops and train, surrounded the fortress

¹ The name is preserved in the modern Elahera on the left bank
of the Ambanganga in Gangala Pallesiya Pattuva (Census of C. 1921, II. 102).
² P. catasso parisā, evidently the name of a particular troop which
perhaps had its headquarters in the Ālisāra district or was recruited
from the able-bodied inhabitants of this district.
³ Now Talagoda (Connarox), somewhat above Elahera and also
situated on the left bank of the Ambanganga.
⁴ H. W. Connarox compares this with the modern Elagamuva which
lies slightly above Talagoda but on the right bank of the Ambanganga.
The Census of 1921 names both villages together in Gangala Pallesiya
Pattuva.
(Āligāma) and rained down a hail of arrows. Several warriors 115 of the Laṅkādhinātha well armed, took up their position at the gate and began a terrific fight. The archers and other 116 combatants standing on the turrets of the gate, slew numbers of the foe with arrows, spears and javelins. In this way they 117 all carried on without interruption for three days a violent combat with great endurance and great strength. The troops 118 of King Gajabāhu determined above everything on the de-
struction of the foe, set about blowing up the main gates of the fortress. Thereupon the Laṅkādhinātha and his warriors 119 burst forth and cut down the enemy in combat as far as the opposite bank of the river. They made the water of 120 the river muddy with the blood of the foe and captured many troop leaders alive. After gaining the victory in the 121 battle, the Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha celebrated a great festival of victory in the castle, but the heads of the hostile officers, 122 the umbrellas, chariots and weapons and the captives caught alive he sent to his Lord.

Hereupon the Sovereign (Parakkamabāhu) summoned to 123 him the Senāpati Deva, told him all that the Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha had accomplished, and with the reflection that Ga-
jabāhu at the tidings of the defeat of his troops, would cer-
tainly send forth a great force to seize the general (Rakkha), he sent the far-famed army leader to the Giribā district 2 to 125 cut off the great force of the Lord of men Gajabāhu. The 126 shrewd (Deva) set out, having put his whole army into fighting trim and while occupying an entrenchment which he had raised on the bank of the Kālavāpi river 3, he at the 127

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1 The Ambanganga flows at Elagamuva from S.W. to N.E. It must be assumed that Rakkha had abandoned Talāṭṭhali and that the enemy are advancing by Talāṭṭhali = Talagoda to their new position at Elagamuva. To do this they must cross the river and are now driven back over it. Cf. below vv. 173 ff.

2 Cf. note to 68. 49 (nr. 8) and 69. 8. Thus the expected pressure on the right wing is to be relieved by an attack on the left flank.

3 This is the Kala-oysa, since the Kālavāpi tank is formed by the damming up of this river.
instruction of the King, threw a long, very fine, and very solid bridge across the river of the Kālavāpi tank, passable by files of elephants, horses and chariots\(^1\), held together with iron bands and nails, made of beams of timber and twenty cubits\(^2\) broad. After leaving certain officers there, the Senāpati marched off and while delivering here and there heavy engagements in which he remained victorious, he reached a place named Aṅgamu\(^3\), built an entrenchment for fighting with the hostile army, and took up a position there. At the tidings thereof the opposing army erected an impregnable fortification at Senāgāma to ward off the Senāpati and took up a position there. The illustrious Senāpati now marched thither, fought with the hostile army and captured the fortification in Senāgāma. After the enemy had fought twice over and suffered defeat, they built a fortification in Manyāgāma and took up a position there. Thereupon the Senāpati marched thither and took the fortress of Manyā; likewise a stronghold in Mita and the fortress Sākaragāma. He had new earthworks laid down in all these fortifications and leaving none of them unoccupied, he placed commanders (in them). The Senāpati having built a stronghold at Terigāma, made officers known as capable warriors take up their position there with troops. King Gajabāhu now sent his officer, the Nilagiri

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\(^1\) The Col. Ed. has *hatthassarathapattīhi* and W. translates therefore: "by elephants, and horses and chariots, and footmen". According to my MSS. I have felt obliged to read *-patthi*.

\(^2\) The MSS. have in pāda b c *dārūhi āyataṃ visathatthaniththataṃ*. Thus three syllables are missing. I have added a *kāritaṃ* to *dārūhi*, for *kāresi* seemed to me too far away to be joined with the instr. The Col. Ed. puts *āyataṃ* in pāda b and gives as length *dvīṣataṃ* in c. Here again one would have to supplement a *hattha* from the following compound. Twenty cubits are nearly = 30 feet.

\(^3\) The name is preserved in that of the Ambagomuva tank which lies a little over 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles to the north of the Kala-oya. The distance of Giribā from the southern bank is the same. The river is particularly narrow at the part between the two places and therefore probably easy to cross.
Rāma\(^1\) and numerous troop leaders\(^2\) to destroy him. They set forth all well armed with army and train and occupied an armed camp not far from Terigāma. From early morning the two armies began the battle with vehemence and continued it until evening. Now when the Nilagiri and his warriors, who were acknowledged to be brave, saw their troops yielding, they armed with their weapons, striking down the best soldiers, spreading panic amongst the foe, flung themselves into the midst of the army like lions amid a herd of elephants. But the warriors of the Senāpati (Deva) did not flinch in fight, but surrounding the Nilagiri Rāma and the many troop leaders on all sides, they slew them on the battlefield and captured the chief warrior Kadakrūda and other fighters alive. The Senāpati who had gained the victory in this battle, sent those captured alive to his Lord.

Parakkamabāhu who was staying quietly in the neighbourhood of the scene of heroic deeds now summoned in his shrewd way, the Nagaragiri Mahinda who was in his vicinity and told him of the extraordinary courage of those dignitaries.\(^4\) When the latter heard that, his ambition awoke within him and with the words: I will set forth and take, he pledged himself to take Anurādhapura shortly. With strong forces the foe-crusher set forth and delivered a great battle

\(^1\) Here we must probably take nilagirī as a title similar to nagara-giri (see note to 66. 35), laṅkāgiri (see note to 72. 27) and lokagallā (see note to 72. 222). The word however, occurs only in connection with Rāma and specially noticeable is the Rāmanāmo Nilagiriṣṭhito in 72. 12. Cf. the note to this passage.

\(^2\) P. balapāmakkhe. These are the yuddhā of v. 140 and 148 c d, the balanāthā of v. 148 a. It seems to me that the leaders of the local militia troops are meant.

\(^3\) The Col. Ed. quite unnecessarily alters nivasanto into nīvāsattham. Then 145 a b would have to be joined to the preceding, and W. translates accordingly “sent the man whom he had taken alive to live in comfort with his master (Parakkama)”. Now that is as regards content in the highest degree unlikely. S. and B. have not recognised that parakkammanikatamkhi in a b contains a pun on parakkamabhūjo in c.

\(^4\) Of Rakkha and Deva.
at the place called Badarībhātikamāna. Then when the illustrious one had fought a great action at the village of the name of Siyāmahantakuddāla and near the Tissavāpi reservoir not far from Anurādhapura, he surrounded by the multitude of his troops, entered Anurādhapura. When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these events, he sent off several troop leaders accompanied by the highest dignitaries. They all armed for combat, raised a barricade round the town and cut off access to the road. Now when the Senāpati Deva heard of these events, in order to relieve the general besieged in the town, he set off in haste, delivered battle again at the village of Siyāmahantakuddāla and fought on the way three terrible battles. The Malayarāyara at the tidings thereof left his stronghold and came hither after twice fighting a battle on the way. At the instruction of the Senāpati, he marched in the same direction and fought with the hostile army not far from Anurādhapura. The Senāpati also fought here and there a sharp action, pressed forward to the vicinity of Anurādhapura and opened the combat here. At news of this the general Mahinda with strong forces suddenly made a sortie out of glorious Anurādhapura and overthrew the foe and storming many barricades on the way, he quickly reached the Senāpati. United the army of the Senāpati and the army of Mahinda fought with the hostile army and once more put it to flight. The Senāpati returned to Siyāmahantakuddāla, set up a strong, entrenched camp and took up a position here.

1 Anurādhapura was probably also the objective of Deva's advance from the S.W. As Parakkamabāhu's headquarters must have been nearer to the centre of the whole theatre of operations it may be assumed that Mahinda was advancing on the town from the south, more or less on the line Galgamuva-Talava.

2 He was stationed according to 70. 62—65, in the north-west, in Muttaṅkara, at the extreme left wing.

3 P. ekamukhena (for the meaning of mukha in such a connection see 70. 217), i.e. with the same goal as the Senāpati.

4 For judging the military situation it is of importance that though Gajabāhu has won back Anurādhapura, the threat to this town and therefore to his right flank from the Senāpati Deva continues.
Parakkamabāhu now summoned the chief Māyāgeha to 162 him and ordered him to carry on the war in Ālisāra. Full 163 of joy the latter marched, accompanied by skilled warriors, built a fortification in Kalalahallika and took up a position there. At the stronghold of Nandāmūlakagāma he fought 164 three actions and brought this castle into his power. Marching on Ālisāra, he captured the entrenchment at Kaddūragāma 165 and after fighting once again, he then took also the fortification at the place called Kirāṭī.1 The army of the Lord of men 166 Gajabāhu came hither to fight, and after throwing up an entrenchment at a place named Vilāna, it halted here. Now 167 when Parakkamabāhu of valour hard to overcome, after occupying an entrenched camp at Nālandā2, during his sojourn there, heard of this, he sent off secretly two or three hundred 168 thieves practised in house-breaking3 and directed them to steal 169 up to the entrenchment with sharp antelope horns in the middle of the night and to undermine it and so to take it. The chief Māyāgeha following this instruction, had the en- 170 trenchment broken into and the enemy there seized. At the 171 village of Mattikāvāpi he again captured an entrenchment, and at Uddhakuramāgāma and Adhokuramāgāma he likewise captured two fortifications. After breaking through and taking 172 an entrenchment at the village called Nāsinna, he brought the district of Ālisāra into his power.

1 As the situation of Kalalahallika cannot be exactly determined, it can only be said generally of Māyāgeha’s advance against Ālisāra = Elahera, that it apparently took place from the west, while Rakkha threatened it from the south. The mention of Nālandā in v. 167 agrees with this. H. W. Cowgill (1.72) is inclined to see in Kirāṭi a slip of the pen for Sirāṭi = Hirāṭi, the name of a small river that flows from the left into the Ambanganga at Maluveyaya below Talagoda. The place Sirāṭi would then probably have to be looked for far up that river.

2 Halfway between Matale and Dambul.

3 P. saṃdhīdhēda. The phrase saṃdhīḍhī chindati means “to carry out a burglary”. D.I. 5224; M.I. 5166, II. 887; saṃdhicchedana DhCo. IV. 845. Likewise in Pkr., Jacobi, Erzählungen in Māhrasāhtri, p. 679, 21, 7435 ff.
Now about this time the King (Parakkama), acquainted with the right method, gave his officers the order to take Pulatthinagara at once. The Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha and the Jīvitapotthakin Sukha marched in haste from the Taḷākatēthali entrenchment, fought actions at several places on the way with the hostile army and fought a battle at the place Ra-jakamatasambādha. Then after fighting in the region of Milanakkhetra and setting forth from there, fighting in the open field and slaying many of the enemy, they in pursuit of the foe, reached Daraaga, delivered there also an action in which they remained victorious, advanced then thence to Maṅgalabegāma, broke through the entrenchment here by force and after annihilating the enemy, halted at this entrenchment.

The ruler of Rohana, the Prince Mānābharaṇa, who had on several occasions fought with the officers of the Lord of men Gajabāhu and suffered defeats and losses, had at that time given up the idea of war and discouraged in heart, kept quiet. He had appeared in company with the bhikkhu order which dwelt in the three fraternities, and entered into an alliance with Gajabāhu. But now when he heard that the officers of the Monarch Parakkama had waged war

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1 The title occurs again 70. 318 and 72. 161 (Mandin) and 74. 90 (Kittā). In our passage all MSS. (and also Col. Ed.) have śutthikī, likewise 70. 318.

2 Rakkha had evidently after his victory at Āḷigāma (see above vv. 112 ff.) again occupied Taḷākatēthali (= Talagoda) and had halted here to await the operations of Māyāgeha. Their successful issue has safeguarded Rakkha’s left flank and made possible the main thrust against Pulatthinagara.

3 For this place which is mentioned as the first station in the description of Parakkamabāhu’s withdrawal from Pulatthinagara see note to 67. 58. Rakkha is now only about 10 or 15 miles from the capital.

4 Son of Sirivallabha and cousin of Parakkamabāhu.

5 See note to 60. 56.

6 P. east karitaṇḍhamāna, lit.: “he lived with G. as one who had concluded a friendly treaty with him”.

with great forces against the Lord of men Gajabāhu and had in every battle cut down the enemy and carried off the victory, the Prince Mānābharaṇa reflected thus: "Assuredly King Parakkamabāhu who has vast resources at his disposal, will shortly take Rājaraṭṭha; but once Rājaraṭṭha is taken possession of by the Monarch, it will be impossible to remain in the province of Rohaṇa." He therefore gave up his treaty with King Gajabāhu and joined Parakkamabāhu with whom he concluded an alliance. The mighty one armed the able-bodied men amongst the inhabitants of his two provinces and occupied an entrenched camp at the village called Sobara.

At this time the King Parakkamabāhu, who wished to perform a deed of exceeding prowess, thought thus: "Without my officers who are stationed at divers places, learning of it, I shall betake myself with warriors of my immediate retinue, to Pulatthinagara, storm in combat gateway, turrets and bastions, force my way into the town and — hurrah — capture Gajabāhu." The clever one summoned to him the chief Māyāgeha who was stationed in Ambavana and told him what he had planned. Now in order to come to Ambavana under the pretext of another object and to reach Pulatthinagara from there, he spake secretly to him thus: "Send me a message to this effect: I intend celebrating a specially splendid festival for the Buddha. For making offerings unto the Buddha let Their Lordships send me the sacrificial objects, the shells, the five loud-sounding musical instruments, the fly whisks, the white umbrella and the flag streamers, and come thither and behold my festival." Māyāgeha betook himself to Ambavana and after he had prepared for the festival, sent back the message in obedience to these words. When the glorious King beheld it, he rejoiced and after having had the message read aloud to the circle of his dignitaries, he sent off the sacrificial implements with all speed to Māyāgeha and gave his dignitaries to understand in every way that he himself meant to go. The highest (of the officials) who saw through the 199

1 For sahavādākīta see note to 67. 52.
King's intention, sent word to his brother, the Nagaragiri (Mahinda). When the latter heard of the affair, he left Moravaipi\(^1\) and appeared in haste with his troops before the Ruler. To the question why he had come, he made reply that he had come because he had seen through the intention of his Lord, and he spake further: "For slaves such as I am, if they are in existence, the aim is solely the conquest of the hostile king. Therefore have I arisen and shall capture Gajabahu with army and train and deliver him up to the Lord." With these words the King's officer craved permission to depart.

