Pronounce /k/ in Culavapāsa and in all Pali words as /ch/ in church; thus: Chulavangsa.
Cūlavamsa
of Dhammakītī
BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE
MAHĀVAMSĀ
Part II.
TRANSLATED BY
WILHELM GEIGER
AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY
Mrs. C. MABEL RICKMERS (née Duff)
AUTHOR OF "THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA"

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF CEYLON

Published for the Pali Text Society
by
HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN HOUSE
WARWICK SQUARE, E.C.
1930
To

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

in sincere gratitude.
INTRODUCTION

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


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

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

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

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1 I quote the above articles as follows: 1) = S., 2) = Wickr., 3) = L., 4) = H. with the page number (in the case of 3 that of the English translation).
Ceylon itself there are traces of an era starting from 483 B.C. whereas later, almost certainly in the 7th century, 544/3 B.C. was adopted as the year of the Nirvana. Thus the most important thing is to find out the point in the chronology of Ceylon where the transition from the one era to the other takes place, where consequently we find an excess of 61 years.

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

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

One cause of great uncertainty also lies in the fact that in our calculations we have to rely for the most part on the

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\(^1\) See also the detailed analysis of Senaveratne’s hypothesis by C. Schurhammer in “Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xaver 1539–1552” by C. Schurhammer and E. A. Vorzetisch I. (1928), p. 67 ff.
figures for the reigns of the individual kings. Here we cannot rule out the possibility that many of these reigns were at least partly contemporaneous, that it is a case of simultaneous or of joint reigns. But the means for establishing this in individual cases are wanting. We have of course to do also with round numbers. When it is e.g. said that such and such a king reigned 12 years, possibly a few extra months have been thrown in. The sum total of such additions produces however, considerable inexactitude.

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

Matters are better, at least in my opinion, with the single dates for certain of the more important events, especially those starting with Buddha's Nirvana. I do not deny that some of these dates may have been got at by the authors by the simple process of adding up the years of the reigns. Nevertheless I have the impression that there was a limited number of dates which rested on ancient tradition and had as their starting-point the year of Buddha's death¹. There are already traces of something like a Buddha era in the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, as for instance, when it is said in Dīp. 17. 78, that Devānappiyatissa was crowned 236 years after Buddha's entry into Nirvana. Or again when in both chronicles (Dīp. 6. 1, Mhvs. 5. 21) there is the remark that 218 years had elapsed between the Nirvana and the coronation of Asoka.

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

¹ I regard also the statement in Mhvs. 33. 89 f., that the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded 217 years, 10 months and 10 days after the Mahā-vihāra as an ancient tradition, though it rests on a different basis. A figure so exact cannot be obtained by mere addition.
through a misunderstanding the cause of which we do not
know, the Nirvana of the Buddha was dated back 61 years. At
some point or other in the list of the kings this number must
be allowed for. Then it is an open question — granted an
ancient tradition — whether in converting these single dates
into the Christian era we are to start from 483 B.C. or
544/3 B.C.

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

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

One thing more. Wickr. makes no attempt at reconciling
the two chronological computations of 483 B.C. and 544/3 B.C.
He is apparently convinced that this is at present impossible
and wishes to avoid increasing the uncertainty by a new and
again uncertain chronology. In converting into the Christian era he starts as far No. 76 (Kumāradhātusena)\textsuperscript{1} from 483 B.C. Up to No. 94 (Dappula I.) he places the two computations side by side. From No. 95 (Dāṭhopatissa I.) up to the interregnum after No. 124 (Mahinda V.) he places the figures of the first computation in brackets, thus treating them as less probable and from No. 125 (Kassapa = Vikkamabāhu I.) he follows only the era of 544/3 B.C.

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

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

But the Cūlavamsa reckons 79—80 years from the death of Sirimeghavāna to Mahānāma’s ascent of the throne which would thus occur at the earliest in 468 A.D. And in fact Wīkka. 12 gives the date of 468-490 for Mahānāma’s reign. But how does this agree with the other notice giving the year 428 for Mahānāma’s embassy?\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} This — not Kumāradhātusena — is of course the right form of the name. The ādī is merely periphrastic, “the Dhātusena who begins with Kumāra”. See my Transl., note to 41. 35, 44. 6.

\textsuperscript{2} I have pointed out the discrepancy Mīhvs. Transl. p. XI., note 2
Wickremasinghe tries to solve the difficulty by saying: "This (i. e. the embassy) may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa’s reign." This argument is refuted by the fact that Mo-ho-nan is distinctly described as a Ts’u-li, i. e. kshatriya, as king.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS:

M. = Mahāvamsa or from No. 59 onwards Cūlavamsa.
Rv. = Rājāvaliya (published and translated by B. Gunasekara.)
Rr. = Rājaratnākaraya (ed. Saddhananda, Colombo 1887).
Nār. = Narendraśarīvalokanapradipikā as quoted by Wickremasinghe.

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

The figures in the last column refer to the notes following the list of the kings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Rv.</td>
<td>Pāv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Mahāvaṁsa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Vijaya</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pañjûvûṣudava</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abhâya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatum</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pañjukâbhaya</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5. Gaṇatissa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Muṭasîva</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Devânampiyatissa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Utâyîya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mahâsîva</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sûratissa (^1)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sîna</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Gutâkua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Asela (^2)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Eîrâ</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Duṣṭhagûmaṇī</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sadhûtisse</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Thûlahana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Laṅjatissa (^3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Khallûṭanâga</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Vaṭṭagûmaṇî</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Pulhabattha</td>
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<td>22. Bûthiya</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Panayamârua</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Pîlayamârua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Dêihika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20.) Vaṭṭagûmaṇî</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Mahûcûṭimahûtisse</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Coramûga</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>28. Tissa</td>
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<td>3</td>
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\(^1\) Rv. mentions two sons of Devânampiyatissa, 1) Sûratissa, 2) Upâtissa, each of whom reigned 10 years. It then says that in the days of King Uttiya two usurpers seized the power and reigned 22 years.

\(^2\) As to the chronological difficulties regarding Asela see Wrukñ. p. 5, n. 1.

\(^3\) Rv. calls the successor of Tulû King Lâmûnîtissa who had slain him and reigned 39 years. Then it passes on the Vaṭṭagambûha. The Pāv. also calls Tul’s successor Lâmûnîtissa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Rv.</td>
<td>Pv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Kutaokaṣṭhottissa</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Bhūtikābhaya</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Mahādāhiḥikamahānāga</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Āmanḍagāmaṇi</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kujirajāntissa</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>36.</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Ijanāga¹</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Candamukhanisa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Yasalālakātissa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Subhurūja</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Vasabella</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Vaikanāsikatissa</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Gajbalaugāmaṇī</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Mahāllanāga</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sirināga I.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Abhayānāga</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sirināga II.</td>
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<td>Vijayakumāra</td>
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<td>Jetṭhistissa I.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>Mahāsenā</td>
<td>27</td>
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¹) Wườkāmasaṇiḥ is I think, wrong when he says on p. 8 that I had overlooked the fact that Ijanāga was deposed in the first year of his reign by the Lambakaṇṇas. I inserted the three years (Mhvs. 35.27) dominion of the Lambakaṇṇas Mhvs. Transl. p. xxxvii, last line, as "interregnum". When W. takes the round figure of 10 years for the interregnum + Ijanāga's reign, I can only approve.

²) According to Rv. Bhūtikatissa's successors were: 1) Kuḍānā (20 years), 2) Vēṭatissa (22 years), 3) Abūsen (2 years). Then Sirinā (== No. 52) reigned 2 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Rd.</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. (50.) Sirimeghavanṇa</td>
<td>28</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (61.) Buddhacāka</td>
<td>29c</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (62.) Upāliro I.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (63.) Mahānāma</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (64.) Sotthisena</td>
<td>.</td>
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<td>7. (65.) Chattagāhaka</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. (66.) Mittasena</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. (67.) Paṇḍu</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. (68.) Parināma</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. (69.) Khuddapāriṇa</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. (70.) Tirirat</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. (71.) Dāṭhiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. (72.) Pīṭhiya</td>
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<td>15. (73.) Dāṭhusena</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. (74.) Kassapa I.</td>
<td>18c</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. (75.) Mogallāna I.</td>
<td>18c</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. (76.) Kusāradhātusena</td>
<td>9c</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. (77.) Kittāsena 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. (78.) Sīva I.</td>
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<td>21. (79.) Upāsaka II. 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. (80.) Sīlakāla</td>
<td>18c</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. (81.) Dāṭhāpāhuti</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. (82.) Mogallāna II.</td>
<td>20c</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. (83.) Kittisirimegha</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) For Nos. 9—14 (67—72) Rd. has also 27 years.
2) Rd. has the same number of years.
3) I do not think that Wickr. is right when he follows Rd. in giving 9 years instead of nine months to No. 19 (77). There are other instances of the Sinhalese sources giving years instead of the months or days of the Mūvas. (No. 20, 25, 36), people being accustomed to reckon by years. We have no example of the reverse. Moreover with regard to No. 19 (77) P. agrees with the Mūvas. It seems to me that it is only in cases where both P. and Rd. together are against the Mūvas, that weight attaches to their statements. Wickr.'s reference to the reading vassānā in 85 is no help. It is so isolated in comparison with the other MSS. that it is clearly a mere slip of the scribe.
4) According to Nar. 2 y. 6 m.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Rv.</td>
<td>Pv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. (84) Mahānāga</td>
<td>3c</td>
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<tr>
<td>— (84b) Lāmāni Singanā</td>
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<td>27. (85) Aggabodhi I.</td>
<td>31c</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. (86) Aggabodhi II.</td>
<td>10c</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. (87) Samghatissa</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. (88) Moggallāna III.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. (89) Silāmighavanna</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. (90) Aggabodhi III.SSB.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>— Aggabodhi IV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. (92) Dāthopatissa I.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. (94) Dappula I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. (95) Dāthopatissa II.</td>
<td>9c</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. (96) Aggabodhi IV.SSB.</td>
<td>16c</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. (97) Datta 2)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. (98) Hatthādāžha</td>
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<td>41. (99) Mānavumma</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>42. (100) Aggabodhi V.</td>
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<td>43. (101) Kassapa III.</td>
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<tr>
<td>44. (102) Mahinda I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. (103) Aggabodhi VI.SM.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. (104) Aggabodhi VII.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. (105) Mahinda II.SM.</td>
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<tr>
<td>48. (106) Udāya I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Dappula II.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>49. (107) Mahinda III.SM.</td>
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<tr>
<td>50. (108) Aggabodhi VIII.</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. (109) Dappula II. (III.)</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>52. (110) Aggabodhi IX.</td>
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<tr>
<td>53. (111) Sena I.SM.</td>
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<tr>
<td>54. (112) Sena II.</td>
<td>35c</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>55. (113) Udāya II. (I.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>56. (114) Kassapa IV. SSB.</td>
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<tr>
<td>57. (115) Kassapa V. SM.</td>
<td>10c</td>
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<tr>
<td>58. (116) Dappula III. (IV.)</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>59. (117) Dappula IV. (V.) 12c</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

1) The Mhva. does not count the three years' reign in Rohana.
2) According to Nar. No. 39 (97) reigned 2 y. 6 m.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Udaya III. (II.)</td>
<td>3c - - - 8 - - - 3 - -</td>
<td>934-937</td>
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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Sena III. 1</td>
<td>9c - - - 9 - - - 9 - -</td>
<td>937-945</td>
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<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Udaya IV. (III.)</td>
<td>8c - - - 8 - - - 8 - -</td>
<td>945-958</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Sena IV.</td>
<td>8 - - - 8 - - - 8 - -</td>
<td>958-960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Mahinda IV. SSB.</td>
<td>16c - - - 12 - - - 16 - -</td>
<td>956-972</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Sena V.</td>
<td>10c - - - 10 - - - 10 - -</td>
<td>972-981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Mahinda V.</td>
<td>36c - - - 18 - - - 48 - -</td>
<td>981-1029</td>
<td>1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Vikkamabahu I.</td>
<td>12c - - - 12 - - - 12 - -</td>
<td>1029-1041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Kassapa

68.  | Kittī           | - - - 7 - - - - - - - | 1041 |       |
69.  | Mabulānakitti   | 8c - - - 8 - - - 8 - - | 1041-1044|       |
70.  | Vikkamapuranul  | 1 - - - 1 - - - 1 - - | 1044-1047| 1046 |
71.  | Jagatipulā      | 4 - - - 4 - - - 4 - - | 1017-1051|       |
72.  | Parakkamapuranul| 2 - - - 2 - - - 2 - - | 1051-1053|       |
73 a. (131.) Loka (Lokisarna) | 6c - - - 6 - - - 6 - - | 1053-1059|       |
73 b. (132.) Kassapa 2 | - - - 6 - - - 6 - - | 1059 |       |
74.  | Vijayabahu I. SSB. | 55 - - - 80 - - - 54 - - | 1059-1114| 22    |
75.  | Vijayabahu I.   | - - - 3 - - - 13 - - | 1114-1116|       |
76. (135.) Vikkamabahu II. (I.) | 21 - - - 28 - - - 28 - | 1116-1137|       |
77.  | Gajabahu (IL)   | 22 - - - 22 - - - 22 - | 1157-1159|       |
78.  | Parakkamabahu I. | 33 - - - 32 - - - 33 - | 1153-1196| 23    |

SSB.
79.  | Vijayabahu II.  | 1 - - - 1 - - - 1 - - | 1186-1187|       |
80.  | Mahinda VI.     | - - - 5 - - - 5 - - | 1187 |       |
81.  | Nissagamalla    | 9 - - - 9 - - - 9 - - | 1187-1196|       |
82.  | Vīrabahu I.     | - - - 1 - - - 1 - - | 1196 |       |
83.  | Vikkamabahu III. (II.) | 3 - - - 3 - - - 3 - | 1196 |       |
84.  | Codaganga       | - - - 9 - - - 9 - - | 1196-1197|       |

2) Having regard to Mbhs. 57. 65 and 74, it is advisable to insert the Kse. sadhātanayaka Kassapa as a distinct sovereign after Loka.
3) Rājav, and Pujav, do not mention Gajabahu at all as king.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Rv.</td>
<td>Pv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>85. (144.) Lilāvatī</td>
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<tr>
<td>86. (145.) Śīhasanalla</td>
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<td>87. (146.) Kalyāṇavatī</td>
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<tr>
<td>88. (147.) Dhammāsaśa</td>
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<tr>
<td>89. (148.) Anikāṅgā</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>90. (149.) Lokissara (II.)</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lilāvatī</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>91. (150.) Parakkamapaṇḍu II.</td>
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<td>92. (151.) Mūgha</td>
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<tr>
<td>93. (152.) Vijayabāhu III.</td>
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<td>94. (153.) Parakkamabāhu II.</td>
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<td>95. (154.) Vijayabāhu IV.</td>
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<td>96. (155.) Bhuvanekabāhu I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>97. (156.) Parakkamabāhu III.</td>
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<tr>
<td>98. (157.) Bhuvanekabāhu II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>99. (158.) Parakkamabāhu IV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>100. (159.) Bhuvanekabāhu III.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>101. (160.) Vijayabāhu V.</td>
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<tr>
<td>102. (161.) Bhuvanekabāhu IV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>103. (162.) Parakkamabāhu V.</td>
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<td>104. (163.) Vikkamabāhu V.(III.)</td>
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<td>105. (164.) Bhuvanekabāhu V.</td>
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<tr>
<td>106. (165.) Virabāhu II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>107. (166.) Parakkamabāhu VI.</td>
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<td>108. (169.) Jayabaḥu II.</td>
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<td>109. (170.) Bhuvanekabāhu VI.</td>
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<tr>
<td>110. (171.) Parakkamabāhu VII.</td>
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<td>111. (172.) Parakkamabāhu VIII.</td>
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<tr>
<td>112. (173.) Parakkamabāhu IX.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) The first time Lilāvatī reigned along with Kitti, the second time with Vikkantasamudrakka, finally alone.
2) Along with Āyasanta Camūpatsi.
3) Reigned according to Rr. 24 years. According to Daladāśirita (Wickr.) Nos. 97 and 93 (156 and 157) reigned at times together. Wickr. reckons the sum total of their reigns at 16 years.
4) Wickr. reckons the beginning of the reign as 1303 A.D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112. (174.) Vijayabahu VI (VII).</td>
<td>1509–1521</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113. (175.) Bhuvanekabahu VII.</td>
<td>1521–1550</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114. (175 d) Virivikkama</td>
<td>1542 – 7</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>115. (175 b) Mayadhanu</td>
<td>1521–1581</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(176. Dharmapala)</td>
<td>1551–1597</td>
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<tr>
<td>116. (177.) Raja Sihana I.</td>
<td>1581–1593</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117. (178.) Vimaladharmasuriya I.</td>
<td>1592–1604</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>118. (179.) Senaratana</td>
<td>1604–1635</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>119. (180.) Raja Sihana II.</td>
<td>1636–1687</td>
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<tr>
<td>120. (181.) Vimaladharmasuriya II.</td>
<td>1687–1707</td>
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<tr>
<td>121. (182.) Viraparakkama-narindrasih</td>
<td>1707–1739</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>122. (183.) Sirivijayaratrasih</td>
<td>1739–1747</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>123. (184.) Kittisirirajasih</td>
<td>1747–1782</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>124. (185.) Sirirajadihirajasih</td>
<td>1782–1798</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125. (186.) Sirivikkumarajasih</td>
<td>1798–1815</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the middle of the 16th century a number of princes reigned at the same time in different parts of the island. The most eminent of these was Mayadhanu, the Mayadunne of RV. The Virakkama of MV. 93. 6 is probably identical with Kumara Butalara (RV.). In addition to these Jayavira Butalara who wielded power in the Highlands and Raja Sihana or Rayigam Butalara are mentioned as contemporaries.

Residences


NOTES

1. The first traditional synchronism is that of the landing of Vijaya on the Island with the Nirvana of Buddha. Mhv.s. 6. 47, Dip. 9. 40. It makes the impression of having been purposely invented that the event might thereby have a greater significance. But it would be a mistake if for that reason we were to regard as inventions those single dates referring to later kings (Devānampiyatissa and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī). For here we start not from Vijaya but only from the Nirvana. But the reigns of the kings between Vijaya and Devānampiyatissa seem to have been manipulated in order to obtain the synchronism Vijaya-Nirvana.

2. A seemingly ancient tradition makes Devānampiyatissa a contemporary of the Maurya king Asoka. There is no urgent reason for doubting the fact. According to Dip. 17. 78, Devānampiyatissa was consecrated as king 236 years (that is in the 37th year) after the Nirvana. This figure corresponds to the sum of the years which according to Dip. and Mhv.s. had elapsed since Vijaya. If we take the date arrived at by FLEET for Buddha’s death — 483 B.C. we get the year 247/6 B.C. as Devānampiyatissa’s coronation year and the fact of his being a contemporary of Asoka is confirmed.

3. According to Ns., p. 10 Vaḷagam Abā came to the throne 439 y. 9 m. 10 d. after the Nirvana. This gives us 43 B.C. This agrees with the statement of Mv. 33. 80 f. as

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1 For further details of my transl. Mhv.s., Introd. p. xxxi ff.
2 Also in Ns., p. 21.
3 Cf. also EZ. II. 205.
to the foundation of the Abhaya-vihāra. According to the statement in Mhvs. the foundation took place 217 y. 10 m. 10 d. after that of the Mahāvihāra the date of which is, according to FLEET, in May 246. Therefore the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded in March 28 B.C., after Vaṭṭagāmanī had had regained the kingdom.

4. According to Rv. a famine called bāmiṇi-sāya took place under Coranāga and lasted three years. This is said to have coincided with the beginning of the Saka era 78 A.D. = 622 A. B. The statement cannot be reconciled with the other events of the chronology. It would seem that the tradition about this famine was uncertain, for it is placed by Pv. 19 in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmanī.

5. For the end of the reign of Mahāsena and therewith of the so-called Great Dynasty Rv. and Rr. agree in giving 844 y. (? Pv. 846) 9 m. 25 d. after the Nirvana. Ns. 14 reckons the beginning of the reign as 818 A.B., so that with a reign of 27 years the end would fall in 845 A.B. This seems to me in fact one of those single dates which rest on a sure traditional basis. This is also easy to understand. The tradition was that of the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra and for them the death of Mahāsena meant the end of a period of persecution and the beginning of a new period of prosperity. In Mhvs. trsl. p. xxxviii I have calculated the year of Mahāsena's death as 352 A.D. The difference between it and that of Wickr. and S. can be adjusted by assuming that the round numbers of a reign usually include some extra months.

6. I refer the reader to the Chinese account mentioned on p. V which makes Sirimeghavanṇa a contemporary of the Indian king Samudragupta (326–375 A.D.).

7. Fa-hian comes to Ceylon 411–412 A.D. A therā mentioned by him is perhaps identical with the Mahādhammakathin named in Mhvs. 37. 175 (cf. note to the passage) as living

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1 See Mhvs. transl., p. xxxiv f.
2 Cf. also SKRATERATNE, JRAS. C. B. xxiii, No. 67 (1914), p. 216.
under Buddhāśa (Aytton, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142). Of course this therā may have survived Buddhāśa, as the chronology seems to indicate.

8. For Mahānāma’s reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428. See above p. V ff. For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvana, yields 412/3 A. D.

9. For Kumāradhātusena’s (Kumārdas) reign a Chinese notice mentioned by Tennent¹ will serve. It says: “In the year 515 on the occasion of Kumara Das raising the chatta, an envoy was despatched with tribute to China.” Unfortunately Tennent does not state whether the name of the Sinhalese king is mentioned in the Chinese account. Possibly it is a deduction of his own. At any rate according to my own calculation, the year 515 would fall in the beginning of the reign of Kumāradhātusena.

10. A further Chinese notice quoted by L. (see p. 91 f.) offers difficulties. According to this, an embassy of the Sinhalese king Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya brought tribute to the Chinese Court in the y. 527 A. D. As a rule Kia-che is the transcription of the name Kassapa. But it is impossible that this could be Kassapa I. since he reigned before Kumāradhātusena (see note 9). S. Levi has already pointed out that the second name Kia-lo-ha-li-ya might refer to Silākāla (Ambaheraṇa Salamevan). It should be noted too, that Silākāla was the son-in-law of Upatissa II. (III.) and that according to Mhvs. 41. 8 ff., this king had a son called Kassapa who was Silākāla’s most dangerous rival. It might therefore be assumed that the Chinese account had confused these two persons or that the Sinhalese tradition had made out of one Kassapa Silākāla two individuals.

11. For Silākāla we have one more single date handed down in the Ns. p. 17²⁸: 1088 A. B. = 544/5 A. D. Accord-

¹ Ceylon, 2nd ed. I, p. 596.
ing to Wickr. this date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla Canon (dhammadhatu)\(^1\) which according to Ns., Rr. and Mhvs., took place in the twelfth year of the king’s reign. This does not quite agree with our chronology, for according to Ns. the beginning of Silakila’s reign would fall in 532/3 A.D. (instead of 524)\(^2\). If we might assume an error in the tradition and read 1080 instead of 1088 A. B. there would be complete agreement.

12. According to Mhvs. 42. 44 ff., the king of Kaliṅga came to Ceylon in the reign of Aggabodhi II. and entered the Order under the guidance of the Thera Jotipāla. According to H. W. Cow顿ton (HC. p. 35, 51) this king of Kaliṅga had been driven out by Pulakesin II. of the Cālavkya dynasty who had seized the kingdom of Kaliṅga. This took place according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, 609 A. D. This year must therefore fall within the reign of Aggabodhi II.

13. According to Mhvs. 47. 33 ff., Mānavamma tries in vain to wrest the dominion over Ceylon from King Dāthopatissa II. He is helped in this by his friend Narasīha at whose court in Jambudīpa he had taken refuge. According to H. p. 557, this is the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. who reigned 630–668 A.D. This enables us to fix an approximate date for Dāṭhopatissa II.

14. From Chinese sources (L.) we know that in the y. 718/9 a Chinese pilgrim Vajrabodhi visited Ceylon and was received with honour by King Chi-li Chi-lo. The name of the king as it is given here, may very well be an abbreviation of Siri-Silāmegha(vanua). L. suggests Mānavamma, who also had the biruda of Silāmegha. Ayarōn (Ceylon Notes and Queries II, Jan. 1914, p. xxvi ff.) quite rightly objects to this for chronological reasons. But his own identification with Aggabodhi VI. also offers difficulties with my calculation as well as with that of Wickr. and S. I suggest Kassaṇa III, No. 43 (101).

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\(^1\) See my transl. Cūlava. I, note to 41. 37.
\(^2\) According to Rr. 1088 A. B. = 852 (sic!!) after the introduction of Buddha’s doctrine, was the date for Silākila’s ascent of the throne.
As we know, the biruda of Silāmegha alternates with that of Sirisanghabodhi. Since Kassapa III. was the second predecessor of Aggabodhi VI. who was certainly called Silāmegha (Mhvs. 48. 42), he is almost sure to have had the same surname, though this may not be expressly stated. All we know of him is that he was a very pious prince (Mhvs. 48. 20 ff.).

15. There is no difficulty about the two embassies of King Chi-lo-mi-kia to the Chinese Court in the years 742 and 746. That king was Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha, No. 45 (103).

16. Inscriptions of the 1st and 16th years (according to my calculation therefore 896, 912) of the reign of Kassapa IV., No. 56 (114) in Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 9 ff., I. 200 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, Anurādhapura, 7th Progress Report 1891 (= S. P. xiii. 1896) p. 60.

17. According to Mhvs. 52. 70 ff., Kassapa V. undertakes with the Pāṇḍyas an expedition against the Coḷas. It is unsuccessful. There is evidently an allusion to this (H. p. 525 f.) in the Udayēndiram inscription of the 15th year of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I. = 921/2. In it he boasts of his victory over the Pāṇḍyas and over an army come from Laṅkā. In an inscription, discussed by Rāi Bahadur Vaiñkāya, of the 12th year of the same king's reign this twofold success is also mentioned.

18. Under Udaya IV. (III.) No. 62 (120), there was an incursion of the Coḷas into Ceylon who wished to seize the regalia of the Pāṇḍya king deposited there under Dappula IV. (V.) (Mhvs. 53. 9, 40 ff.). Anurādhapura was taken it is true, but the main object was not attained, as Udaya had taken the treasures to Rohaṇa for safety. According to H. 524 f. this event took place in the last year of the reign of Parāntaka I., and R. B. Vaiñkāya has proved that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that this king calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon".

19. According to Mhvs. 54. 11 ff. the troops of the Vallabha king made an unsuccessful incursion into Ceylon under Ma-
hindu IV. No. 64 (122). CODRINGTON (HC. p. 39, 53) supposes this to be the Cola prince Parantaka II, whose general was defeated in 960. This date therefore falls in the reign of No. 64 (122).

20. Of Mahinda V. No. 66 (124) it is related in Mhvs. 55. 16 that in the 36th year of his reign the Colas carried off him, his queen and all his treasure to India. H. 522 ff. assumes that this king was Rajendra-Cola who boasts of having captured the crowns of the king and of the queens of Ceylon. He first mentions the conquest of Ceylon in 1017/8 but not in the inscriptions of the foregoing year. The year 1017 is therefore that of Mahinda’s capture.

21. The Cola king Rajadhirajadiya relates (H. 520 ff.) in an inscription of the year 1046 that he had deprived 4 kings of Ceylon of their crowns: a) Vikramabahu, b) Vikramapandy, c) Virasalamegha and d) Sivallabhramadana Raja. This clearly refers to events related in Mhvs. 56. Here the following kings are mentioned as being at war with the Colas: 1) Vikkamabahu, No. 67 (125) = a1, 2) Kitt, 3) Mahalanakiti, 4) Vikkamapandy = b, 5) Jagatifala, 6) Parakkama. Of 3, 5, and 6 it is distinctly stated that they were slain in battle with the Colas, of 3 it is said besides that his crown fell as booty to the Damijas. Nos. 1 and 4 however, whose names are clearly recognizable in Rajadhiraija’s inscription, ended otherwise: No. 1 died of a disease, No. 4 in combat with No. 5. Still their crowns may have been among the booty. At any rate the year 1046 falls in that period; the events may have reached their conclusion about 1050.

22. For Vijayabahu I. No. 74 (133) to Parakkamabahu I. No. 78 (137) I refer the reader to WICKREMAISINGHE’s excellent treatment of the subject in EZ. I, p. 122 ff. and II. 205 ff.

1 I should now prefer to read in Mhvs. 56. 6 Devanagaram instead of d and translate “he betook himself to Devanagara (Dondra) and entered the company of the gods.”
23. For Parakkamabāhu’s campaign against Rāmañña (Mhvs. 76. 10 ff.) cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. on the Kēgalla Dist., p. 73 ff. It took place in the 12th year of his reign. The Rāmañña prince Bhuvañāditta named in the Devanagala inscription, is identified by Bell with the king Narabaditsi-tsithu who reigned 1167—1204 (Phayre, History of Burma, p. 50, 281, 289).

24. The coronation day of Śāhasamalla is the earliest absolutely certain date in Sinhalese history. In the Polonnaruva inscription of this king (EZ. II, p. 219 ff.) the date given for the event is Wednesday (bada), the 12th day of the light half of the month Binera (August-Sept.), after the expiration of 1743 y., 3 m. and 27 days of the Buddha era. Fleet (JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331) has calculated the date as Wednesday, 23rd August, 1200 A. D.

25. According to the Attanagaluvarsu Parakkamabāhu II., No. 94 (153), came to the throne in the year 1824 after the Sāmpodhi = 1779 A. B. = 1235/6 A. D., according to S. 155 = 1296 A. D. (reckoned from 483 B. C., not from 544/3 B. C., as the year of the Nirvana).

26. According to Mhvs. 90. 43 ff. the Tooth Relic came in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I., No. 96 (155), into the possession of the Pāndya king Kulaśekhara. This king reigned (H.) 1268—1308 A. D. Under Bhuvanekabāhu’s successor Parakkamabāhu III. the relic is restored by friendly negotiation. Codrington (JRAS. C. B. xxviii., No. 72, 1919, p. 82 ff.) refers to Maqrīzī’s account of a Sinhalese embassy to the Egyptian Court in the year 1283 A. D. and identifies the name of the Sinhalese king mentioned in the account with that of Bhuvanekabāhu I.

27. For Bhuvanekabāhu IV., No. 102 (161), the Lāṅkātilaka inscription is important. See B. Gunasekara, JRAS. C. B. X, No. 34 (1887) p. 83 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, Kēgalla Dist., p. 92; Wicker. 29 f. It gives Śaka 1264 = 1342 A. D. as the year of his ascent of the throne. According to Mhvs. 90. 108 (also Ns., Nar.) 1894 A. B. = 1350/1 was the 4th year of his reign,
the beginning of the reign therefore 1346/7. The difference is probably due to the fact that his appointment as yuvarāja took place in the y. 1342, this event being often reckoned as the beginning of the reign. According to Coddington (HC. p. 83) No. 102 (161) reigned at least until 1353/4.

28. Cf. the preceding note also for Parakkamabāhu V., No. 103 (162). According to the Hapugastenne inscription (JRAS. C. B. xxii, No. 65, 1912, p. 362) the 11th year of his reign was = Śaka 1281 expired = 1359/60 A. D. The first year of his reign would be accordingly Śaka 1270 = 1348/9 A. D. But at that time No. 102 (161) was reigning and his successor probably yuvarāja. In the Vegiri-devale inscription (Wickr.) Parakkamabāhu V. in 1351/2 still calls himself āpā.

29. The Vigulavatta inscription (H. C. P. Bell, Kegalla Dist., p. 78) gives Śaka 1282 = 1360/1 A. D. as the 4th year of the reign of Vikkamabāhu IV., (III.) No. 104 (163). His reign would accordingly have begun in Śaka 1278 = 1356/7 A. D. This agrees with the Niyangampāya inscription (Wickr. 31) which gives the 17th year of his reign as 1916 A. B. = 1373/4 A. D.

30. For Bhuvanekabāhu V., No. 105 (164), we have several dates. Cf. S. 174 f., Wickr. 33 f. The most important are: a) according to Ns. 1929 A. B. = 1385/6 A. D. was the 14th year of his reign which makes 1371/2 that of his coronation. — b) according to Mhvs. 91. 13 (Ns. also) he is succeeded after 20 years (thus in 1391) by Virabhāu. — c) according to the Vegiri-devale inscription, Bh. V. made an endowment in the 30th year of his reign. He must therefore have lived at least 10 years after 1391 and claimed the royal dignity. Mhvs. 91. 13 would not agree with this if we were to assume the reading kaleko (not sāleko with Col. Ed.); for the passage would then state that only after his (i.e. Bhuvanekabāhu's) death (niṭṭhite kāle) Virabhāu of the Alakeśvara family, seized the power.

31. Ns. 30 Council under the leadership of Dhamma-kitti 1939 A. B. expired = 1396 A. D.

32. Vijayabāhu VI., No. (166), is not mentioned in the Mhvs. The chronicle ignoring the tragic end of the Alagakkonāras,
jumps over to Parakkama VI. I refer the reader to the note to 91.3 of my translation. Dates according to L. (JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68, 1915-6, p. 96 ff.): 1405, arrival of the Chinese Tcheng-houo in Ceylon; 1409 Tcheng-houo comes again to Ceylon and carries the king (No. 166) captive to China. The king is set free again in 1411 or 1412, but murdered the night after his return.

33. For Parakkamabāhu VI., No. 107 (168), we have again several dates. The most important are the following: a) ascent of the throne according to Mhvs. 91.15 as well as the inscription of Embekke-devale (H. C. P. Bell, Ceylon Notes and Queries, viii, Dec. 1916, p. cxxxv ff.): 1953 A. B. = 1409/10 A. D. (according to other sources and to Wickn. 2 years or 5 years later). — b) Chinese accounts (in Tennent, Ceylon I, p. 60 f.), that in the year 1459 A. D. a king of Ceylon Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae Lacha had for the last time sent tribute to China. The king was evidently No. 107 (168). In the years 1416 and 1421 A. D. it is even related that the King of Ceylon brought the tribute in person.

34. With regard to the date for Bhuvanekebāhu VI., No. 109 (170), the Kalyani inscription of King Rāmadhipati of Pegu is important in that it mentions his embassy to King Bhuvanekebāhu, the son of Parakkamabāhu, in the Śaka year 837¹ = 2019 A. B. = 1476 A. D. Cf. Cunnington, HC. p. 93, 100; Taw Sein Ko, Indian Antiquary xxii, 1893, p. 11 ff., 29 ff. &c.

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

36. According to the Dondra inscription (H. C. P. Bell, Kā-galla Dist. p. 85 f.) the Śaka year 1432 = 1510 A. D. fell in the year after the 4th year of the reign of King Vijayabāhu VI.,

¹ Thus according to the modern Burmese era which begins in March 699 A. D. See C. Mazz. Dutt, Chronology of India, p. 51.
² Wickn. 42 would prefer to read 2049 (ekun panas instead of ek panas) This would give 1505/6 A. D.
No. 112 (174), his ascent of the throne would fall accordingly in 1505 A.D.

37. P. E. Pickard, The Date of Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII. (JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 65, 1912, p. 267 ff.) comes to the conclusion that No. 113 (175) reigned 1521-1551 A.D.

38. Viravikkama, No. 164 (175 d), came to the throne (according to Mhvs. 92. 6) 2085 A. B. = 1541/2 A.D.

39. Māyādhanu (Mayadunno), No. 115 (175 b), died according to Rājalekhana (Wick.), Śaka 1503 = 1581/2 A. D.; Rājasīha I., No. 116 (177), according to Rv. Śaka 1514 = 1592/3 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya I., No. 117 (178), according to Rv. Śaka 1525 = 1603/4 A. D.; he came to the throne (Mhvs. 94. 5) 2185 A. B. = 1591/2 A. D.; Senāratana, No. 118 (179) died according to Rājalekhana (Wick.) Śaka 1557 = 1635/6 A. D. and Rājasīha II., No. 119 (180), Śaka 1609 = 1687/8 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya II., No. 120 (181), Śaka 1629 = 1707/8 A. D.

40. Kittisirirājasīha, No. 123 (184), ascended the throne (Mhvs. 99. 2) 2290 A. B. = 1746/7 A. D. He died Śaka 1703 = 1781/2 A. D. He sends embassies to Siam (Mhvs. 100. 59 and 91) 2293 and 2296 A. B. = 1749/50 and 1752/3 A. D. Lastly Mhvs. 100. 282 gives 2301 A. B. = 1757/8 A. D. as the date for the consecration of the rebuilt Rajata-vibhāra.
Contents of Chapters 73–101

Chapter 73

Chapter 74
rebels gather fresh courage, battles in the Guttasālā district (v. 153–157). — At the command of the King the relics are sent to Pulatthinagara; Mañju who negotiates their dispatch, secures the rear of the army by an expedition to the Dīghvāpi district (v. 158–180). — Parakkamabāhu brings the relics with great ceremony to the capital (v. 181–248).

Chapter 75


Chapter 76

Risings in Rohapa and Mahātitttha (v. 1–9). — Insolence of the ruler of Rāmaṇa (v. 10–35). — Parakkamabāhu determines to make war on him and prepares for the campaign (v. 36–52). — Victories in Rāmaṇa and conclusion of peace (v. 53–75). — Succession disputes in Madhurā, Parakkamabāhu petitioned for aid by the Paṇḍu king, sends an army under Laṅkāpura to Southern India (v. 76–85). — Landing and victorious actions with Kulasekhara’s generals, occupation of Rāmissara (v. 86–101). — Restoration of the Ratanavālukācetiya in Anurādhapura by captive Damijās; on the completion of the work Parakkamabāhu celebrates a great festival (v. 102–120). — Continuation of the war in Southern India;
combats with Kulasekhara himself at the fortified camp of Parakkamapura opposite Rāmissara and further victorious actions (v. 121-192). — Prince Virapandu, the lawful heir to the throne, joins Lāṅkāpura; capture of Madhurā (v. 193-219). — Fresh combats with Kulasekhara's generals which end with the taking of Semponmāri (v. 220-266). — Continuation of the campaign; Netṭūra the key position of the Sīhalas (v. 267-290). — Reinforcements arrive from Lāṅkā under Jagadvijaya. The town of Rājinā finally taken by force from Kulasekhara, he himself escapes (v. 291-334).

Chapter 77

Kulasekhara renews the fight. Lāṅkāpura subjugates several of his subordinate leaders and gains a victory at Ponamaravatī (v. 1-24). — Virapandu consecrated king in Madhurā (v. 25-31). — Continuation of the war against Kulasekhara who finally seeks refuge in the Cēla country (v. 32-70). — Further actions culminate again in a fight for Ponamaravatī (v. 71-95). — Lāṅkāpura sends the booty to Ceylon, Parakkamabāhu founds the village of Pauḍuvijaya in memory of the successful campaign (v. 96-106).

Chapter 78


Chapter 79

The laying out of gardens (v. 1-12). — Erection or restoration of thūpas and other sacred buildings in Rājarāṭṭha

Chapter 80


Chapter 81

After a time of great confusion Vijayabahu III. takes over the government in Jambuddoniti (v. 1-16). — He fetches the relics of the Tooth and the Alms-bowl which had been hidden by the theras on the Kotthumala mountain and builds for them a safe sanctuary on the Billasela mountain (v. 17-39). — He has sacred texts transcribed, builds viharas and restores decayed buildings (v. 40-63). — He carefully educates his two sons Parakkamabahu and Bhuvanekabahu and appoints the former as his successor (v. 64-80).

Chapter 82

Parakkamabahu II. brings the Tooth Relic to Jambuddoniti, builds a temple for it and makes three urns as receptacles for it (v. 1-14). — Miraculous apparition (v. 15-49). — The setting up of the relic accompanied by a great festival (v. 50-53).

Chapter 83

Benevolent reign of the King (v. 1-7). — The Damilas conquered and driven out (v. 8-35). — Incursion of the Javakas; they are defeated by the King’s nephew, Virabahu (v. 36-52).
Chapter 84

Restoration of property in the Island according to former conditions (v. 1-6). — Reform of the Order, invitation to foreign theras like Dhammakitti (v. 7-16). — The King builds monasteries, sees to the better training of the bhikkhus, celebrates great festivals for the Order, honours eminent theras and bestows abundant gifts on the bhikkhus (v. 17-44).

Chapter 85


Chapter 86

The King has all kinds of meritorious works performed by his minister Devapattirâja (v. 1-17). — Making of a road from Gaṅgâsiripura to Sumanakûta and buildings on the summit (v. 18-36). — Embellishment of the Hatthavanagallavihâra and road-building at Bhâmatittha (v. 37-43). — Laying out of a large cocoplantation, building of the village Mahâlabujagaccha. Devapattirâja honoured by the King (v. 44-58).

Chapter 87

A threatened famine prevented by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic (v. 1-13). — The King gathers round him his five sons and his sister's son and gives them advice (v. 14-38). — With the consent of the bhikkhu community he transfers the government to his eldest son, Vijayabahu (v. 39-74).
Chapter 88.

Vijayabāhu chooses Virabāhu as his intimate friend (v. 1-9). — He builds a temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 10-17) and divides the protection of the country among his brothers (v. 18-28). — Affection of the people (v. 29-42). — Vijayabāhu’s buildings erected during his journeys through the country (v. 43-61). — War with Candabhānu (v. 62-76). — Buildings in Subhagiri and Anurādhapura (v. 77-89). — Restoration of Pulatthinagara (v. 90-121).

Chapter 89

Parakkamabāhu consecrated king in Pulatthinagara (v.1-10). — Ceremonial transference of the Tooth and Bowl relics from Jambuddoṇi to the above town (v. 11-46). — Great Upasampadā ceremony in Sahassatitha (v. 47-63). — Distinction conferred on deserving bhikkhus (v. 64-71).

Chapter 90

Chapter 91

Chapter 92
Jayabahu II., Bhuvanekabahu VI., Pandita Parakkamabahu VII., Vira Parakkamabahu VIII., Vijayabahu VI., Bhuvanekabahu VII. (v. 1-5). — Viravikkama (in Kandy) earns merit by offerings to the Order. Pilgrimages, festivals etc. (v. 6-31).

Chapter 93
Mayadhanu (v. 1-3). — Rajastiha I. (in Sitavaka) is converted to Hinduism and persecutes the Buddhist priests (v. 4-17).

Chapter 94
Vimaladhammasuriya I. in Goa (v. 1-6). — He brings the Tooth Relic from the Labujagama-vihara to Kandy and builds a temple for it (v. 7-14). — He summons bhikkhus from Arakan and furthers the Order (v. 15-23).

Chapter 95
Senaratana saves the Tooth Relic from the Portuguese and proceeds to Mahiyaanga where a son is born to him, with significant signs (v. 1-16). — Returning to Kandy, he divides the realm by lot among his three sons (v. 17-26).

Chapter 96
Rajasihaii II. dispossesses his brothers and becomes sole king (v. 1-6). — He is distinguished by personal courage (v. 7-10). Successful fights with the Portuguese (v. 11-37). — Vigorous rule in the interior (v. 38-42).
Chapter 97

Vimaladhammasuriya II. builds a temple for the Tooth Relic and furthers the Order by the admission of monks from Arakan (v. 1-15). — Pilgrimages and other meritorious works (v. 16-22). — Narindaśīha lays the Order under obligations, undertakes pilgrimages, performs other pious works and builds the new temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 23-47). — The sāmaṇera Sarṇaṃkara takes the Tooth Relic under his protection and at the instigation of the King, performs several important works (v. 48-62).

Chapter 98


Chapter 99

Kittisirirājasīha reigns piously and seeks to spread the Buddhist doctrine (v. 1-24). — Honours conferred on the bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga and furtherance of the Order (v. 25-35). — Pilgrimage to the sacred places (v. 36-41). — Great festivities in Sirivaddhāna, specially in honour of the Tooth Relic (v. 42-74). — Continuation of the Mahāvamsa (v. 75-80). — Friendly relations of the King and his brothers who like himself, are believing Buddhists (v. 81-107). — Military embroilment with the Olandas who take Sirivaddhāna, but suffer a severe defeat (v. 108-139). — The Tooth Relic which had been concealed from the enemy is brought back to the town (v. 140-149). — The Olandas sue for peace (v. 150-167). — The King cares for the welfare of the Order (v. 168-182).
Chapter 100

Veneration of the Tooth Relic by the King who makes large offerings to it and celebrates festivals (v. 1-43). — Reform of the Order, embassy to Ayojjha to King Dhammadika who sends bhikkhus under the leadership of the therā Upāli to Lanka where they are received with great festivities (v. 44-90). — The King himself visits the monks from Sāminda in the Pupphārāma where dwellings are assigned them and instigates the holding of an Upasampadā ceremony (v. 91-96). — Furtherance of the newly established Order; the envoys who had accompanied the monks from Sāminda return thither (v. 97-135). — Dhammadika again sends bhikkhus to Lanka. Death of Upāli (v. 136-148). — Envoys whom Kittisiri had sent to Dhammadika return with rich gifts (v. 149-170). — Efficacy of the Siamese monks in Lanka; their return to Siam (v. 171-179). — The making of a Buddha image in Sirivaddhana and ceremony of the Festival of the eyes (v. 180-200). — Rebuilding of the Gaṅgārāma and furnishing of the monastery (v. 201-215). — Foundation of a monastery in Kuṇḍasālā (v. 216-219). — Restoration of the cult on the Sumanakūta (v. 220-228). — Restoration of destroyed monasteries and their property, namely of the Rajata-vihāra which is described in detail (v. 229-292). — Further meritorious works of the King and of his minister Suvannagāma (v. 293-301).

Chapter 101.

Sīrīrājādhirājasīha reigns piously (v. 1-18). — Sīrivikkamarājāsīha at first a pious prince, becomes a tyrannical monster. The people rise against him and banish him to the mainland. The British take possession of the kingdom (v. 19-29).
CHAPTER LXXIII

ACCOUNT OF THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Now when the Ruler Parakkama had accomplished his 1 consecration as king, he the wise one, best among those who understand what is good (for the people), thought thus: "By 2 those kings of old who turned aside from the trouble of furthering the laity and the Order — who through lust, hatred, fear and delusion went wofully astray¹, who caused great evil 3 by the gathering of immeasurable taxes and the like — has this people aforetime been grievously harassed. May it henceforth be happy, and may the Order of the great Sage — long sullied by admixture with a hundred false doctrines, rent 5 asunder by the schism of the three fraternities and flooded with numerous unscrupulous bhikkhus whose sole task is the 6 filling of their bellies — (that Order) which though five thousand years have not yet passed, is in a state of decay, once more attain stability. Of those people of noble birth who here and 7 there have been ruined, I would fain by placing them again in their rightful position, become the protector in accordance with tradition. Those in search of help I would fain support 8 by letting like a cloud overspreading the four quarters of the earth², a rich rain of gifts pour continually down upon them.

¹ Chanda, dosa, bhaya, moha are called A. II. 18 cattāri agatigamanāni. Cf. chandāgati (dosāgati etc.) gāntīy. D. III 133²¹, chandā agati gacchati Nett. 44¹ etc.
² The Buddhist cosmology recognises four chief continents. Cf. Vv. 20. 10 catunnaṃ mahaśripaṇaṃ issaraṃ yo dha kāraye. S. V. 343²⁰ catunnaṃ dīpanaṃ paṭilābho. In contrast to these are the 2000 small dīpas by which they are surrounded (VvCo. 104¹⁵). In the Gal-vihāra inscription
9 All this was (for me) while with arduous struggle I sought
10 the royal dignity, the absolutely preconceived result. Now is
the time to carry out what I have wished." In consideration
of this he bestowed office on those who deserved it.

11 Hereupon he had the drums beaten and those in search
of help called together and he allotted them yearly a large
12 alms equal in weight to his body. Then the Ruler in order
to promote the furtherance of the Order, assembled the great
community dwelling in the three fraternities. Further he called
together many distinguished teachers learned in the methods
of discriminating between failure and non-failure, and as he
himself was the foremost among those versed in the rules of the
Order and acquainted with right and wrong, he could distin-
guish the genuine from the false ascetics. Further being in
virtue of his impartiality free from liking and disliking, and
as a result of his unweariedness arduously active day and
night, he cured like a clever, expert physician who distin-
guishes between curable and incurable disease, those which
were curable and set aside those which were incurable by the
method prescribed by the rules of the Order, free in his de-
cisions from error. From the days of King Vaṭṭagāman p
Abhaya the three fraternities had lost their unity, despite
19 the vast efforts made in every way by former kings down to

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

1 Verses 2–10 form one sentence. It is governed by idāni kālo vi-
dhāturya etant saḥ saḥ saṃbhāsitam. What he has aspired to is:
1) with regard to the mass of the people that they should be happy
(v. 4a); 2) with regard to the Order, that it might attain stability (yathā
assa addhāniyam v. 6d); 3) with regard to the nobility, that the king
should again become their protector (v. 7d: pālaman must be supple-
mented by an assa from assa in 6d "may I be"); 4) with regard to
those in want, that the king may support them (v. 8d).

2 For the schism in the Order at the time of this prince see
Mah. 33. 95ff.
the present day. They turned away in their demeanour from one another and took delight in all kinds of strife. But the 20 all-wise Ruler who had already in past existences striven after the purification of the Order as something which must be attained\(^1\), achieved its union, whereby he had to endure double 21 as much heavy toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity. And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so 22 that it could last in purity for five thousand years\(^2\).

Hereupon the best of men had a square hall\(^3\) erected in 23 the middle of the town with four entrances and several large

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\(^1\) P. gahitabbato is an adverbial formation from gahitabba = skr. grahit-

\(^2\) Verses 12—22 form one sentence. The principal verb in 22 c d is akāsi (jinasāsanam bhūrodakbhūtām), subject bhūpati in 21 d. The gerunds rāṣākatvā (12 c) and saṃśripātiya (13 d), as also samaggaḥ kāvya (21 d) are subordinate. This last is preceded by the pret. and pres. participles: — pātighānumayāvajjito (16 b), atandito (16 d), samupadhārento (16 e), tikhochanto and vivajjato (17 a b), as well as amayāpetasamkappo (17 c) and anubhonto (21 c). These are all of them attributes of the subject. The object of samaggaṃ akāsi is nikāyatittasaṃ with the three attributes in 19 b c d of which the first has a still closer adverbial definition in 18 and 19 a. ("in spite of the great efforts" etc.); pāyāsena must be supple-
mented by kutena. — The brief account of our chronicle is confirmed by the Gal-vihāra inscription of Parakkamabāhū in Polonnaruva. Cf. Ed. Möller, AIC nr. 54; Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 266 ff. From the con-
tents it is even possible to establish certain connections between the inscription and the account of the Cūlavas., though these are of too vague a character for us to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. Both start with the schism of the church under Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. Both speak of the intention that the Order should now be secure in its stability for 5000 years. In the Cūlavas. the king is compared to a cloud spreading itself over the four continents just as the inscription uses this comparison of Buddha. See also note to 78. 5. In chap. 78 a second and more detailed account of the reform of the church follows, Rājāvalī savas (trsl. by B. Gunasena, p. 59) quite briefly: "he reconciled the religious differences which had existed since the reign of Vaṭṭagam Abā." The account in the Nīkāya-
saṃgraha is more detailed (p. 22 of Wickremasinghe's ed.).

\(^3\) P. catussāla = skr. catuḥśāla denotes a square court surrounded by build-
ings. We must imagine therefore a square court surrounded on all sides by halls open to the interior. Cf. Mhvs. 37. 15. The word occurs as the name of a particular building in Anurādhapura in Mhvs. 15. 47. 50; 35. 88.
rooms and instituted a great almsgiving in which everything needful was to be had daily for many hundreds in number who had kept the precepts of moral discipline. And every year the Ruler of men had given to each of them according to his age, garments and mantles, (thus) at all times full of benevolence. Thereupon he had four almshouses built in the four districts of the town and had them erected in separate divisions, and therein he placed many vessels of bronce, cushions and pillows, mats, carpets and bedsteads as well as cows by the thousand that gave sweet milk. Then near these (halls) at a spot with pure water he laid down charming gardens adorned with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit, and fair as the garden of Nandana. Further generous as he was, he set up in their neighbourhood rich provender houses supplied with money and money's worth which contained all necessities such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like. And (there) he instituted for many thousands of bhikkhus from all four regions of the earth who practised moral discipline and other virtues, for Brahmans belonging to a mendicant order, as well as for many other suppliants and poor travellers daily a great almsgiving, he the wise (prince), untiring, unwearying, with a heart full of love.

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

1 P. stlapālānaḥ refers as W. assumes, to monks. “Age” in v. 25 (P. yatānugdham) means then the period of belonging to the Order.
2 The pleasure garden of the god Indra. E. W. Horrix, Epic Mythology, p. 141.
he gave maintenance according to their deserts, recognizing the merits in all of them and made them day and night practise the medical art in the best manner. He himself on the four Uposatha days in the month, having laid aside all his ornaments and having taken upon himself the vow of the sacred day, pure with pure upper garment, surrounded by his dignitaries, was wont to visit that hall, his heart cooled with pity. With an eye that charmed by goodness he gazed at the sick. And as the Ruler of men was himself versed in medical lore, he the all-wise summoned the physicians appointed there, tested in every way their healing activities, and if their medical treatment had been wrongly carried out he met them with the right method, pointed it out to them as the best of teachers and showed them the proper use of the instruments by skilfully treating several people with his own hand. Then he tested the favorable or unfavorable condition of all the sick, let those who were rid of their illness have garments given to them and then rejoicing in good, after he had taken his reward from the hands of the physicians and given them their reward, he returned to his palace. By such year by year he being (himself) free from disease, freed the sick from all their illnesses.

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

1 P. dayāstalamanaso. Cf. 73. 141. The heart is hot with passion. Passion is cooled by pity. We Northerners would be more inclined to say it is “warmed”.

2 P. āyuṛvedo = skr. āyuṛveda. The Āyurveda “Veda of the (Lengthening of the) Span of Life” was held to be the basis of all medical knowledge and was regarded as an upāṇa of the Atharvaveda. See Winter, Gesch. der ind. Literatur, III, p. 542; J. Joly, Medicin, p. 12 f.

3 Each time the expression patti is used. Employed of the king, it means the merit working itself out in the kamma. This merit is found in the healing activity of the physicians and is left by them to the king, because he is its spiritual parent. Cf. note to 42. 50. Employed of the doctors, patti means the payment for their services.
chained by the strong bands of his pity she sat as if with clipped wings, motionless outside the hall moaning piteously. The physicians who rightly recognised her condition, caught her and cured her at the Great King's command. Her disease cured, the King set her upon an elephant and having made her walk round the town, her right side towards it, he set her free. Where, when and by whom was ere such exceeding great mercy even to animals seen or heard?

Thereupon King Parakkamabahu, the hero, to whom all right-minded people were devoted, set about the rebuilding in grandeur and beauty of the superb city of Pulatthinagara which had reached such a state that nought but its name remained, and which no longer sufficed to make manifest his superlatively royal glory. The Monarch now had a high chain of walls built which on all sides enclosed the fortified town and was larger than the town wall of former kings and gleamed with its coating of lime bright as autumn clouds. Then after he had built round this three walls each in turn smaller than the other, he laid down various streets. Then he

1 For the following description compare above all A. M. Hocart, The Topography of Polonnaruva (ASC. Memoirs II. 1926, p. 8 ff.). H. W. Correlation is certainly right in his assumption that the description in the Cilavamsa proceeds from south to north. I refer the reader at once to the second and later account of Parakkamabahu's building activities in 73. 31 ff.

2 By khandāvara I understand here the inner walled part of the town in contrast to the open parts of the town lying around it. The "chain of walls" refers probably to the rampart of the town still recognisable, stretching for about a mile from north to south and half a mile from east to west. Within this rampart lies the "citadel" with the royal castle. See note to v. 61.

3 The abl. purapakāracakkuto shows that we must take the positive mahastasto in the sense of a comparative, as is often the case. The new structure was thus more extensive than the older one.

4 The Kauṭaliya lays down that three trenches each narrower than the other, must surround the wall of a castle. The dug out soil may have served for the construction of the "small wall". See Kauṭ. 2. 3. 21 (in Jolly's ed. p. 31; in J. J. Meyer's translation p. 65 in that of Shamaśastry, p. 57).
erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling a second inner wreath of walls\(^1\) and built thereon a palace\(^2\) 61 seven storeys high, furnished with a thousand chambers and adorned with many hundreds of pillars painted in divers hues. It was richly supplied with hundreds of alcoves\(^3\) which were 62 like to the summit of the Kelāśa\(^4\) mountain and were radiant with manifold ornaments of climbing plants and flowers. It 63 had doors and windows of gold large and small, well divided walls and stairs and offered conveniences for every season. It was ever adorned with many thousands of various beds 64 which were made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly

\(^1\) P. \text{*anupākāramanḍalāṃ*}, lit. a secondary circle of walls.

\(^2\) The word for “palace”, \text{*pāsādaṃ*}, first occurs in v. 70. All the verses between contain attributes of which I have made independent sentences. There is no doubt that the palace is recognisable in the ruins which are marked “palace” on the plans. It is enclosed along with a number of subsidiary buildings by a rampart (the anupākāra of the text) "forming an oblong of roughly 440 by 264 yards" (A. M. Hocart, l. c., p. 3). The enclosed ground is now known by the name of the “citadel”, and the palace stands in the southern part of the square. Cf. for the whole H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1911—12 (= S. P. III, 1915), p. 50 ff. When the Cullavās speaks of a thousand apartments and many hundreds of pillars that is of course merely the stereotyped exaggeration constantly recurring in such descriptions. At the same time there is a striking number of tiny rooms grouped round the central main part of the building in the groundfloor. There are more than fifty of them. Without doubt there were further apartments in the upper storeys. That the palace at least in its central portions consisted of one or several storeys is proved by the extraordinary strength of the walls enclosing the innermost chamber. These are more than ten feet thick. Then too a broad staircase is still standing which led from the south of this room upwards. Unfortunately our chronicle gives instead of exact figures merely the customary phrases prescribed by poetics.

\(^3\) P. kūṭāgāra. Rāvana’s palace is also described in the Rāmāyaṇa 5. 9. 14 (Bombay ed. 1902) as kūṭāgāraḥ śubhāgāraḥ saraṇaḥ samalasyākatam. The commentary on the passage explains kūṭāgāraḥ by guptaścalapagāraḥ.

\(^4\) Buildings which are high, pointed and white in colour (covered with stucco), especially sūpas (78. 77), are frequently compared to the Kelāśa mountain (cf. 68. 41 and note).
65 coverings. The height of its splendour\(^1\) was reached in the royal sleeping apartment which was ever immeasurably re-
66 splendent with a thick bunch of pearls\(^2\) suspended at its four corners, white as moonbeams and gleaming so that they
67 laughed to scorn the beauty of the divine Gaṅgā. (The sleeping apartment) was adorned with a wreath of large golden
lampstands which breathed out continually the perfume of
68 flowers and incense. With the network of tiny golden bells\(^3\) suspended here and there and giving forth a sound like the
69 sound of the five musical instruments, the palace made known,
as it were, the rich fulness of the merits of the King. This
70 splendid palace, like to a matchless structure of Vissakamman\(^4\),
charming and peerless, he, the first among the protectors of
the earth, built and gave it the name of Vejayanta\(^5\).

71 For the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by
the Brahmans (he built) the Hemamandira and for the recitation
72 of magic incantations the charming Dhāraṇīghara\(^6\). For list-
ening to the birth stories of the great Sage which were
related by a teacher appointed there for the purpose, (he built)

\(^1\) So I translate śantikātava uttamaḥ (cf. skr. sanāthāḥ as well as
below v. 152) in v. 67 d. Verses 66 b to 67 a b contain attributes of sīrś-
sayaragabhēna in 67 c, v. 65 attributes of thēlāmattakalādēṇa.

\(^2\) In Rām. 5. 9. 17 it is said of Rāvana's palace nistulabhīṣeṣa māttā-
bhistalenabhimīrājitam.

\(^3\) The kīṅkini(kaljāla is one of the ornaments of the maṇḍapās (JāCo.
I. 182\(^1\); DhCo. I. 274\(^2\)) and of the pāśūdas (D. II. 188\(^6\); Mbvs. 27. 16, 27).

\(^4\) Skr. Vīśakarman, the architect of the gods, often associated and
confused with Tvaṣṭar. Cf. Horrix, Epic Mythology, p. 201. He is the
builder of Varuṇa's palace (ibid. p. 118) and of the divine hall of assembly
(ibid. p. 118).

\(^5\) This is the name of Indra's palace. See 48. 136.

\(^6\) I take hemamandira "golden house" and dhāraṇīghara "house of
incantation" as the names of the buildings in question. Sānti in a is as
otherwise santikāmma, to be understood in the technical sense of skr.
sānti. Cf. with parivattana in o parivattanamantā JāCo. I. 200\(^1\). It is
impossible now to say which of the present ruins correspond to the
buildings mentioned. We should probably look for them in the various
structures in the immediate vicinity of the palace.
the fair Maṇḍalamandira. For the reception of the magic water and of the magic thread given him by the yellow-robed ascetics (he built) the Pañcasattatimandira. Lastly he who ever trod the path of the true doctrine, erected a sermon house. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured curtains and adorned with costly canopies. By reason of the many-hued, sweet-smelling flowers laid down here and there as offerings it had the semblance of a single nosegay. Its interior was constantly lighted by lamps with scented oil and perfumed by incense of gum resin. It was gaily adorned with many likenesses of the Victor (Buddha) in gold and the like and was resplendent with a garland of pictures of the Omniscient One, which were painted on stuff. When that Prince among kings entered it to place with his own hand a (jewel as) eye upon the statue of the Victor, or to honour by sacrifice the Tathāgata, or to listen to the unsurpassable true doctrine — (then) was it like unto a divine hall of assembly. It was

1 That is "circle house". Of course the building which was to serve for the narration of the jātakas was first erected and then an ācariya appointed for the purpose. Bell (ASC. 1906, p. 10ff.; cf. EZ. II. 238ff.) regards the maṇḍalamandira as the so-called Potgul-vehera to the south of Pulatthinagama. But I do not believe that he is right.

2 That is "the house of the seventy-five". The reason for the name is unknown. Obviously the building was meant to serve for the holding of parittā ceremonies. Water and thread play the most important part in these, as the white thread which runs through the hands of all the participating priests starts from a vessel filled with water. At the close the foreheads of the priests are sprinkled with the water.

3 Again verses 74 to 81 form one sentence. The attributes in 74 to 81 b precede the object dhāmmanāgāra in 81 c. Of these we have made independent sentences. The most important building in the neighbourhood of the palace is the "Rājamāligāva" situated to the east of it. It is an oblong structure on a terrace of three tiers. The walls of the terrace are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs. Whether indeed we may call the building a dhānānāgāra is doubtful. It looks like a hall of audience or like a council-hall. Cf. ASC. 1906 (= S. P. XX. 1909), p. 8ff.

4 The eyes of Buddha statues consisted frequently of precious stones (dark blue sapphires). Their insertion took place with specially solemn ceremonies.
graced by a wonderful peacock which drove people out of their senses whenever screeching its peacock cry, it began its dance together with the dancing girl who danced there while they struck up a sweet rhythmic song.  

Further in order to listen to the rhythmic songs of the many musicians and to behold their charming dance, the Monarch had built near the palace the Sarassatatmandapa. It glittered in every direction with its golden pillars. It was delightful with paintings relating to his (Parakkamabahu's) deeds. It was embellished by a wishing-tree offering all desired things which sparkled with all kinds of ornaments such as earrings, bracelets, necklaces and the like, which was resplendent with garments of linen, silk, Chinese stuff and other materials, which gleamed with its golden trunk and a row of branches, and which was adorned by a flock of numerous birds which were painted on it.

Further he had the fair maandapa erected which bore the name Rajasibhujanga. It was like unto the hall of the gods, called Sudhamma, which descended to earth, just as if

1 The peacock was thus a mechanical toy which however existed apparently only in the imagination of the poet. "Rhythmic" is laya and or in v. 82 layapeta. The Indians distinguish three layap or temp; druta, madhya and vilambita.

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

3 The name is difficult to explain. A suburb of Pulatthinagara is called thus (78, 163; 78, 79), and this name again seems to be connected with the epithet Rajasibhujangasilamehga applied to Ilankiya in 76, 192. The word vest means "harlot", "prostitute". Bhajaiga in addition to "snake" means the "lover of a prostitute" (BR. s. v., c). This meaning is here to be assumed in the name owing to the association with vest. In the inscription of Ihala Puliyanakula in the time of Parakkamabahu I, dealt with by Coomountain (JRAS. C. B. XXX, nr. 79, p. 271), he has the surname of ari-va-vest-bhajaiga.
the good deeds of all people were accumulated at one spot. It was three-storeyed, ornamented with coloured pictures, 88 surrounded by lines of fair vedikās\(^1\), exquisite, adorned with 89 a costly chair beneath a wishing-tree which offered the singers and other people the wished-for objects. It shimmered with its 90 manifold precious stones like the diadem, sparkling in the sun, of that fair lady, the island of Laṅkā, whom he won by the force of his arms\(^2\); and it was like unto the wreath of tresses of 91 the protector of the world of men\(^3\). In the same way he 92 built the fair Ekatthambha-pāsāda\(^4\) that ended with a ma-

\(^1\) What vedikā means is not easy to determine. Noteworthy is the frequency of the phrase vedikāya parikkhitta „surrounded by a vedikā“ as for instance a bathing pond, a yokkharāṇī D. II. 179\(^{17}\). Here most probably it means a railing, since just before the same has been said of a stair case. As a staircase when it is of gold etc. has golden thambhā (that is railing gates) and sūciyo (i. e. cross-bolts), as well as an upūsa (cornico) of silver, in the same way the vedikā of the pond has it. Cf. further VvCo. 340\(^2\), where kaścenaśvedimissau is explained by swaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sabhītaṃ parikkhitau. A vedikā is part of a heavenly pāsāda just as the rooms, the windows, the network of bells (Mhva. 27. 16). The lobapāsāda had a pavaḷasādikā, a vedikā of coral (Mhva. 27. 26). There was a nāṇḍraṭānaśedikā round the bodhi tree (Mhva. 80. 70). A vedikā belongs to a stūpa (Mhva. 82. 4; 34. 41), to an image house (Mhva. 78. 40), to a bathing-house (Mhva. 78. 46). Cf. also note to 76. 118.

\(^2\) I divide nijabāhābalā (= instr.) arun.c. For it is hardly admissible to take the whole as a parallel compound to laṅkaṇiḍāya.

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

\(^4\) Lit. „one-pillar-palace“. In such a one-pillar-palace, gehe skathānike, was Cittā the daughter of Paṇḍuvāsudeva confined, to prevent her coming into contact with any man. JāCo I. 441\(^{24}\)-\(^{25}\) also mentions an ekatthambhakapāsāda which serves as a king’s dwelling. For an idea of what such a structure looked like, v. 34a-b is important where it is compared to a candelabra. One must therefore boldly enough imagine the pāsāda as something in the form of a dovecote. It should be remembered however, that the rooms both in the royal castle at Polonnaruva and in the Baddhasāmapāsāda were extremely small, not more than 8×10 ft. In Veherabendigala I saw something like a room just large enough for a man stretched at full length to lie down in.
93 kara¹ and rose aloft as if it had split open the earth. And it was adorned with a superb golden chamber² that was placed above on a golden column, possessed of the beauty of a cave of gold for this lion among kings, and which glittered like a candelabra on a golden foot.

95 Again the Ruler, the leader of earth protectors, had a private garden laid down in a region close to the kings house. As one felt that it showed by its beauty a likeness to the (heavenly) pleasure garden Nandana, and by lavishing charm charmed the eyes of men³, it received the name of Nandana⁴.