When the ambitious chief Mâyageha, the Laṅkādhina tha Kittī and many other powerful officers saw this they (likewise) besought leave and cried: I first, I first. Thereupon the Monarch who was skilled in plans of war, explained his plan of action and sent off his officers to begin the campaign. They all began to march with adequate army and train and occupied an entrenched camp not far from Nālandā. Heavy clouds formed and began to rain, cleaving the earth, as it were, on every side with the floods of water. When the Sovereign saw the clouds, he who loved the power of truth, fearing the army might become wet through, made the solemn declaration with this determination: "If the winning of the royal dominion is to serve only for the welfare of the people and of the Order, then shall the god not let it rain." And even so it happened there. Thereupon he sent food prepared in vinegar, bananas, crashed rice and the like and all kinds of cakes in great quantities (to the troops). In order that many people could

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\(^1\) Mahinda had thus taken up his position here after being relieved by Deva. For the situation of the lake see notes to 70. 67, 72. 177.

\(^2\) I take yogga to be the adjective "fitting, corresponding". W. on the other hand, regards it as substantive with the meaning "conveyance, carriage", since he translates "with their chariots and men and waggons". But in this case it seems to me that yogga and vâhana would form a barely tolerable tautology. See also above v. 23, 69 &c.

\(^3\) In my edition I have kept more closely to the MSS. Now I should prefer to adopt the emendation of the Col. Ed. mahâmegho, as otherwise there is no suitable subject to vusitum ārabhi.

\(^4\) P. saucakiriyā. For this term see Mhva. tral. p. 125, n. 3.
drink water at the same time, he sent several thousand bamboo staves in which holes had been made, which were hollow 1 throughout and in which one, after filling them with water, had closed the holes 2. The dignitary Mahinda now marched 214 with strong forces and took the stronghold at the place called Lahulla, after slaying the enemy. At the news of this the 215 Laṅkānātha (Kitti 3) also started in haste, took the fort at the place called Hattana and cut down the foe. When the chief 216 Māyāgeha heard that he marched in haste with large forces and pushed forward as far as Khaṇḍigāma. The four-membered 217 army 4 of the Lord of men Gajabāhu was hemmed in on three sides in the narrow pass of Khaṇḍigāma. The son of the 218 Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti), Laṅkāpura 5 by name, a great war hero, came to the Khaṇḍigāma pass 6. He brought the whole of 219 the forces which had come from three directions into one direction and pursued them, the great war hero, as a lion a herd of elephants. Thereupon the troop leaders with the 220 Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti) at the head, after killing a great mass of troops of the Lord of men Gajabāhu, advanced to the place 221 called Koddhaṅgulikakedāra. The troops of Gajabāhu reached Pulatthinagara in disorder.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu saw his great army 222 enter, he thought, since pride had awakened mightily in him,

1 P. ekarandhapam. For the meaning cf. skr. rāndhraṅgaṇā “hollow bamboo.” (BR. s. v.)

2 Not only the openings above and below, but for the transport of the water, also the holes bored lengthwise for drinking.

3 It is clear from v. 205, that the Laṅkādhinātha mentioned here is Kitti.

4 The four members (cāṅgās) or elements of the army are: elephants, cavalry, chariot warriors and infantry.

5 This must be the Daṇḍanātha Laṅkāpura mentioned so often later, (76. 82 ff.). But otherwise laṅkāpura is a title. Thus Kajakkudā 1., 72. 59, Rakkha 1., 75. 70, Deva 1., 75. 180.

6 A Kandegama lies in the Negampaha Korale, northwest of Dambul-Jambukola. If this is our Khaṇḍigāma, it must be assumed that Gajabāhu in order to hold up the advance of Kitti and the other generals, undertook an attack on the left flank. The assault is parried by Kitti's son.
223 thus: "When my father, the Monarch, entered into the company of the gods and when as yet no stability had been attained in my father's realm, then came Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, advancing from two sides with the intention of making war on me, but they were unable to behold my victorious banner and fled, since then they have their whole life long given up the idea of war. Now I have achieved stability in Rājarattha and I possess a complete, four-membered army. If now, equipping army and train, I advance to fight, what king will be able to hearken to my war drum?" Thus swollen with pride, King Gajabāhu ordered the dignitaries of his immediate retinue to put the army in battle trim. After they had placed in readiness well armoured elephants and horses proved in battle and large masses of troops of capable warriors, armed with the five weapons, further also the mercenaries of the Keraḷas, Kaṇḍas, Damijas, and the like, the dignitaries at once informed the King. With a strong force the latter left glorious Pulatthinagara and reached the place called Sikaviyala. The troop leaders with the Laṅkādhiṅātha Rakkha\(^1\) at the head offered battle there to the Lord of men Gajabāhu. The great heroes broke through the (ranks of the) elephants and horses, unhorsed their riders and put to flight the Ruler of men together with his army. The King withdrew in haste to his town, had the gates locked and hid himself in a sewer\(^2\). In pursuit of the King the soldiers (of Rakkha) arrived, surrounded Pulatthinagara on all sides and began to break through walls, turrets and bastions, and the spies who were stationed in the town opened the gate. They entered with ease, captured the Monarch Gajabāhu alive and brought him to the palace. The Princes Coḷaṅgaṅakumāra and Vikkantabāhu they fettered and threw into prison.

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\(^1\) According to v. 177-8 of our pariccheda, Rakkha was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma.

\(^2\) The translation is only guess-work. The idea seems to be to express something derogatory to Gajabāhu. The word āmūrā is otherwise unknown. W. has Anūrā, but this is no doubt wrong. It might of course have also been āmūrā.
Thereupon the dignitaries informed their master of what had taken place. When the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) heard that, with the insight which grasps the right method, he sent with the message: until we see one another under an auspicious star thou shalt live free of all fear of me — costly garments and perfumes and ornaments, articles of his own use, to Gajabāhu. The officers and the heads of districts hereupon took counsel together and sent the following message to the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu): "So long as the King (Gajabāhu) is alive, the people dwelling in the kingdom will not submit to thy sovereignty: he must therefore be put to death." When the Monarch heard that, his heart was moved with pity, and he thought: the king must in no case be put to death. He fetched the clever Senāpati Deva who was stationed in Senāgāma, and spake to him as follows: "If the heads of districts and the officers, grown insolent by their victory in fight, slay the King (Gajabāhu) whom they have captured, that is not right. And if they plunder the town and ill-treat the people and become unbridled, that is likewise not right. The gaining of the royal dignity takes place for the welfare of the Order and the people alone, but not for the purpose of slaying the Monarch does it happen. Therefore thou must go there, hold the unbridled in check, take the King under thy protection and make the town secure." Thus with this charge the King sent away the Senāpati; the latter marched with the army and betook himself to Pulatthinagara.

Meanwhile already before the departure of the Senāpati, unbridled, low-minded people disregarding the commands of the Lord of men, had broken open the house doors in Pulatthinagara, plundered goods and stolen raiment and ornaments of the people. Splendid Pulatthinagara afflicted.

1 The place is mentioned above in v. 131 and 132 in connection with the operations of Deva. But according to v. 161 Deva had finally taken up a position at Siyāmahantakuddāla. Thus he must in the meantime have altered his position.

2 P. rajinda seniḍaṇḍa with pun: "the lord among kings (senda) the lord over the army."
by the soldiers was at that time (in wild agitation) like the sea, when at the end of a world age it is lashed by the storm.  

Enraged at such action, all the people who dwelt in the town, the officials and the councillors, the townsmen and the troops gathered together, betook themselves to Māṇābharaṇa, told him of the events and spake as follows: "Ye must come with us, we shall take to ourselves the royal dominion and make it over to you. Only help must be brought so us." Also the officer Gokanā, who was stationed in Kālavāpi, sent a messenger to him (with the request) to come speedily. When the Monarch Māṇābharaṇa heard the whole tale the imprudent one took counsel with his foolish ministers. He thought: under the pretext of setting free the King, I will arise, slay the enemy and get hold of the whole of Rājaraṭṭha. He equipped in haste the able-bodied men among the inhabitants of his two provinces and marched together with the officials and the forces haling from Rājaraṭṭha, to the town, delivered there a bitter action and cut down the whole army large as it was, without remnant. Then the Monarch went up to the palace and visited the Ruler of men Gajabāhu, showing him the customary reverence. Hereupon in order to remove the fears of this Lord of men and of the dwellers in his realm, he let some days pass, then he slew the whole of the officers of the Monarch Gajabāhu, took the King captive and threw him into a dungeon. Then when he had seized everything, all the elephants and horses and the wealth in the treasure house, in the belief that his dominion was now assured, he fetched the sacred Tooth Relic, the Relic of the Alms-bowl, his mother\(^1\) and all his wives from Rohaṇa, and himself void of all pity, the foolish Prince, took counsel secretly with his mother and his officers thus: "The troops in Rājaraṭṭha, so long as this King is in life, will never submit; therefore he must be slain. If we were to kill him openly, there would be a great tumult,

\(^1\) Sugalā, the granddaughter of Vijayabāhu I, who also later on plays a leading part in the wars between Rohaṇa and Parakkambāhu. The tooth relic (dāṭhāṭhāṭu) and the alms-bowl relic (pattadhāṭu) have already become the palladium of the kingdom.
therefore this Monarch must be slain in secret." He had the 270
King ill-treated with bad food and a bad couch and set about
putting him to death by poison. King Gajabāhu could not 271
stand the ill-treatment he received from the Prince Māṇabharaṇa.
He sent secretly to Parakkamabāhu and let him know: "I see 272
no other help for me save through thee. Therefore without 273
delay revive thou me who am tortured with the fiery torment
of pain, by the rain shower of pity." When the King (Pa-
274
rakkamabāhu) had rightly heard all these words of the King
(Gajabāhu) he who was a fount of pity, was filled with the
greatest distress. He thought: it is fitting that I, since he 275
has suffered on my account this great wrong through Māṇa-
bharaṇa, should free him from his misfortune, and although 276
his forces and his implements of war had been lost, he being
of the breed of great men, let not his courage sink, but chose 277
from among the people of his retinue capable men, granted
them offices and showed them great distinction. To the chief 278
Māyāgeha he granted the office of adhikārin and that of a
laṅkaḍhikārin¹ to the Saṅkhanāyaka² Kittī. Of the two brothers, 279
the generals³, the prudent Monarch conferred on the elder the
rank of a chief of the Kesadhātu⁴, on the younger that of 280
a nagaragallā⁵. He granted to both great distinction and
numerous troops and thus won them for himself.

After the prudent (Prince) had in this way, in a short 281
time equipped a large and strong force he sent it in divers
directions. To the place with the name of Vacāvātaka in the 282
Merukandara district he sent Rakkha, the Chief of the Kesadhātu 283
with his troops, to Maṅgalabegāma the Laṅkaḍhikārin Rakkha,

¹ The title laṅkaḍhikārin seems to denote a higher rank than
laṅkaḍhīnāyaka etc. (see note to 70.24); for Kittī on whom the former
title has just been conferred as a distinction, was up till now (cf.70.206)
Laṅkaḍhīnātha.
² The title saṅkhanāyaka (here saṅkhaka⁶) occurs again in conjunc-
tion with Nāṭha (72.31, 75.75) and Rakkha (72.41).
³ The daṇḍanāyakabhadāra who are mentioned several times, are
called according to 72.162, Kittī and Saṅkhadadhātu.
⁴ See note to 57.65.
⁵ The same as nagaragiri. See note to 66.35.
the Laṅkādhikārīn Kitti to the locality called Kyānagāma, but the two brothers, the generals, the Ruler sent with large forces to the village of Tipimakkula⁴. To the Senāpati Deva shut up in Pulatthinagara, the Monarch then sent his house-breakers, fetched him hither², gave him a great army, like to the army of the gods, and sent him, aware of the right method, to Gangātaṭāka³. All of them as they were appointed for the various districts, marched forth with their troops, plundered here and there on the road leading to the town, struck off the heads of the foe, spread great panic, cut off the grain supplies and thus harassed the people in the town. Within and without Pulatthinagara the soldiers⁴ stationed for that (purpose) slew (the enemy) and put him to flight. No people now left the town for wood or leaves through fear of the wholesale pillage⁵. By blocking at various points the road leading from Rohaṇa, they also stopped the traffic for the people dwelling there. All the people shut up in the town with King Mānabharaṇa were like weakened birds in a cage⁶. The two brothers, the generals, hereupon

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¹ Of the localities here named besides Maṅgalabegāma (see above notes to 67. 53 and 70. 178) Merukandara (41. 19, 44. 28 etc.) occurs as a safe refuge in Malaya for the pursued and Kyānagāma (72. 207, 264) in another connection. They all lay probably at no great distance southwest and south of Pulatthinagara.

² But cf. the note below to v. 289. As to the “burglars” (corū) see 70. 168.

³ The modern Kantalai, the name of a big reservoir on the road from Dambul to Trincomalee (cf. W. note to the passage). Deva had thus the task of attacking the capital from the north.

⁴ From this verse it must be assumed that Deva’s whole force had not left the town, but that at least a part had remained behind, perhaps in the citadel, in order to work with the troops coming from outside. How W’s translation can be brought into harmony with the traditional text I fail to see.

⁵ The acc. sabbaṇḍu is governed by the first part — vīlumpana — of the following compound, a construction not rare in the Cūḷavamsa.

⁶ The Col. Ed. reads khitā pakkhīno viya paṇjare; the MSS. all have as far as I can see, khinṇā or khinnā. Cf. 72. 209.
engaged in action with the chief Kontadisāvijaya\(^1\) and after 294 fighting with the force under the command of the Laṅkā-dhinātha Bodhi, they pursued (the foe) to Pulatthinagara. The Chief of the Kesadbātus (Rakkha) who was stationed at 295 the village of Vacāvātaka, fought an action with the general called Uttama; he gained the victory, advanced to the village 296 called Nāla, fought here with the general of the name of Buddhānāyaka\(^2\) and was victorious. The Adhikārin\(^3\) Rakkha 297 who was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma, then fought with the enemy and took the place called Hattanna\(^4\). The same fought 298 at Khandigāma\(^5\) full of bitterness, with the Adhikārin Nātha and put him and his army gloriously to flight. When the 299 Sovereign Māṇabharanā heard that, he marched with his warriors to Māsviyyala to fight with him. At the same time the 300 Adhikārin Kitti who stood in Kyānagāma, and the Senāpati Deva in Gaṅgātaṭaka, and the two brothers, the generals, who 301 stood in the village of Tīnimakkula, also went forth to fight with large forces. Slaying or routing all the foes who faced 302 them, they pressed forward in a short time from various sides to Pulatthinagara, drove away the soldiers who were 303 stationed round the town to protect it, set free the Ruler Gajabāhu and brought the wives, the children and the mother, 304 as well as the whole fortune of King Māṇabharanā into their power. The Lord of men Gajabāhu set free from these, fled 305 at once and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra\(^6\). When 306 the Monarch Māṇabharanā who was fighting with the Laṅkādhipārin Rakkha, heard of all these events, he was struck 307

\(^1\) It is possible that the name is Konta and disāvijayanāyaka a title. The man is not otherwise mentioned.

\(^2\) I assume that here nāyaka or nātha is not the title "chief" or "general", but belongs to the name. Cf. 72. 266 Buddhānāyakanāmena. See also 72. 171, 270.

\(^3\) An abbreviation of laṅkbādhipārin; See 70. 283, 72. 37 etc.

\(^4\) Cf. 70. 215.

\(^5\) Cf. 70. 216-218. Thus all the places formerly taken which had been lost in the interval, are now recaptured.

\(^6\) See note to 61. 48.
by the arrow of pain which comes from the separation from the loved ones, and no longer caring for his life, he came again equipped with armour and weapons with large forces at night into the town and fought a great battle, thinking of naught else but the destruction of the foe. But when the Laṅkādhinātha Bodhi\(^1\) fell fighting in the battle, he was unable to hold out longer in Pulatthinagara. He took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, his mother and his wives and betook himself to Rohāṇa.

311 Now at this time Parakkamabāhu left Buddhagāma\(^2\), to set free the King, came to the neighbourhood of the town and after having a fine two-storeyed palace built, he sojourned with his army and train in the village of Giritaṭāka\(^3\). Now at that time some warriors of the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) had betaken themselves, to recover from the hardships of the war, to the village of the name of Tannaru. Treacherous officers of the Ruler Gajabāhu without troubling\(^4\) themselves about the King, began suddenly a squabble with them. When King Parakkamabāhu heard that, he was wroth and sent his own officers to take Gajabāhu captive. The Laṅkādhiṅkarin Kitti and the Senāpati Deva hereupon marched with large forces to the village of Tannaru. Fighting three times with the officers of the Monarch Gajabāhu a great battle, they destroyed numerous foes. The Nagaragiri Nātha and the Jīvitapotthakin

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\(^1\) See above v. 294.

\(^2\) Thus his headquarters were here between Nalanda and Dambul. See note to 58. 43.

\(^3\) Now Giritālā beside the road leading from the Minneri lake (Maṇipīrā) to Polonnaruva, distant from the latter about six miles as the crow flies. Cf. Bell, ASC. 1905 (= SP. XX, 1909) p. 20.

\(^4\) P. rājānāṃ pṛṣṭhāto katu. Cf. for the meaning skr. pṛṣṭhataḥ kṛ “to leave someone or something unnoticed, disregarded”. BR. s. v. pṛṣṭha. The King is Parakkamabāhu: His nearness does not disturb their pugnacity. Or the King may be Gajabāhu: The officers are “treacherous”, because they attack the soldiers of Parakkamabāhu who at that time was Gajabāhu’s ally and tried to rescue him. Parakkama considered, of course, Gajabāhu the culprit and held him responsible for the treachery of his officers.
Mandin, put the hostile army to flight at the village of Vālukapatta. And also at the village of Tannaru the officers with their large force destroyed a hostile army that faced them, then marched farther, fought an action once more at Kohombagāma and after slaying many, they broke down the fortification and captured it. Numerous well-armed foes stationed at Ambagāma they put to flight and brought the fortress into their power. Thence they set off and after again winning a victory at Tannititha, they marched to Antaraviṭṭhi and beat the enemy here. At this time some officers of Parakkamabāhu were in Pulatthinagara at the head of a large force. To fight with them there came officers of Gajabāhu under the command of the Adhikārīn Deva, but (they) suffered a defeat. In the same way they defeated numerous foes at the place named Kālapilla and after cutting down the enemy, took up their position at Madhukavanagauṭhi. They all started in haste and marched further dispersing themselves in different directions with the intention of seizing the King.

When the Ruler (Gajabāhu) heard that the enemy widespread on all sides, was approaching, he saw no other step that he could take; so the King sent to the congregation of bhikkhus belonging to the three fraternities, settled in Pulatthinagara, the message: "I see for myself no protection save with the venerable brethren; let them out of pity free me from my sorrow". When the bhikkhus heard these words, they started off, their hearts moved with pity, for Giritāḷaka, sought out the Ruler (Parakkamabāhu), and after exchanging greetings, they asked by the King the reason for their coming, spake the following conciliatory words: "The Exalted One to whom pity was the highest, expounded many times in many discourses the misery of discord and the blessings of concord.

1 These two officers have so far not been mentioned. For the titles see notes to 66, 35 and 70. 174.

2 The gerund saṃyāḥitudd is subordinate to the part. past ṭhite, as in v. 327 avattharīveda to the part. pres. āyantīm.

3 I.e. the troops of Parakkamabāhu.
Now the Ruler of men (Gajabāhu) has neither a son nor brothers, but he himself, being old, is near death. Thy pledged word that the gaining of the royal dominion has as object only the furtherance of the laity and of the Order will thus shortly be fulfilled. Therefore shalt thou give up the strife and return to thine own province, hearkening to the word of the bhikkhu congregation".

Thus the King (Parakkamabāhu), hearkening to the words of the Order, gave up the kingdom gained with great trouble to King (Gajabāhu) and betook himself to his own province. Ha, how great was his mercy!

Here ends the seventieth chapter, called "The Surrender of the Royal Dignity", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER LXXI

The Ruler Gajabāhu betook himself to Gaṅgātaṭāka, made it his residence and dwelt there happily. But the Monarch Mānābharāṇa sent gifts to him in order to remain allied with him after the conclusion of a treaty. But the Ruler of men Gajabāhu who desired no treaty with him, betook himself to the vihāra by name Maṇḍalīgiri. Here he had the words: "I have made over Rājaraṭṭha to the King Parakkama" graven on a stone tablet, returned then to Gaṅgātaṭāka and died during his sojourn there, visited by a disease after reigning two and twenty years. Thereupon the foolish ministers of Gajabāhu met together, betook themselves to Koṭṭhasāra, whither they had the body brought, and after sending messengers to Mānābharāṇa to come hither in all haste, they took up their abode there. When the Lord of men Parakkama heard the news of the 8 King's death he equipped his army and came to Pulatthinagara.

The Monarch Mānābharāṇa in the province of Rohaṇa listened to the words of evil-minded people who had come with large forces from Rājaraṭṭha and thought: "If I make these people my allies, I shall certainly get possession of Rājaraṭṭha." With a host of troops he left Rohaṇa and came to Koṭṭhasāra swayed by wishes impossible of fulfilment. When 12

1 Cf. below note to v. 32.
2 See note to 46. 29.
3 The pronoun 'we' shows that these words are still part of the oratio recta. W. includes them erroneously in the principal sentence.
the mighty Parakkamabāhu whose valour transcending the limits of thought was scarcely to be surpassed, heard of these events, he thought: "The gossip of worthless people from Rājaraṭṭha who have forsaken the Lord of men Gajabāhu, the dispenser of great favours, and his officers, and have given up the desire to fight, and not even master of the clothes they wear, fleeing from fear have come to him, the Ruler Māṇērārapa has believed as if it were pure truth and has come forth to fight. My dignitaries will give him a defeat twofold as heavy even as that which the Lord of men Gajabāhu had to suffer. I shall not permit him to come to this bank of the Mahāvālkāgaṅgā." And versed in preparations for war, the prudent one made his four-membered army with the officers take up their position at the different fords from Sarogāmatīthā as far as Gokaṇḍa.

Now the great dignitaries who were of great wisdom, came together and with clasped hands begged of the Monarch the (holding of the) king's consecration. "Former kings, O Great King, have when they were victorious, in order to increase

1 W. has neither understood the construction of the sentence nor its meaning. Verses 13-15 belong together. The subject is Māṇērārapa. The principal verb is āgaśiṭṭha. Subordinate to this is the gerund saddaḥītēd pālāpam. The gen. dujjanānam pavīṭṭhānam is governed by pālāpam. Subordinate to this participle again are the gerunds cajtēd, pātā, pālāyītēd. The four missing syllables in 13 c I have supplied in a similar way to the Col. Ed.

2 The Mahaveligana is evidently regarded here in its whole course from the mountains up to its mouth as the frontier between Bohāra and Rājaraṭṭha. A happy discovery of H. W. Cuninotor's I. 68 was the indentification of Sarogāma with the modern Vīḷgamuva (Sinh. vīl "pond, lake" = P. sar) in Laggala Pallesiya Pattuvā (Census II, p. 100) at a short distance from the left bank of the stream. Here evidently the Hēmbarave crossing was to be safeguarded. It seems to me curious that the Veragantota crossing at Alut-nuva is not mentioned. It lies 13 miles higher up and is much used now. The bed of the Mahaveliganga is however subject to great changes. Gokaṇḍa I regard as the Bay of Trincomalee (Kodiyar Bay), or the spot where the Mahaveliganga flows into it. This explains the mention in 41. 79 of a Gokaṇḍakakamahāgavi.
by every means the fear and affection of their subjects and 21
to show forth everywhere their own abundance of glory, per-
formed the king's consecration, even while they were still
at the seat of war. A ruler fully equipped with political 22
wisdom and self-discipline, must ever pay heed to the keep-
ing up of good ancient custom. Thine age, your majesty, is 23
youthful, but thy glory is irresistible and scarce to be sur-
passed the fulness of the courage of thine arms. Thy blossom-
ing fortune 1 would be capable of wielding sovereign power 2
over the whole of Jambudīpa, let alone the island of Laṅkā.
From the first age of the world to the present day thy line 25
was pure as milk poured into a white shell: hence on a 26
favourable day must be performed the king's consecration
which must of necessity bring happiness to the whole world."
King Parakkamabāhu who overcame evil by the wrinkling of 27
his brows, granted the request, he the best of the wise 3, and 28
on a day proved auspicious by a favourable constellation he
placed the crown on his head, arrayed in all his jewels. And, 29
though he received the tidings that the Ruler Māṇabhārāṇa
had come to this bank of the stream, he headed that as little
as grass, and laid his armour and his weapons near at hand 30
in a jewel maṇḍapa which he himself ascended. Then in 31
gorgeous procession he left his palace, marched round the
town with his right side towards it, like a fearless lion,
stunned with amazement by his splendour the thronging people, 32
and returned to the royal palace which was an abode of
bliss 4.

1 So I translate kusalodaya. It is very nearly the same as the
favourite puṇṇodaya. See 37. 139.
2 P. viḥutta = skr. viḥutva.
3 P. pavīṭka from pavīṭka, a term suggestive of the Sāṁkhya
System, in which viśeṣa is the expression for the discerning knowledge
through which deliverance is attained. GABBE, die Sāṁkhya-Philosophie,
p. 137.
4 S. and B. have assumed that here we have the end of pariccheda
71 and at the same time a gap of unknown extent. The signature at
the close of the whole chapter describes it as the 72nd, thus number 71
is missing completely. In my edition I have adopted this view and have begun the verses of the new section with the number 1. I must point out however, that as far as the contents go, a gap is scarcely to be noticed. The coronation festival is evidently at an end with the return to the palace. Perhaps it was hastened by Mānabharaṇa's advance. On the other hand Parakkamabāhu had already made preparations for the war according to v. 17-18, by occupying the various fords, and now the attack begins at the first of these places, at Sarogūma. W. thinks that all that is missing is the artificial strophe (together with the signature) which is customary at the close of a pariccheda.
CHAPTER LXXII

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE CONSECRATION

Now the Mahālekha Mahinda approached with a great army and fought a great battle with the mighty Kesadhātu Rakkha who was stationed at Sarogāmatittha. The Kesadhātu Rakkha by name, the mighty one, slew like a lion that has broken into an elephant herd, many of his men in combat and drove the Mahālekha before him as a fierce storm wind blows cotton, he the mighty him together with his army and train. When then the latter crossing by the ford of Talanigāma, was fain to renew the fight, the Kesadhātu Rakkha put him again to flight after a sharp encounter with him.

In like manner the Kesadhātu named Buddha, having fought with the (enemy’s) many officers a terrible battle and having slain many warriors, defeated and put to flight the Ruler Mānābharāṇa who offering battle had crossed the river at the Pūnāgāma ford. He also took care that he (Mānābharāṇa) gave up the idea of ever approaching this ford again.

The chief Māyāgeha who was appointed to guard the ford called Samirukkha alone at the head of his officers in the same way crushed Gajabhujā who with his army had crossed that ford with the object of fighting.

With the Māragiri Mattatāla by name, who with his army came with the intention of crossing the Mahārukkha

1 See note to 52. 33.
2 This officer of Parakkamabāhu’s is not otherwise mentioned.
3 In 70. 82, 162 etc. described as Māyāgehādhinātha or adhīnāyaka here simply Māyāgehanāyaka.
4 Name of a tree = skr. śamī, acacia suma. Corresponds to sūna-gas in modern Sinh.
5 The title māragiri occurs again 72. 164, 174 (Nigrodha m.)
12 ford¹, Rāma² by name who was stationed in Nilagiri which was his own district, in his extraordinary courage, fought a bitter engagement and after capturing the best soldiers whom he could get alive, he put the rest of the army to flight so that it no longer dared to go into action.