97 Its trees were twined about with jasmin creepers and it was filled with the murmur of the bees drunk with enjoyment of the juice of the manifold blossoms. There campaka, asoka and tilaka trees, nāgas, punnāgas and ketakas, sal trees, pā-ṭali and nipa trees, mangos, jambū and kadamba trees, vakulas, coco palms, kuṭajas and bimbijālasakas, mālati, mallikā, tamāla and navamālikā shrubs⁵ and yet other trees bearing manifold fruits and blossoms rejoiced the heart of the people who went thither. Pleasant it was, and with the cry of the peacocks and the gentle twitter (of the birds) it always delighted the people. It was furnished with a number of ponds with be-

¹ A dolphin-like mythical animal often employed as ornament especially on balustrades of staircases.
² P. jatārāpaniśāśana, with a dwelling-room, a habitation of gold.
³ I separate thus: ... jandanaṁ nayanā (aca. pl.) nandana-dauṁ nandayati. The fem. nandana is found also S. I. 6¹⁰.
⁴ Verses 95 to 112 are one sentence: ... he laid down ... the private garden ... by name Nandana ..., whose trees ... and it was filled ... There follow further attributes of gharuvyānaṁ, partly in adjective form, partly as relative sentences (cf. yattha in v. 100, 109, 111; yaṁ in v. 110).
⁵ The botanical names are in the same order 1. michelia champaka, 2. jonesia asoka, 3. unknown (Skr. tilaka), 4. mesua ferrea, 5. rotillera tintoria, 6. pandanus odoratissimus, 7. shorea robusta, 8. bignonia svaveolens, 9. nauclea cadamba, 10. mangifera indica, 11. eugenia jambolana, 12. nauclea cordifolia, 13. minurops sliensi, 14. cocos nucifera, 15. wrightia antidyserterica or nericum antidysentericum, 16. momordica monadelpha, 17. jasminum grandiflorum, 18. jasminum sambac, 19. xanthochymus pictorius, 20. a variety of jasminum sambac.
antiful banks whose chief decoration were red and blue lotos flowers and which appropriated all that was the loveliest of the lovely. It was adorned too with a large gleaming bath- room\(^1\) supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain of cloud pouring forth rain by (reason of) the showers of water which flowed constantly from the pipes of the apparatus, and which seemed to be the crown jewel of the beauty of the garden\(^2\) and ravished the eye. The garden was (further) resplendent with an extensive palace\(^3\) adorned with many columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an octagonal maṇḍapa resembling an ear ornament. It was also adorned with another large, fair, charming maṇḍapa that had the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings\(^4\). There in the garden the Silāpokkharāṇi\(^5\) pond continually captivated the King who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had attached the good without number to himself. Still more delightful was the garden by (means of) the Maṅgalapokkharāṇi

\(^1\) P. dhārāmanḍapa (v. 105) corresponds to the skr. dhārāḍha. From the description it is clear that a shower bath is meant.

\(^2\) P. uyyānalakkhiyā. It must be borne in mind that lakkhi is at the same time the name of the goddess of beauty, Lakṣmī. Thus in the picture the garden is compared with the goddess and the “palace” with an ornament of her diadem.

\(^3\) P. vimāṇena. Writers are fond of using the term half mythically. By v. is understood mainly the abodes of blessed spirits which hover in the air. In JaCo. I. 328\(^6\) a tree serves as vimāṇa for the devatā dwelling there. See here and in the following the word occurs but rarely as a name for human habitations.

\(^4\) Is the idea here pillars with baroque spirals such as are found on a structure of the so called quadrangle in Polonnaruva?

\(^5\) I. e. stone pond. Having regard to the two names occurring in v. 110, I prefer to take this as a proper name. W. also understands puṇḍapokkharāṇi in v. 111 as such. It is quite possible. We must then join sugandhiśāripūrena with nandayantu “which gladdened by the fulness of perfumed water”. My translation of vv. 111, 112 was determined by the circumstance that pūrena and puṇḍa\(^7\) occur next to each other.
pond, and provided with the Nandāpokkharāṇī pond it looked like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed there, filled with a stream of perfumed water, gladdening the royal moon, and it was ever fair with rich beauty and splendour, furnished with the cave called Vasanta and with bathing ponds.

Again on land that resembled an island because the water divided into two arms, the foe-subduer laid down a second garden, the Dipuyāṇa. There one saw the Dhavalāgāra that like to the summit of the Kelāsa, was made entirely of stucco, wonder exciting. The garden was adorned with a Vīmāna which bore the name of Vijjāmanḍapa because it was built to show forth the various branches of science. And there too gleamed the beautiful, roomy Dolāmanḍapa that was

1 The pokkharāṇī as comes in rather lamely after bathing-ponds have been already mentioned in v. 109 to 111. The question is where must the garden be looked for. In my opinion no weight can be attached to the structures in it mentioned in the text. The description is purely formal, made up according to the recipe for describing a garden. Even the enumeration of the many trees means nothing. The author is merely displaying his botanical knowledge or rather his acquaintance with literary sources like Abhp. 586 ff. Of actual facts which could be utilised little remains but that it was a pharūyāṇa a house-garden (private garden). We must look for it therefore in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal castle and I believe therefore that it filled the northern half of the citadel. Doubtless it contained pavilions and bathing arrangements. A. M. Hocart is inclined to look for the Nandana garden to the east of the palace and outside of the citadel, mainly on account of the sūpokkharāṇi, since a bathing pond answering this description does in fact lie under the eastern wall of the citadel.

2 Opinion is now unanimous, I think, that the "island park" lies on the so-called "promontory" that juts out in the Topaveva west of the citadel and on which are now situated the rest house and the bungalow of the Archaeological Survey. For the ruins of the Promontory see the plan ASC. 1901 (= II. 3. 1907). For the bathing-house in the Dipuyāṇa cf. EZ. II. 148.

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

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

5 I. e. "swing pavilion".
furnished with a swing hung with tiny pretty golden bells. The garden was further resplendent with the vimāna called 117 Kīṭāmanḍapa² where the king at the head of the sport officials connoisseurs of the merry mood², was wont to amuse himself. And it was for ever embellished by the so-called Sanimaṇḍapa³ 118 which consisted of ivory, and again by another (maṇḍapa), the superb so-called Moramaṇḍapa⁴ and also by the Ādāsamaṇḍapa⁵ 119 whose walls consisted of mirrors. There too the bathing pond Anantapokkharani⁶ with its stones whose layers resembled the coils of (the serpent king) Ananta, continually captivated the people. There the bathing pond Cittāpokkharani⁷ with 121 its gay pictures rejoiced the foe-subduer Parakkamabāhu, the royal sage. Resplendent there was a four-storeyed, peerless 122 palace, painted with various pictures and bearing the name Śīṅgāravimāna⁸. The garden was adorned with tāla and 123 hintāla palms, was resplendent with nāga and punnāga trees and was rich in banana, kaṇḍikāra and kaṇḍikāra trees⁹.

¹ I. e. "play pavilion" or "games pavilion".
² P. hassarasa = skr. hāsyarasa. On the theory of the hāsas s. note to 72. 94.
³ The name might mean "pavilion of (the planet) Saturn". The Col. Ed. reads against the MSS. Sāñimaṇḍapa which would mean "carpet pavilion, pavilion of the curtains".
⁴ I. e. "peacock pavilion".
⁵ I. e. "mirror pavilion".
⁶ Ananta is here the name of the world serpent Śeṣa (see Hovins, Epic Mythology 23—24). It is also called Anantabhoga, and it would be possible to insert this name also here in anantaḥbhogasamāpsaṣaṇaṃvivesasādā (instead of "coils of the a"). W. seems to do this. But then it is not clearly indicated in what the comparison consists. In my opinion the steps surrounding the pond were laid somewhat in this form:
⁷ I. e. "picture pond".
⁸ P. vimānaḥ śīṅgārasaddārapubbaḥ, lit. a vimāna in which the word śīṅga (Skr. śringāra, "ornament, love, a particular rash") stands in front (of the name). Pubba is used here instead of the customary ādi (note to 44. 6).
⁹ The botanical names are in the same order: 1. borassus flabelliformis, 2. phoenix paludosa, 3. mesta ferrea, 4. rottlera tinctoria, 5. musa sapientum, 6. pterospermum acerifolium, 7. premna spinosa (?). — Verses
Now there was in the palace of the Monarch of all races of rulers, among those belonging to the closest of his followers, a man named Mahinda. He was a worshipper of the triad of the Jewels, understood what was blessed and unblessed, was wise, pure in heart, versed in the means of accomplishing many meritorious actions, never went astray through lust, hatred, fear or delusion, was never satiated with the fulness of goodness, as little as the ocean by the (streaming in of the) waters. He was gifted with conscientiousness and modesty, attacked ever with brave courage and was a discerning guardian of moral discipline. Now this man with the favour of the sublime Monarch who was ever a helper in all (good) enterprises, caused a pāsāda to be built for the honour of the sacred Tooth Relic which was pure by its suffusion with the nectar of the eighty-four thousand portions of the doctrine.

The same (pāsāda) was embellished by a roofing and doors and windows of gold and was resplendent with numerous paintings within and without. It gleamed with canopies of various colours like a golden mountain surrounded by a net of lightning. It was resplendent with curtains which glistened in brilliancy, and with a series of couches covered with costly coverings. It was like to a dwelling of the goddess of beauty, glorious as if all the grace found in each living being were concentrated in one spot. It was resplendent with its vast, charming ball of the moon, which was wonderfully beautiful, white as light, or as pearl ornaments, or as geese, or as snow, or as a cloud. Banners were fixed on it, it was fair, with gilded summit, bright, calling forth delight, beautiful.

118—123 again form one sentence which must be analysed according to note to v. 96. According to the description in this passage, the garden must have been full of buildings. That would fit the "promontory" on which there are many ruins, amongst others those of a bathing-pond.

1 See note to 46. 17.

3 P. aghehi lit. by the floods.

The sentence must be construed thus: āvāsam viṇa Sirīyā jotantam sabbasanān dēhadhārinān rāmaneyyakān (what is gracious = grace) viṇa ekattahā piṇātāṃ.

4 The verses 124 to 185 are one sentence. The subject is Ma-
Further the King, the sole banner of the stem of the 136
nobility, possessed a dear consort who had come forth, re-
joicing the eyes of the people, as the moon (rises) from the
ocean, from (the house of) the great king Kittisirimegha\(^1\), 137
who loved him, the highest of rulers, as Sītā (loved) Rāma.
Amongst all the ladies of the harem, many hundreds in number, 138
she was by far his best loved. She loved the triad of the 139
jewels and beyond her own husband who was like to the King
of the gods (Indra), she cared for none even as much as grass
whoever he might be. She did what the Lord of men wished, 140
had friendly speech, was adorned with the ornament of many
virtues such as faith, discipline and the like, was skilful in 141
dance and song, possessed an intelligence (sharp) as the point
of the kusa grass, her heart was ever cooled by the practice
of the virtue of pity\(^2\). She, the Queen Rūpavatī, most 142
beauteous of beauteous women, the clever, the virtuous, pure in
action, the highly-famed, mindful of the doctrine of the Victor
which teaches of impermanency, had learned many sayings of
the great Sage and kept them in her memory, as for instance
"Short is the life of the lamentable men; the pious man should 144
live as if his head were in flames; there is no escape from

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

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

\(^2\) Cf. above v. 41 with the note.
Thus as she knew the short-lived nature of beings who wander about the ocean of existences, and as she knew that there was no firm hold there that could compare with meritorious works, so she was unwearied in much well-doing, and as thereby she achieved her speedy escape from the cycle (of rebirths) she built in the midst of the town a vast golden thūpa, as it were a golden ship to reach the saving shore of Nirvana.

Further in this beautiful town the all-wise (king) had different kinds of streets laid down, many hundreds in number, adorned with many thousands of dwellings of two, three and more storeys and provided with various bazaars where all wares were to be had and in which day by day there was incessant traffic of elephants, horses and chariots — (streets) which were here and there enlivened by people who were ever indulging in great games.

Then he laid down in the vicinity three suburbs called Rājavesibhujaṅga, Rājakulantaka and Vijīta, adorned with three three-storeyed pāsādas which possessed every excellence and every beauty, and crowned by three vihāras which were named Veluvana, Isipatana and Kusinārā. But between the

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

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

3 In the account 78.79 ff. the three sāhānagāra are called 1. Rājavesibhujaṅga, 2. Sihapura (instead of Rājakulantaka) and 3. Vijīta, and the vihāras built in them are given in order as Isipatana (in 1), Kusinārā (in 2) and Veluvana (in 3). I believe the designation Rājakulantaka (“end i.e. starting-point, of the dynasty”) is an allusion to Sihapura, for this was the name of the town founded by Vijaya’s father Śiḥabāhu (Mhvs. 6.35) in Lījāraṭṭha. To identify the suburb of Vijīta with the
royal palace and the three towns the monarch had built at a
distance of a gāvuta1 from each other, charming sermon houses
and image chapels2 and splendid vihāras adorned with rest-155
houses for bhikkhus from all four regions of the heavens.

In the town Pulatthi(nagara) by name furnished thus with 156
all accessories and provided with every luxury, like to a garden
made beautiful by union with the joy of spring, which he 157
himself enlarged so that it was four gāvutas long and seven
gāvutas3 broad, which bore his name — the beauteous one — 158
which possessed a splendid wreath of walls, which was re-
splendent with fair dwellings, which contained large as well as
small streets, which was an elixir for the eyes — (in this town) 159
the Lord of men who was like to Purimadā (Indra), who was
skilled in the preserving of all advantages, those not yet achieved 160
and those already achieved, had fourteen gates erected: the
superb King’s Gate4, the beautiful Lion Gate, the great Ele-
phant Gate, further the Indra Gate, the gate called after
Hanuman5, the lofty Kuvera Gate, the brightly painted Caṇḍi
Gate, as well as the Rakkhasa Gate6, the high-towering Ser-
town of the same name mentioned in Mahā. 7. 45 is quite unhistorical.
But it is not impossible that the suburb was named after that town. The
three monasteries were called after especially sacred places: ... Veļu-
vana after the park near Rājagaha which was given to Buddha by Anā-
thapiṇḍika; Isipatana after the park in Benares where Buddha preached
his first sermon; and Kusinārā after the place where he entered Nir-
vana. For Veļuvana see below note to 78. 87.

1 Cf. 78. 91, 85. 20. According to the Kuṭāliya 2. 20 a gāvuta (skr.
gauyāta or goruta) would be the equivalent of 1/2 yojana (cf. note to 38. 68
and I, p. 349) that is, if the Indian yojana as is likely, is the standard
of measurement, a little over two miles (according to the Buddhist yojana
the half of that).

2 P. saddhammapatiṁāghare = saddhammabharghe paṭimāghare ca.

3 If we reckon the gāvuta as over two miles then what is meant here
could not possibly be the city with its ramparts alone which reached
nothing like these dimensions, but the outlying open town as well.

4 For the King’s Gate, rajadārā, see note to 74. 199.

5 The monkey king, Rāma’s ally in his campaign against Rāvana,
king of Lankā.

6 For Kuvera see note to 37. 106, for the rakkhasas note to 39. 34.
Caṇḍi (the same in Skr.) is a name of the goddess Durgā, wife of Śiva.
pent Gate and the resplendent Water Gate, further the Garden Gate and the beautiful Māyā Gate\(^1\), the Mahātittha Gate\(^2\), and the splendid Gandhabba Gate\(^3\).

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

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

\(^1\) Māyā is the name of the mother of Gotama Buddha.

\(^2\) Through this gate ran in all probability the road leading to Anurādhapura and from here to the well known port Mahātittha on the western shore of Ceylon.

\(^3\) P. gandhabba = Skr. gandharvā, denotes a group of semi-divine beings who are regarded as the heavenly musicians. They are the male counterpart of the ektārṇa, the nymphs.
CHAPTER LXXIV

ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH RELIC

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

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\(^1\) P. mūlarājadhānā. The word mūla\(^6\) has a twofold meaning, that of 'original' (as for instance in mūlabhāsā "primitive language") and that of 'first' (to which everything else goes back, as in mūlamacca "first dignitary"), of 'important', 'pre-eminent'.

\(^2\) According to the legend the Buddha also visited the site of the future Anurādhapura during his three sojourns in Lankā. The picture of the wheel on the sole of the foot is one of the 32 great bodily marks of a mahāpurisa (see D. II. 17), who will either become a great world ruler or a Buddha.

\(^3\) A measure of capacity used specially for corn. Skr. droṇa.
bathing-ponds and the delightful gardens as they had been formerly; also the cetiyas of the three fraternities, the Mahā-cetiya and the others, as well as the numerous vihāras such as the Lohapāśāda and the like, as well as the pāśāda serving him as dwelling, with its gates, bastions and towers, with its royal courtyard, and embellished with a charming moon chamber, and brought it about that the whole town furnished with these and other marvellous works was as aforetime. Thus he had the buildings set up by many former kings repaired in haste by one of his dignitaries. For all wishes are fulfilled for the wise who partake of the harvest of good deeds accumulated in many existences.

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

Then he issued orders as to the way in which the officials appointed over the various districts of the island of Śihala should collect without loss the taxes levied on each district without oppressing the people in their particular territory. Further in every month on the four Uposatha days, in ponds and all other places in the island of Lankā for all creatures

1 A Parakkamapura is mentioned in 72.151. It must have been situated in Dakkhinadesa. If that is the town meant here, kārāpesi in v. 17 can only refer to its restoration and embellishment. Moreover Pulattthinagura itself bore the name of Parakkamapura. It was according to 73.157 attanāmokita, just as under Vijayabāhu I. it was called according to the Velakkūra inscr. (EZ. II. 246), Vijayarājapura. I consider it not improbable that verses 15 to 17 also refer to Pulattthinagura and its restoration, and that the compiler who found the two names in different sources, referred them erroneously to two different towns. What he tells us of this Parakkamapura is in any case nothing more than the usual customary phrases. Pāñav. and Rājav. say nothing about the founding of a town Parakkamapura.
without exception, such as game, fish and the like, living on dry land and in the water he commanded safety (of life), he who was himself threatened by no peril.

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

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1 P. māggatikā. The translation is uncertain. In Skr. uṣṇagati does not occur in literature. W. “were brought to great distress ... and had become utterly helpless.” I start from the fundamental meaning “to go out of”, i.e. the right way.

2 P. ratiṣhe sajtāsāmvedāṭhe. I believe that saṃvedāṭha = Skr. saṃ-vedāṭha stands here as so often, in place of the abstract, as only in that case is the proper construction of the compound possible. The union of the kingdom consists in the incorporation of Rohaṇa. The vassals fear that in such an event they will not escape justice.

3 The consort of Sirivallabha (59, 46) and mother of the younger Māṇabharaṇa.
decades of briars sharp-pointed as iron, made the roads in-accessible with felled and fallen trees. Thereupon all the soldiers native to the province, thousands in number rebelled and took up their place everyone in one of the big strong-holds, girded for fight, well armed with offensive and defensive weapons, full of violence, with strong forces. The Queen Sugalā who had not a mind capable of reflection and was inclined herself by nature to evil, let the fatal words of these people influence her. She made over to them the great possesssions of pearls, jewels and the like over which she had control, as well as the rich treasures belonging to the Tooth and Alms-bowl Relics as if she were throwing them into the fire, gave them office, ignorant of the right and the wrong occasion, and began herself through them to start the revolt.

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

Now the Sihalas and Keralā (mercenaries) dwelling in Koṭṭhasāra banded themselves together with the Velakkāra force and took counsel together: "The Lord of men has sent forth many famous warriors together with high dignitaries to

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

2 The place lies not far from Pulatthinagara in an easterly (south- or north-easterly) direction (see note to 61. 49). According to our passage, it seems to have been a garrison for mercenaries.

3 For the Keralās see note to 53. 9, for the Velakkāras note to 60. 36. It is plain from our passage that the Velakkāras were a troop of (Dravidian) mercenaries.
take Rohapa; let us meanwhile take possession of Rajarattha." And they all of one accord began the war. King Parakkama-bislu before whom every sovereign bowed, sent some dignitaries who were heroes thither with fitting army and train. He had those slain who deserved it, granted several villages to those inhabitants living under a common self-government, had a number of other villages made into such as were designed for the royal use and free himself from fear of any kind, he made an end of fear of the foe.

But after the general Rakkha had with bowed head, prostrated, received the command of the Great King he marched, the highly-famed hero, from Pulatthinagarra, betook himself to the locality named Baraballa and halted there. When the whole of the forces in Rohapa together with the inhabitants of the province received news, in accordance with the facts, of his gradual approach, they came to the decision: "as long as we are in life we shall not permit him to cross the fron-

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1 It is plain from this passage that certain villages had been assigned for usufruct. In addition to the execution of their ringleaders (48a b) they are now punished by the withdrawal of such villages which means a decrease in their revenues. Of the villages taken away some are allotted to peasant holders as communal property (gaya), others are declared royal property. I do not believe therefore, that W. is right in translating gaya by "assemblies of monks". Gaya here is rather the technical, administrative term (skr. the same, cf. BR. s.v. gaja 3). For mediaval village constitution in Ceylon on which this passage throws a side-light, see H. W. ComRIghton, H.C. p. 45 ff.

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

3 H. W. ComRIghton discusses the campaigns described in 74. 50 ff. in his "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century" II. Unfortunately the place names mentioned in verses 50-78 cannot be determined. Later details show however, that this part of the campaign took place in the districts on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, mainly in Hindre and the adjoining regions. Baraballa, Kanta kavana, Ambalala, Sava, Divindantabantiva, Kipsukavatthu, Vatnakhtabalhfi, Dithavakdhana and Subodara are unknown.

4 P. mahccam and ratthaväso: contrast between the regular army and the militia.
tier of our kingdom and enter here**, and with great fury, recking nothing of their life, they marched to the same place intent on the opening of hostilities. Thereupon the general Rakkha gave this army fearful battle, slew many soldiers, broke through the trees which they had felled and flung across the road, and with large forces reached the place called Kaṇṭakavana. He fought with the hostile army that had taken up its position there by the building of a stronghold, broke through the fortifications, forced an entrance and after robbing many thousand warriors of their life, he marched farther and came to the place called Ambalala. He offered battle to the army stationed there, broke through the strong- hold there and made the whole battlefield full of flesh and blood. Then he marched from there farther, broke through the strong fortification of Sava and slew many soldiers. Beyond this lay the forest Divācandantabāṭava hemmed in on both sides of the accessible road by high mountains, and where just at its heart the road was endangered and all traffic made impossible by many huge trees which they had felled and thrown down. In this forest from one to two gāvutas in extent the hostile army had laid down one behind the other seven very inaccessible fortifications whose stout gates were not to be shaken even by rutting elephants. Against this army that had firmly determined: "we shall in no case permit him to enter as he thinks fit into any single stronghold occupied by us" he delivered for several months day and night terrible battles and while he slaughtered many thousands of warriors together with their leaders, the general Rakkha with large forces took up a position on the spot.

1 I. e. "Thorn wood". The part. chindanto is parallel with mārento in 55 c, chinditē is subordinate to the part. pāṭite. Cf. chinnapāṭitārakkhehi in 33 c, as also chinditē pāṭitech (rakkhehi) in 62 b.

2 I should prefer here to place the full stop after saṁbathā and thus take this word in the oratio recta. For the position of iti see note to 57. 114.

3 Verses 55—66 form one sentence. Subj. Rakkaacakamūnātho in 55 a, again repeated by caṃṭātho in 66 a; pred. is visidittus in 66 c. The construction in v. 61—63 is as follows: ... "after he in the
When the hero, the Great King Parakkama, heard during 67 his sojourn in Pulatthinagara from the mouth of the messengers of Rakkha's constant battles, he gave orders to the 68 Adhikārin Bhūta who dwell in his palace thus: "An indecisive struggle for so long a time with these wretched rebels is fitting neither for me nor for thee; smite in pieces according 69 to these my orders the whole of the fortifications along with their gates, slay the whole of the numerous army and send 70 me then speedily a true report of these doings." He assigned him numbers of soldiers and sent this man experienced in the 71 art of war, to the scene of the fight 1.

Hereupon Bhūta marched forth from superb Pulatthinagara 72 and joined with strong forces the commander-in-chief Rakkha. Without in any way departing from the orders of the illustrious 73 Lord of men, they both had doublets of buffalo hide made (for their men) for protection against the arrows, made the 74 great army ready for battle, offered a sharp encounter, slew numerous warriors, many hundreds in number, broke through 75 the seven strongholds, laid down as they were one behind the other, started from there again and came to the village of Kimsukavatthuha 2. Here too they fought a fearful, bitter 76 fight. Then after they had set out from there and had reached Vatārakkhatthalī, and after they had here destroyed a hostile 77 forest D. (61 d) ... (there follow the attributes 61 d to 63 a) ... with the army (65 b), which, after it ... had set up fortifications (63 b — 64 n), was firmly determined ... had fought (65 d) ... ."

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

2 Here one might assume the end of the sentence, since the part. yātā may be regarded as a finite verb. But the subject changes in the sentence. In v. 72 the sing. so is subject; but yātā must be supplemented by an ubho (after Bhūta's joining with Rakkha). Mārento which is the reading of all the MSS. (= skr. mārayantaḥ) must also be taken as plural. In the continuation of the sentence there is again a change of subject. At first as we see by cattantu, the plural (ubho) remains subject. Then in v. 73 it is the singular Rakkha-camūnātha. The preceding gerundives in verses 76—78 b are to be treated as loc. abs.
army which had approached from various directions, and thereupon offered battle at the village called Dāthāvadādana and had further fought an action at the village called Sahodara, the general Rakkha who had large forces and train with him, sent on many thousands of warriors of his own neighbourhood to do away with the hostile army at Lokagalla. Then he destroyed a vast hostile army that approached with the intention meanwhile of overwhelming the commander-in-chief (Rakkha), and retired.

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

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

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

3 W. translates: ... “Yet could they not completely cut off their great resources.” He has misunderstood acharinditrāna. What we have to do
and betook itself then to the place where the commander-in-chief was sojourning. The two armies joined forces, advanced 83 to Majjhimagāma¹ and here made the firm resolve: "We shall not permit the commander-in-chief in Lokagalla to seize the 84 sacred Tooth Relic and the precious Alms-bowl Relic²." At 85 the village of Kaṭakadvāravāta³ they fought a great battle with the hostile army, destroyed the troops of the enemy and then marched to Uddhanadvāra. With the hostile army which 86 after laying down fortifications, had taken up a position there they fought a severe action, blew up the fortifications along 87 with their gates, destroyed many of the enemy and took up a position in that village to equip army and train (anew). Queen Sugali took the sacred relics, the Tooth and the Alms-88 bowl, and betook herself to Uru velā⁴.

with here is not the a priv. +- chinda⁵, but the frequently used verb acchindati “to take away by force” (skr. a+- chid; cf. PTS. P. D. a v.) The dhanajātmā which has been taken away consists of course of elephants, horses, chariots, arms.

¹ Now Medagama, 10 miles south of Bibile. It still lies on the highroad leading from Mahāgāma in the south to Polonnaruva. According to H. W. Commissio to the south of Medagama lately a milestone was discovered with a short inscription of Nissanka Malla (letter of 20th Dec. 1937).

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

³ H. W. Commissio compares this with a present Katupellella. I cannot find the name either in the Census or on the map. Sinh. pīṭella means “gate” = P. dvāra.

⁴ For Uddhanadvāra see note to 61. 16. It was situated near Mānragala, thus about 10 to 12 miles S SE. of Medagama. According to 61. 25 it was the capital of that part of Rohana called Athhasansā which was ruled by Sirivalabhô. Here his widow Sugalā lived and the sacred relics were kept in her neighbourhood. Uruvelā whither she
But for the purpose of disposing of the hostile army in
the Lord of men Parakkama had sent forth with
an army the Adhikārin Kittī and the Jīvitapothākin Kittī and
yet other dignitaries with a thoroughly equipped army and
train. They engaged the foe who coming from the direction
of Erākulū, had taken up a position at the village called
Givula, in a terrible battle, broke through their fortifications
there, killed many enemies, started from there again and
reached Uddhagāma. There they laid down fortifications, carried
on war for three months and put the great army to flight.
With a hostile army that had erected fortifications near the
locality called Hihobu, had dug trenches and spread thorn
bushes, and which with massed troops had taken up a position
ready for combat, they then fought a terrible battle. They broke
through the whole stronghold together with the gates and
entered by force repulsing each attack with a hail of arrows.
Thereupon they advanced farther and scattered as before, a
hostile army that at a spot about a gāvuta in extent beside
the village of Kirindagāma had as before set up fortifications
and there taken up a position, and halted with vast forces at
the place called Dighavāpi.

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

Parakrama (Ancient Ceylon, p. 386) was the first as far as I know, to
identify this and rightly so with Mahakandiyaveva, 25 to 30 miles NE.
of Bibile and about the same distance SW. of Batticaloa. The Ratamahatmaya Bibile assured me that the old name Dikvaveva is still well
known among the people.

I do not believe that the expedition is only now set going after
the occupation of Uddhanadura by Rakkha. It is far more likely that
it was begun earlier by the two Kittis, probably sent of by Pa-
rakkama at the same time with Bhūta. The author is going back in
his description.

Cowantron is assuredly right in identifying this with the present
district Eravur, NW. of Batticaloa.

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

The single localities mentioned such as Uddhagāma, Hihobu,
The Ruler of men, Parakkama, the best of far-seeing men, sent to his dignitaries who were at that place, the following message: "Shattered in combat the foe is in flight. They have seized the splendid sacred relics of the Alms-bowl and the Tooth and are fain, through fear, to cross the sea. So have I heard. If this is so, then the island of Lanka will be desolate. For though here on the Sihala island various jewels and pearls and the like and costly kinds of various precious stones are found, yet of quite incomparable costliness are the two sacred relics of the Lord of truth, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. At the cost of much valuable property and by the constant amassing of well-tried and armed warriors I have freed this superb island of Lanka from every oppression, but all my pains would be fruitless. My head adorned with a costly diadem sparkling with the splendour of various precious stones, would only be consecrated by the longed-for contact with the two sacred relics of the Great Master, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. Therefore must ye all, with the same end in view, with army and train and without in any way departing from the orders I give, conquer the hostile army and speedily send me the splendid Tooth Relic and the sacred Alms-bowl." The Adhikārīn Kittī by name who was in the district of Dīghavāpi, received his message with bowed head, and with his division after assembling about him the many leaders, he marched to the place which the commander-in-chief Kirinda cannot be determined. At any rate this Kirinda is different from the place of the same name on the coast south of Tissamahārāma. Doubtless however, these events took place on a line running from north to south west of Batticaloa. Moreover the object of the whole undertaking is intelligible. By pressure on the right wing of the enemy the threat against the main position in the centre at Uddhanadvāra was to be eased. The army columns then unite at Uddhanadvāra for the decisive blow (v. 111, 118).

1 P. bhīnditeśā in a passive sense. See Cūlava. ed. I, Introd. p. XV.
2 Lit. "These by me, the island liberator, made efforts will be perfectly (kāmam "at one's own pleasure") fruitless."
3 P. pavittito (lit. "purified") with reference to uffamaingamu, because this ("the head") is only a paraphrase for the person ("my head" = "I").
112 (Rakkha) was occupying. A vast army consisting of hostile divisions and inhabitants of the country, advanced with all its leaders, plentifully supplied with arms, equipped for combat, brave, a veritable host of heroes, against the village of Uddhanadvāra, full of lust for battle. "Of the enemy who have invaded our country we shall not let a single foe escape. On the road which would be the line of retreat of the foe we shall place barricades and make the roads to an extent of two to three gāvutas impassable and round about the territory occupied by the enemy cut off the supply of food. Then when the whole hostile army is weakened we shall fight an action with it in which because of our rain of arrows they will have difficulty in approaching us, and destroy them." So thought the army and after it had in the way above described, put up strong barricades it took up a position, keen for battle. Thereupon the Adhikārīn Bhūta, the commander-in-chief Rakkha and the Adhikārīn called Kitti, the heroes, crushers of the hostile army, after equipping their great army on the battle-field advanced thence according to orders all together and destroyed in a terrible combat a great number of soldiers so that nought but their name remained. They broke with large forces through the stronghold called Maharivara, marched thence farther, assembled all of them at the place Voyalaggamu by name and war-experienced (as they were) took up a position there. The hostile army which was lying opposite in the district called Sumanagalla they destroyed in the way described above, and after they had in a terrible battle which was fought at the place called Badagunna scattered in desperate battle the entire army of the foe which stood here and had also put to flight in combat the whole army which after laying down fortifications in the district called Uruvelā, had taken up their position there, they took possession of the

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

2 Cf. above v. 96 and note.
splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth and halted on the spot at the head of their mighty army.  

At that time an officer of King Mānabharāṇa, the general 127 by name Sūkarabhāṭudeva, the foolish one, who had been placed 128 in chains by King Parakkama, had burst his fetters and had escaped to Rohana. Then the Ruler of men summoned the 129 Adhikārīn Mañju 2 and spake to him (thus): "The general Sūkarabhāṭu has fled to his country, thou must come up with him before he has gained a hold anywhere." Therewith the Lord of men sent him off. He betook himself from Pu- 131 latthinagara to the place called Sāpatagamu 3. There he fought a great battle with the hostile army. He slew many soldiers 132 and after laying down a fortification took up a position himself there at the head of his large army.  

Now 4 all the many rebels, each in his division, roused the whole population of the country down to the very boys (in

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

2 It is remarkable that the MSS. have the form Maṇḍini. Likewise 75, 152, 188. It is however beyond doubt that the same general is meant as the one mentioned in 74, 144, 75-150 as Mañju.  

3 Commodores identifies this with the modern Hapatgamuva. It lies about 8 miles NW. of Badulla in the Viyulva Korale, on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga at the spot where it flows from west to east. This throws light on the whole episode. Since Sūkarabhāṭu has crossed the Mahaveliganga, it may be said that he has escaped to Rohana. His object was plainly to organise the rebellion in Malaya, in the rear and flank of Rakkha's troops. For that reason Parakkamabahu is forced to send a new division against him. Mañju suppresses the movement in Malaya, Sūkarabhāṭin himself however, escapes, joins the rebels in position opposite Rakkha, and takes over the leadership here in the sequel (see v. 153). Mañju remains posted for the moment in order to safeguard the flank of the main army.  

4 I believe that v. 132 closes the Sūkarabhāṭu episode for the moment. The sequel takes place as v. 136 shows, in front of Rakkha's army. A more exact localisation is impossible, since the individual places cannot be identified. The situation only becomes clear again in v. 154.
134 open revolt). With the firm resolve, even at the sacrifice of their life, not to give up the two relics of the Tooth and of the Alms-bowl, they assembled with hostile intent, mastered by insulance, at the village called Bhattachātpa. Thereupon the commander-in-chief Rakka, as also the Adhikārīn Kittī and the Adhikārīn Bhūta and many other officers gave terrible battle to the hostile army, and skilled in war as they were, let not two escape by the same way. They took, in loyal devotion to the King, the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic with them, instituted a great sacrificial festival and withdrew unthreatened from any quarter. Now the whole hostile army, well equipped, having taken up arms with fury, gathered together from every side\(^1\) at the place called Denaṭavala and fought a mighty, terrible and horror-rousing battle\(^2\). By the (corpses of the) men slain in the terrible fight and (the mass of) the cast-off weapons the commander (Rakka) and the other dignitaries, left (the foe) on every side not even room to place their feet, and after taking\(^3\) with them the splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth, they reached the village named Sappanaṛukokilla.

143 Carried off by an attack of dysentery, the commander Rakka now went thither in accordance with his doing—all living forms are indeed transitory. The two adhikārins Maṇju and Kittī by name\(^4\) without omitting any honour due to his

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\(^1\) Denaṭavala according to Comoros is now even the name for Okkampitīya which lies a few miles N. of Buttala. Popular tradition identifies the vihāra of Okkampitīya with the monastery where Saddhātissa found refuge after his defeat in battle by his brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. See Mhvs. 24. 39 ff.

\(^2\) Verse 140 a is hopelessly corrupt. According to the somewhat high-handed emendation of S. and H., W. translates "(the whole army of the enemy) that was at Vāpi".

\(^3\) Note that the line gaheva pasāre duṭṭhāpattadhamukhahadanteke is exactly the same as v. 128 a b. Nevertheless gaheva in the two places must be taken in a different sense. As in this passage a śloka of 6 pādās appears in the same way as these appear elsewhere, the line may be a later addition. The intention was to stress that Rakka took the relics along with him on all his expeditions. Cf. v. 133.

\(^4\) One expects that along with Kittī Bhūta would be mentioned
rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead. Now that the wise commander was dead and the Ruler of men tarried afar off, they brought together with exceeding energy the whole army of the Sovereign who was endowed with terrible courage, and while these heroes allowed no possibility of any sort for any kind of panic and celebrated a great festival for the two sacred relics, they sent their report to the illustrious Ruler of men and tarried yet a few days on the spot. When the Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he had erected on the spot where the commander had been burnt, a vast alms-hall with four entrances, and in order to honour (the dead) by sacrifice he sent the (following) order: "Collect for those bhikkhus coming from the four regions of the heavens and for the other bhikkhus a plentiful gift of alms." (Thus) he (commanded), the best among the grateful, the first among those who have attained knowledge. The two experienced commanders joyfully carried out the order in fitting manner and remained on the spot.

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

here. Cf. the association in v. 119, 186. Matja is still in position (v. 166 ff.) in the N. W., in Malaya. He had thus merely to be summoned to the funeral rites.

1 P. petakiccaṇī. According to the Brahmanical view as it is here and often expressed in ceremonial, the deceased before he is admitted to the world of the manes, becomes a preta a "roaming soul". The ekaddigaśrāddha is offered to the preta. HILLERHANDE, Ritualliteratur p. 90.

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

3 Now the modern Buttalā. See note to 51. 109. The scene of the contests and the further course of the operations is now again perfectly clear.
the rebels gave up this village and withdrew through fear to 158 the village (and) district of Mahāgāma¹. When the Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he of matchless bravery sent 159 a messenger with the order: "That ye fight as chance wills it, while dragging the relics about from village to village 160, pleaseth me not. Send ye both relics at once to me." When 161 the commanders of the army received this message they with the intention of sending the sacred relics, the Tooth and the 162 Bowl to Pulatthinag ara, entrusted an officer with their care, started from the village called Hintalavanagāma, and after they 163 had as before fought a terrible battle with the approaching hostile army at Khiragāma² and had put it to flight on all 164 sides, they entered Khiragāma, fought here also a severe action and cut down many. Then they marched farther from that place, fighting at Tanagaluka, and Sukhagirigāma, at Kaṭa- 165 dorvāda³ and Ambagalla⁴, as well as at Tanḍulapatta likewise a furious action, and after bringing hither with great pomp both relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, they sent them 166 to the Adhikārin Maṇju. This (officer) had at the village called Sākhāpattā⁵ and at Lokagalla cut down many soldiers and brought all the dwellers in (the district of) Dhanumāṇḍala⁶

¹ Now Magama, the old capital of Rohaṇa (see note to 45. 42) in the agricultural district of Tissamahārāma.
² Khiragāma is the place where according to 79. 71 (cf. note to the passage) a caetiya was erected to Queen Ratanaś vaiḷi who was cremated there. Cowdrington as he informs me by letter (20 th Dec. 1927), has discovered this stāṇa in Badalkumbura near Alupota in the Kandakara Korale, about halfway between Buttala and Medagama. It is situated not far from the old high road. It is not impossible that we have to do in v. 162 ff. with movements of retreat in a northerly direction from Buttala, since Bhūta and Kitti were trying to get into touch with Maṇju. For Hintalavanagāma see also note to 75. 7.
³ Perhaps the same as the Kaṭakadvāravāta mentioned 74. 85. Thus Cowdrington.
⁴ W. separates the compound KaṭadorvādambagallaKE into Kaṭadorvā- rā Dambagalla which I consider impossible.
⁵ According to Cowdrington the same as Sāpatagamuvā; certainly right. The latter form is nearer to the Sinhalese.
⁶ The mention of Lokagalla now Loggala (see note to 74. 79) shows
into his power. He was stationed there, went forth to meet 167 the relics of the Tooth and the Bowl, celebrated for them sacrificial festivals day and night, entrusted the Kammanātha 168 Añjana with the care of the relics and sent the two relics to the Great King. Thereupon he set forth, marched to the village called Bokusala and held counsel, being versed in counsel, with all the dignitaries: “Our foes know their own country. 170 When we come near them they disperse on every side, penetrate then (again) into the territory that we have brought 171 into our power, in order to conquer it, and vex the people. But would our master, the world conqueror, prize as much as a blade of grass, a kingdom even if it were utterly subdued, but by disregard of his commands, he who knows the course of war? Therefore will we honour the command of our illustrious monarch and in order that the foe may not be able to return to the territory 1 already subdued by us, post 174 there at different places a strong force with officers, and when thus our enemies have their roots cut off by us, we will set 175 forth to lay our heads at the foot lotus of our master.” Thus he resolved who was wise among those who understand decisions. Hereupon all the dignitaries who agreed with his 176 words, set forth with the vast army, ready for battle, and 177 marched to the village of Vālivāsāragāma in a district where many roads meet. After they had arrived there and deprived many foes of their life, they set forth thence and built a 178 fortification at the place called Balapāsāga. Having posted there the Laṅkāpura 2 Kitti and another large army consisting 179

that Mañju was still in position near the place where he had come into contact with Sūkarabhātu (74. 181 and note). From 70.17 it is clear that Dhanumudana was a district in Malaya, approximately corresponding to the present Viyala division.

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

2 W. translates “Kitti and Laṅkāpura”. He takes the last-named apparently for the general of this name (76. 88) often mentioned in the sequel to whom apparently 70. 218 also refers. According to the last passage this Laṅkāpura was the son of the Laṅkūdhinātha Kitti.
of the four members, all the dignitaries and leaders set forth at the head of the main army with large forces to subdue from one strip of country to the other the numerous rebels in the district called Dīghavāpi.

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

1 Mañju's plan was plainly this, to suppress the revolts which were constantly breaking out in the rear of the army stationed at Guttasāli-Buttala, in the same way as he had until now covered the flank in Dhanumagāḍa. Hence he now march eastwards into the Dīghavāpi district. In Mhs. 75. 3, 4 Balapāñča is likewise associated with Dīghavāpi. Verses 176–180 form one sentence in which the subject sabbe 'macca (r.176) is once more repeated by sabbe 'macca padhānā ca (r.179)
fast one, the superb one bore the splendid Tooth Relic on his head, like to the Moon-bearer who bears the crescent moon upon his head. He showed all his companions the two relics while well versed in the sacred writings, he proclaimed their glory, and after he the all-wise had had a great sacrificial festival celebrated by them (his companions) the Ruler of men had the relics laid down on the spot. He who kept a watch over all his senses, set up a strong guard; he commanded that gifts of every kind should be offered, and then his heart filled with the joy of faith, he returned with his dignitaries and his train to his abode like god Brahmā to the Brahma palace.

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

1 Name of Śiva who is represented with the crescent moon in the hair above his forehead.

2 P. tatttha, i.e. just at the spot where he had raised the Tooth Relic to his head and showed it to his train. According to vv. 187, 190 it was about a yojana (that is about nine miles) from the southern door of the town. Here the relics are kept provisionally until their festive entry into the town.

3 Skr. sabhā sudharmā, the hall of the god Indra. E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 58. It is difficult to say which building in Polonnaruwa is meant by this dākhādhānugara. According to 73. 124 ff. Mahinda one of the king's followers, had built such a temple. Later on (78. 41) the circular building in Jetavanārāma is mentioned as the temple of the Tooth Relic. This one can however scarcely be meant in this passage, as it would be difficult to compare it with a sabhā. Probably the relics were changed about from place to place and this is reflected in a certain vagueness of the tradition.

4 See 78. 160. As the relics were brought hither from the south we may assume that the King's Gate lay in this direction. The loc. rājadāracawati in place of the abl. with paṭṭhāya is explained by the influence of the metre. Likewise 76. 72.
canopies tied with garlands of all kinds of flowers in gaily-hued succession. The pillars of the triumphal arches he decked singly with different stuffs and the upper part he provided with rows of umbrellas and whisks, with bunches of all kinds of flowers, with fluttering cloths and banners and other costly things fit as votive offerings. The two sides of the street he embellished with fruit-bearing trees, such as sannītras, banana, areka and coco palms and furnished them with vases filled with charming nosegays, with all kinds of banners and pennons, with lamps and incenses and the like, and adorned the road, capable of distinguishing the true from the false way, like the street Sudassana of the lord of the thirty gods. Then after he who understood how to win good people for himself, had speedily furnished the gate court of the temple of the Tooth Relic like to (the town) Alakā, the Monarch had a priceless jewel hollowed out and filled with sweet-smelling powder. Here the Increase of the realm placed the superb Tooth Relic, then laid the jewel in a casket of precious stones and this again he placed in a costly box of gold. But the Bowl Relic he placed in a costly golden mandapā that sparkled with the rays of various precious stones, that was wonderful and shimmering like the rainbow, that rested on four wheels, that was indeed lovely and like to a bundle of rays of the rising sun, on a beautifully arranged seat covered with costly carpets in a sweet-smelling layer of flowers. Then he capable of maintaining what has been won, made people of the clan of

1 P. viśānadānas patānaka, lit. "outspradings of canopies." Viśātra-viśānasamāntānc precedes. The stretching out of the canopies is described by the three derivatives of the root tān (with vi, pa and seṣa).
2 The whisk, câmarā, made of the tail of the yak, bos grunniens, belongs like the umbrella to the insignia of royalty.
3 P. viśānē. The word cannot mean "canopy" again here. The instrumentals in v. 203d and 203 are governed by svajjītavā.
4 Name of the King's cocopalm.
5 P. tīḍāśindassa. Indra or Śākra is meant. Tīḍāśa is also in Skr. a general designation for the gods. Sudarśana is in epic poetry the name of Indra's palace (E. W. HOPKINS, Epic Mythology, p. 55, 141).
6 The same as Ālakamandā (37. 106), town of the God Kuvera.
the Lambakaṇṇas with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their hands and other people of noble families place themselves round the maṇḍapa for its protection. Round about the maṇḍapa he placed splendidly attired dancing girls in many hundreds of (other) costly maṇḍapas, each of these being accompanied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like in their hands and by bands of female musicians who were like to the heavenly musicians, to do honour with their dance, their song and their music (to the relics). With all kinds of flowers, with incense and various perfumes he filled the town with fragrance and delighted the crowd of people. With the light of many thousands of lamps he transformed the heavenly regions and the intermediate regions into pure glory. With rows of umbrellas and whisks, with rows of coloured banners and all kinds of pendants he veiled the whole firmament. With the trumpeteting of elephants and the neighing of horses, with the clatter of chariot wheels and the rattle of kettledrums; with the enrapturing tone of all the festive shell trumpets, with the roll of the great drums and the cries of victory of the bards; with the shouts of acclamation and loud clapping of hands and the jubilant cries (of the people) he filled the regions of the heavens with noise. The Monarch himself arrayed with all his ornaments, mounted his favourite, beautiful elephant which was hung with coverings of gold, and sur-

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

2 P. rūṣayikā from the denom. rūṣay. Likewise in Mahā 5. 139 “His scent after being perfumed, used to be hung up”. My translation of that passage was wrong.

3 P. sādhukāramādāna. By the constantly repeated cry of sādhu the people are accustomed to give expression to their joy and enthusiasm during festive processions. Kārento mukharā disā, lit.: “made the heavens talkative”.

4 P. pavaṇam nāgaḥ... subhaṃ.
225 rounded by many dignitaries, who rode their steeds\(^1\), he
226 went forth with great pomp\(^2\) from the splendid town, betook
himself to the sacred Tooth Relic and to the glorious Bowl
Relic, reverenced them in worthy fashion with hands folded
227 on the brow, and while offering to them with his own hands
sweet-smelling flowers he went on his way with both relics\(^3\).
228 Now at an unusual time a great cloud gathered spreading
herself forth\(^4\). With her hollow rumbling she increased the
roll of the drums and with the bright bouquet of the rainbow
229 she adorned the space of the heavens. She made lustrous
lightning quiver on all sides, an instructress for the dance
230 begun by the peacocks. Together with the dust raised by
231 the hoof-beat of the horses she made the wreath of the sun’s
rays disappear and veiled the whole firmament in thick darkness.
232 When the dignitaries saw all this they thought again and
again: she will pour forth violent rain to disturb the high
233 festival, and their hearts filled with sore trouble, they betook
themselves to the all-wise Ruler and considered what was to
234 be done. But the Great King who knew the excess of his
own power and the unimaginable majesty of the great Sage,
235 spake (thus): "Be ye not troubled; here a marvellous high
festival is being celebrated that captivates the hearts of men
236 and gods, and I have set forth with unapproachable courage,
rich in merit, rich in wisdom, rich in glory, rich in fame.
237 What god, what Māra and Brahmā would be able to hinder
238 the magnificent festival taken in hand by me? Harbour there-
fore no fear when ye convey the two relics, but set forth on

1 P. rāhanāraṅkha. The word rāhana means it is true, not merely
riding animals but vehicles of every kind, also chariots.
2 P. ānumbhāvena mahacca seems to be a transposition of mahacca
ānumbhāvena. D. I. 49\(^{33}\), M. II. 118\(^{14}\) we have mahacca rājānumbhāvena.
Buddhaghosa says (Sumv. I. 148\(^{14}\)) mahacca rājānumbhāvena, rājatū ca
rājānumbhāvena; mahacca ti pāli, mahatiyā ti attha; bhāgavipariyāyo esa.
3 Verses 193 to 237 form one sentence. The principal verb is paṭi-
pājī. The preceding verbs are gerunds or present participles.
4 Lit.: A great untimely cloud came up, spreading itself out (v. 231 c d)
increasing . . . decorating . . . etc. making the whole firmament veiled
in a mass of darkness.
your way." With these words the discerning (prince) set forth. Then the great cloud while filling all the ponds and rivers outside the range of the festival with floods of rain, as she approached the great procession, moved along before it and rained just enough to lay the dust of the ground. When all the inhabitants of the town who had gathered together and the virtuous sons of the Sage, many hundreds in number, saw this miracle they cried: "In truth of great majesty is this Ruler of men, the foe-subduer; in consequence of his high merit he has appeared in Lassā. Here is merit, here is wisdom, here is pious devotion to the Tathāgata, here is fame and glory and exceeding great sublimity." Proclaiming these and other words of highest wonderment they filled all regions of the heavens with loud songs of praise. While thus the Monarch accomplished such a series of wondrous things as had never been seen or heard of before, he celebrated the high festival in a manner befitting his majesty, and after the wise (prince) had had the two relics brought into the temple of the Tooth Relic, the hero who was a single light for the whole world, celebrated for seven nights long a festival of lamps.

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

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

1 pārata nayanā must be joined "placing itself at the head". The ncv. dharā-parāga-vañcha is governed by panama nayanā (pres. part. of vañcha) lit.: bringing to rest, stilling.

2 Notice here the expression bhatti = skr. bhakti i. e. love, surrender in faith. The bhaktimārga as path to salvation comes in Hinduism as third after karma mārga, practice of the ritual, and after jñānamārga philosophic knowledge. The use of bhatti in this passage shows plainly the influence of Hindu ideas on Buddhism. What Viṣṇu is to Hinduism that Buddha is here — the object of bhakti (see H. Jacot, Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern, p. 28). The word bhatti occurs again in the same sense in 85. 33 and 121 and in 99. 9, 10 in śīvabhatti which is contrasted with the Buddhist faith.
CHAPTER LXXV

THE CONQUEST OF ROHANĀ

1. Now all the dignitaries and leaders set forth with great 2 forces to occupy the district of Dīghavāpīmaṇḍala. After fighting a great battle at the place Savanaviyala and utterly destroying the stronghold there with its twelve gates, and after fighting further at the place Gomayagāma, at Chaggāma 4 and at the stronghold Balapāśāṇa a severe action and shattering the hostile army, they halted at the stronghold named 5 Balapāśāṇa with army and train. Thereupon the dignitaries and leaders set out thence, fought a sharp combat in the 6 district of Mālavatthuka, and while fighting at various places — at Vadhagānīkapāśāṇa, at the village called Mulutta, at 7 Senaguttaṇā, at Bolagāma, at the place Vānaragāma and at Gallambatṭhikagaṇa great battles in terrible succession, they marched from all sides against the village of Hintālavanagāma.

1 The narrative starts immediately after 74.180 and continues the description of the operations set on foot by Muttu. Cf. sabbe 'maaccā padhānā ca mahābalapurakkhātā (74.179 cd) with sabbe amaccā ca padhānā ca mahabbalā (75.1 a b).

2 Balapāśāṇa is already mentioned in 74.178. It must be assumed either that the place had in the meantime been abandoned by Kittī or that vv. 2, 3 are merely a repetition of 74.176ff. Conze/renos identifies Chaggāma with the modern Sakamām, situated near the east coast at Tirukovil.

3 It is, I believe, impossible to determine the places named in vv. 5, 6. But evidently the troops march in broad alignment throught the district of Dīghavāpi in a concentric direction — hence samantato — to Hintālavanagāma. This must be looked for according to 74.162 near Khiragāma, thus somewhat north of Buttala. In this region the troops of Kittī and Bhūta were probably standing. Thus there is evidently a plan for uniting the whole army and striking a decisive blow in the neighbourhood of Guttasālā and Mahāgāma.
With the hostile army that stood here after it had erected 8 on a space of three gāvutas¹, a strong fortification with many entrenchments, they fought a great battle, slew numbers of 9 soldiers and took up a position on the spot, spreading fear amongst the foe. But now the rebels all set off for Dīgha-10 vāpimandala with the intention of (re-)taking the (already) captured province⁸. When the dignitaries in Hintālavanagāma 11 received exact tidings of this undertaking they sent off many soldiers. These covered in two nights a tract of ground of 12 twenty gāvutas⁹, fought a great battle, cut down the foe and 13 so terrified them that they gave up trying to renew the contest. Then they returned victorious to their place⁴. Hereupon 14 all the dignitaries near this village having fought with the foe — who after throwing up an entrenchment at the place 15 named Adīpādapunnaṅgakhaṇḍa were standing in the district of Guttasālā — a great battle and after likewise fighting at Corambāga, further at the village of Mūlānagāma and at 16 Kuddālamandala a severe action, set forth from the place called 17 Hintālagāma. They fought an action at Kittirājavālukāga, further a terrible battle at the place called Uladā, at the 18 village named Vāluka and after fighting an action at Huyalaga, they halted, slaying many enemies⁶.

¹ Over six miles. See note on 73. 154.
² Thus the revolt breaks out again in the rear and the flank of the army. The pacification of the Dīghavāpi district had not been successful.
³ More then 40 miles.
⁴ I. e. to the headquarters at Hintālagāma.
⁵ One must not be misled by the accounts of the success of single actions. It is clearly the case here of guerrilla warfare. In open fight the rebels offer little resistance. But when the revolt seems to have been suppressed at one place, it at once breaks out anew in another. The accounts of "great battles" (mahāyuddha) and the "bitter or severe actions" (tumāla rāja) in which the hostile army is shattered and countless soldiers slain, are too much of a formula to lay claim in all their details to historical credence. Every encounter whether important or unimportant, is described very nearly in the same way. The capture of the relics was certainly an important moral success. But the main object of the whole enterprise, as it is alleged in 74. 40 ff. was not
19 Now to make the town Mahānāgahula which had been inhabited by former kings, a royal capital by the Great King were sent forth the Damilādhikārīn Rakkha and Rakkha the Chief of the chamberlains, and they having equipped a great army, set forth full of lust for battle. The Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha hereupon sent off the Kesadhātu by name Devarāja, who dwelt in Pañcayojana, with a great army, and after destroying numbers of foes there, he being experienced in the art of war, smote the enemy who after throwing up many entrenchments at the village of Gimhatittha, in order to make it the royal capital, had taken up their stand there, so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained. Then to allow the exhausted army to recover from the combats, the hero tarried a few days on the spot.

25 Thereupon the enemy gathered together and driven by their heavy grief, they took grave counsel (together) as follows: "The power of the Ruler of men Parakkama, which is like achieved. Cf. below v. 149 ff. Parakkama's troops were unable to pass the Buttala line. The King realises that and develops an entirely new plan of campaign, an attack from the north-west, with Dakkhiṇadesa as base.

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

2 The military expeditions of the two Rakkhas dealt with in detail by Cunserox in his Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, II., are quite intelligible as regards their plan and course. That of the Kaṇcukināyaka Rakkha is first spoken of. His task was to penetrate from Dakkhiṇadesa along the south-west and the south coast as far as Mahānāgahula situated at the mouth of the Valaveganga (cf. note to 53. 40). Before he begins the advance he secures his left flank by the expedition which starts from Pañcayojana, now Pasun-Korale, east of Kalutara (cf. note to 57. 71). The hostilities then begin at Gimhatittha, now Gintota, a few miles west of Galle. Rakkha had apparently penetrated as far as this place from the frontier of Dakkhiṇadesa as which we may regard the Kaluganga, without encountering resistance. The rebels who were about to fortify Gimhatittha as a residence for Sugulū were evidently completely surprised.
to the fire at the destruction of the world, is hard to subdue even by the kings in the whole of Jambudīpa. Even the Lord 27 of men Gajabahu and the Ruler Māññabharaṇa, these two lion-like kings, skilled in war, who prepared a great army and 28 spent much money, though they fought day and night in divers ways, when they heard the sound of his drum of triumph 29 were scattered afar. They became as glowworms at the rising of the sun, and since tortured by fear, they were not even 30 able to stay in their own country, they seeing no other way of escape, sought refuge with (the god of the dead) King Yama. Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In 31 every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore let us at all inaccessible places throw 32 up many entrenchments, make all the well-known highways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths, and when then our 33 land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle.” Herewith the rebels being all of one 34 accord, marched to the mouth of the Gālu river1 full of the lust of battle. When the Chief of the chamberlains 35 heard thereof, he marched thither, fought a great battle with them and put them to flight. The army which had been 36 shattered in the battle joined from all sides with the foe who had his position at Mahāvālukagāma2. The Chief of the 37 chamberlains Rakkha gave his army time to breathe; then he marched farther in order to fight the foe at Mahāvālukagāma. He shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield (bloody) 38 as the world of the Nāgas3 when afflicted by the Garuḷas4.

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

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

3 P. garuḍa is the skr. garuḍa. This in the singular is in the first place the name of a mythical griffin-like bird which is regarded as Viśu’s
39 He drove them thence as a panther many gazelles and the victory gained, halted there himself with large forces. Then the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself versed in the consideration of advantage and disadvantage, while he sojourned in Vālukagāma, reflected thus: "These foes perish of a truth in great numbers, like moths who know not the danger of the fire and are burnt therein. But when they have perished the land will become like to a wilderness. And they know not the great-heartedness of our King. From now onwards we must grant the foes who surrender, freedom from punish-ment and give them protection". Hereupon he sent to some of the inhabitants of the province the message: "All those who would preserve their lives, let them come to me." Now when the merchants who dwelt in the port of Vālukagāma¹ to whom their life and their money were dear, heard that, they came in great numbers and (with them) other of the inhabitants from all sides to the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha and presented themselves to him, tortured with fear. Hereupon he sent his soldiers forth and made them several times fight an action with the foe at different places such as Devanagara and at Kammāragāma, at Mahāpanālagāma and at the village of Mūnakapidhi, at the ford called Nilavāla and at the village named Kadalipatta.² He remained victor at all these places and received graciously all who came to him. Now all the

steed. At the Pāli stage the word in the plural serves as designation of a whole group of such birds. They are the deadly enemies of the serpent spirits called Nāgas. See note to 41. 80.

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

² The progress of the Kañkenkinayaka along the coast is easy to follow. Devanagara is the modern Devundara (Dondra) at the southern point of the island. Kammāragāma the village Kamburugama halfway between Veligama and Matara which last we recognise in Īlva-vūlatīththa, since it lies near the mouth of the Nilvalaganga. The name Matara means "great ford". The remaining names can no longer be identified. What is striking is the sequence of the narrative, since Devanagara could only be occupied after the capture of Kammāragāma and Nilvūlatīththa.
rebels made the resolve: "We shall not permit the all too mighty army of the foe after crossing the river at the place Mahākhetta, to fight (with us)". They set forth and themselves full of fury, reached the bank of the river. When the Chief of the chamberlains heard of this event he sent forth his army to march thither to fight with the foe. Thereupon the best soldiers of the two parties fought a severe action in the middle of the river. Now raged between the two armies a terrible battle like to that of the gods with the Dānavas who rose from the ocean. While now the great warriors stood in battle with the hostile army, they reflected thus: "An indecisive battle with these people is the same as a defeat. If not to speak of our Lord, the Chief of the chamberlains hears such tidings, that means a great humiliation. Let us therefore break in pieces the foe like small sugar canes, fling them into the water of the river and make them food for the fish and the turtle, otherwise it is we who shall still their hunger." They fought an exceeding terrible battle like the monkeys who leapt over the ocean in the combat between Rāma and Rāvana. They caused the swift river to flow with flesh and blood and set forth with strong forces to take Dīghālī. The warriors marched thither and rooted out the host of their foes as elephants a banana grove into which they have broken.

1 The Dānavas are demon-like creatures, asuras, enemies of the Devas. This passage refers to the fight described in the Mahābhārata 1.5.19, in which the gods after getting hold of the amṛta conquer the demons who then withdraw below the ground and into the sea. Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 48; H. Jacott, Mahābhārata, p. 5.

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

3 It is not easy to establish the locality of these battles. It is clear that Mahākhetta (v. 50) and Dīghālī must be situated close together, Cummingson looks for them (cf. note to 72. 68) on the Nilvalaganga north of Matura. But since Rakkha has already taken Devanagara, he must stand on the left bank of this river. We must thus assume that the rebels were trying to turn Rakkha's left flank and that he was therefore forced to give up the advance eastwards and to make a change of front northwards. The identification of Dīghālī with Dikvella is difficult to maintain, since the river is absent upon and at which the fights described must have taken place.
62 There shattered, the enemy gathered together again at the place called Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala¹ and began the combat anew.
63 Then the Chief of the chamberlains also sent thither numbers of soldiers. There hailed down an uninterrupted rain of arrows
64 and after ascertaining through spies a passage leading through the forest, they penetrated the path pointed out by them,
65 slew many soldiers who had sought shelter in the various entrenchments and cleansed Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala also from the briers
66 (of the rebels). Hereupon the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself on the way to Māḷāvaraṭṭhali, sent to the soldiers
67 who had marched to Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala the (following) message:  
"I am on the march to the village of Māḷāvaraṭṭhali; set ye
68 forth also on the way thither." When the people heard that, they did so, and he took them all with him and betook himself to Māḷāvaraṭṭhali².
69 The war-skilled Damīḍhikārīn Rakkha by name, betook himself at the head of a strong force to Doṇivagga³. When

¹ Codrington says: "Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala is Rana Malokaṇḍa situated northwest of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides West Giruva Pattu from Mataura district". Kirama lies NNE. from Mataura about 20 miles distant.

² It is clear from the passage that the march to Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala was only the lateral expedition of a division detached from the main army. I do not believe therefore that Māḷāvaraṭṭhali should be looked for as in the line of march after Suvaṇṇamaṇḍala. It lay rather on that followed by the Kaṇekinnayaka in his advance. As this was directed towards Mahānāgañha, thus in the direction of the lower course of the Valuvaṅga (see note to 66. 39), I should look for Māḷāvaraṭṭhali farther south, somewhere between Viraketiya and Tangalla.

³ We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Doṇivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimhatiththa or very soon after. Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgañha, the capital of Rohaṇa, from the west and the north-west. Doṇivagga is the depression at Pemadulla-Opanake, about twelve miles east of Ratanapura. The name is preserved in that of the small river Denavaka which flows through the depression. As there is considerable rice cultivation in this region it is particularly suited for the gathering of an army.
the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true tidings of the situation to the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who was 71 in the town called Mahānāgahula and sent an urgent message to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading 72 from Donivagga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let us hinder the (direct) passage into our province from there 73 at the difficult places\(^1\), and with great fury they set about beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damilādhikārin Rakkha 74 wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of the enemy, to strike a decisive blow\(^2\) and in his lust for 75 fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesadhātu Loka and the Saṅkhanāyaka Nātha by name and other officers. These 76 fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered 77 foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at the place Guralaṭṭhakalaṇḍa. Now the Damilādhikārin Rakkha 78 again sent forth his great army to take away this place also\(^3\).

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

\(^2\) P. mukhahārīga, see note to 63. 30.

\(^3\) The name Guralaṭṭhakalaṇḍa suggests the Atakala Korale. With this is designated the name of the district in which Madampe lies. It is quite intelligible that Rakkha wishes to gain a footing here, in order to secure for himself access to the road leading to Mahānāgahula. The Col. Ed. reads Guralaṭṭhakalaṇḍa as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.
62 There shattered, the enemy gathered together again at the place called Suvaṇṇamalaya\(^1\) and began the combat anew.  
63 Then the Chief of the chamberlains also sent thither numbers of soldiers. There hailed down an uninterrupted rain of arrows and after ascertaining through spies a passage leading through the forest, they penetrated the path pointed out by them, slew many soldiers who had sought shelter in the various entrenchments and cleansed Suvaṇṇamalaya also from the briers (of the rebels). Hereupon the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself on the way to Māḷavarathalī, sent to the soldiers who had marched to Suvaṇṇamalaya the (following) message: "I am on the march to the village of Māḷavarathalī; set ye forth also on the way thither." When the people heard that, they did so, and he took them all with him and betook himself to Māḷavarathalī\(^2\).

69 The war-skilled Damilādhikārin Rakkha by name, betook himself at the head of a strong force to Donivagga\(^3\). When

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

2 It is clear from the passage that the march to Suvaṇṇamalaya was only the lateral expedition of a division detached from the main army. I do not believe therefore that Māḷavarathalī should be looked for as in the line of march after Suvaṇṇamalaya. It lay rather on that followed by the Kaṇḍuvināyaka in his advance. As this was directed towards Mahānāgahula, thus in the direction of the lower course of the Valaveganga (see note to 58. 59), I should look for Māḷavarathalī farther south, somewhere between Viraketiya and Tangalla.

3 We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Donivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimbatitha or very soon after. Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohana, from the west and the north-west. Donivagga is the depression at Pelmadalla-Opannake, about twelve miles east of Ratnapura. The name is preserved in that of the small river Denavaku which flows through the depression. As there is considerable rice cultivation in this region it is particularly suited for the gathering of an army."
the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true tidings of the situation to the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who was 71 in the town called Mahānāgahula and sent an urgent message to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading 72 from Donivagga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let us hinder the (direct) passageojana into our province from there 73 at the difficult places\(^1\), and with great fury they set about beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damilādhikārīn Rakkha 74 wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of the enemy, to strike a decisive blow\(^2\) and in his lust for 75 fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesādhātu Loka and the Saṅkhanāyaka Nātha by name and other officers. These 76 fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered 77 foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at the place Guralaṭṭhakalaṇcha. Now the Damilādhikārīn Rakkha 78 again sent forth his great army to take away this place also\(^3\).

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1 The passage offers difficulties. What is now called Navadun Korale (=Navayojana; cf. note to 72. 00) is mainly the region of Pelandulla. Formerly however, Navayojana, as Coorssen notes out, seems to have been of greater extent. I am inclined to think that it embraced in mediaeval-times the whole region east and south-east of Pasdu Korale, i.e. Kukul Korale, Himdum Pattu, Moravak Korale. It was in this territory that the combats described in 72. 00—64 took place. Kālagiribhūndja also mentioned there is probably only a part of Navayojana. The purport of our passage seems to me to be this: the rebels have no fear of being threatened from the west, from Navayojana, as in that case Rakkha would first have to cross the Rakvann mountains. He will, they thought, avoid this difficult line of march, but is more likely to advance along the direct road (raṭṭhapaseṣaṇa). This would be more or less the road leading now from Madampe south-eastward to Ambalantota at the mouth of the Valaveganga. It was here at the places fit for resistance that the rebels believed the defence should be organised. We shall see in the sequel that Rakkha later on nevertheless risked the march over the mountains.

2 P. wakghbhaha, see note to 63. 30.

3 The name Guralaṭṭhakalaṇcha suggests the Atakalan Korale. With this is designated the name of the district in which Madampe lies. It is quite intelligible that Rakkha wishes to gain a footing here, in order to secure for himself access to the road leading to Mahānāgahula. The Col. Ed. reads Guralaṭṭhakalaṇcha as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.
79 The brave warriors arose, broke through many entrenchments, even broke through the main fortifications which were provided with numerous gates and reached the place which the foe was occupying. They took whom they could alive, sent many other foes straight into the jaws of death, put to flight the others who found no further support, and cleansed this place also from the briers (of the foe). Then they returned (to Rakkha), and he showed them befitting favours.

83 Now in order to protect the enemy whom the king’s majesty had turned to ashes, by the application of kindness, even as a cloud (shelters) the forest set on fire by the glow of the summer sun, the prudent Damilādhikārin returned to Donivagga¹. He appointed to every district that he had captured, the appropriate people, took those who had submitted to his dominion² under his dominion and purged this district also³. The enemy who after throwing up entrenchments, had taken up their position at Pūgadaṇḍakaśāvāta⁴, renewed the fight with strong forces. The Damilādhikārin, well skilled in the game of war, thereupon sent thither also many soldiers with their officers. The brave warriors went forth and with the rain of arrows which they let rain⁵, with the rattle of the drums and the clash of swords they were like to the flashing march of a storm cloud that appears out

¹ The fact that Rakkha returns to Donivagga and that now like his namesake, (75. 41 ff.) he seeks to win over the rebels by kindness shows that he has not achieved his object. The breach planned along the main road to Mahāśāgahaṇa has not succeeded, the advance has been checked at a certain place.

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

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

⁴ The place cannot be identified with certainty. If what is meant is the place Dandaṇa lying between Kahavatta and Opanaka, the rebels had advanced very near to Rakkha’s base. Later on Pūgadaṇḍāśāṇa becomes Rakkha’s headquarters (cf. 75. 143).

⁵ P. vassita is instr. ag. for vassitena; in the same way vivattanā stands in d for vicattanena.
of season. Through delight in their own heroism\(^1\) chasing away the weariness of combat, they celebrated the goddess 90 of heroes with their drums of victory. When they thereupon heard that numbers of the foe had built a stronghold at the 91 place called Tambagāma and had taken their stand there, the heroes of tried valour were minded to show that nothing but heroic action pleased them, marched by night thither and invaded 92 (the place), through the sound of their war drums challenging the foe to fight. But when the rebels heard the clatter of the 93 drums they thought a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads and in the greatest panic some fled while others perished. 94 But those (victors) burned down the fortification so that nought but ashes remained and returned with strong forces to Pū- 95 gadaṇḍa硅谷a. The Damiḷadhikārin Rakkha called back his own troops and sent forth to subdue the enemy who lurked 96 here and there in their district, the four-membered army with its officers. This army cut down at Bodhi硅谷a, at Bhinnāla- 97 vanagāma\(^3\) and at Ataranādāmahābodhikkhandhā numbers of the enemy, fought also a night action and returned thence.

Now the Damiḷadhikārin marched at the head of strong 98 forces to the place called Šukarālībheripāsāya. Without 99

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\(^1\) P. vīvarama-assāda. Again an allusion to the Indian rasa doctrine. See note to 72. 04.

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

\(^3\) The Col. Ed. reads here Hintālavanagāmak. In the writing this form is hardly distinguishable from the form which I have adopted. In any case this Hintālavanagāma could have nothing to do with the place of that name mentioned 74. 162; 75. 7, 11, 17, which was situated at Kāṅgāma not far from Battala.

\(^4\) In this name are combined two neighbouring places, Šukarāli and Bheripāsāya. The first is the present Urubokka, the second Beralpanatar. We owe these identifications to Commons. I had them also from the principal of the Dharmasala in Ratnapura, Uranola Ratanajoti, with whom I discussed the passages of the Mahā. in ques-
disregarding in any way the orders of the Ruler of men (Parakkamabāhu) he restored the people who without being 100 hostile, had hidden themselves here and there, to their district as before. And after he had placed the proper officials in the 101 district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome, strong army and reached the village named Śimātālatathali. 102 Now the many rebels lurking in various places, summoned 103 hither the army of the inhabitants of the country. Thus in possession of large forces, they then also summoned the Lāṅkāpuṇa Rakkha whom they had themselves made commander-in-chief and who at the head of many hundreds of warriors 104 filled the world with the sound of his drums and kettledrums, 

ition. The two places are only about two miles distant from one another in the Moravak Korale south of Pelmadulla-Madampe, on the other side of the Rakvana mountain range. I believe Rakkha’s tactics were somewhat like this: The general has realised that a break through along the highway (now Madampe-Tambagomuva-Ambalantota) is impossible. He tries it now with an outflanking manoeuvre. With this object he crosses the mountain range to the south of Rakvana in order to attack the enemy from Moravak Korale (= Navayojana) that is just from the side where the rebels thought themselves safeguarded by the difficulty of the ground (see note to v. 75). The passage was without doubt the Bulutota pass which forms a natural saddle between the Galkanda and the Kurulukanda. It seems to me not improbable that it was already used in mediaeval times. After the crossing of the Bulutota pass Rakkha had however another parallel chain to traverse. It may be assumed that for this he made use of the deepest depression at Butkanda over which in the future the road will run which is to meet the Bulotota road from the south (Deniyaya). It is here that the footpath now runs which joins Rakvana with Deniyaya. COOMARASAVVY’s comparison of the Mahābodhikkhanda mentioned in v. 97, with Butkanda has now greater significance. It must be assumed that the expedition described in v. 96-97 had the character of a reconnaissance.

1 RĀTANAJOȚI told me of a village Ḥintalgoda in Moravak Korale but I cannot find the name either in the list of place names in the Census (vol. II) or on the map.

2 Evidently as sentries on the look-out. Verses 102 and 103 show what surprise and terror the appearance of Rakkha in Moravak Korale caused among the rebels. First the militia are called out to help and then the commander-in-chief himself who according to v. 70, was at that time in Mahānāgahula.
and so advanced to Nadibhanḍagāma. When the Damiḻādhī-105 kārin heard of this undertaking, the prudent one summoned his soldiers and held with them the following speech: “Here 106 shall ye now show your devotion to your Lord (the king) and I shall be witness to your heroism. Think not: this is 107 bad ground, the foe are very dauntless, but believe without doubting in the winning of the victory on the battlefield 108 through the majesty of our Lord and Master. But go first and occupy the right place for the battle.” Thereupon these 109 set forth with great determination and occupied full of daring, a position near Mahāsenagāma in order to fight. Now the 110 warriors on both sides flung themselves on to the battlefield. With the sparks born of their arms as they beat against each other, starring the whole firmament as it were by day, and 111 with the outpouring of their rain of arrows filling all regions of the heavens, they began the battle, letting their battle-cry sound forth. But the Damiḻādhikārīn, the mighty one, won 112 the head of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha together with his heroism. Then did the rebels melt away irretrievably as the tide of 113 the waters of the ocean when it has passed its shores. The 114 battlefield there was full of crows, vultures and the like, but the Damiḻādhikārīn who had won the victory by combat held 115 high festival and surrounded by the divisions of his army, he the highly-famed took possession of the town of Mahānā- gāhula.

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

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1 Coningham has recognised this in the present Obada (Sīh. 3, oya is always rendered by nādi). As Obada lies below Urubokka, about nine miles distant as the crow flies, on the river of that name in West Giruva, it proves that Rakkha in his advance followed the valley of the Uru-bokka-oya.

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

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

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

5 See above v. 68.
117 Mahānāgahula. He sought out the Damilādhikārin and the latter discerning and aware of the favorable as of the unfavorable occasion, took counsel with him as follows: "In accordance with the commands of our Lord we have taken the town of Mahānāgahula, yet still there are many foes left alive. These robbed of all resources, have withdrawn to Khandaṇavagga. But that our soldiers just after they have gained the victory, should march in haste thither pleaseth me not. Where our Lord sets his foot there is our refuge." For that reason they remained on the spot, and while they let the people who without being enemies had hidden themselves here and there, come to them and appointed each to his own district again, they spent the time even there in the town of Mahānāgahula. But the many rebels who had betaken themselves to Khandaṇavagga, stirred up the inhabitants of the district with the wish to renew the war. They gathered themselves all together at the place called Khandaṇavagga. The Damilādhikārin thought that now was the right time for the contest, he advanced from the town of Mahānāgahula and began a fearful battle in Bakagalla—Uddhavāpi. The skilful (general) beat them all and then returned. Several of the enemy came hereupon to Sāmghabhedaṇagama; but the general Śākara-bhāṣṭudeva took his soldiers and came thirsting for the fight to

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

2 Cunningham successfully identifies Bakagalla with the present Koḷgala (sinh. bokā "crane" is rendered by p. baka which has the same meaning) which is situated only 5 miles North of Ambalantota, that is about the same distance NE. of the ancient Mahānāgahula. This proves the fact that even the capture of the capital does not discourage the rebels. They withdraw just so far as to place the Velavaganga between themselves and the enemy and renew hostilities. The actions which follow (vv. 125—140) are only so many attempts on Mahānāgahula. Though in single skirmishes Parakkama's troops are victorious, no lasting success is achieved.
Mahāgāma\(^1\). Now the Damilādhikārin himself called his soldiers 127 together and sent them first to Saṃghabhedakāgāma. The 128 brave heroes betook themselves now to the battlefield and after they had in the fire of the majesty of the illustrious Ruler of men destroyed numbers of the foe, they returned to the 129 town of Mahānāgahula and held there in fitting manner high festival. But in order also to get the general (Sūkarabhātu) 130 into his power, the Damilādhikārin sent off the Laṅkāpura Deva and many other soldiers to fight against him. They 131 betook themselves to the battlefield and with arrows sent unceasingly covering the whole heaven and raising their thundering battle-cry they dashed forward to the battlefield, slew the general and shattered the foe. Then these brave warriors 133 too came to Mahāgāma\(^2\) with the sound of their victorious drums making joyful the Damilādhikārin. Thereupon an elder 134 brother of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who had seized the leadership of the army, gathered together the many foes whom 135 death had spared and marched for a combat such a rebels fight\(^4\), to the town of Mahānāgahula\(^5\). The Damilādhikārin 136 now also sent soldiers thither, they shattered him after slaying many of the enemy. The shattered soldiers came to a 137 place called Kuravakagalla. The Damilādhikārin Rakkha marched from the town Mahānāgahula, shattered them all and returned. Now there came together from all sides to Mahāgāma the Lokagalla Vikkama by name and many other foes in order 139 to fight with the Mūlapoththakin Māna. But in this fight 140

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\(^1\) For Sūkarabhātudova see 74. 127 ff. Where Saṃghabhedagāma lies is uncertain. Mahāgāma is doubtless Maṅgāma in the territory of Tissamahārāma.

\(^2\) P. gajjanta. The comparison which it is impossible for us to render sufficiently exactly, is borrowed from the storm. The mass of the arrows are the cloud darkening the heavens, the battle-cry is the thunder.

\(^3\) One expects here Mahānāgahula instead of Mahāgāma and on the other hand in v. 135 instead of Mahānāgahula rather Mahāgāma. Have we not to do here with a mistake of the compiler’s?

\(^4\) P. corayuddhāya, corresponding more or less to our guerrilla warfare.

\(^5\) Cf. above note to v. 133.
along with the life of the foe the Mūlapotthakin Māna by name speedily won the victory.

141 Now the Dāmiljhikārin took counsel with the dignitaries: "When we see the destruction of the foe in every single fight and the panic of those fleeing hither and thither, then we think the enemy has lost the courage for renewing the war and yet one does not perceive that they are wholly rooted out. Let us give up the middle of the province and when here and there hidden (rebels) have come into the middle of the province, defeat them."

With that the prudent one, the highly-famed returned to Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa. But the rebels who had not seen through his plan, streamed together from everywhere out of the wilderness into the middle of the province.

145 When the Dāmiljhikārin received true tidings of these events, he started thence at the head of his men, fought with the numbers of foes at the village of Bodhīvāṭaka, as well as with the foe everywhere else — at the place called Sūkarālibheri-pāsāṇa and at the stronghold called Madhutthala — great battles and robbed them of their life. Then he penetrated to the middle of the province, sent his army also thither in various directions and rooted them out all and sundry. Hereupon he received a message which came to him from the leaders stand-

1 In consideration of the sequel I should assume that caṭitrāṇa is subordinate to the principal verb hanissāna rather than to the part. nītāṇa. Rakkha's plan is clear and proves successful. By rāṭṭhamajjha is meant the agricultural country on the right bank of the Valaveganga with Mahānāgahula. That is it is true, in his power, but the rebels have withdrawn into the inaccessible wilderness surrounding it on all sides. In order now to entice them into the open country where he hopes to defeat them decisively, he ostensibly abandons the captured territory and withdraws to his original base near Donivagga. For it is here we must look vor Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa (cf. above v. 86, 95). This explains also why in the following combats with the rebels we are in fact taken in by Rakkha's manoeuvre, the former names Bodhīvāṭa (v. 97) and Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa (v. 98) recur. The Madhutthala named along with them must also be situated near Sūkarāli = Urubokka. All these places are situated on the border of the rāṭṭhamajjha into which he finally penetrates to annihilate the enemy.
ing in Huyalagāma and marched to Kumbugāma. Thereupon, the two generals called Kitti and Bhūta came surrounded by numbers of heroic officers, to the same place, holding high festival of joy. The general by name Mañju, hereupon, showing honour to the Damilādhikārin Rakkha, spake the following words: “So long as the many foes which have broken away from your country and are hidden in the various inaccessible places have not got a footing, let us slay them all, while the enemy who has sought refuge in the wilderness of Aṭṭhasahassaka and the Queen Sugala we will take captive. But if the many foes who sojourn in the wilderness are hard for you to overcome, we shall send off soldiers.” The Damilādhikārin agreed with these words. He advanced in haste with his army into the region of the Vananādi and son came near to the foe who in order to reach the mountain wilderness, had speedily betaken themselves to Mālāvaratthali. When they heard that Rakkha was on the march, they withdrew, tor-

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

2 Cf. note to 74. 129.

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

4 There is scarcely a doubt that with Vananādi is meant the Valavegangā. The gen. pāressa must be = pāressa. A causative form is impossible since the object belonging to it is wanting. Saha senagā agrees only with a pārissati. But perhaps we might render vananādi-pasaṇa pāressa by: “he advanced along the V.” That would make excellent sense. The rebels have evidently occupied Mahānāgapahula after Rakkha’s withdrawal. In order now to cut them off from communication with eastern Rohaṇa, Rakkha marches from Kumbugāma down the Vananādi. His plan succeeds. The rebels turn westward by way of Mālāvaratthali (see note to v. 66) to the mountains of Dvādasasahassaka, the present district of Giruva (note to 61. 22).

5 That is in further pursuit of them.
tured by fear, into the great forest and sought refuge on the 159 Mahāpabbata. The Damilādhikārin surrounded the mountain, fought a great battle with them and utterly destroyed them. 160 Then after occupying Dvādasahasassaka thus set free from the briers (of the rebels), he considered what should be done with 161 the many foes taken alive and had many hundreds of the 162 enemy impaled in villages and market-towns. Likewise round about the village of Mahānāgahula the mighty one had num-
163 bers of the foe impaled, several too hanged on the gallows and burnt to ashes and after taking up his abode in the vil-
164 lage of Mahānāgahula, he had under a favorable constellation the drums of government of the illustrious Ruler of men 165 beaten in villages and market-towns. After sending a messenger announcing these events to the Ruler of men and receiving 166 from the Great King a mark of honour, he took up his abode, the discerning, the highly-famed (general), in that same Dvā-
dasahasassaka, pondering over the needful measures.
167 All the chief dignitaries in Kumbugāma reflected (thus):
168 "From the time that we set forth to war in Rohapa the sol-
diers sent forth by us have here and there in great battles 169 covered the earth with the bones of the foe, and even all the brave warriors who dwell in Jambudīpa would not be able to 170 withstand these soldiers. Why then should we henceforward think to carry on war with the foe hidden here and there 171 through fear? Queen Sugala is the cause of these people 172 becoming rebels and has led them into the wilderness. Therefore we must get the Queen alive into our power." With such resolve the discerning (generals) marched from Kumbugāma 173 and came to Haritakīvāta. After they had there in various places posted good soldiers, known as courageous people, in 174 the necessary numbers, they advanced thence fully armed to Kānhavāta and when at the place called Vanagāma, they

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

2 Owing to the presence of the obj. to the part. pres. pavisātmī must be taken in a causative sense (see Cūlava. ed. I, Introduction p. XIV).
caught sight of the hostile army with whom was the Queen, 175
they fought there a great (and) fearful battle. With the sound
of their drums of victory cleaving open, as it were, the earth,
they seized the Queen and all her treasures of many a kind. 1
Having appointed for the guarding of the treasure the necessary
chamberlains, they brought the war game begun there to an 177
end and after covering the earth with the hands and feet and
heads of the foe and taking those alive to whom this had to 178
happen, they made the province of Rohana everywhere free
from the briers (of the rebels).

Now by some kind of wile, taking with them a few sol-
diers, the three Phālakūlas who were near the end of their
life, and the two Laṅkāpuras by name Taddhīgūma and Pabbata, 180
had escaped out of the hand of the foe ² and were in flight
tortured by fear. But the two brothers, the generals ³ and 181
the Laṅkāpura known by the name of Kadakkudha, as well as
many other officers with their soldiers, having reached Ud-
dhanadvāragūma ⁴, shattered them in a great battle and then
reached Nigrodhamūragolla ⁵. Hereupon the great dignitaries 183
with their officers pursued the enemy, sent the head of the
Phālakūla to the highest dignitaries ⁶, captured the Laṅkāpura 184

1 The place where the capture of Sugala took place is not yet de-
termined. The name Vālaga or Valagama to which the P. Vasan-
gūma would correspond, occurs frequently in Ceylon. A Valagama is
situated in the Bintenna Patītu. It is however very doubtful if this
can be the one meant.

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

³ For the dos bhūtaro dasyanāthā see note to 70.279. They are
mentioned here for the last time.

⁴ See note to 61.16. Uddhanadvāragūma was the capital of eastern
Rohana (Atthasanhasaka).

⁵ Verses 179–182 form one sentence. The subjects are in v. 181.
The principal verb is upāgama to which the germsa samāgaṇitā,
pabhindītāna are subordinate. The accusatives in v. 180 are governed
by pabhindītāna as objects. As attribute they have the pres. part.
palaṇīmāte to which uchchitā and gahetvāna are again subordinate.

⁶ That is Maṇju together with Bhūta and Kittī who had not per-
sonally taken part in the pursuit of the Phālakūlas.
Pabbata by name, alive and destroyed the foe so utterly that
nought but the tidings of them remained.\footnote{I prefer to join the two pādas kariysu as far as sapattakē with v. 184 instead of with v. 186. Subhaṃ is to be taken in an adverbial sense as emphasising sabbathā.}

Thereupon the clever Adhikārin Mañju\footnote{See note to 74. 129.} made the following proposal: “From the time when we began to conquer this

Rohana we have never — apart from\footnote{I take the ger. hitudā in this sense in this passage.} the boundless terror-inspiring destruction of our enemies in battle through the

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

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

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

zeal to his proposal. They caused many foes to whom severity
was due, to be brought before them, and at villages and market-
towns they had numbers of stakes set up on which they

im-paled many hundreds of the enemy. Many other foes they

had hanged on the gallows and burnt and showed forth in
ev-ery way the majesty — hard to subdue, scarcely to be sur-
passed, arousing astonishment — of the Ruler of men Pa-

rakkamabāhu. Then while they showed due grace to those

who were accessible to kindness and were worthy of being
treated with kindness, they brought peace to the province, as
clouds in the rainy season to a forest burnt by fire.

When the Ruler of men Parakkama heard tidings of these

events he sent an exceeding gracious message of the following

content: “In the first place send hither all the dignitaries
taken alive and the Queen Sugalā. The burden of the whole
administration there is to be given over to the Adhikārin

Bhūta. Then along with the whole of the four-membered army
sent forth from here, preceded by the numerous bhilkhu community dwelling there, after leaving the necessary garrison

in the various districts, under a constellation regarded as fa-
orable, the whole of the dignitaries shall assemble and present themselves before me."

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

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

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

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

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF RĀJINĀ

1 While now the Monarch gifted with insight, day and night strove unweariedly for the furtherance of the laity and of the Order, there banded together in the eighth year of the reign of the illustrious Ruler of men all the inhabitants of the province of Rohaṇa and stirred up by an all too foolhardy villain, they revolted anew, to cruel destruction foredoomed.

2 When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these events he sent once more a great army with dignitaries thither; and as he fought at all the villages and market-towns named aforetime ever renewed battles and made the enemy as fuel for the fire of his own majesty, he shortly freed the whole province of Rohaṇa from the briers (of the rebels).

3 In the sixteenth year of this King of kings, in the province immediately bordering on Mahātīththa several people dwelling in that province, who were near the end of their life, stirred up a revolt and began the war which seemed to them the better (lot).

4 Thither also the (prince) gifted with discernment, sent a four-membered army and destroyed the foe so that they became as dust.

5 Between the countries of Laṅkā and Rāmañña there had never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people

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

2 See note to 48. 81.

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

4 Better (vīra) than subjection to Parakkamabāhu’s dominion.

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

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

2 Duḥsasānārtikavissambhā and sahitā are attributes of bhūpāla, and the instr. cittona hita (this last for hitena) belongs to sahitā.

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

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

5 Vv. 18, 19 seem to be in contradiction to v. 17. I think however that in v. 17 the emphasis is to be placed on nekatthā nekha. It is the free trade in elephants that according to v. 17 the king makes an end of, putting in its place a royal monopoly. This is immediately followed by an enormous rise in prices.

6 Evidently from foreign sovereigns, in the first place the king of Laṅkā with whom according to v. 13 such exchange of gifts had fre-
written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext
that they were envoys sent to Kamboja¹, or saying something
of that kind, had the envoys of the Sovereign of Lanka after
taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a
fortress in the Malaya country². And although he learned
exactly how his own envoy Tapassin by name, had had every
distinction conferred on him by the Ruler of Lanka, he nev-
nevertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away
from the envoys of the Monarch of Lanka: their money, their
elephants and their vessels, had blocks of wood fastened to
their feet to their greatest torture, and employed them in the
work of sprinkling water in the prisons. When once upon a
time a prince of Jambudipa Kassapa by name, sent costly gifts
along with a letter on gold, he forbade his people to land and
in an insulting manner made them take the letter back to their
town. One day he had the Sihala envoys summoned to him
and declared to them: "Henceforth no vessel from the Sihala
country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writ-
ing the declaration that if (messengers) from there are again
sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come
here, no blame of any kind will attach to us³. If ye give
not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return
home." After he had made them sign this, so that in the
event of a transgression they should not return again to their
country⁴, he took the paper from their hand. The teacher

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

¹ Name of Western Siam.

² Malaya denotes as in Ceylon and in Southern India (see 76. 196)
the mountainous regions of the country.

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

⁴ The passage is doubtful. I believe that sa-raṭṭha-anāgamāya is
meant to express the intended result. The prince wishes by means of
the signature to have the possibility of ridding himself of all undesirable
people from Lanka. W's translation fails because it assumes āgama
instead of anāgama.
Vāgissara and the scholar Dhammakitti¹ he sent off in a leaky vessel into the open sea. Once upon a time he took from 33 the hands of the messengers the gifts and goods which the Ruler of Lāṅkā had sent in order to buy elephants, with the 34 promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver money², but he told merely lies and gave them nothing. Further they seized by force a princess whom the Ruler of Lāṅkā had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these many insults 36 committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest indignation: “Where in the whole of Jambudīpa is there a king 37 who would be capable of treating my envoys in such a manner?” He summoned his ministers and spake: “Either the capture 38, or the slaying of the king of Arimaddana³ must be effected.” Hereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public 39 accounts, the Damijādhikārīn by name Ādicca, with clasped hands — he wished himself to undertake the enterprise — to 40 the King thus: “It is not necessary to entrust⁴ the chief dignitaries with this task. If I do not stray a single step from 41 the path of thy order it will be for me, if I undertake the task — even should I be quite alone — in very truth not diffi- 42 cult to carry out in successful fashion the commands of my lord whose commands are hardly to be transgressed.” When the 43 King heard that he was content. He placed under him the troop leaders who were to be sent and commanded him to depart speedily. Then the highly-famed one gave the order 44 without delay to make ready ships of various kinds, many hundreds in number. Now all the country round about the 45

¹ These were evidently the envoys from which the written declara- tion had been wrung. They reached home in spite of the leaky ship, otherwise their death would without doubt have been mentioned. They escaped it as by a miracle.
² In the original again the or. recta: “We shall give you &c.” The goods are therefore paid partly in cash partly with elephants.
³ For this capital of Burma see M. Boeî, Sūsanavarpa, Dissertation, p. 20 and passim.
⁴ P. yojetvālaya stands for yojetu(m) alaya.
coast was one great workshop fully occupied with the building of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste at the port of Pallavavaṅka. Then endowed with vast royal power¹, he had provisions supplied² for a whole year such as rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour and the like; further gokāṇṭaka arrows³ of iron with sharp points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women — everything in complete fashion⁴. After he versed as none other in the right measures, had made a strong force — numbering many hundreds of thousands — embark, the Ruler sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms and filled with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage of ships all at the same time⁵ sailed forth in the midst of the ocean it looked like a swimming island. Subdued by adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had embarked in one of the vessels landed on the Crows’ island⁶. They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants

¹ P. mahārajadhipaṁcyutā in v. 52 d.
² P. paṭipādesi in v. 52 e.
³ Gokāṇṭaka in Skr. also means a particular type of arrow. The elephants (cāraṇa) against which they are to serve as defence (cāraṇa) are of course the war elephants of the enemy. The MSS. are more favorable to the form of the word gokāṇṭaka which might easily be a synonym for gokāṇṭaka.
⁴ Anāsṛya is associated as adverb with paṭipādesi and refers to everything that has gone before.
⁵ So I understand the P. samaya.
⁶ P. Kākāḍaṇa. Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands?
of the island alive, brought them then to the King of Lāṅkā and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength 59 who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Rāmañña in the port called Kusumī1. These doughty soldiers with the 60 Nagaragiri Kittī at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Rā-
mañña country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many 62 coco palms and other trees and set fire to the villages, they laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship on which the 63 Damiḻādhikārīn Ādicca commanded, landed in the territory (of Rāmañña) at the port of Papphalama, and while at once the 64 people with the Damiḻādhikārīn at the head, fought a gruesome, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many 65 people living in the country, they plunged the Rāmañña kingdom into sore confusion. Thereupon the Śihalas with terrible 66 courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the Monarch of the Ramaññas. When they had 67 subdued the Ramaññas and brought their country into their power, the great heroes2 mounted a splendid white elephant. They rode round the town free from all fear turning the right 68 side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Lāṅkā3.

1 Evidently the Kusima(tittha) frequently mentioned in the Sāsanavāman.

2 Probably Ādicca and Kittī are meant.

3 The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a cata-
    strophe having overtaken their country. The description in the Mahā-
    vāman is without doubt very much exaggerated. The fact of a success-
    ful campaign against Rāmañña is, however, confirmed by the important
    inscription of Devanagala in the Kegalla district, Galboda Komle,
    Meda Patta, whose significance H. C. P. Bell was the first to recognise
    (Report on the Kegalla District, ASC. 1893, p. 73 ff). According to this
    inscription — one of Parakkamabābu I. — the war against Aramaṇa
    was determined on in the 12th year of the King’s reign. The reigning
    king of Aramaṇa at that time is called Bhuvanāḍītta. The inscription
    also mentions the town of Kusumī (cf. v. 59) and tells finally of the
    granting of land to Kittī-Navaragiri ( Kittinagaragiri v. 60) evidently
Then overwhelmed by fear the people in the Rāmañña land, seeing no other protection, gathered together and held counsel. With the instructions: "Year by year must we from now onwards send elephants to any amount as tribute from our property — in order that the Monarch of Laṅkā may not lay on us intolerable (burdens), ye must influence him\(^1\) and thereby at all times full of pity, have mercy on us all" — they sent in haste their messengers with letters in their hand to the bhikkhu community\(^2\) dwelling in the island of Laṅkā. Through the friendly words of the community living in the three fraternities, the Ruler of Laṅkā was moved to kindness, and while the Ramaṇas sent him yearly numbers of elephants, they made anew with the Laṅkā Ruler who kept his treaties faithfully, a pact of friendship.

Now the Pāṇḍu king by name Parakkama, in the town of Madhurā\(^3\), when his capital was besieged by the war-loving, hostile king named Kulasekhara who had come thither with an army, had found in the territory of Jambudīpa no king with whom he might have taken refuge. He sent messengers to the Monarch of Laṅkā with the message: "O Thou with whom I may take refuge, thy two feet shall be for me who as reward for his services. The Damiḻṭhikārin Ādīcena is not mentioned. He appears to have died soon after the campaign, as he does not occur again in the Cūlavamsa.

\(^1\) Thus I translate the phrase anusāsanīṁ ca

\(^2\) The sense of the passage is on the whole clear. The Ramaṇas try through the medium of the Church to obtain favorable terms of peace from Parakkamabābu. The details offer difficulties. Line 71 a b is hopelessly corrupt. Since the MSS. all agree, the corruption must be traced to the archetype. The emendation tried by S. and B. is hardly successful. Three words ca ckiddem, aṇhākāṁ, ... idāmāṁ seem certain. Verses 71 c to 72 d if translated literally would be rendered by: "we all must be taken pity on (dāyaṁabba) by you, reverent masters (kheṇatēṣāḥ), in that ye so persuade (radantehi tassā anusāsanīṁ) the King that he does not have done (to us) (kāreti) what is heavy to be borne."

\(^3\) For the South Indian people called Pāṇḍu and their capital of Madhurā (now Madura in the south of the province of Madras), see 50. 12 and note. Y. A. Smrth, Early Hist. of India, p. 336.
am a moth in the fire of the majesty of my foe, a cage of diamond". When the sovereign of Laṅkā heard their speech, he spake thus: "If the distress of him who has placed himself under my protection be not removed, how would my name of Parakkamabāhu¹ be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard to vanquish by a foe, be he who he may. From what foe among the brutes is the hare in peril who has fled to the moon²? General Laṅkāpura, slay Kulasekhara, establish the Paṇḍu 82 king in his realm and then return." The general by name 83 Laṅkāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of war, a forest fire for the wide-spreading wilderness of the 84 foe, received with the words "Be it so!" the King's command like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many war-skilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible in battle and came to Mahātīttha.

King Kulasekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Paṇḍu 86 king with his wife and children and captured the town Madhurā by name. Laṅkāpura received from the Great king who had heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom and make it over to a scion of the house of Parakkama³. He set forth for the port Talaḍḍilla⁴ by name on the opposite coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of 88

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

² The Hindu thinks he sees the picture of a hare in the disk of the full moon, just as we speak of a "man in the moon". The moon is therefore called in P. saśin = skr. śaśīn, from saśa = saśa "hare".

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

⁴ The MSS. have all Talaḍḍilla or Talaḍḍilla, in v. 92 only the first form. The Col. Ed. reads Talābīlā with the variant Talāwɪlā, I do not know with what authority.
ships, started off and sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean. When he caught sight of the coast, since a hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep water and because with a landing just at this spot, the armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. Then when the rain of arrows from the Damilas standing on the coast, came flying, he had shields fashioned of leather set up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows and so landed in the Pāṇḍu kingdom at the port called Ta-lāḍīḷa. After putting to flight the Damilas at the port and capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought with vast forces four battles. When the five officers, Vaḍava-lāṭṭār-kka-nāḍāḷvāras, Kūṇḍayamutt-rāyara, Vilvā-rāyara, Aṇcukotṭa-nāḍāḷvāra and Narasihadeva by name, advanced to fight, he fought also with these, slew many Damilas, took away their horses, put to flight the great army and occupied Rāmissara. He fought with them while he was posted there,

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

2 P. ekadopānā. Doṣi must be taken here in the sense of a particular measure of volume, otherwise eka would be unintelligible. Skr. drōṣi means "boat" as also a measure of volume.

3 According to O. SCHRADER (private letter 22. XII 28) nāḍāḷvāra is derived from the popular Dravidian naḍu "land, district" and ul "man" (Canarese ál "soldier"). A Nāḍāḷvāra would thus be the leader of the troops of a particular district.

4 Rāyara is a title which according to O. SCHRADER, corresponds to skr. rājānāḥ. Canarese rāyara.

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

6 Skr. Eṇuṣṭvara, situated on a sandy island which joins the Indian mainland with Ādām's Bridge, with a famous temple often described but belonging to a later period (15th to 16th cent).
five combats and after fighting nine battles\(^1\) he fought\(^2\) in the tenth against the six officers Silāmegha, Naratuṅgabrahma-
98 mahārāja, Ilaṅkīya-rāyara, Aṇcukotṭa-rāyara, Palaudhiya-rāyara\(^3\) by name and him called Panasiyarāja, as well as the five 100 officers named above who had advanced with great forces. He bore away the victory, seized many horses\(^4\), slew the Damilas 101 and penetrated from Rāmissara a distance of four gāvutas\(^5\) to Kundukāla which lies between the two seas. The many 102 Damilas who had fled through fear, took refuge in the forest; he captured several of them and had them impaled there. Some of these, at the command of the Ruler of Laṅkā who 103 thought to have all the cetiyas formerly destroyed by the Damilas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Laṅkā and the 104 work of restoration begun on the Ratanavāluka-cetiya\(^6\). The 105 Sovereign of Laṅkā had the thūpa which had been destroyed by the Damilas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate the festival of the crowning ornament\(^7\), he betook himself 106 with his ministers and the court to Anurādhapura and assembled

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\(^1\) That is besides the five combats the four mentioned in v. 98.

\(^2\) The verb governing the accusative in vv. 99—100 is yuddhaya katu in v. 100 c which is treated as in 38. 36, as a transitive verb.

\(^3\) In the Col. Ed. the names Naratuṅgabrahmanahārājachayya in 98 and Panasiyarājaḥayo are changed contrary to all the MSS. into Naratuṅgabrahmanā rājarahayya and Panasiyarājarāhayya. Apparently the editors wanted to avoid the wrong close of the verse rājahayo, but in v. 96 we have just as wrong a rājarahayo which is not corrected in Col. Ed. Mentioned again later are Silamegha(ra) 76. 238, 299; 77. 90 and Ilaṅkīya 76. 191 f. For Aṇcukotṭa see above.

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

\(^5\) That is about 8 miles. Kundukāla was situated on the tongue of land jutting out from the continent to the island of Rāmasīvāra.

\(^6\) Name of the Mahāthūpā in Anurādhapura corresponding to what is now known as the Rasanavālī. It is used here for the first time. The allied designation Hemasiddhaka-cetiya occurs already in 51. 82.

\(^7\) P. thūpikāmaka. By thūpikā is understood the pointed cone resting on the cube-like structure which forms the apex or finial of the thūpa.
the great bhikkhu community on the island of Lanka. He provided the community with the four articles of use and when the fourteenth day had arrived he had made known in the town by beat of drum: “The town shall be decorated; and provided with perfumes, flowers and other offerings shall the people come to the place of the Mahāthūpa.” After he had then on the day of the full moon performed in right manner all the old customs, he himself came as the shadows grew longer, from the royal palace. In divine beauty he was adorned with costly ornaments, with crown, necklace, bracelets and the like, (all) richly set with jewels. In front of him went the ladies of the court many hundreds in number, with the grace of heavenly nymphs, their bodies decorated, and there followed him numbers of distinguished officers with richly decorated garments and resplendent in bright clothing. With the mass of the elephants and horses gleaming with their golden harness, doing reverence to the cetiya with a gift of lamps distributed over their bodies, and with the burden of the mass of human beings he pressed as it were, the earth together. With umbrellas, whisks and banners he veiled in a sense the countenance of the firmament. With the sound of the manifold instruments of music he cleft asunder the mountain ravines, with the splendour of his majesty he completely bewitched the eyes of the laity and with the beams of

1 That is the full-moon day.
2 This is the final sentence, taken up from v. 116 a b. In 116 d we have the finite verb attāsi of the whole sentence beginning with v. 107 which I have split up into its component parts, translating the participles and gerunds by principal verbs.
3 P. wālā means like skr. wālā also necklace, neck-chain.
4 In v. 110 and 111 purakkhato and aṣṇito are in opposition.
5 W. seems not to have taken account of the feminine form pājentā. It proves that the part. must be referred to hadhīassaghatātī. It is thus the elephants and the horses not “worshippers” who wore the lamps. These were probably fastened to the bodies of the animals (sabbāṅgadīpa) by means of ribbons or by a framework.
6 Of “tears of joy” there is nothing in the text; harṣapānam is a duplication of intensity.
the golden utensils, chests, banners, vessels, fans, jars and the like he steeped the place in radiant glory. Thus on he came and took his place with the splendour of the King of the gods in the court of the cetiya. Many hundreds of bhikkhus who had come hither, surrounded the cetiya, closing it round, as it were, with a railing of coral. The King then had the golden point placed on the thūpa and showed the world there-with the beauty of the Kelāsa mountain with the sun on its summit. On this day too there reigned in the town also during the night great brightness with the lamp festival of the King and because of the point placed upon the thūpa. When thus the Monarch Parakkamabāhu had celebrated the great festival of the sacred thūpa, he betook himself again to Pulattthinagara.

But the general (Laṅkāpura) had a strong camp called Parakkamapura built at Kundukāla, and as he wished to make it last long, he erected three high walls of stone, two thousand sand, four hundred cubits long and twelve gate towers, and a building with a hall square and three trenches in such a way that the waters flowed from ocean to ocean. While he tarried in this stronghold he subdued officers like Kaṅcakudiyanāra by name, Colagaṅga and others. Since in this way the power of the Sīhala was waxed from day to day, King Kulasekhara sent again Sundarapaṇḍurāja and Paṇḍurāja by name and

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1 P. piñjaraṁ karavaṁ "making ruddy, light-coloured".
2 P. paraḷavēdikāya. Here vedikā has again clearly the meaning of railing. Cf. note to 73.88. The coral colour is supplied by the reddish yellow colour of the monks' robes.
3 As ratana means the same as kattha (see 37.172) that is roughly about 1½ ft. thus the wall was 3600 ft. in extent.
4 See note to 73.23. Here there were evidently as W. supposes, barracks for the soldiers.
5 The fortifications were spread right across the whole of the peninsula and thus safeguarded it and the camp from the mainland. Tathā belongs of course to kāreṇa parikhātaya and yathā (pacchanti) refers to tathā.
6 We have to read here and in v. 130 So Kaṅcakudiyā; so refers each time to Laṅkāpura. Cf. note to 76.170,
7 Is mentioned again 76.174.
many other officers with troops to drive them thence. Laṅkāpura fought with them three combats, put them to flight and took the village called Carukkāṭṭa. And he set out from there and fought with these same officers as well as with the Damīḷa Āḷavandapperūmāḷa, a great battle, carried away the victory and captured the villages by name Koḻuvura and Maruthūpa.

In the district Kaṅcakudīya and in the district named Koḻūru the general subdued the soldiers called Maravara. In the district of Viragaṅga the mighty (general) plundered many villages and market towns such as Kuṇappunallura and others, and after subduing the powerful officer called Māḷava-rāyara and thousands of Damīḷas, he took up his abode there. Then he returned and betook himself to Parakkamapura to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay. On the march thither he gave battle to Āḷavanda who had his position at the village called Vaḍali and slew him.

Since now the powerful king Kulasekhara—who possessed the courage of a lion, whose great army was war-tried, who well understood the expedients of war—although he had sent forth his great dignitaries with big army and train had not been able to win the victory, he himself set forth to fight. Māḷava-cakkavattin, Māḷava-rāyara by name, Parittikkupūdiyāra and Treṇḍamānārāya by name; Tuvarūdhipati-

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1 Is mentioned again 76.134, 145, 223, 232.
2 This is probably the caste or rather tribe of the Marūvar living in the district of Madura (See Imperial Gazetteer of India s. v. Madura), where with the Vellālar and the Kallar (= Kallara in 76. 246) they are characteristic. They seem to be descended from the aborigines and were known in early times as fearless soldiers.
3 Cf. below in v. 137 Māḷava-cakkavattin and Māḷava-rāyara. The first name again in 76. 235, 265, 274, 284; 77. 27, the second 76. 210, 267 f. Māḷava is the name of a tribe. See Epigraphia Indica VII, Appendix, n, 10, 64, 409.
4 A veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Laṅkāpura was faced during his advance. Note too that the place Vaḍali named in v. 184 is later on again occupied by him (see v. 169) and that only after severe fighting.
5 For Māḷava see note to 70. 132. Parittikkupūdiyāra is again mention-
velāra, Virapperaya-rāyara, Seṅkuṇḍiya-rāyara and Nigaladha-rāyara by name, Karummalatta-rāyara and Nakula-rāyara, 189 Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra and Karamba-rāyara by name, Kuṇḍiyūru 140 and Athalayūru-nāḍāḷvāra by name, Kaṅgayara, the two Viragaṅgas, Muva-rāyara, Aṭṭāṭuru-nāḍāḷvāra, the three Maṇṇa-raṇyas, Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra and Keralāśihamuttara—they and other officers, as well as those named above he 142 took with him, further the remaining troops in the province of the Paṇḍu King Parakkama, the whole forces of his mother’s 143 brothers in the two Koṅgu districts and the whole of his own forces in the kingdom of Tirinavelli. Also Nīcavindavāṇava-raṇya, 144 Paṭṭi-rāyara, Taṅkuttara-rāyara and Tompiya-rāyara by name, Aḷavandapperūmāla, him called Coḷakonāra as well 145 as Tāṅgipperūmāla and Aḷakhiya-rāyara by name, him called 146 Māṇabharaṇamahārāja, Avandiya-rāyara, Muṇayadhara-rāyara by name and the Damila Viṭṭūra; also these officers with vast 147 army and train he took with him and marched near to Pa-
ed in 76. 221. As regards the other names mentioned in 187—141, Tonoḍamāṇāra occurs again in 76. 815, 77. 1 ff., Tuvarāḍhīpati again in 76. 815, 77. 67; Virapperaya again in 76. 316, 77. 6 ff., Seṅkuṇḍiya 76. 221, 77. 7, 85; Nigaladha again 77. 14 ff.; Karummalatta again 76. 216; Puṅkoṇḍa again 76. 240, 273 ff., 77. 57, 92; Athalayūru again 76. 260, 77. 27; Kaṅgayara again 76. 260, 316, 77. 15; Viragaṅga again 76. 131, 170 ff.; Muva again 76. 216; Aṭṭāṭuru again 76. 184, 214 ff., 305; Maṇṇaya again 77. 7, 85 (cf. note to 76. 220); Kaḷavaṇḍiya again 76. 267, 316, 77. 10 ff.; Keralāśihamuttara again 77. 7. Nakula, Karamba and Kaṇḍiyūra do not occur again.

1 The Col. Ed. has contrary to the MSS. Ṛhaṇḍūrū.

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

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

4 Again the Col. Ed. changes the name, contrary to the MSS. into Mundiya.
rakkamapura. "Only when I shall have cut off the heads of the Sinhalas shall this time my sacrifice to the gods in holy 
Rāmīssara take place!" Letting such lion-like cry sound 
forth, he occupied a strong encampment at the village of Erukāṭṭa 
and Idagālissara. Now in order to destroy the strong encamp-
ment of Parakkamapura, Kulasekhara sent forth a great army 
from the land side and another embarked in numbers of ships 
from the ocean. When thus the mighty force coming from dif-
ferent sides began the fight it was as if two seas overflowed their 
shores. Laṅkāpura made his great army put on their armour, 
advanced from his strong encampment and began the battle 
with the others. But the army of the Damlīṣas suffered fight-
ing in the battle (heavy loss by) sword blows and arrow shots. 
It weakened, turned tail and withdrew to its own stronghold. 
In this way it fought in the offensive three and fifty actions. 
But when King Kulasekhara saw this disaster in every combat, 
he himself set forth and sent out his troops to fight. Laṅkā-
pura had all the gates opened and placing his army like a 
great mountain in front of him, he came forth. He slew in 
combat numbers of Damlīṣas¹, took away their horses, gained 
the victory and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurum-
bāṇḍanakaḷi. While he was beginning here to build a strong 
encampment², Kulasekhara gathered together his great army 
which had been shattered in the fight, took also his picked 
troops³ whom he cherished as his life, marched bither himself 
and opened fight awaking terror among the foe. With thou-
ousands of fish, namely the (glittering) swords, with hundreds 
of waves, namely the horses, with the mass of the waters, 
namely the infantry, with the lines of surf namely the um-
brellas⁴, with the flowing of the streams⁵, namely the arrows,

¹ Of course we must read Damlīṣa 'neke.
² Loc. abs. It must be supplemented by tenā. "When by him 
(Laṅkāpura) was begun the building of a strong encampment."
³ P. sārakkhiṇaḥ mahāsenas. By sāra is meant the duramen (heart-
wood) of a tree.
⁴ The white umbrellas are the badges of the officers.
⁵ P. āpogānipātena. What is meant are the streams flowing into
with the clamorous diu, namely the drums, the whole battle-
field was terror-striking like the ocean. When thus the great 162
battle was fought, the Sihalas endowed with great courage,
stilled the twitching in their arms\(^1\). They slew Villava-rāyara 163
by name and Cojakonāra and the mighty officer, Yādhava\(^2-
\)rāyara, many hundreds of soldiers and officers of the king; 164
also they wounded the horse on which King Kulasekhara was
riding. Kulasekhara with his army turned to flee in order 165
therewith to give the Sihalas, as it were, occasion for yet
more furious sword strokes. When in fight he fled, he not 166
only surrendered his courage but also his throne, his umbrella,
his ornaments and all else. Laṅkāpura marched to the fortress 167
called Erukkāvūra where his enemy King Kulasekhara had
resided, burned it down and then after erecting a new strong-
hold, Laṅkāpura\(^3\) tarried there some time. Then he set forth
and marched to Vadjali\(^4\). Thence he advanced farther and 169
hereupon took Deviyāpattana by force. Then he betook him-
self to Siriyavala and after completely vanquishing in bitter
combat the well-armed Khuddakaṅcakaṇṭha-raẏara\(^5\) commanding
the stronghold named Koḷuvukkoṭa, he put to flight in battle
numbers of King Kulasekhara, captured also 172
this strong place and burned down seven and twenty large
villages in (the district) Dantika. Hereupon he fought with
the ocean. The comparison of the combat to the raging sea is described
exactly in accordance with the rules of Indian poetics.

\(^1\) They had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for fighting.

\(^2\) The first two names occur already in 76. 94, 145, but are also
mentioned again later on (Villava 76. 178, 183; a Cojakonāra 76. 178, 181
and 183, 77, 77 and 86, also a Yādhava 76. 173, 177). Cf. note to 76. 180.

\(^3\) Yādhava is a South Indian clan name. See EI. viii. Appendix, nr. 381,
382, 384 etc.

\(^4\) All the MSS. have here laṅkāvīda which should be adopted on
principle in the text. W. supposes it might be a corruption of kālavīda.
Not impossible.

\(^5\) See above note to v. 183.

\(^6\) The same as Cullakaṅcakaṇṭha “the small Kaṅcakaṇṭha” in 76. 185 ff.
217 ff. The name is most closely connected with that of the district
Kaṅcakuṇḍiya 76. 180, this again with the proper name Kaṅcakuṇḍiyarāja,
76. 121.
173 the Damila Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra\(^1\) dwelling in Koḷuvukkottā who was of terrible courage, with both Coḷakonāras, with the officer
174 Yādhava-rāyara and with Villava-rāyara, with the Damila
Kāliṅga-rāyara with Sundarapaṇḍu-rāyara, with Narasihadevara
175 and with Paṇḍiya-rāyara as well as with the (officers) in the
village of the brāhmaṇas, shattered them and slew many
176 Damilas. He took (as booty) many horses and armed with
troop and train, took up a position at the place named
177 Kuṇḍayamkoṭṭa. He brought into his power the three Damila
officers, Kuṇḍayamutta-rāyara, Kaḍiliya-rāyara and Yādhava-
rāyara and took up a position at that place, well understand-
ing right places. Further the great hero brought into his
179 power Paṇḍiya-rāyara in the fortress of Vikkamacoḷapperaka
180 and the three, Paṇḍimanḍala-nāḍāḻvāra, Viragaṅga-rāyara and
Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara, who were in Kāmāṅkkoṭṭa and advanced
to Maruthukoṭṭa with the object of fighting a decisive battle\(^2\).

\(^1\) Only occurs here. For Coḷakonāra see note to 76.144, for Yādhava
note to 76.163, for Villava ibidem; for Sundarapaṇḍu note to 76.126.
Kāliṅga is mentioned again 76.214 ff., 77.40.

\(^2\) Verses 170-180 form one sentence. The principal verb is pāyāsi
(180 c), subordinate to it are the gerunds in 170-172 and the gerunds
and pres. part. in 175-6 as well as those in 178 and 180 a. The nomina-
tives in 172 c—174 d, in 177 a—c and in 178 c—179 c are independent
of the construction of the sentence and are summed up with īti (ice-etcēṁ
178 a, īti āsmante tayo 177 c d, ice-etc tayo 179 d). Note how in the
account of the contests in Southern India the names of the Damila
officers repeat themselves. Only once in this passage are Kaḍiliya,
Paṇḍiyamanḍala and Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra mentioned, as well as Kaṅga-
koṇḍapperayara, with which Kaṅgakoṇḍalkalappa 77.75 may be compar-
ed. Paṇḍiya-rāyara is mentioned twice in this passage but not other-
wise, Yādhava here in v. 173 and 177, before in v. 168. In v. 163 a
Coḷakonāra, a Villava and a Yādhava are mentioned as having fallen.
Possibly these may often be place names as above in the case of
Aṇcukoṭṭa (see v. 293) rather than names of persons, Villava-rāyara
meaning for instance, the rāyara of Villava (see note to 77.9). Kuṇ-
dayamutta and Naranāhadeva occur already in 76.94-95, Viragaṅga al-
ready in 76.131, 140 and and later repeatedly (76.181 ff.). Sundarapaṇḍu
76.126. It is expressly stated that there are two Coḷakonāras (76.178).
It is the same below with Tondriya (181). The same with Ajattīru-nā-
dāḻvāra (184, 214) and with Viragaṅga (140). In v. 141 three Maṅgalya-
rāyaras are mentioned.
There he gave the Coḻakonāra, the other Tondriya, the officer 181 Suttāṇḍāra, the Damīja Viragaṅgara, Kuttāṇḍāra and others a 182 severe combat. He robbed Tondriya of his life, took his horses 183 away from him, slew many Damījas and occupied besides the fortress known by the name of Kaṅgakondāna. Then he set 184 from there, took up a position at the place named Paṇiva, fought there with the two Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāras, with Pandriyarāya, Villava-rāya and Cullakaṇcakupāḍa-rāya 1 a great 185 battle, shattered them and captured Paṇivakkotṭa. Then he 186 turned and betook himself to Kaṅgakondāna 2 where he had stood formerly. Hereupon he marched to Vālakkoṭṭa 3 to fight 187 there, fought there against Kaṇḍadevamāḷava-rāya, against the two Viragaṅgaras and the Damīja Coḻakonāra a great battle, 188 shattered them all and slew numbers of Damījas, seized from 189 them many horses and captured with this fortress (Vālakkoṭṭa) also (the fortress) Neṭṭūru 4. He himself took up a position there, brought Kuttāṇḍa(ra) 5, Viragaṅga and Tāṃgipperūmāḷa 190 and the Damījas dependent in him, many hundreds in number, as well as Ilaṅkiya and Aṇcukkoṭṭa-rāya under his influence, 191 gave them earrings and other ornaments. But on Ilaṅkiya- 192 rāya he conferred the well-known and coveted title of Rā- javesibhujaṅga-Sīlāmegha 6.

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

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1 See above v. 170 and note.
2 W. translates paccāvatto wrongly by “he proceeded to . . .” Its meaning is far rather “he returned to . . .” Cf. skr. āraṃ—ārā. Evidently the attack on Paṇiva had not the wished-for success.
3 The text here is very corrupt, but the name Vālakkoṭṭa is assured.
4 W. suggests, though doubtfully, Nellore. That is quite impossible. Nellore lies north of Madras. The scene of the combat described lay between Ramissaram and Madhurā. Cf. v. 197.
5 Cf. above v. 182.
6 The gerund datvā in 192 b shows that the sentence here is not finished. The principal verb is peseti in 196 a. For the title Rājavesibhujaṅga see note to 73. 91 c d (p. 10, n. 8).
had been saved from the hands of the foe and now, since through fear he dared not come near, was sojourning in the province of Malaya. He (Laṅkāpura) sent a messenger to him: "I have here in war again and again completely vanquished Kulasekhara together with his dignitaries and am now standing, after capturing a part of the realm, not far from Madhura at a distance of two or three gāvutas. But my Master who had in view the protection of thy royal father, has since the murder of this Ruler by his foes, at the tidings of this, given me the following charge: 'he has placed himself under my protection, if now he has been slain by the hostile king, ye shall now slay the latter and make over the realm of the Pāṇḍu King to a scion of his house, if such there be'. Therefore come without fear in haste hither, and take over the dominion in thy father's kingdom." Thus ran the friendly message in accord with the truth. When the Prince heard of this matter in the right manner, he betook himself to him without delay. Hereupon Laṅkāpura sent a letter to Laṅkā to the Great king with the news that the prince had arrived destitute. When the Great king had attentively heard this report, he sent joyfully many golden and silver vessels worthy to eat from, as well as many gold and silver lamp-stands and exquisite garments from his own stock, worthy to clothe himself with, earrings and chains and bangles set with jewels and the like as a gladdening gift. And the Prince accepted the whole of the heart-ravishing gift reverently making obeisance in the direction in which the King was.

Hereupon Laṅkāpura fought with great might against Kaṇḍadevamāḷava-rāyara in Mūndikkāra, drove him from this place and brought the Damīlas into his power in the two

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

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

3 The words ti vattaś saccaś vaco mādu in v. 201 d. refer to dūtāṃ pesesi in v. 96, comprehending the contents of the message.
districts Kilaamangala and Melamaangala while he tarried there. Then by restoring Mundikkara to Malava-rayara — whose heart was overwhelmed with fear and who bereft of all defiance, had placed himself under his protection — he placed him in his (old) position and appointed him chief of the two districts of Maangala. When then Lankapura, while tarrying in Anivalakotta, had appointed the colonel Gokanaananda who was in Mvlanannyaanakotta as chief, he set forth from there and surprised Netthuru. He fought with the officers quartered in Manaviramadhura, with the two Aatturunadavaras, with Kalinga-rayara and Kalikala-rayara a great battle. The mighty one slew many Damilas, as well as Kalikala-rayara and brought Madhurä into his possession. He brought here upon many Damilas, as well as Muvaraya and Karumbulattaraya into his power, marched then with his troops to the castle of Aatturunadavara, fought hard to subdue, with Kalinga-rayara and Cullakaancakunda-rayara a great battle, drove them with terrible courage from this place, and after he had then burnt down many well-known villages, the great hero betook himself again to Netthuru. Now there came from the south lither Cullakaancakunda-rayara, the two Aatturunadavaras, Mannaaya-rayara, further Parittikundiyura

1 Upper and Lower Maangala (W.).
2 The loc. Anivalakotta (cf. below note to v. 285) belongs equally to vasam and to (nayakam) kate. The supplementing of the word nayakam is to be inferred from gokanaanandaanayakam and nayakam vidhayam in v. 211. W. has quite a different rendering but hardly a correct one “and made him (the Malava-rayara) chief of Gokanaananda in Mvlanannyaanakotta.”
3 Mentioned already in v. 189, a proof that the fighting went on with alternate vicissitudes round about Madhura.
4 For this name see 76. 174.
5 Cf. for these names 76. 140 and 189.
6 Verses 208—219 form one sentence. They show how rapidly one event followed another. Netthuru formed, as is shown also by verses 286-7, 294, 303 ff., henceforth a main centre for Lankapurä’s operations.
7 Perhaps the same as the Maanaya-rayara mentioned in 76. 141, 77. 7 and 35. For the other names in 221—223 see note to 76. 170 (Cullaka); n. to 76. 180, 184 (Al-u), 76. 187 (Par. and Senk).
and Saṅkuṭṭi-rāyara and many other war-skilled Damiṇas, 222 officers from the immediate retinue of King Kulasekharā: 223 Kāliṅga-rāyara, Tennavanappalla-rāyara and Āḷavandapperaūmāla¹, all people hard to vanquish who after equipping their army, 224 came to the place Pāṭapata by name, their heart full of fury 225 and firmly determined this time to conquer the foe. When Laṅkāpura heard of the matter he, the expert, sent officers 226 thither with a big army and train. They marched thither, invested the fortress from all sides, burned down a score of 227 large villages near the stronghold and — after making their report, sent a messenger to Laṅkāpura to ask if they were 228 to take the fortress or not. At such tidings Laṅkāpura once more sent forth a great army and gave the charge to capture 229 the fortress. When now they received the command sent to 230 them, they began all of them to open a fearful fight. There raged between the two armies a battle — hardly bearable, awful, exasperating — like to the raging of the storm at 231 the destruction of the world. Damiṇas thousands in number they deprived of life, besides that the Tennavanappalla-rāyara 232 from the immediate retinue of the King. When Āḷavandapperaūmāla after receiving a wound, took flight, they slew the horse he had mounted and seized this and many other steeds, 233 and while they brought joyous laughter to the lotus countenance of the goddess of fortune of heroes, the Sīhalas shattered 234 with a lion’s courage the army of the Damiṇas. After Laṅkāpura had taken possession of Pāṭapata he later on brought the troops standing there over to his side.

235 Laṅkāpura betook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikoṭṭa² and subdued Māḷava-cakkavattin in Aṇcukoṭṭa. After he had 236 in like manner captured Toṇḍi and Pāsā³, he advanced to Kurundaṅkuṇḍiya to clear the region lying northwards of the

¹ Kāliṅga above 76.173 note; Āḷavandapperaūmāla 76.128, 232, Tennavanappalla falls in battle according to v. 231.
² Probably the same as above in v. 212, Anivalakkoṭṭa. The place is repeatedly mentioned below v. 276 ff. Cf. note to v. 228.
³ The two places must have lain very near together since their names 77.81 are formed into the compound Toṇḍipāsā.
enemy. After he had there subdued Vaḷuṭṭhi-rāyaṇa, he 237 bestowed on him as a gift of favour, a golden bracelet and the like. Then he marched thence and betook himself to 238 Tirivekambama. Here he subdued Silūmeghara, Kanasiya- rāyaṇa and Aṅcukoṭṭa-nājālvāra and showed them all 239 marks of favour as before (to Vaḷuṭṭhi). Thereupon the great 240 hero whose word was to be trusted, sent a message to Puṅ- koṇḍa-nājālvāra in order to bring him under his influence. But when the latter without showing himself, went to 241 Semponmāri, Laṅkāpura betook himself thither in order to capture Semponmāri. To capture this fortress a Coḷa army 242 had once upon a time marched hither and could not take it in spite of a four days' fight. This inaccessible stronghold 243 the Sīhalas with their lion-like courage, captured without allowing more time than half a day to pass. After they had 244 broken through two outerwalls and four gate-towers, they penetrated like singly marching elephants into the interior of the fortress, slew there the Damilas, many thousands in number, and conquered thus in a moment the stronghold Semponmāri. Thereupon (came) the troop of the Kallaras, the 246 Maravaras, as also the Golihaṇas and the Kuntavaras, the army of Vallakkuttāra and the troop of Ucena, as also the mighty army in the district of Aṅcukoṭṭa: these exceeding brave, hot-

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

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

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

4 See note to 76. 137.

5 Duggaṇa must be supplemented by the verb gahesuṇa from v. 245 c.

6 W. "one by one like unto so many elephants." I think however, that we must take pacekkahatthīna in the same sense as 72. 248 ("solitary elephants, rogue elephants"). Cf. the note.

7 Cf. above note to 76. 130. The troops mentioned in v. 246-7 are those belonging to particular tribes or those drawn from the men of certain districts who are capable of bearing arms.
headed forces of the Damilas, numbering some fifty to sixty thousand, surrounded thereupon the fortress occupied by the Sihalas and opened at once a most embittered fight. Then the Lańkāpura Deva¹ and the Lańkāgiri Sora opened the gate by the southern tower, accompanied by their troops (and) with a courage scarcely to be surpassed, robbed Damilas thousands of them, of their life, shattered with lion-like courage the unruly Damila army come from that direction hitherward, as lions a herd of elephants. From the southern door there broke forth at this moment the general Gokaṇṭa and the Kesadhātu Loka by name, slew many soldiers of the enemy on the battlefield and shattered to the last man the hostile forces which remained over from the slaughter. From the northern tower-gate came the mighty Kesadhātu Kitti and the officer named Jagadvijaya for which scarce any man was a match. The heroes shattered in no time the Damila army after robbing many Damila warriors of their life. Thus the Sihalas destroyed at once in a moment the whole forces of the Damilas, put them to flight, captured many steeds and found themselves — the victory gained, famous by reason of many deeds of heroism — again together in the fortress far-famed under the name of Semonmāri. Thereupon he subdued² the Kuntavaras, the soldiery of the Kallaras, the army of the Golihalas and the troop of the Maravaras, the army of Vallakkuttāra and the following of Úcena, the Athalayuruva and the soldiers of Kaṅgayara³ and their shattered army, the dwellers in Tīlāyurunādu, the army in Kalahayinādu and the dwellers of Athalayunnādu and those of Kākannādu⁴; all these Damila forces all that lay (in a line) from the village of Cellaṇu up to the frontier of the Cola region he brought into his power and bestowed on them favours as before. He accepted the gifts which were brought him by the Vessas and

¹ Already mentioned in 75. 180. Cf. further 76. 810 ff.
² I anticipate here the finite verb vasāṇo āṇesi occurring in v. 263 b.
³ For these two names see note to 76. 137.
⁴ The names of districts (nādu) in v. 261, 262 do not occur otherwise.
the Yavanas\(^1\) and distinguished these people also by countless marks of favour. To Mālava-cakkavattin who placed himself 265 under his protection he restored Semponmāri and appointed him to his (former) post. Then he set forth from there 266 and came again to Tirivekambama and starting hence he reached Kurundaṅkunḍi\(^2\).

Now Kaḷavaṇḍi-nāḍāḷvāra had in battle with great forces 267 wrested Muṇḍikkāra\(^3\) from Mālava-rāyara. Then seeing no other aid, Mālava-rāyara approached Laṅkāpura: "be thou my protection". Laṅkāpura at once summoned his best 269 officers, the two Kesadhātus, known to the people as Kitti and Loka, and the general Gokaṇṇa and charged them as 270 their commander, to open hostilities and restore Muṇḍikkāra to Mālava-rāyara. These betook themselves to the spot, began 271 a combat hard to withstand, drove the foe from Muṇḍikkāra, slew many Damilas and after they had placed Mālava-rāyara 272 once more in his former position, they returned thence to Laṅkāpura.

Another officer, Puṅkonda-nāḍāḷvāra\(^4\) by name, betook 273 himself to the place called Siriyavala, fought while there a 274 great battle with Mālava-cakkavattin, put him to flight and took the village known by the name of Jayaṅkondāna and 275 immediately after that Semponmāri itself. When the hero Laṅkāpura, best of steadfast men, heard of this event, he set 276 forth himself at once from the fortress Anivalakki and advanced, in order to take Semponmāri, to Tirivekambama\(^5\). When 277 Puṅkonda-nāḍāḷvāra learned of this event, he left Semponmāri and betook himself from there to Siriyavala. Thereupon the hero 278

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\(^1\) P. vāsa = skr. váya is the name of the third caste. Yavana does not necessarily mean the Greeks (Ionians) but all westerns living in India, more especially those of Arabian origin. See E. R. Arrows, Ceylon Notes and Queries, I, 1913, p. VIII.

\(^2\) See note to 76. 238.

\(^3\) Cf. 76. 210—211. For Kaḷavaṇḍi note to 76. 137.

\(^4\) See above note to 76. 137.

\(^5\) The continued recurrence of place names previously mentioned (cf. 76. 170; 76. 241, 258; 76. 212, 233; 76. 288, 266) shows again that all these contests were waged within a fairly circumscribed area.
Laṅkāpura marched to Semponmāri and when now Puṅkoṇḍa-279 nūjāḷvāra came thither with the intent to surrender, but
without presenting himself, betook himself again to the place
Siriyavala, Laṅkāpura also marched to the village of Siriyavala
280 and began from all sides an embittered combat. Now Puṅkoṇḍa-
281 nūjāḷvāra sent the following message: "I will submit to thee,
if safety is vouchsafed me, since I am mastered by great fear;
282 if not, I dare not come." At the tidings of this Laṅkāpura
who was himself free from fear, sent a return message with
283 the purport that he should come. At the message of the
hero Laṅkāpura whose word was to be relied on, the former
284 free of all dread, betook himself to him. Thereupon Laṅkā-
pura bestowed on him many favours, summoned also Māja-
285 va-cakkavattin to him, reconciled the two and after he had
placed them both in their former positions, the great hero
286 betook himself to Neṭṭūru. The two villages which had been
laid waste, Rājasihmahāḷa and Vāḷugāma by name he rebuilt
287 and after he had dammed up two tanks in Siriyavala and
two tanks also in Perumpalaya, he had the tilling of the fields
taken in hand.

288 The Ruler Kulasekhara took the troops in Tirinaveli¹, as
well as the troops of the two brothers of his mother in Ten-
289 koṅgu and Vadakoṅgu², and versed in the various expedients
of statecraft, such as the distribution of honours and the like,
he made deserters of many Damilas who had already been
290 subdued and began now, equipped with forces to march forth
to battle. When the prudent Laṅkāpura heard trustworthy
291 tidings of this he destroyed the traitorous Damilas root and
branch, true to the command of his Lord whose task it was
to subdue the miscreants.

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

¹ See 76. 143 with the note.
² Cf. 77. 43.
³ As he is already mentioned in v. 255 in the struggle for Sempon-
māri, it may be assumed that Laṅkāpura had sent him to Laṅkā for
reinforcements.
soldiers and steeds to Anivalakki after crossing the ocean. The far-famed Laṅkāpura likewise left Neṭṭūru and betook 294 himself to Anivalakki. He sought out the newly-arrived (Jagadvijaya), embraced him and having conversed with him 295 in heartfelt and friendly manner, the foe-crusher returned to Neṭṭūru. Setting forth from there, he came, having knowledge 296 of the right places, to the place known by the name of Mundramaddhāna and took up far-famed for his courage, his position there. At the place called Kīlakoṭṭa and at the place 297 by name Maṅgalama¹ he fought with the Damilas, slew many soldiers, took such foes as one was obliged to seize, alive and 298 captured many horses which had been left on the battlefield. Then he set forth from there, came to Orittīyūrutombama and 299 endowed with a surplus of invincible courage, he fought with Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra, Silāmeghara and Aṅcukkoṭṭa-nāḍāḷvāra² 300 a great (and) terrible battle. After cutting down many Da- 301 milas he betook himself to Siriyavala, burned down the two- storeyed palace of Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra who had not submitted 302 to him and marched from the place Tirikkāṇappera farther. The general Jagadvijaya now advanced from Anivalakki to 303 Neṭṭūru, set forth from there and shattered, himself un- 304 approachable³, the fortresses called Madhurammāṇavīra, Pāṭtanallūru and Sorapāṇḍakkoṭṭa. Returned to Neṭṭūru he tarried 305 there and brought the two Aṭṭūru-nāḍāḷvāras and Cullakaṇca- kuṇḍa-rāyara⁴ to submission. When once the hero with great 306 forces came to Pāṭtanallūru, he sent to Laṅkāpura the follow- ing message: “Thou must come with greatest haste to the 307 river called Vayiga; I must needs see thee, there is some- thing to report.” When the hero Laṅkāpura received these 308 tidings, he set off with all speed thence and began the march with large forces. The hostile army which was standing at 309

¹ Cf. below note to 77. 38.
² The three named here belonged to those chieftains who having submitted to Laṅkāpura (v. 280 ff., v. 233) had since deserted (v. 289).
³ Pun on dugge—duggama, the latter referring to the subject. The skr. durgama is an epithet of Śiva.
⁴ See above v. 220 and note.
310 the place called Tirippāḷūru, saddled its numerous horses, came hither and halfway began to fight a terrible combat with the Laṅkāpura Deva and the other heroes who were present in the battle. Thereupon the heroes dispersed the great army even as the beams of the sun spreading forth (disperse) the mass of the darkness. Thus did Laṅkāpura whose bravery was as the fire of the last day, capture in a moment Tirippāḷūru and took up his abode there. The officer by name Jagadvijaya, versed in good counsel, shattered the great army of Damiḷas dwelling in Pannaṭṭānkoṭha, capable of starting a battle on the battlefield, brought the fortress into his power and halted there.