14 Another officer who guarded the Nālikeravatthu³ ford fought then a battle against a hostile army who had approached to fight, cut down many soldiers and scattered the rest of the army without remnant on all sides.

16 Another distinguished officer who was appointed to the ford called Anantarabhaṇḍaka for the guarding of it, drove with a large force a strong army of the hostile king that had advanced to fight, together with its officers to the last man, to the four winds of heaven, whereby the hero turned the battlefield into a mass of flesh, just as the storm wind (scatters) a mountain of cloud so that its violence is scattered flutteringly on all sides⁴.

19 Again another high officer appointed to guard the Kāṇa-tālavana⁵ ford, saw to it that the hostile army that had come forward to battle, gave up all thought of resuming (the enterprise) after he had fought a great battle with his whole army and train.

21 The Adhikārin, Kittī⁶ by name, who was stationed at the

¹ “Ford of the great trees” or “ford of the euphorbias” (skr. mahāvyākṣa, as borrowed word in Sinh. with the same meaning). The corresponding Sinh. word māruk means however, coco-nut palm. W. H. Currell recognises the locality in Marake situated five miles below Hemabarave on the left bank of the Mahaveliganga.

² Cf. note to 70. 137 where nilagiri seems to be used as a title. When in our passage Rāma is described as sarathavadāsika that seems to point to the fact that the ford protected by Rāma was situated in the district which was controlled by him or which was his birth-place, and that the name of this district was Nilagiri. The title which is applied exclusively to Rāma would then in this case be borrowed from the name of his home (nilagiriṇīṭhaṭa).

³ “Coco-nut palm plantation.”

⁴ P. samantā-abaddha-saṃrambhaṃ. For saṃrambha “violence” cf. PTS. PD. s. v.

⁵ “Palmyra palm wood of the blind.”

⁶ See 70. 278, where the advancement of Kittī to the rank of laṅkādikārin (here in short adhikārin) is mentioned.
Yakkhasūkara¹ ford after destroying many soldiers in a bitter fight², defeated there a hostile body of troops that had approached for combat. Now while he stood at the same ford he had in consequence of a scarcely to be evaded command 23 of the Great King Parakkama, to betake himself to him while he entrusted (another) high dignitary there with the guarding of the ford. This man also three times crushed a hostile force that came hither and took care that it lost all courage to fight once more.

The Jitagiri³ Santa stationed at the Vihāravajjasāla ford, 25 completely annihilated a great army that was about to cross, the army, namely, of the hostile king, fighting with him a 26 terrific battle with mighty army and train.

The Ādipotthakins⁴ by name Kittī, stationed at the Assamaṇḍāla⁵ ford with a large force, the Laṅkāgiri Mahī⁶ by name, with a strong army, and yet another large army cut up a hostile army that had approached, and returned then with speed each to his appointed place⁷.

¹ H. W. Coomrington is certainly right in identifying this name with the present Yakkure (Census 1921, II, p. 436). It lies on the right bank of the river and at the entrance of the Sabassatitha crossing mentioned so frequently later, now Dastota, south of Polonnaruwa.
² P. katra kathasaee, lit.: “after making them so that only the tidings (of them) remained.”
³ The title, if it is such, which I think probable, only occurs in this place.
⁴ The title which is only borne by Kittī (also 72. 160, 207) alternates 72. 182 with bhāpoṇḍarapotthakins. It therefore designates the superintendent of the royal store-rooms.
⁵ If the name preserves the memory of the legend related Mhvs. 10. 53 ff., then we must look for Assamaṇḍalatittha at Kacchakatittha now Mahagantota, east of Polonnaruwa.
⁶ W. takes Mahināma for the name of the officer, which is quite possible. The title laṅkāgiri occurs again 72. 124 ff., and 76. 250 in conjunction with the names Nātha and Sora.
⁷ The verse is incomplete in the MSS. Nine syllables are missing in ed. The Col. Ed. supplies these rather differently to what I do, so that to translate with W. it would be “and returned to the king”. The meaning seems to me to be that the three divisions of the troops were
warriors crossed the bridge of the Sakkharālāya-gaṅgā, at once penetrated the grove called Sākkunḍa, and having there in fight deprived numerous warriors of life, they took from the foe the desire to attack once more from this quarter.

Hereupon the Saṅkhanāyaka by name Nātha, stationed at the Sarogāma ford, after he had shattered an army of the hostile king come hither for battle, crossed the stream himself at the village of Vāṭiyamanḍapa, cut up a strong hostile force and returned again to his post.

In the same way a large army stationed at the Samī ford cut up a strong hostile force which had marched for battle in this direction and chased away its desire to come again. A strong royal army that had its stand at the ford called Cullanāga annihilated in like manner the whole large force of the hostile king, that equipped with armour and weapons, marched in this direction. At Burudatthalī the two brothers, the generals, scattered a hostile army that had advanced in this direction.

The Adhikārin Rakkha by name, who guarded the ford Nigundivālukā, the great hero, free from all fear, destroyed a strong hostile force fain to cross, by carrying on the ever renewed war for two months. In the same way the Laṅkāpura known by the name of Kadakkuḍa, a great hero, fight-

posted at different places on the river, and that they only united in order to carry out the attack on the advancing hostile army, which was probably superior to the single divisions. Cf. v. 32.

1 D. Jayarasa has compared Sakkharālaya with the present Akurala on the S.W. coast of Ceylon, midway between Ambalangoda and Hikkaduva. If this is correct then the above passage gives us a very different theatre of war. Māṇībharaṇa would not merely have attacked along the Mahaveliganga, but also in the extreme southwest. This does not seem to be very probable.

2 According to v. 1 and v. 9 fighting had already taken place at the two crossings mentioned in v. 31 and 33. The generals of Parakkama-bāhu now seem to take the offensive at these two fords.

3 As above in v. 21 adhikārin stands here for laṅkādhiṅkārin.

4 See note to 70. 218.
ing a severe action at Yācitagāma, scattered the raging army of the foe, destroying it root and branch, the courageous (scattered) the discouraged (army), the mighty the hostile might.

The Saṅkhanāyaka Rakkhaka stationed at Hillapattakakhaṇḍa crushed a hostile army that came to fight there. Another great dignitary entrusted with the care of Tithtagāma, after undertaking a great battle and fighting a bitter action, put flight with his great army a royal army that had advanced to fight, so that it lost the courage to renew the fight. Another powerful (officer), stationed at Nandigāma, fought a great battle and scattered the raging army that had advanced thither.

At the place Hedillakhaṇḍagāma the Senāpati Deva when Prince Mahinda came on with strong forces in order to fight, delivered battle against him four times with army and train in fighting trim. He covered the battlefield with the skeletons of the hostile warriors and robbed the Prince of his troops without loss to his (own) army and train, followed him at his heels as he took flight with his army and pushed on at once as far as the ford called Billagāma. There for two months terrible combats were waged. Even in his position there the Senāpati put the army of the enemy to flight.

A high officer stationed at the ford called Māḷgāma, undertaking five times the festival of a great battle, scattered a mighty hostile army that had come there to cross over, as the rising sun (disperses) the mass of the darkness. Another high officer appointed to watch the Goḷabāha ford, a man of

1 P. *samāraddhamahāyuddhakaccha*. The translation is very difficult. W. translates thus "began the strife with the enemy with great vigour when he essayed to make his way through is". But I think one must judge the passage in connection with v. 50 *draddhamahāhavanasamussavo*. Possibly *accha* here is not skr. *kaccha*, but *kathyā*.

2 A *Malayomunu-veva* lies midway between Ambanganga and Mahaveliganga, 12 miles N. E. of Elahera. A ford named after it would have to be looked for not far from Yakkhasākara.

3 P. *dasadhdvaram*, thus not "ten times" as W. translates.
great strength and courage, routed in action a hostile force
with its officers who advanced to fight, as a lion a herd of
gazelles. Another officer stationed at the ford called Dipāla,
dispersed with his troops in combat the forces which had
advanced there.

The course of the war⁴ being such, the Great King
Parakkamabāhu who in his terrible courage was like King
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī thought: “Not even in Rohana will I permit
King Māṇābharana who is here crushed in war, so find a hold.”
And the energetic (Prince) ordered the two Kesadhātus, Devila
and Loka, who were stationed in the district of Mahāṇiyāma³
and in Pañcayojana, the Kammanātha Ārakkha⁴ and the Kaṅ-
cukināyaka⁵, utterly warlike men, to enter Rohana. And at
his command these doughty men fared forth thence even as the
four great kings⁶ at the (command) of the King Sakka.
Hereupon having reached the district called Navayojana⁷ and
having celebrated with the strong hostile army there twenty
times the main festival of a main battle and having cut up
the great army, they captured Navayojana. They then marched

¹ By the successful combats at the fords along the Mahaveliganga
the defence seemed safeguarded. Parakkamabāhu now on his side takes
the offensive in the southwest, from Dakkhinādesa, thus with the
clear intention of outflanking the enemy’s left wing. The success is at
once seen in the relief of the pressure on the line of the Mahaveliganga.
Māṇābharana is forced to withdraw a part of his troops from there. It
is true, a reverse soon takes place, on the one hand through the revolt
of Nārāyaṇa in Anurādhapura and on the other by the enemy succeed-
ing in crossing the river at an unguarded spot.

² Only mentioned here. A Maniyangama lies in the Panaval Korale
not far from Avisavella. So also Coninxton (II).

³ Now Pasdun Korale, the territory to the east of Kalutara.

⁴ A Kammanāyaka Aṇjana is mentioned 72. 206, 74. 168. I think
therefore that the first part of arakkhamanātha contains the name.
⁵ “Chief of the chamberlains”. The Kaṅcukināyaka mentioned here
is the Rakkha named so often 75. 20 ff.
⁶ The four mahaṇājas are the four protectors of the world, the
lokapāla: Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Kubera.
⁷ Now Navadun Korale, the territory S. and S. E. of Ratnapura.
thence and came to Kālagiribhanda. After fighting with the army there twenty battles, they brought it likewise into their 63 power, advanced thence farther and took likewise Dīghālīka-

Mahākhetta. When the Ruler Mānābharaṇa received tidings 64 of these events he divided his own army and sent a part thither.

Now at one time a great dignitary who had the care of 65 Anurādhapura, the general Nārāyana, in his delusion reflected thus: "I will bring this province into my power, build a 66 fortress and remain there independent of the kings." When 67 the Lord of men Parakkama heard of the matter he thought: "I will destroy him without letting him take root." In all 68 haste the hero sent forth the Chief of the umbrella bearers. As a lion of incomparable courage (falls) upon small gazelles 69 or even on elephants, so the great dignitary set forth, gave battle to Nārāyana, slew him along with his army and set the province free from the briers (of the rebels).

As the known fords at that time were everywhere guarded 70 by the high dignitaries of the great King, as if they were under the dominion of rakkhasas, Mānābharaṇa was not able 71 to cross them, but he passed over at an unknown ford which 72 was made known to him by dwellers in Rājarattha who had come under his influence. Now when King Parakkama-

1 Identified by Courtington (II) with the Kalugalboja-raja of the Kaджaim-
pota by which is understood the mountain country of the present Koraḷes Kukulu, Atakalan, Kolonna and Moravak.

2 As in 75. 60 and 75. 50 Dīghāli and Mahākhetta are mentioned separately we have to do in this passage with the coalescence of the names of two apparently adjoining localities, just as with Sūkarālibheri-
pāsāna in 75. 98, 146. Courtington (II) looks for Mahākhetta at Para-
duva, 11 miles N. N. W. of Matara, since here there are extensive rice fields on the right bank of the Nilvalaganga. Mahākhetta means "large field". On the opposite or left bank there is said to be a long canal. This might be the Dīghāli = Sinh. dik-ūla. I should however expect both these localities to be farther east. Avraon has in fact compared Dīghāli with Dikvela, east of Matara situated on the coast.

3 W's translation gatehi vasam attano "who were faithful to him" is inexact.
bāhu heard of this event he thought to destroy him along
with his whole army at the crossing of the river, occupied
a stronghold at the place Mayūrapāśaṇa and sent off the
Adhikārin Rakkha, surrounded by many soldiers, a man of
extraordinary bravery, with a strong army and train. But
this man in his great envy could not bear the great favour
which the pleased and grateful King Parakkama showed to
his enemy, the Senāpati Deva, after the great battle fought
by him. He bore resentment to the great King and was not
zealous in the war. Groaning in the fever of his jealousy he
was careless and developed no energy. Now an officer of the
Lord of men Gajabāhu, a crafty man who had obtained from
the Monarch Parakkamabāhu freedom from punishment, had
gone with Rakkha. He rightly guessed his mood and as he
had formerly given counsel to King Mānābharaṇa, so now
he sent quickly to King Mānābharaṇa the message to come
in all haste before the fortifications were begun. When the
Monarch Mānābharaṇa heard these tidings, he entrusted his
army with warlike enterprises at different places. The Prince
Mahinda marched to Vallitiththa and fought with the officers
of the Senāpati Deva. These killed there many warriors in
bitter fight and vanquished in one moment the Prince, the
powerful the powerless. The King himself fought a great
battle with the Adhikārin Rakkha in which sparks flew from
the clash of swords. Many doughty warriors perished there
on both sides, finally the followers of the Adhikārin Rakkha
were scattered. Thereupon this man with his own hand alone

1 All MSS. have sāsanaṃ twice over, first in pūḍa a then in c. The
Col. Ed. has altered the second into sāsanaṃ. I could not adopt this
elevation. It is not impossible that it is a case of carelessness on
the part of the compiler. But if there is to be an alteration, I should
suggest reading instead of sāsanaṃ in c saṃpratam "now" = skr.
saṃpratam (in contrast to image in 79 d). The unusual form — one says
generally saṃpati = skr. saṃprati — in conjunction with the preceding
pecessi may have occasioned the erroneous sāsanaṃ.