315 King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvarādhi- pativejāra, as well as Tovādanārama, Vīrappayarā and Nigaya-rāyara, Kalavandiya-nājāvāra and the other Kaṅga- yara¹, made his many soldiers ready for battle and betook himself, his loins girt for battle, to Rājinā. The great general of terrible courage charged his terrible army to give battle to Laṅkāpura. The hero Laṅkāpura thereupon, expert in affairs, explained the affair to Jagadvijaya: “In order together with me to put to flight the Monarch Kulasekhara, thou must so as to attack from the one side, make thy troops ready for battle and come hither with all haste.” After he had sent him a message of such purport and had at the same time equipped his own strong army, he set forth from there and fought a great battle with the Damiḷas. They were van- quished, withdrew at once to Rājinā, closed the tower-gates with the small and the great gates and the Damiḷas now with their Monarch kept to the centre of the town.

324 Thereupon the heroes at the head, the general Gokaṇṇa, the Kesadhātu named Loka and the Laṅkāpura Deva, who had arrived at the west gate, began to tear down the walls and to blow up the tower-gates. The Laṅkāpura Deva and the general Gokaṇṇa after shattering walls and tower-gates, pen-

¹ Nigaya is mentioned again in the sequel (77. 69). As regards the other names see note to 76. 137.
trated within. But the haughty Kesadhātu, the mighty Loka by name, thought: by the way the others went I go not; he slew numbers of heroic warriors, brought down many steeds, blew up the southern gate and at once penetrated within. Thereupon Kulasekhara fled, his heart overwhelmed with fear, no longer even master of the clothes he wore, by the postern of the eastern tower-gate which he had had opened, and by a lucky chance he escaped out of the hands of his foes. These all cut down numbers of soldiers of the Damiśas, took away many horses and much treasure of many a kind, and shaking their garments, dancing around, clapping their hands and rejoicing, they celebrated the festival of victory. Thereupon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya entered Rājinā along with the other heroes.

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

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

1 The loc. gopura stands for the gen. gopurassva; pācinaḍeśāra gopura means the same as pācinaḍagopuraḍeśāra.
CHAPTER LXXVII

THE CONQUEST OF THE PANDU KINGDOM

1 The Monarch Kulasekhara who had fled thence through fear found again a firm footing in Touḍamāna's mountain fortress.
2 The forces of Viranukkara and other (soldiers) from Kakkola, 3 the forces of Madhuraddhamakkāra came to Rājinā, related the whole story of King Kulasekhara and persuaded Laṅkāpura to betake himself at once to Madhurā. Thereupon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya equipped with great luck, 5 set forth for the town of Madhurā, gave over to the Prince Virapāṇḍu the dwelling of his royal father, which was his birthplace, and took up their abode in the town. They had summoned to them the three Virapperayaras: him called Sirivallabha, Rājā Nārāyaṇa, and him called Parakkamapāṇḍu, 7 (further) the officer Maṅgayāraya and Senkuṇḍi-rāyara, the 8 other Virapperayara Keraḷasīhamuttara 3 and bestowed on them ornaments and the like. To Cōḻagāṅgara who had submitted, 9 they made over the supreme direction of the district Parittikkuṇḍi 4 formerly administered by him, and restored him to his former position. Kaḻavāṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra 5 came indeed with the intention of submitting 6, but when he had entered Madhurā,

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1 Cf. above 76. 137.
2 Evidently local troops which had voluntarily submitted to the victor.
3 Virapperayara is clearly a title here. Cf. 76. 138 and 316. Of the other names Maṅgayā is mentioned 76. 141, 77. 85, Senkuṇḍi 76. 138 (q. v.) and Keraḷasīhamuttara 76. 141.
4 Cōḻagāṅgara is mentioned 76. 124. The place name Parittikkuṇḍi is met with in Parittikkuṇḍi-yāra 76. 187 and 221.
5 See 76. 141.
6 P. case hēṣṣaṭi as or. recta. Cf. a similar phrase 75. 85.
he thought: I fear to let myself be seen, and returned without presenting himself, to his place. Thereupon Lankāpura marched into his district to take it. The unrivalled one, equipped with great power and courage, offered him battle, defeated him and captured Aḻavānagiri. Kaḻadvendiya–nāḍāvāra and another named Sūradeva submitted and besought the general for the restoration of his district; at his request Lankāpura handed over to him the district. Then the far-famed betook himself to the district of Kurumba-rāyara and after he had also subdued Kurumba-rāyara and likewise brought Kaṅgayara in Niyama into his power, the hero betook himself later to the place called Tiripputtūru in order to make subject to himself also Nīgāḷadha-rāyara.

Nīgāḷadha-rāyara gathered together his own army, took with him also the Coḷa officers, Akalaṇka–nāḍāvāra and Kaṅcamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Kīcchārattarayara as well as their numerous troops and the many horses in their possession, marched thence and began a combat hard to withstand. But the army of the Sīhalas transformed the 20 hostile host together with steeds and infantry — stretching three āvutas wide from Tiripputtūru to Ponnaamaravatī, along the highway between the two places — into a single mass of flesh. After it had shattered these vast forces it came to 22 Ponnaamaravatī, burned down the three-storeyed palace built there, and after setting fire to many other houses and well-filled granaries of rice, the hero (Lankāpura) in order to rob the inhabitants of their fear, had the drums beaten, took the 24 people who were settled in the district under his own dominion and returned to Madhurā.

1 Of the names mentioned in vv. 13—16 those of Sūradeva and Kurumba do not otherwise occur. For Kaḻavāṇdīya see 76. 141, for Kaṅgayara see 76. 140, for Nīgāḷadha 76. 138.
2 Akalaṇka, Mayulappa and Kīcchārattarayara are mentioned again later (77. 55 ff.).
3 The front extended thus over a distance of something like six miles (cf. 73. 154 and note).
4 The subject changes in this sentence. In the principal sentence...
Now the Monarch (Parakkamabahu) whose commands stand firm, sent the order to hold the festival of the coronation for Prince Vira-pandu. When Lanka-pura heard of this command of the King's which could not be gainsaid, he set about making the preparations for the consecration. He then charged the Lambakaṇṇas Mālava-cakkavattin, Mālava-rāyara and Athala-yūru-nā═āvāra to carry out the duties of the Lambakaṇṇas, had then as one whose commands are scarcely to be evaded, the drums beaten in the kingdom and gathered together all the officers in the Paṇḍu realm at the head of their own troops and adorned with all their ornaments. Then in a temple of the deities to the north of the palace of former kings, adorned with the drums of victory captured aforetime, the highly-famed one carried out the consecration of the Prince and made him in accord with tradition, walk round the town, his right side turned towards it.

Meanwhile the Ruler Kulasekhara who had fled to the mountain fortress of Toṇḍamāna, had brought Toṇḍamāna round to his side. He took his army as well as his own troops, and together with Anuśivisamiddha, a man of terrible courage, he set forth from that hill fortress and reached the important stronghold called Maṅgalama into which he entered.

With Maṇḍya-rāyara and Seṅkuṇḍiya-rāyara who had submitted to the Sihalas he fought a great battle; he captured their fortress and took up a position there. When Lanka-pura heard of the matter and how it had happened, he thought:

"Only when I shall have driven the hostile Ruler from this

(v. 24) viro is the subject and āga═či the finite verb. The gerunds occurring in vv. 21—23 have as subject sena Siḥalādāsā. They are thus again treated as absolute locatives. Cālavā. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI.

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

2 Thus according to 77. 7. It must be assumed that the Toṇḍamāna named in v. 32 who figures in 76. 315 as one of Kulasekhara's followers, had submitted to the Sihalas, but under Kulasekhara's influence had again deserted them.
place and cleansed this district so rich in mountain and forest strongholds shall I return." He left the town of Madhurā, 38 put up a stronghold near Maṅgalamukoṭṭa\(^1\) and took up his position there. With mighty forces they fought a great battle 39 with the three brothers of the wife of Tōṇḍamāṇa: Kallakka-\(^{40}\) velāra, Muṇayadha-rāyara and Kāliṅga-rāyara\(^3\), captured the 41 fortress, slew many Damiḷas and after later on taking Sivaliputtūru also the highly-famed ones\(^3\) took up a position there. 42 Thereupon the hostile Monarch Kulasekhara gathered together the troops standing in Tirinaveli\(^4\), sent also to the two brothers 43 of his mother a message and took the troops in Tenkōṅgu and Vaḍakoṅgu\(^5\) and after the great general had brought 44 this whole army together, he gave the order to halt at the fortress called Sāntaneri. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 45 Jagadvijaya immediately set forth on the way to take this strong- hold. To bar the way to the enemy Kulasekhara versed in the 46 right expedients, had the great tank pierced. When the hero 47 Laṅkāpura heard tidings of this he said: "When one goes forth to fight a decisive battle with the foe the sight of a pierced 48 tank on the way is not good." So the mighty one immediately had it dammed up again. Thereupon he advanced with great 49 forces and courage against yonder strong fortress, fought a bitter fight, broke quickly into it, slew him called Kallakka-\(^{50}\) velāra and many other Damiḷas and captured numbers of horses of the Damiḷas. Then they pressed forward into the two vil- 51 lages belonging to Tōṇḍamāṇa, called Tirimalakke and Kattala, burned down the village called Tirimalakke so that nought 52

\(^1\) Of course the same as the fortress Maṅgalama mentioned in v. 34, and which also occurs in 76.297.

\(^2\) For the two last names cf. 76.146 and 76.174 ff. The first occurs again 77.50.

\(^3\) Instead of the sing. (*Laṅkāpura* v. 36 e) the new sentence (from v. 39 a b) has the plur. What is meant are Laṅkāpura and his generals. Sivaliputtūra is the present Srivilliputur (cf. also W.) in the Tinnevelli District not far from the borders of Travancore.

\(^4\) See 76.143 and 288 and notes.

\(^5\) See 76.288.
but its name remained, because it was there that the Paṇḍu king Parakkama had been murdered. Then he set forth from there and after reaching the village Coḷakulantaka the highly-famed one tarried there for some time. King Kulasekhara now took the two brothers of his mother, also the troops of the twain and their many horses, further Akalaṇṭa-nāḍāḷvāra, Pallava-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara, Kaṇḍamba-rāyara and Kiccārattarayara who was endowed with great power and courage, and with all these Coḷa officers and their numerous army as also with Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra and his troops and with Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra at the head of his army, the mighty one came himself to the place called Palaṅkottā and ordered his great army to Paṇḍunāḍukottāna and the place called Uriyeri, this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of the foe. Thereupon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya went forth from the village of Coḷakulantaka to battle. They so planned it that the hostile army which had occupied the two great fortresses, were disinclined for giving battle in the open field, had then a great entrenchment made at the village of Uriyeri above the tank and took up a position there during the night. But the hostile army which had occupied the two fortresses, dispersed and went thither where the Ruler Ku-

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

2 There is a change again in number, this time from the plur. (pavitta) in v. 51 c to the sing. (niśdittha) in 53 c.

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

4 The locatives Paṇḍunāḍukottāna and Uriyerivhaye thāne are directly dependent on niyajesi. The skr. niyajayati is also used with the locative of that to which anyone is determined or commanded. In 72. 207 we have the same as in this passage Kyānagāme niyajete. Cf. further 77. 82. It is therefore quite unnecessary to change thāne into thāme as is done by the Col. Ed. — Palaṅkottā (see also W.) is the present Palam-kotta in the Tinnevelli District.

5 That is Paṇḍunāḍukottāna and Uriyeri.
lasekhara was standing. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 64 Jagadvijaya well discriminating between favorable and unfavorable places, marched to Palaṅkotṭa. The heroes fought 65 a terrible battle with the hostile sovereign, slew many warriors captured many steeds, put the Monarch Kulasekhara at once 66 to flight and took Palaṅkotṭa. Then they set forth from there, came into the domain of him called Tuvarādhipativelāra and 67 received the horses and elephants supplied by him. But when 68 they heard: the Monarch Kulasekhara has come to Madhurā, they in order to drive him from this place, hereupon marched 69 to Adharaṭṭeri, subdued there Nigaya-rāyara and showed him many marks of favour. Now when they again set forth from 70 this place the Ruler Kulasekhara smitten with fear, betook himself to the Coḷa country. Hereupon Laṅkāpura charged 71 the dignitary by name Jagadvijaya, to take up a position at the place called Pāṭtanallūru. He himself went at the head 72 of his troops to Tiriikkānapper. But King Kulasekhara had meanwhile by various entreaties won over the Coḷa King to 73 his side and at the command of this king he took the army and the many horses of him called Pallava-rāyara, also 74 him called Inandanapada together with Toṇḍamāna, the rāyara called Rājarājakalappa, further Kaṅgakoudakalappa-rāyara, as 75 well as the Nakāranibilupa-rāyara, the hero Niccavinodavaṇava- 76 rāyara, Naraśīhapadmara and Sekkrapadma-rāyara, Rājindabrahmamahārāja and Mādhava-rāyara... as also Coḷakonāra, Janābrahmamahārāja and Coḷatirikka-rāyara... these troop 78 leaders in Uccaṅkuṭṭha he took with him, with these he took also 79 Niyarāya and Kappiṇcimpekula, further Mādhava-rāyara and Kaṇḍuvēṭṭi, further Koṅgamaṅgala-nubāḷvāra, Akaḷaṅka-nubāḷ- 80 vāra and Kaṇḍamba-rāyara, as also Kiḷamaṅgala-nubāḷvāra, Visālumutta-rāyara and their many horses and sent them to 81

1 The context shows that Tuvarādhipativelāra (for whom see 76.138, 815) had submitted voluntarily.
2 The fact that Kulasekhara can dare to attack Madhurā which was formerly (see v. 38) in Laṅkāpura’s hands, shows that so far he had suffered no overwhelming defeat. He even succeeds in enlisting the Coḷas in his cause.
3 Of the numerous names mentioned here six occur earlier: Pallava
82 Tondji and Pasa. When Lankapura heard of the matter he was minded to so destroy them that only their name should remain. The hero ordered the general Jagadvijaya by name to Madhurā, he himself then set forth from Tirikkänappera and marched to the town of Kilenilaya situated on the borders of Madhurā. Now the mighty Cola army opened the great combat. For a distance of four gävutas he filled the road with corpses, he also slew many soldiers who had flung themselves into the sea and dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe. He took (as booty) many horses and captured many Damilas alive — Rājindabrahmamahārāja and Nandipadmara, Narasihapadmara and Colakonāra — and again with great forces, burned to the ground Vaḍamanamekkundy, Maṇamekkundy and Maṅcakkundy. Then having laid waste by fire a strip of the Cola country seven gävutas in extent and thus quelled the Colas, he returned thence, and when he came to the village called Velaṅkundy under the dominion of Nigaladha-rāyara, he sent to him the message to appear before him. But as Nigaladha-rāyara was at that time under the sovereignty of King Kulasekhara he took the Monarch Kulasekhara, as well as Silameghara, and Akalaṅka-nūḍālvāra and Kaudambā-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Visūlamutta-

77.55, Tondjamāna 76.187, Neeccavindavāyava 76.144, Colakonāra 76.145, Akalaṅka 77.17, Kaudambā 77.55. Cf. the accompanying notes. The name Mādhava-rāyara is twice mentioned. Three occur later: Narasihapadmara 77.86, Rājindabrahma 77.86, and Visūlamutta 77.91. Cf. with Kaṅgakonḍakalappa, Kaṅgakonḍapparyaya 76.180 note; with Kila-

maṅgala-nūḍālvāra, the name of the district Kilaṅgalaṅgala in 76.209; and with Kandjuveṭṭi the name of Narasihā’s capital Kandjuvedhi in 47.7.

1 P. Tondpāsas. Cf. note to 76.286.
2 About 8 miles.
3 The description is extraordinary. From what has gone before the battle must have taken place in the neighbourhood of Madhurā, therefore not near the sea.
4 Nandipadmara is not mentioned in the list given in v. 78 ff.
5 About 14 miles.
6 For Nigaladha cf. 76.188, 77.16 f.
rāyara, Kalavandi-nādāḻvāra and the troops of Tirinaveli, and 92 Puṅkonda-nādāḻvāra, and with mighty forces he came to Ponnamaruvati¹ to fight a decisive battle. When Laṅkāpura 93 received tidings of these events he set forth with great forces from Velaṅkunḍi to vanquish the hostile ruler. The hostile 94 army which advancing from five sides², began the battle he shattered in a moment with fearsome courage, slew Damīlas 95 thousands in number, took (as booty) many horses and put the Ruler Kulasekhara to flight. Nigaḷadha-rāyara thereupon sent 96 in his terror the message: “Thou shalt have the whole of my treasures and my many horses, and shalt pardon my of 97 fence, but thou must by no means prepare my destruction³.”

When Laṅkāpura heard that he sent a return message: “Thy 98 treasures and thy horses are of no use to me, fear not and 99 come in person and present thyself”. When he heard that, he came to seek out Laṅkāpura. When the latter saw him he showed him favour, assigned him the province and gave abundant money with which to rebuild his palace which had been burned down. Then the far-famed one started forth, 100 came to Niyaṇa and freed the whole province from the briers (of the enemy). He introduced into the country everywhere 102 for trade kahāpanas which were stamped with the name of the Ruler Parakkama. To Prince Virapandu he made over 103

¹ According to 77. 20 ff., Laṅkāpura had already fought with Nigaḷadha for Ponnamaruvati. In the list enumerated in v. 73 ff. the following of Nigaḷadha’s allies are not mentioned: Sīlāmeghara (cf. note to 76. 99), Malayappa (77. 18, 55), Kalavandi (76. 141) and Puṅkonda (76. 139). For Tirinaveli see 76. 143. — Vv. 84—92 form in the original one sentence. The subject however, changes. The subject belonging to all the gerunds in 84-89 (up to pahinītuṇa) is Laṅkāpura, from v. 90 onwards it is so (Nigaḷadha-rāyaro). We must therefore again assume that the preceding gerunds are treated as locative absolutes (Cūlava. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI) S. and B. try to overcome the difficulty by emendation, they change pahinītuṇa (v. 89 c) into pahinītitaḥ.

² W. refers agama to the subject (Laṅkāpura) bhimaseikkāmo but it is really subordinate to pavattita in pavattitamahāhavanuḥ sattusenaṇāṃ.

³ The text is corrupt. I have tried to help matters by a conjectural rendering (vināsenaṇāṃ) which seems to me not quite so far-fetched as the emendations of the Col. Ed.
the government and sent with speed to Sihala the many horses, men and elephants captured from the Coḷa country and from the Paṇḍu land.

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

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

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

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

THE BUILDING OF VIHĀRAS

Now after the sovereign of Lāṅkā, Parakkamabāhu who 1 had received consecration as king, who was experienced in statecraft, had thus made peaceful the land of Lāṅkā, he 2 cherished, full of zeal, the wish to further the advancement of the Order of the Master for which he had striven when attaining the royal dignity, since it was a most excellent merit. Since he perceived that the few loyal bhikkhus — apart 3 from the maintenance of wives and children and so forth by the community in the villages belonging to the community, in 4 which they saw their sole duty, beyond which there was none — did not wish to have ceremonies in common, nor even to see one another1, he desired even before the purification of 5

1 The sentence is difficult. I think the meaning is this that the attitude of the few loyal bhikkhus (susīlē kecī bhikkhavo) who would not hear of intercourse and of common action with the others, shows the evil conditions existing in the Saṃgha. The dussilā bhikkhavo were in the majority, the susīlā were isolated. As regards the construction of the sentence, I believe that puttadārādiṭipasanaṇy is governed by thapetvā (4a) and ekakamuddāmi dūsanam pi by s'ākunkhante. By saṃghagāma are meant the villages in which the men were active as ārāmikā. Wives and children of the ārāmikā were supported by the monastery and this was the only duty from which the susīlā bhikkhavo did not absolve themselves and the one which brought them into contact with the others. W's version according to which the priests had only thought of the feeding of their (former) wives and children I consider impossible. The text reads: saṃghassa puttadārādiṭipasanaṇy. But one cannot say that the Saṃgha has children and wives. Only the individual bhikkhu has these. Thus the gen. saṃghassa does not belong to puttadārādi but to posanaṇy. Note too the ādi. This refers to sick
the Order¹, for the purpose of furthering the Order of the Victor, to achieve unity² among the bhikkhus of the three 6 fraternities. Even as the Ruler of men Dhammāsoka (with) Moggaliputtatissa, so he entrusted the Grand therī Mahā-7 kassapa by name, with the task — an experienced man who knew the Tipiṭaka and was exceedingly well versed in the Vinaya, a light of the race of therīs, conciliatory, long since 8 consecrated. He made the therī Nānapāla in Anurādhapura together with his pupils and the bhikkhus in the province 9 of Sabara³ come to Pulatthinagara, further together with the therī Moggallāna, the therī Nāgindapalliya and all the other 10 bhikkhus in the province of the Yuvarāja⁴, as well as those belonging to the three fraternities in Rāhāpa after he had placed at their head the distinguished therī Nanda who dwelt

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

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

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

³ Apparently the present province of Sabaragamuwa.

⁴ That is in Dukkhipadėsa. The bhikkhus mentioned in vv. 8-10 are not named in the inscription.
in the Selantara monastery. Hereupon the Ruler sent a summons to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra for (bringing about) the mutual concord.

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

1 I have kept as much as possible to the reading of the MSS. and believe that vinīcchayaṇamāṇḍala denotes a secret judicial process in contrast to the official dhammakammā of the Order (see note to 89.57). For the meaning “hidden, concealed” for ṛśita cf. Mhva. 75.153 where however, it is combined with a loc., as well as vinavuttika, 47.3, “leading a solitary, hidden life”. The Col. Ed. renders iccham eke nissajjam pi na vinīcchayaṇamāṇḍala and W. translates accordingly: “and many wished not even to sit (with their brethren) in the hall of judgement”.

2 Cf. note to 54.48. One may compare sīnerukkhipanena with sākkhavākkhipana “the hurling of stones” (as an accomplishment, sīppa, JāCo. L. 418.80).

3 Vaṭṭgāmaṇī Abhaya. The story of the separation of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra from those of the Mahāvihāra is related in Mhva. 53.96 ff.
the inmates of the Jetavana—who had separated themselves
from the days of the Ruler of men Mahāsena\(^1\), (they) who
gave out as Buddha’s word the Vetulla-Piṭaka\(^2\) and the like
which were no words of Buddha and who had turned away
from religious duties—into concord with the inmates of the
Mahāvihāra who were rich in all virtues, even as glass stones
with jewels. But as they lacked inward virtue as moral
dicipline and the like, they came even through the influence
of the Great community and of the King to no joyful ac-
ceptance of the Buddha teaching. And while the just King
together with people versed in the right method held the
trial, he found not a single member of the Order that had
kept himself unspoiled\(^3\). He caused many ascetics to be received
as sāmaṇeras, the undisciplined he dismissed and gave them
lucrative positions. While thus within a short time achieving
purification and unity, he with great pains established again
the community as it had been in Buddha’s time.

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

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1 See Mhv. 37. 32 ff.
2 For the heretical Vetullavāda to which the Dhammarucika monks
living in the Abbayagiri monastery adhered, see Mhv. 36. 41, 110 ff.
3 P. pakatatta, lit. “with the original self (being, character)”. In
Vin. I. 260\(^{12}\) the word means “in the original condition, restored, cured”;
In JāCo. I. 236\(^{22}\) it has a similar meaning to that in our passage as
attribute of bhikkhu along with stīlavāvipassanāya yuttapayutto.
4 On the bank of the Mahaveliganga.
5 Even to-day the monks in Ceylon in order to be quite undisturbed,
are fond of performing their rites in a pavilion built on piles in a sheet
of water about a stone’s throw from the bank.
Now for the bhikkhus increased in this manner to many 31 hundreds the King was desirous of building in goodly fashion large vihāras, suitable for dwelling in. He (therefore) founded 32 the great monastery by name Jetavana¹, making as it were visible to the eye the beauty of the Jetavana (in Sāvatthī²). For the theras dwelling there in the sacred district, firmly 33 persevering in discipline, he built eight costly pāsādas, three storeys high. For the therā named Sāriputta who persevered 34 firmly in discipline, he erected a vast (and) glorious pāsāda with rooms, terraces and chambers. Also nine incomparable, 35 three-storeyed image houses (he built) furnished with all appurtenances³ and diversely adorned with images. For the 36 seventy-five parivenas (he built) as many long pāsādas with charming figures (painted), two storeys high; (further) one 37 hundred and seventy-eight small pāsādas, thirty-four gate-towers and two houses for books; huts, grottoes, halls and many 38 sleeping-houses with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods, Brahmīs and the like. Creating out of 39 brick and stucco an elixir for the eyes⁴ (he built) the Tivanka house for the Tivanka image⁵, shimmering with rows of figures 40

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

² The monastery was like its namesake in Anurādhapura, called after the celebrated park in Sāvatthī which Anātha-pinjaka presented to the Buddha and the Order. See Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 166; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 28.

³ For paṭiyatta as substantive in the meaning of "equipment, articles of clothing or of general use", cf. Mhvs. 29. 22. The alteration by the Col. Ed. into sattatīmatte I cannot approve of. The numeral adj. is nova in nauḍḍapaṭisaṃvante— as is proved by all the MSS. — which S and B likewise felt obliged to alter. The Col. Ed. treats the text too arbitrarily. I believe that paṭiyatta here means all the ornaments and garments belonging to a Buddha image with which it is decked out on festive occasions. Cf. note to 38. 64 (towards the end) and to 38. 66.

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

⁵ It is difficult to say what is meant by tivanka in t-ghara and
41 of lions, kinnaras¹, geese and the like, with many diversely perforated balustrades² and with railings. (Further he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic³, adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls⁴ and so forth. (Further the built) three sermon halls, a cetiya⁵; eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks and one hundred and seventy-eight privies.

†-paṭimā. Mr. Paramavitaraka, the epigraphist of the ASC. (letter of 25-4-28) assumes that the term means the same as tribhaṅga. This is the name given in Indian Iconography to a statue with “three bends”, that is in the posture in which Viṣṇu or the Nāgas are often represented. He refers to Selalihinisandesha 68, where there is a mention of Tivaṅka images in the Kelani-vihāra and believes that this passage in the Mhva. refers to these very statues in Kelaniya. It cannot be a Buddha image which is meant in this case. It seems to me certain that the tivaṅka-gaha of our passage refers to a building in Pulatthinagara and in the Jetavann-vihāra. But cf. note to 85. 66. The most likely seems to be the Heṭa-dā-gē, an image house on the Quadrangle with three Buddha figures (cf. Hocart, 1.1., p. 5) or that building known as the Thāpārāma also situated there. The first seems however, to be a work of Nissaṅka-Malla (80.19 and note), while the other belongs to the time before Parakkamabāhu. The expression tivaṅka remains however in both cases inexplicable.

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

² P. jātakañāṭa, lit. net-enclosure.

³ Without doubt the Vaṭa-dā-gē situated on the Quadrangle opposite the Heṭa-dā-gē. BSL, 1.1., p. 21 ff. and Rep. ASC. 1904, p. 5 ff. Hocart, 1.1., p. 4. It is a circular building consisting of two concentric terraces. On the upper terrace was a cetiya in which the relic was preserved. In an inscription on the outer stairs Nissaṅka Malla boasts that he has had the building made. It is however evidently a case of restoration. The outer staircase is indeed of later origin.

⁴ I take bhiti “outer wall” to mean the railings leading round the terraces.

⁵ There is no stūpa in the domain of the Jetavanā. One must assume therefore that the terraced tower Sat-mahāl-piṭāda on the Quadrangle was built as a cetiya. It could not serve as a dwelling, for it is as massive as a dagobha with nothing but a tunnel-like circular passage in the basement.
After he had thus by cleansing the Order, cleansed the inward impurity of the bhikkhus, in order to cleanse the outward impurity, that one might be able to bathe in great heat he had eight bath-houses of stone erected, named Vaṭṭanahanakotṭha, Gubānahanakotṭha, Padumanahanakotṭha, Bhaddanahanakotṭha\(^1\) and so forth, adorned with pillars, staircases and railings. There also the Great king had many walls built. Thus there were in Jetavana in all five hundred and twenty buildings. With the distribution of abundant articles of use, he made the community take up its abode there.

Further the Prince had built there the Ālāhana-parivena\(^2\) which had all the distinguishing marks (belonging to such a building), being not too far away and the like, and which was universally acknowledged as beautiful. There he built for the thera a splendid pāsāda with rooms and terraces, with a choice of various apartments, embellished by turrets, three storeys high. Further forty long pāsādas and as many privies, eight small pāsādas and six gate-towers, thirty-four fire-houses and two larger outer walls, the Subhadda-cetiya and the Rūpavati-cetiya\(^3\); besides that a charming image house of five storeys for which — as it was adorned with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods and Brahmans and embellished with buildings, with turrets, grottoes, apartments

\(^1\) The "round bathing-house", "cave-", "lotus-b.-h." and the "bathing-house of happiness". The temple on the Quadrangle popularly known as the Thūpārāma is not mentioned among the buildings of the Jetavana, probably because it already belonged to the time before Parakkamabāhu. Hocart, l. i., p. 5.

\(^2\) H. W. Compton is certainly right when he says that the description in the Mahāv. proceeds from south to north. In chap. 78 the secular buildings in the citadel and its immediate neighbourhood are mentioned. In chap. 78 follow the monastic foundations joining it on the north. The Ālāhana-parivena is therefore probably the group of buildings lying outside of the city which is now popularly but wrongly called the Jetavanārāma.

\(^3\) To the group of buildings which we assume formed the Ālāhana-parivena there belonged in fact several stūpas. The largest of these is popularly known as the Kiri-vehema. More to south lies the Rankot Dagoba. This has, however, nothing to do with the Ālāhana-parivena,
54 and halls⁴ — the name of Laṅkātilaka was befitting⁵. In this (temple) he had erected a standing image which was an elixir for the eyes⁶, which had the size of the living Buddha⁷, which (likewise) was called Laṅkātilaka. (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Upasatha-house which bore the name of Boddhasāmāpāsāda, which was furnished with numbers of 56 turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places⁸. To determine the boundary⁹

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

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

² The name still sticks to the image house of the Āḷāhana group. It is proved besides by an inscription on the building itself in which Parakramabāhu is named as its builder. See H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1910—11 (= X. 1914), p. 30 ff. Lately an exact description of the plan of the building has been given by A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. II, 1926, p. 11 ff. This plan agrees on the whole with that of the Thāpārāma (see above note to v. 46). As regards the name of the temple, tīlaka means "a patch of coloured stuffs worn on the forehead as ornament... or as emblem of a sect" (BR.); at the end of a compound it means "ornament of something", here therefore "ornament of the Island of Laṅkā". — The construction of the sentence is as follows: gatika in v. 53a stands for the loc. yambi (paṭimāgehe) and to this then belong the locatives gaṭānā and sabbāte in v. 52.

³ See above note to v. 39.

⁴ According to Bell's calculation (I. 1, p. 36) the statue in the Laṅkātilaka temple when intact, measured 41 ft. in height (roughly 12.5 m.).

⁵ It is generally supposed that the remains of this building are to be found in the so-called "priory" situated in the domain of Āḷāhana-parivena and remarkable for its quantity of small and narrow cells (paṭīrāpāgaha "cage"!). Cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1911—12 (= III. 1915), p. 81 ff.

⁶ P. bandhāpetuṁ tahiṁ śiṁam. By śiṁa is meant the boundary line enclosing the monastic buildings within which alone ecclesiastical acts could legally be performed. The regulations for establishing such a śiṁa are to be found in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga 2. 6 ff. (= I. 106 ff.). Cf. with our passage Mhva. 15. 188—194, where it is related of King
there the King betook himself, adorned with all his ornaments, with the dignitaries and the ladies of the court, with a vast army and with his train in the splendour of the King of the gods, to the great vihāra. At the invitation of the Great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the 58 Monarch — with the tune of songs of praise, with the sound of musical instruments and the noise of the shouts of greeting filling the four regions of the heavens, surrounded by many people bearing golden and other jars and baskets and many banners and umbrellas — took with great solemnity the golden plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and went forth ploughing the furrow. To remove all scruples regarding landmarks formerly drawn at this spot, the bhikkhu community took up a position at different points, after previously by a solemn act, bound to bring full success, removing in due order the ancient landmarks and made known to the King the landmarks along the furrow (which he ploughed). The King drew three partial boundaries and a main boundary. The boundary stones set up in the eight regions of the heavens, east and so forth, were distant (measured) with a staff five cubits in length from the Lankātillaka temple forty-

Devānampiyatissa how he draws in person the śīva of the Mahāvihāra, just as Parakkamabāhu that of the Ajāhanaparivena. The two descriptions have a considerable resemblance to each other even in the wording (cf. 78. 50-7 with 15. 189; 78. 58 with App. B, v. 6 of my edition of the old Mahāvamsa). This may be due either to the stereotyped character of all these descriptions or to Dhammakitti’s conscious borrowing from the older work.

1 Cf. mahāchaṇḍasākhi vattante ... kāsanto bhūmipāgā with mahatā chaṇḍapādya kāsanto bhūmipāgā in Mhv. App. B. (to 15. 101), v. 7 c d. This comparison shows that mahāchaṇḍasākhi not mahājanasākhi, is the right reading.

2 It was strictly forbidden to encroach on an existing boundary by a new śīva. The old boundary had first to be removed by a kama-rācā (v. 62 d), that is a solemn act of the community. Cf. note to 37. 56.

3 I think that the two lines of v. 62 should be reversed.

4 P. pañcabhisthāya yeṭṭhiya. For hattā see note to 37. 172. The standard of measurement had thus a length of (5 × 18 in.) roughly
four, forty-nine, thirty-eight, thirty-six, thirty-five, fifty-seven,
fifty-five, sixty-six staves respectively. The boundary stone
set up in the southern region of the heavens was distant from
the Gopāla rock\(^1\) fifty-eight staves\(^2\); and the boundary stone
that was set up in the northern region of the heavens, was
fifty staves from the Vijjādhara cave\(^3\). These stones served
for the marking of the main boundary. At the Baddhasāmā-
pāsāda there was a fixed boundary of thirty-five staves in
length and breadth\(^4\). At the sacred space called Khaṇḍasāmā\(^5\)
the boundary was fixed at fifteen staves in length and six
staves in breadth\(^6\), and at the pāsāda of the theras the fixed
boundary was eighteen cubits in length and twenty cubits in
breadth\(^7\). This vihāra the King dedicated to the bhikkhus
along with the (necessary) articles of use.

In the same way the Ruler of men had the foundations

\[7\frac{1}{4} \text{ ft. (} = 2.55 \text{ m.})\]. The distances were thus successively 330, 367\frac{1}{4}, 385,
270, 262\frac{1}{4}, 427\frac{1}{4}, 337\frac{1}{4}, 496 \text{ ft. Cf. for this A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. II.}
1926, p. 5-7. By “main boundary” (mahāsāmā) is meant that enclosing
the whole of the buildings belonging to the Āḷāhana-parivena. Inside
this there were according to 67c to 69, three smaller sections which
were marked off by “sub-boundaries” or “part-boundaries” (khaṇḍasāmā).
This distinction corresponds to the description of the fixing of the
boundary of the Mahāvihāra Mahv. 15. 193 which speaks of sāmattāni
“boundary marks” pure and simple and stāmantaraniśātāni “inner
boundary marks”.

\(^1\) This is probably the rock lying between the Baddhasāmā-
pāsāda and the Rankot stūpa. According to the popular idea the chasm
served as an abode for those bhikkhus who wished to give themselves
up to meditation.

\(^2\) Therefore 485 ft.

\(^3\) That is 976 ft. from what is now called the Gal-vehera. Cf. below
note to v. 73.

\(^4\) Therefore 262\frac{1}{4} \text{ ft.} \approx 282\frac{1}{4} \text{ ft.}

\(^5\) Just as the main building took its name from the fixing of the
main boundary (baddhasāmā) so one of the sub-sections from that of
the sub- or part-boundary.

\(^6\) Therefore 112\frac{1}{4} \text{ ft.} \approx 45 \text{ ft.}

\(^7\) Thus with the cubit (kattha) calculated at 18 in. only about 27 ft.
\(\times\) about 30 ft.
laid of the Pacchimārāma. Here in the parivenas, which 71 were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many two-
storeyed long pāsādas and twenty fire-houses, forty-one 72
two-storeyed small pāsādas as well as thirty-five privies and 73
two cloisters; one sermon hall and ten gate-buildings. He
dedicated this vihāra along with the (necessary) articles of
use also to the bhikkhus.

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

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

1 The "West Monastery". Hocart (Mem. ASC. II, p. 6) supposes this
building to be the unexcavated ruins adjoining the remains of the
Āḷhāra-parivena on the west.
2 There can be no doubt that what is meant is the so-called Gal-
vehāra. The front of a rock rising about 30 ft. above the surrounding
region is polished. It stretches from SW. to NE. gradually sloping
away on either side. The rock is about 16 chains (roughly 320 m.)
distant from the Great Thūpa situated farther north. Hewn out of the
rock wall just about its centre, is a grotto, 20 ft. wide, 12 ft. 9 in. deep
and 9 ft. 9 in. in height. The massive rock above the cave is still
some 12 to 13 ft. thick. This rock ceiling is supported on two pillars
on the front side of the cave. In the background of the cave there is
an image of the Buddha sitting on a throne. This cave is the Vijjādhara-
guhā of our passage. To the left of it from the spectator's point of
view, there is the figure of a sitting Buddha 15 ft. high, hewn out of
the solid rock. To the right, also hewn out of the solid rock, there is
a colossal figure of a recumbent Buddha about 49 ft. long, at its head
the upright figure of Ananda grieving over his dying master. It is
probable that both the statues of the sitting and of the recumbent
Buddha were originally contained in a grotto or niche made of rock
and brickwork. These were the viśinnapatimālāna and the vipañna-
patimāgahā. These figures now stand uncovered in the open air.

3 The "Great thūpa" evidently borrowed its name from the Mahā-
thūpa (Ruvanveli Dagoba) in Anurādhapura. In its present state it is
77 Damilas who had been brought hither after the conquest of the Pāṇḍu kingdom. It had a circumference of one thousand three hundred cubits⁴ and was the largest of all thūpas, like to
78 a second Kelāsa², and (built) without the miraculous power of arahants and without the miraculous power of the gods, alone by kingly miraculous power.

79 Also he had built in the suburb called Rājavesibhujaṅga
the Isipatana-viḥāra² which was a delight for the ascetics.
80 There (there was) one relic shrine and three three-storeyed image houses with costly images and resplendent with brightly
coloured painting, further a two-storeyed pāsāda whose orna-
ments called forth delight, two long pāsādas and four gate-
buildings, eight small pāsādas, a sermon house, a cloister as
83 well as eight fire-houses and six privies, a fine bathing-house
wholly of stone, a boundary wall and a garden which belonged
to the bhikkhu community.
84 Furthermore in the suburb of Sihapura the Ruler (gifted)
85 with a lion’s courage had the Kusinārā-viḥāra erected. There
86 (there was) a relic shrine, three image houses of three storeys,
six long pāsādas, a sermon hall, a cloister, sixteen small
pāsādas, three gate-buildings, eleven privies and six fire-houses.
87 In the suburb called Vijita King Parakkamabāhu also

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

¹ P. ratana = hattha = roughly 18 inches (according to Flemy, JRAS. 1912, p. 237). The circumference was therefore roughly 1950 ft. The circumference of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura is 929 ft. (Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 286, 306), that of the Abhayagiri 1115 ft.
² See note to 63. 41.
³ For the three suburbs and their monasteries cf. the earlier
account in 73. 151-5. It does not quite agree with ours. If we follow
it, the monasteries would be distributed thus: Rājavesibhujaṅga:
Veḷuvana—Rājakulantaka (= Sihapura): Isipatana—Vijita: Kusinārā,
so far as importance can be attached to the order in which they are
given.
built the Veļuvana-vihāra. Therein (there were) three three-storeyed image houses with beautiful images, gleaming with brightly coloured paintings, a thūpa and a cloister, a two-storeyed pāsāda, four gate-buildings, four long pāsādas and eight small pāsādas, one refectory and one sermon hall, further 90 seven fire-houses and twelve privies. Gāvuta on gāvuta (along the road) the Ruler of men had vihāras erected, furnished with charming image temples, with gate-buildings, outer walls and sermon halls. For such bhikkhus as loved solitude and had taken upon them the whole of the duties of the ascetic, he had the Kapila-vihāra built as a good abode. There (there was) a costly two-storeyed pāsāda, four long 93 cloisters and four long two-storeyed pāsādas, further a dwelling-house of brick with diverse coloured painting and adorned with turrets, built in honour of the sage Kapila, four small 95 pāsādas and three privies. Also these vihāras he dedicated along with the (necessary) articles of use to the bhikkhus.

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

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1 Some distance to the north of the Great thūpa there lies an image temple similar in plan to the Thūpārīma and the Lankatilaka, famous for the fresco paintings on its inner walls. I was told there that the priests frequently called this temple the Veļuvana. If one could trust this tradition we should have a clue to the position of the Vijita suburb. See however, A. M. Hocart’s objections, Mem. ASC. II. 1926, p. 6. He calls the structure “the Northern Temple”. The popular name of the building is Demaljamahaseya which however originally must have belonged to the Mahāthūpa or Damilathūpa. I am also inclined to regard the Potgul-vihāra situated to the south of the city, as one of the suburb monasteries of Palatthinagana. According to an inscription discovered there (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 298 ff.) it was originally built by Parakkamabāhu, and it would be curious if such an important structure were not to be mentioned at all in the Mvsa. Cf. on the subject H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1900 = XX. 1910, p. 14 ff.

2 Cf. for this 78. 134 f. and note.  

3 Lit.: Gāvuta-vihāra.

4 = Mahāthūpa. Cf. note to 76. 104. There are four thūpas mention-
98 cubits high, the Jetavana-thūpa one hundred and forty cubits high, the Abhayagiri-thūpa one hundred and sixty cubits high, as well as the great Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa¹ eighty cubits high. These were (all) overgrown with great trees, bears and panthers dwelt there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. After having the forest hewn down and (the thūpas) built in the proper fashion, and faced with stucco, he also cleared the courtyard of the cetiya.

102 The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Colas — which measured in every direction one hundred cubits², one hundred in length and breadth³ and as much in height, which was adorned with many hundreds of apartments, with fine turrets and with rows of cells⁴ and which had several storeys, whose embellishment called forth admiration — the Ruler of men restored by raising again its thousand and six hundred pillars⁵. Sixty large pāsādas (like) the one named Seppuṇipuppha, as also the destroyed pāsāda called Mahindaṣena he had renewed, also boundary walls and numbers of parivenas, and after erecting a house for alms he celebrated a great festival for the offering of alms. In the ancient parivenas, the Thūpārāma and others, he saw to the restoration of whatever was decayed or had ed in the text, not three, and it looks as if the Maricavaṭṭi had been added later.

¹ Taking the four stūpas in the order of their size (cf. above note to v. 77) we have for the Abhayagiri 240 ft., for the Jetavana 210 ft., for the Mahāthūpa 180 ft. and for the Maricavaṭṭi 120 ft. According to Srisraka, Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura, p. 52, 47, 27 in his time the height of the three first thūpas lying in ruins was: 1) Abhayagiri (wrongly called Jetavana by Sm.) 245 ft., 2) Jetavana (by Sm. Abhayagiri) 232 ft., 3) Ruvanveli (= Mahāthūpa) 196 ft. The Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa measured then (p. 20) over 80 ft. It is now restored.

² = 160 ft. The surface area of the Lohapāsāda is in reality rather more than 281 × 232 ft. as is proved by the pillars still standing in the basement. P. M. Bunawat, The Buried Cities of Ceylon, p. 29.

³ So I understand hatthasatāruka in contrast to uccato tattakav.

⁴ P. sthāpanāra “lion’s cage”. The cells of the Baddhasimū-pāsāda are also called pāñjara in v. 55.

⁵ That is in fact the number of the foundation pillars still standing.
fallen in. On the Cetiyagiri\(^1\) he had sixty-four thūpas rebuilt and had restored on the old buildings whatever was decayed or had fallen in.

What sensible man when he has thus realised that the pure-minded, even if they live in the greatest happiness, find their supremest bliss in meritorious works — would grow weary in the works of virtue which procure every happiness in the world?

Here ends the seventy-eighth chapter, called «The Building of Vibāras», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) The Mihintale mountain. See note to 88. 76.
Chapter LXXIX

THE LAYING OUT OF GARDENS AND THE LIKE

1 As the King wished to make all articles (of food) needed by the townspeople easily attainable, he laid out gardens at different places. He who was the delight of his subjects, laid out the garden called Nandana which was adorned with hundreds of trees bearing fruit and blossom. The King planted coco palms, mango and bread-fruit trees, areka and Palmyra palms and other trees, a hundred thousand of each kind and laid out in this way with great pains a large garden destined for the community, which because the name was appropriate, was known generally as the Lakkhuuyāna. For the bathing of the bhikkhus in the hot season he had two charming ponds made there beneath hollow rocks. The Monarch also laid out the Dīpuyāna¹ resplendent in beauty which was to be glorified by his own continual presence during the day; further the Mahāmeghavannuyāna, the Cittalatāvana, the garden called Missaka and that called Rājanārāyana; the garden called Laṅkātilaka and the garden called Tilokanandana, that called Vānarākara and that called Nayanussava; the garden Manohara by name and the Nimmitapura, the Jaṅghābhāra and the Puṇnavaddhana by name; the garden of the name of Sāmsāraphala and that called Phārusaka, that called Sālipota and that called Somanātha; the Tānakoṇkaṇa and the Uttarakuru by name, that called Bharukaccha and that called Pulacceri; the gardens called Kīlākara, Paudāvāvana and Rāmissara, as well as the Sāmisamptosuyāna, the Cintāmanuyāna and the Pācyruyāna.

¹ See above 78. 96 ff. 113 ff.
In Rājaraṭha the King had ninety-nine new thūpas built in many villages and market towns. On seventy-three relic shrines the Ruler had what was decayed or fallen in repaired and the coating renewed. He restored six thousand one hundred decayed image houses and built three hundred new image houses. He had four hundred and seventy-six divers kinds of images made and ninety-one Bodhi Trees planted. For the community hailing from the four regions of the heavens he had built as an abode for them when coming and going two hundred and thirty dwellings. He erected fifty-six sermon halls, nine cloisters, as well as one hundred and forty-four gate-buildings; one hundred and ninety-two chapels with 19 altars for flowers, sixty-seven outer walls and thirteen temples for the gods. For the bhikkhus coming from foreign lands he had twelve parks (laid out) and two hundred and thirty rest-houses built. Further the Ruler saw to the restoration 21 of twenty-nine sermon halls, thirty-one grottoes and five parks; 22 likewise of fifty-one rest-houses and of seventy-nine decayed temples to the gods.

To put away the sufferings of famine from living creatures that most excellent of men had many tanks and canals made in divers places. By damming up the Kāragaṅgā by a great barrier between the hills and bringing its mighty flood of waters hither by means of a vast canal called the Ākāṣaganga, the Ruler created that king of reservoirs continually filled with water and known by the name of Parakkamasamudda.

1 P. devaālaya, thus sanctuaries for Hindu deities. Numerous temples to Viṣṇu and Śiva were discovered in Polonnaruva.
2 P. āgantukasālā “house (or hut) for strangers”.
3 So I understand mahata giriketumā. W’s translation “stone wall” I consider inadmissible, since “giri” is always “mountain” never “stone”.
4 Skr. Ākāṣaganga, name of the Ganges river which is conceived as flowing in space until it descends to earth.
5 The Parakkamasamudda mentioned here is different from the reservoir of the same name named in 68.40. This as we saw (note to the passage) is situated in Dakkhiṇapadesa and was formerly known as Pāṇḍavāpi the corresponding name for which is now Pandaveva. The Parakkamasamudda of 79.26, which belongs to the river system of the
in which there was an island resplendent with a superb royal 27 palace and which was like to a second ocean. He also built the great tank Parakkamataḻaṟa with a sluice\(^1\) of a hundred 28 cubits\(^2\), and which was made fast\(^3\) by stone construction. Further the Ruler of men built the Mahindataḻaṟa\(^4\) and the Ekāhavāpi

Kūṟaṅgaṉgā, is described in more detail in v. 40 ff. A canal starting from it waters the Mahūmeḻha park. In 79.7 this park is named immediately after the Dipuyṉa in Pulatthinagarā among the parks laid out by Parakkamabāḷu I. A sluice of the reservoir was situated according to v. 45 near the Caṇṭi gate. This name appears in 78.101 among the gates of Pulatthinagarā. One must therefore look for the Parakkama-samaūḍḍa of 79.26 at Polonnaruva and it is evidently identical with the Topavevu. This was formerly far more extensive than now and was connected with the Dumbutuluvēva situated farther south. See on the whole subject A.M. Houart CJSc. G I, p. 161. In 79.67 a Parakkama-samaṟgāra is mentioned. As it was also connected with the Kūṟaṅgaṉgā, its name is probably merely a variant of Parakkama-samaūḍḍa. But in v. 28 a Parakkama-samaṟgāra is mentioned along with the Parakkama-samaūḍḍa and next to a Parakkamataḻaṟa. It is therefore possible that there were more than two reservoirs called after the King.

\(^1\) That paṇḍāḷu means the sluice or the outflow from the tank is clear from v. 42, 49. The māṭikā, the water canals (called āḷa now in S.nh.) start from the paṇḍāḷu. In Skr. praṇāḍa or praṇāḷi means according to BR. a “drainage canal”. The term paṇḍāḷu is explained by the construction of the sluices of the old tanks in Ceylon, as described by Parake (Ancient Ceylon, p. 373 ff.). They consist of a walled culvert of about 2–4 ft. in breadth which runs across the whole dam. and is only slightly raised above the base of the dam. To this culvert there leads on the slightly sloping inner side of the dam a square shaft also walled in. This is called in Sinhalese bīṣū-kottwa. The shaft serves for regulating the wooden apparatus (p. āṭraṭa “lock”, see v. 69 with note) by the raising and dropping of which the culvert is wholly or partially closed or opened and thus the outflow of the water regulated or completely shut off. The shaft with the lock thus divides the culvert into an inflow and an outflow channel.

\(^2\) Therefore about 150 ft. The number can only apply to the length of the culvert.

\(^3\) P. dugga. I believe that here we must take the adjective in the meaning of “sure, fast” which has developed out of the meaning “difficult of access”. In the same way the substantive dugga (originally “a place difficult of access”) has become “a strong place”, then a “fortress”.

\(^4\) A Mahindataḻa was already mentioned in 42.29 as a work of
tank, as well as the Parakkamasāgara whose flood-escape was walled up; also small tanks at different places a thousand four hundred and seventy-one (in number). At three hundred thirty tanks the Monarch had as many stone sluices built. Ancient tanks which had burst he again dammed up in great number: the great tank Mañibhūra, the Mahādāravallaka, the tank called Suvaṃvatissā and that called Duratissa, the Kālavipa tank and the one Brāhmaṇaggāma by name, the tanks called Nālikera-mahāthamba, Rahera, Girulākā and Kumbhīlasobha; the Kānavāpi, Padādvāpi and the tank called Kāti, the Pattaśāvakāpi and the tank called Mahāna; the tanks with the names Mahānāmanatthaka, Vaiḍūhyana, Mahādatta and Kānagāma; the tanks Vīra, Valāhassa and Suramāna and the tanks called Pāsavagāma and Kālavalli; the tank by name Kāhali and that called Anagagāma, the Hillapattakakhaṇḍa and the Madagu.

Aggabodhi I. If the Mahindatāḷaka is identical with this, it can only have been a restoration.

1 P. koṭṭhabaddhanijjhara. By nijjhara (originally “waterfall”) are meant the flood escapes or “waste-weirs” (Parker I. I. p. 374) serving for the overflow of the water when the reservoir is too full. The weir of the Parakkamasāgara is walled in (koṭṭhabaddha). Note that in Skr. koṭṭhaka may also mean an encircling wall, and on the other hand that the corresponding Sinhalese word koṭṭha (see above v. 27 note) is also used in connection with waterworks. In Mvsa. 68. 16 Koṭṭhabaddha is the name of a causeway on the Jaffarana-nadi.

2 Of the tanks enumerated here six (Valāhassa, Mahādāravalla, Mahādatta, Kumbhīlasobha, Pattaśāva and Kāsu) are mentioned in 60. 50 as having been restored by Vijayabāhu I. Cf. note to the passage. The Mañibhūra is the work of Mahāsaṃa (Mvsa. 37. 47), likewise the Suvaṃvatissā (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 28, called Rantiṣa in the Medirigiriya inscr.) and the Mahādāravalla (37. 47); the Duratissa, one of Saddhūtiṣa (Mvsa. 39. 9); the Girulākā, one of Aggabodhi II. (42. 67; cf. note to 70. 312). Rahera is frequently mentioned now as locality, now as mountain apparently situated not far from Anurādhapura, (Mvsa. 21. 5; 41. 44; 44. 7), also as an irrigation canal (41. 31). Kāņagāma was a place in Rahaṇa (45. 43) and Hillapattakakhaṇḍa is in 72. 41 the name of a ford of the Mahaveligunga. The remaining names occur only in this passage. Of these Padādvāpi (v. 34) might be identical with the Padāvīya tank in the north-east corner of the North Central Province, 40 miles from Anurādhapura. Cf. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I, 202.
These decayed tanks the Ruler had restored to their original state and in the same way four hundred and sixty-seven small tanks which had been destroyed. In many tanks the King well aware of the right moment, had breaches (a total of) one thousand three hundred and ninety-five (in number) dammed up so that they were firm again. The King also had a canal constructed, called Gambhirā (the deep), which started at the flood-escape called Makara of the Parakkama-
samudda. (He also constructed) the great canal by name Hemavatī which branched off from the same (tank) in the direction of the Mahāmeghavana; in the same way the canal known by the name of Nilavāhinī which started from the sluice called Mālatīpuppha of the same (tank) and the canal Salaśavatī by name which branched off from the Kīṭākaruyāna sluice; further the great canal called Vettavatī which took its start from the sluice known by the name of Vettavatī; the canal Tuṅgabhaddā coming from the Dakkhinā sluice and the canal Maṅgalagāṅgā which branched off from the sluice called Maṅgala, as well as the canal called Campā from the sluice near the Cauḍī gate. (He built) also the Saramvatī (canal) which branched off from the Toyavāpi and led to Pupavaddhanavāpi and the Veyumatī (canal) from its western side; further the (canal) Yamunā which branched off from the Pupavaddhana tank to the west and the Sarabhū (canal) which ran northwards; also the canal called Candabhāgā which flowed through the centre of the Lakkhuyāna, and the Nammādā (canal) which branched off in the domain of the Jetavana-vihāra; further the canal named Neraṅjarā which flowed from that tank in a northerly direction, and the Bhagirathi, which started from the Anotatta tank; as also the (canal) called Āvattagāṅgā which branched off from there to the south and the Tambapanaḍī (canal) which flowed from the Ambāla tank towards the north; the Aciravatī (canal) which ran westwards from the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, fitted for many a long year to prevent famine, and the Gomati (canal) which branching off from there flowed eastwards, and the Malāpaharāṇī (canal) running northwards; also the canals
flowing eastwards from the Aciravati: the Sataruddhā, Nibbindā, Dhavalā and Siddā; further the Kālindī canal which flowed 54 in a southerly direction from the southern overflow of the vast Mauihira tank; as also the canal called Kāverī which 55 flowed from the Giritaśaka tank to the Kaddūravadjhamāna tank, and the Somavati canal running from the Kaddūra- 56 valūdhamāna tank to the Arimaddavijayaggāna (tank). The 57 Monarch also constructed the Godāvari canal which branched off from the Kāragaṅgā and flowed to the Parakkamaśāgara.¹ (Lastly) the Prince had the ruined canal called Jayagaṅgā² 58 restored. It branched off from the Kālavīpi and flowed to Anurādhapura. Five hundred and thirty-four small canals he 59 had constructed and three thousand three hundred which had been destroyed he restored to what they had been before. In 60 the province of the Yuvarūja (Dakhinadesa) the discerning Sovereign had numerous works of various kinds constructed at numbers of places. On the site of the house where he was 61

¹ The names mentioned in vv. 40—57 show how strong was the tendency to call new buildings and the like after ancient and sacred places. Mahāmeghavana and Jetavana are of course called respectively after the park and the monastery in Anurādhapura. Vemavati is the skr. Haimavati, a name of the Ganges. Sarasvatī and Yamunā are well-known rivers in Northern India. Vetravati is a tributary of the Yamunā, now called Betwa. Kālindī (v. 54) is a frequent name for the Yamunā (see BR. s. v.). Nammadā is the skr. Naradā, now the Nerudda whose valley bounds the Vindhyā mountains in the south. Tuṅgabhadrā is the name of a river in the Dokkan, likewise Kāverī, Godāvari and quite in the south in Tinneveli, the Tānraparārī. The Bhagirathī (v. 49) is the name of one of the sources of the Ganges, and the Gomati is a left tributary of the same stream. The Aciravati is so named after a river which flows past Sīvatthi = skr. Śrīvasti, now the Raptī. The Naraśājarnī is called after the river at the sacred place where Buddha received Enlightenment (OLKURU, Buddha, p. 128). Campā (v. 45) is the name of an old Indian town in Agra near the present Bhagalpur in Bengal. Candrabhāgā, Āvartakā, Veṣamati are Indian river names (BR. s. v.). Nibbindā (v. 58) corresponds perhaps to the Nirvindhā named in Meghadūta 28. Anottsata (v. 49) which was situated in the country of the mythical Uttarakurus was made sacred according to Vin. I. 28² by a visit of the Buddha.

² Now Yodi Eli.
born in Puṅkhagāma\textsuperscript{1} he erected the Sūtighara-cetiya one
hundred and twenty cubits high. He had twenty-two relic
shrines erected, thirty-seven Bodhi Trees (planted), one hundred
image houses, fifteen caves, twenty-one dwellings for the
community in the four regions of the heavens and eighty-
seven rest-houses for strangers. He put up chapels with altars
for flowers, twenty-nine in number, seven sermon halls as well
as five outer walls and forty-three images of divers kinds.
He restored twenty-four ruined image houses. The Mahāgallaka
tank\textsuperscript{2} and the Tālaggallaka tank, the Rājini weir\textsuperscript{3}, the weir
called Talapakka, the weir on the Jajjarā\textsuperscript{4} and the Vilattākhaṇḍa
(weir) the Monarch made fast for the flourishing of the harvest
in the land. Three hundred and fifty-eight damaged places
in tanks and the stone sluices on thirteen tanks as well as
one hundred and sixty locks\textsuperscript{5} and small tanks which were
damaged, thirty-seven in number — these the Monarch had
repaired.

Also in the province of Rohapa the King who had delight
in meritorious works, had divers buildings erected in villages
and market towns. On the site of his mother's pyre in Khira-
gāma\textsuperscript{6} the Monarch (erected) the Ratanāvali-cetiya, one hundred
and twenty cubits\textsuperscript{7} in height. Further (he founded) sixteen

\textsuperscript{1} See note to 61. 26. The height of the tope was roughly 180 ft.
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. Mhvs. 68. 34 and 43.
\textsuperscript{3} P. nījjhara. See note to v. 28. What is here called nījjhara is
probably the same as vāri(san)paṭa Mhvs. 48. 148; 68. 35, 87.
\textsuperscript{4} Probably an allusion to the great irrigation works described in
Mhvs. 68. 16 ff. which needed repair. In the case of a river nījjhara
means the dam (pata) built in it through which a part of the water is
conducted into a lateral canal. If the river has a large volume of water,
it flows over the dam and forms a "fall" like the flood-escape in a tank.
\textsuperscript{5} P. devaraṇa. I believe this is meant for the shafts and the ap-
paratus for regulating the outflow of the water at the sluices (see
note 1 to v. 27).
\textsuperscript{6} See note to 74. 169.
\textsuperscript{7} That is 180 ft. The size (āyāma) probably refers to the height.
According to H. W. Cowanworo (letter of 1-4-28), the measurement of
the tope of Badulkumbura gave a circumference of 926 ft. which would
in fact give a height of about 180 ft.
relic shrines, seven Bodhi Trees and also vast Bodhi temples and seventy Bodhi Tree terraces\(^1\) and two-storeyed image 73 houses forty-three in number, two sermon halls and seventy-five images, thirty-seven dwellings for the community from 74 the four regions of the heavens, forty-seven outer walls and twenty gate-buildings; also fifty-nine rest-houses for guests, 75 four parks and three statues of the Metteyya. After the 76 Sovereign had then built five dancing-halls, he had everything here and there which was broken down and decayed restored. Thirty-seven thūpas, twenty-two Bodhi Tree terraces, two 77 hundred and seventy-four large image houses, one relic temple, 78 seven temples for images in recumbent posture, forty caves and four brick houses; four long pāsādas, and six three-storeyed 79 pāsādas, twenty-nine sermon halls and three cloisters, one 80 hundred and twenty-six dwelling-houses, one hundred and twenty-eight houses for books and four rest-houses for guests, twenty-four temples to the gods, one hundred and three 81 tower-gates, one hundred and twenty-six outer walls these all the Sovereign had restored. The Ruler also made 82 fast two hundred and sixteen leaking tanks belonging to the community, like the great Uruvelā tank and the Paṇḍukolamba tank and others, further eighteen decayed sluice locks and two 83 hundred and five ruined small tanks. On ten tanks he repaired 84 the stone sluices and here and there he had forty-four canals dug\(^2\).

By constructing in this way beautiful vihāras, gardens, 85 tanks and the like he adorned with these numerous (works) the whole of Laṅkā.

Thus Parakkamabāhu, the Ruler of men, by whom were 86 performed divers and numerous kinds of meritorious works, who continually found the highest satisfaction in the teaching

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1 P. bodhikoṭṭhake. Here also koṭṭhaka (see above note to v. 28) is used in the sense of walling up. It is a usual custom to surround the sacred trees with a terrace, even if it consist merely of stones heaped together.

2 This verse ends the first continuation of the Mahāvamsa ascribed to Dhammakīti. See my edition of the Cūlavamsa I. Introd. p. III.
of the Master, who was endowed with extraordinary energy and discernment, carried on the government for thirty-three years\(^1\).

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

\(^1\) The same number of years in Pujāv. and Rājaratn. Rājāv. 32 years.
CHAPTER LXXX

THE SIXTEEN KINGs

Thereupon the sister's son of this Great king, the wise 1 poet sovereign King Vijayabāhu⁴, became monarch in Laṅkā. When he had received consecration as king the prudent one 2 in his great mercy released from their misery those dwellers in Laṅkā whom his uncle, the Sovereign Parakkama, had 3 thrown into prison and tortured with stripes or with fetters. By restoring at different places to various people their village 4 or their field he increased the joyfulness⁵ of them all. As 5

⁴ In Polonnaruva there is an inscription of Vijayabāhu II. which supplements the account of our chronicle (Wickremasinghe EZ. II. 179 ff.). In it he also describes himself as sister's son of Parakkamabāhu. We know three sisters of this king, but I doubt if any of these three was the mother of Vijayabāhu II. Wickremasinghe thinks she was Bhadnuvaṭī, the wife of Gajabāhu, who would in fact be the most likely. But in 70.333 (cf. below note to v. 31) we have the distinct statement that Gajabāhu had no son. This is not easy to get over. I am inclined to think that there was a fourth unnamed sister of Parakkamabāhu's married to a Kalinga prince. Then it would be intelligible (cf. below, note to v. 18) that Vijayabāhu, the son of this prince and of a sister of Parakkamabāhu, should in his turn, appoint a Kalinga prince as his successor, and that the latter should describe him as head of the clan. The inscription relates further that Vijayabāhu was in Simhapura, the capital of Kalinga, when Parakkama summoned him to Laṅkā. Parakkama's relations with the Kalinga dynasty are intelligible. He had himself Kalinga blood in his veins through his grandmother Tilokasundari whom Vijayabāhu I. fetched from this dynasty to secure the continuance of his house (Mahas. 59. 29 ff.).

⁵ Vv. 3 and 4 show Parakkamabāhu in a curious light. According to this account, he was a severe if not cruel ruler, who made his subjects slave that he might gratify his love of splendour. Vijayabāhu II. grants an amnesty at his accession.
Alaka for (the god) Kubera and Amaravati for Sakka, so was 6 Pulatthinagara for him the royal city. He himself composed in the Magadha tongue a most excellent letter, sent it to the 7 monarch living in Arimaddana, concluded with this beloved (prince) a friendly treaty as aforetime his great grandfather 8 Vijayabahu, and (being) highly famed, to increase the joy of the bhikkhus in the land of Lankā and Arimaddana, he made 9 the Order of the Buddha lustrous. As the Ruler departed not from any precept of the political teaching of Manu, he rejoiced the people through the four heart-winning qualities. 10 Endowed with kindness, purity and other virtues, he found his highest satisfaction in the triad of the jewels, Buddha and 11 the like. Of most excellent character he, ever joyous in spirit, 12 provided the bhikkhus with the four articles of use. Manifesting great exertion, he like a wise Bodhisatta, everywhere 13 in every way interested himself in all beings. Shunning the four wrongful paths he in his great insight, practised in the exercise of justice, towards good and evil favour and severity. 14 Thus this Monarch respected by the laity and the Order, performing many meritorious works, carried on the government for one year.

15 Now after a traitor, Mahinda by name, of the Kulināga clan, who had won as his spouse a cowherd's daughter, Di-

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1 The capital of Rāmañña (Lower Burma, Pegu). Cf. Mhvs. 76. 88. We see from this passage that the Magadha tongue, that is Pāli, was the medium of international intercourse, in the same way as Latin in the Middle Ages.

2 Vijayabahu I. is called not quite correctly, the grandfather (pitāmaha) of Vijayabahu II. For his relations with Rāmañña see Mhvs. 60. 5 ff.

3 See note to 37. 106.

4 The same length of reign in the Pājāv. in which the King's name is given as Pañjitavijayabahu. He has the same name in the Nik.-s. and Rājaratna.

5 W. translates "Mahinda of Kulināga" and gives a wrong colouring to the affair. The MSS. have Kulināga and also the Col. Ed. The clan name of the Kulināga occurs already in Mhvs. 19. 2. Pājāv. calls the usurper Kilinkeśadā Māhinādāpiyā (kesādā is kesadhātu). Rājaratna, and
pany by name, had treacherously slain the Monarch, (he) the 16
deluded one without gaining the consent of the generals, of the
warriors, of the indignant inhabitants of the country and 17
of the whole of the dignitaries, carried on in most evil fashion
the government in Laṅkā for five days.

After his murder the Upāraja of King Vijayabāhu, born in 18
Kaliṅga, Kittinissāṅka by name¹, became king. After he had 19
received royal consecration he had built in superb Pulatthinagarā
a beautiful temple of stone for the Tooth Relic². He had the 20
lofty Ratanāvali-cetiya made firm and embellished the splendid

¹ Nik-a. Kilinkesā Mihindu, and Rājāv. merely Kilinkesā. Pujāv. and
Rājāv. like the Mvrs. give him a reign of just five days.

² King Nissaṅka Malla has left many and ample inscriptions.
Ed. Müller has edited 15 of them in the AoC (nr. 143 ff.) Wick-
marshnik 18 in all, EZ. (I. 121 ff., II. 70, 74, 91, 96, 98, 123, 125, 128,
130, 134, 187, 143, 146, 148, 158, 157, 165 ff.). Their contents are very
similar. With regard to his descent we learn (for ex. in the famous
Galpota inscription in Polonnaruva, EZ. II. 98 ff.) that he was born in
the Kaliṅga country in the town of Sinhapara as son of the King
Jayagopa and the Queen Pārvatī. The Great king of Laṅkā the
Chief of the clan (kuṇa-jeṭu) — without doubt Vijayabāhu II. is meant —
had summoned him thither to take over the government. He had been
at first prince and viceroy and had then ascended the throne in virtue
of the law of succession. This right is frequently stressed in the
inscriptions and justified by his descent from Vijaya, the first king of
Laṅkā. Without doubt this right was much disputed and it looks as if
the bombastic style of Nissaṅka Malla’s inscriptions had the object of
increasing the prestige of the new Kaliṅga dynasty in Ceylon.

² In the inscriptions (for ex. Galpota-I., C, line 1) and the Haṭa-dā-gū
portico inscr., I. 19; EZ. II. 89 and 113) Nissaṅka Malla claims to have
built the daḷudā-geya, which was named after him, as well as the vaṭa-
geya. This last is evidently the so-called Vaṭa-dā-gū on the Quadrangle
which was, however, in reality, a work of Parakkamabāhu I. and prob-
ably only restored by Nissaṅka Malla. See note to 78. 41. What the
daḷudā-geya was and where it was situated is not certain. One is in-
lined to think first of the Haṭa-dā-gū situated opposite the Vaṭa-dā-gū.
That is according to the inscriptions on the building itself, apparently
a work of Nissaṅka Malla. But in spite of its traditional title, it was
probably not a dā-gē, a “relic shrine” but an “image house”. Cf. the
note to 78. 39. As dā-gū the Sat-mahal-pāsāda might merit con-
sideration, unless this is a work of Parakkamabāhu I. (note to 78. 42).
structure with a golden point. After building the vihāra adorned with a hundred pāsādas which bore his name, he made it over to the bhikkhu community and supported it. The Jambukola-vihāra resplendent with walls and pillars shimmering in gold and silver, where the floor was of red lead and the bricks of the roof were of gold, the wise (Monarch) had rebuilt and placed therein seventy-three golden statues of the Master. With the four-membered army the Ruler full of pious devotion, went forth to the Samantakūṭa and performed there his devotions, and everywhere on the island of Tambapaṇḍu he had flower gardens and fruit gardens and numbers of houses for the community laid down. While in this way

1 The tope is therefore called even to-day the Rankot-Dāgoba “Golden point dagoba”. It has nothing, however, to do with the Mahāthūpa in Polonnaruva with which it is associated in the index to my edition. The Rankot lies to the south of the Ajjābana-parivena. The height is given in the Galpots inscription C, line 2 as 80 cubits (= 120 ft.). The Rankot-Dāgoba Gal-āsana inscr. (EZ. II. 184 ff.), belongs to the time at which that Dāgoba was built. The expression dādāhāpeti “has made fast or firm” is, as a rule, employed of the restoration of old buildings.

2 Not yet identified.

3 The famous cave temples of Dambul are situated about 47 miles north of Kandy on the road to Anurūdhapura. There is an inscription on the rock wall there of Nissaṅka Mallā (Wickremeasinghe, EZ. I. 121 ff.) in which at the end, he boasts of having constructed or embellished these caves and of having given them the name of Susavarṇagirīghāḍa. The 78 statues set up by the king are also mentioned in the Pritidānaka-maṇḍapa inscr. line 30 (EZ. II. 178).

4 The inscriptions mention repeatedly the journeys of the King to the sacred places of the Island. Adam’s Peak (Samantakūṭa = Sinh. Samanātā) is expressly mentioned in the inscription on the vestibule wall of the Heṭa-dā-gū (I. 3 EZ. II. 94).

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

6 In the inscriptions the King also boasts repeatedly of successful campaigns against the Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas and other peoples in Southern India. It is almost impossible to disentangle the historical facts from the exaggerations. In the kingdom itself he claims to have increased the prosperity of the people by lightening taxation, by the laying out of gardens and tanks and by a generous giving of alms. He claims also to have reformed the Church. The mention of the fixing of the
day by day the Ruler accumulated many a merit, he carried on the government for nine years\(^1\) in most excellent fashion.

His son, the King known by the name of Virabhāhu\(^2\), 27 hereupon ruled for one night and then fell into the power of death.

Thereupon the younger brother of that same king Kittī-28 nissanka, King Vikkamabāhu\(^3\), enjoyed the royal dignity for three months. He was slain by the Ruler Coḍagaṅga, 29 a sister’s son of King Nissanka, who carried on the government for nine months\(^4\). Thereupon the powerful general Kittī had 30 the eyes of this king put out, deposed him and had the government carried on for three years without mishap\(^5\) by 31 Līlāvatī, the first mahesī of the sovereign Parakkamabāhu.

gāvuta and of the setting up of milestones is interesting (Inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Heṣa-dā-gō, line 12; EZ. II. 94). Mr. H.W. Coomaraswamy has actually discovered a number of such gāvuta stones with inscriptions (letter of 1-4-28). They stand along the ancient high road (Mahāgūma-Kataragama-Batte-la-Medagama-Bibile-Mahiyānagana).

\(^1\) The same number in Pūjav. and Rājav. These and the Rājaratn. ascribe the same merit to Nissanka Malla as the Mhvs. The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish like the inscriptions, between the temple of the Tooth Relic and the circular building. The number of the statues set up in the Dambul-vihāra is given in the Pūjav. as 72, in the Rājaratn. as 63.

\(^2\) In the Galpota Inschr. B, line 1-2 (EZ. II. 111) he is called the son of Nissanka Malla. Pūjav. also mentions that his reign only lasted one night.

\(^3\) Mentioned in the inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Heṣa-dā-gō line 13-14 as ṅa “prince”. Pūjav. and Rājav. give him the same length of reign as the Mhvs.

\(^4\) The same in Pūjav. In Rājav. Coḍagaṅga is mentioned as the general who carried on the government for three years for Līlāvatī. Kittī is therefore not mentioned at all here.

\(^5\) Pūjav. like the Mhvs., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. enumerates only the names Virabhāhu, Vikkamabāhu, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī without other details. Līlāvatī was the daughter of Sirivallabha and Sugala. Coḍagaṅga (in the form of Coḍagaṅga) and Vikkamabāhu (Vikkaṭa-bāhu) are named as princes (rājadhatā) who lived at the court of Gajabāhu (70. 298), but were not his sons (cf. 70. 333).
Thereupon King Sāhasamalla of the race of Okkāka, a lion in courage, carried on the government for two years. Then having deposed this Monarch, the general Āyasmanda, a man of almost unsurpassable courage, a supporter of his royal family, prudently had the government carried on with wise policy for six months by Kalyāṇavati, the first mahēsī of Kittinissānka. This Queen Kalyāṇavati, who was devoted to the Order of the Master, had a vihāra called after her, built in the village Paṇṇasālaka by name, for love of the village, and assigned it villages, fields, articles of use, slaves, gardens and so forth. With her consent, the general Āyasmanda, who administered the government in all Laṅkā, who came of the Khandhāvara family, sent the Adhikārin Deva to charming Valliggāma, had a vihāra erected there and assigned to the Great community. He built the parivena known by his name of Sarājakulavaḍḍhana and caring for its support, he assigned

1 Pujāv. the same. In Rājāv. there is only mention of a king of the Okkāka family (without the name) who reigned 9 years. There is an inscription of Sāhasamalla in Polonnaruva with the exact date of his coming to the throne in the Buddha era (Wickremesinghe, EZ. II. 219 ff.), according to which Fleay has calculated the event as occurring on Wednesday, the 23rd of August, 1200 A.D. (Fleay, JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331). This is the first absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon. See E. Hultsch, JRAS. 1913, p. 518; Wickremesinghe, EZ. I. 123, note 4; II. 220; H. W. Emery, HC., p. 67. 75.

2 Pujāv. and Rājāv. call him Elaṇu Ābo Senevirat. This is the same general who appears in inscriptions as Lak Vijayasingu Senevi Ābōnāvan Tāvurunāvan (EZ.II.112, line 15; 226, I.19). Wickremesinghe EZ. II. 191 shows that probably Āyasmanda is the same as the Kittī mentioned in v. 30 who calls himself in an inscription Lag Vijayasingu Kitt Seniviyavan and describes himself as the minister of Līlāvati (E. Müller, AIC. NR. 157).

3 Kalyāṇavati is mentioned in inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla (for ex. EZ. II. 94, line 13 and 111, I. 2) under the form Kalyāṇa. A short inscription of hers is also preserved in Bopitiya (EZ. II. 190 ff.) in which she calls herself Kalyāṇavati. Pujāv. and Rājāv. give her a reign of 6 years.

4 That means "furtherer of his royal family". See v. 33. I am now inclined to believe that there and here we should read with W. sarā-fakulavaḍḍhana (= sarāyō) not sarāyō.
it villages and fields surrounded by parks and the like and which could scarcely be visited by a bad harvest, together with articles of use and slaves male and female. Having 41 scrupulously separated the four castes who had become impure through mixture, he bent on doing good, had a text book compiled which had law as its subject.

Thereupon there reigned for one year\(^1\) a royal prince 42 Dhammāsoka by name, who on coming to the throne was aged three months. The Mahādīpāda Anīkaṅga came at the 43 head of a great army from the Cola kingdom, slew the ruler in Pulatthinagara, Prince Dhammāsoka, together with the 44 general Āyasmanda and reigned seventeen days\(^2\). But the 45 general, Vikkantacamarūnakka, the villain, slew the Monarch Anīkaṅga and had the government carried on for a year\(^3\) by 46 the first consort of King Parakkamabāhu, Lilāvatī by name, who had already reigned before.

Now came King Lokissara by name, who had been 47 wounded in the shoulder by a spear, with a great Damila army from the opposite shore, brought the whole of Lāukā 48 under his sway and reigned, dwelling in Pulatthinagara, nine months\(^4\). Hereupon the general Parakkama, the best among 49 men of decision, endowed with great power and courage, belonging to the family of the Kālanāgaras, consecrated the 50 Mahēsti Lilāvatī\(^5\) who came of the dynasty of the Sun and Moon, in the royal dignity, she who afterward shone in royal

\(^1\) Pūjāv. the same. In Rājāv. it is expressly stated that it was Āyasmanda who raised the prince to the throne. The prince’s age at his ascent of the throne is given as 5 months, the length of Āyasmanda’s regency as 6 years.

\(^2\) The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

\(^3\) In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the general is called Manakkū Senevi. The length of the regency is given as one year.

\(^4\) Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 5 months.

\(^5\) Lilāvatī thus enjoyed the royal dignity nominally at least three times (v. 30 f., 45 f., 49 f.). For inscriptions of this queen see EZ. I. 176 ff., II. 192 ff., 238 ff. The last named was found at Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruva and says that the queen had this building restored. It was one of the foundations of Parakkamabāhu I. For the general Parakkama see Dājhāvamsa v. 4.
51 splendour. When then a space of about seven months¹ had
52 passed for the Mahest, there landed with a great Paṇḍu army
53 from the Paṇḍu kingdom the glorious Paṇḍu King Parakkama,
54 deposed the Queen and her general Parakkama and after he
55 had cleared Laṅkā from the briers (of revolt), he ruled the
56 realm in superb Pulatthinagara for three years², without
57 transgressing the political precepts of Manu. But since in
58 consequence of the enormously accumulated, various evil deeds
59 of the dwellers in Laṅkā, the devatās who were everywhere
60 entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā, failed to carry out
61 this protection, there landed a man who held to a false creed,
62 whose heart rejoiced in bad statesmanship, who was a forest
63 fire for the burning down of bushes in the forest of the good,
64 — that is of generosity and the like — who was a sun whose action
65 closed the rows of night lotus flowers — that is the good
doctrine — and a moon for destroying the grace of the groups
66 of the day lotuses — that is of peace — (a man) by name
67 Māgha, an unjust king sprung from the Kāliṅga line, in
68 whom reflection was fooled by his great delusion, landed as
69 leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kāliṅga
70 country and conquered the island of Laṅkā. The great scorching
fire — King Māgha — commanded his countless flames
of fire — his warriors — to harass the great forest — the
71 kingdom of Laṅkā³. While thus his great warriors oppressed
72 the people, boasting cruelly everywhere: "We are Kerala
73 warriors", they tore from the people their garments, their
ornaments and the like, corrupted the good morals of the
74 family which had been observed for ages, cut off hands and
feet and the like (of the people), destroyed many houses and
tied up cows, oxen and other (cattle) which they made their
75 own property. After they had put fetters on the wealthy
and rich people and had tortured them and taken away all

¹ The same in Pājūv.; Rājāv. 4 months.
² The same in Pājūv. and Rājāv.
³ In verses 56-60 the compiler gives specimens of his intimacy with
the rules of Indian poetics — alaṃkāra. The comparisons belong to
the species rāpaka. Cf. Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarsa 2. 66 ff.
their possessions, they made poor people of them. They wrecked the image houses, destroyed many cetiyas, ravaged the vihāras and maltreated the lay brethren. They flogged the children, tormented the five (groups of the) comrades of the Order\(^1\), made the people carry burdens and forced them to do heavy labour. Many books known and famous they tore 67 from their cord and strewed them hither and thither. The 68 beautiful, vast, proud cetiyas like the Ratanāvalī(-cetiya)\(^2\) and others which embodied as it were, the glory of former pious kings, they destroyed by overthrowing them and allowing 69 alas! many of the bodily relics, their souls\(^3\) as it were, to disappear. Thus the Damila warriors in imitation of the 70 warriors of Māra, destroyed in the evil of their nature, the laity and the Order. Hereupon they completely invested 71 Pulatthinagara and captured Parakkama, that man of great might and valour. They put out the Monarch’s eyes and 72 plundered all his treasures, pearls, jewels and so forth. Then 73 the leaders of the soldiers with Mānābharana at the head, consecrated the Kūṅga Māgha to the glorious royal dignity of Lāṅkā.

Now after the Ruler Māgha had in this manner taken 74 possession of the kingdom and attained the royal dignity, he dwelt in Pulatthinagara. The Monarch forced the people to 75 adopt a false faith and he brought great confusion into the four sharply divided castes\(^4\). Villages and fields, houses and 76 gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to the Sīhalas he had delivered up to the Kēlaḷas. The vihāras, the 77 parivenas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or other of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to 78

\(^1\) P. sahaddhammike, that is the bhikkhus and bhikkhusīs, the novices, sāmaṇerā, of male and female sex, and the young girls who were being prepared for the profession of nuns (sikkhāwānā).

\(^2\) Here for the first time the new customary name (Sinh. Ruvancālī) is used for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

\(^3\) Lit. “their life” (jīvanam).

\(^4\) V. 41 ab must be compared with 75 ed. The “false faith” was Hinduism.
the Buddha and were the property of the holy Order he seized and thus committed a number of sins in order to go to hell. 79 In this fashion committing deeds of violence, the Ruler Māgha held sway in兰若 for twenty-one years. 80 Thus in兰若 this and that ruler out of great lust for power, have slain this and that lord of men, but have themselves in consequence of these deeds, attained to no good old age, and even when they had achieved the kingly dignity, they could not alas! enjoy it for long. Hence the wise man should refrain from the destruction of living beings and renounce wanton lust for power.

Here ends the eightieth chapter, called «The Sixteen Kings», in the Mahāvaraṇa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The same in Pājāv. According to Rājāv, 19 years. The description of Māgha’s reign in both chronicles agrees entirely with that of the Mhvs. Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. continue their enumeration of the names (cf. note to 80.81). In the first: Sūmagulla (read Sūhasamalla), Kalyāṇavatī, Dharmāsoka, Nakaṅga, Anīlīvatī, Lokeśvara, Līlāvatī, Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu; in the second: Sūhasamalla, Kalyāṇavatī, Dharmāsoka, Āniyāṅgana Līlāvatī, Lokeśvara, Līlāvatī, Parākramapuṇḍji. Then these follows in Rājaratn. the account of the tyrannical reign of the Kālinga Megha. Nik.-s. has the form Māgha.
CHAPTER LXXXI

THE REIGN OF ONE KING

During this alien rule¹ several virtuous people had founded 1 on divers of the most inaccessible mountains a charming town (or) a village² and dwelling here and there protected the laity 2 and the Order so that they were in peace. On the summit of the Subha mountain³ hard to ascend by the foe, the Senāpati 3 Subha had founded a town, as Vessavaṇa the town Ānakamandā, and dwelling here and fending off the Kerala devils, he protected 4 the (surrounding) country and the Order. On the summit of the Govindamala⁴ hard to reach by the rebels, the Ādipāda 5 ruler Bhuvanekabāhu by name, whose courage was known to the world, had founded a town and by dwelling there, he 6 protected the province of Rohaṇa, the community of the bhikkhus and the Order⁵.

¹ P. rājantara (cf. 87. 46) formed like desantarā. The translation "interregnum" is also permissible, since no lawful kings reigned.
² P. nagaran gāmaṇa. When in the sequel the buildings on the rocks are designated as nagarāni the reason is probably that larger settlements arose at the foot of the rock fortresses and under the protection of these. The word nagara is associated with the idea of a permanent stronghold.
⁴ This form of the name is hardly right. The Col. Ed. has altered it into Govindācala. I should rather propose Govindasela, since its name to-day is Govindahela. The Govindahela is known by the name of "Westminster Abbey". This imposing rock rises 20 miles west of Tirukkovil, south of the village of Bovala in the Mahavedirata Korale (Consul, 1921, II, p. 460). Cf. F. Lawia, JRAS. C. D. 1908, nr. 61, p. 167 ff.; 1914, nr. 67, p. 279 ff.
⁵ When bhikkhusamgha and sāsana are named together here, the first means the persons, the second the thing, that is the doctrine and the free practice of it in the Order.
7 In the same way again the general called Saṅkha founded in the district Maṇimekhala by name, on the lofty mountain Gaṅgādori a superb town and while dwelling there, gave as little heed to the infamous army of the Ruler Maṇgha, though it was but two yojanas away, as to a blade of grass and protected without fear that district and the Order.

10 Now at that time there was a king known by the name of Vijayabāhu, belonging to the line of King Saṃghabodhi, a man of splendid courage who after he had through fear of the foe withdrawn to divers inaccessible forests and had long dwelt there, attained the dignity of a king of the Vanni. The mighty one brought all the dignitaries of the Sihalas under his influence, marched forth with a Sihala army and destroyed the whole of the four-membered forces of the foe which were armed for battle, as a mighty flame of fire (destroys) the darkness. All the Damiṣa warriors who dwelt as they pleased in the single villages and houses he drove forth. After he had freed superb Maṭṭha from the briers (of the foe), the Ruler built on the lofty summit of the Jambuddo mountain a splendid town with fine walls and gate-towers, resided there in happiness and carried on the government as capable monarch.

1 Saṃghabodhi I. See Mhvs. 36. 73 ff.

2 Here the tribe of the Vanni is mentioned for the first time. The name does not occur in the older Mahāvamsa nor in the Cūlavamsa of Dharmakītī. The Vannis live to-day, but a few hundred in number, in small villages on the northern frontier of the North-Central Province. They go in for agriculture and preferably for hunting. Their origin is unknown. The surrounding inhabitants call them Veddās as a rule, and the Census of 1931 evidently includes them among these. They themselves repudiate all connection with the Veddās on whom they look down with contempt. Cf. H. Parkes, The Vanniyas, The Taprobanian, Feb. 1887, p. 15 ff.; and Ancient Ceylon, p. 36 ff.

3 P. tejakkhandha, synonym for aggikkhandha.

4 It is noteworthy that in this second continuation of the Cūlavamsa the names Dakkhiṇadesa and Rājaraṭṭha vanish and are replaced by Maṭṭha and Patīṭharaṭṭha. Cf. note to 81. 46.

And further: during these disturbed times all the Grand 17 theras with Vācissara at the head, had carried away from Pulatthinagara the Almsbowl Relic and the Tooth Relic of the Master, had gone forth, had betaken themselves to 18 Māyūraṭṭha and there on the mountain Kotthumala in a safe 19 region had buried both the relics carefully in the earth and so preserved them. Now some of these Grand theras with 20 Vācissara at the head, who sought that protection for Laṅkā on which depended the continuance of the Order, had crossed 21 the vast ocean, despite its raging waves, had betaken themselves to the lands of the Paudus, Colas and other (peoples). Now 22 Vijayabāhu sending forth his great dignitaries, summoned all these theras who were a mine of mercy back from there. When 23 the Grand theras arrived he greeted them with reverence and asked them: "Where are the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl preserved?" At their answer, "In such and such a 24 place", the Monarch's whole body was filled with a fivefold joy. Led by the crowd of the Grand theras, the Ruler set forth with his army for the Kotthumala mountain. After he 26 had performed a great sacrificial festival round about the mountain, he beheld there gazing with his whole soul, the

1 Puja, Rājū, and Rūjatān agree with the Cūlanāma as regards the rescue of the two relics from Pulatthinagara and the bringing of them to Māyūraṭṭha. The chronicles call the mountain Kotmalaya. The ther of Vācissara is not mentioned. In our passage khasmatthānamhi in v. 19b must be understood as appositional addition to pedesamkhi.

2 Ye karuyakarā cannot refer to Vijayabāhu, but only to te māhāthera.

3 Lit. "one whose whole body was filled with..." The five kinds of joy are according to Cūlanāma (P. D. a. v. pāli) hālākā p. "slight joy", khesikā p. "momentary joy", akkāntākā p. "joy that comes like a sudden shock", ubbēgāp, "transporting joy" (that will make you leap into the air) and phāvāgīp, "all-pervading joy".

4 The King marches round the mountain with his attendants as a pilgrim walks round a holy place and has sacrificial ceremonies performed at the four cardinal points.

5 P. cakkhasamo. W's translation "with great delight" is too weak. We have here a formation like bhāsamo Dh. 330 (DhCo. IV. 148 = kodhamaco) "whose intention was the eye, that is gazing".
27 two relics of the Tooth and of the Almsbowl. With a heart as full of joy as if he had found a jewel like the wheel and the rest\(^1\) or a great treasure, or as if he had attained Nirvana, 28 the Sovereign took unto himself the two relics and blessed like Mandhātāra\(^2\), he bore them with great celebrations from 29 village to village, from town to town and brought them to the beautiful city of Jambuddoni where the pious people began 30 a great and splendid festival. Now while the wise King day by day celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the relics, 31 he thought thus: "In order that if in future time another interregnum\(^3\) occurs, no evil from alien enemies shall befall 32 these relics of the Sage, I will carefully provide for them a still 33 more inaccessible place, fast and sure." Thus pondering he had the Billasela\(^4\) (mountain) made fast on every side with walls, gate- 34 towers and the like, that save by the gods in the air, it could not be trodden by any human foes. And on the summit of the rock he built a superb temple for the Tooth Relic, 35 ravishing as a divine palace descended from the world of the gods. Around this he laid out a park for the community with 36 divers pāsādas and maṇḍapas, delightful for taking an airing when passing the day or when passing the night therein, 37 provided with lakes and bathing-ponds. In this relic temple the wise (monarch) had the two relics, Tooth and Bowl, carefully 38 placed with great solemnity. After making over the park for the community to the faithful theras who were charged with

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

\(^2\) See 37. 53 and note.

\(^3\) Should we not read pana instead of pana in 31 b, or is pana used with the same meaning?

\(^4\) Now Beligala (so Pāyūv., Rājūv. and Rājaratn.). This is the name of a hamlet in the Otara Pattava of the Kegalla District and of a Korale in the same district. The Beligala Korale is mentioned in the Kajaim-pota (H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, p. 2) as well as in the Siri Laka-kaṣayuru (H. Neville, The Taprobanean, June 1888, p. 56, 60). The rock of Beligala on which the relics were hidden resembles in isolation and steepness that of Yāpahu (cf. Bell, l. 1, p. 25 ff.).
the care of the relics, he decreed a regular offering of alms. Also he commanded that a sacrificial ceremony of surpassing kind should be performed for the relics day by day in most perfect fashion.

Now in his faith the Sovereign set about rendering helpful service to the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. If one asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply grieved in his heart that on the island of Lanka so many books that dealt with the true doctrine had been destroyed by the alien foe, the Ruler called together laymen endowed with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and along with these, many other writers of books and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with the number of the divisions the like number of gold kahāpāyas. He also performed a sacrificial festival for the doctrine and thus heaped up a fulness of merit. The theras and the middle-aged and young (bhikkhus) and also the sāmaṇeras in Tissula who had taken on themselves the burden of a life of discipline, all these protectors of the teaching of the Master he gathered together and made harmony where there had been discord. And then the Monarch pondered thus: "The ceremony of admission to the Order is the foundation of the prosperity of the Order. How would it be if I had it performed now in the right way?" And joyful at heart, he endowed the whole vast reunited community richly with the eight articles of necessity and made them hold for seven days the ceremony of admission to the Order which was preceded by offerings and honours.

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

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

3 P. upasampadā.

4 See note to 60. 71.
instituted by himself. After the Ruler had laid out the park known to the world by his name of Vijayasundara and destined for the community, he made it over to them. In his charitableness the Ruler thought: "Bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras who study the Tipiṭaka in faith and lead in every way the pious life that springs from it, must never be troubled about their livelihood. They shall come to the gate of my house and receive whatever articles of use they are in need of." And he invited them full of reverence, and gave to the many bhikkhus who came to the portals of his palace excellent and costly offerings, well versed in giving. Then the King ordered further for all ascetics who had reached the rank of therī or grand therī, regular maintenance. Thus in doing good to the Order the Monarch naturally honoured thereby the triad of the jewels — Buddha and the others.

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

1 This monastery is also mentioned in Pañāv. and Rājārataṇa as a foundation of Vijayabāhu. In Mhva. 85. 90 it is called Sirivijayasundara. It was situated in Jambuddoṇi.

2 In the Rājārataṇa, which is particularly concerned with Vijayabāhu the following strophe is quoted in praise of the generosity of the King. Cūḍuddasāyītajīnatrajānātha
āpānabbūtaṁ gharanā viśi tassa
yadicehitappaccayalūkabhahetu
devaddumo vāsi mahānubbāvo.

"For those sons of the Victor who came from the four regions of the heavens his house became the refuge, because they received all articles of use as they wished. Like a heavenly tree was the sublime one." The "heavenly tree" is of course, the "wishing tree" (skr. kalpa-āduna).

3 The building of the Vijayabāhu-vihāra is also related in Pañāv., Rājāv. and Rājārataṇa. The village of Vattala lies on the right bank of the Kelaniganga, a little above its mouth. Thus it is not far from the Kelani-vihāra whose restoration is also mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles.
as well as a gate-tower on its eastern side. There too he restored whatever was decayed in the image houses, the encircling wall and the like and on all other (buildings). The King also gave the order that all pāñjas, image-houses, vihāras, parivenas, and likewise cetiyas, maṇḍapas, outer walls, gate-towers and the like which were in Māyāraṭṭha, should be put into the condition in which they were formerly, and that new buildings should be erected.

Now as the King wished to accomplish himself still more far the furtherance of the laity and of the Order, he reflected thus: "At a time when I had already reached a great age and youth had vanished, I gained the good fortune of the royal dignity and have until now enjoyed it. Now after the destruction of all the evil foes who still remain over after the conquest and thereby to protect my people and after renewing the structures of the destroyed and decayed vihāras to bring about the furtherance of my people — for that I have now but a short time." With such considerations the discerning Monarch together with those people versed in the lore of signs, tested the (bodily) signs of both of his own sons Parakkamabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu and attained this knowledge: "The signs on Parakkamabāhu are such that he will in accordance with accomplish through the majesty of his power the destruction of the enemy and will unite all Lāṅkā under one umbrella, so that none shall be above him; and that he will further the spotless Order of the Omniscient one; will spread his fame over the chief and the intermediate regions of the heavens; will receive from the most divers countries gifts as princesses for his women’s apartments and the like, and will be for long a world ruler on the Island." When he realised this, with eyes filled with tears of joy, he made him sit on his knee and kissed him on the head. Then he gazed again and again full of love on the younger prince, who stood near, gave them twain much excellent advice, made them by training practised in all arts, accomplishments and the like. Then the Ruler entrusted of the twain his elder son to the assembled community at whose head stood the Grand master known by the name of Sāmp-
gharakkhita. And again he entrusted the same (thera) with the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl of the Sage, as also with the whole Great community and also with the people dwelling in Laṅkā and ruled this himself in perfect fashion.

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

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

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

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

2 According to Rājāv. the King had reigned 24 years. But according to v. 66 he only came to the throne at an advanced age.
CHAPTER LXXXII

THE EXHIBITION OF THE MIRACLE OF THE TOOTH RELIC

After the death of his father King Parakkamabāhu 1 united the whole of the people who were in Tisihala, adorned 2 the fair town and as if he were the peer of the King of the gods, he first of all had the ceremony of the royal consecration performed. On account of his learning he himself received 3 the famous name of Kalikāla-sāhicca-sabbañūnapaṇḍita 1. On 4 his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu he conferred the dignity of yuvarāja and made over to him a part of the kingdom. With the thought: I will make the maiden Laṅkā my own, 5 to no other (shall she belong), he turned his proud spirit to the destruction of the alien foe. He thought: in the first 6 place I will perform a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic of the Sage, then will I go forth to war against the Damīlas, and with great pomp and ceremony he brought 7 the Tooth Relic from the Billa mountain to the splendid town of Jambuddopī. 2 “I have the desire at every moment when I 8 think of it to worship the Tooth Relic with devotion at the three periods of the day” — so thought the Ruler and had built 9 near his palace a fair and costly temple for the Tooth Relic. In the midst of this the King had a splendid throne set up 10 and decked with a costly covering. Out of a large precious 11

1 That is “the scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age”. The expression sāhicca “art of poetry, literary work” = skr. sāhitya, was until now absent from the dictionaries. The Kali Age (kalikāla, kalīyuya) is the last of the four ages, the one in which we are living.

2 Thus too Pujāv. According to Rājāv., the king had brought the relic from Jambuddopī to Samiddhipura.
stone the Ruler had a casket fashioned for the Tooth Relic and again as receptacle for this a large, superb, costly jewel-case of bright, valuable precious stones. Then for five thousand gold nikkhas he had as receptacle for this case a second splendid chest fashioned, and then again for twenty-five thousand silver nikkhas a third chest. Now when the King starting with the relic temple, had adorned the town, and had devoutly celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the Tooth Relic, he took the Tooth in the lotus of his hand and spake in the midst of the Great community the following solemn declaration:

“Our sublime Buddha, god of the gods, the Sage, strong in miraculous power visited this island of Lankā three times, and that most supreme of men went away, having sojourned here and there and having made of sixteen prominent places spots hallowed by his use. Therefore it is that Lankā is not under the power of kings of a false faith, but under the power of kings of the true faith it flourishes in the right manner.

Aforetime also on this island the Ruler of men by name Asela, son of the Ruler Muṭasāva, wise in statecraft, conquered the Damiḷas Sena and Guttaka who carried on horse-dealing.

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

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

3 P. saccakriyaḥ aṅkā. See note to 51. 56.

4 P. pāribhogikā. This is in the first place a term for relics which are reverenced as articles of use belonging to a saint, such as the alms-bowl of the Buddha. In contrast to these are the bodily (sārīrīka) relics, as for instance the Tooth Relic. Here places are called pāribhogikā because the Buddha by use (paribhogena), by sojournning there had hallowed them. The legend of Buddha’s three visits to Lankā is related in Mhvs. 1. The 16 places where according to tradition he sojourned on these occasions, are given by W. in his translation p. 277, note. The most important are Mahiyāṅgana, Kelaniya, Adam’s Peak, the sites of the various topes in Anurūdhapura, Tissamahārāma etc.

5 P. assanāvikaputtas. W. translates “sons of the horse merchant” which is also possible. But putta may better be taken as a mere paraphrase as in kassmārapattas. Cf. on the whole Mhvs. 21. 10 ff.
by sea, and held sway while sheltering the Order of the Victor. Then the famous Great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya 22 vanquished Elāra of the Cola country and protected the laity and the Order. Again the Monarch Vaṭṭagāmaṇi 23 vanquished in combat five very cruel Damīla princes and protected the laity and the Order. Then the Ruler of men, 24 Dhātusena, subdued six Damīla kings with their countless great warriors, and sheltered the laity and the Order. Again 25 the great Vijayabāhu put to flight in battle the Coliyas and the Damīlas and protected the laity and the Order. Now I 26 too have the wish to vanquish the insolent Damīlas who have destroyed vihāras and other buildings and also the Order of the Master and still have their abode in Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha, 27 the twain, King Māgha and Jayabāhu, and to further the laity and the Order. That is a true word and yet more I say: 28 the highly virtuous, far-famed monarchs with the Kosala king 29 at the head, heard from the mouth of the Master while he lived, the preaching of the doctrine and saw many a miracle and their wishes were (thereby) fulfilled. Rulers mighty in 30 miraculous power like Dhammāsaṅkha and the others who were born when the fully Enlightened One no longer lived, beheld 31 divers miracles like the figure of the perfectly Enlightened One produced (in miraculous manner) and the like, and made each his life thereby rich in fruit. But when the Guide of 32 the worlds, having fulfilled the task of a Buddha, in the region of the Mallas, outstretched on the couch of great

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

2 It is clear that the reign of Vijayabāhu III. and the beginning of his sons reign fall within the 21 years assigned to Māgha in 80. 79. The usurper Jayabāhu has so far not been mentioned, both names are in the Pūjāv. however.

3 What is meant are miracles such as that described in Mh. 31. 30 ff. As Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is about to replace the relics in the Mahāthūpa, the casket in which they are contained, rises in the air, opens of itself and the relics assume the form of the Buddha and perform the miracle which was performed by the Master under Gāvīya’s mango tree in Sāvatthi. For the so-called gamakappatihārīya see DhCo. III. p. 206 ff.
33 Nirvana, came, as regards miracles, to the five great resolves, then assuredly the Exalted One came also to lesser resolves.  
34 From that day to this all the relics which exist, those of the body, as those associated with articles of use, perform through the power of the Master. miracles here in this our world. When therefore the Guide of sages, coming to this and that resolve, saw (in spirit) in the five thousand years‘ duration of his Order, the future monarchs who take upon themselves the burden of faith and of moral discipline, then I think not that the Exalted One will not with the eye of omniscience have seen me also among them. But if I have been seen by the Incomparable One, if even I have been added to the number of these great men and rulers of antiquity — loyal to the faith in every respect — if I after destroying the alien foe in terrible war, may accomplish the furtherance of the laity and the Order, then may the Tooth Relic now perhaps make manifest to me a fair miracle." After these words he became lost in contemplation.

41 At this moment the Tooth Relic rose from the lotus of his hand, like to the crescent moon, in the air, assumed the glorious form of the Prince of the wise, diffused clusters of rays of light sixfold in hue, illumined the whole town, manifested thus a glorious miracle, enraptured the Ruler of men, returned from the air and settled again on his hand.

42 With the shouts of applause and the songs of praise of the great crowd of people and above all of the Great community who rejoiced at the sight of the superb miracle of the relic, the whole town was at this time everywhere full of intense excitement. "This day I have gained life, this day my life has become of worth; this day hurrah! my life has become perfectly fruitful. Having by the power of my merit beheld to-day such a miracle and having also seen the blessing.

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1 For the mahādhīṣṭhānapañcaka see Mhva. 17. 46 ff. In vv. 51—53 the miracle mentioned in the preceding note is foretold here. The lesser resolves refer to other miracles not included in the five great resolves, such as that expected now by the king.

2 P. tādīna "of him who is so as he is and no other".
of merit richly earned by the people, I now have been enrolled among those earlier rulers of men, famed for the fulness of their virtues in this Order of the Sage." With these words the Great king, great in insight and miraculous power, gave forth a lion's roar in the midst of the vast assembly.

After the Ruler with the whole of his sixty-four ornaments, such as the diadem, the bracelet and so forth had made an offering to the Tooth Relic, he laid it carefully in the jewel-casket and after placing this lustrous (casket) in the golden chest he again placed this carefully in the fair and costly chest fashioned of silver.

The Tooth Relic thus preserved in the best way in three chests one within the other, he then placed in his relic temple. For seven days long he celebrated with the (offering of the) seven kinds of precious articles, with great wreaths and perfumes and with all kinds of food solid and liquid a great sacrificial festival.

Here ends the eighty-second chapter, called «The Exhibition of the Miracle of the Tooth Relic», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The blessing consists in the sight of the miracle taking place before the eyes of all and of the effects which proceed from it. The MSS. have ambhatām pūrṇanampadu and so has my edition. The Col. Ed. alters it to dhātā pādā, but dhātan pādā is acc. case and depends, like pūrṇakāriṣṇu on dīvā. By the power of his merit the King has seen the miracle and he has also seen the blessing of the people's merit which shows itself therein that they were found worthy of the same vision as the king.

2 Cf. for this E. W. Perera, Ceylon Notes and Queries, III. April 1914, p. XXXVI ff., where the enumeration of the regalia in the Sinhalese Thūpavamsa is discussed.

3 P. ratanehi sattahi. The seven ratanāni are: suvaṇṇa (gold), vaṭata (silver), mutta (pearl), maṇi (precious stones like sapphire and ruby), veḷuva (a semi-precious stone (?) like cat's eye), vaṭira (diamond), paḍātu (coral). See Childers, s. v.
CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE STORY OF THE SUBJUGATION OF THE HOSTILE KINGS

1 Since all the inhabitants of Laṅkā had seen the effect of the merits of the King, they lived from that time onward filled with still greater reverence towards him, in fear, in joy and in love, never were they capable of transgressing his commands. All the sovereigns of the diverse countries sent the King gifts, since their hearts were inclined to admiration of his majesty.

2 People whose heads were to be cut off he punished only in stern fashion with dungeon and fetters¹ and then set them free again. But for such people as deserved prison the Ruler to whom pity was the highest, ordained some lighter punishment² or other, and reprimanded them. But on people who should have been banished from the country the Ruler who might be likened to Manu, laid but a fine of a thousand (kāhāpaṇas).

3 But on all those who deserved a fine, he looked with indignation and with all sorts of words of rebuke he made of them honest men.

4 Then all these people, the forces of the foe in Laṅkā who abiding in forest strongholds and elsewhere, had become unconquerable by his father, the hero vanquisher of foes, the King set about subjugating by the power of his majesty and

¹ Kārāgarobandhanamattato cannot be joined to parimocayi. In this case puṇa would be quite unintelligible. It belongs far rather to nirgaṇhitvāna.

² I think that nīggaḥaḥ kāvā as well as nīggaṇhitvāna in v. 4 must mean a punishment and not a mere admonition. This is expressed by ovadi in v. 5c. But the punishment was always less severe than the guilty person had deserved. The same also in v. 6 and 7. In nīggaḥa-
by the might of his loving spirit. The Sihala kings in the land of the Vanni who were equipped with army and train, he brought completely under his influence, sitting merely on his lion’s throne. All the Sihalas with their lion-like courage who dwelt in Tisihala, these all the Ruler of men assembled around him and made them content. Then he dared to overthow the great Danila warriors who building great fortresses, had settled here and there in the country. Of all the Sihalas who on the field were as lions against rutting elephants — the enemy — he sent some hither, others thither. The great Sihala warriors wherever they came, harassed the Danila warriors as the Garujas the Nāgas.

At that time the Danila kings, Māghinda and Jayabāhu had set up fortifications in the town of Pulatthi(nagara), famous for its wealth, in the village of Koṭṭhasāra, in Gaṅgātalāka, in the village of Kākalaya, in the Padī district and in Kurundi, in Manāmatta, in Mahātitha and in the harbour of Manurā, at the landing-place of Pulaceri and in Vālikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu district, at Madhupādapatiṭthā and at Sūkaratitthā: at these

vāca (r. 7 c) nīppaha it is true, means “rebuke”. That is after all the mildest punishment.

1 Thus by force or by kindness. As regards the construction of the sentence, paripanthānam balan̄ should probably be taken as in apposition to sabbe vacasabbghajādānīsste.

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

3 See note to 81. 48.

4 See note to 76. 38.

5 Cf. 83. 27.

6 Situated not far from Pulatthinagara. See note to 81. 48.

7 Now Kantalui, see note to 70. 286.

8 “Crown’s Home”. The name does not otherwise occur.

9 The two names appear again in 86. 64 next to each other. In the Sirī Laka-kāṇajyuru (The Taprobaneian 1888, p. 55) they are noted among the districts of the Pīhitī-rajā (Patiṭthā-raṭṭha).

10 Now Mantai and Mannar. See notes to 48. 81 and 61. 89.

11 Of the six last localities only Madhupādapatiṭthā is mentioned once more. It may be assumed that like the foregoing places, they were all situated in Northern Ceylon.
and other places, and committing all kinds of violent deeds, had stayed there a long time. Their forty and four thousand soldiers, Damilas and Kerala, who hard pressed by the spear-armed Sihala warriors, were unable to resist, came terror-stricken to Pulatthinagara and held counsel thus as to their future conduct: “King Parakkamabahu is of high majesty and has miraculous power. Who in the world is strong enough to neglect his commands? Even the monarchs of foreign lands have now come under his influence, also all the Sihalas. Even some of us Damilas are his followers. What is the use of words about others? But what, what shall we people do? Now we have all become dim like glow-worms at the rising of the radiant sun. Therefore in the future it is impossible for us to take up our abode on the Sihala island, we will go to another country.” They took all their elephants and horses, as well as their pearls and costly precious stones, the royal diadems and all the beauties of the harem, all ornaments, cloths, mantles, baskets and every kind of valuable with them in their fear and began to leave the town. But owing to the action of the King’s merit they mistook the regions of the heavens. They thought it was the eastern gate and marched out through the western gate and came to Kālavāpi where the army of the Sihalas had set up an entrenched camp. With all their goods they had alas! also to sacrifice their life by each giving his to the Sihala warriors, thus carrying out themselves what the King had only thought. And all the Sihalas taking from them their accumulated treasures, became from this time onward rich people, as in ancient times all the dwellers

1 Vv. 15—21 form one sentence. The construction is as follows: The 40,000 soldiers of the two Damilas kings who after erecting fortifications in such and such places, had been settled there for a long time, came and held counsel.

2 The mistake of the Damilas is, of course, nothing but a fiction of the compiler. The intention of the mercenaries was to reach the western coast with their booty and there cross to India. At Kālavāpi the Sihalas intercepted them. Pājāv. gives the same account of the occurrence as the Cūlava.; Rājāv. a different one.

3 P. sāmpadā of pregnant significance in allusion to the sāmpadā following in v. 31.
in Mithilā who gained the wealth which the kings a hundred in number, had through fear flung away\(^1\). After thus accomplishing by his power the crushing of the alien foe, he set himself to bring about the prosperity of all Laṅkā.

When the eleventh year of the reign of this King had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha\(^2\). All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded every landing-place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Laṅkā. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire\(^3\), so Laṅkā which had been harassed by Māgha and others was ravaged anew by the Jāvakas. Then the King sent forth his sister's son, the heroic Prince Virabhāhu, with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas. The fearful Rāhu, namely Virabhāhu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candabhānu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle\(^4\). He placed his

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\(^1\) Cf. W., note to this passage. The story alluded to here is related in the Ummaggañātaka (Faun.\(\text{ IV} \), Jāt. VI. 389 ff.). Through the cleverness of the Bodhisattva the inhabitants of Mithilā capture the possessions of 101 kings against whom they had been fighting. Cf. Jāt. VI. 409: \(\text{ tato paṭṭhāya ca kira Mithilavāsino sakharaṅga jātā.} \) To get the proper construction in our passage the words \(\text{ yathā purā} \) must be joined to the following and not to the preceding as is done by W., for which an \(\text{ eva} \) or \(\text{ yathā} \) in v. 34 would be indispenable.

\(^2\) P. sugata, followers of the Sugata, the guide to the path of salvation. The Pājāv. also mentions Candrabhanu as the leader of the Jāvakas. According to Rājāv. his soldiers were Damljas.

\(^3\) The \(\text{ pāvakāsari} \) and the \(\text{ sīrāvasi} \) are contrasted. Both are devastating thunderstorms. In the one case it is the kindling flashes of lightning that cause the destruction, in the other the floods of rain causing inundations. W's translation "fury of a flood of water" and "fire and lightning" seems to me weak, as it takes \(\text{ asañi} \) at first in its derived and the second time in its original signification.

\(^4\) A picture suggested by the name of Candabhānu ("Moonshine"). Rāhu is the demon who causes the eclipses. We have again to do with
heroic Sīhala soldiers here and there and began to open fight with the Jávaka warriors. The good Sīhala warriors, sure in aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing against them with their poisoned tips which were shot swiftly one after the other by the Jávaka soldiers from a machine. Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Vīrabhūi slew numbers of Jávakas, as Rāma (slew) the Rakkhasas. The Veramba wind, namely Vīrabhūi, possessed of great vehemence, shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the Jávaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Jávakas in combat, he freed the whole region of Lānkā from the foe. Hereupon he betook himself to Devanagara, worshipped there the lotus-hued god and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice. He had erected there a privêpa that was intended for the Order; it received the name of Nandana, since it was the delight of the people. Thereupon he turned and came to the town Jambuddāpi, he sought out Parakkamabāhu, and he was overjoyed.

compounds of the rūpaka order (skr. Vīrabhūr eva Rāhul). See notes to 80. 60, 82. 16. According to the Rājāv. however, it was not the sister’s son but the younger brother of the King, who vanquished Candrabhānu.

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

2 Veramba is the name given to strong winds which blow in great heights (cf. PTS. P. D. s. v.). The corresponding word in Skr. is vairambha. A synonym for verambarāta is kālavāta.

3 That is “the blue-coloured”. Name of Viṣṇu. Cf. 85. 86 ff. Devanagara (or-puru) is the present Dondra, Sinh. Devundara. The place has been already mentioned in 60. 59 and 75. 47, but here for the first time we have a notice of the shrine of Viṣṇu celebrated in the Middle Ages. According to tradition it was built in 780 A.D. It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588 A.D. See P. E. Frazer, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (= P. 2) p. 109 f. It is significant that Vīrabhūi offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu sanctuary. At the same time however, he builds a parivena for the Buddhist Order, thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to-day a Hindu devālaya and a Buddhist vihāra stand side by side in Dondra.

4 That is “joy, delight, ecstasv".
Now after he had thus carried on divers great wars and after he had scattered the terrible crowd of all his foes, the great and mighty Sovereign Parakkamabāhu attained the fame of victory.

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

1 South Indian inscriptions give an essentially different picture of the reign of Parakkamabāhu II. from our chronicle. According to these, Ceylon was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas about the middle of the 13th century. They say that of the kings of Ceylon one was killed and another forced to pay tribute. This shows that Parakkama never united the whole island under his dominion. H. W. Callimachus, II C. p. 77, 87.
CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE SERVICES RENDERED TO THE ORDER

1 Thereupon the Ruler, versed in the ordinances of Manu, caused to be determined to what families the villages, fields, houses and so forth long since seized by the alien foe, belonged by heredity, and had them returned to their aforesaid owners as before. Then he caused to be determined which villages, parks and the like were the property of the Buddha and the Doctrine, which (were) the assigned maintenance villages (for ordinary needs), which the villages belonging to the Chapters, which the villages which were personal possessions, which (were) the villages of the eight sanctuaries and the villages of the parivenas and had them given back. Further he appointed the five groups of menials and the ten groups of menials belonging to the royal household and determined their rank.

2 While the Ruler made all the inhabitants of Lankā wealthy and possessors of fortune, he took care that the whole country had abundant food. All the corrupt groups (of bhikkhus) who since the Interregnum lived only for their own desires, following forbidden occupations, with senses ever unbridled, he sought out rigorously, dismissed them (from the Order) and thus purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then the King sent many gifts to the Cola country and caused to be brought over to Tambapāṇī many respected Cola bhikkhus

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1 P. atthāyatanañāvaka. It is difficult to say what is meant by this. For the explanation we must look above all to v. 17 ff.
2 See Mhvs. 67. 58 and note.
3 Professions which are not fitting for the sāmaṇa are enumerated in Dīgha-Nik. 1. 10 (= I. p. 5) Cf. R. O. Franke, Dīgha Transl. p. 7, n. 2.
4 The same account in Pujāv.
who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas and so established harmony between the two Orders.

Then when the Ruler learned that among the many high-principled bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambaraṭṭha there was a Grand thera, Dhammakitti by name, radiant in the glory of moral discipline, and that once when this thera was on his mendicant round, a lotus flower had blossomed on his path, he was filled with admiration and sent a religious gift, incense, sandal-wood, food and the like which had been in contact with the Tooth Relic and likewise a choice and princely gift to Tambaraṭṭha. He made the Grand thera come to the island of Lanka, rejoiced again and again, as if he had beheld the Perfect One, celebrated for him a great sacrificial festival and provided him who was a (worthy) vessel for offerings and honours, in careful manner with an offering of the four necessaries. Now in order to provide for the protection of the Order furthered by him, the Great king built round about his capital for the eight Grand theras who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries and for the discerning theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest,

1 These are the Hinayana and the Mahayana. The first school had its principal seat in the Mahavihara, the second according to Mhvs. 78. 21 ff., in the Abbhayagiri and Jetavana viharas. Cf. also W., note to the passage. See now S. Paranavitane, Mahayûnism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II. 1, p. 35 ff.

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

3 The name of Dhammakitti recurs several times. According to Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the Brit. Mus. p. 21 b, 25 b, the Dhammakitti of this passage was the compiler of the first continuation of the Mahavamsa.

4 W's translation "and other royal gifts" is incorrect. Here dhammapāṭhasa and rājapāṭhasa are contrasted with one another.

5 Not as W. has it: "as if he had seen a n Araha". Pujaś has budun rāhatan duṣṭvā se.

6 Pujaśakāraḥājanu belongs to taṃ in 16 d. For the figurative meaning of bhājana cf. note to Mhvs. 44. 70.

7 See above note to v. 4.
many communal monasteries, suitable for dwelling in, extensive
embellished with divers pāsādas, provided with various maṇḍapas,
furnished with divers bathing-ponds, adorned with cloisters which
were places of sojourn by day and by night, surrounded by
a series of flower parks and tree parks and granted them to
them. Further he celebrated with all articles of equipment a
great sacrificial festival. Thereupon the King gathered together
the Great community of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in villages and
in the wilderness of the forest and chose out all those who
strove continually for the keeping pure of moral discipline,
those who took upon themselves pious duties and were tried
in the leading of their life in the strictest way, who were
endowed with the virtues of renunciation and so forth and
were steadfast in the precepts for the conscientious. He built
for them on the heights of the Puṭhabhātta rock a forest
dwelling, assigned it to them and supported them therewith.
As they made of the strictest conduct a reality, he made
Laṅkā through them in his days as it were, an abode of
arhants. With the reflection that theras who were acquainted
with the sacred texts were rare in the Island, he had all books
brought from Jambudīpa, had many bhikkhus instructed in
the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy,
grammar and the like and thus made of them cultivated people.
In this manner furthering conduct and learning, the wise
(prince) honoured with such a religious sacrifice the Guide to
the path of salvation (Buddha). The Ruler caused his
younger royal brother, Bhuvanekabāhu by name, to be in-
structed, so that he was versed in the three Piṭakas. He
made him carry out the precepts for the theras and hold
lectures of instruction thereon. But to the many bhikkhus who
hearkened he granted in the midst of the Great community
their appointment as theras, and presenting them with all
articles of equipment, he celebrated an offering for the theras.
Seeking for an occasion fraught with blessing, in order to

1 P. ṭākkapputtaṭi, cf. v. 25. The compound is missing in the
PTS. P. D.
2 In Pājāv. Paḷābatgal.
reach by the noble eight-fold path the saving shore from the ocean of re-births, he had built in the third and sixth, then 33 again in the eleventh, twelfth and seventeenth, as also in the 34 twenty-first, twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of his reign thus eight times, a vast hall (resting) on sixty pillars. Round 35 about it he erected a great and splendid maṇḍapa. This again he had adorned with divers coloured stuffs and made numerous 36 groups of bhikkhus abide there by turn for the purpose of rest. Day by day full of zeal, he did them honour with a 37 great festival of gifts in his name and granted to many sāmaṇeras admission to the Order. Then following on this, he 38 conferred on bhikkhus the highest rank, namely the dignity of a therā, Grand therā and the like, and accumulating many 39 important wares of great value and many beautiful articles of equipment even to the measure of a king of elephants, 40 the Ruler first presented to those who had attained the rank of a Grand therā, articles of equipment worthy of a king and then allotted to all the ascetics who were theras and to 41 those who had been dismissed from the dependance on a teacher, and to the others in their order, the eight articles of equipment.

1 The section v. 32 to 41 is absent in the Pāñjīv. The atthaṅgikamagga consists of the eight members: sammādiṭṭhi “right insight”, sammāsāṇkhappā “right thought”, sammācācā “right speech”, sammākammanta “right doing,” sammāājīva “right gaining of livelihood”, sammāvāyāma “right endeavour”, sammāsati “right deliberation”, sammāsāsamādhi “right spiritual concentration.”

2 The same 89. 49.

3 W. renders āyatanādikā as title along with therā and mahaṭhēra “incumbent of temple”. But this seems to be contradicted by v. 40 mahaṭhērāyatanāṭṭhāna “rank of a Grand therā.” Āyatanā must therefore be combined with therā and mahaṭhēra in v. 38.

4 P. garubhāṣṭa also 85. 105.

5 P. nissaya. By this is understood the relation between an older bhikkhu, the upajhāya and a younger, the attevāsin. The first has to instruct the second in all details of the monastic life and the younger must take the older as his model. He who has finished his course of instruction is nissayamutta.

6 See note to 60. 71.
Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated every seven
days the great and superb festival of the eight bestowals¹,
and later celebrating several times over the festival of admission
into the Order, he made the Order of the Victor prosperous.
Thus the King by granting it in this way manifold support,
caused as the moon² the ocean, the good Order of the Tathāgata
— the king of the true doctrine — to grow in perfect fashion.

Here ends the eighty-fourth chapter, called «The Services
Rendered to the Order», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the
serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The expression atthapasampatti must refer to the offering of the
atthaparikkhārā (v. 41). Upasampatti is not the same as upasaṃpadā
“admission to the Order”. It is to this festival which took place later
(pacchā) that v. 43 alludes. In 89. 50 upasampatti is also used in
connection with the distribution of articles of use to the bhikkhus,
while the celebration of the upasaṃpadā takes place later (v. 63).

² P. sudhākara, skr. the same, lit. “mine of nectar”. Cf. for this
verse E. W. Perera, The Sinhalaese and Spring Tides, in Ceylon Notes
and Queries I, Oct. 1913. p. XVI.
CHAPTER LXXXV

THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Hereupon the Ruler of men built in the splendid, incomparable, glorious town, by name Sirivadjhana¹, his birthplace, a vihāra exceeding rich and vast². It was furnished with 2 pāsadas and maṇḍapas and with high walls and gate-towers, adorned with bodhi trees, with cetiyas, with groves and image houses, bright with all kinds of paintings³ and embellished 3 over and over with ornaments. Then he had the stretch of 4 road from the town of Jambuddoni to the town of Sirivadjhana levelled in the length of half a yojana and the breadth of an usabha⁴, so that it was fair as the surface of a drum, and 5

¹ It is now generally recognized that this Sirivadjhana has nothing to do with Kandy (cf. Coplston, The Identification of the Sirivadjhanapura of Mahāvamsa, Chap. LXXXV., JRAS. C. B. XII, Nr.43, 1892, p. 206 ff.). It was situated according to v. 4 only half a yojana from Jambuddoni-Dambodeniya. All my MSS. have in v. 4 adghayojana⁵, not ajjhayojana⁶ which must be assumed, if we adopt W’s translation: “about eight yojanas”. If the yojana of the Mhva. is the usual Indian yojana, then the distance between the two towns is about 4 1/2 miles. Pujāv., if the printed text can be relied on, has atayodasak.

² P. visālavibhavana (“possessing great riches”) māhācādrav. There is just a doubt whether we have to take the subst. as appellative or with W. as a proper name. I adopt the former and that with reference to the Pujāv. where we have rajmahaveherik “one great King’s Monastery”. Thus we must of course read in v. 56 not Mahā⁷ but mohā⁸.

³ P. nānakammacockita; cf. cittakama “varied painting”.

⁴ In the line dighasitthā ato adghayojanāsabhamattahake the adghayojana refers evidently to dīgha and usabha to vitthāra. The first is the length, the second the breadth of the road. An usabha is equal to 20 yaṭṭhi = 140 ratana or hattha, (roughly = 18 inches), thus 210 ft. = 64 metres. The Pujāv. gives a very detailed description of the festival of the transference of the relics to the new monastery.
caused it to be strewn throughout its length with fine white sand and adorned on both sides with many flags and pennons strung high by which the sun’s rays were warded off, with rows of banana stems and with numbers of filled jars which contained decorations of flowers and were fair with their bright painting. On the whole of this free tract he had erected at a distance of every five cubits a royal arch and at a distance of every ten cubits an arch of stuff as well as at a distance of every hundred cubits a large pāśāda covered with variegated painting, with a high point, three-storeyed and furnished with an image of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then he decorated the vihāra round about the walled-in district of the monastery with many and vast arches which were fair by reason of their variety and gleamed with the grace of the arch of the King of the gods, — further with white umbrellas which resembled the picture of the full moon, — with banners five-fold in hue and of divers form, which were fair as heavenly dancers who dance in the court of the atmosphere — with rows of mapḍapas set with jewels that sparkled everywhere, which possessed the beauty of a series of many palaces descended from the world of the gods — with rows of figures of Brahma, that danced in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because they were worked by a mechanism, — with divers-hued mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with

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

2 From tato (end of v. 8) to v. 10 one sentence. Pred. and subj. are at the end. The King erected 1) rājatorāṇaṃ, 2) paṭṭatorāṇaṃ, 3) mahāpāśādaṃ on the levelled surface (samikataīte) between J. and S. To the loc. tale belong the attributes in 6 ed and in 7 d (nvuknte); to this last belong the ina, in v. 6 and 7. In v. 8 the loc. samikataīte is rendered collective by etasvivaṃ vipulokāse.

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

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

5 Lit. “beautiful by the contrivance of a machine”.

hands folded before the brows, — with rows of mechanical 17 figures of horses which ran hither and thither and possessed the grace of rows of raging waves of the sea, — with elephants 18 wearing the ornaments of elephants, which were (likewise) mechanical figures feigning to be clouds descended to the earth: — with all these and other votive offerings which called 19 forth ecstasy in people he embellished the vihāra. Then again 20 he made the whole of the inhabitants in Lāṅkā take up their position in a circle round the vihāra, filling the space of a gāvuta\(^1\) and giving forth shouts of praise, and glorified the 21 virtues of the perfectly Enlightened One. To these (he added) 22 the bhikkhus and the sāmageras as also the lay brethren and the lay sisters, bearing flowers destined as offerings for the festival of the Buddha and (lastly) all the other men and women who 23 were acquainted with the merits of the three (sacred) objects\(^2\), with votive offerings in their hands, adorned with all their ornaments. Thereupon the Monarch himself decked out in all 24 his ornaments, accompanied by his four-membered army, urged by his faith, placed the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, on 25 a costly chariot, adorned with every kind of chariot ornament. Then one by one he had displayed before him\(^3\) divers votive offerings, such as flags of gold and flags of silver, golden 26 vessels and silver vessels, fly-whisks of gold and fly-whisks of silver, chests of gold as also silver chests, golden fans and 27 charming silver fans, golden bowls with lotus flowers\(^4\) and 28 bowls of silver with lotus flowers, filled jars\(^5\) which were 29 fashioned of gold and such as were fashioned of silver and so on; and afterwards holding a great sacrificial festival with 30

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1 See note to 73. 154.
2 See note to 37. 214.
3 P. narato panteo (v. 29), that is in single groups or divisions before he himself started.
4 P. pokkharaṇī, i. e. “lotus-pond”. We must imagine the basins in which the flowers were borne as being oblong in form like small bathing-ponds.
5 In the pūṇṇakālaṭī which are either carried or set up on festive occasions one sees now specially often the yellow-gold blossoms of the areca palm.
these divers (offerings) ever and again to the sound of the five musical instruments, he by degrees brought (the relics) on this decked out road to the town of Sirivadjhana. After carefully laying them down in the midst of the vihāra in a spacious mandapa on a covered Buddha seat, he set about making the various people celebrate a sacrificial festival. In the morning all people who had a true thirst for meritorious works, adorned with their ornaments, venerated the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic in religious devotion, with divers kinds of flowers, such as jasmin, campaka blossoms, the blossoms of the ironwood tree and the like, distinguished by their colour and perfume, and which were mingled with flowers of gold. They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice which gleamed like a collection of the long since amassed fame of the Great king. They venerated them with divers kinds of fruits, such as bananas, bread-fruit, mangoes and so forth, which were quite ripe, fragrant, lovely in colour, perfectly sweet. Then afterwards when the King himself had venerated the two most holy relics with all kinds of votive offerings, he likewise, true to the good custom, provided the bhikkhu community carefully with food and drink, with dishes solid and tender, with drinks that one sips and with those one drinks. Thereupon the Ruler, joyful in heart, distributed to many hundreds of bhikkhus the eight articles of equipment

1 P. tehi tehi (possibly pantiso also) belongs to the following kāraṇa paraṇa mahāparāṇa.
2 The five instruments are enumerated in Abhp. 139 ff. They are atala, vitata and atatasitata, drums stretched “on the one side”, “on the two sides” and “wholly with leather”, susira, “flute, pipe”, and ghana “cymbal”.
3 The various groups of people enumerated in v. 21—23.
4 P. pukkāsena. The word sena “drunkard” used here in a figuative sense, as also in dharmasena, Jāt. V. 482—47 (PTS. P. D. s. v.).
5 P. bhattiyā, see note to 74. 243.
6 P. jāit, jasminum grandiflorum, campaka, michelia champaca, nāga, mesua ferrea.
7 Khajjabbajaṭṭhi is the more detailed explanation of anna and leyya-peyyeṭhi that of pāṇa in the compound annapāneṭhi.
in great abundance. After that throughout the three watches of the night he had the whole space round about the vihara lit up with many hundreds of thousands of lamps burning fragrant oil, with lovely festoons of numberless, tiny, camphor lamps (so that it was) like to the starry firmament. The Monarch instituted a sacrificial for the Buddha. The festival was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and songs of the dancers who on splendid stages erected here and there, performed while assuming different characters, divers dances and sang various songs. The noise of the festival was increased by the sound of the five musical instruments which produced the illusion of the roar of the great ocean of his meritorious works that was so strong that it surpassed the booming of the sea, while the drums shamed the thunder-claps of Pajjuna. The feast resounded with the pious voices of the preachers of the good doctrine who placing themselves on the preachers’ seats carefully spread at divers spots by the faithful, laid hold of the beautiful fans and preached the good doctrine that went straight to the heart of

1 Subj., pred. and obj. mahañcado buddhapajany parattayi stand at the close of the whole sentence in v. 51 ed. The preceding verses contain attributes to the object buddhapajanya, namely manoñkaraya (v. 42-3), visuddhisayi (v. 44-5), ghotisayi (v. 46-7), maññitaya (v. 48-9), parattayan (v. 50-51).

2 P. rañcamañcala = sinh. rañgamadala.

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

4 The term “noise” must be supplemented from the foregoing. In the text itself there is only visuddhisayi directly related to pajañya.

5 See above note to v. 30-31.

6 Very doubtful. I take dhana to mean “error, illusion”, which is also the meaning of the skr. dhrama. W’s translation cannot be reconciled with the text.

7 Skr. dārṣṭaratī can also mean “leaves behind it, surpasses”.

8 Skr. Pañjantya the God of rain and of the storm. Cf. Jāt. i. 391; D. N. ii. 260; Mbh. 21. 31.

9 During solemn ceremonies the priest holds a fan in his right hand and great importance is attached to its being held in a dignified way.
their hearers. It was made beautiful by the jubilant cries of the four retinues (of the Buddha) who ever giving grateful expression to their joy, went hither and thither praising unceasingly with cries of applause the merits of the three (sacred) objects with the words: O Buddha! O Doctrine! O Order! Its praise was proclaimed by the elders (of the clan) of the Balibhojakas arrayed in all their ornaments, who taking their stand at the divers regions of the heavens after the custom of a Nandin procure* without ceasing the blessing of the Buddha.

With the thought: even in the highest heaven the Prince of the gods celebrates such a festival for the Buddha, the Ruler had that same ceremony manifested here (on earth), and as former kings also, rulers of Sihala, had in their miraculous power held even such a sacrificial festival for the Enlightened One, so he showed it likewise at the present time to the dwellers in Sihala. And so with the words addressed as it were to all men: of such kind is the fruit on the wishing-creeper of the pāramitās of the omniscient (Buddha), he celebrated seven days long even such a great sacrificial festival for the three (sacred) objects. Then in making the great

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1 P. sādhukāra. Cf. note to 74. 228.
2 These are the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay brethren and lay sisters.
3 See note to 38. 13.
4 P. buddhasanti karontehi. The expression santiḥ kara (skr. ṣāntiḥ) shows that the task of the people was to fend off all influences emanating from evil spirits which might disturb the course of the festival. Nandividhipurassarasaḥ is in keeping with this, for in the Indian drama the nāndīn has in the prologue to deliver the introductory prayer (nāndit) which is fraught with blessing. Cf. Svën Konow, Das Indische Drama, p. 24. We can understand too why the elders of the Balibhojaka clan were entrusted with this office. The name signifies these animals, birds in particular, such as the crows that live on the bali, the daily sacrifice offered to the spirits. Such spirits are embodied in these birds and the sacrifice satisfies and conciliates them so that they do no harm.
5 Also in Skr. kalpelatā along with kalpaśyka etc. of the tree of Paradise on which grows everything that gives joy and delight to mankind.
6 See note to 87. 180.
vihāra the property of the community and in giving it over to the Order, he filled himself with merit and fame. Thereupon the King erected a parivena that was called by his name Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty pāsādas, granted the vihāra the divers objects of use suited to it, as well as several rich maintenance villages, and celebrated a great sacrificial feast.

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

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1 See note to 85. 2.
2 Namely the vihāra in which the Parakkamabāhu-parivena was erected. Parivena and vihāra are thus not used synonymously as W. thinks.
3 That is his younger brother Bhuvanekebāhu, see 82. 4.
4 i. e. "Elephant mountain town", now Kurunegala.
5 He was the son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devānampiyattissa and founder of the dynasty of Rohaṇa, whence arose in the fourth generation Duttāgāmaṇī. (Mhva. 22. 2 ff., 10 ff.). For Kalyani see note to 61. 35.
6 Cf. note to 78. 89. The images named here are the same as those mentioned in the Selalihinisanda sas 68, to which Paranativane has already called attention. According to the Ss. there were two of these.
level surface, and then he erected in front of the (cetiya) a
large mandapā. Further the Ruler with great and religious
devotion held several times in that vihāra a sacrificial feast for
the Bodhi tree, the cetiya and the Enlightened One, with votive
offerings of flowers, lamps and food — magnificent, abundant,
spreading joy among the people, and acquired thereby merit.
Thereupon the King granted to the vihāra for the purpose
of holding a daily sacrificial festival of lamps, a large, fair,
delightful garden of cocopalms which he had had laid out in
his own name in the immediate neighbourhood of the vihāra.
Then the two-storeyed, circular relic temple in the vihāra
called Hathavānagalla¹, erected² by the monarch Goṭhābhaya,
by name, on the spot where King Sirisamghahodhi gave his
head as gift to the poor man³ — this temple the best of kings
had repaired and provided with a golden point and made three
storeys high. In the selfsame monastery he built on the spot
where the corpse of his royal father had been laid down⁴ a superb
cetiya. There too he had erected an octagonal image house and had
a stone image of the Buddha set up in it. The glorious King heard
that of that son of the Enlightened One⁵, the Thera Mahākassapa,
who had received during the lifetime of the Enlightened One —
the Guide to the path of salvation — the Master of the worlds —
his most holy garment of rags as heritage⁶ and after his death
had taken over the spiritual kingship and protected it — (that)
of this Mahākassapa a single relic, a tooth, (existed and) in

¹ Now Attavanagalla on the small river of the same name, about
18 or 20 miles north-east of Colombo.
² Hathavānagallavihāravamsa 9. 7 (p. 32 of the edition by Anwās).
Here the building is described as bhavanat vihāraṃ.
³ Mvs. 36. 91 ff. should be compared with this. The history of
Sirisamghahodhi’s end is told in greater detail in the Hathavānagallavihāravamsa 8 (p. 25 ff. of the ed.) and embellished with many miraculous
tales.
⁴ Namely on the pyre. The corpses of the kings were disposed of
by burning.
⁵ Buddha’s disciples are described as his spiritual sons.
⁶ Cf. for this Samyutta 16. 11. 28 f. (II. 221), and the remarks to my
translation of the S. N. II, p. 270 and 284.
course of time had come to Tambapaṇḍi and was now preserved in the vihāra of Bhimatiṭṭha in the province of Pañcayojana. Thereupon the King in whom there sprang up religious devotion, love and highest veneration towards that Thera, betook himself, surrounded by his four-membered army to the great monastery and after he had beheld there the splendid (relic), he celebrated full of joy with an immeasurable quantity of beautiful kinds of fragrant flowers and likewise with lamps and incense and heaps of rice, with great care for three days a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. Then when the Monarch learned that in the sacred town of Devanagara which was a mine of meritorious works, the shrine long since erected to the lotus-hued god — the King of the gods, had now fallen into decay, he betook himself to the superb town and in rebuilding the dwelling of the King of the gods like to the heavenly mansion of the King of the gods, he made of it an abode of all riches. Then the best of men had the town filled with all splendidors even as the beauteous city of the gods. Hereupon he determined to celebrate every year in the town an Āsāḷhī festival for the god.