2 He wants in this way to conceal his action against Rakkha and
make it impossible for Parakkamabāhu’s other generals to come to
his aid.
continued the combat and fell himself after slaying many a good soldier. When King Parakkamabahu, that man of terrible courage, heard of this event he thought with smiling lotus face: "As long as I am there what matters it whether they are alive or dead? The lion seeks not allies when he tears elephants in pieces. Even to-day I shall fulfil in combat the long awakened wish of my two arms which are filled with lust of battle. This earth ravished by intercourse with many kings who plotted only evil, will I bathe in the water of the blood of the limbs of my foes and then make her at once my spouse purchased by combat. For heroes such as I am she forms in her whole expanse but a hall. How can any other power aid me, perhaps as a firebrand the sun in extinguishing the mass of hostile darkness?" After reflecting thus he came to the battlefield comparable to the fifth sun in the great ocean that was for him the army of the hostile king. Arrived he tarried there hearkening to the singing given forth by numerous songstresses, feeling out the underlying motif, as one who is first among those versed in the knowledge of moods.

1 There is no need to depart from the reading of the MSS. paṣi-katasya. The word belongs to skr. paça "trade, purchase", paṇi "trader". The allusion is to the old custom of purchasing the bride.

2 The meaning seems to be this: It is to me a matter of indifference at what place I celebrate my marriage with the earth — this is of course a symbol for its dominion. In what place so ever I begin the combat there is a fitting chamber (ṣalā) for the festival. He then goes on to show why he can at once perform the ceremony. He needs not to wait for outside aid, for in comparison to him it would be as a firebrand to the sun.

3 W: "alluding to the seven suns that are said to rise in succession at the destruction of the world, the fifth drying up the waters of the deep" (note).

4 The compiler shows here his knowledge of the Indian Rasa doctrine. Every work of art, poetry like music, must have its special rasa, its underlying motif. Theory distinguishes eight, nine or ten of these. The most important are: śringāra "love", vīra "heroic mood", bhāyānaka "horror engendering" and kāśyā "merriment arousing motif".
Against the hostile army with which was the Monarch (Māṇābharāṇa) approaching in pursuit of the scattered great army, the great dignitaries of the Great King Parakkama hastened forth and fought with it a terrible battle near the village Badaravallī. Although the victorious army (Māṇābharāṇa's) was scattered, they nevertheless after themselves fighting the great battle and suffering heavy losses in combat, but having also slain many soldiers — beat a retreat exhausted, and wended their way to their own country. Now the great army of the foe displayed redoubled energy. Parakkamabāhu left those who had received wounds, to the care of physicians. He gazed smiling merrily at the fleeing army. The dignitaries who had hidden their bearers² turned, he forced with stern glance and wrinkled brow to go back. The bearers he sent himself against the hostile army, and in order to hold high festival for the meeting with Lakkhi i. e. the foe³, and to send a clever maiden herald, his sword liane⁴, to the field of battle, he, wishing to begin the feast of war, called to the bearer of his hand weapons: Give me the Sihala sword! Now when this man out of ignorance brought as Sihala sword the weapon

¹ W. has not rightly understood the context. The gerund anubbhandhyā does not belong to the subj. mahaṁaccā but is subordinate to the part. past āyatāya in 96 c. Māṇābharāṇa is pursuing the defeated troops of the Adhikārīn Rakkha. His army is therefore called jayasena in 97. Then he is met by Parakkamabāhu's generals. On account of the great losses they suffer, they have to retire. Parakkama tries to prevent an absolute collapse. His generals Rakkha Kesadhātu and Nātha (v. 107) restore the balance for the time being. There follows finally however, the general retreat to Pulatthinagara.

² Their palanquin bearers. For the high officers the palanquin was the method of transport also in the field.

³ The alteration of seri⁰ into virā⁰ in the Col. Ed. is wrong. The image is again borrowed from a wedding (cf. v. 90-91). As in wedlock the man becomes master of the woman, in this case Lakkhi, the goddess of fortune and victory, so in battle the victor of the foe. The picture here is quite different to that of 72, 112 according to which the corrections of S. and B. have evidently been made.

⁴ In Skr. literature also the sword or the blade is compared with a liane. The combination khaggalata (as here P. khagpalata) occurs frequently in the Kathāsaritsāgara (BR. a. v. latā 1 c).
called the Jambudīpa blade, he spake: "That is not the 104 Sihala blade. Leave this (sword) that could put an end to all the lines of hostile kings in Jambudīpa and bring me quickly the Sihala blade". Now when, after these words, 105 they handed him the terrible Sihala blade the King thought again, full of pride, he who was an elephant for the binding of elephants, namely the foe: In Sihaladīpa I am unable to grasp the weapon with my arm, and looked significantly at the face of the Kesadhātu named Rakkha standing near him and in that of the Nagaragiri Nātha. And these twain carried out the hint of the King and flung themselves with the courage of lions into the midst of the great (hostile) army. The twain seemed in consequence of their incomparable bra-

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1 P. Jambudīpapāṭava. We may take for pāṭava without scruple the meaning "sharpness, edge, blade". Skr. pāṭu means "sharp, cutting" and pāṭava is the abstract noun, derived from pāṭu.

2 We have here in the MSS. a śloka of 6 pādas and what follows becomes badly confused if we do not accept it. In the present case it is certainly possible that it arose through a later interpolation of the line Jambudīpavahini nissesavirirajakulantakām.

3 What is thought of here is the capture of wild elephants. When the herd has been surrounded and enclosed in the corral tame elephants are brought in with whose aid the wild elephants are chained.

4 I have interpreted the passage wrongly in my edition where I have tried to put sāvadhāraṇa in the oratio recta with the meaning "with the exception (of my arm)". That is too forced. W's translation "that there was not a man who could even place in his hand a (proper) weapon" is also quite impossible. The text has literally: "in Sihaladīpa with my arm unable to take the weapon, so thinking..." Thus the subject to asamattho is missing. It can only be eṣaṃ "I". With the oratio indirecta this can be clearly seen: he thought he was incapable etc. The idea is this: At sight of the sword the King has scruples whether he should use the Sihala sword on the island of Sihala, that is in civil war against Sīhala. He looks therefore sāvadhāraṇa at his ablest generals, handing over the task to them. With undoubted skill Dhammakīti manages the transition from the heroic pose which he has ascribed to the King, to the real state of affairs and the later conditions in which the King is no longer the first among his soldiers, the leader of the army, as in the heroic age of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, but makes his generals carry out warlike enterprises according to his instructions.
very like thousands in number appearing in the midst of
the battlefield. From morning until far into the night they
fought a great battle terrible by reason of the bodies of
hostile soldiers hewn in pieces by sword strokes. With folded
hands the great dignitaries then informed the King: "Shattered
is the whole great army, we few people alone are left. But
even in our small number, O Lord of men, fighting a great
battle, we have not let the luck of heroes (away from us)
turn to the other side. As if from fear of the sight of the
combat the sun has hidden himself behind the western mount.
We will return\textsuperscript{1} to Pulatthinagara and take up to-morrow
the destruction of the foe. Now is not the right time\textsuperscript{2}".

When the King heard that, such action found no favour in
his sight, as he desired to spend the night on the spot and
renew the combat in the morning. Now the King void of
all fear, gave himself up to slumber for a moment during
which the dignitaries brought him to Pulatthinagara. Now
when at midnight they came to Paṅcavihāra, the King awoke
and asked what name the place had. When the Lord of men
heard from the people that it was Paṅcavihāra, he flew into a
rage: "That ye brought me hither while I slept was wrong of
you". But as he wished to take every single one of his
retinue without exception with him, he remained there. He
filled the village with the din of the five loud clanging shell
trumpets\textsuperscript{3} and after he had himself (awaited) his retinue that
had not yet appeared, (and) surveyed (them), he sent his
train on in front, kept behind them himself and came when
morning time was near to Pulatthinagara.

When then the sun, the ancestor of his race, had risen,
Parakkamabāhu who by his singular courage had the whole

\textsuperscript{1} Important, as we see from this, as also from what follows, that
the scene of these fights lay in the immediate vicinity of the capital.

\textsuperscript{2} Again a sloka with 6 pādas in all the MSS. Here also there is
the possibility of a later interpolation of the line \textit{rayadassanabbito va
līnu attacale ravi}.

\textsuperscript{3} These are the five musical instruments, of which one, the shell
trumpet, is named as the most warlike.
world in his power\(^1\), heard that at the ford called\(^2\) Billa- 122 (gāma) the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin, named Kittī, at the head of a great army had poured an uninterrupted 123 rain of arrows on the Adhikārin of the name of Nātha\(^3\), on the Prince Mahinda, the Senāpati Sukha, the Laṅkāgiri 124 Nātha and on others who had approached in that direction and who came with their army to fight; that they had robbed 125 bed of life the Senāpati Sukha and the Laṅkāgiri Nātha along with many warriors and had pursued the Adhikārin 126 Nātha and the Prince Mahinda who had fled with their troop divisions; that when they had penetrated far into the pro- 127 vince, the whole army of the foe together with the troops belonging to the country had made the road impassable and 128 hiding themselves on all sides had captured them\(^4\). At these tidings the foe-tamer (Parakkamabāhu) who took over the greatest pleasure in doughty deeds, marched forth to relieve the generals. But here in order to persuade the Monarch in 129

\(^1\) Verses 122 up to the beginning of 123 tirokatvā gahesi form one sentence (cf. however, note on 123), the content of the news which Parakkamabāhu receives next day and which must lead to an alteration of his decisions. W. has understood that. In my edition this is not made sufficiently clear (but cf. the emendations in vol. II). Because of the new tidings the King determines in the first place to relieve his surrounded generals. The action planned against Mānābharaṇa is deferred.

\(^2\) There had been fighting before at this ford (see 72. 48) under the Senāpati Deva who had pushed forward there from Hedillabhapāḍagāma in pursuit of the defeated Mahinda.

\(^3\) Mentioned above in 70. 298.

\(^4\) The construction of the whole sentence is not correct in the original. The subject is changed as happens in the latest parts of the Cūlavas, chiefly in sentences with many gerunds: in the first place Devasenaśhīndyako Kittināmādhiṅkari ca is the subject, then sakalā arātivāhini. The construction would be right if it ran: Devasenaśhīndyako Kittināmādhiṅkarinī ca . . . vattetvā . . . pāpetvā . . . anubandiya . . . paviṭṭhesu, sakalā arātivāhini . . . gahesi. Here the gerunds vattetvā &c. would be subordinate to the past part. paviṭṭhesu. The word gahesi refers only to the encirclement by which Deva and Kittī have lost their freedom of action.
whom had awakened the resolve for combat, to return, the
130 great dignitaries with folded hands spake to him: "Save thy
exceeding great ability, scarce to be surpassed, O Lord of
131 men, we have no further might left; and the inhabitants of
the country are all under hostile influence. We must betake
ourselves from here to Nandamula and from there begin the
132 fight". With these and like representations they induced the
Lord of men to turn back; they started from there and set
133 out with the King on their way. When the retainers native
to the country stationed in Nandamula, beheld the Monarch
134 approaching with few followers they began to rain from
all sides a hail of arrows. The Ruler who had halted at
135 the place called Karavāḻagiri\(^1\) sent thence certain dignitaries
acknowledged to be excellent warriors and brought it to pass
136 that that division of the army gave up its desire to fight. While
thus the great hero, the Ruler, sent on his retinue in advance
and followed after on the march, he came to Jambukola.
137 Starting thence to relieve the Senāpati Deva, he came on the
march to a place named Navagāmapura.
138 At that time the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin Kittī,
because they had not obeyed the instructions given them by
139 the Great King, lay exhausted there with their army. They
had given up the fight and had fallen\(^2\) into the power of
140 the enemy at the village named Sūrulla. In order to persuade
the Ruler (Parakkama) — who was advancing\(^3\) with the

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\(^1\) The Census 1921 (II. 296) has a Karavalagala in the Tittaveli-
gandahe Korale, thus in the mountains east of Hiripitiya, 18 miles
north of Kurunegala. But there are difficulties about identifying the
two names. We expect rather a position between Polonnaruva and
Dambul. Cf. note to 72. 147.

\(^2\) They are probably still surrounded by the enemy but have not
yet capitulated. All we learn further is that Parakkama had to give
up the plan of relieving them, as apparently their capitulation could
no longer be prevented. Of their later fate we hear nothing. It seems
however that they were freed or ransomed. The Adhikārin Kittī
appears again 74. 90 ff. and the Lāṅkāpura Deva mentioned 75. 180,
76. 250 ff., might be identical with the Senāpati Deva.

\(^3\) P. vibhajitaṃ niyārakkhaṇa. The verb vibhajati seems to be used
strong intention of rescuing his generals — to turn back, they sent him the following message: "We have fallen here in the midst of Mahāraṭṭha into the power of the enemy; but our Lord has no other means of power than his extraordinary courage. Even the country folk have turned away from us and are on the side of the foe. But if there are Lords of exceeding ability, then there is no doubt that by uniting the ocean-girt earth under one umbrella they are heedful of the furtherance of the laity and of the Order. We to whom this boon belongs, in consequence of which we shall have the comfort of again beholding the lotus flowers of feet, shall be set free by the protector of the castes and of the hermitages. But (now) thou must give up thy resolve to come hither." When the Great King heard that, the far-seeing one perceived that even before his march thither ruin would ensue. Entreated by all his dignitaries with folded hands the discerning one turned and betook himself to Vikkamapura.

here in a quite peculiar meaning "to be intent upon something". The literal translation of v. 140 would be "they, wishing to cause to return the Ruler who advanced, being intent upon their own protection, sent the message..." The meaning of the message in this: Give up the plan of rescuing us now. We know that a great king like you will finally gain the victory, and then we will be set free and again join your retinue.