Now the Great king betook himself to the splendid town of Jambudvīpa. Here he had built round the Sirivijayasundara-vihāra erected by his royal father, a high wall and gate-towers and then had the three-storeyed relic temple restored.

1 Now Bentota on the coast between Colombo and Galle. For Pañcayojana see note to 57. 71.
2 That is towards Mahākassapa. W. erroneously associates there with the elder who had the charge thereof.
3 The word devarājālaya is twice used here. The temple of the King of the gods (Viṣṇu) in Devanagara is made as beautiful as the palace of the King of the gods (in this case Indra) in heaven.
4 P. devanagaram viya in allusion to its namesake, the town of Viṣṇu's shrine.
5 P. āsāḷhā, -āt is the name of the month June-July. The day of the full moon of this month was one of high festival even before the time of Buddha (Jāt. I. 50). Buddha was born on that day.
6 Cf. above 81. 51 where the monastery is called Vijayaysundarārāma.
7 Cf. with this 82. 9 ff.
There he placed the Tooth Relic of the Great Sage on a raised throne of great value and celebrated in the order described above, for seven days a great sacrificial feast for the three (sacred) objects which procure every conceivable blessing. With the wish to have daily before his eyes a figure of the Guide to the path of salvation, as rejoicing to the heart as the figure of the living Master, the Lord of men had portrayed by numbers of specially skilled painters on a great tablet a splendid Buddha figure, showing the Exalted One as he took when alife an airing in a large jewelled cloister set with divers precious stones. Hereupon the King of high renown gathered together the whole Order of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of Laūkā as well as a multitude of people and celebrated in the town of Sirivaddhāna in the manner described earlier, for seven days a great festival for the Buddha.

Now when the Great king heard that unimaginable blessing attaches to a kaṭhina offering, he thought, joyful of heart in faith: "In honour of the eighty greatly glorious disciples of him who is alone the bridge over the shoreless terrible ocean of the circle of rebirths, who alone is the banner of the Sakya clan, whose dignity is venerated by the people of the whole world, the Wise, the King of the wise, the Master, the preserver of the world, the seer, who is master (of his senses), thekinsman of the world, the kinsman of

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1 P. mahāsītapatāka ... lokānā. Probably the picture was painted on a piece of stuff. In the Pūjāv. where the picture is also described, the expression petikaḍa is used, according to C.; lānī, "piece of cloth on which an image of Buddha is painted". Mhvs. 27. 18 ff., relates that the picture after which the Lohapāsāda was built, was designed on a pāṭa.

2 Lit. a Buddha figure like the Exalted One walking ... taking an airing in a cloister. The ca in 96 c is disturbing. Perhaps one should read ca (= eva).

3 See note to 44. 48. Parakkamabāhu's kaṭhina offering is also related in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

4 See note to 37. 176.

5 Round the banner (keta) the clan gathers; the word is therefore used figuratively for "leader, chief, the highest". Cfr. akṣ. sāmayaḥketa, Raghuvansa 2. 35. The Buddha represents the ace of the Sakya clan.

6 P. lokibanda. So called on account of his world-embracing love.
the sun——(in honour of his eighty disciples) I will give a 102
great and splendid kaṭhina offering of eighty (robes)." The wise 103
(prince) then called together the whole of the men and women
dwelling on the island of Laṅkā and made them all carry 104
out in the shortest time the whole of the work (for the making)
of (these) garments beginning with the preparation of the 105
cotton. And on one day he gave away together with all the
useful and important wares, the eighty kaṭhina robes. But 106
after he had prepared all this and versed in offering, had
distributed it among all the theras dwelling in Tambapanni,
he held for the eighty great disciples, for each one of them, 107
on the same day, eighty great sacrificial feasts. In this way 108
he often bestowed many kaṭhinas on the Great community
and increased thereby his great merit.

And the King thought several times with longing joyful 109
through faith: "I will dedicate to the Enlightened One the
royal dignity of Laṅkā." He adorned in fitting manner his 110
royal palace like the palace of the Lord of the gods and
the town like the city of the gods. Then he placed the Tooth 111
Relic of the Great Sage (Buddha) on a costly lion’s seat which
he had fashioned in the royal abode, and with divers fly- 112
whisks and umbrellas, with divers jewelled crowns, with divers
ornaments and robes, with divers heaps of jewels, with divers 113
elephants and steeds, with divers infantry and chariots, with
divers beatings of drums, and divers sounds of shell trumpets, 114
with divers flags and pennons, with divers rows of banana
trees, with divers bowls of milk, 4 with divers trees in blossom,
with divers splendidly fragrant wreaths, with divers superb 115

1 P. ḍhānubandhu. Because like the sun he illuminates the whole world,
at the same time also because (cf. W., note), the princely house of the
Sakya is said to belong to the dynasty of the sun. The synonym ṅādotca-
bandhu is a frequent name of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa explains it in
Suttanipāta 915 by ṅādissa gottabandhu (Heinān Smrīna, Paramatthas-
jotikā, p. 562).

2 See 84. 39 and note.

3 See note to 80. 25.

4 P. mṛtratāka. Lit. "ponds of milk". The explanation is similar
to that of soṇnapokkharayi in 85. 28. See the note.
116 palanquins, with divers kinds of excellent rice, with divers splendid kinds of cake, with divers superb lamps, frankincense and perfumes — with all these and other votive offerings 117 worthy of a king, he celebrated with care, after assembling the Great community of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of Lankā for seven days a great sacrificial feast.

118 The best of kings also betook himself with his four-membered forces to the Samantakūṭa¹, this forehead jewel of the rock mountains. There he venerated the foot-print — to be venerated by gods and other beings — of the highest God 120 of gods², the King of truth, the Master. Round about the monarch of the mountains he granted to the extent of ten gāvutas³ the land rich in various precious stones and thickly 121 peopled with men and women, in religious devotion to the sacred foot-print and sacrificed to it again with ornaments of jewels.

122 Thus did the discerning King who had faith in the Buddha, amass a great quantity of meritorious works as bridge for the crossing of the ocean of the circle of rebirths, or as ladder with which to reach the highest heaven.

Here ends the eighty-fifth chapter, called «The Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is mentioned in the Pūjāv.
² The title devatīdeva for the Buddha which already occurs in Mhvs. 1. 57, points again to a later stage of development. Cf. note to 50. 65.
³ That is about 20 miles.
CHAPTER LXXXVI

INCITEMENT TO THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Thereupon the King thought: "Since I now wield the royal dominion over all Laṅkā, it is indeed for me a heavy burden to make pilgrimages hither and thither and to venerate according to one's desire the hallowed places, to perform daily meritorious works and to care for the welfare of the world. But which of my dignitaries has the capacity to accumulate a blessing of merit which would be equal to my aspiration and to care (likewise) for the welfare of the world? Now there is my dignitary Devapattīrāja by name, a true believer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community. When he striving after the dignity of a Guide to the path of salvation, made the firm resolve, straightway there sprang from the three eyes of a coconut planted by him three shoots. Once when he beheld a poor man he to whom mercy was the highest, gave him all his possessions together with children and wives and uttered the wish: I will be a Buddha. Therefore when he shall have heard my wish he will fulfil it." So thinking, he had him summoned and spake to him thus: "By swamp, mountain and wilderness as though created by the powerful,

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1 P. bhāra. The idea is this: the meritorious tasks which I have taken upon myself are too much for me alone. I must look round for helpers who will work with and for me with the same ideas and objects.

2 Namely that the miracle described in 5 cd and 6 ab should be manifested as sign of the fulfilment of his wish to become one day a Buddha. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 113 and notes.

3 P. vasavattīn. As epithet of Māra, also in Thūpavamsa 6512, with
unwelcome Māra, the road leading to the Sumana mountain¹ is at many places obstructed, (made) inaccessible and causes difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by venerating the footprint of the Sage. Do thou therefore make it accessible. Further: I have heard that in the vihāra called Hatthavanagalla², at the spot where a Grand therav a roofing with miraculous powers, making through the majesty of his merit earth and air to resound with thunder, attained the dignity of an arahant, a five-storeyed pāsāda with a roofing of golden bricks erected by King Upatissa³, has in the course of time fallen into decay, so that now nought but the pillars remain. Do thou also restore this in my name. And just as King Nissaṅka laid out a garden of fruit-trees in the Bhima-tīthavihāra⁴, do thou also plant in the same manner in my name a large garden full of cocopalms and other trees⁵. With these words he entrusted him with each single meritorious undertaking⁶.

18 Devappatirāja agreed with “aye!” and betook himself in the first place to Gangāsiripura⁷. There he had fashioned a magnificent image of Sumanadeva⁸ furnished with all the fair bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūṭa⁹. He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in reference to the paraninmitarasavattideva who are Māra’s retinue and are themselves described as Māras.

¹ Name of Adam’s Peak.
² See 85. 73 and note.
³ We do not know which Upatissa is meant, for neither the first king of this name (37. 179 ff.) nor the second (41. 6) has such a building ascribed to him.
⁴ See 85. 81 and note. There is an account of the parks laid out by Kittinissaka in 80. 25 (and in the Rājāv.)
⁵ We must of course write tāmataupukkaṅkāryāsu.
⁶ According to Rājāv. = Gampala, now Gampola situated about 11 miles to the south of Kandy. Cf. 88. 49, 90. 107.
⁷ The local guardian spirit of Adam’s Peak. See Mhvs. 1. 33.
⁸ = Sumanakūṭa. See note to 60. 64.
festive procession\(^1\), set forth, betook himself first to the village 21 Bodhitala and began from here to build bridges. Here at the 22 mouth\(^2\) he made a large and magnificent bridge of thirty-five cubits, and over the Khajjotanadi one of thirty cubits, likewise at Ullapanaggāma one of thirty-six cubits, at Ambaggāma 23 one of thirty-four cubits in length\(^3\). (The bridges were) very 24 strong and good so that elephants, horses, cattle and buffaloes could pass over them. And above each single embankment of 25 the bridges he had fair houses built, adorned with lofty pillars and the like, had invitations sent to numbers of bhikkhus, 26 gathered them together at different places, distributed among them abundant alms and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He built rest-houses, finished the building of bridges, laid 27 down at the remaining places frequent stepping-stones\(^4\), had 28 the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built. Then he betook himself to the Samantakūṭa, showed veneration to the sacred footprint, set up in the courtyard of the cetiya 29 of the sacred footprint the image of the god (Sumana) and erected a maṇḍapa for the holy footprint. Round about it he 30 had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the maṇḍapa fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to 31

\(^1\) P. useavana suha. Pūjāv. has pahārin “with a procession”.
\(^2\) P. mukhadāramhi. The mode of expression is not quite clear. W. translates: “and nigh unto the mouth of the Khajjota river he built a bridge ... and ... across the same river”. This is indeed difficult to reconcile with the original text. We have to think of these bridges as causeways between the rice fields (cf. setubandha in v. 25). The numbers are, taken in order, roughly 52, 45, 54, 51 ft.

\(^3\) Devappatirīja proceeds from Gampola up the left bank of the Mahaveliganga. Ullapanaggāma is the modern Ulapana (4 m from Gampola as the crow flies). Ambaggāma is the present Ambagamuva (6 m from Ulapana). The Khajjota river is called in Pūjāv. Kaṣamādiri-haya (we have to read thus instead of -haya). Sinh. Kaṣamādiri means “glow-worm”, like the P. khajjota. It is curious that the further course of the road is not described. It probably led over to the valley of the Kaḍaligama river and then ascended this valley. See note to 60, 66 and below v. 41.

\(^4\) At marshy spots where no causeway could be built, to give firm foothold.
secure it, and then again he sacrificed for three days to the
sacred footprint with lamps and the like. He himself placed
on his head a lamp with fragrant oil, and venerating again
and again in the name of his Master the Great king and
walking round the sacred footprint with his right side towards
it, he spent the whole night. Hereupon he had this whole
occurrence in its true sequence from the beginning written
down on a lofty stone pillar and had this monument of the
glory of the Great king of kings Parakkamabāhu set up
with rejoicing. Thereupon he informed the King of the whole
occurrence by the mouth of a messenger and sent (the mes-
sage) off, since his wishes had been completely carried out.

After that Devappatirāja betook himself to the Hattha-
vanagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the
manner commanded by the King, a three-storeyed pāsāda with
a lofty point and gave it over to the Grand master, the wise
Anomadassin by name. Then he celebrated according to the
order of the Great king, an almsgiving and had a stone
inscription put up.

Thereupon the High dignitary betook himself to the
landing-place Bhīmatittha and built at the mouth of the
Kālanadī a bridge of eighty-six cubits. Then after building
at Kadaliṣenagāma a bridge of a hundred staves and over
the river of Sālaggāma one of forty staves and over the

1 P. mahaṣāmin. Cf. with this note to 58. 23. Anomadassin was the
Superior (abbot) of the monastery.

2 The Kālanadī is the present Kaluganga. The length of the
bridge is about 129 ft., the mouth of the Kaluganga is however con-
siderably wider than that.

3 If Kadaliṣenagāma is the same as Kadāḷīgāma in 60. 66, the
building of the bridge was a continuation of the road to Adam’s Peak.
The identity of the two is however very questionable. W. suggests
Kebellenawa in the Kalutara District, Ratigam Korale. Pājav, has
Kāḷāṇāvā.

4 The calculation according to yaṭṭhi “rod, measuring rod” here is
curious. According to 78. 63 (cf. the note to the passage) a yaṭṭhi
equals 5 hattha. The two measurements in v. 41 would accordingly be
750 and 800 ft. respectively.
Sālapādapa swamp one of a hundred and fifty cubits and in addition to these other bridges here and there at difficult places, and numerous parks and sermon halls, he celebrated 43 once more a great festival of almsgiving.

And again the High dignitary of the King had laid out 44 from the Bhimatittha-vihāra as far as the landing-place (of the Kālanadi) on a space a yojana broad, a great garden of 45 cocopalms, called after Parakkamabāhu, beautifully shady and rich in fruit. Then having all the work in the different 46 districts, such as the spinning of the cotton and so forth, undertaken and finished in a day, the highly-famed one 47 presented the bhikkhu community with six and twenty kāṭhina robes and celebrated therewith a great sacrificial festival. Giving in like manner, he wandering around here and there, 48 presented the bhikkhu community once again with sixty-six kāṭhina robes.

Then he had the whole of the vast forest called Ma- 49 hālabujagaccha cleared by the roots, a fine village built there and in its neighbourhood a large grove of jack-trees planted. 50 Then he erected there in the name of the King an image house of three storeys, surrounded by bodhi tree, cetiya, park and encircling wall and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Having thus performed in the name of his royal Master much 52 meritorious work, he informed the King of everything on his return.

Now was the King filled with great affection for him. He 53 made the village called Mahālabujagaccha and other villages built by him his hereditary property and granted them to 54

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1 Roughly 225 ft. W. gives the number as “fifty”. He has overlooked the sata in sataṭīṭṭhakāya.
2 Kālanaditīṭtha, now Kalutara. Cf. 56. 12 and note. The distance between Bentota and Kalutara is 12 miles. The breadth of the plantation would be 9 miles, if the Indian yojana is meant.
3 Pājāv. Mahādevas naṃṣa mahācāmaya. Sinh. del is the name of the bread-fruit tree artocarpus incisa. — P. labuṣa.
4 Pājāv. kosvanaya. Sinh. kos is artocarpus integrifolia. — P. panasa.
5 P. riḍaṭṭhānāmato stands here in the same sense as mahārājanajas nāmato in v. 32 or mahārājanāniyogato in v. 39 or riḍaṭṭhāmena in v. 51.
him. Thereupon he betook himself with him to the temple of the Tooth Relic and spake thus in the midst of the community: "This my most excellent dignitary has at all times been true of heart to me and to the three (sacred) objects. Therefore because activity for the welfare of the Buddha and of the King was for him the highest, is he dear to me and precious. Therefore will I with a gift dear to me make a sacrifice to the Tooth Relic". And he dedicated the excellent dignitary with wife and children to the Tooth Relic of the Sage.

In such wise did the protector of the middle world from that times make that same most excellent Devappatirāja celebrate continually with many costly votive gifts, sacrificial festivals to the world-extolled Triad of the jewels.

Here ends the eighty-sixth chapter, called "The Incitement to the Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE HANDING OVER OF THE BURDEN OF DOMINION

Now once upon a time when through the influence of evil 1 planets a great heat arose in Laṅkā by which everything was burnt up, when the corn withered and a famine was inevitable 2 and the whole of the people dwelling in Laṅkā were filled with the greatest anxiety, the King gave orders for a splendid 3 festival to be held for the three (sacred) objects, for the cetiyas and the bodhi trees and for the protectors Metteya and other miracle-working highest deities 4 who were to be venerated by 4 various offerings, and even to turn the whole of Laṅkā into one great festival 5 . After antecedent sacrificial ceremonies, he gathered together the Great community of the bhikkhus, caused them recite the Paritta 6 and bear the Tooth Relic of the Great sage round the town in fitting manner, the right side turned towards it, and made (in firm faith) the resolve: the heavens shall rain. Thereupon great clouds gathered on every side, flashing with lightning and again and again thundering, so that it was bliss for the ears of all people, 8 and they began to rain, destroying the glowing heat, making 9

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

2 The construction is difficult. W. merely translates freely according to the sense. We must take the words kārāpetvāna and mahussavānā twice, first uttamaṁ mahussavō kārāpetvāna (namely for the things and persons mentioned in 3 and 4) and then sabbāṁ Laṅkāṁ ekō ṣahamahussavāṁ kārāpetvāna. For this last cf. idioms like radho yeś eko “pure murder and bloodshed”, M. II. 244 5 ; eko bhāsaṁ dīsā sabbāṁ vidhāya, Mhvs. 74, 219, JāCo. V. 194 7 etc.

3 See note to 46. 5.
joyful the people, driving away the famine, beautifying the
country and reviving the corn. 1

10 “By the power of the Buddha do these rain-clouds pour
11 forth such rain, making joyful our hearts. Who therefore among
gods, brahmas and men is capable of understanding how great
12 are these excellent qualities of the Buddha? But our King
also is mighty and strong in miraculous power, a king like
13 to him there has not been and there will not be.” With such
words ever and again repeated, the dwellers in Lanka praised
the excellence of the Monarch of sages and also the excellence
of their King.

14 While in this wise the King protecting Order and laity in
15 justice and filling with precious contents his own character,
enjoyed for long the good fortune of the royal dignity, he on
one occasion summoned to him along with his sister’s son, Virabha, his five capable sons — Vijayabahu, Bhuvanekebahu, 2
17 Tibhuvanamalla, Parakkamabahu and Jayabahu — and began in
18 this wise to give these six advice: “Dear ones, hearken to
my words: there are here in the world these three (kinds) of
sons: the low kind, those of like kind, those of higher kind. 3
19 Now those who know not how to enjoy at its true worth 4 the
wealth of their parents which has come to them as a family
20 heritage, but destroy it, as monkeys a wreath of flowers, and
now live without wealth — the pious ancients have called ‘sons
21 of a low kind’. But those who enjoy such possessions as they
have received them in like manner as their fathers, protecting
them as a family heritage, these ye must know are the ‘(sons)

1 The removal of a drought by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic is
also described in the Rājāv.
2 The two brothers Vijayabahu and Bhuvanekebahu are mentioned
together in an inscription found in Yāpahu. H. C. P. Bell, ASC.
1911-12 = S. P. III. 1915, p. 63.
3 Lit. “lower (similar, higher) born or become”. Cf. skr. apojäta
and avojäta. The three kinds are distinguished in the same way in
the itivuttaka, p. 63², 64⁴. For avojäta cf. also DhCo. I. 178³.
4 P. guḍāmaurodhato. W’s translation “by a virtuous life” is too weak
and too general. The idea is: they are not conscious of how valuable
is the heritage that has come to them, they squander it frivolously.
of like kind.' But yet another kind I name — those who besides the possessions taken over as family heritage, acquire thereto many other possessions and as prudent people enjoy in happiness — these are known as the 'sons of higher kind'. From my father I have inherited alone (the province of) 24 Māyāraṭṭha but have now again conquered the two other provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under one umbrella. All the Damiḷas who were for him invincible, I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni dwelling here and there in mountain and wilderness I have brought over to my side. Having spread my fame everywhere also in foreign lands, I have for long held sway in just fashion. I have brought hither king's daughters from Jambudīpa with gifts and thereby made the nobles in the foreign land your kinsmen. The heroes of the Paṇḍus and the Coḷas, the kings sprung from the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, have sent me diadems and ornaments. Also have I gathered together without ceasing a mass of jewels which can be enjoyed not only by all of you here, but even in future time by seven generations of my descendants, even as the (god) Kubera (gathered together) his nine treasures, the shell and the rest. I have put down the evil-doers and protected the honest and brought unanimity to the Order of the Enlightened One. Therefore have I become for my royal father a higher born son, be ye also my sons, like me, higher born sons. As in 34 days of old the sixty thousand sons of King Śagara of the race of Okkāka, built as many towns, divided all land in

1 See notes to 81. 15 and 46.
2 See note to 81. 11.
4 For the legend of the Ś agaras, see Mahābhārata, III. 106 ff.
Jambudīpa into sixty thousand parts and held sway each for himself in harmony; — further as aforetime the ten brothers, the kings, divided Jambudīpa into ten parts and ruled in wise fashion: so shall ye, my sons, divide this Laṅkā and supporting one another as is fitting, hold sway in able fashion, but never expose a weakness to the enemy.” In this wise he admonished his own sons and his sister’s son.

Hereupon he summoned the Great community in great numbers and the King asked them: “Which of these six princes, my sister’s son and my own sons, is worthy of the royal crown?” When the Great community heard these words of the King, they expressed themselves thus: “O Great king thy princely sons and this thy sister’s son are all capable men and well instructed; they are all practised in fighting, crushers of the alien foe and worthy of the royal crown as protectors of the laity and the Order. But thy eldest son Vijayabāhu has from childhood believed with joy in the triad of the jewels. His heart was ever set on the care of infirm bhikkhus, he was trustworthy, grateful, gifted with the merits of faith and discernment. He was a support for such as had no support, ever abounding in pity for aged people and suffering creatures. Many kinsmen by marriage of the bhikkhu community who had become enslaved during the period of alien dominion and many other people he freed from their slavery by the gift to their masters of gold, precious stones and other valuables. Many thieves who had committed thefts even in the royal palace, turned to him when punishment

1 The reading of the MSS. yāyantā ought not to be changed into sāsantā. I assume that yāyatī has here a causative meaning “to make go, to further, to support”.

2 Not “the chief priests and the people”, as W. has it. Mahājanarāja is in apposition to mahājanapāha. The “people” have nothing to do with the question of the succession. In the sequel it is the priesthood alone who give the answer. Cf. also v. 71.

3 P. rājanāra. See note to 81. 1. It is the time of the reign of Māgha (and of Jayabāhu, 82. 27, 83. 19) that is meant. W. has misunderstood the passage in translating “when he took the government into his hands”.

overtook them. They gave up their anguish and their fear 49 and unharmed, without suffering the loss of a limb\(^1\), their lives were spared. When O King! he beheld the people who 50 went forth to each village to collect\(^2\) the taxes due to the King, he gave his own money, freed thus from various dues 51 all people in distress and protected them continuously, versed in the protection of subjects. Also many of the Sihala kings 52 of the Vanni whom thou wast desirous of subduing, sought him out first and then only did they fearless pay their visit to thee. 53>Ye must henceforth serve for ever with devotion\(^3\) Vijayabāhu who will in the future protect the continuation of our race, 54 thus are the wives in the families of the dignitaries wont in all reverence to admonish their husbands. When fathers and 55 mothers, fain to listen to the sweet infant voices of their two year and three year old children, ask them: >Whom do ye 56 serve?\(<\) they say: >We wish to serve Vijayabāhu<. Children 57 beaten in wrath by father and mother come to him and tell their woe. Then Vijayabāhu makes the parents come to him, 58 exhorts them in his pity to beat their children no longer and 59 lets them have from his own storehouse the necessary food for their various children. How canst thou O King, — even 60 as a man who gifted with seeing eyes, looks at the heavens where the full moon stands and yet asks where is then the full moon? — knowing as thou dost that in Vijayabāhu the 61 merits dwell which constitute the ornament of the royal dignity, yet ask the Order? Learn then O Great king! that he 62 possesses the lucky signs to hold sway not only over Lāhkādīpa but even over Jambudīpa.\(^4\)

After the Ruler had heard of these and his many other 63 merits from the mouth of the community, his eyes became moist with tears of joy thereat. Full of contentment he 64 summoned to him his son Vijayabāhu, made him sit on a seat

\(^1\) P. aṅgahāni.
\(^2\) Wrongly translated by W. It is not a case of people embezzling the taxes, but of the revenue officers who wished to collect them.
\(^3\) P. sansabhātā. Cf. with this the term bhatti = skr. bhakti, note to 74. 248.
(like his own) near him, and then the Great king informed him of all that must still be carried out for the laity and the Order and which had not yet been done by himself. “The Ratanāvali-cetiya destroyed by alien foes, thou shalt restore and adorn it with a golden point. Pulatthinagara, that splendid ornament of all towns, which was the ancient royal city of the Sihala sovereigns, do thou restore as it was of yore, with high walls and gate-towers, with four gates well distributed, and surrounded by a deep trench; and do thou bring thither to the former relic temple, fair as a heavenly palace, the two relics of the Tooth and the Bowl. In this royal city of former kings I wish myself to celebrate the high festival of the royal consecration. But do thou bring the whole bhikkhu community in great number, dwelling in the three Sihala provinces, to Sahassatittha, let them there after antecedent sacrifice, celebrate in the Mahāvālikagāga the festival of admission to the Order and thus make the Order of the Victor prosperous.

After speaking thus and otherwise of all that was to be done for the laity and the Order, he gave over the burden of government into his hands.

And further the King entrusted him with the five remaining sons of the royal house, and the two sacred relics of the holy Sage, the Tooth and the Bowl, as also with the host of the ascetics, with the group of all the dignitaries and also the land of Laṅkā.

Here ends the eighty-seventh chapter, called «The Handing over of the Burden of Dominion», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 See note to 80. 68.
2 P. sabbayurātaka. The word tīkaka (“badge of a sect”) has here (as so often also skr. tīkā) a figurative meaning “ornament, adornment”.
3 For bhikkhusaṅghahāṃ mahājanas cf. note to v. 89.
4 Now Dastota, a ford over the Mahaveliganga south of Polonnaruva. That the bhikkhus were fond of performing their ceremonies in a building erected in the water at some distance from the bank is well known. Dastota was at that time a spot considered especially sacred where such ceremonies were performed with great pomp, as is shown also in 89. 47 ff.
CHAPTER LXXXVIII

THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Fearless in heart, King Vijayabāhu gave his consent and took over the burden of the government. Now he thought: "I will show my father so long as he is in life, that I am a son of the higher kind." And he probed ever further: "Who is there now fitted to be the element ‘friend’ among the seven elements of government, as ruler, minister, friend and the like: trustworthy, a clever counsellor, a comrade in misfortune, who speaks the truth, who is good to me?" And he realised: "There is the Ādīpāda Viṇḍabāhu, the son of my father’s sister, well-bred, adorned with virtues, skilled in all tasks. Since the time when we played (together) in the sand till to-day he has showed the highest confidence in me and in (all) good people. He cannot bear to stand anywhere if he does not see me, and I also cannot bear to take a seat without seeing him. He is at pains even as I, to further the laity and the Order, richly dowered with mental and bodily power. Therefore is he fitted for the element friend". He summoned him to him and entrusted him with the position of a devoted friend.

1 The sattva vajjāṅgāni are enumerated in Abhpd. 350. They are: sāmi “ruler, monarch”, amacca “minister”, sakhā “friend”, kosa “state treasure”, dugganī “fortress”, vijñāpa “land, kingdom” and balam “army”. In the Kauṭaliya, they are enumerated at the beginning of Book 6 as the (sapta) prakṛtayaḥ: svāmyamātyavajanapadadurgakosadānandamitrāni. Why J. J. Mervin in his translation should have left out kosa (p. 297) I cannot understand. Cf. ib. p. 399, as well as R. Shamasastry, Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, trsl., p. 319. In Sūnnūr’s Abhidhānappadipikāsūci a verse is quoted from Kāmāndaki in which the same terms are grouped together.
Then he thought: "Now I must perform a meritorious work — splendid, sublime, rejoicing the heart. I was entrusted with the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl. For these I must now build a new temple. On the other hand, the ancient relic temple erected by my royal forefathers, has fallen into decay. This I will restore." With this consideration, he had fetched from all parts many groups of artists experienced in every branch of art and many other workmen; and erecting new structures doubly as fair to look at as the former buildings, he completed the whole temple of the Tooth Relic, so that it was beauteous as a heavenly palace; placed there the two relics of the Enlightened One and ordered his own guard to institute day by day a great sacrificial festival richer than aforetime, for the relics. From this time onward the King succeeded in making the love of his royal father (for him) increase continuously, twofold and threefold.

Thought the Ruler: my royal father shall have no grief arising from the separation from his sons, and he made his two younger brothers, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu, dwell continually near their father. Hereupon he summoned his younger brother Tilokamalla and placed under his command all the Sihala troops quartered in the space between the town of Jambuddoṇi and the southern sea and made him take up his abode in Mahāvatthalagāma, to protect his royal father on the south. Then he reflected: "In the north, foes coming from the opposite coast are wont to land in Khuddavāligāma. Who is so fitted to protect this side — perilous, since it is here that fighting is wont to begin — as my brother, the Prince

1 P. piturājāhi. W. translates "by the King, my father". He evidently regards rājāhi as a plur. malest. I believe however, that the term applies to Vijayabāhu III. and Parakkamabāhu II. What is meant is the relic temple in the Vijayasundara-vihāra in Jambuddoṇi which is said in 86. 91-2 to have been built by Vijayabāhu III. and renewed by Parakkamabāhu II.

2 Perhaps identical with Vattalagāma mentioned in 81. 58. The difference in the writing may possibly be explained in this way that vattala is the pure Sinhalese form, while vathala is adapted to the Pāli.
Bhuvanekabāhu?" The Ruler summoned him therefore, made 25 over to him the great army that stood in the north and 26 commanded him to take up his abode in Sundarapabbata\(^1\), in order to protect his royal father from this quarter. But the 27 King himself armed, marched with Virabāhu hither and thither, crushed all villains, made Lankā free from the briers (of the 28 enemy) and after getting his father's permission, he set forth with the intention of restoring Pulatthinagara.

Now at this time the Great king Parakkamabāhu, as if 29 borne on the great wave of his love for his son, set about accompanying his son, full of sympathy, travelling everywhere 30 after him, although the son did not wish it. Then the son ever 31 and again forced his father in reverent manner to return, he himself going on his way. Then his father issued the order: 32 "All people who cherish love for my son let them accompany him." When they heard these words of his, then all the high 33 dignitaries of the King and all the generals, all the great 34 hero warriors and all the elephant drivers, all the riders and all the charioteers were filled with the greatest joy. "Now our 35 Bodhisattva Vijayabāhu\(^2\) sets forth to restore the royal city of Pulatthinagara. If he goes we shall go with him at once." Thus 36 they spake and started forth well equipped to accompany him.

When a certain number of dignitaries, soldiers and others, 37 out of laziness, were not minded to go, their wives said to them: "Ye, our lords, may come with us or not, at any rate 38 we are going with the King who seeks the best, and we shall 39 dwell with him in the newly restored, splendid town". And they set forth therewith on their way before them. Even 40 children deserted their fathers, if they would not go with them and followed the King. When the King beheld the great 41 crowd of people setting forth, each deserting his village, his house and his comfortable possessions, he persuaded them 42 again and again in his great anxiety, and induced all those

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\(^1\) The same as Subhapubbata or Subhagiri = Yāpahu.

\(^2\) The influence again of the Mahāyāna. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119, 86. 5. Also in Rājarata. and Nik.-a. the King is called Bōsat Vijayabāhu.
whom it was right to induce, to return. Then he betook himself with the four-membered army in the desired strength, to the great and lofty situated fortress of Vātāgiri. After building a splendid royal palace on the summit of this mountain, surrounded by an extraordinarily high wall, he stored there in case of need, the whole of the great treasure given over to him by his royal father. Thereupon he built on the same high rock a fine monastery for the community, invited the Grand thera, the head of the Mahānettappāsāda-shrine, made over to him the splendid monastery, celebrated a great sacrificial festival and established a regular offering.

Hereupon the King went forth to Sumanakūṭa, venerated the footprint of the Sage (Buddha) and betook himself thereafter to Gaṅgūsiripura. There in the ancient vihāra that bore the name Nigamaggāmapāsāda, he saw to the restoration of what was ruinous and decayed, established for the bhikkhus dwelling there a regular almsgiving and came thereafter to Sindhūravāna. Here the King erected the vihāra called Vānaggāmapāsāda and after building there in the name of his royal father the parivena called Abbayārāja, he granted it the various articles of equipment, villages, fields and so forth.

Then the Monarch betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiri-pura. While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle (Bhuvanekabāhu), he gazed along with Prince Vīrabāhu and his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and gained there again and again the inner conception of imper-

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1 Vākirigalla in the Kegalla District. Cf. note to Mhvs. 58. 31.
2 A Mahānettappabbata is mentioned in Mhvs. 50. 74.
3 Gampola. See 86. 18.
4 The parivena is not called after his father Parakkamabāhu II. Here it is the case of a pattī (see note to 42. 50). The merit is transferred to the dead king.
5 Kurunegala. See 85. 62 where mention is made of the building of the Vihāra by Bhuvanekabāhu, the younger brother of Parakkama-bāhu II.
6 Cf. 83. 41 ff.
manency. Hereupon he erected there a splendid, three-storeyed image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the name Bhuvanekabāhu-pariveṇa, using for it the name of that (uncle). Then after he had settled the town (Hatthigiri) densely with men and women, he had it enclosed with wall, moat and so forth. Thereafter the brave King set forth and marched with the vast four-membered army to Subhagiripura.

At that time the Lord of men Candabhānu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pañcadas and Coḷas and elsewhere many Damilā soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in Mahātiṭtha. After the King had brought over to his side the Sihalas dwelling in Padi, Kurundi and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisāhala; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight." Thereupon 67 Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler Virabhāhu, took counsel with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: "Hurrrah, today both of us shall see the strength of our arms." Then the two set forth, surrounded the great army of Candabhānu on all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rāma. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and 70

1 P. aniccakkhāpa. This is a term drawn from the technique of jhāna, meditative absorption. See Hsinsa, Die buddhistische Versenkung, p. 18 ff.
2 I. e. Yāpahu.
3 Cf. 83. 96 ff.
4 See note to 83. 16.
5 See note to 81. 46.
6 Virabhāhu has here and in v. 90 the title of mahāpati, just as Bhuvanekabāhu in v. 79 has the title of rāja.
7 Note the change of subject in the case of vutvāna and nikkhasita.
weaponless the soldiers of the foe wandered around, prayed and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled, begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of terror. In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest, others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After Vijayabahu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent the Lord of men Candabhānū flying defenceless. But the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses, the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of victory, the banner of victory — all these he sent to his father. Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the province and won the victory, he united Laṅkā under the umbrella of his dominion.

Hereupon he had this town (Subhagiri) also surrounded by a high rampart and a trench and built there a superb royal palace. Having finished it, he established then in that town a regular almsgiving for the great bhikkhu community. Then he spake encouragingly to his younger brother King Bhuvanekabāhu and made him take up his abode as before in Subhapabbata.

Now the Ruler betook himself to Anurādhapura and there round about the Thūparāma and all the other sacred places he had the mighty forest — that was like a stronghold created by Māra — felled and a wall erected which was as a bridge over the stream of his hopes. Then after the Ruler had had these sacred places embellished by new buildings, he celebrated a great sacrificial festival. But as he wished to complete the work of restoration on the Ratanāvali-cetiya, begun but not finished by his royal father, he assembled with the greatest speed all people dwelling in the town from the places where individuals sojourned, ordered numbers of skilful workmen hither and having established for the community at whose head stood the chief Therī of the Senānātha-pariveṇa a regular

1 Verūhaṭā taddā in 71 d takes up again the taddā veriyodhā in v. 70 a.b.
2 See 87, 86.
3 This is the building erected by the general Kuṭṭhaka under Udāya II. and called in Mhvs. 51. 88, Senasenāpati-pariveṇa.
almsgiving, he appointed the Thera to look after the work of restoration. Thereupon the Monarchs of the Vanni who were living in Patṭṭhārāṭṭha, sought out the Ruler, bringing him many gifts. He (on his part) presented them with rocking chairs, white umbrellas, fly-whisks and other insignia for the great kings of the Vanni people. Therewith he made them all contented, charged them to protect the town (Anurādhapura) and betook himself from there to Pulatthinagara.

There the Monarch summoned to him the ruler Virabâhu: "We shall embellish this town, originally the royal city, and fill the universe with the camphor perfume of the exuberant abundance of our glory." After these words he took counsel with him and spake thereupon: "In the town called Pulatthinagara there are now pāsādas, image-houses, vīhāras, parivenas, cetiyas and relic temples, walls, gate-towers, houses of the adhārayogas and of the hāmmyā kind, maṇḍapas, sermon halls, temples to deities and other buildings. Some of these stand erect, covered with grass, trees and whatever else has grown upon them. Others have collapsed without support as the whole of their pillars perished; others again alas! will fall, bending under the weight of walls cracked from top to foot, because other support is wanting. Some of these, through decay and old age are like greybeards, and unable to stand erect, they become more bowed from day to day. With many the joists are broken and their pinnacles destroyed, with others the roofs have decayed.

1 Nīṭṭhūpeti means here "to fix, to establish", the object dānavataṭṭaṃ being governed by it.

2 I leave the two terms adhārayogas and hāmmyā (skr. hārmyā) untranslated. Both are names for particular types of dwelling-houses which we are unable to describe further.

3 P. chinnaṭulāyatthi. I believe that tulāyatthi (lit. balance-beam) means the horizontal beams, while gopānasī (v. 98; cf. 97, 141) means the beams of the roof-tree. The construction of the compound is: "many are such in which . . . are broken off.

4 P. vaṭṭhavīṭṭaṅkaka. The original meaning of viṭṭaṅka which is omitted in the PTS. P. D. is according to Abhp. "dovecote".

5 P. viḍkastavāḷabhi. This is an interesting voucher for vaḷabhi which
and the bricks are broken. In others by the breakage of the
damaged roostree the bricks of the roof have fallen and only
walls and pillars remain. In others again the gates have fallen
in and the hinging of the gate-posts destroyed; in others again
the steps have become loosened and the railings have fallen
in. Of many all that can be seen are parts still hanging
together\(^1\) of the original foundation wall: of many not even
the place where they once stood is now to be seen. Of what
use are many words? This town which has lost all its glory
we shall again make glorious. The Ruler must give his consent.
Then later he may celebrate the royal consecration in the
splendid city." With this charge he sent a messenger to his
father.

When the King heard these tidings, his heart was full of
joy, and as he himself had cherished the wish to restore the
original royal town, he summoned the circle of the great digni-
taries from every quarter, and issuing his commands to all the
inhabitants of Lāṅkā, he brought together the workers in iron,
the turners, bamboo workers\(^2\), blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths,
painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the caṇḍālas who understood
work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters
and the guilds of masons, and in addition to these all black-
smith’s tools, such as bellows, hammers, tongs, sledge-hammers,
avnils, as well as many sharp saws, axes, hatchets, (wedges)
for splitting trees and for crushing stones, knives, chisels\(^3\),
shovels, mats, baskets and so forth. All these appliances he
gave carefully to the people and also much money, such as

occurs in the canon (M. I. 175\(^10\), 177\(^22\)), only in the compound va-
labhāratha which must be translated "covered-in carriage".

\(^1\) Thus I translate nībandhana. In Skr. it means figuratively at least
a joint of words, a compound.

\(^2\) In the Saṃyutta Comm. (I. 193\(^19\) of the Siamese ed.) veṇakule is
explained by veṭṭākule.

\(^3\) P. koṭīṣa. In skr. koṭīṣa means "harrow" according to BR., but
this cannot be the case here. Some kind of pointed instrument must
be meant (cf. koṭi "point").
pearls, precious stones and the like and sent it with the people to his royal son. Thereupon in the devastated land, long desolate, King Vijayabahu, happy at heart, had the water system — tanks, ponds, dykes, pools and the like — in which the embankments had given way, and which were deprived of their deep water, dammed up as before, filled with deep water, covered with divers lotus blossoms and stocked with all kinds of fish. Then he had many valuable fields which had always been ground on which grew every kind of corn, newly planted, had all kinds of crops grown here and there and made the whole fair land prosperous. And the Ruler restored superb Pulatthinagara as it had been aforetime, surrounded by a moat, deep as the sea, with a fine chain of walls like to the Cakkavāla mountains, provided with divers vihāras, surrounded by various monastic parks with divers bathing-ponds, filled with a variety of cetiyas, sprinkled with various adhāya-yogas, adorned with divers pāsādas, built over with a variety of hammīyas, embellished with divers māndapas, provided with all sorts of temples to deities, resplendent with every kind of gate-towers, fair with the rows of divers houses, boasting a variety of streets, with four well-distributed gates, with fine squares and road-crossings.

In this fashion the King had the town of Pulatthinagara — comparable to the city of Indra — restored, so that it surpassed Mithilā, subdued Kāncipurī, laughed to scorn Sāvatthī, subdued Madhurā, turned to shame Bārāṇasī, reduced Vessāli to nothing and made Campāpurī tremble with her glory.

1 P. saha senāya. Senā means here the staff of workers raised by the King.
2 These are the mountains which are supposed to surround the earth which is conceived of as a disk. Cf. Skr. cakkabala, -vāla, BR. s.v. 2; W. Kiefer, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 186.
3 For adhākayoga and hammīya see above note to v. 93.
4 Amarasvātī, see 80. 5. The town is described in the Mahābhārata, III. 1714 ff.
5 A series of the most famous Indian towns. 1) Mithilā, capital of the Videhas, now northern Bihār; 2) Kāncipurī, in Southern India
Here ends the eighty-eighth chapter, called "The Restoration of Pulatthinagara", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

on the Coromandel Coast, one of the seven sacred towns of India. 3) Śrāvastī, capital of the Kośala country in present Nepal (T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 40); 4) Madhurā, here probably the town Mathurā on the Jumna, chief locality of the Śūrasena, mentioned AN. II. 57 (BR. s. v. madhūra 3 c); 5) Bārāṇasī, now Benares; 6) Vaiśālī, in the Videha country, in Buddhist times the chief locality of the Licchavi clan, like Śravatthī often mentioned in the sacred Canon; 7) Campā, in the territory of the Aṅgas, now Bhāgalpur on the Ganges, Bihār. Note the sacred number seven. See also the two notes to 89. 4.
Chapter LXXXIX

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION AND OTHER FESTIVALS

The King spake: "This Pulatthinagara is now thus restored as before, dowered with all that belongs to a city. This town is now radiant with happiness, splendour and beauty. She has surpassed Jetuttara and will now surpass Sāgalā. After vanquishing Sumśumāragiri, what need hath she to care for Sāketa? Ha! even Rājagaha she wishes to capture as it is. She has destroyed Samkassa and now scorns Indapatta. She dares to challenge Kapilavatthu. Therefore shall the King, the

1 P. saṃkhyaṃ uṣahāte kattum. I think that saṃkhya here is = skr. saṃkhyā and means "fight" (BR. s. v. 4). The Col. Ed. reads sākhyā and W. translates: "seeketh friendship with K." This I think is not so good, as uṣahāte has then no meaning. It looks as if the author here as also in 88.121, by the accumulation of synonyms for the term "surpass", wishes to show his intimacy with the rules of alaṃkāra. Cf. the expressions in Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa 2.62 ff. with those used in this passage.

2 The author returns here, repeating himself, to the idea already treated in the final strophe of chap. 88. He displays his geographical knowledge which he apparently borrows from the Abhidhānappadīpiṅī where in v. 200 and 201 all the towns named by him are enumerated: 1) Jetuttara, often mentioned in the Jātaka as the capital of the Sivi country (skr. śivi). Cf. Faure, Jāt., Index; 2) Sāgalā, abode of the King Milinda (Milp. ed. Thescker, p. 1); 3) Sumśumāragiri, according to M. I. 95, II. 91; S. III. 1; IV. 116; A. II. 61 etc. a town in the country of the Bhagyas (skr. Bhagyā); 4) Sāketa, name of the town Ayodhyā (now Oudh) in the Kosala country. M. I. 149 and often otherwise in the Nikāyas and the Jātaka book; 5) Rājagaha, capital of Māgadhā; 6) Samkassa (skr. Sāṃkṣṣaya), mentioned in the Jātakas, according to JāCo. IV. 289 thirty yojanas from Sāvatthī, was situated
chief of kings, even as Sakka, the overlord of the gods, did
6 in the city of Sakka, enter this city in all his majesty to
celebrate the festival of the royal consecration." Therewith
7 he sent a messenger to his father. When the King heard
from the mouth of the messenger the uninterrupted narrative,
he rejoiced greatly and betook himself at the head of his
8 army with all the mighty pomp worthy of a king, from the
town of Jambuddoni to the chief capital (of the kingdom).
9 And King Vijayabahu went the distance of a gāvuta towards
him and accompanied the Great king to the royal capital.
10 For seven days he celebrated in the town the high festival
of the royal consecration and carried it out in the (right)
11 sequence to the end. But after he had made over the Northern
province to Virabahu and made him take up his abode in
12 the prosperous royal city, he declared: I shall bring the
relics of the Sage to this royal city, and betook himself with
his royal father to the town of Jambuddoni.
13 Hereupon the King gathered together a great multitude
of the inhabitants of Lankā and had the great highway from
14 the town of Jambuddoni to splendid Pulatthinagara, five yo-
janas wide made level and throughout, always at a distance
15 of half a yojana, he had a costly rest-house built, gracefully
(adorned) with festive banners, rows of bananas, triumphal
16 arches and the like. Thereupon he placed the two relics of
the great Seer, Tooth and Bowl, on a high chariot which was
17 fair in its splendour as a heavenly chariot. With numerous

to the west of Kanyakubja (now Kanaaj) between the Ganges and the
Jumna (cf. Vin. II. 299); 7 Indapatta (skr. Indraprastha), town in the
Kura territory on the site of the present Delhi; 8 Kapilavatthu,
capital of the Śūkyas in the territory of the present Nepal, birthplace
of Buddha.

1 See note to 88. 121.
2 About two miles.
3 The expression is raṭṭhaṁ uttamaṁ, quite in the sense of Rājaraṭha
or Pāṭīṭṭhāraṭha.
4 According to the context, this would be the whole distance from
Jambuddoni to Pulatthinagara. But the distance is much greater, about
75 miles, as the crow flies (6 y. = 45 miles).
groups of the bhikkhu community who, paying homage, encircled on every side the incomparable, splendid, festive chariot, of the sacred relics, as if they were the hosts of the Brahmās who surround the sacred chariot of Brahma, he set forth from the superb city, great Jambudvīpa. The sacrificial festival which he arranged was beautified by the people entrusted with the various duties who letting unceasingly their cries of Hail! resound, went before or followed after and bore with them for the sacrificial festival umbrellas of gold and pearl, golden fly-whisks, inlaid with pearl, banners of gold and pearl, wreaths set with gold and pearl, further golden and silver jars, fans of gold and silver, golden and silver vases, golden and silver shells, golden and silver bowls, golden and silver urns, golden and silver basins, golden and silver mirrors, golden and silver banana trees, tiny shells of gold and silver, golden and silver horses, golden and silver elephants, as well as countless silver and golden lamp-stands and the rest. The festival was surrounded by rows of elephants excellent by reason of the elephant ornaments by which they were o'er-spread; by rows of steeds worth seeing for the abundance of every kind of equine ornament, by the ranks of heroic warriors who with divers weapons in their hands and wearing warlike ornament, played their war games, by the ranks of princes,

1 Thus I translate samantā sevamāṇki. This sevamāṇki is like the attribute to bhikkhusamghagayati, also to brahmamamukhi and governs the acc. rathaw in 17a as well as in 17d.

2 This is taken from v. 36 a mahāpājāṃ parattento. The following accusatives are attributes of mahāpājāṃ: manoharāṃ (v. 24 d), parisevitaṃ (v. 27 d), maṇāṅgaṇā (v. 28 d), parivārītaṃ (v. 30 d), parighositaṃ (v. 32 d), paśupatitāṃ (v. 34 b), thomitaṃ (v. 34 c) and parisevitaṃ (v. 35 d).

3 P. tam-tam-ākura-niyuttehi (v. 24 c). The people meant are those who have particular functions to perform at a sacrificial festival.

4 Taken from vv. 23-24, purato pacchato pi ca ... gacchanthi ... manussaṇi. Gakevā in v. 25 c by which the accusatives in v. 19 to 23 a b are governed, is subordinate to gacchantehi. The people carry their votive offerings with them in the procession.

5 Should not the reading here be -kumbhe pi rather than -kumbhehi?

6 Lit. "by the outspreading (vittibhāra) of the elephant ornaments."
28 nobles and councillors who wore festive clothing and flaunted manifold ornament. The glory (of the festival) was enhanced
29 by the cries of people who thirsting for merit shouted O hail!
30 O hail! O hail! The festival was surrounded by serried rows
of lay sisters and lay brethren who led pure lives and who
in their zeal each for himself pressed forward bearing flowers
31 and the like as offerings. Around it raged the uproar of
sturdy palace servitors who were ever and again now here
32 now there, well beaten in fun by other sturdy palace servitors
as if they were people fighting out a mighty quarrel with one
33 another. It was filled with the songs of praise\(^1\) of the bards
who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments
34 fine music which spread abroad and charmed\(^2\) the hearers,
also with the songs of the minstrels who again and again let
35 their praises resound. In devotion there surrounded it the
dancers and the actors who performed dances and sang songs
36 delightful to see and to hear. Thus performing by degrees
in perfect order the high sacrifice, he was wont when in mov-
37 ing along the decorated road, he came to the previously
erected rest-houses, to set up the relics in each of these, (he)
performed each time a high festival, started again from each
38 (rest-house), continued ever on his way and so brought by
degrees the relics of the Prince of the wise to the royal
capital\(^3\).

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

\(^1\) Lit. “was praised by ... and belauded by ...”

\(^2\) P. saṣāṭyatarṣ, lit. “very well worth hearing”.

\(^3\) Vv. 16-33 form one sentence. The principal verb is ṣaṇāyī (v. 33d
with the immediately preceding gerund). The gerunds saṃṭhapetav
v. 16c and nikkhaṅcatav v. 18c are subordinate to paṭallāta mahāpūjāta
(along with the attributes belonging to it; cf. notes to vv. 18 and 24/19).
day by day more, with the four kinds of perfume\(^1\), with fine, fragrant incense, with divers kinds of blossoms of the punnāga, 43 nāga, pūga\(^2\) and other trees, with countless camphor lamps of precious stones giving a brilliant light, with rows of candela- 44 labra on which burned fragrant oil, with dishes full of the finest rice prepared with sweet milk, with heaps of food 45 composed of sweet-smelling rice like to the Kelāsa\(^3\) mountain, with all hard and soft foods and with all that can be drunk or sipped and other (things) the wise Prince celebrated for 46 another three months a world-rejoicing sacrificial festival for the relics, amid the clang of the shell trumpets\(^4\) and thus brought (the festival) to a close.

Then spake the Ruler: “Let us perform in Sahassatittha 47 a blameless festival for admission to the Order\(^5\).” He first sent 48 the Monarch Vīrabāhu thither. There he made him erect besides several thousand rooms of sojourn for the community\(^6\), a lofty 49 house of festival resting on sixty pillars\(^7\) which gleamed with manifold ornament and possessed arches covered with cloth\(^8\). Hereupon he had prepared the divers objects for the ceremony 50 of admission to the Order and all the four articles of use. And then after the Vanni kings who in this and that province, 51 in Patiṭhārattha, in Rohaṇa and so forth, had collected with great care, much rice with the divers ingredients such as fish, 52 meat and the rest, (had gathered together) great loads of grain, sour and sweet milk, butter and so forth, also honey, 53 treacle, thickened sugar juice, raw sugar, lump sugar and the like, as well as all things fitting for an offering to the Great

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1 According to Abhp. 147, the catuyjātigandhā are 1) kṣūkṣma “saffron”; 2) yavanapupphā(?); 3) taṅgara = skr. tagara tabernaemontana coronaria and a fragrant powder prepared from the blossoms of the shrub; 4) turukkha = skr. turuska “incense”.

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

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

4 Lit.: “together with the shell trumpet festival”.

5 See above note to 87. 71.

6 P. saṇghārāma.

7 P. saṭṭhitthubhamahālaya as in 54. 34.

8 P. paṭṭatoraya as in 85. 9.
community, King Vijayabāhu betook himself thither. He issued the invitation: "Let us take in hand the arrangement of a festival for admission to the Order. Let all the Grand theras, all the middle-aged and the youthful who have trust in their hearts towards us, the lords among the ascetics not fail to come to Sahassatittha," and (he) sent messengers everywhere (with the invitation)\(^1\). When all the individual groups of ascetics settled in Tambapaṇḍi heard this news, they rejoiced greatly and set forth on their way from every quarter, without allowing even the administrator of their provisions to remain behind, and in haste the heroes among the ascetics assembled by degrees well prepared in Sahassatittha\(^2\). The King who again and again\(^3\) surveyed Sahassatittha surrounded as it was with ascetics felt a befitting\(^4\) joy, and in abundant measure the Ruler supplied the Great bhikkhu community as was seemly, with excellent food and drink. Then celebrating day by day here in Sahassatittha a great sacrificial festival, he made those bhikkhus who were called thereto, perform the ceremony of admission for those who were desirous of entering the Order, and celebrated the ceremony of admission to the Order for half a month. Thereupon the King granted the rank of a Grand Master\(^5\), the rank of a Chief Thera\(^6\), the rank of a Grand Thera and the rank of a Parivena-Thera\(^7\) to such (bhikkhus) who because they had brought about the prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank.

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\(^1\) Vv. 47-56 form one sentence which opens with three loc. abs. kārā-pite (49 a), sañjāpitēsu (50 c) and ānitesu (53 c).

\(^2\) P. āgantuḷ (with the acc. of the place) saññipatiṣṭhā is merely periphrastic.

\(^3\) P. mākā, used in the same way as the double mākā mūkā. The same in Jā. V. 32\(^7\) kiṃ mākā mūkā pekkhasi kāṭṭhalomo (mūkā being explained by the commentary as punappuṇa).

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

\(^5\) P. mahāsāmiṇīpada. Cf. note to 53. 23.

\(^6\) P. māl(thera)pada. Cf. 69. 34 mūlāmocca.

\(^7\) P. theraparivenaṇādkhaṃ padaṃ seems to mean "the rank where the word parivena precedes therā."
Then having bestowed on them the eight articles of use, fair, worthy of a king, to the value of a thousand (gold pieces), and also to the other ascetics in succession, costly articles of use, he sent many remaining articles of use to the bhikkhus settled in the Paṇḍu and Coḷa countries. Then when all his wishes had received fulfilment, he guided by right knowledge, sent a messenger to his father and announced to him: "All meritorious works which I have performed I have performed in the name of my royal father."

Thus in granting admission to the Order to numerous ascetics at the great ford of the Vālikā river called Sahassa, in the correctly drawn boundary, known as the ‘throwing up of the waters’, he made lustrous the nine-fold doctrine of the sublime Buddha.

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

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1 P. āgūvaubbhaṃgamanaṃ katevā, "placing right knowledge at the head." He was conscious that he was only his father’s representative. W. uses the words in the oratio recta and translates: "What-soever merit hath been performed by me with a pure mind."
2 P. parivṛddhita, lit. purified.
3 P. ukkhepasma, a term difficult to explain and occurring again 94. 17 and 97. 12. It has reference to the ceremony being performed in a building erected in a lake or in a river (see above note to 87. 71). The boundary which must enclose the space set apart for ecclesiastical functions must thus be drawn in the water. In fixing it water would have to be "thrown up" (skr. kṣōp with uḍā), just as the earth is thrown up in fixing a boundary on land. W’s note gives a correct definition: "a space in a sheet of water, duly defined, for purposes of ordination and other ecclesiastical functions". But this does not explain the etymology of the expression.
4 P. naaṅgikānaṃ sāsanaṃ. The nine "members" (aṅgūra) of the holy scriptures are 1) sutta "discourse"; 2) geyya, the same with an admixture of verse; 3) veyyākaraṇa "exposition" without verse (chiefly the Abhidhammas); 4) gāthā "stanza"; 5) udāna; 6) itikuttaka; 7) jātaka, the well known three books belonging to the tipiṭaka; 8) abhūtadhamma "discourses relating to mysterious conditions"; 9) vedalla, title of some special suttas.
5 P. bhūdhara, lit. "burden of the earth". Cf. skr. bhūdhariṇī, "prince, ruler".
King Parakkamabāhu who as described\(^1\), performed through his son an abundance of meritorious works, entered heaven when he had attained his thirty-fifth year (of reign)\(^2\).

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

\(^1\) ศาสนา ศาสนา even in this way.

\(^2\) According to Rājāv. 32 years, Pājāv. 33 years. The number given in the Mhvs. includes those years when Vijayabāhu carried on the government. The latter is called Būsat Vijayabāhu by the Nik.-a. as well as by the Rājaratn.
CHAPTER XC

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

Now in the second year of King Vijayabāhu who after Parakkamabāhu’s death, held sway over all Lāukā, one of his generals, Mīta by name, a faithless friend, won over as associate a slave belonging to the immediate entourage of the King. Out of lust for dominion the recreant made him whom he had bribed by gifts, slay the Ruler at night. Now when the younger brother of the King, the King Bhuvanakabāhu heard of this event, he left the town of Jambudvī, mounted in his fear a covered litter and sped on his way to the fortress of Subhācala. But people who had received gifts from the hands of the evil general Mīta, and were therefore bound to him from the outset, nine wicked, brutal brothers from the clan of the Monasīhas, pursued him and pitilessly pierced the Monarch’s litter so fiercely with their pointed spears that everything — seat, girths and the like were in tatters.

1 Rājāv. jumps from Vijayabāhu IV., passing over his immediate successors, to the history of Alakeśvāra and the Chinese invasion. See note to 91.14.
2 P. ‘ummita with reference to the general’s name mīta “friend”.
3 Rājaratn. calls him Lokakabāhu Bhuvanakabāhu, Nik-s. Mahābhuvanaiyakabāhu.
4 P. yānu, used of every kind of conveyance. W’s translation “litter” is undoubtedly right.
5 Subhācala is like its synonyms: Subhagiri, Subhapabbata, Sundarapabbata, the name for the present so-called Yāpahu.
6 See note to 38.13.
7 P. ‘udolipattakādikau. The seats of these litters were evidently suspended in girths to counterbalance the shaking. Hence the expression ‘udoli “swing”, while pattaka means the girths.
9 He (Bhuvanekabāhu) sprang to the ground from the litter and betook himself in haste, unharmed, to the village of Kālagallaka. Here from a stall where elephants were tethered, he took a specially good elephant, mounted it and having again crossed the great Kōjabhinna river then in flood, the King reached that selfsame Subhagiri.

12 Now the Senāpati Mitta forced his way into the town of Jambuddōti, into the palace of the Great king, seated himself on the splendid lion throne of the Great king, and showed himself, the recreant, to the whole army his person adorned with the royal ornaments. But now all the dignitaries who supported him, came together, one following the other. They thought: "We must under all circumstances win over by (means of) proper pay the whole army, that part belonging to our own country as well as the alien part." They began in the first instance, to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya warriors at the head of whom was Thakuraka. But these declared: "We have at all times been people who one felt must be won over. Now ye must under all circumstances, first of all by good pay win over the Sihala warriors and make them contented." And none of them now accepted the pay. "Be it so", answered the others. They paid all the Sihalas their money and then called upon the Āriya to take their pay. But again they refused with the words: "Our pay shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now." So although all the ministers ever and again urgently pressed them to accept their pay, the well-armed Āriya knights

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1 Probably Kālagallagama in the Kudagalioba, Korale, NNW. from Kurunegala.
2 P. gajābanādhāniyaṃ is the loc. of -dhanī (fem. of -dhanā).
3 In contrast to the Sihalas, these must be South Indian mercenaries. The reader is referred to the tribe of the Āriya mentioned in 61. 86 and 63. 15. This (not ārika) would be at any rate the correct form of the name according to the phonetic rules of Pāli. See also below v. 44.
4 P. nibandham kuroti "makes an urgent petition". Cf. VvCo. 260 devi punappanaṃ nibandham kuroti "the queen urged him again and again (to fulfill her wish)."
5 P. sajjita. This is obviously meant to call attention to the
declared: "We shall say everything in the presence of the King." They betook themselves to the King's abode and when 23 they saw the Senāpati Mitta sitting on the lion throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Ṭha- 24 kuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment 25 swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the 26 town, all the Sihala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Āriya soldiers with Ṭha- 27 kuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhuvanekabāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words: "Be 28 it so", all the Āriya and Sihala warriors united and brought the King, their lord, Bhuvanekabāhu from the town of Subha- 30 giri to the town of Jambuddonī and with reverence consecrated him King.

From that time onward the King made the whole double 31 army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like, drove back all the Damila foes, like Kāliṅgarāyara, 32 Colagaṅgadeva and the rest who had landed from the opposite coast, as also the Vanni kings in Sihala, Kadalivāța, Āpīna, 33 Tipa, Himiyānaka and so on, and freed Laṅkā from the briers 34 of the foe. He took up his abode for several years in the town of Jambuddonī, betook himself thereupon to the town 35 of Subhagiri, had built here an extensive royal city, gleaming in the beauty, and abode there.

As he then won over all his subjects by a just policy, he 36 was a just king and a believing adherent of the Doctrine. He bestowed on the skilful scribes of the sacred books abundant money and had the whole of the Tipitaka copied by them, 38 had it preserved here and there in the vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus the Lord of men caused the dissemination of the sacred texts¹. Several times, too, the Ruler caused the festival 39 threatening aspect of the situation. The Āriyas are fully armed throughout the negotiations.

¹ P. pāḷiñhāmma could also mean "the Doctrine in the Pāli tongue".
of admission to the Order — which is a festival for the world — to be so celebrated that it was radiant with the splendid offerings made, and thus he brought growth and prosperity to the Order of the Sage — the Order whose sublime greatness must be reverenced by the (inhabitants of the) three worlds. He celebrated daily a great sacrifice for the Tooth Relic and he provided the bhikkhu community with the four articles of equipment.

In this wise he wrought good, while dwelling in Subhagiri and after carrying on the government for 11 years, he entered heaven.

Once when (here in Laṅkā) a famine arose¹, there landed, sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held sway in the Paṇḍu realm, a Damila general known by the name of Āriyacakkavattin who though he was no Āriya² was yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction and entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri. The sacred Tooth Relic³ and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Paṇḍu kingdom. There he made over the Tooth Relic to King Kulasekharar⁴ who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Paṇḍus.

¹ There is a gap in the text here. Of v. 43 a the MSS. have only chaṭasmin, five syllables are therefore wanting. The Col. Ed. supplements jāyamāṇasmin. I should prefer chaṭasmin idha jātasmaṁ, because the similarity of the first and third words would make the slip of the writer of the archetype easily intelligible.

² See above, note to v. 16.

³ According to 59. 41 Vijayabāhu had deposited the Tooth and Bowl Relics in Pulatthinagara. Evidently his successor had brought them back to Subhagiri to the town built by him there, a theory supported by 90. 41. The Sinhalese kings liked to keep the palladium of the kingdom in their immediate neighbourhood. It is remarkable how in the later parts of the Maha the pattadhāta is relegated to the background — it is only just mentioned again in 90. 72 — and how the whole religious and political interest centres in the dāthadhāta.

Hereupon the son of the Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu and grand-son of the mighty King Parakkamabāhu (II.), Parakkama-bāhu by name, became king and raised aloft—as if to fend off like a cloud the heat from the people who dwelt in Laṅkā—the umbrella (of dominion), the emblem of its proud kings—fair through the cool shade (it gave) and like to the disk of the full moon. And he reflected: “That Tooth Relic which was taken to the Paṇḍu kingdom—that relic of the Prince of the wise, our highest protecting deity, worthy of veneration by our race, how shall I bring it back from there?” And as the Ruler saw no other means but friendly negotiation, he set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook himself to the Paṇḍu kingdom and sought out the Ruler of the Paṇḍus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably, received from the hands of the King the Tooth Relic, returned to the Island of Laṅkā and placed the relic in superb Pa-laṭthinagara in the former relic temple. Then the Ruler took up his abode in this city and began to carry on the government without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings. The King performed daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and accumulated unweariedly a great abundance of meritorious works. He provided the bhikkhu community with robes and the other articles of use and thus having furthered the laity and the Order, he fell under the power of death.

The son of Bhuvaṇekabāhu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, Bhuvaṇekabāhu became king in Hatthigiri-

1 See 88. 35 and note. The Mhva...tells us nothing of the fate of the younger brothers of Bhuvaṇekabāhu I.: Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (88. 19-20). Evidently they died before Bhuvaṇekabāhu.

2 P. rājānīti. W’s translation “laws of Manu” is too restricted.

3 With reference to a fragmentary interpolation in three MSS. after the line 59 ab see my edition as well as W’s note on p. 316. The translation would run as follows: “With the constant thought: the son of Bhuvaṇekabāhu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, the prince by name Bhuvaṇekabāhu, cherishes the desire for (usurping) the royal dignity at a future time, the King Parakkamabāhu ordered a barber with the help of the king’s people to put out both his eyes although
60 pura. The Lord of men wishing to acquire merit, rejoiceing in generosity and other good deeds, instituted permanently a regular alms of food for the bhikkhu community. Every year the King celebrated in a manner worthy of the highest kingly power, the festival of his coronation and in conjunction with that in the Jetthamūla month, after an opulent sacrificial festival, he had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus he made the Order of the Victor shine brightly. After having performed these and many other meritorious works in manifold ways, the second Bhuvanekabāhu also fell a victim to impermanence.

64 His still more eminent son, Parakkamabāhu, wise and dowered with courage, was (thereupon king) in the superb city. With the love of faith in the three (sacred) objects, he assembled the bhikkhus and made them perform several times over the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the royal courtyard he erected in careful fashion a temple for the Tooth Relic, fair with its walls and pillars, painted with bright-hued pictures, provided with golden spires, with gate posts of gold, splendid, three storeys high. There he set up a canopy of coloured stuffs, strips of cloth and the like. This he decorated he was his younger brother (cousin) . . . ." The last words are unintelligible because the sentence has been left unfinished.

1 The text here has like 99, 77 the synonym Haṭṭhāspatapura (Kurunegala). The Nik-s. calls the king Vat-himi-bhuvanaikabāhu.

2 June—July.

3 The Col. Ed. has dutiya and W. translated accordingly: "in the second year of his reign." Cousens (C. A. L. R. X. 2, p. 91) emended this into dutiya and this emendation is confirmed by all the MSS. known to me. Cousens, (HC p. 82), points out quite rightly that according to the Dañā加强对terīta the King must have reigned at least 9 years. The wording of v. 61 points also to a longer reign. Rājaratna gives the number of years reigned and the number of the coronation festivals as 24.

4 Nik-s. and Rājaratna, call him Paññita parākramabāhu. For āsi in 64d 91. 9 with note should be compared. The ascent of the throne by Parakkamabāhu IV. took place according to the Dañā加强对terīta in the Saka year 1247 = 1925/6 A. D. (Coddington, 1. c.).

5 P. śāṅga = skr. śrṅga, BR. s. v. 1f. Cf. 90. 90.
with garlands of gold, silver and pearl which hung down on all sides and he attached to it a wall of silken curtains adorned therewith. Here (in the tent) he spread a seat, radiant with coloured draperies, and decorated it on every side with rows of golden and silver vases and with rows of candelabra of silver, gold and precious stones. On this seat he then full of reverence, placed the casket with the Tooth Relic and the casket with the Bowl Relic. Hereupon he set about performing day by day a great sacrificial festival in worthy fashion for the relics of the Master — a festival glorious with flowers and perfumes and with lamps and incense, provided with all foods soft and solid and with all that one drinks or sips, beautified by the reverberating sound of the five musical instruments, fair through the dances and songs performed by the dancing girls and the actors, preparing delight for the world. With villages and fields, women slaves and men slaves, with elephants, cattle, buffaloes and other gifts he celebrated a sacrificial festival for the relics. With the reflection: "What the daily ceremonial was in the lifetime of the Enlightened One, the highest guide of the whole world, that of the Tooth Relic shall be from this day henceforth," the King composed in the Sinhala tongue a work expounding this, with the title "Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic" and in keeping with it he performed daily a daily ceremony for the relic.