1 Cf. note to 72. 147.
2 P. rājādānaṁ assamādānaṁ ca is here synonymous with the usual lokāsāna.
3 The actions described vv. 121-147 are not easy to understand. The reason probably lies in the fact that the narrator gives as short an account as possible of a series of catastrophes which overtook Parakkamabāhu and which led to complete reversal of the situation. As regards the encirclement of Deva and Kittī in the first place, one would have expected it from the account to have taken place somewhere in hostile territory, in Rohaṇa. What does not agree with this is that the starting-point of the relief should be Jambukola, whether we understand by this Dambul, which I think the more likely, or Dambagolla (note to 70. 72) west of Elahera. The generals themselves speak in v. 141 of Mahāraṭṭha. But that is according to v. 163, a district bordering (eastwards) on the Kālavāpi, if indeed the mahāraṭṭhamayīye in v. 141 altogether contains a proper name, and not an appella-
Now when the high dignitaries learned that the Monarch Mānābharaṇa had come with his whole army to Pulatthinagarā and again marching thence had reached the place called Giritaṭāka\(^1\) and other matters, they informed the King truthfully according to the facts, as they had heard them, and also that the army had been here and there destroyed in fight. They reported further it would be best to march to Parakkamapura\(^2\) or even to the village called Kalyāgi\(^3\) to gather together the army there and then begin the war again. But when the lion-king heard that he answered in the fire of his wrath, discernible in the fume of his wrinkled brow:\(^4\) "For the fearful I have no use, they may go where they like. Men like myself possess a great army in the courage of their arms. From the King of the gods downwards I know none in the three worlds capable so long as I am in life, of crossing the frontier of my realm. A hostile
tive\(^5\) "in the midst of the great province" (i. e. Rohaṇa). The final result of all the military events is clear. Parakkamabāhu is forced to give up Pulatthinagarā and Rājarāṭṭha and to retire to Dakkhiṇadesa. The first halt is at Vikkamapura. The position of the town can be pretty well fixed. It is mentioned v. 263 in connection with Kyāṇagūma which in its turn occurs next to Maṅgalabegūma, thus not far distant from Pulatthinagarā. Vikkamapura must thus have been situated in Janapada. Is it perhaps the name for the town belonging to Śīhagiri?\(^6\)

\(^1\) As Giritaṭāka (now Giritala), lies about 7 miles W. N. W. of Pulatthinagarā, Mānābharaṇa has thus occupied the capital advancing from E. or S. and now advances without delay against the hostile front at Vikkamapura.

\(^2\) The building of Parakkamapura is first described later 74. 15. It was probably a case of rebuilding on an older site. Should the town be looked for at the Parakkamasamudda, the reservoir Paṇḍavāpi? See 68. 40 and note to 60. 50.

\(^3\) Now Kelaniya at the mouth of the Kelaniganga not far from Colombo. The officers thus advise giving up the fight entirely for the time being and retiring to Dakkhiṇadesa.

\(^4\) The reading of the MSS. gives no sense. In my edition I have followed the Col. Ed. But I should like now to suggest: the reading bhūbhāṅgadhāmaṇiṇīyaḥuppyaggaḥ paccabhās' ato. This keeps more closely to the text of the MSS., assumes merely the change of a single letter (e into s) and gives the expected sense.
prince can force his way into the realm ruled by me as little as a king of elephants into a lion-guarded den. Who would not become a hero when my glance falls on him? If I so will, boys who still drink milk will fight. In two or three months I shall no longer permit the Ruler Mānābharana to establish himself in his own province, let alone in Rājarat̄ha. It is just for such an occasion which is quite hopeless that the courage of the arms of heroes of my breed holds good.” In this way he made the discouraged courageous by speaking a self-confident word filled with heroic spirit. Then experienced in warcraft, he sent the Adhikarīn Rakkha and the officer (Kitti) the Ādipotthakin, forth to take up a position at the village of Maṅgalabegāma. Hereupon after distributing dignities to people who deserved dignities, the illustrious one, versed in the right expedients, entrusted the Mahālekha called Rakkha and the Jīvāpotthakin Mandin, as well as the two brothers, the generals, Saṅkhadhātu and Kitti, with a great army and he, the mighty one, sent it to Pillavatthi in Mahāraṭṭha which borders on the Kālavāpi tank to take possession of it. Likewise the exceeding brave (Prince) placed the Māragiri Nigrodha in Uddhavāpi with an army. In order to carry on the war in this way in different directions he placed a strong army with officers at various places.

Now the troops stationed in Janapada, skilled in the game of war, offered battle and put to flight at the locality called Janapada, the Mahālekha called Mahinda who had come hither to fight at the command of Mānābharana, so that his courage for a renewal of the conflict was broken. To the Lord of men, Parakkama, who while ever bringing forth all kinds of

1 P. virarasa, see note to 72. 94.
2 Cf. 72. 27 together with note.
3 The theatre of the war is very much the same as in the operations against Gajabāhu described 70. 281 ff.
4 For Mahāraṭṭha see note to 72. 147. The district is mentioned again twice (v. 190, 199). Pillavatthi is certainly identical with the Pilavat̄thika mentioned 69. 8 (see note to the passage).
5 See note to 72. 11.
meritorious works in profusion and, like to the King of the
gods, enjoying diversion in divers games, sojourned in Nā-
landā\(^1\), the army sent a report of the events in accord with
the truth.

170 Thereupon the officers stationed in Pillaviśṭhi with the
Mahālekha Rakkha at the head\(^2\) fought for eight days an
171 embittered battle with Buddhāṇāyaka\(^3\) and the general Mahā-
māladeva stationed at Kālavāpi, slew many warriors, put the
enemy to flight, brought Kālavāpi into their power and freed
173 it shortly from the briers (of the foe). Then carrying out
the instructions of the Lord of men Parakkama, they threw
up an entrenchment and remained with the army on the spot.

174 The Māragiri Nigrodha stationed at Uddhavāpi, fought
175 three times, scattered the hostile army and having fortified
the monastery grove at the village called Tannaru, he took
up a position there at the command of the Great King.

176 The Monarch Mānābharaṇa now granted to the Prince
Mahinda a post of honour and a province of considerable
177 extent and spake to him: “Take up, marching in the direction
of Moravāpi, in order to conquer Dakkhipadesa, thy position
with strong forces in Anurādhapura\(^4\). I will betake myself
to Pallavavāla, to march in the direction of Buddhagāma\(^5\).”

179 Thus having sent him in advance with a strong army to fair
Anurādhapura, he himself took up a position again at the
same place\(^6\) in Rājaraṭṭha.

180 When the great councilors of the Great King who were
stationed in Kālavāpi, learned that Prince Mahinda had betaken

\(^1\) Nālandā was thus again Parakkama’s headquarters as in the
campaigns against Gajabāhu (see 70. 167, 207).
\(^2\) See above v. 161 ff.
\(^3\) See note to 70. 296.
\(^4\) For Moravāpi see notes to 69. 9, 70. 67. From all the passages in
which it is mentioned it is clear that it was situated south of Anurādhapura and west of Kālavāpi. Mānābharaṇa’s plan is evidently to turn
Parakkamabāhu’s left flank in order to force him to withdraw his front
which threatened Pulatthinagam.
\(^5\) See notes to 58. 48 and 66. 19.
\(^6\) It is only later that Mānābharaṇa goes to Pallavavāla (see v. 220);
thus tatth’ eva here probably means Giritaṭāke (a. v. 149).
himself with large forces to Anurādhapura, they at once, in 181 order to destroy him before he had taken root, entrusted the 182 Mahālekha Rakkha and the Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Kittī¹ with the charge there and marched themselves with army and train to the locality called Kāpamlā, threw up an entrenchment 183 here and took up their position here after they themselves had left Kālavāpi. When the Great King Parakkama who 184 was skilled in expedients not to be thwarted, heard of this undertaking and had as expert examined it, (he told the officers): "As people who do not know the country, ye should 185 not without my order, penetrate into the innermost part of the district to take up the fight. Such a command he whose 186 commands were like those of Pākasāsana², far-seeing and discerning, issued repeatedly (to the officers). But they hastened 187 thither, neglecting the command of the King and believed in their folly that they would immediately seize Anurādhapura. The unhappy ones who themselves discovered not the object 188 and left the King’s command unheeded³, came to the locality named Kaṭuvandu, ignorant of the localities and without the 189 right precautions, as if desirous of tasting the effects of their disobedience to the King’s command. When they, carrying 190 out their ill-starred undertaking, had penetrated there, their followers dispersed themselves over the various places in Mahāraṭṭha. When the Prince Mahinda heard of the affair, 191 he held a council, surrounded them and began the combat, and owing to the faulty concentration of the army, the Prince 192 Mahinda scattered the whole of the forces on the battlefield. Completely beaten in this battle, the officers returned to 193 Kālavāpi remembering the neglected royal command. But the 194

¹ See note to 72. 27, as well as to 72. 196.

² P. pākasāsana = skr. pākasāsana is an epithet of the god Indra. The meaning attached to the word here is probably "whose commands become ripe, i. e. are fulfilled or carried out".

³ Verse 188 is mutilated in the MSS. as four syllables are missing. The text of the Col. Ed. differs from mine. W. translates thus: "and those among them who were not fortunate would not be advised by the king’s message".
Prince (Mahinda) returned to Anurādhapura, collected in haste the division of the army belonging to his province and sent it off, as he intended taking Kālavāpi with large forces. When the discerning Ruler (Parakkama) received tidings of this, he sent in haste the Bhanḍārapotthakin Bhūta\(^1\) thither to whom he gave a considerable army consisting only of skilled warriors. They all met there together and three months long the valiant heroes fought bitter battles day by day. Not neglecting the royal instructions the doughty ones fought a hard fight and (finally) shattered the four-membered army of Mahinda. They took Mahāraṭṭha which bordered on Kālavāpi and remained at the spot awaiting the command of the King. The Prince (Mahinda) made exultant by his afore mentioned crafty fight with the people who had transgressed the King’s command, came on\(^2\) himself in full armour. An officer who was stationed at Moravāpi not neglecting the instructions of the far-seeing King, distributed his followers on both sides of the road and as soon as the hostile army were completely inside (the ambush) he surrounded it on all sides, slew while delivering a terrific action, numerous high officers, vanquished the Prince and sent many heads of enemies slain on the battle-field to the King.

Hereupon King Parakkamabāhu, a man of terrible courage, gathered together\(^3\) his army which was distributed in divers places, and in order to drive the Ruler Mānūbharaṇa out of Kājaraṭṭha, he placed the Mahālekha called Rakkha, the Kammanāyaka Aṇjana\(^4\) and the Ādipotthakin Kitti at Kyānagāma and sent the Adhikārin Rakkha to Maṅgalabegāma.

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1 The title Bhanḍārapotthakin is also borne by Kitti. See 72. 182 together with the note to 72. 27.

2 As the mention of Moravāpi shows, we have to do here with Mahinda’s main thrust against Dakkhiṇadessa announced in v. 177.

3 By the victory at Moravāpi Parakkamabāhu has done away with the pressure on his left wing (cf. note to v. 177) and can now undertake his action against Pulatthinagara. As to the localities see 70. 281 ff.

4 See note to 72. 53.
Then he sent his train of hunters, robbers\(^2\) and the like who were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderesses of forest and mountain, and had many people in divers places slain\(^2\) by them by night and day. Like birds shut up in a cage\(^3\) the dwellers in Pulatthinagara for long dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside of the gate when they wanted supplies of water and wood. For the work for which they needed wood each robbed his house completely of its roof\(^4\) and so destroyed it. In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up. As circulation in all the approaches to the town had been stopped by the King, the whole town trembled with excitement. Great harassment he caused to the King Māṇābharaṇa in that he vexed the town even to the royal castle. In his great distress the Ruler Māṇābharaṇa whose heart was sore weighted with cares, reflected thus: “If I would betake myself to my province of Rohapa the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha who are there would not permit me to go thither, to show their affection for the Sovereign Parakkama, if by my taking flight they discover my weakness. But if I think it is right for me to stay here, that too for me is hard, since day and night I must suffer such hardships. The best thing for me is to fight a decisive battle with the foe and to suffer the fortune or misfortune that issues from it.” After putting his large four-membered army in fighting trim, he betook himself, his loins girt for combat, to Palla-vāla\(^5\). When thereupon King Parakkamabāhu, who possessed

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\(^1\) These were probably Vāddas who were in the king’s retinue. Kirātā “hunter” is also used in Skr. to describe savage mountain tribes.

\(^2\) Verses 205-214 form a single sentence which I have split up in the translation into its component parts. The principal verb is akāsi pīṣaṁ in 214 which governs directly three “that” sentences with yathā 1) v. 209 c-211, 2) v. 212, 3) v. 213. Then to akāsi belongs gahāyamanto in v. 209 a and subordinate are the various gerunds in vv. 205-208.

\(^3\) The same simile in 70. 292.

\(^4\) Lit.: “they made it grassless”, i.e. they turned the grass which served as roof into fuel and so ruined the whole house.

\(^5\) See above v. 178.
the courage of a lion, and (yet) was wont to act with reflection, heard of all these events, he sent off the Laṅkāpura, the two brothers, the generals, and the Lokagalla\(^1\), after instructing them in divers plans of war, in three directions, as he, the prudent one, intended to separate\(^2\) the hostile army that was marching hither from that direction. They betook themselves with large forces thither and spent a month delvering day by day a sharp action. In his double distress the Ruler Mānabharaṇa reflected thus: "I have left my entrenched camp and have come hither, desirous of fighting. There is no breathing freely for me; my misfortune is deep-rooted and grows at its pleasure day and night. Since I have come hither without tasting the good and the evil that were my lot in that wilderness\(^3\), I deserve this misfortune hard to be borne. And an attempt to come thither\(^4\) again? That is also hard to carry out, since hostile forces are posted at different places on the main road. Here in this place where we are so confined, I may not tarry, since the hostile army is marching from every side towards the centre. I will inquire of people well acquainted with this part and will march forth by some little known way which they tell me of." Thus having asked the inhabitants be betook himself by a way told him by them to the village of Konduruva\(^5\). Thereupon the Adhikārin Rakkha who, carrying out the command of the Great King, had taken up a position at the village named Mihiraṇabibbila, had stakes made like spearpoints and had them bound together driven into the ground in such a way that they were not even to be shaken by elephants. Then

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\(^1\) The Laṅkāpura is Kaḍakkuḍa (72.39). Who is meant by the Lokagalla we do not know, but the word occurs also as title in 75.138.  
\(^2\) P. vimukhaṇa kātu-kānu. I take vimukha here in the meaning of "turned in different directions".  
\(^3\) By the "wilderness" (vāna) he means his former country, Rohaṇa with which he ought to have been satisfied.  
\(^4\) Namely to Rohaṇa.  
\(^5\) There is a Konduruveva S. W. of Giritale, W. S.W. of Pulatthi-nagara.
outside (of these) he had strong stakes of still greater size driven in, so that there was no gap and had them interwoven with wattle-work of branches. Then in the middle (between 235 the two rows of stakes) he had a trench dug twenty to thirty cubits broad for a distance of a hundred lengths of a man. There he placed sharpened stakes and thorns and also in 236 the ground lying outside he had sharpened sticks driven in and a hedge of thorns put up, tightly closed and unbroken 237 and between these a trench dug as before. There also he 238 placed sharpened sticks and thorns and outside of the hedge he had a trench dug which reached to the underground water. There also he again placed pointed stakes and thorns 239 and outside of the trench he had the big forest felled at a blow over a tract two or three bowshots in extent, as well 240 as great pits dug beyond this tract on the robber paths. Here again he placed everywhere sharp thorns, had them 241 covered on all sides with sand and withered leaves, and prepared (everything) in such a way that at first glance it looked like a passable road. Then in order to destroy without remnant the hostile army when it approached this way, he 243 had robber paths made in every direction and posted sharp shooting archers on them. In the middle of the stockade he 244 built a structure of four storeys and distributed archers about it at divers places. But in order to entice hither the hostile army (from where it was marching), he sent out two or three thousand archers who understood shooting by the flash of

1 The “cubit” (ratana) equals 17. 82 inches. Thus the breadth was about 30 to 45 ft. a “man’s length” (porisa) is about five cubits, that is 89.10 in. So the length of the trench measured 740 to 745 ft.

2 I should now prefer the reading ca instead of va. Also in what follows the stakes always appear along with the thorns. It often happens in the Cūlavas. that ca is not enclitic, but stands between the objects which it connects. Cf. v. 238 b.

3 Thus I interpret odakautika. We must assume that it is derived from a skr. udakānta, audakāntika. W’s view is probably the same.

4 What is meant are the footpaths leading through the wilderness.

5 P. pāsāda. The passage is characteristic of the general meaning of “structure” given to the word pāsāda.
lightning. Now when amid a rain of arrows pouring from all sides the irresistible, terrible hostile army approached, they cunningly feigned as if they had been routed by it and turned back. When then the others approached in pursuit of them, then suddenly skilled warriors, doughty soldiers, experienced in the war game, a thousand in number like singly marching elephants, made a dash at them and fought an action, appearing in front of the hostile forces like the army of King Yama. A hail of arrows began to rain on all sides and the people who stood on the structure began to shoot at those who were on the ground. There followed a hail of stones which hurled from engines, flew here and there vast in size. From the burning, sharp-pointed bamboo

1 P. akkhanaivedhino. Cf. also JâCo. III. 32222, V. 12917. I accept the explanation in JâCo. II. 9111. H. Kern, Toevogelselen op't Woordenboek van Childers I. 69, compares skr. ākhaṇa “target”. This seems to me too colourless. Moreover Mhvs. 23. 86 distinguishes the saddavedhī, “who shoots according to the sound” (without seeing the mark), the vālavedhī “who hits a hair” and the vijjuvedhī “who shoots by the gleam of the lightning”. To these three categories JâCo. V. 12917 adds that of the saravedhinī who can shoot a second arrow on to the first one already sticking in the target. The art is still practised in India. I know a young Indian who claims to be both a vālavedhī and a saddavedhī.

2 I read paccekabhathīno. What is meant are the solitary or rogue elephants who are known for attacking furiously and are therefore much dreaded. The word is formed on the pacceka-buddha model.

3 The god of death. In the whole section from v. 232 to v. 249 vattesum (samarasam) in 249 is the first and only finite verb. We have thus to do with a single sentence. The construction meanwhile is not correct. The subject changes Rakkhādhikārī in 232 and virā subhajatā in 248. An alteration of pesetva (246) into pesesi would get over the difficulty. I dare not suggest it however, as I believe that irregular sentences with accumulated gerunds are typical of the compiler’s style. Cf. note to 72. 128.

4 Lit. “a spreading out” (a broad throwing).

5 P. pharantānaṃ. The verb phar is a favourite one for expressing the flashing of the lightning.

6 Indian dictionaries give tikṣaṇa “sharp”, “pointed” as the meaning of caṇḍa.
rods which cut into single pieces were hurled\(^1\) down there spread an unbearable heat. With many glowing iron rods \(^{258}\) which were tied to strings and which they drew up again, they performed seven days long their terrible deeds. Thus \(^{254}\) the discerning great dignitaries of the Great King carried on the combat in accordance with the instruction of their King. Seized by fear the army of the foe dispersed at once like the \(^{255}\) wave-crowned flood\(^2\) when it breaks on the ocean's shore. Thus the army with the Monarch were wiped out on the battle-field as the stars with the moon at the rising of the dawn.

Then at Rajatakēdāra day by day for six months in bitter \(^{257}\) fight they weakened the forces of the foe. The Monarch \(^{258}\) Mānābharaṇa set about building a stronghold for his sojourn\(^3\) by making a stockade of thorns. When King Parakkamabāhu, \(^{259}\) the energetic, the exceeding wise, the lotus-eyed, in his vigilance heard of this proceeding, he thought in his heart: \(^{260}\) "This plan is clever. If he now sets about building a stronghold he must, methinks, as his army is weakened, be about \(^{261}\) to retire. Now is the right moment to get Mānābharaṇa entirely into one's power. I also must march thither and it \(^{262}\) is well if I march, to march in such manner that he notices nothing, else he will take flight." With this resolve he left \(^{263}\) Vikkamapura\(^4\) and while feigning that he was going to the chase, he betook himself to Kyānagāma accompanied by many \(^{264}\) skilful musicians, who made music on the lute and the flute. While now the wise Ruler versed in moods, sojourned like 26 Vāsa\(^{5}\) in that village, he sent a message to the Adhikārin Rakkha to put his division of the army with all speed in 266 fighting trim and to hold a war festival with the officer of

\(^1\) P. pavāṭa; cf. skr. pravīta.

\(^2\) To supplement kallolamātinī "hearing waves as wreaths" one must take cūhinī as a substantive of more general meaning "flood". Vāhinī it should be remembered, generally denotes "river".

\(^3\) I take sa in sasāmucesaṇa as equivalent to the skr. sa. W. translates "with an encampment".

\(^4\) The headquarters of Parakkamabāhu, see 72. 147 and note.

\(^5\) A name of the god Indra.
267 King Mānābharana, Buddhāyaka by name. When the discerning Adhikārin had hearkened carefully to all of the message sent, he at once carrying out the order of the Great King, put his army in readiness, and sent the war-practised (host) forth, which was like to a whirlwind when it scatters cotton, namely the enemy. The four-membered army marched to Rajatakēdāra, delivered there till sunset a bitter action, slew Buddhāyaka and the other officers, put the rest of the army to flight and stayed the night on the spot. When the Sovereign Parakkamabāhu heard of this event the prudent one betook himself to the village called Mihiraṇabibbila. He had fetched the Laṅkāpura Kaṭakkuḍa who was endowed with extraordinary courage, and the two brothers, the generals:

273 "King Mānābharana will certainly to-day in the night take flight, his heart swayed by great fear; betake yourselves to him on his way and cut off his flight", such was the order given them by the discerning (king). While the heavens without ceasing drizzled and rained, while thickest darkness held sway, these marched in black night, but were not able to overtake the Monarch Mānābharana on the way who was fleeing tortured by dread.

277 The Monarch Mānābharana had at that time thought thus:

278 "In the stronghold occupied to-day by the hostile army, a terrible noise can be heard like the raging of the vast ocean. The hostile king has, methinks, entered the fort. If instead of fleeing, I remain here during the night, to-morrow I shall certainly be delivered helplessly into his hands. Without letting any single one of all my companions know it, I must leave this place." Racked by fear, with such thoughts he left his own children in the lurch and while heavy rain streamed down and thick darkness reigned, he hastened hither and thither, every now and again falling into a deep pit, stumbling amid the undergrowth of the forest, ever and anon starting with fear his heart filled with terror, to the Mahā-

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1 See note to 70. 296, as well as below, v. 270.
2 Cf. above v. 232.
vālukagaṅgā. But fearing that if he fled by a well known ford, the foe pursuing might take him alive, he crossed the 284 river with difficulty at some unknown ford and regained 285 courage for a moment. But as he had exceeding fear of the able-bodied inhabitants of the country, he wandered in disguise full of terror from village to village and so fleeing came to his own province stripped of everything.

When the warriors of the Great King Parakkamabāhu 287 who were posted at divers places, noticed that King Māṇăbbharana had departed, then thousands of them joyfully waved their 288 garments², they lit around hundreds of thousands of torches, and while taking the lives of many thousands of warriors, 289 they clapped their hands, shouted with joy, jumped about, and broke at one swoop from all sides into the great entrenchment which King Māṇăbbharana had occupied, captured alive 291 the Prince called Sirivallabha who had been left behind and other great dignitaries, seized the rich treasures scattered here and there of the hostile king, elephants and horses, equipment and an array of weapons. Having made the necessary arrangements for their custody, they all set off in pursuit of the Ruler Māṇăbbharana, reached in the shortest (possible) time the 294 Mahāvālukagaṅgā, cut to pieces there also a hostile army down to the last man³, and having seen to it that the whole 295 river carried along with it naught but flesh and blood, they were faint to press on farther, resolved not to turn back before they had captured the Ruler Māṇăbbharana even if they had 296 to march to the ocean⁴. But Parakkamabāhu of the strength-

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¹ P. gatiṣṭhajjito. For the meaning of skr. gati “resource” s. BR. s. v. nr. 6. W’s translation “undisguised” (in contrast to aṁśataresca in pāda a) is certainly wrong.

² Lit. “they instituted thousands of wavings of garments”. Celukkhepu signifies expression of approval. See JāCo. II. 90⁴; III. 292²; Mhvs. 15, App. B, 7.

³ P. aparicchinam, lit. unlimited, unrestricted, complete.

⁴ Pun on rāhinī with threefold meaning 1) army (294 d), 2) river (295 a), 3) adj. for “carrying with it” (295 b).

⁵ The past part. nikkhanta takes the place of a finite verb.
defying arms, whose commands were scarce to be evaded, gave
them the order not to cross to the other bank of the stream,
and thus made them turn back. Thereupon King Parakkama-
bahu, the unvanquished sovereign, put on all his ornaments
and surrounded by his army, with Prince Sirivallabha in front,
he filling the heavens with great rejoicings of victory, enter-
ed the fair city of Pulatthinagara, even as the King of the
gods (entered) the city of the gods after his victory in the
battle with the asuras.  

Now the Monarch Mānābharana by reason of a disease
caused by his fear of Prince Parakkama had come to the end
of his life force. As he lay there on his bed, near to death,
ennmeshed in misery amongst his wives who waited with out-
spread arms, he had Prince Kittisirimegha and yet other high
dignitaries fetched and spake these words: "Rich treasures,
that sacrificed to the venerable Tooth Relic and to the sacred
Alms-bowl by believing sons of good family, and besides these
divers villages belonging to the bhikkhu order have I seized
and destroyed, swayed by the lust for kingly power. Now I
lie on that bed from which there is no rising. Whence shall
I find salvation from hell, if by death I unwillingly quit
this world. Go thou, without ruining thyself as I (have ruined)
myself, to the Sovereign Parakkama, do that which he orders
thee and live devoted to him as he shall direct thee." After
these words he wept more distressfully and entered the dwell-
ing of god Yama difficult of approach, as if he wished to
betake himself to a territory which lay not in the realm of
the good soldiers of the Great King Parakkama.

1 In the Devanagala inscription, line 13/14 Parakkamabahu mentions
his war with Gajabahu. After this name an illegible space of about
seven akkharas is following, and then we read dedehā (instead of dedenā
hū) yuddha koṭa "having made war with the two [princes] Gajabahu
and ...." It is very probable that we have to supply after Gajabahu
the name of Mānābharana. See H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla
District (1892), p. 74-5.

2 There are four apāyā or possibilities of rebirth for the sinner —
1) in hell, 2) as animal, 3) in the world of ghosts, 4) in the world of
demons.
When King Parakkamabāhu who had captivated all those 310 of good disposition without exception, heard that King Māṅkabharaṇa was dead, he had the Prince Kittisirimeghe fetched thence. Then the great dignitaries met together and with 311 clasped hands prayed the Ruler to celebrate the festival of the king's consecration. At a favourable moment and under a lucky 312 star the Ruler (now) without rivals held the happy festival of the coronation. The loud noise of the divers kinds of 313 drums was then terrible as the raging of the ocean when lashed by the storm wind of the destruction of the world. Elephants equipped with gilded armour made the royal road 314 look as if it were traversed by lightning-flashing cloud mountains. The whole town in which the colours of the horses 315 gave rise, as it were to waves, was in agitation like the ocean. By the variegated umbrellas and wreaths and the rows of golden flags the heavens were hid as it were, on all sides. Garments were shaken and fingers snapped, the inhabitants of the town sent forth the cry: Līve (o King)! live! Covered 318 with arches of bananas and thickly studded with jars and wreaths the whole universe consisted of a mass of festivals. Songs of praise were heard hymned by many hundreds of 319 singers and the smoke of (kindled) aloe wood filled the firmament. Clad in many-coloured garments, adorned with divers 320 ornaments and bearing sundry weapons in their hands, practised warriors strutted around here and there with well-rounded limbs goodly to look at with their heroic forms, like

1 Cf. above 71. 19, in which the first consecration as king is described, the effect of which seems to have disappeared, since Parakkamabāhu had for a time to evacuate Rājaraṭha and Pulaṭthinagara.
2 Pun on turaṅga, raṅga, taraṅga. The dark-coloured horses are like the waves, the light-coloured ones their crowns of foam.
3 Lit.: “The shaking of clothes took place (see note to 72. 288) and finger-snapping took place”.
4 P. neckamaṅgalau (āsi). If the reading sakalaṁ-te-ekamaṅgalau could be reconciled with the MSS. the sense, undoubtedly good, would be: the universe was a single, vast festival.
5 The ābharanāini “ornaments” were bestowed on them by the king for their bravery, corresponding to our medals.
rutting elephants. The many thousands of archers with their bows in their hand made it look as if the army of the gods trod the earth. Filled with hundreds of state chariots\(^1\) of gold, jewels and pearls the town looked like the starry firmament. While the mighty King whose eye was large as a lotus flower, thus performed a long series of marvellous things, he ascended himself, adorned with a wealth of ornament, to the golden baldachin that rested on a couple of elephants covered with golden cloths, wearing on his head a diadem sparkling with the brilliance of its jewels, like to the eastern mountain when it bears the rising sun, vanquishing the fairness of the spring by the power of his own fairness and making moist the eyes of the women in the town by the water of their tears of joy. Thus beamed on by auspicious signs, after he had encircled the town with his right side turned towards it, he entered like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) into the beautiful royal palace.