1 This is the description of a kind of tent. First its ceiling (up to 38 c) is described and then the side walls. The instrumentals in 38 d and 69 a b must belong to the gerund alamkariya, but at the same time to sobhitawa through the medium of olambamana.

2 P. vijambhamana, otherwise as a rule vijambh. Cf. skr. jrambh, jambhate.

3 P. dāthhadhatucarita, rendering of the Sinh. daladasiwita. The work — it was mentioned above, note to 90. 63 — still exists. See Ges. Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 9.

4 The passage is significant. It shows that in Ceylon just as in the temples of Egypt a daily ritual was observed wherein the relics (and the images, cf. the allusions in 38. 56, 58. 30) took the place of the living and present Buddha. See Arthur A. Perera C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f., and above Cūlavamsa I, p. 359, note 4. Cf. also below 97. 88, 101. 4.
To the office of royal teacher the King appointed a Grand thera from the Cola country, a self-controlled man, versed in various tongues and intimate with philosophic works. Ever and again he heard from him continuously all the Jātakas, learned them (by heart) and retained their contents. Then he rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful Jātakas from the Pāli tongue into the Sinhala speech\(^1\). He recited them in the midst of the Grand theras who were intimate with the three Piṭakas, and after correcting them, he had them written down and distributed throughout Lanka.

And these Jātakas he made over to a wise theran, Medhamākara by name, whom he had gained for the purpose, that they might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and thereby handed down still further. Then after having built for him a parivena with the King's own name, he assigned him the four villages of Purāṇagāma, Sannirasela, Labujamaṇḍaka and Moravaṇka. In the vihāra of Titthagāma\(^2\) where the big, long pāsāda forty-five cubits in size erected by the great Vijayabāhu\(^3\), had fallen into decay, King Parakkamabāhu himself built a beautiful, long pāsāda\(^4\) of thirty cubits in size, two storeys high, provided with lofty spires\(^5\), glorious with

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\(^1\) This translation of the Jātakas bears the Sinhalese title Pansiyaparamāyājātaka. See Gēma, l. c. p. 6. Probably the king was not himself the author of the Jātaka translation. But he may have started the work, and it was an act of courtesy on the part of the translators that they ascribed it to the king. Cf. Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinh. Manuscr. in the Br. Mus., p. 118 ff.; Malalasekera, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 127.

\(^2\) Without doubt this is the present Totagamuva, about a mile north of Hikkaduwa not far from the coast in the Galle District. Śrī-Rāhula Thera, the author of the Sāḷalīhiṇi-sandesa is called after it.

\(^3\) Vijayabāhu IV. with the epithet of Bodhisatta, thence called "The great" here.

\(^4\) In the description of the architectural works of Parakkamabāhu I in Pulatthinagara dīghapāsāda and cūlapāsāda are constantly contrasted with each other (see 78, 36, 37, 60). We have evidently to do with particular architectural terms.

\(^5\) See above note to v. 66.
bright-hued painting, and assigned it then to the venerable 91 Grand thera Kāyasatti who dwelt in the Vijayabāhu-parivenā. He also granted him a village, called Sālaggāma, on the banks of the river forming the boundary (of the monastery), making it a possession of the parivena. In fair Tīthagāma he had a 93 park laid down, provided with five thousand cocopalms. In Devapura he built a long temple consisting of two storeys, provided with four pairs of gates for the image of the recumbent lion. To this temple he assigned the grove-encircled village Gaṇṭhimāṇa by name which he proclaimed as the property of the Buddha. In the vihāra of Valligāma the Ruler erected a 96 long pāśāda, consisting of two storeys, which after his own name, was called Parakkamabāhu-pāśūda, and granted it the (village) Sāligiri by name as a large maintenance village belonging to the Great community. In fair Viddumagāma, not far from the town of Rājagāma he had a splendid vihāra built, connected with the Sirighanānanda-parivena, with a bodhi tree and an image-house and assigned it to his teacher, the Grand thera from the Cola country. Thereupon he founded in the 100 charming district of Māyādirana a new town with fine walls and gate-towers. There he had a fair temple erected to the gods with lofty spires and two storeys, provided with walls and gate-towers, placed there a glorious statue of 102

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1 Cf. 81. 58.
2 All the MSS. have upa sīmanadītrāṇa. Sīmanadī might also be the name of the river. The emendation of the Col. Ed. into Gīmhanadī (now Gīnganga; cf. 75. 23, gīmhasittha = Gīntota) is certainly tempting, but I do not venture a departure from the uniform reading of the MSS.
3 Devapura or Devanagara = Devundara, Donāra. See 60. 59.
4 I. e. the recumbent Buddha who is always compared to a lion at rest.
5 See 80. 58.
6 W. points to Elgiriya, a village in the Veligama Korale, 6 miles NNE. of Veligama and 10 miles NW. of Matara.
7 See above v. 80 f.
8 The territory whose centre was Sitāvaka about 25 miles E. of Colombo.
the lotus-hued King of the gods (Viṣṇu) and celebrated a
great sacrificial festival.

103 After performing such and other good deeds for the laity
and the Order and many meritorious works, he fell under the
power of death.

104 Gifted with the power of meritorious works which he had
performed formerly, he after attaining worthless wealth,
renounced desire and did nought but good, finding above all
pleasure in doing his best\(^1\). Thinking of what is best for you
and on universal impermanence, decide, O ye pious people,
whose wealth is faith, for meritorious works\(^2\) amongst which
generosity and moral discipline have first place\(^3\).

105 After his death Vannibhuvanekabāhu was king and
106 after his death came King Vijayabāhu. But after the death
of these kings the all-wise Bhuvanekabāhu\(^4\), the fourth,
was ruler in Gaṅgāsiripura\(^5\) situated in the charming vicinity

\(^1\) The acc. attattham must be governed by rato. This, it is true, is
otherwise construed with the loc.

\(^2\) P. katva gaṇaththa is a verbal combination witnessing to Sinhalese
influence. The equivalent in Sinh. for which however, I have no example
in the literature, would be koṭagannava. Since gannava gives a rejective
sense to the verb to which it is attached, katva gaṇaththa means
"do for yourselves what is for your advantage".

\(^3\) With verse 102 or 104 the second part of the Cūlavamsa
which begins with chapter 80, comes to an end. The MSS. also indicate
this. Cf. my ed. I. p. IV of the Introd., as well as the notes to the
passage. If we assume that it closed originally with v. 102, which is
indicated by two of the MSS., then there was added later a summarizing
sloka and then a strophe in artificial metre. Exactly the same
thing occurs at the close of the first part (79.84). The addition
was evidently intended to veil the break in the text and lead over to
the new part.

\(^4\) (Vanni-)Bhuvanaikabāhu, Vijayabāhu and the fourth Bhuvanaika-
bāhu are also mentioned by the Nik.-s. and Rājaratn., as successors of
Parakkamabāhu IV. The inscription of the Leṅkātilaka-vihāra belongs
to Bhuvanekabāhu IV. (see B. Gusanskara, JRAS., C. B. X, nr. 84, 1887,
p. 83 ss.). He built this and the Gadadaleniya-vihāra. See note to 91.30.
The King’s minister Senālāṅkādhikāra who is named in the inscr., is
also mentioned in Nik.-s.

\(^5\) Gampola, see 86.18.
of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā — a religious man, a mine of fair virtues. He who gives heed to tradition, let him know that in the fourth year of his reign, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-four years had elapsed since the Nirvana of the Sage.

When ye have understood how in antiquity the most excellent men when they had experienced the time hard to experience of a Buddha, did good unweariedly without ceasing, such as almsgiving and so forth, so ought ye in perfect fashion to perform all good (deeds).

Here ends the ninetieth Chapter, called «The History of the eight Kings, of Vijayabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 I. e. 1350 A.D. The same in Nīk.-a., but Rājaratn. has the figures 1896 = 1352 A.D. Both numbers are approximative. According to the Laṅkātilaka inscription Bhuwanekabāhu IV. ascended the throne already in 1265 of the Śaka era, i. e. 1344-5 A.D. For the whole subject see H. W. COBBINSON, HC. p. 83. 88.

2 Dullabhāhāntīyam atidullabhā- is merely tautological, labbhāntīya is furthermore a spurious form, made to suit the metre.
CHAPTER XCII

HISTORY OF THE FOUR KINGS,
OF PARAKKAMABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

1 Now after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu there were two kings, Parakkamabāhu¹ and the discerning Vikkamabāhu². 2 There lived then at the time of Vikkamabāhu in the fair town known by the name of Peraddoni³, situated in the charming neighbourhood of the Mahā(vāluka)ganga, an eminent prince, sprung from the Giri family, the discerning Alagakkonāra⁴ by name, adorned with majesty, faith and other virtues, full of the desire to further the laity and the Order, of great might. 5 "The town of Kalyāṇi shines with her palaces, bodhi trees, her superb cloisters and maṇḍapas, with walls, halls, image temples and cetiyas, with her gorgeous shops, her splendid gate-towers and arches." Now to the South of this town Kalyāṇi which is described in such words, which

¹ According to the Hapugastenna inscr. (JRAS., C. B. xxii, nr. 65, p. 382, Commiss. Hi., p. 89) Parakkamabāhu V. ascended the throne simultaneously with Bhuvanekabāhu IV. in the year 1344/5. He reigned for a time (probably till 1356/7) with him and after that along with Vikkamabāhu IV. (III. according to C.).

² For inscrs. of the time of Vikkamabāhu IV. see Bsl., Report on the Kegalla District, p. 78. According to the inscr. of Vigulavatta (not far from Gumpola), the fourth year of the King’s reign coincides with the end of the Saka year 1282 = 1360 A. D., his ascent of the throne falls therefore in 1356/7 A. D.

³ I. e. Peradeniya not far from Kandy on the Mahaveliganga.

⁴ Our chronicle makes short work of the undoubtedly eminent personality of this man. There is a good deal more about the founder of Jayavakālam in the Rājāv., the Rājarata and the Nik-s. What is above all important is that Alagakkonāra succeeded in breaking the power of the Jaffna king which was then at its height. Cf. also below note to v. 9. For the Kītsirimevan inscription of Kelani and the Alagakkonāra mentioned in it see C. A. L R. I, p. 152; II, p. 149, 182.
was visited by the great Sage, in a place where pious people dwelt, who were devoted\(^1\) to the Buddha and so forth, on the great lake not far from the spacious village of Dārugāma\(^2\), he built the famous town of Jayavoḍhanakotṭa\(^3\), embellished with great trains of walls, with gateways, bastions and the like. While he dwelt in the town, the mighty one, craving for meritorious works, performed many good deeds, such as the furthering of the Order and the rest. In that town the fifth Bhuvanekabāhu\(^4\) was (king), religious, venerating with constant reverence the Buddha and the other (sacred) objects.

\(^1\) The single words in this compound are placed with great freedom. *Buddhādīvittajana-kappita-adhinātha* stands evidently for *buddhādi-yuttasādhu-jana-kappita-ṭhēna*. *Buddhādi* stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. *Yutta* means in the first place “joined with something”, then “hanging on, adhering to something”; *kappita* means “provided with something”.

\(^2\) The village is called so in the Rājaratna. Thus *Dārugāma* in the Mhv. stands instead of *uru-Dārugāma*.

\(^3\) Later simply called Cotta by the Portuguese. The town covered what are now the eastern districts of Colombo.

\(^4\) As in 90. 64, *āsi*, thus *āhu* must be supplemented by *vajā*, or else *āhu* (*āsi*) has the more pregnant meaning “he lived, he reigned”. I do not believe that the Mhv. considers Bhuvanekabāhu to be the name under which Alagakkonāra reigned. This opinion is found only in the Rājaratna, when it says: *Alagakkōn nam wamottarayaṇo Bhuvaneka-bāhu-nam mahāraja-va Gaṅgāsiri-pura vajāśrīya-ta pāmiya devāloca gīgīya* “The great minister Alagakkōn by name who had become king under the name of Bhuvanekabāhu went, after enjoying in Gaṅgāsiri-pura the good fortune of the royal dignity, to the world of the gods.” But in the Mhv. we should, in this case, expect an *iti* or *ti vāmëna* after *Bhuvanekabāhu*. The assumption that Alagakkonāra and Bhuvanekabāhu are one and the same has now been given up (cf. JRAS. C. B. XXIV, nr. 68, p. 103, note *) above all because in the Attanagala-vīhāra-vaṃsa it is said that the work was translated in the Śaka year 1304 (= 1382/3) in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, at the instigation of Alakāśvara (or Alagakkonāra). — The tradition followed by the Rājaratn. probably confuses Alagakkonāra with his son Vīra Alakāśvara who (under the name of Vijayabāhu) is said to have reigned a number of years as king, though after Vīrabāhu’s death. For further particulars see E.W. Perera, Alakāśvara: his Life and Times, JRAS. C. B. xviii, Nr. 55 (1904), p. 281 ff.; H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 85, 89. Cf. below, note to v. 14.
10 To the community he dispensed in abundant measure regular repasts and other alms and to achieve the furtherance of the 11 Order, he gathered the bhikkhus together, ascertained those who lived immoral lives and had them cast forth from the Order, but he showed favour to the conscientious obtained for them the precedence and so made the Order of the Victor 12 shine. For seven thousand pieces of silver he had a casket fashioned, preserved in it the Tooth Relic and sacrificed to it in lasting reverence.

13 When the time of this King — after he had held sway for twenty years¹ — had expired, a man called Vírabhāhu 14 attained the royal dignity, did likewise all (that was good) such as furthering the Order and fell under the power of the King of death².

¹ The 20th year of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V. falls in the year 1391/2 A.D., the beginning of the reign accordingly in 1372/3. It seems, however, that he reigned for some time, if only in name, together with Vírabhāhu. Cf. S. de SILVA, Vijaya Bāhu VI., JRAS. C. B. xxii, no. 65, p. 316 ff.; H. W. CONINGTON, HC. p. 89. In the inscription on the Alampundhi plate (see V. VENKAYYA, El. III, p. 224 ff.) King Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, boasts that he had vanquished the kings of the Tunsira, Coja and Pāṇḍya as well as the Sinhala. The insc. is dated in the Saka year 1305 for 1307 = 1383/4.

² The Mbva. passes over here a very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon the knowledge of which we owe above all to Chinese sources. (Cf. J. M. SEKÄYHÄTTE according to SYLVAIN LÉVI, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, no. 68, p. 96 ff.; further xxvii, no. 73, p. 31 ff.) and to the Rājāv. From the different sources we gather that the son of the great Alagakkonāra, Vīra Alakeśvara, under the name of Vijayabāhu (VI.) seized the royal dignity in battle with his brother Vírabhāhu. During his reign in Jayavaḍājanakoṭṭa a Chinese expedition of the Emperor Yung-lo under the leadership of Tsheng-huo came to Ceylon. The Chinese came into conflict with the Sinhalese ruler who is called A-le-ko-na-r (Alagakkonāra) and took the king away with them as prisoner. The Rājāv. calls the leader of the Chinese Mahā-Ciṅ-Dosraja, the king taken prisoner by him, Vijayabāhu. Here then instead of the family name, the adopted name is given. Now it seems to me that by confusing this Vijayabāhu (VI) with V. IV. the above discussed gap in the Rājāv. is explained (note to 90.1). The probability of a mistake is supported by the fact that the Rājāv. speaks of four younger brothers of King V. who are said to
Then at a later time, in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three after the final Nirvana of the holy Enlightened One, came King Parakkamabāhu¹, an abode of wisdom and manly virtue, a scion of the race of the Sun, in the charming town named Jayavāḍāhanā — to the incomparable, sublime fortune of the royal dignity and with faith in the three (sacred) jewels, he set about the holding of a festival. For the tooth of the Prince of the wise the Ruler built a three-storeyed, splendid pāsada which offered a superb sight. Then he fashioned a golden casket, fair, beautifully set with the nine precious stones, and another casket in the form of a shell, gleaming in manifold splendour and set with the most exquisite jewels and which held the first casket; and yet another golden casket into which he also put the second. Finally the King who strove after salvation in the present as have been murdered. Now Vijayabāhu IV. had in fact four brothers according to Mhvs. 87. 16-17. According to the Rājāvī. the capture took place A. B. 1958 = 1404 A. D. For the whole see Commenoros HC. p. 85 f., 89. If one accepts this Vijayabāhu who is omitted in the Mhvs., as the sixth of the name in the list of the kings, then instead of Vijayabāhu VI. (92. 4) one must read Vijayabāhu VII.

¹ The Mhvs. has nothing to say about the events which preceded the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. Cf. for this H. W. Commenoros, HC., p. 85 ff., 89. The data given in the Mhvs. for the beginning of the reign 1958 A. B. = 1409 A. D. is also found in the Saddharmālānkāraya. In another passage however in this work the date is given as 1958 A. B. = 1414 A. D. The same in the inset of Papiliyana (see below, note to v. 24). It may be assumed as probable that Parakkamabāhu VI. came to the throne in 1412, remained three years in Rayigam (District Kalutara, Census of Ceylon 1921, II, p. 44) and removed in 1415 to Jayavāḍāhanā where the coronation took place. The Mhvs. has hardly anything of historical value either to tell us about the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI., except perhaps in v. 24, that his mother's name was Sunettā. It is a great pity that the compiler of the third part of the Čūnvis. restricts himself almost entirely to stereotyped descriptions of festivals for the Tooth Relic. Our knowledge of modern events is gained from quite other sources. In the first place there is the Rājāvī, also in the version given by Valentyn (Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol.V); further Do Couto and De Barros (see D. Fersinus, The History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A. D. as related by de Barros and do Couto,
in future existences, made a (fourth) large, incomparably magnificent casket which he covered with gold of the finest lustre, and in these four superb caskets he placed the tooth.

20 Then calling to mind all the festivals in Lankan celebrated by kings who were filled with pure reverence for the sacred Order of the Enlightened One, he thought: "I too will in like manner venerate him unweariedly with all the produce of my king-
dom." With such reverential thoughts he celebrated in his faith sacrificial festivals in all manner of ways for the relics and the like. To the community he dispensed regular repasts, together with the eight articles of equipment, month by month, as well as every year sacrificial offerings and a gift of kāthina robes for the bhikkhus in the three provinces and a great almsgiving in pious fashion and garments every year and thereby he, the highly famed, who longed for merit, laid up merit. In memory of his mother the meritorious (King) had erected in the Pappāṭa grove in her name the Sunetra-
pariveṇa and a monastery for the community and granted it many villages and fields. Then putting down in that selfsame place an abundant alms destined for the community, to be distributed for three days among the ascetics who had come

JRAS. C. B. xx., nr. 60 (1909), p. 1 ff. For the reign of Parakkama-
bāhu VI. I refer the reader besides Connopthon, l. c. p. 90 ff., 99 ff., to E. W. Perry, The Age of Sri Parākrama Bāhu VI., JRAS. C. B. xxii., nr. 63 (1911), p. 6 ff. For inscriptions of this king see H. Müller, AIC. no. 160; H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, p. 81 ff.

1 This is probably the meaning of bhavavāhara. Cf. below v. 36.

2 In these last paricchedas the language is treated with extraordinary arbitrariness. The construction of the compounds and the position of the words in them is often quite contrary to rule. The translation can therefore only give the general meaning of such passages.

3 The name is preserved in that of the Pepiliyana-vihāra not far from Colombo (Census, 1921, vol. II, p. 36). An inscription in this monastery is dated in the 30th year of the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. The date of his ascent of the throne is given as A. D. 1585 = 1514.

4 Sunetra or Sunetra-devī, the wife of Vijayabāhu (VI) who is supposed to be the father of Parakkamabāhu VI., was a Kālinga princess. Gāmakhta is governed by pujētvā in 25 c. Thus in my edition the comma must be placed after pujētvā, not after tappasinoṃ.
from the three provinces, he laid up in pious fashion an abundance of merit. He had the sacred three Piṭakas together with the 27 commentaries and the āgamas copied and caused a summary of the teaching of the Buddha\(^1\) (to be made). He also granted 28 villages and the like to the scribes, that they might copy day by day the books of the true doctrine. Whatever had fallen 29 into decay on the Mahiyangana-cetiya and other cetiyas everywhere he had renewed and the plaster coating repaired. In 30 the same way he had all the stucco work and so forth carried out on the Gāndālādoṇi monastery and on the Lankatilaka\(^2\) and others. While celebrating a great feast and a great 31 sacrificial festival he repeatedly had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus the wise Lord of men having 32 taken on himself the burden of government and wrought good for fifty and two years\(^3\), bestowed on the bhikkhu community, 33 serving it in faith, twenty-six thousand one hundred and forty times the three garments and other articles of equipment and 34 three thousand four hundred and thirty-two kathina robes. Piously devoted to the three (sacred) objects he who greatly 35 venerated the Order of the Victor, dispensed immeasurable wealth and in this wise did all kinds of good.

Dowered with faith, discernment and charitableness, a superb 36 jewel of virtue, he recognizing the worthlessness of acquired riches, performed in such wise, continually, unweariedly meritorious works. When ye have understood that, ye as those who know and are striving after salvation in this existence and in future existences\(^4\), should also continually and in the

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\(^1\) I take buddhassa sāsanasāṃgahaṇāṃ aklā to mean this and refer the reader to titles of books like Abhidhammattha-sāṅgaha, Paccayasaṅga, Saddhammasaṅgaha, etc. W. gives a totally different rendering. He takes sāṅgaha in the sense of "kindliness, protection, favour" and translates: "encouraged the religion of Buddha". It seems to me, moreover, that in vv. 27 and 28 special stress is laid on the literary activity of the King. Of course he only suggested the work.

\(^2\) Both vihāras, Gadadaladiya and Lankatilaka are situated not far from Kandy.

\(^3\) Rājāv. and Rājaratna have the same.

\(^4\) See above note to v. 19.
right way do a quantity of meritorious works\(^1\) which bestow you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-first chapter, called «History of the Four Kings, of Parakkamabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

\(^1\) For \textit{katu ga\-\textit{ṛ}thā} cf. 90.104 with the note.
CHAPTER XCI

HISTORY OF THE SEVEN KINGS,
OF JAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After his death, his grandson Jayabāhu¹ became king; then Bhuwanekabāhu, after he had murdered him (Jayabāhu). After obtaining the royal consecration, he lived seven years. After his death Parakkamabāhu known on account of his learning by the name of Paṇḍita, was king in that fair town, and hereafter Vīraparakkamabāhu. On his death Vijaya-

¹ The kings in vv. 1—5 are numbers 106 (169) to 118 (175) of my list. Parakkamabāhu VIII. had two sons: Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.) and (Dharma)pakkamabāhu IX. Both seem to have been made co-regents by their father in the year 1509. But Parakkamabāhu IX., although he lived at least till 1538, was apparently of no great influence. He is not at all mentioned in our chronicle. — The Rājāv. makes Vīra-Parakkamabāhu, not Jayabāhu, the successor of Parakkamabāhu VI. The same name appears again however later as that of Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu’s successor. The Rājaratn. inserts a king Vīrabāhu before Jayabāhu to whom a reign of 12 years is ascribed. The list of the kings (= Mhva. 92. 1-5) in the Sinhalese chronicles is as follows:

Rājāv. Vīra-Parakkamabāhu
(1468—1472/3)
Bhuwanekabāhu (VI) (7 yrs.)
(1472/3—1480/1)
Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu (VII) 1480/1—1484
Vīra-Parakkamabāhu (VIII) (20 yrs.) ? 1484—1518
Dharma-Parakkamabāhu (22 yrs.) 1509—1528
Vijayabāhu (VI)
1509—1521
Bhuwanekabāhu (VII)
1521—1551

Rājaratn. Vīrabāhu (12 yrs.)
Jayabāhu
Bhuwanekabāhu
Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu
Vikrama-Parakkamabāhu
Bhuwanekabāhu
bāhu was king whose adornment was his virtue, and after
5 his death Bhuvanekabāhu was king. And after these kings,
each according to his faith and his power, had achieved the
furtherance of the laity and the Order, they went thither in
accordance with their deeds.

6 Now Viravikkama a mighty man, sprung from the line
of Sirisamghabodhi, became king in the year two thousand
and eighty-four after the final Nirvana of the Enlightened One.
7 Dwelling in the town of Sēnkhandasela-Sirivadāhana, beautifi-
ed by the course of the Mahāvālukagā, he gladdened his
subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and undertook in
9 his faith meritorious works. The fair relic of the Prince of
the wise he brought to a piece of land charmingly situated
not far from his royal palace. Then he built a cetiya and

The years of the reigns are given according to Codrington (HC., p. 93 ff.)
Inscriptions: Bhuvanekabāhu VI.: inscr. of Dedigama, Bell., Report
of Kogalla Dist., p. 83 ff.; Vijayabāhu VI., ibid. p. 85 ff. (on the Kelani
inscr. and Dharma-Parakkamabāhu, ibid. p. 86); Bhuvanekabāhu VII.,
JRAS. C. B. XXII, no. 65, p. 267 ff. See further below, note to 95. 5.
The history and chronology of Ceylon at the end of the Middle Ages
suffer particularly from the fact that the island was not under one
dominion but was split up into several kingdoms. Thus kings who
were contemporaries are represented as succeeding one another. The
kings in the above list reigned in Koṭṭe (Dharma-Parakkamabāhu per-
haps in Kelani). Then in addition to these there are the dynasties of
Sitāvakka and Kandy. Viravikkama (v. 6) is according to Wickremasinghe
(EZ. III. p. 44) probably identical with Kumāra Bandāra, the son of
Vijaya Bandāra who reigned in Kandy at the time of Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.)
and Bhuvanekabāhu VII.

1 Mhv. 36. 73 ff.
2 = 1540 A. D. Rājaratn. has 2085 A. B. = 1541 A. D.
3 I. e. Kandy. The account evidently goes back here to the rise
of the kingdom of Kandy, the high country (uḍa-rāta) that did its ut-
most to preserve its independence as against the kings in Koṭṭe and
Sitāvakka until it fell under the power of Rājasīha in 1580. It is re-
grettable that the compiler has no interest in political questions, but
considers only the relations of the kings to the Order. To judge by
the number of figures contained in his narrative, it looks as if he had
consulted a prāńāpatthaka (cf. Mhv. 32. 25 ff.) i. e. a book in which the
meritorious works of the king are inscribed.
near to it a two-storeyed house for the Uposatha ceremony, as well as round about the town eighty-six dwellings for the community furnished with a roofing of brick and so forth, made the bhikkhus take up their abode here and there, granted them maintenance and heard preached the true doctrine of the Victor. After celebrating a magnificent sacrificial festival, he hearkened in faith to fifty-five sermons of the doctrine the preaching whereof lasted the whole night. On thirty thousand leaves he had (sacred) books written down and to the Tipiṭaka he made an offering of sixty thousand (gold pieces). He had one hundred and eighty images made of the Enlightened One and one hundred and thirty caskets for the placing therein of relics and so laid up a store of meritorious works. He left his town, wandered on foot for a day a distance of seven gāvutas and venerated Mahiyāṅgaṇa by celebrating with divers fragrant flowers, with lamps, frankincense and the like, a great festival. The Ruler of men betook himself also in one day to the Sumanakūṭa and sacrificed there by pouring one hundred jars of oil into a lamp fifteen cubits in girth and five cubits high. [Since his desire was fixed on the highest path, he had the impassable road put in

1 P. deibhūmakāṇ Ṽposathamālakāṇ is curious. Mālaka is otherwise only an enclosed open space, a courtyard, serving for the holding of certain ceremonies. Deibhūmakāṇ as attribute of mālaka is unsuitable. In other instances moreover, we have only Ṽposathagaṇa, Ṽposathāgāra, Ṽposathāgakara, showing that a house is meant. If this were not the case in our verse we might have here a structure of the type of a "double platform", E. R. Arnot, Memoirs, ASC. I. p. 18 ff.; A. M. Hocart, ibid., p. 57 ff.; the same in Cockington, NC. p. 186.

2 Lit. with the power of his own feet.

3 I. e. about 14 miles. Mahiyāṅgaṇa, now Alut-nuvara, is 24 miles distant from Kandy as the crow flies. The King’s pilgrimage is of course to the Mahiyāṅgaṇa-thūpa.

4 Adam’s Peak cannot be reached in one day from Kandy.

5 The meaning of the passage is clear, but the language incorrect. The circumference of the bowl into which the oil was poured, would be about 22 ft. the height about 7 ft.

6 I. e. on the road leading to the highest perfection, to salvation, the path of good works.

7 Of course the road up to Adam’s Peak.
order and provided, for the convenience of the (pilgrims) going
19 to and fro, with seven hundred and eighty stone steps. After
the Ruler had in this and other ways performed many meri-
torious works, he thought to hold the ceremony of admission
20 to the Order.] The wise (Prince) had many dwellings put
up on the bank of the river. Thither he brought the bhikkhus
dwelling in the three provinces and instituted a great festival.
Then after specially inviting from among those bhikkhus a
body of thirty-five bhikkhus with the Grand thera Dhamma-
kitti at the head, he made them celebrate a great festival
22 and grant admission to the Order to three hundred and fifty-
five able sons of good family whom he had himself chosen
23 out. The King heard that in the town of Paṭaliputta¹ (in
days of yore), the Ruler of men Mahāsena had fed daily a
24 community of one thousand bhikkhus, but unsatisfied even
with this magnificent effort, he had thought of giving alms
25 by the cultivation of a piece of land². He had surrendered
the bliss of the royal dignity, betaken himself to the northern
town of Madhurā³, there laboured and with the grain produced,
26 had in faith made an offering of alms. When⁴ he heard this
the wise (Prince) who had joy in a pure gift of alms, culti-
vated a rice field with his own bodily powers and instituted
with the grain produced, in blameless fashion, an offering of
27 alms. With faith in the three (sacred) objects he presented

¹ Capital of the Maurya dynasty, now Patna in the province of
Bihār on the Ganges.
² P. vatthuuddhiś karītvāna, lit. “after he had carried out the
cleansing of a piece of ground.” Field cultivation is considered the
purest and noblest work. An offering of that which has been acquired
by such work, an offering of field products is therefore characterized as
suddhadāna (v. 26).
³ The town Madhurā or Mathurā on the Yamunā (Jumna), to
distinguish it from the South Indian Madhurā (51. 39 etc.) is called the
“Northern Madhurā”.
⁴ Vv. 28—26 are one sentence; dīnadhānam in v. 26 is a object
directly governed by suttvāna. The preceding verses with Mahāsena as
subject are however, as constructed as if it were dānam adāstiti suttvāna.
The author fails in the construction.
an offering of two thousand one hundred and eighty-two garments. Spending five hundred and eighty-seven thousand 28 pieces of money, the King had meritorious works performed therewith. Sixty and two elephants and horses and four 29 hundred and fifty head of cattle and buffaloes did the Ruler of men offer in sacrifice. Striving thus and in many other 30 ways after good, he performed many meritorious works and made himself a pathway to heaven.

Thus he performed in faith, steadfast, rejoicing in the 31 welfare of others, after discerning the worthlessness of acquired corporeal existence and other (possessions), in pious manner many meritorious works which bring many a happiness. If ye then have discerned this, as people who have great fear of the terrible evil of the cycle of rebirths, then must ye, remembering what is of true worth, relinquish all desire for corporeal existence and the like (possessions) and strive unweariedly after meritorious works.

Here ends the ninety-second chapter, called «History of the Seven Kings, of Jayabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvatamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.
CHAPTER XCIII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS,
OF MĀYĀDHANU AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR

1 At his death there resided in the province bordering on the sea-coast, in the fair and renowned Jayavadāhanakoṭṭa 2 (and elsewhere) here and there kings sprung from the race of the Sun. Amongst these there was one, the illustrious Ruler 3 of men, Māyādhānu¹ by name. His son was the mighty Rājasiha by name. He went forth, fought here and there

¹ It is characteristic of the attitude of the author of this part of the Cūlavamsa and of his indifference to the significant events happening in the plains, that the Portuguese are not yet mentioned. They landed in 1505 or 1506 (cf. D. Fraser, The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, JRAS. C.B. XIX, No. 59 (1907), p. 284 ff.) and had their chief seat in Colombo, in the fort which they had built there. It is just as characteristic that a man of the importance of Māyādhānu (Māyādunne) is dismissed with the mention of his name. He was the youngest brother of Bhuvanekabāhu VII., and at the division of the kingdom in A.D. 1521, had received the region between the coast land and the mountains with Sitāvaka as capital. Sitāvaka is the present Avisavella about 26 miles east of Colombo, situated on a left tributary of the Kelaniganga. In a series of severe and fluctuating struggles with his brother and his successor, as well as with the Portuguese, for the supreme dominion in Ceylon, Māyādunne maintained himself successfully till his death in 1581. Dharmapāla (1550—1597) the feeble successor of Bhuvanekabāhu VII. who was completely dependent on the Portuguese, adopting Christianity (about 1557) in order to maintain himself with their help — is not even mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. As a historical source our chronicle is now hardly of any value at all. Of native sources there is only the Rājaviśā left and it has many defects. Our main information now comes from the Portuguese accounts, above all João Rodrigues, Fatalidade historica, Lisabon 1886 (translated into English by P. E. Risza under the title “The Historic Tragedy of Cenião”, Colombo
and won the victory. The victor, the great fool, even slew his own father and brought the royal dignity into his power, the deluded one. In the town of Śīrāvaka the King known by the name of Rājāstha, for a time did good, devoted in faith to the Order. But one day the King, after he had brought a gift of alms, asked the Grand theras full of anxiety: “How can I undo the crime of my father’s murder?” Then the wise theras expounded him the doctrine, but could not win over the wicked mind of this fool. They spake: “To undo the committed crime is impossible”. Full of fury like some terrible poisonous snake which has been struck by a stick, he asked the adherents of Sīva. The answer they gave him that it

1925, 3rd ed.) and Fernão de Queiros, Conquista temporal e spiritual de Ceylão, Colombo, Government Press, 1916. These sources have been utilized by P. E. Pierris. Taking up the work begun by D. Ferroux (cf. above, as well as note to 91. 15), Pierris published in the JRAS. XXII, No. 65, p. 267 ff., first the important article “The Date of Bhuvanekabahu VII.”, the result of which was a complete transformation of the chronology of Ceylon in the 16th century. Then there appeared “Ceylon, the Portuguese Era” in 2 vols. Colombo, 1913-14 and “Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505-1658”, Ceylon, 1920. (Cf. with this S. G. Perera, the ‘Conquista de Ceylão’ by Fernão de Queiroz, S. J. in C. A. I. R. II, p. 158 ff.; 268 ff.; H. W. Coddington, HC., p. 94 ff.). Then for a part of the 16th century there are the lately published Portuguese archives: “Ceylon in the time of King Bhuvanekabahu and Franz Xaver 1539-1552”, published and annotated by G. Schuhhammer and E. A. Vorhütsch, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1928. Again “Ceylon and Portugal”, pt. I., Kings and Christians 1539-1552, from the original documents at Lisbon, by P. E. Pierris and M. A. H. Fitzler. Schuhhammer’s Introduction to the first volume of the work mentioned above, gives a complete bibliography, a sketch of the history of the Island 1539-1552 from the Portuguese documents and a detailed analysis of the narratives hitherto existing.

1 Whether Rājāstha who was a magnificent general and had distinguished himself at the age of 11 by his bravery, was really his father’s murderer, may be doubted. Cf. note below to v. 9.

2 I now prefer to read tassa dhammawaya instead of tassa adhammawaya.

3 The motives alleged here for Rājāstha’s conversion to Hinduism scarcely accord with the facts. The real reason for it was that the Buddhist priesthood who had always been favoured by him and his father Māyādunne, actually joined a conspiracy got up against him by
was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with ashes and adopted the religion of Siva. He annihilated the Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus, burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus barred his way to heaven. Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith. He placed miscreant ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūṭa to take for themselves all the profit accruing therefrom. In this way the impious fool as he did not know what he should accept and accepted what he should not have accepted, brought great evil upon himself.

At that time through fear of the King, bhikkhus left the Order; those among them who were swayed by fear of the cycle of rebirths, went hither and thither.

Harming the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in virtue of merit formerly acquired. Dowered with sovereign might, the criminal brought the whole island of Lanka into his power and carried on the government.

Thus this monarch, equipped with royal might, manifested his sovereign power; but after heaping up every kind of crime, he fell under the dominion of Mara. When one thus perceives the misfortune that meets one who through sinful and false belief has become the victim of delusion, one should in fear, free from all inclination to carelessness, bring about much blessing.

Here ends the ninety-third chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Māyūdhana and of his Successor», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Portugalene. To justify their treacherous conduct, these clerics may also have invented the murder of Rājaśīha. Cf. Pierrès 2, p. 94. See also W. P. Gunawardhana, Raja Sinha I., Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS. C. B. xviii, Nr. 56 (1906), p. 382 ff.

1 The year of his death is given by the Rājav. as 1514 of the Śaka era = 1593/3 A. D. How great was the admiration of the people for this “last great king of the Sinhalese race” is shown by the fact that even to-day he receives divine honours under the name of Ganegoda Deviya. Pierrès 2, p. 114.
CHAPTER XCIV

HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1 Gaṅgāsiripura had betaken himself to the harbour of Kolamba. As he did not receive permission to remain there, he went to 2 the province of Gova. After he had dwelt here a long time, he slew a mighty and famous chieftain by name Gajabāhu. 3 After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4 returned to Laṅkā. The mighty one brought the troops of the five districts of the highland country over to his side and after the death of (Rājasīha) the slayer of his father, 5 when the year two thousand, one hundred and thirty-five from the nirvana of the Master 4 had arrived, he (the prince), 6 full of faith, mighty by reason of his merit, became king under the name of Vimaladhammasuriya, highly famed, in the town of Sirivajjhāna.

1 Konappu, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Virasundara who belonged to the royal house. Virasundara was partisan of Rājasīha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (Kolomāṭīṭṭha) to the puppet king Dhammapāla. Later he was banished to Goa (Govaraṭṭha) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. Prinias 2, p. 92 f., 112; Cordinson, HC., p. 105.

2 It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the Rājāv. (p. 92 of B. Giriṣekara’s translation). Konappu’s success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.

3 Rājasīha is called pitughāta here not on account of the murder of his father Māyūrāha, but on account of that of Virasundara.

4 A. B. 2185 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.
He surrounded the whole of the vast city with a massive wall on the heights of which he had placed at intervals eighteen tower structures. Then to ward off the foe, he posted sentries, freed the whole kingdom of Lanka from all oppression and after he had raised a princess of equal birth to the rank of first mahesī and had received his consecration as King, this famous (prince) who in his faith desired meritorious works, set about furthering the laity and the Order. The Ruler of men reflected where the tooth of the Enlightened One could be, and when he heard it was in the Labujāgāma-vihāra, he rejoiced greatly. He had the Tooth Relic which had been brought to Labujāgāma in the province of Saparagamu fetched (thence) and in order to venerate it day by day in his own fair town and to dedicate a ritual to it, the wise (prince) had a two-storeyed, superb relic temple erected on an exquisitely beautiful piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the royal palace. Here he placed the tooth and in lasting devotion brought offerings to it.

As there were no bhikkhus in the island of Lanka on whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed, the King sent officials to the country of Rakkhaṅga, invited Nandicakka and other bhikkhus, had them brought to the island of Lanka, made them take up their abode in the noble city of Sirivajjhana and cared for them in reverent manner.

Then in the Mahāvālukagāṅga, at the landing-place called Gaṅghamba, within a boundary drawn in the water, he had

1 I. e. Delgamuva, not far from Kuruvita, north of Ratnapura. The relic was preserved before that in Kotā. Cf. 91. 17 ff. Why it was taken from there to the monastery in Delgamuva is not known. Probably the idea was to save it from the Portuguese.
2 Now Sabaragamuva. The province which stretches in front of the south-western slopes of the central mountains, bounded on the West by the West province and on the South by the South province.
3 The cause of this decay of the Buddhist Church was in all probability due to the hostile attitude of Rājasīha towards it. Rakkhaṅga is the name of a district in Lower Burma, now Arakan. Cf. for this Pissas 2, p. 141.
4 P. udākakkhapāśāmāya. For this term see note to 89. 70.
a fine building erected and thither in the year two thousand, 18 one hundred and forty after the nirvana of the Victor, he led the bhikkhus, had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed in this Great bhikkhu community on many of the sons of good family and thus protected the Order of the Enlightened One. And he also made many sons of good birth submit themselves to the ceremony of renunciation of the world and provided them also abundantly with the four articles of use, and after he had in this and many other ways, striving after good, performed many meritorious works, he cleared himself a pathway to heaven. Later the selfsame wise King made his younger brother who had gone through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and (as member) was in the Order of the Buddha, leave the Order, entrusted him with the burden of the government and then passed away in accordance with his deeds.

In this wise the Monarch equipped with kingly power, after performing many meritorious works, adorning the Order of the Victor, made manifest a blameless sovereign

1 2140 A. B. = 1596 A. D.

2 Senumata was Vimaladhammasuriya's cousin. We know however (see note to 63, 51) that cousins who are brother's sons call themselves brothers.

3 Rājuv. gives as the year of his death 1625 of the Saka era = 1603/4 A. D. Of the mighty events which took place during the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya I. the Mahāvamsa says not a word. The whole period was filled with wars against the Portuguese and their protegé Dharmapāla which were carried on both sides with the greatest bitterness and even cruelty. In A. D. 1594 the Sinhalese destroyed a Portuguese force which had advanced to Kandy. Three years later Dharmapāla died after reigning nominally in Kotte 47 years. In his will he left his kingdom to the King of Portugal. The Portuguese solemnly took possession of the lowlands in the name of their sovereign. The kingdom of Kandy maintained its independence. During the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya the Sinhalese came for the first time into contact with the Dutch through the embassy under Joris van Spijkeren which coming from the east coast of the Island in 1602, visited the court of Kandy. For the whole subject cf. Pieters 2, p. 112-165; Coddington, HC., p. 105 ff.
power. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion, fell under the power of Māra: when one has once realised the permanent condition of misery and of all other (suffering), one must find his joy in unwearied striving.

Here ends the ninety-fourth chapter, called «History of King Vimaladharmasuriya», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The first two lines of the strophe resemble in wording the final strophe of 93.
2 The sing. caturo saddhādhano tādiśo must be referred to mahipo; iti is, as so often, placed within the sentence, instead of behind tādiśo.
CHAPTER XCV

HISTORY OF KING SENĀRATANA

After Senāratana by name had received consecration as 1 king, dowered with meritorious works, such as generosity and the rest and at all times full of reverence, he inclined his 2 subjects to him by the four heart-winning qualities. He celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic and a great almsgiving. The mahesi of the (late) king who had been his elder 3 brother¹ he made his own first mahesi and dwelt in that same town (of Sirivaddhani).

At that time merchants in the seaport of Kolamba who 4 had sojourned there a long time, had become puffed up with pride². They were, all of them, the so-called Parangi³, heretical evil-doers, cruel and brutal. They spread themselves over several fair provinces, laid waste fields and gardens, burned down houses and villages, destroyed the noble families and in this wise brought ruin on Sihala. They broke into the towns, into the relic shrines and monasteries, destroyed the image houses, Bodhi trees, Buddha statues and so on, did great harm to the laity and the Order, built at various places

¹ The wife of Vimaladhhammasuriya I. (see note to 94. 22) Dona Catherina, who was considered the rightful heiress to the kingdom of Kandy. Vimala had married her to give his reign a semblance of legitimacy. Praxis, 2, p. 125.

² P. uṣṣāmaka. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

³ I. e. Franks, designation of the Portuguese who are mentioned here for the first time at a period when their power was declining. What is said in the sequel about the Portuguese agrees with what we know about Azavedo's procedure.
9 forts and carried on war unceasingly. King Senāratana brought the Tooth Relic to a safe place in the province called Pañcasata, almost impassable owing to forests, mountains and rivers, made people dwell there who were entrusted with the preservation of the relic and thus protected the Tooth well, showing it the usual reverence. Then he left the city (Sīrīvāḷdēhana). Movable goods, the sons of the former king and the admirable Mahesī, excellent by wealth and virtue, who was pregnant, he took carefully with him in a litter and betook himself to Mahiyāṅgana. While he sojourned in this town the Queen bore under a particularly favorable constellation, a splendid son, dowered with brilliant marks. At that time the leader of the foe saw at night a terror-stirring dream. From the east, from that town (Mahiyāṅgana) there came a spark of the size of a glow-worm. Growing ever bigger it came to the centre of Kolamba, waxed here to unmeasured size and burned up everything at once. On that day in consequence of its splendour, the enemy who had penetrated to Sīrīvāḷdēhana, took flight with the haste of those who are threatened with peril. The Ruler of men guarded his son

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1 P. balaṅkottake bandhita. Cf. the name of the town Jayavaḷdēhana-kotta (91.7), called Kotte for short.
2 P. yūḍhīmāna śīta, a periphrastic formation corresponding to the Sinh. combination of the present gerund in suit with the verb sīṭinasa. See Giesen, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen § 68a. The root śīta expresses a continuous state.
3 I. e. Paniyapattu or Dumbara, NE. of Kandy.
4 P. yogapana, no doubt rightly explained by W.
5 In the year 1611 A. D. the Portuguese general de Azevedo advanced as far as Kandy. He found the town deserted and placing a garrison in Balane to secure the entrance to the mountains, he returned to Colombo. This is connected no doubt with what is related in v. 11-12. The date of the prince’s birth must have been 1612 (see next note).
6 This is the son of Senāratana and Dona Catherina, the widow of his predecessor. He was called Mahē-Āsthāna and later as king called himself Rājasīha. His stepbrothers Kumārāśīha and Vijayaśīla were the Queen’s sons by her first marriage. See below v. 22.
7 P. puratthimadisābhagā. Wrongly translated “from the western side” by W.
who grew by degrees like another moon, and the other (sons) with the greatest care, and when he saw that the right time 18 had come, he took all his possessions and returned to the city of Sirivaddhanas. When his sons, namely the sons of the former 19 king and his own son, were grown up he, because his heart clung to them in love, was minded to divide amongst them 20 his mountain-girt provinces, had (their names) properly written on three leaves, laid the leaves near the Tooth Relic 1, led the 21 princes thither and made them take their choice. Then when 22 the Ruler beheld the leaves which fell in this wise: to the eldest Kumārasīha the province Üva, to Vijayapāla the province Mātula and to the youngest Rājasiha the five highland 23 provinces 2 — he when he saw that the lot with the five highland 24 provinces had fallen to his own son, rejoiced greatly and he said: "He hath great merit."

The Ruler of men thus gave over the divers provinces to 25 his sons. Then, giving alms and performing other meritorious works according to his capacity, for the furthering of the people and the Order, he lived (yet) seven years 3.

The Ruler who out of love had divided the provinces 26 among his own and his other sons in order to protect Laṅkā and this our Order was doomed then to inevitable death.

Here ends the ninety-fifth chapter, called «History of King Senāratana», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The lottery becomes in this way a sacred action, an oracle. The division of the Kandy kingdom took place in 1628.
2 P. uddka pañca vatthaka. These are districts lying round about Kandy, the most important parts of the kingdom with the capital. Üva embraces the eastern, Matale the northern districts. It should be noted that the form Mātula for Matale is only found in the latest part of the Cūlavamsa (96. 4, 98. 65); in 66. 71 we have Mahātīla.
3 The year of his death is therefore 1685 A.D. The Rājāv. gives 1555 of the Saka era = 1633/4 A.D. One must assume that from 1638 to 1685 Rājasiha was reigning along with his father. Kumārasīha had died before Senāratana, as is pointed out by the Rājāv. The struggles with the Portuguese lasted with fluctuating success throughout Senāratana's reign. Of importance are the negotiations of the Sinhalese King with the Dutch which began in the year 1612. For a time (in 1620) the Danes tried to get a footing on the island. For the whole subject see Pissis, 2, p. 171-221; Cordington, l. c., p. 109 ff.
CHAPTER XCVI

HISTORY OF KING RĀJASIḤA

1 Now while these Rulers of men, sojourning in different places, enjoyed for a short time the pleasures of the royal dignity in harmony, they carried on war against the Paraṅgis and gained here and there victories. But then they quarrelled among themselves, the three brothers, the Lords of men. One of them, the renowned Rājasiḥa by name, dispossessed the older brothers and made them his vassals. After one (Kumāraṣīha) had been put to death by poison, the other (Vijayapāla who dwelt) in Mātula, mounted a chariot, and started off with one man whom he took with him and betook himself after crossing the frontier of the province, abroad. But the other, Rājasiḥa, a man whose commands were not lightly to be

1 In the year 1630 A.D. the princes won a brilliant victory at Randeniwela in lower Uva over the Portuguese who had occupied Badulla and had plundered and set fire to the town. The Portuguese general, Constantino de Sa y Noronha fell himself in the battle. Four years later (1634) Kumāraṣīha was removed by poison, and to this time belong the first disagreements between Vijayapāla and Rājasiḥa. There must however, have been a reconciliation, for Vijayapāla took part in the battle of Gannoruva in 1333 and the victory of the Sinhalese was largely owing to him. The Portuguese under the leadership of their captain-general Diogo de Mello had occupied and destroyed Kandy, but they evacuated the town and on their retreat were surrounded and annihilated. See below note on v. 22. The successes in war of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese are glorified in the poems Kostantinu-baṭanē and Mahabhaṭanē. See A. de Silva, JRAS. C. B. xxiv, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 56.

2 For Vijayapāla's tragic fate according to Portuguese documents, see P. E. Pinias, The Prince Vijayapāla of Ceylon, 1634—1654, Colombo 1928.

3 Or perhaps "the second (aparo) Rājasiḥa".


slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like courage, took possession of the kingdom as it had at the beginning belonged to his father; as if he had been created by gods, pious in the faith, for the furthering of laity and Order, he was mighty, dowered with the bravery of war-skilled heroes.

Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse, himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and courageous, the powerful (prince) sprang aloft, swung himself on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the Gaṅgā, which is called Suvaṇṇatthambha¹, he sprang from the rock on this side and reached the rock on the opposite bank.

After manifesting in this and in many other ways, his strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open the fight, the battle-equipped Śīhalas and set forth under a favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of Sirivaddhāna with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with great warriors and so on, with great dignitaries and so on, with foot soldiers who bore bows, swords, spears and other weapons, in front the music with drums, kettledrums and other instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving of alms and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha² with him, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the war drums resound like the terrible clash of thunder and fearless began the fight. At first he fought a great battle with the foe in the five highland provinces³, slew many of

¹ Now Rantën-tota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.
² I. e. bhikkhus.
³ P. pañcuddharatt'aghe. Here we have another example of the influence of the Sinhalese language. -gehe is equivalent to the Sinh. -gū, the genitive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning. As to the beginnings of such forms in an inscription of the 10th century see Wickremasinghe, BZ. I. 182.
the miscreants and drove the powerful wretched enemies from every place; breaking down their strongholds, the Ruler of men remained victorious. The foes fled, looking on every side (for safety), tortured with fear, flung themselves from the mountain precipices, sprang into the mountain gorges and were scattered as cotton in the wind, when he rushed into the battle-field like a terrible lion that has broken into a herd of elephants. After fighting again and again in different places with the foe and killing and putting to flight numbers of people on the side of the enemy, he conquered several provinces, freed them from oppression, destroyed the strongholds and so manifested his great power.

There were however, many of the enemy who tortured by fear, had hidden themselves and escaped. They stayed for a time in the fortresses at the various places near to the sea, then these heretical villains began again and again to plunder the different provinces. When Rājasāha whose commands were not lightly to be slighted, heard thereof, he betook himself to Dīghavāpi which lies to the East. While he, experienced in all the statecraft taught by Manu, sojourned there, he received news of the Olandas. He thought that good, sent

1 The language of the passage is in the form in which the MSS. have it and as I have adopted it in my edition, absolutely incorrect. It is however very doubtful whether we are justified in altering it, as the fault may lie with the author. The Col. Ed. alters mīgārājā 重任 as mūdhāya into -rāja 重任 mūdhāya. I should nevertheless prefer to keep these words and to read sāyappatto in v. 20a instead of sāyappatte, which may be influenced by yāthamkhi.

2 There can be no doubt that the preceding verses refer to the victories of the Sinhalese arms mentioned in the note to v. 2. But the events are described in quite general terms.

3 For the district Dīghavāpi see 74. 89 and note.

4 Vimaladhammasuriya I. had already been in touch with the Dutch (see note to 94. 22). Under Rājasāha II. Dutch envoys already appeared in 1937, and the King on his part sent three of his own people to Admiral Westerdöld, who lay with his vessels at Goa, to blockade it. Dutch vessels appeared at Batticaloa where a Portuguese garrison lay, and the united forces of the Sinhalese and the Dutch forced the Portuguese to surrender the fort (18th May, 1938). A treaty was made with
two dignitaries to their fair land, had a number of people fetched from there in many ships and when these arrived in 28 the rich, prosperous, thickly populated coast lands near Dīghavāpi, he showed them favour. As he wished to display to them 29 the military forces of his Laṅka, he sent them the command to look quietly on. Then he began the fight with the foe 30 stationed near, slew a great mass of the foe and captured the stronghold. The Ruler of men made over the place to the 31 inhabitants of Olanda and showed them many other favours and made everyone contented.

From this time onward the Ruler of Laṅka began at the 32 head of both armies, to carry on war by land and water on every side. He destroyed the fortresses situated at different 33 places and protected by massive stone walls, slew the enemy, erected in the whole of Laṅka strongholds garrisoned by strong 34 forces and after absolutely annihilating the foe who had ravaged so long (in Laṅka) and freeing (the country) from their 35 oppression, he in order to ward off the enemy, charged the inhabitants of Olanda with the protection of Laṅka in the places situated on the sea. After arranging that these were 36 to appear before him every year with presents of divers kinds, the Ruler of men returned, like Vaiśravaṇī when he had 37 conquered in the battle against the Asuras, with his retinue to his town (of Sirivajjalhana). 3.

Westerwold which was raised in Batavia whither Rājaśīha sent two envoys. It enabled the Dutch to gain a firm footing on the island. These are the events to which vv. 25 ff. refer. The narrative describes in one-sided fashion — not surprising in chroniclers — the achievements of the Sinhalese. That they alone conquered Batticaloa is not in accordance with the facts. The chief merit belongs to the Dutch guns. PERIUS 2, p. 227 ff.; COXHINGTON, HC., p. 117 ff.

1 That is the Sinhalese and the Dutch.

2 Name of Indra: "who carries the thunderbolt (vājira) in his hand."

3 Here again in the Mvel. only the one-sided Sinhalese standpoint is given. In diplomacy the Dutch were without doubt superior to King Rājaśīha, while on the other hand, he was a very unreliable ally for them. Rājaśīha’s reign was not so void of friction after the treaty with the Dutch as one might assume from our chronicle. It was disturbed
Now while the Ruler of men, Rājasiha, dwelt here in safety, the wise (prince) sought out in fitting manner those people who were worthy of a position and granted them various positions such as that of senāpati and the like. Villages, fields and so on, everything that had belonged to the Buddha and the gods, in accordance with tradition, the Ruler of men gave back as it had been formerly. He brought kings' daughters hither from the town of Madhurā, and after holding sway powerfully for fifty and two years¹, the mighty Monarch Rājasiha, who had guarded as his own eye in the best way the Order of the royal Sage of the line of the Sun and the laity, he the best of men went over to the king of death.

Thus this exceeding mighty King, the ruler, who understood how to annihilate hostile forces, was yet unable with his strength and his other qualities to gain the mastery over death. When the discerning have grasped from the first, at the very beginning this superiority of Māra, they must with great zeal continually do meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the rest.

Here ends the ninety-sixth chapter, called «History of King Rājasiha», in the Mahāvarṣa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Internally by risings, as in 1641 by that plotted by Vijayupāla. The struggles between the Portuguese and the Dutch went on, the luck being sometimes on the one side sometimes on the other. Finally the Dutch triumphed. With the capture of Colombo (A. D. 1656) the fate of the Portuguese dominion was sealed. Immediately after that there was a breach between Rājasiha and the Dutch. The conflicts of the years which follow were multiplied for Rājasiha by inward strife. Lasting peace was not achieved, in spite of a peace favorable to the Sinhalese being signed in the year A. D. 1677, until the death of the King ten years later. Piśāca 2, p. 228-290; Piśāca 3, p. 1-35; Coorington, HC., p. 118 ff., 133 ff.

¹ From A. D. 1635 (death of Senāratana) till A. D. 1687. Rājāv. makes the mistake of giving 1614 of the Saka era = 1692/3 A. D. as that of Rājasiha's death.
CHAPTER XCVII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS, OF VIMALADHAMMA AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Now his son Vimaladhammasuriya became king whose ornament was his faith and other virtues, who was a friend of the three jewels. As his first mahesi he took the daughter of the mahesi in the town of Madhurā who had been fetched thence, gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and protected uninterruptedly in peace and justice the realm of Lankā as a lord of men whose ornament was his virtue.

Having attained his consecration as king, the King in pious faith in the doctrine of the Victor, prepared in divers ways every- thing needful for a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. In honour of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise he erected a fair, three-storeyed pāsūda, resplendent with all kinds of (artistic) work, and for the sum of five and twenty thousand silver pieces he had a reliquary made which he covered with gold and ornamented with the nine precious stones. In this great reliquary that resembled a cetiya of precious stones, he laid the Tooth of the Victor.

As the Ruler thought to hold the festival of admission to the Order, he prepared fair garments and other articles of use, five hundred of each kind, made everything over with gifts and the like, together with a royal letter to prudent officials. These he sent to the country of Rakkhaṅga and invited the bhikkhu community with the thera Santāna at

1 The embassy to Rakkhaṅga (= Arakan, see note to 94.18) took place in the year A.D. 1697. The Dutch supplied the vessels for conveying the monks from Burma to Ceylon, which contributed not a little
11 the head. Thus he brought thirty-three bhikkhus to the beautiful town of Sirivaddhanas, made them amid tokens of respect, take up their abode there and provided them with the four necessaries. Then after he had erected in the right way, as formerly, a building at the landing-place of the 13 Gaṅgā, within a boundary drawn in the water, he brought the bhikkhu community thither, had the ceremony of admission performed on thirty-three sons of good family and so helped the Order of the Victor to attain new glory. Then full of faith he had one hundred and twenty sons of good family appointed to the position of sāmaneras, provided them abundantly with the four necessaries, had them instructed in the true doctrine and thus laid up a store of merit.

16 Thinking of the great merit that lies in the use of the feet¹, he betook himself to the Sumanakūṭa and celebrating 17 with jewels, pearls and the rest, with offerings of gold and precious stones and with divers stuffs and so forth, a great festival, he tarried there seven days.

18 He sheltered with a great umbrella of silver the foot-print of the Sage which was stamped on the Sumanakūṭa and celebrated a great festival.

19 Day after day he listened to (the sermon of the) doctrine and since even on days which were not uposatha days, he 20 kept the ordained fasts, he did much good. In this and many other ways, longing for good, he day and night unweariedly 21 did much good. The King having thus cared for the welfare of the laity and the Order, fell under the power of death after a reign of twenty and two years².

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¹ L. e. the merit of the pilgrimages. See 92. 15 ff. where the pilgrimages of Viravikkama to Mahiyāṅgaṇa and to Adam's Peak are described.

² Vimaladhammasuriya II. reigned from A. D. 1687-1707. He was
Generous in all that is good, as in the giving of alms and the like, with great wisdom, full of devotion he helped the excellent teaching of the excellent King of the wise, the one and only guide of the world, to attain glory. Help ye, therefore also evermore and unweariedly the excellent doctrine to attain glory.

Thereupon his son Siriviraparakkamanarindasīha became king. This King who was an abode of discernment and manly virtues, in order to protect the royal dignity in Laṅkā, fetched princesses from the town of Madhurā and made them first maheśīs. He performed meritorious works such as the giving of alms and the like, celebrated daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and thus laid up a store of merit. He showed care for the bhikkhus who had been admitted to the Order during his father’s life, had many sons of good family submitted in faith to the ceremony of world-renunciation and thus furthered the Order. In order to venerate the Mahiyāngañacetiya that was erected already in the lifetime of the Buddha, the mighty King betook himself thither, sacrificed to the cetiya with all kinds of coloured stuffs and while celebrating a sacrificial festival with silver and golden flowers, abundantly with divers fragrant blossoms of the kind that grow on land and in water, with food solid and soft, he laid up much merit.

At the head of a great army he went forth twice to the same Mahiyāngañacetiya and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Twice the Lord of men went in faith to Sumanakūta, sacrificed extraordinarily pacific compared with his predecessor. Although at first he had again and again to remonstrate with the Dutch about the non-fulfilment of obligations to which they had pledged themselves in the treaty of 1677 (see Comminoton, H.C., p. 135; Pissur 8, p. 46 f.) and although the Dutch managed to put the King off, there was no war during this whole period.

1 The compiler must have had something of the sort in his mind. But I am doubtful if we should simply change *jātaka bhāvanā* into *jākehi ca*, as does the Col. Ed. It might be better to assume an obscure expression on the part of the author. His knowledge of Pāli was by no means excellent. It is also hard to imagine that the second reading, if it did stand there originally, could have been corrupted into the first.
32 there and so laid up a store of merit. At the head of a great
retinue he left the great city, went forth to the great (city)
33 Anurâdhapura and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He
had a robe made the size of the robe of the Deliverer and
sacrificed to the Tooth of the Deliverer in divers ways with
34 articles befitting the sacrifice. Not far from the capital, on
the fair bank cliff of the Gaṅgâ, the Lord of men laid out
35 in a great cocopalm plantation a suburb by name Kundâsâla
and dwelt there. And there at that self-same spot he had
dwelling huts put up in fitting manner and made sâmañeras
take up their abode in them. He performed day by day many
36 good works like the giving of alms and the rest, had books
copied and when he saw that the temple which his royal
37 father had erected in the capital for the Tooth Relic, had
fallen into decay, his heart was grieved. The Lord of men
38 had the beautiful (temple) rebuilt, two-storeyed, splendid; he
provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of bril-
liant ornaments, made it so that with its stucco coating it
39 resembled a mountain of silver, provided it with a graceful
roof and had thirty-two jâtakas depicted in coloured painting
on the two walls of the courtyard: the Vidhurajâtaka, the
40 Guttila- and Ummaggajâtaka; the Dadhivâhana-, Mahâakaṇha-
Sutanu- and Chaddantajâtaka, the Dhammaddhaja-, Dhamma-
pâla- and Mahâjanakajâtaka; the Pâdamâna-, Dhamma-
sondâ-, Mahânâradakasapâ-, Mahâpaduma-, Telapatta- and
42 Cullapadumajâtaka; the Sattubhatta-, Aûjabhûta-, Campeyya-

1 P. sugata, lit. “he who has gone well” who has gone ahead on the
path to deliverance. R. O. Franke translated the word by “Pâdâvollender”
the “path finisher” or “path accomplisher”.
2 P. mslapura. Sirivâджhana (Kandy) is meant. The Gaṅgâ is, as
often, the Mahaveliganga.
3 Kundasala about four miles E. S. E. of Kandy, situated on the
Mahaveliganga. The popular name for the King was Kundasala after
this place which was his favorite residence.
4 I am anticipating the words ime dvattiyojâtake vicittacittakammena
kârâpetasana in v. 44 d, 45 a.
5 The Vidhurapâṇḍitajâtaka, no. 545 of the Faussréé edition.
6 Padakusalamâṇavajâtaka, no. 432 of Faussréé.
and Sasajātaka, the Visayha-, Kusa-, Sutasoma- 1, Sivi- and 43 Temajātaka 2; the Culladhanuddhara- 3 and the Saccāmpkiraka- 4 jātaka, the Dummedhajātaka and the Kālingabodhijātaka; the Silavajātaka 4 and the Маţāyajātaka 5, as well as the Vessantarajātaka. While thus having these thirty-two jātakas faultlessly represented in coloured painting, the Lord of men laid up an immeasurable store of merit.

In the midst of the town he had erected round the great 46 Bodhi tree, the cetiyas and the temple of Nāthasura 6 — enclosing them on all sides — a fine wall of stone, massive, 47 lofty, brilliant in its coating of stucco, like to a necklace of pearls adorning the necks of the ladies of the town and created thereby for himself an abundance of renown.

Among the sāmaṇeras who lived at his own time (was one) 48 who was dowered with the virtue of a moral life, who ever rejoiced in unweariedness, in the many works of elucidation 49 and in the words of the Enlightened One, a poet, one learned in the scriptures, ready of speech, teacher of a host of disciples, renowned, who devoted his life to his own and to others’ weal, 50 who shone like the moon in the heaven of the Order in Laṅkā. For this sāmaṇera, Saranāmpkara by name, who was an abode 51 of faith and of knowledge, rejoicing in unweariedness, the Ruler — distinguishing him again and again by honours 52 spiritual and secular — had a reliquary made one and a half cubits high for preserving the relic of the King of the wise, the Enlightened One, the highest Protector of the world. He covered it with gold, set it with 700 jewels and made over the shimmering casket to the sāmaṇera together with 54

1 There are two jātakas of this name, the Mahā- and Cullasutasomajātaka, no. 587 and 525 of FAUSSÖLL.
2 Temiya- or Mūgapakkhajātaka, no. 538 of FAUSSÖLL.
3 Culladhanuggahajātaka, no. 374 of FAUSSÖLL.
4 Silavanāgajātaka, no. 72 of FAUSSÖLL.
5 Apparently the Kaphadīpāyunnajātaka in which the ascetic Maṭājavyn plays the chief part. No. 444 of FAUSSÖLL.
6 Like Nāthadeva (100. 248) the name of Vićṣa as the protecting deity (nātha) of the island.
the relic as well as many books about the true doctrine and
so distinguished him. The Lord of men granted him clothing
and other necessaries as well as numerous people for service
and honoured him thus with secular gifts.

To procure a long existence for the true doctrine, the Lord
of men invited (that same) Saranamkara in befitting manner
and had composed by this discerning sāmanera who strove
after pure enlightenment, that work on the true doctrine
entitled the Sāratthasamāgaha, furnished with eleven thousand
sections\(^1\), further a commentary in the tongue of Laṅka on
the Mahābodhiyamśa\(^2\), as well as a commentary on the work
Bhesajjamaṇjusā\(^3\) which was composed at the time when the
former King Parakkamabāhu held sway in the town of
Jambudvīp\(^4\) by that discerning thera, assiduous in well-doing
who was head of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in the Pañcapari-
veṇa\(^5\), with the wish that thus those who have devoted them-
selves to the spiritual life should be spared illness. After the
wise (prince) had performed these and many other meritorious
works and had carried on the government for thirty and three
years, he fell into the power of death\(^6\).

\(^1\) P. gautha. The meaning “section” is uncertain. In no case are
we justified in referring to Wilson, as does W., according to whom the
skr. gauta denotes a distinct number of syllables (82), because Wilson
is speaking of a metre, which however W. himself admits.

\(^2\) For this see Griggi, Pāli, p. 25, no. 29. 2; Malalasekera, Pāli
Literature of Ceylon, p. 156 ff. Whether by Saranamkara’s “commen-
tary” (atthavaṇṭanā) the Eru-Bodhiyamśa is meant seems doubtful.

\(^3\) “Medicine-chest”. Probably a collection of recipes of the character
of the Indian Bhaiṣajyaratnāvalli (Jolly, Medicin, p. 2).

\(^4\) Parakkamabāhu II. is meant.

\(^5\) A monastery called Pañcaparivenamūla is mentioned 67, 61. One
could also translate: “of the bhikkhus living in the five parivenas”.

\(^6\) The Chronicle concerns itself solely with the king’s relation to the
Church and is fulsome in its praise of his merits. It does not mention
a single word about the conspiracy which nearly cost him his life. As
little does it mention the very unsatisfactory conditions existing for the
most part in the territories occupied by the Dutch nor the conflicts,
arising out of questions of commercial policy, between the people of
After the King had attained the highest bliss on the island of Lanka, he left behind his kinsfolk, his friends and his life, and went to that state where all that is left behind. When ye have grasped that, ye remembering the truth of the oral admonitions of the highest Sage, should practise meritorious doing that surpasses all else, that brings the bliss of deliverance, that grants the bliss of the world of the gods.