While, thus as ruler of the middle world\(^2\), he filled the chief and the intermediary regions of the heavens with festive glory, King Parakkamabāhu, the excellent ruler of the universe, carried out the second consecration as king in the second year (of his reign).

Here ends the seventy-second chapter, called "The Description of the festival of the Royal Consecration", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) P. vimāna. I do not think that the word means "palace" here, but rather that it is equivalent to ratha (cf. PTS. P. D. s. v. vimāna with detailed explanation of the term). What is meant are the chariots taking part in the processions with their sparkling ornaments of gold and precious stones.

\(^2\) The King is here made an equal of the four (or eight) lokapālās, the rulers of the heavenly regions of whom he appears as the central figure.
Additions and Corrections
(Ed. = edition, Tr. = translation)

37.79 Ed. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.
37.103 Ed. Put: after ratanamanaṇḍapam.
37.114 Ed. Read: »nāgo rogīti nicchayam«.
37.202 Ed. We have probably to read: cātaddasim pañcadasim yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhami.
37.206 Ed. Read: coram rattiyam, uggate &c.
38.3 Ed. Read: chattagāhakajantuno.
38.29 Ed. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi tatiye, tassa bhātuko &c.
38.65 Ed. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṅgalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālacakrasa satthuno || &c.
38.68 Tr. Add in the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvamsa not the Buddhist yojana but the common Indian yojana is meant which has the double length (a little more than 9 miles). See PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.
38.79 Ed. Expunge the ? after nidassitaṃ and put it after samattho.
38.88 Ed. Read: ⁰kule instead of ⁰kūle.
41.53 Ed. Read: Puratthimaṃ instead of puraṃ.
41.82 Ed. Read: gahetvā khipi; 'tib' evam aṅgulīhi sa taṃ chupi.
41.96 Ed. Read: Uttare instead of uttā.
42.67 Tr. Add in the note: The Giritaja is the present Giritalavēva, and the Gaṅgātaja the present Kantalai lake. Cf. the notes to 70, 286, 312.
44.56 Ed. Read: Janapadaṃ instead of janā.
44.71 Ed. Read: Uttaraṃ inst. of uttā.
44.90 Ed. Read: sakkā hantum ti dūrakaṃ«.
47.66 Ed. Read on p. 89": tatth' eva instead of tath' eva.
48.66 Tr. Add in note 4, line 8 after ⁰gehāni: (Cf. Ceylon Journal of Science I, p. 145 ff.).
49.17 f. Ed. Read: paṭiṁnāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c'eva vihāre ca anappake.
49.78 Ed. Expunge the full stop after avalokiyā.
49. 81 Ed. Expunge the comma after südhukam.
50. 34 Ed. Read: Pāśūde Rātane sabbasovāṇṇam &c.
50. 48 Ed. Read: 'samo instead of samo.
51. 88 Ed. Read: Kuṭṭhaka° instead of Tuṭṭhaka°.
54. 57 Ed. Read: rājāṃ instead of rājā.
59. 2 Ed. Read: «Abhisekamaṅgalattham pāśūdādiṃ anekkakam kīcchāṃ &c.
59. 49 Ed. Read: Sundarivham instead of Sunārivham.
61. 4 Ed. Read: 'khilā instead of khilā.
61. 36 Ed. We have probably to read Ariyadesāso.
61. 40 Ed. Read: sāngāmaṃ tena rūjinā.
61. 53 Ed. Read: te 'khīnatosē instead of te khīna°.
65. 6 Ed. Read: Paṭiladdha° instead of Patiladdha°.
66. 26 Ed. Read: kumāram instead of kumāram.
66. 59 Ed. I propose reading ten' ato instead of te tato.
66. 80 Ed. Read: Ranamburam instead of Ratamb°.
66. 143 Ed. Read: °opāya° instead of °opaya°.
70. 54 Ed. Read: Rājaraṇṭham instead of rāja°.
70. 93 Ed. Read: Ambavanam instead of Ambuv°.
70. 103 Ed. Read: Janapadam instead of jane°.
70. 112 and 120 Ed. Read: gaṅgu° instead of Gaṅgū°.
70. 181 Ed. Read: vasī karita° instead of vasīkarita°.
72. 58 Ed. Read: Ārakkha° instead of Ārakkha°.
72. 106 Ed. Expunge the » « before and after sāvadhurānam.
72. 121-2 Ed. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » at the beginning of v. 122.
72. 127 Ed. Expunge » before sukārātīvāhinī.
72. 170 Ed. Read Kālavāpiyaṃ instead of Kāja°.
Genealogical Tables
(See J. Still, Index to the Mahawansa, p. 79 ff.; Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, p. 184, II, p. 58)

I
From Sirimeghavaṇṇa to the Chattaggāhaka

Mahāsena
1. Sirimeghavaṇṇa 37.53  brother? 37.100

  2. Jeṭṭhatissa II 37.100

    3. Buddhadāsa 37.105

4. Upatissa I 37.179

5. Mahānāma 37.209

  6. Sothisena 38.1, 2  Samghā married to the

    7. Chattaggāhaka 38.3

8. Mittasena to 14. Pīṭhiya 38.4—34
From Dhatusaena to Kittisirimadhama

II
IIIa

From Mahānāga to Aggabodhi II

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| Prince 41.93 | 26. Mahānāga 41.70, 91 | 27. Aggabodhi I 42.1 |

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IIIb

Samghatissa and his successor

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| Prince 44.18, 35 | 33. Jeṭṭhatissa II 44.20, 35 |

| Prince 44.26, 95 | 44.24 |
IV

From Silāmeghavanna to Udaya I

Senāpati of (29) Samghatissa

31. Silāmeghavanna Asiggaḥa\(^1\)
44.8, 65

Mahātissa of Rohana
45.88

32. Aggabodhi III SSB.\(^2\)
44.83, 118

Māna
44.123

35. Kassapa II
44.124, 137, 144

Princess \(\times\) 36. Dappula I
45.86, 80

Mānaka? = 41. Mānavaṃma
45.6

47.1, 62

Mānavaṃma? = Māna
45.52

45.8, 11, 79

42. Aggabodhi V
48.1

43. Kassapa III
48.20

Princess
45. Aggabodhi VI SM.
48.42

47. Mahinda II
48.76

Samgha\(^2\)
48.54

46. Aggabodhi VII
48.39, 68

Dappula (2)
48.90, 117

48. Udaya I
49.1

Mahinda
48.69, 75

1 His predecessor was 30. Moggallāna III, Senāpati of Aggabodhi II (44.2, 22).
2 His successors were 33. Jeṭṭhatissa II and 34. Dāṭhopatissa I (s. III\(^b\), V).

V

Collateral Line

Dāṭhāsīva

= 34. Dāṭhopatissa I
44.88, 128

Sister of D.

Hatthadāṭha

= 37. Dāṭhopatissa II
44.154; 45.22

38. Aggabodhi IV SSB.\(^3\)
46.1

1 His successors were 39. Datta (46.41) and 40. Hatthadāṭha (46.45). Then 41. Mānavaṃma (see IV) ascends the throne.
VI

From Udaya I to Sena II

Mahinda II

48. Udaya I

49. 1

Dāṭhāsīva

49. Mahinda III

49. 38

50. Aggabodhi VIII

49. 43

51. Dappula II

49. 65

Devā (1) × Mahinda (6) of Robaṇa

49. 10, 12

Mahinda (6)

49. 84, 50. 4

52. Aggabodhi IX

49. 83

53. Sena I

50. 1

Mahinda (9)

50. 21-23

Kassapa (6)

50. 46

× Nālā

49. 71

50. 8

Devā (2) × Kittagabodhi (1) *

49. 70, 50. 50

54. Sena II

× a) Samghā (4)

50. 50, 51. 1

52. 83

Sena Mahālekha

Mahinda (10) &c

50. 50

*) Kittagabodhi × Devā (2)

Mahinda (10)

50. 51

Kassapa (7)

50. 54

Sena (3)

50. 56

Udaya (3)

50. 56

Samghā (4)

50. 58

Tissā (1)

Kitti (1)

× Sena II

× Mahinda (11)

50. 59-60

855
From Sena II to Vicksambahu I

II
VIII

From Vikkamabāhu I to Vijayabāhu I

Brother of Kittī

Kittī × Mahinda IV

Mahinda V

Devalā × Lokitā

Lokitā × Kassapa = 67. Vikkamabāhu I

57. 27

57. 27

57. 28 (55. 10)

56. 1

Bodhi × Buddhā

aus dem Geschlecht des Dāṭhapatissa

Lokitā × . . . × Moggallāṇa

57. 41

Loka

57. 29, 41, 42

57. 29

Kittī × Mittā

Mabinda × Rakkhita

= 74. Vijayabāhu I

1 Kings between Vikkamabāhu I and Vijayabāhu I were 68. Kittī, 69. Mahālānakittī, 70. Vikkamapaṇḍu, 71. Jagatīpāla, 72. Parakkama- paṇḍu I, 73. Loka (56. 7—57. 2).

IX

Vijayabāhu's I Family

74. Vijayabāhu I

× a) 1. Līlāvatī

59. 25

× Yāsodharā

59. 27

× Viravamma

59. 27

× Vikkamabāhu II

59. 50

× 1. Sirivallabha

59. 45

74. Vijayabāhu I

× b) Tilokasundari

59. 29

a) Subhaddā

× Virabāhu 59. 43

b) Sumittā

× Jayabāhu 59. 43
c) Lokanāthā

× Kittisirimegha 59. 44

d) Ratanāvatī

× 1. Mānābharaṇā 59. 44

e) Rūpavatī

died 59. 45

f) Vikkamabāhu II

× a. Sundarī

59. 49

× b. Līlāvatī

59. 50
Descent of Parakramabahu
Supplementary Notes

1) Introduction, p. XXII. Mr. A. M. Hocart, C. J. Sc. G. II, p. 34 refers to the part played by the sister’s son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctioram artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur. “The sister’s son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer.”

2) Introduction, p. XXV ff. I wish to direct the reader’s attention to the inscriptions on the pillars of King Nissanka Malla’s “Council Chamber” in Polonnaruva. They supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king’s right hand there sat 1) the mahādipāda, 2) the ādipāda, 3) the senāpati, 4) the adhikāras (principle chiefs), 5) the Chief Secretary (mahālekha); — and on his left side the maṇḍalikas (governors of the provinces), 2) the eighty four (chiefs of smaller districts), 3) the heads of the merchants. — The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 sāmanta appointed by Parakkamabahu in Dakhinapadesa, Mhva. 69. 16. — See H. W. Codrington, JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1924, p. 304 ff.; the same, HC. p. 68.

3) 37. 213 (p. 22, n. 4) The Dhūmarakkha is situated on the right bank — not left bank — of the Mahaveliganga. It is, no doubt, identical with the Dimbulgala-kanda, the so-called “Gunner’s Quoin”, near Mahagantota (ancient Kacchakatitha), E. of Polonnaruva. In my Transl. of the Mahāvamsa, p. 72, n. 1 and p. 289—90 must be corrected accordingly. H. Storkey, C.A.L.R. III, 3, p. 229.

4) 58. 30. For the daily ritual in the Dalada-Maligawa, Kandy, see Arthur A. Perera, C.A.L.R. VI, 2, p. 67 f.

5) For the identification of the topographical names in ch. 66 &c. I refer also to H. Storkey, Parākrama Bahu the Great, C.A.L.R. VII, 1, p. 17 ff.
List of Abbreviations

A. = Aṅguttara Nikāya (ed. PTS.).
Abhp. = Abhidhānappadīpikā.
AIC. = Ed. MöLLER, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, 1883.
ASC. = Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
BR. = BÖRTLIN und ROTZ, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
C. A. L. R. = Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
D. = Dīgha Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
Dh. = Dhammapada (ed. PTS.)
DhCo. = Dhammapada Commentary (ed. PTS.)
EI. = Epigraphia Indica.
EZ. = Epigraphia Zeylanica (ed. WickramaSinghe).
HC. = H. W. CORRINGTON, A Short History of Ceylon, 1926.
Jā. = Jātaka.
JāCo. = The Jātaka together with its Commentary, ed. FAUSBÖLL, 1877 ff.
JAs. = Journal Asiaticque.
JPTS. = Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kh. = Khuddaka Pāṭha, together with its Commentary, ed. HéLMER SMITH (PTS.), 1915.
LSI. = Linguistic Survey of India (Sir GEORGE GRICKERSON).
M. = Majjhima Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
Mem. = Memoirs (of the ASC.)
Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
Mhv. = Mahāvaṃsa.
Milp. = Milindapañha ed. TRENCINGER, 1880.
Nett. = Nettipakaraṇa (ed. PTS.)
P. = Pāli.
PIKRIS 1 = Ceylon, the Portuguese Era, by P. E. PIKRIS, 2 Bde. 1913—4.
PIKRIS 3 = Ceylon and the Hollanders 1658—1796 by P. E. PIKRIS, 1924.
PTS. = Pali Text Society.
PTS. P. D. = The PTS.'s Pali Dictionary by RTHA DAVIDS and STEDE.
Pv. = Petavatthu (ed. PTS.)
Rājaratn. = Rājaratnākaraya or History of Ceylon, ed. Saddhananda, 1887.
Rājāv. = The Rājāvaliya, ed. by B. Guṇasēkara, 1899; — transl.
by the same, 1900.
Rām. = Rāmāyaṇa.
S. = Saṃyutta Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
S. and B. = Sumāṅgala and Ba-
tuwattudawa, editors of Mhv.,
Col. Ed. — The same, Mhv.
transl. (into Sinhalese), 1917.
Sn. = Suttanipāta (ed. PTS.)

SMV. = Silāmeghavaṇṇa.
S.P. = Sessional Papers.
SSB. = Sirisarpghabodhi.
Thag. = Theragāthā (ed. PTS.)
Thīg. = Therīgāthā (ed. PTS.)
Vin. = Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. Olden-
berg.
Vv. = Vīmānavatthu (ed. PTS.)
W. = The Mahāvaṃsa, part II, con-
taining Chapters XXXIX to C,
by L. C. Wijesīṃha.
ZII. = Zeitschrift für Indologie und
Iranistik.