Here ends the ninety-seventh chapter, called "History of the Two Kings, of Vimaladhamma and his Successor", in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Kandy and the foreigners. Like his predecessor Narindasīha he kept the peace. At any rate the Dutch understood by occasional gifts to keep him in good humour. Pithap 3, p. 52–65.
CHAPTER XCVIII

HISTORY OF SIRIVIJAYARĀJASĪHA

1 After Narindaśiha’s death the younger brother¹ of the Mahesi of this king² became king, adorned with the ornament of virtue. Known by the name of Sirivijayarājasiha, he was after the attainment of his consecration as king, piously attached to the Triad of the jewels. He was diligent in hearkening to the sermon of the doctrine, unwearied, discerning, ever full of zeal intent on intercourse with pious and good people. To establish his own dynasty he fetched princesses from the town of Madhura and made them his chief mahāsi. He won over the people in Laṅkā in the best manner possible by the four heart-winning qualities and took up his abode in the fair town (Sīrīvadjana). The Mahesi of the King, too, gave up the false faith to which they had been long attached, and adopted in the best manner possible the true faith which confers immortality. They heard the incomparable, true doctrine of the Buddha, the highest Protector of the world and thus adored with constant devotion the Buddha and the other (sacred) objects. In their faith they

¹ In kānisthāhātu I see the influence of the Sinhalese on the Pāli of the chronicler, ki being added in Sinhalese at the end of attributive adjectives.

² According to 97. 24 (cf. 98. 41), Narindaśiha’s Mahesi was a princess from Madhura. With the ascent of the throne by her brother a foreign dynasty is thus introduced into Laṅkā. The series of Sinhalese kings ends with Narindaśiha. The succession of Vijayarājasiha meanwhile, was not undisputed. A strong party at court supported the claims of Unambuva, a son of Narindaśiha’s by a concubine. It seems however, that he voluntarily renounced the throne. Later on he lived safe and sound at the court of Kandy.
worshipped the Tooth Relic day by day with sacrifice, with jasmine and other blossoms and with all kinds of flower festivals, with sweet betel mixed with camphor and other 9 things, with lamps with fragrant oil, with sweet-smelling sandal wood and so forth, with divers kinds of fragrant incense, with sugar and honey and with other drugs, with garments, ornaments and so on, with silver and golden bowls 11 which were abundantly filled with all that one can chew, eat, sip, drink and taste, with curtains, carpets and the like, with many articles of use and with costly robes— and thus and otherwise laid up a store of merit. They kept constantly 13 the five moral commandments and the uposatha vows even on days that were not uposathas, diligent in hearing the (sermon of the) true doctrine. Even as the yak cows (protect their tails), so they preserved the memory of the Buddha and the other (sacred objects). They worked for their perfection, had sacred books copied. They strove after the blessing that lies in generosity. They understood to perfection the regular offering of food and other (occasional) distribution of food to wandering or sick (bhikkhus). They were not attached to acquired wealth but dispensed (it in) continual feeding and the like. They made young people renounce the world, showed them favour of many kinds. They had good instruction given in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures and of pious duties and by dispensing always what was desired they were like to a wishing-tree. Kind beyond measure and very full of pity they thought of all people in Lanka as a mother of her children, and were merciful and mines of virtue. They had images and reliquaries fashioned in the best manner 19

1 P. pañcasīlām. Cf. with this Mhv. trsl. 1. 62.
2 Cf. with this passage Buddhāvamsa 2. 121 f. yathāpi samarī vālam kisumci paṭivilagitaṁ | upeti maragam tathā na vibhoti vāḷadhiṁ || tathāva catūsu bhūmiṁ stāṇi pariṇāya | porivakkha sahaśā sīlam samart viya vāḷadhīṁ ||— an allusion to the legend that the yaks would rather die than have any harm happen to their greatest ornament, their tail.
3 There are six different anusāsatiya — Buddha-, dhamma-, sampha-, sāla-, tāpā- and devata-anussati.
possible and always fearing every sin and ever rejoicing over
every meritorious deed, adorned with the ornament of such
and many other virtues, they were highly regarded in the
whole island of Laṅkā. The King had dwelling-places erected
here and there and made the sāmaṇeras take up their abode
in them and pious as he was, he showed them full of zeal,
much favour with garments and other necessaries, heard the
splendid true doctrine from these sāmaṇeras and revered (especially) the sāmaṇera Saranāmkara by name who strong
in faith dwelt in the Uposathārāma, who was a mine of virtues.
He invited him and had a commentary on the four bhānavāras¹
made by him in the language of Laṅkā and thus protected
the knowledge of the sacred scriptures.

Since the Lord of men had heard from foolish people out-
side (of the Buddhist Order) that great evil would befall if
he were to place the relic in a new relic temple, he gave
orders that this should be done by other people² and betook
himself thence to another town. While he sojourned there
the dignitaries assembled and together with the caretakers³
and other people, they tried with all their might to open the
reliquary. But although they tried the whole night long they
did not succeed. The dignitaries went thither and told the
matter to the Great king. When the King heard that, he
came in haste to the splendid town and after the Ruler had
reverently made offerings with all kinds of fragrant flowers,
with lamps, incense and the like and shown his reverence,

¹ For purposes of recitation the whole of the Tipitaka is divided
into bhānavāres, sections of equal length. There are said to be 2647 of
these (Cāṇḍakī, s. v.). It seems to me, however, as if the word in our
passage is used instead of nikāya. The commentary would then have
embraced Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṃyutta- and Aṅguttara-Nikāya.
² The passage is wrongly rendered by W. Aṃkaṃ parāṃ is not
governed by kātuṃ in 26 b, it belongs to ganṭhārā, but kātuṃ must be
supplemented by the object (“it”) from the preceding.
³ Vattakārakā (meaning literally “fulfilling the duty or the task”)
refers I believe, to the guardians who were appointed just at that time,
to look after the shrines and see that they were kept in proper condition.
See Piṅkis 3, p. 70.
he took hold of the lock and at once opened the reliquary without difficulty. Then after opening one after the other the 31 caskets inside it, he beheld the Tooth of the Enlightened One. "It is accomplished, with success" uttering these joyful words, 32 he assembled the inhabitants of the town, prepared a great feast and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. As he gazed 33 on the wonderful (relic) the Monarch was transported with joy and enthusiasm. As offerings he presented an elephant and a horse, jewels, pearls and the like, took the sacred Tooth 34 of the Prince of the wise in the lotus of his hand, showed it forth and so caused all to rejoice in perfect fashion. The 35 relic temple built in the time of former kings he furnished with all kinds of stuffs interwoven with gold, lit lamps with 36 divers-smelling oils, had filled jars placed about, and then in this gaily decorated temple, like to a heavenly temple, he 37 placed on a silver throne the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. He arranged a great festival, made a sacrifice to the relic and 38 after cleansing the whole town in a worthy manner and strewing it with sand he placed during this festival of the 39 Tooth Relic, round about the temple, within in the court and without on the terrace, further in the royal court and in all 40 the streets on either side with lofty poles placed upright, an unbroken series of festive arches, bound thereon banana stalks 41 and adorned them fair with areca and coconut blossoms and other flowers. With the brightly hued, gleaming and shimmer- 42 ing streamers tied bunch-wise to the points of the poles, the sky above the town looked pleasant as if it were filled with flights of 43 cranes. Here and there he placed in due order filled jars and 44 in the mandapas in a circle in front of the temple terrace he fastened canopies shimmering with silver and golden and other embroideries, hung thereabout brightly gleaming curtains, 45 spread there in fair fashion carpets resplendent with many a 46 work of art and also strewed around the five kinds of flowers, laja and the like. Then after the Ruler had put the whole 47

1 P. lajaśācamañāya, lit. "that in which laja is the fifth". See for this PTS. P. D. a. v. laja. This is the name for the blossom of the
city in order so that it looked as if the former kings of Lāṅkā were celebrating a festival with the thought that in like fashion the King of the gods makes a feast in the city of the gods¹, he himself with royal ornaments adorned, gathered together in that town the sāmaperas who dwelt in Lāṅkā, further the lay brethren and lay sisters, all the inhabitants of the town and the people who dwelt outside in the provinces. Out of mercy towards them² the Ruler of the earth for whom pity was the highest, flung himself on the ground in most humble posture³ and so worshipped the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. Then the King took it in the lotus of his hand and his heart filled with the highest joy, he left the relic temple. With silver umbrellas, with a golden casket, with row upon row of fair fly whisks, with manifold offerings of flowers, consisting of silver, golden and other blooms, with divers jewels and pearls, with robes, ornaments and many other sacrificial articles, with the fivefold music⁴ he celebrated a great sacrificial festival, like to a stream flowing on uninterrupted. Then the King, the Ruler of Lāṅkā betook himself
dalbergia arborea. W's version is quite different (note to the passage). He takes loja in the sense of “roasted rice” and remarks “Paddy when roasted bursts and the grain inside the husk expands in the shape of a beautiful white flower. These are used on public occasions and festivities as a mark of respect, for showing the ground whereon a shrine is taken or on which a high person walks over.”

¹ The style is extremely stilted. Literally the passage should be translated thus: “showing the town in such a way that one would be obliged to say: in such wise did the former princes of Lāṅkā celebrate a festival, whereby they thought: thus doth the King of the gods etc. etc.” The idea is this: the King has adorned the city as magnificently as the kings of yore were wont to do on like occasions, and the splendour they displayed was due to the fact that they imitated divine models.
² He will not rob the people of the purifying spectacle of the sacred relic.
³ P. pahecopatissitthango, lit. with a body in which five (parts of the body) lie fast. Curtius thus explains the term: “to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead, elbows, waist, knees and feet rest on the ground.”
⁴ See note to 85. 30.
to the mandapa outside (in front of the temple) which was adorned with divers bright ornament and standing here, displayed the sacred Tooth. Having thus given the greatest joy to the mighty multitude gathered round, he brought the Tooth Relic back to its place. Thus by bringing full contentment to all as if by the sight of the Buddha in person, he laid up a store of much good.

Now after the Lord of men had offered abundantly with all kinds of ornament, such as gold, jewels, pearls and the like, with sacrificial offerings like elephants, horses, slaves male and female, with flowers like jasmine, campaka and other blossoms, with fragrant sandal wood and the like, he bethought himself of the great blessing inherent in a sacrifice of lamps. Hence the Lord of men issued the command that in their own town and in the cetiyas in the divers provinces on one and the same day, people should make an offering of lamps, and in that selfsame night he gathered together the people and celebrated a sacrifice of lamps with seven hundred and ninety thousand, six hundred lamps. Thus with burning lamps the Ruler of Laṅkā made the land of Laṅkā like to the star-strewn firmament. With an offering of three hundred thirty and three thousand, eight hundred flowers he laid up a store of merit.

This King rich in virtue who found joy in causing images of the Buddha to be made, had erected in Ālokalena and other vihāras in the province of Mātula, as well as here and there in the rock temples of the various (other) provinces, Buddha statues in life-size, in recumbent, standing and sitting posture and new cetiyas which bring happiness to living creatures, and he had many decayed image houses restored and increased thereby showing favour to the people, the quantity of his merit.

1 Michelia champaka; Sinh. sapu-mal.
2 The words ekāte ca must be taken in the oratio recta.
3 For hōti which here probably means 100,000, see PTS. P. D. s. v. In has the general meaning of an extremely high number.
4 Now the Alu-vihāra not far from Matale situated in the cleft of a mighty primeval landslide.
In the town of Sirivahāhana the Lord of men did away with the royal palace and many other buildings that had been founded formerly but had meanwhile fallen into decay. In place of these the Lord of men built new houses which excelled by reason of their mason work and the like, made fine gates and erected a magnificent gate-building furnished with iron gateways, adorned with ornaments of divers form and consisting of two storeys.

While he resided in this town, he full of zeal when listening to the sermon of the doctrine, had maṇḍapas erected within the royal courtyard. He furnished them completely with coloured arches and the like, put up canopies, spread seats, brought them with great ceremony many preachers of the true doctrine thither, made them be seated and lay hold of their white fans. Then he hearkened to the good, heart-penetrating doctrine as it was preached by them along with enlightening explanation and the like, and filled with pious joy the Ruler honoured it with gold and silver, with lamps, incense and the like, with divers coloured stuffs, (in short) with sacrificial articles of every kind, the Monarch himself in common with the dignitaries and the troops and so on many occasions laid up a store of abundant good.

Now when the King heard through the true doctrine that spiritual offerings are a great thing, he intent on the welfare of the people dwelling in the various provinces, had dwellings and sermon halls erected here and there in places fitted for the assembling of a great multitude of people. Then the Lord of men sent to the various places numerous preachers of the doctrine and others, had the people gathered together and the true doctrine preached to them and in this way he offered a spiritual offering.

1 One is tempted here to join cārudaśārīṇī yujeto with the following ayodnārasamāyutaṁ, but for its giving a scarcely tolerable tautology.
2 P. latākāmama, lit. “creeper work”.
3 P. māhussāvēna, not as W. translates “with much trouble”. That would be māhussāhena.
4 P. dhammadāna, every kind of religious instruction. The opposite is āmisaśādāna “secular offering” (food, clothing etc.).
The infamous Paraṅgis, the infidels, the impious ones who 80 at the time of King Rājastha had still remained behind in the town and now dwelling here and there, rich in cunning, 81 endeavoured by gifts of money and the like to get their creed adopted by others, led a life without reverence for the doctrine 82 (of the Buddha). When the King heard thereof he became vehemently indignant, issued commands to his dignitaries, had 83 their houses and their books destroyed and banished from the country those who did not give up their faith.

On the Sumanakūṭa made sacred by the footprint of the 84 Enlightened One the Ruler celebrated a sacrifice of lamps and all other festivals. In Anurādhapura, in Mahiyangana and in 85 other places he likewise celebrated a great sacrificial festival. To east and west (of the town) where water made the road 86 impassable, he had stone bridges put up for the comfort of those coming and going.

When the Monarch realised that the Order of the Victor 87 was declining because a bhikku community was not to be had in Lāṅkā he was greatly moved. As he was minded to 88 invite a bhikku community, he considered in every possible way where the Order of the Sage could possibly still exist. Then he heard from the Olandas 2 the welcome news that the 89 Order still existed in various countries, in Pegu, Rakkhaṅga,

1 The King's measures are thus directed against the Roman Catholic Church and against the Portuguese still settled in the country. For the Catholic mission in Ceylon at the time of the Dutch settlement and its ultimate suppression see Piemis 3, p. 70 f.

2 The only passage where Vijayarājasēha's relations with the Dutch are noted. If in spite of the friction caused by trade, these relations led to no open rupture, this was largely due to the easy going and at times really feeble policy of the Dutch. Their forbearance was met by increased claims on the part of the court of Kandy. An embassy to Pegu was first sent off in the year 1740. The Dutch Company placed a vessel at its disposal which was however wrecked off the coast of Pegu. A second embassy seems to have gone to Siam in 1741. Envoys of the Sinhalaeae king came also in 1746 to Siam and succeeded in persuading a number of bhikkhus to undertake the journey to Ceylon. Vijayarājasēha however, died 1747 before their arrival. See Corrington, HO. p. 199 f. and especially p. 164; Piemis 3, p. 71 ff.
90 Sāminda. Now in order to test the condition of the Order of the Sage in these various countries, the King had letters carefully written in the sacred language, gave them over to ministers and other dignitaries and sent these forth singly. When the Lord of men heard the news that in the kingdom of Ayodhya the Order existed in all its purity and in the best condition, in order to bring from that same country sons of the Victor to Lanka, he sent dignitaries thither to whom he gave a writing together with many gifts and sacrificial implements.

94 For the placing therein of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise the Monarch had a fair, golden reliquary made one and a half cubits high and encrusted with costly jewels and pearls. But before it was finished his merit was exhausted after he had reigned eight years.

96 This prince who was adorned with the ornament of faith and of many other virtues, who was at pains to purify to the utmost the splendid Order of the Buddha, that best of men after he had done much good, went finally thither to Namuci.

97 In this wise did the King of Lanka whose joy was in the welfare of others, who worked for his own and others' salvation, carry on the government, as best among the best, the Ruler of men who loved virtue. Ye who wish for your prosperity in this world and for abundant happiness in the world beyond must therefore wholly give up indolence and do a multitude of meritorious works which will bring you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-eighth chapter, called «History of Sirivijayarajasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 Name of Siam.
2 P. मुलुब्धारा “fundamental or main language”, i.e. Pāli.
3 Ayodhya, now Ayuthya, name of the old capital of Siam, north of Bangkok, situated on the banks of the Menam. Cf. J. Dahlmann, Indische Fahrtten (1927) I. 111 ff.
4 The पुरुष in virtue of which he had attained the royal dignity. For “reigned” the original has घृतो “lived (as king)”.
5 Skr. namuci is the name of one of the demons slain by Indra. In Pāli Namuci is a designation of Mura (S. I. 67; A. II. 15) specially of Kilesamāra (Jāt. V. 486), in our passage of the god of death.
CHAPTER XCIX

ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION
AND OF OTHER FESTIVALS

After the passing of this Monarch dowered with splendid virtues, his brother-in-law became king of kings. Gifted with physical beauty (he was) a delight to the eyes of the people, filling the whole superb island of Laṅkā with splendour, a prince of glorious grace.

When in the island of Laṅkā the year two thousand, two hundred and ninety since the nirvana of the Enlightened One had come this Ruler of men whose joy was the welfare of Laṅkā, comforted his subjects who were afflicted by their parting from the Great king. This whole people racked by suffering, like to the darkness (which sets in) when the sun after it has illumined the whole world, goes down — the far-famed King made free from grief, like to the (newly) rising sun which illuminates the whole world (afresh) and having taken over the royal dignity of Laṅkā, he made everyone joyful to the utmost. After attaining his consecration as king, the Lord of men who was devoted in faith to the Triad of the jewels, Buddha and the others, strove unwearyed after merit. The highly famed one had the whole town (of Sirivaddhana) cleansed and decorated with stuffs, triumphal arches and the like. Then he gathered together the whole of the inhabitants of Laṅkā completely in the fair, glorious town and moving along with royal magnificence, the Great king whose merit

1 The brother of Vijayarājasīha's Mahesi who according to 98.4, came from Madhurā. He had come to the court of Kandy with his sister and with his father Naresappa Nayaker.

2 = A.D. 1746. The right year for Vijayarājasīha's death is 1747.
was now having its effect, marched round the town, his right
side turned towards it, thus making known that the realm of
Laṅkā bereft of its king had again a king. The Lord of
men dovered with abundant merit, resided in Sirivadājana.

11 The virtuous one had (already aforetime) made the firm
resolve to shelter the Order of the Sage and now under
the name of Kittisirirājasīha he ruled gloriously this
our Laṅkā. Enjoying the good fortune of the royal dignity
of Laṅkā, full of discernment, recognizing that his wealth
consisted in faith, he mindful of what things are of worth
and of what things are worthless, prepared in piety a festival
12 for the three sacred objects, Buddha and so forth. He gave
up evil friends and enjoyed intercourse with the learned
people; he passed his time with the good and hearkened to
the incomparable doctrine. Pious and wise as he was, the
Lord of men distinguished between what should be done and
what should not be done. What should not be done he avoided,
but to that which should be done he held fast. By the four
heart-winning qualities he made all people well disposed to
him and he was worthy of the praise of the learned. Hearing
that reward lies in a spiritual offering and success in the
hearkening to the true doctrine and merit in the copying of
works of the true doctrine, as also in sacrificial festivals for
the doctrine he thought: that which is in accordance with
the true doctrine must be done. He had maṇḍapas erected in

1 For maṇḍapa — here used as an adjective — see note to 37. 139.
2 P. paṇidhaya katuva. I regard katuva again as a compound
verb formed under the influence of the Sinhalese, of the type geśevā: 
geśevā. The King had already made the resolve in a former existence.
The effect in the present of his meritorious kamma is that he becomes
king of Laṅkā (P. patēna Laṅkaṃ īmā), and he can now carry out
his resolve.
3 V. 8 e to the close of v. 11 is a single sentence. The construction
is however, quite inorganic and it is impossible to translate the sentence
as a whole. It is the same with the following.
4 See note to 98. 77.
5 P. sadhāmmano must be understood adverbially. Cf. skr. dharmatās
"according to law or rule, lawfully."
many places for sermons, made canopies therein of stuff of 17 varied colours, furnished them in every possible way with arches and other ornaments, lit lamps and spread seats, brought 18 thither with worthy service and honour preachers of the true 19 doctrine, invited them full of reverence, made them sit down on the well prepared seats, made these preachers recite parts 20 of the true doctrine and listened with devotion the whole night long to many suttantas, such as the Dhammadakkha Suttanta\(^1\) and others. Since he recognized the worthlessness 21 of body, life and wealth as worthlessness and the worth of listening to the true doctrine as worth, he was pious and 22 joyful and celebrated in common with the dignitaries and the troops, a great festival with articles of sacrifice of every kind. For the welfare and blessing of the multitudes dwelling within 23 and without the town the Lord of men repeatedly had spiritual 24 offerings offered and thus performed a meritorious work consisting in spiritual offerings.

Full of reverence towards the bhikkhu community\(^2\) who 25 had come from Rakkhaṅga, towards the bhikkhus of Laṅkā and towards the many sāmaṇeras, who had renounced the world, the Lord of men showed them favour with offerings 26 of robes and other necessaries and had the Paritta and other salutary texts recited by them. Thus on many occasions he 27 furthered the true doctrine, made offerings of necessaries and so increased the store of his merit.

At a cost of nine thousand, six hundred (kahāpaṇas) he 28 in his piety had a magnificent golden book made. On its 29 golden leaves he had many Suttantas inscribed such as the

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\(^1\) What is meant is the story of the Buddha’s first sermon in Bārūṇaśī to the pañcaraggiyā bhikkhū, the companions of his earlier period of asceticism. The account is given in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga I. 6. 10 ff. (= I. 8 ff). Cf. S. V. 420 ff.

\(^2\) Bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga had come to Ceylon under Vimaladhhammasuriya I. (91. 15) and under the second king of this name (97. 10). Kittisiri had some brought from Siam. This is narrated as a kind of appendix in 100. 64 ff. In all probability the Siamese monks are to be considered as included in this passage.
30 Dhammacakka Sutta and others and had these recited by preachers of the true doctrine the whole night long. Honouring them with many articles, he listened repeatedly to the incomparable doctrine. The Lord of men called scribes together, made them copy out in one day the Dīgha-Nikāya\(^1\), showed them much favour and then had the sacred text preached the whole night long in the right manner. He celebrated a great sacrificial festival, listened to (texts) and recited himself. In his pious acts he had the Saṃyutta-Nikāya and many other books copied and gave the scribes money. People who had renounced the world and inhabitants of houses\(^2\) had other sacred books carefully copied and when these were shown to him he was highly pleased, showed them with money and other gifts much favour and thus in his pious zeal took a share in the merit of other dwellers in Lākkā.

36 Yearning for merit the Lord of men betook himself with his retinue to superb Anurādhapura. Here the King sacrificed to the Bodhi tree and the sacred cetiyas with elephants, and horses, with gold, silver and the like, and thus in divers ways laid up a store of pious works. Then too in royal splendour the highly-famed Lord of men visited the Mahiyāṅgana-cetiya and the superb Nakhā-cetiya and reverenced them by the celebration of a great festival and so laid up a store of merit.

39 In order to honour with sacrifices the beautiful cetiyas and vihāras erected by the Lord of men Parakkama in superb Pulatthinagara, the highly famed King rich in faith, betook himself thither with a great retinue and sacrificed to them in the right way. Endowed with faith and other virtues the King also honoured the Rajata-vihāra\(^3\) and brought together a store of merit.

42 After a sacrificial festival for the lotus-hued patron god and other deities such as was popularly recognized as bring-

\(^{1}\) P. dīghāgamaṇu; āgama is synonym for nikāya. The same in 33 saṃyuttāgama.

\(^{2}\) P. pabbajitā and gahāṭṭhā, i.e. priests and laymen. The sentence in 34-35 is linguistically quite incorrect.

\(^{3}\) Now Ridi-vihāra, north of Kurunegala.
ing luck even in the days of former sovereigns of Laṅkā, he had for the purpose of a military display, the whole town without exception put in order like the city of the gods. He gathered together all the inhabitants of Laṅkā and in the town he had the people from the individual provinces separated and made them dwell in different places, provided with standards. Then he had the symbols in the temples of the gods placed on the back of an elephant. He had the elephant surrounded by divers beaters of the drum and the tambourine and by crowds of dancers, by various groups of elephants and divers groups of horses, by people wearing the Brahman dress of various stuffs and with divers ornaments, by people carrying divers umbrellas and divers fly-whisks; by various groups of women and various groups of dignitaries, by people carrying divers shields and divers swords, by such as carried divers spears and various symbols, by such as carried various stuffs

1 Something of this sort must have been in the mind of the chronicler when he wrote this passage with its absolutely confused style. Māṇḍala-maṇḍataṁ must be taken as attribute to pañḍā contained in the compound which follows (42 c d). The Col. Ed. tries at least to smooth away the difficulties by reading instead of the bhūpātā of the MSS. bhūpan ca. I fear this amounts to a correction of the author.

2 P. senaigadassavaattaya. W. does not give the full sense of this expression. That a military tournament is meant is clear from verses 44-45 a b. The assembled people are divided according to the individual local contingents of which the army is made up. Each contingent has its special flag. The army thus forms the main element in the festive procession.

3 P. decoṭṭhāna-āvyadhāni. Skr. āvyadhā means besides "weapon", "implement" in general. W. translates quite correctly "the emblems of the gods that were in the temples".

4 Anticipates hatthā pavāriya in v. 51.

5 The compound is not in the least clear. Maddalakehi at the end seems to be an adjective form; senakhaṇṇa might be used substantively as is often the case with the past part = "accumulation". The wearisome repetition of uṣṇā in the sequel is probably meant to express the endlessness of the procession. The same occurs in 85. 112 ff. and 88. 117 ff. The words senaka and rūpiya are repeated in the same way in 85. 26 ff. and 89. 19 ff.

6 Here again āvyadhā is used. I should prefer here to take the word
and various banners; by people who had come from various regions and who understood the different tongues; by such as were practised in the various arts and by divers artisans — with such and many other people he had the elephant surrounded, ordering them to go immediately in front or behind. Thereupon the King set forth, like to the Prince of the gods, with great (and) royal splendour and marched round the whole town, his right side turned towards it. Finally they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank.

When our King of kings, dowered with faith, wisdom and other virtues, was wont every year to hold the Åsūkhi festival, he was minded beforehand to celebrate a sacrificial festival for the Buddha. He had a canopy fastened on the back of the royal elephant beautifully ornamented with gold embroidery. Then he had the elephant whose tusk was as the bright moon, decorated with ornaments and then surrounded by (other) elephants whose riders held in their hand silver umbrellas and fly-whisks and flowers of every kind, by in the same sense as in v. 45, as "weapons" are already mentioned in the foregoing.

1 P. wiśīhte used as adverb, as also in v. 58.
2 This verse is a good example of the utter neglect of style where the subject so rājā (nikkhamita, kāra) in the same verse is followed by the plural predicate pavisanti.
3 P. amhakāya rājarājāna. The expression "our King" is particularly noteworthy. In the whole of the Mahāvaṃsa it occurs only here under Kuttisirirājajasiha (cf. also v. 183 and 163, as well as 100. 223) and seems to prove that our section was composed under this king and during his lifetime, cf. v. 76 ff. and note to 102. 300. The construction of the sentence is again quite confused. The subject stands in the acc.; -gūammadāyo which I regard as a transposition of -adījya, is changed by the Col. Ed. into -gūradāyo. But does this help us much? The sentence remains in disorder.
4 The Åsūkhi month corresponds to June-July. The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season. H. Kruh, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.
5 P. subbha-candi-radoṣ. I separate the compound thus, candi seeming to me to stand for skr. candra or candrin. The explanation is however, uncertain.
6 The acc. rajatacchattacamore is governed by gāhaka in the follow-
people having in their hand articles of sacrifice and wearing garlands of flowers, by people with various banners and pennons and by such as wore divers garments, by various royal dignitaries and by people come hither from various regions. Finally the Lord of men placed the splendid sparkling casket of gold in which the bodily relic of the Buddha was contained carefully under the canopy and by the strewing of flowers let a rain of flowers rain (upon it). With the shouts of the cries of "Hail!", with the sound of the shell trumpets and the cymbals and with the rattle of the various drums celebrating high festival, good and pious people their hearts filled with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before the brow, paid lasting reverence (to the relic). But the Lord of men had the Tooth Relic reverenced with all kinds of particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the head the relic which holds the first place among all things worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered all the rest, such as gods and men to follow behind. He himself in royal splendour to the strains of hymns of praise which promised happiness, set forth in all the majesty of a Great king, with great magnificence showing men how even thus the King of the gods in the city of the gods is wont to celebrate high festival for the relics.

Dowered with faith and many other virtues, devoted to the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, collected, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, ever performing meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the like; distinguished by splendid virtues, piety, wisdom, mercy, shining over the

ing compound. Thus we have again to do with a compound resolved into its component parts ( = rajata-chuttacāmaravuppphagāhakādrāṭhukha- thāthā ).

1 Not "relics" (W.); it is only a case of the Tooth Relic.

2 I am inclined to think that kārento which might be the direct equivalent of the skr. kārayantass, belongs to the following javā pujenti.

3 By surā are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.
island, with faith in the Enlightened One, living according to the good doctrine of the Sage, dowered with the ten powers, ever giving alms and performing other meritorious works unweariedly and full of zeal, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, he ever acted in this way for the welfare of all men.

68 With great ceremony he instituted day by day a great festival for the Tooth Relic, reverential towards the triad of the jewels. His own community which had been received into the Order in his own time, he provided in pious reverence from his own property with the four articles of use. Devoted in piety to the true doctrine he listened again and again to (the preaching of the) doctrine and accumulated in pious reverence numerous meritorious works. He furthered as during the lifetime of the Buddha the Order of the Victor and increased the happiness of the people dwelling in Laṅkā. When he heard of the doings of former kings, of Parakkamabāhu and others, he recognized it as right and imitated their doings.

73 He learned the duties of a king, was filled with reverence for kingly duties, shunned the (four) false paths, schooled himself in the four heart-winning qualities, showed his brothers and others all favour by befitting action, made them contented and won their hearts by caring for them in the right way.

75 In this manner the Sovereign of Laṅkā, the Lord of men, whose joy was in the welfare of others sheltered in the best way, ever unweariedly the Order of the Master as likewise the laity, and when he learned the history of the many rulers of men who had formerly been kings in Laṅkā, he mused on their deeds and made the resolve: "I also will fulfil the duties of a king." In making this resolve he thought of the work, entitled Mahāvarṣa, in which the ancient history of the kings of the great dynasty as of those of the lesser dynasty is narrated in the form of verses, from Mahāsaṁmata to (the

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1 See PTS. P. D. s. v. bala.

2 For this passage see my edition of the Cūlavāraṇa, I, Introduction p. IV-V.
kings of) Hattiselapura\textsuperscript{1}. And the King of Laṅkā caused an 78 examination to be made in due order of this book existing on the island of Laṅkā and of the same chronicle of the kings of Laṅkā brought from the Śāminda country — of these two 79 books separately — and when he heard that the Mahāvaṃsa 80 was deficient, he also caused the unknown history of the kings of the latter time — beginning with Parakkamabāhu up to the kings of the present time — to be written down and to be continued (thus) the royal chronicle.

Thus while he neither transgressed the commandments (laid 81 down) for a king nor the precepts of religion, the Lord of men carried on the royal government in justice and peace. In 82 accordance with the duties of a king he daily did good, such as almsgiving and the like, mindful of the sublime religion, practising the four heart-winning things, practising generosity 83 and friendly speech and care for the welfare of others, and constant in condescension. To show the world that he respected 84 his royal brothers\textsuperscript{2} as himself he assigned the two uparājas vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, made them 85 thus completely contented and thus showed forth in the best way the fourfold heart-winning qualities. These two who 86 in this wise attained distinction, celebrated each for himself a great festival for the Tooth Relic. They had books copied

\textsuperscript{1} I. e. Kurunegala. According to this passage the chronicle came down to the time of Parakkamabāhu IV., who resided in Kurunegala. The MSS. confirm this where after 90. 102 a new section begins. The mode of expression in this passage (v. 80) is only in so far inexact as the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV. does not begin the new part but stands at the close of the old. That the Siamese Mahāvaṃsa goes further than the original Mahāvaṃsa of Mahānāma is not expressly stated. The Mahānāyaka of the Malvata-vihāra in Kandy, Tilābātuvaṇa, was entrusted by the King with the task of comparing the two chronicles and of completing the Sinhalese Mahāvaṃsa (cf. F. E. Pierns, \textit{3}, p. 142). In all probability, therefore, he was the author of chapters 90. 104 to 100 of the Mahāvaṃsa.

\textsuperscript{2} The King had two brothers of whom the one was brought with him and his sister to Ceylon by their father Narenappa Nayaker (Pierns \textit{3}, p. 78) while the youngest was born there.
and gave the scribes money. They invited the bhikkhu community and each for himself continually gave them alms, such as constant maintenance and the like. By listening to the pious doctrine they learned to distinguish between what should be done and what should be left undone, abhorred sinful actions and were full of zeal for meritorious deeds. By testing they discovered the ablest, most skilful and most pious sāmaṇeras; and to these sāmaṇeras they presented as gift the eightfold necessaries\(^1\), so that they were worthy of a king, had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed for them and took care that they were rightly instructed in the precepts of monastic discipline and in the suttantas. Then they had dwellings erected which was a great blessing\(^2\) (for themselves), made the monks dwell therein caring for them meanwhile in worthy fashion full of reverence. They considered in every way what should be done for the laity and the Order, developed in accordance with the intentions of the King, kindness towards the good and sternness towards the bad, according to their deserts, strove in this wise and with other means after good and acted according to the intentions of the King as good friends of the laity and of the Order.

Many former kings for the sake of gaining the royal dignity or for other reasons did not look on each other as brothers or otherwise (as friends), but fought one another and as a result of their discord their subjects were even so minded. But these three (brothers) who had yet attained such royal power, shunned all discord and showed no weaknesses. They dwelt together in one town and were ever friendly with one another as their own shadows. Thus there was never the least enmity among them on account of the royal dignity and they developed the virtues of the Bodhisatta in the Śilavajātaka\(^3\).

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\(^1\) See note to 60. 71.

\(^2\) On account of the merit, the puṇḍa, inherent in such performances.

\(^3\) Cf. Mahāsūlavajātaka (Nr. 51), Fascim. I. 261 ff. The point of the comparison lies in the fact that the Bodhisatta as King Mahāsúlava of Benares, although his position was threatened by the Kosala king, undertakes no deed of violence in order to preserve his kingdom.
The Licchavis too of Visāḷā carried on the government in 98 harmony and without discord and won thereby the victory⁴. Rulers of men of little discernment, infatuated by the beauty 99 of the maiden Laṅkā, did what they ought not to have done and fell in consequence into much misfortune. But rulers of 100 great discernment, made happy by the beauty of the maiden Laṅkā, did what they ought and were thereby happy and famous. As rulers of this kind have these three Lords of men 101 held fast to harmony, and I say: that was wonderful.

When the Great king, rich in virtue, saw his brother to 102 whom he had granted the umbrella and other distinctions enter (in pomp) with royal retinue, he rejoiced, gazed at him 103 again and again and realized thus in himself the unique, sublimest spiritual perfection⁵.

As the highest in the dynasties of the princes of the earth, 104 as supporting pillars of the Order, possessed of immeasurable virtue, living according to the pious doctrine, shunning to follow the path of evil, associating with pious friends, desirous of reaching the road to the salutary path of deliverance — thus 105 these Rulers dowered with pious virtue, who saw in faith their highest good, did honour with sacrifice in piety to the Tooth of the blessed Enlightened One and to the Doctrine and the Order, accumulated abundant merit assuring the fullest salvation and piously sheltered the Order of the Sage and this stainless Laṅkā. For ever (therefore) shall one honour this 106 Ruler of Laṅkā, distinguished by virtue, who ever remembers the fulness of valuable qualities of the Sage, the sole Lord protector of the world, having piously accepted them in his heart, and who then further remembers³ his sublime doctrine and his Order⁴.

¹ Visāḷā, name for Vesāḷī (note to 37, 80). Our verse alludes to the fact that the Licchavis were able to maintain themselves against the advancing Kosalas while the Sakiyas succumbed to them. RIVES DAYNES, Buddhist India, p. 259—60.
² P. bhārāya ... brahmabuddhāvam etakām. W. translates freely “only turned his mind to contemplate the virtue of benevolence to all men.”
³ I translate anusarastuḥ thus in contrast to the preceding sarantum, the former being a necessary corollary of the latter.
⁴ Dhammagāmaḥ is a dvandva compound and gagaḥ = saugkha.
Thus this Monarch dowered with great royal power, the great King of kings, protected the Order of the Sage and this stainless Laṅkā in pious fashion; making men of all countries contented and dispensing to them great happiness he made gods and men beam with joy, discerning, strong in merit, miraculous power and dominion.

While the highly famed Great king, dowered with great power, resided in the great town and protected the laity and the Order, the powerful Olandas, sea merchants who had been entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā at the time of King Rājasīha, fulfilled the task of envoys to the kings who ruled in Laṅkā. Every year they were wont to bring with great reverence and great ceremony as gifts and lay before the King various stuffs, made in different countries, along with many other articles, fitted for the use of a king, which they had carefully chosen out. In consequence of former actions of the inhabitants of Laṅkā or in consequence of their neglect of the deities and so forth who were entrusted with the care of the laity and the Order, they were now angered in the highest degree and in every way cruelly tortured the inhabitants of Laṅkā. When the highly famed Great king heard of these events he thought this was not as it should be, and sent dignitaries forth. The dignitaries set forth with the people living in Laṅkā, fought a fearful battle with the Olanda people, destroyed the foe, burned down his strongholds and terrified him in every possible way.

Now when the enemy were thus tortured by fear a cruel treacherous man placed himself at their head, low-minded,

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1 Rājasīha II. Cf. 96. 35.

2 The meaning is this: The inhabitants of Laṅkā have obviously failed in their duty to the deities who like Viṣṇu are the protectors of the country; they have neglected their worship. To punish them the offended deities rouse the wrath of the Dutch for the oppression and injury of the people of Laṅkā in every possible way.

3 Baron van Eck is meant here. He succeeded Schreuder as governor of Ceylon in 1762. The word kānyāsa is an allusion to the fact that van Eck died suddenly, immediately after the unfortunate campaign against Kandy. Cf. v. 135.
a villain, the end of whose life was near, and with a great 118 following consisting of Jávakas and many other people he laid waste in every (possible) way the various provinces and villages, the vihāras and the temples of the gods, the bridges, rest-houses and the like. The dignitaries charged by the Ruler 119 of Laṅkā fought here and there in every way with their war-skilled troops, but although they defeated the foe in various 120 places, the enemy were not to be warded off, and they advanced against the town. The war-equipped high dignitaries 121 hindered the foe on the way by every means, took up a frontal position against them and checked their gradual advance. The discerning Great king, the Ruler of Laṅkā, who 122 understood the conditions of the time, thought: it is impossible to stop the advance of the foe who are like a forest fire, and he entrusted the two uparājās with the sacred Tooth Relic, 123 the Mahesi, his sister and all valuable treasures, to watch over them well and sent them to a province which was 124 scarcely passable owing to mountains, forests and difficult roads. Thereupon the hostile hosts like cruel armies of yakkhas, 125 forced their way into the town and destroyed the sacred books and everything else. Surrounded by his great dignitaries like the senāpati and others, and by war-skilled heroes who knew the right occasions from the wrong, the Great 127 king took up a position at the head of his great army here and there in the suburbs situated not far from the capital, and invested the town on every side. The people dwelling 128 in Laṅkā who had remained true to the teaching of the Buddha adopted the plans of the King and cut down here and there many of those who had gone over to the enemy, whomever 129 they caught sight of, but the envoys of the King and the other officials and the community of the bhikkhus they took under their protection. The bold warriors gifted with heroism 130 who were on the King's side played the war game, and as their aim was the protection of the Order of the Victor, they fought 131 surrounded by their warlike men in every way with the enemy who were posted at various positions on the road, put them 132 to flight, began then to fight also with those who lay in the
town and repeatedly caused them great losses. I think it was no wonder that men adopted the plans of our King: the deities did the same. Hence after a short time the greatly deluded leader of the enemy was smitten with fear, horror and delusion which came over him owing to the might of the gods and owing to the power of the merit (of the King). He left the fair town, fled without prestige and landed in the fire of death. Victims of the power of infatuation all the hostile armies who had advanced, were helpless and shelterless, and came to a bad end. Some were visited by illness, some tortured by hunger and disease, some were slain in fight, some had lost themselves in mountain and wilderness: thus were the miserable people on the enemy’s side destroyed. “Protected in such wise by gods, men and others”, one said, “this Monarch is certainly of great power: he is rich in merit. Who in the world will be able to neglect the commands of so mighty a king who is so rich in merit”?

1 Verses 130—132 describe the guerrilla tactics employed by the Sinhalese. The attacks are directed first against the communications in the rear, the positions in the line of march. The troops in Kandy are thereby isolated and so exposed to attack.

2 The whole section vv. 103-139 (cf. vv. 139 ff. and note) is perhaps historically the most valuable part of the latest Cūlavamsa. It refers to the military events of the year 1765 (see H. W. Corbett, HC., p. 142 ff.; P. E. Pimm, 3, p. 118 ff.). The causes of the conflict again lay in the sphere of trade policy. The King wanted to secure his share in the areca and elephant trade, and to compel the Dutch to yield this he harmed and hindered the business of the Dutch Company in every possible way, particularly in their export of cinnamon which was for them specially important. At first the Dutch sought to keep the peace by weak surrender. It was not until 1768 under the Governor van Eck that they decided on warlike measures. Their first venture in this year was a failure. Two years later the Dutch troops entered Kandy, but suffered so under the perpetual attacks of the Sinhalese that they were soon obliged to evacuate the town and withdraw with the severest losses to Colombo. Three facts are passed over by the Chronicle in silence: 1) There was a conspiracy in 1761 against Kitti-siri, important so far as it was obviously the work of the nationalistic circles at Court and was directed against the Dravidian dynasty. 2) At the beginning of the hostilities the King started negotiations with the
When after the hosts of the enemy had been done away with, the Great king no longer beheld a hostile army, the Ruler had the fair town cleansed as formerly and in fitting manner the temple of the Tooth Relic and the other sanctuaries specially beautifully decorated. He was filled with pure reverence towards the sublime doctrine of the Enlightened One, meditated ever on the sublime words of the Enlightened One, was filled with remembrance of the virtues of the sons of the Enlightened One and ever reverenced the Tooth of the Royal Enlightened One. The Ruler of men who in such wise was completely devoted to the three sacred objects, could not bear the pain accruing to him from his separation from the Tooth Relic. So the Great king, strong in faith, betook himself with his retinue to the most impassable part of the province, and when there he caught sight of the reliquary, he reverenced it piously, his heart full of astonishment and admiration. He bent his head to the ground, worshipped (the relic) with his head, greeted reverently the community of the bhikkhus and so chased away his pain. Filled with good comfort, he raised the casket with the relic to his head, held a great feast and celebrating with the sound of the cries of "Hail!" and the fivefold musical instruments a great ceremonial festival, he entered into his town. Then when the people of Lanka saw the Ruler with the relic, they rejoiced greatly and sent forth their cries of "Hail!". He brought the relic into the former Tooth temple and instituted all the former festive customs in increased measure.

The Samgharāja and many other sons of the Buddha in British, which however, led to nothing. The British emissary to the Court of Kandy was Pybus. 3) A famine in his own country caused by the neglect of agriculture during the war forced Kittisiri in 1786 to make a peace treaty with the Dutch very unfavourable to himself. By this treaty he made over to the Dutch the whole coastal district of the island, so that the kingdom of Kandy was completely cut off from the outer world and absolutely dependent on the good will of the Company.

1 One expects of course a gaṇtvā to govern the acc. mahādāggaṁ rāṭṭhānu.

2 This was the Sarṇaṇākara mentioned in 97. 51 and 98. 28. The
all the monasteries of the town who saw that the danger of
the cycle of rebirths is far greater than the danger of the
foe, had not given up the monastic life but had departed
with books, relics and articles of use, and dwelling outside
of the country had protected the Order. The King of kings
brought them all speedily back to the town, had the mo-
nasteries in the town cleansed and made the bhikkhus take
up their abode in them. Then he sought out from among
those who were charged to school themselves in the study of
the scriptures and in the carrying out of the commandments,
the appropriate preachers, invited them and listened ever and
again to the Rājovāda¹ and other portions of the sacred
scriptures.

The many Olanda people who had been our foes thought
of the custom of the country. They all came together, took
counsel with one another and said: “to capture the whole of
Laṅkā is impossible.” After they had finally realised this
they consulted ever and again: “The people here who rebelled
against the King, the ruler of Laṅkā have gone to perdition;
it will be the same with us. It is fitting therefore, that we
dwell here in the town with humility, love and reverence
towards the sovereign of Laṅkā.” Together with gifts for
the King they took full of reverence the beautiful, empty
silver reliquary which had been carried away by the great
fool and which sparkled like a cetiya, as well as the golden
161. canopy². They thought: we shall seek pardon for the wrong

¹ I. e. “Admonishing of the King” Perhaps this is the same as the
Rājavagga of Aṅguttara, III. 147 ff.
² When the Dutch under van Eck advanced on Kandy the Sinhalese
secured the Tooth Relic (v. 123 ff.), but the karangaka, in which it was
preserved and the sīvikā erected over it in the temple fell into the
hands of the enemy. Van Eck took them with him on his retreat to
Colombo. His successor however, J. W. Falck, returned these highly
sacred objects. The result of this prudent and conciliatory policy was
committed by our countrymen and shall from now onwards live (in peace), betook themselves to the Ruler, praised him, showed him reverence and spake many friendly words. The King, the sovereign of Lanka, pardoned them their great wrong and showed them distinction in every way. In this wise by friendly negotiations our King achieved with them firm and lasting friendly relations. The Olanda people also became thoroughly reconciled with the King of Lanka and were wont every year to present him along with valuable gifts, the products of various countries, with a royal letter which had been handed to them. But the Ruler had the sacred casket which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. After having thus made its beauty like to that of the sun he had the Tooth Relic placed therein and reverenced it as the King of the gods.

Thus was the pride of the wicked hosts of the infidel foe destroyed. Ha, (so great was) the power of the merit of the pious, believing Ruler of the Sihalas. Thinking of this astonishing, wonderful thing, people should devote themselves full of reverence to the virtue of the true faith which is incomparable, praised by the good, splendid.

Since at that time there was not a single bhikkhu on the fair island of Lanka, he had after taking over the burden of government, residing in Sirivañjana, made many sūmaṇeras and as many sons of good family go through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and of admission to the Order. Of these bhikkhus some were preachers of the doctrine and acquainted with the precepts of monastic discipline, some led a life of contemplation or that of hermits. After he had thus ordained so many hundreds of bhikkhus dowered with this and other virtues he beautified the whole of Lanka (formerly) that the beleaguered garrison left behind in Kandy and reduced to sore straits, was granted a free passage.

1 P. thiram katwāna must, I think, be referred to mettibhācaṇḍa.
2 P. sataraṇāsyi, the “hundred-rayed”, name of the sun.
3 Pāda a is of course defective. We expect evamādiṣṇayuttī. But
bereft of bhikkhus. Day by day he performed meritorious works, invited the community and dispensed to it daily food and food for the sick, mindful of the welfare of the bhikkhu community.

For bhikkhus and sāmañeras there were two kinds of disease, such as had to do with the body and such as affected the mind. To cure mental disease the best of men had the Vinaya texts and the Suttantas preached. After he had had the bhikkhus instructed in the Vinaya and the Suttantas which are the cause of the removal of desire and other diseases among mental diseases, the Ruler — when suffering arises through bodily disease it is difficult for the bhikkhus to school themselves in the study of the scriptures and in the carrying out of the commandments¹ — to calm disease like fever² and the like for this reason invited the community. He appointed for them two physicians, well schooled in the medical art, and nurses. To these he granted villages and fields and facilities in the way of garments, ornaments and the like, and as price for medicines he gave them yearly a hundred (money pieces) from the royal treasury. In the various monasteries the Ruler asked after the health or ill-health of the sāmañeras and the bhikkhus and gave them the requisite care.

In this wise also the King of kings dispensed gain for the community. "Of all gains³ the gain of health is the highest and best", thus the Buddha taught and therefore even he also dispensed⁴ it. He furthered in the best way the Order of the Enlightened One by making it lustrous.

emendation is inadmissible. The fault is the author's, the MSS. are not to blame.

¹ V. 175 is a kind of parenthesis. In correct language the sentence would be accompanied by an iti or iti cintiya as a reflection of the King's. Cf. note to 100.52.

² W. is probably right in connecting jara here with skr. jecara (not P. jara "age").

³ Note that labha means a gain or advantage of an external kind.

⁴ Apūjayi is here used as synonym for dāpayi in 180 b.
Formerly the rulers of Laṅkā, the best of most excellent 182 men, the supports of the Order, removed the infidelity of the hosts of the foe and then bore the burden of the royal dignity. When the King heard thereof and himself compassed in spirit the doctrine revealing itself to him and fraught with immeasurable blessing, he performed continually meritorious works, unweariedly, a support of the Order. 

Here ends the ninety-ninth chapter, called "Account of the King's Consecration and of Other Festivals", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

1 The panegyric character of many stanzas occurring in this chapter of the chronicle seems again to prove that it was composed when the king Kittisirirājasīha was alive. The poet flatters him with the conventional phrases.
CHAPTER C

THE HISTORY OF KITTISIRIRĀJASĪHA

1 The highly famed Lord of men¹ honoured the Tooth Relic with constant reverence even as (a world ruler) his wheel² and worshipped it in every way sacrificing³ with all kinds of flowers, such as sumana, campaka, punnāga, nāga, kaṇikāra, ketaki⁴; white and blue lotus flowers and the like, as well as with perfumes of every sort, such as sandal and aloe wood; with divers kinds of fragrant incense, with sugar, honey and so forth and with delicious remedies like betel nut, camphor and betel leaves; with various prepared dishes such as sweet food, rice and cake, with golden bananas and rose-apples, with bread fruits, mangoes and phārusa fruits⁵, with date plums⁶, oranges⁷ and sweet munḍakas, with yellow and green

¹ I anticipate the subject maññayāsa (v. 8 c) and jānindo (v. 12 a). The sentence goes on to v. 23 in which the first finite verb appears. Various gerunds occur before this and the subject “the King” is repeated several times.

² P. cakkā. This is the first of the seven jewels (rañamāl) peculiar to the rājā cakkasattā, the world-ruling king (cf. for this D. II. 172 ff., III. 61 ff.; M. III. 172; PTS. PD. u. v. rañana), a marvellous chariot that carries him victoriously over all countries.

³ I anticipate pājétā in v. 8.

⁴ The botanical names are successively: 1) jasminum grandiflorum, 2) michelia champaka, 3) rottleria tinctoria, 4) mesua ferrea, 5) pterospermum acerifolium, 6) pandanus odoratissimus.

⁵ Cf. also Mhvs. 89. 43 and note.

⁶ P. tīmarāsaka a kind of diospyros. The fruit called tīmaru is compared in Ja. VI. 457 to the youthful female breast. We do not know what the phārusa is.

⁷ P. nāraṅga = skr. nāraṅga which is borrowed from the Persian nārang. Munḍaka again is unknown.
coconuts, with ripe pomegranates, with dates, grapes and various 6 other fruits, with many fine roots¹ and sprouts of every kind. With such and other offerings, with the five kinds of musical 7 instruments, with many of the things taken over from former kings and with new thereto he worshipped the Tooth Relic 8 day by day, thereby intent on merit, increasing the store of his meritorious works. With gold and silver, with fair precious 9 stones and pearls, with countless, brightly embroidered, gleaming stuffs; with canopies, curtains and robes, with many 10 articles of use and manifold ornaments, with many elephants 11 and steeds, as well as with cattle and buffaloes, with many slaves male and female and with numerous villages and fields he sacrificed full of zeal to the Tooth of the Enlightened One 12 and when the Prince of men beheld it he was filled with pious joy. He was minded to have the golden casket completed 13 which had been begun under former kings but had never been finished. After a splendid, jewel-encrusted⁷ casket had 14 been made for two thousand suvarṇas and seven nikkhas³, the Lord of men ever intent on meritorious action, had a 15 costly, splendid, magnificent, large diamond placed on the point; one hundred and sixty-eight beautiful, costly, splendid (smaller) 16 diamonds, well worth seeing, and one hundred and seventy-one topazes⁴ he had put on it, further he had it set with 17 five hundred and eighty-five blue sapphires and four thousand 18 eight hundred and eighty rubies, also he had it set with seven 19 hundred and seventy-eight pearls, and when the costly casket

¹ P. sādhukandikā. The word kanda „root” (skr. the same) is missing in Collens and also in the PTS. P. D.

² P. māpiricāṇa. The word rāṇa does not mean “colour” here, but “beauty, ornament”, as is often the case.

³ Suvarṇa as well as nikkha, as also skr. suvarṇa and nīka denote a weight and a coin. The nikkha is = 15 suvarṇa (PTS P. D. a. v.).

⁴ P. pumppharāgagamiratana. It is true that pumppharāga by itself means “topaz” (= skr. pumparāga). What is expressed however, is the fundamental meaning “flower coloured”. Thus we have in the same way nilasamayi “blue gem” (17 d) for “sapphire” and vattamangiratana “red gem” (18 c d) for “ruby”.

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was finished he had two further caskets made in which to place it and had those also set with costly splendid, beautiful jewels. The Ruler of men had the casket made by the famous King Vimaladhammasuriya\(^1\) overlaid with gold. Then the Ruler of men, celebrating a great festival, placed the Tooth of the Sage in these same (caskets). Full of pious joy the Ruler dedicated a large village, Akarabhanda by name, to the Tooth of the Prince of the wise.

At the festival of the relic the Ruler in his mercy thought to show the Tooth Relic to the inhabitants of Lânkā. After the Ruler had had the whole town of Sirivâdhâna carefully cleansed and decorated throughout with arches of many-coloured stuffs, with rows of arches of banana leaves, with bunches of coco blossoms and with all kinds of flags and pennons, he gathered together in the town all the people of Lânkā. The Ruler of men himself, adorned with all the royal ornaments, like the King of the gods, betook himself after he had previously celebrated many great sacrifices of all kinds, to the temple of the Tooth Relic, sacrificed to it in every possible way, worshipped it, he the Ruler by throwing himself in humble posture\(^2\) to the earth out of reverence for the Tooth Relic of the King of the wise. Then he took the golden lotus flower together with the Tooth in the lotus of his hand and went forth from the temple with it. With sacrificial ceremonies, celebrated\(^3\) with silver umbrellas and fly-whisks of yak tails\(^4\), with golden and silver flowers, with the five kinds of flowers, lâja\(^5\) and so forth, with many jewels and pearls, with gold and silver, with various coloured stuffs

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\(^{1}\) In Mhas. 91. 11 E. it is related that he brought the Tooth Relic from Labujagāma to Kandy. Nothing is said in the passage about the making of a karaṇḍa.

\(^{2}\) Cf. 98. 50 and note.

\(^{3}\) P. kāriyamānānapājās in v. 34 e.

\(^{4}\) P. cāmaricāmarahī. The fem. cāmarī is also employed in Skr. (BR. s. v. cāmara). See above 98. 14, as well as Jāt. IV. 256 cama-rinânguṭṭha.

\(^{5}\) Cf. 98. 46 and note.
and many kinds of ornaments, with divers fragrant flowers, 38 with many lamps and incense, and amid the sound of the five musical instruments, the shell trumpets, the cymbals and the rest, and amid the noise of the many thousandfold cries of 34 Hail! — it was like foam-crowned billows 1 — the highly 35 famed King marched in procession like a world ruler in his chariot 2. In the superb, beautiful maṇḍapa, decorated with 36 all kinds of brightly embroidered cloths, like a heavenly maṇḍapa stood the King, the Ruler of men, like the King of 37 the gods at the head of the company of the gods, and then the King showing the multitude of the people the sacred beautiful Tooth of the Prince of the wise, right hard to attain in hundreds of thousands of world ages, filled them all with 38 bliss, heaped up a store of merit and laid (the relic) again in the casket.

In this wise, feeling every kind of bliss, as at the sight 39 of the living Buddha, the multitude also increased the store of their merits.

Intent on good, he repeatedly exhibited the Tooth Relic 40 in the same way and so stored up much good. Of villages 41 and fields devoted by former kings of Lanka to the Tooth Relic he took not away the very least. Day by day holding 42 a great sacrificial festival in joyful faith, he dedicated many elephants and horses and in the same way bulls and buffaloes, as well as a prosperous, populous village by name Rajakatthala, 43 and another large village by name Muttpabbata 3 and gained thereby for himself the value of meritorious works.

He was mindful of the purity of the Order. Amongst the 44 bhikkhus who were formerly present on the splendid island of Lanka, and amongst all the sāmaṇeras who had undergone

1 P. kalalamātiāmi va stands quite independently of the construction of the sentence, as a kind of parenthesis. It refers to the whole procession.

2 See note to 100.1, Note 2.

3 There is a village Radagoda in the Kandy District, Medapalata Korale, a village Mutugala in the Kurunegala District, Udukaha Korale West (Census 1921, II, p. 60, 328).
the ceremony of world renunciation, were some who had fear of evil, respected the true doctrine, living in good moral discipline, in pure fashion. Others cherished evil, were of bad moral living, followed false doctrine, took pleasure in the maintaining of women and children and in domestic duties and devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as astrology, medical activity and the like.

When the Ruler heard tidings of such unprincipled (bhikkhus) he sought out with care from among the pious (bhikkhus) who were on the side of the high principled, the respected sāmaṇera, named Saraṇāmkara, who led a pure life, dwelt in the wilderness, took pains for the furthering of the Order of the Victor, was careful of moral discipline, virtuous, well instructed, experienced in the interpretation of the words of the Enlightened One. With the reflection that this was the right thing to do, the Ruler with his support, ordered according to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against them and had them seriously admonished that from now onwards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and should foster the study of the words of the Buddha. As the King was minded to further the Order which had fallen into decay, he strengthened the influence of the high principled, and in many ways gave the Order support. The Ruler was appalled at the thought that with the lack of bhikkhus on whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed, the pure Order of the Victor should perish on the

1 That is the activity of the kapurāla, the sorcerer or devil-priest whose help is sought in cases of illness and for warding off the harmful influence of the planetary deities.

2 P. samā sīṁhitva cannot belong to pasattī, as W. seems to think, but must govern the following accusatives. For Saraṇāmkara cf. above 97, 51, 60; 98. 28; as well as note to 99.150. The Saṅgharāja died in the year 1778.

3 The construction of the sentence is quite wrong. It would be right if instead of rakkhitum in 52b we had rakkhatattā whereby vv. 51 and 52ab would be characterized as oratio recta.
whole island, and with the reflection: if a Ruler like myself carries on the government in the island of Lāṅkā, then the Order of the Victor ought not to perish, — further with the reflection: the furtherance of the Order which was not attained in the time of former rulers in spite of their sending hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass, the Ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he desired a long continuance of the Order of the great Seer, when the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after the final nirvana of the Prince of the wise had come — sent messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb town of \( \text{Ayogjhā}^{3} \), to fetch hither sons of the Buddha. In this wise the Ruler of Lāṅkā who was minded to purify the Order of Buddha, began the furtherance of the Order of the Prince among victors.

The dignitaries took the royal letter and the rest and started with great ceremony and with great zeal on their way. With the Olanda people who were entrusted with the protection of Lāṅkā, they embarked and sailed to the land of Sāminda. When the town of Ayogjhā was reached the Ruler of men in that country accepted the royal letter and the rest, as was the custom. In best fashion the prudent one showed the dignitaries the honour befitting them and took note of the excellent royal letter. When the Ruler of men Dhammika by name, who striving after the dignity of a Buddha, fulfilled the ten ṁaramis and took the Order under his protection,

\[1 = 1749 \text{ A.D. What is meant is the time of the close of the embassies to Siam which had already begun under Kittisiri's predecessor Vijnayarājasīha. We have an interesting account of these embassies by a member: "An Account of Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka, 1750 A.D., published by P. E. Fieris in JRAS. C. B. xvii, nr. 54, 1908, p. 17 ff. I see no reason to doubt the genuine character of the document. The relations established by the coming of the bhikkhus from Siam are potent in their influence even to-day. The Siamese sect is the wealthiest and the most influential in the island of Ceylon. For the vicissitudes experienced by these embassies see PIERIS 3, p. 71, 73, 75 ff.}

\[2 \text{ See note to 98. 91.}

\[3 \text{ See for this note to 37. 180.} \]
67 heard the news of the decline of the Order of the Victor in Laṅkā, and of the other (evils) he was most deeply moved.  
68 The Ruler thought: "I will be a helper in order to achieve there the furtherance of the Order of the Enlightened One."  
69 He summoned the Saṁgharāja in the Sāminda country and many other well instructed Grand theras, versed in the doctrine and acquainted with the rules of the Order, who had for a long time renounced the world, who were capable of carrying out the business of the Order and took counsel with them carefully about the matter. He called together a Chapter consisting of a group of ten (bhikkhus), an abode of virtues, easily satisfied and content, dowered with the virtues of a life of piety and discipline, and besides the Thera Upāli as head.  
72 These the Ruler who was well inclined to the Great king on the island of Laṅkā — like to King Vessantara¹ — sent² to Laṅkā, to the splendid relic temple of the Victor and (with them) books on the doctrine and on monastic discipline which did not exist in the island of Laṅkā, further a golden image (of the Buddha) and a superb golden book, a magnificent royal letter, gifts of various kinds and dignitaries of the King of Ayojjhā (as envoys)³. The great vessel⁴ which after the golden image and the other gifts had been put in order, was sent off came without disaster over the sea⁵ rich in perils, hiding many a disaster, to the fair, splendid island of Laṅkā and reached the harbour of Tikopamāla⁶. When the Great king, the Ruler of Laṅkā had tidings of this, he had all the inhabitants of

¹ The last human incarnation of the Bodhisatta; cf. Vessantarajūtsaka (Nr. 547; VI. 479 ff. in Pàlomàl’s edition).  
² All the accusatives in vv. 71-74 are governed by apesess, to those in v. 71 must be added the gerund nīvantayittvāna. The gifts, among them the golden image, are enumerated in the narrative quoted above (note to v. 50). The number of the theras with Upāli at their head, is however given as twenty-one, with eight sāmaṇerās in addition.  
³ Three in number according to the narrative.  
⁴ The subject nāṇa in 75 c is repeated with mahānāva in 76 d. The language in the whole section is extremely careless.  
⁵ P. gaṇghārē, used substantively and supplemented by samudde.  
⁶ I. e. Trincomalee.
the town of Sirivadāhana called together. In joyful faith the 78 Ruler of men celebrated a great feast. From the sea as far as superb Sirivadāhanapura he had the road put in order and 79 rest-houses\(^1\) erected at various places. Then the Ruler sent forth the Mahāsenāpati and other dignitaries and made them fetch 80 in the right order the golden image and the sacred books, the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great 81 pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached the vicinity of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā which comes down from 82 the Sumanakūṭa, the Ruler of the town Sirivadāhana, the Ruler 83 of men desirous of gaining the reward accruing from the festive reception of the three sacred objects\(^2\), the highly famed Great king intent on merit, went forth with the army in piety to meet 84 them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverence to the august Grand therā and to the others and at the same 85 time greeted the great community. Having exchanged with them in the best way possible the customary speeches of wel- come, he came with the three sacred objects at the head, to 86 his town. In the fair Pupphārāma\(^3\), in a graceful brick-roofed building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he made 87 the august community of monks take up their abode. Then he provided them in fitting manner with the necessaries and 88 charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter 89 sent by the King of Ayojjhā and he made the royal envoys who 90 had arrived and the other officials take up their abode in a fitting place and showed them all the distinction to which they were entitled. In the year two thousand two hundred and 91 ninety-six after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One\(^4\),

\(^1\) P. ārāme, thus buildings which were specially intended for the sojourn of the monks.

\(^2\) In the train of the envoys from Siam there were 1) a golden figure of the Buddha (Buddha), 2) sacred books (dhamma) and 3) the bhikkhus with Upāli at the head (sangha).

\(^3\) "Flower monastery" the now so-called Malvata-vihāra situated immediately on the lake of Kandy.

\(^4\) = 1752 A. D.
in the month Āsāḷha\(^1\) when it was full moon, the all-powerful Great king, dowered with vast royal power, betook himself to the monastery. He had seats carefully spread in the middle of the fine Uposatha house contained therein. Then he invited the Grand therā Upāli, dowered with the quality of a life led in moral discipline, experienced in all clever methods, who had his pleasure in the welfare of all beings, and second to him the Thera Āriyamuni\(^2\) together with the (rest of the) community and bade them be seated. Then with the celebration of a great festival the Ruler of men, the Ruler of Laṅkā, made these perform on the most distinguished of the sāmaṇeras of Laṅkā the ceremony of admission to the Order: From that time onwards he was wont to fetch hither sāmaṇeras and others who were versed in the linguistic textbooks on the sacred scriptures, and have performed on them the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the same way he sought out rightly all those who were worthy of the ceremony of world renunciation and of admission to the sublime Order of the Enlightened One and had the ceremony of world renunciation and of admission performed on them according to precept. Among the bhikkhu communities who thus had become numerous in Laṅkā, he again sought out those bhikkhus who were full of lasting zeal in preserving the study of the sacred scriptures and of the rules of monastic life and who were qualified for and worthy of the position of a teacher, and charged them to take instruction from the brethren of the Order who had come from Ayojñā. Now among those high principled bhikkhus who carried out the commands of the Victor, there was one who\(^3\) had long been at pains to make

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\(^1\) The month June-July.

\(^2\) In the narrative (p. 34) quoted above (note to v. 59) the Grand therā Āriyamuni is mentioned as second to Upāli.

\(^3\) All the relative sentences beginning with yo in vv. 102-107 refer to tāma in v. 107 c. This part of the long-winded sentence is but loosely connected with the preceding which ends with niyatiya. If we might alter niyatiya into niyatiyā and put a full stop after it, the construction of the sentence would be all right.
lustrous the Order of the Sage which for a long time had been on the verge of ruin in Lāṅkā, — who in accordance 103 with his insight, as far as possible untiringly, day and night, made lustrous the sacred scriptures of the Prince of the wise and his rules for monastic life — who also instructed as dis- 104 ciples many others in the sacred scriptures and the rules for monastic life and thus in worthy manner brought splendour to the Order, — who striving for his own salvation and that 105 of others, with the wish to obtain long continuance for the Order of the Sage, ever took pleasure in a pure life, — who 106 as regards virtue, discipline and devotion to duty was as a mirror for all the sons of the Victor in Lāṅkā who were intent on their salvation, — who during the time that he was a 107 sāmaṇera was called Sarāṇāṃkara: this son of the Victor living in pious discipline now that he had been admitted to the 108 Order, he (the King) invested with the dignity of a Saṃ- gharāja¹. Amongst the bhikkhus who had joined him, he sought out in both monasteries² such as were skilled and well versed in the carrying out of the duties of the Order of the 109 Master and assigned them positions of rank. Explaining to them: ye all who live out the doctrine of the Victor, should 110 act in harmony, day and night unweariedly, in accordance with the rule of the Order and according to the sacred scriptures, the Ruler showed them much favour and in this wise made 111 the Order lustrous so that it should continue for long in Lāṅkā.

The royal envoys too, arrived from the Sāminda country, 112 and the others sought out the King, handing over to him the royal letter and the other gifts. The Great king, the Ruler 113 of Lāṅkā, accepted everything, and after the Monarch had made a close inspection of the superb royal document he highly 114 pleased, had favours conferred on them. Now the Ruler who for his own good, the good of others and the good of the Order, had again and again performed meritorious works, who 115

¹ See above note to 99. 150 and to 100. 69.
² In the Malvata and the Asgiriya-vihāras in Kandy, which are the seats of the two mahānāyakas, the heads of the Church of Ceylon.
was devoted to the true doctrine, a light of the Order, greatly wise was wont to visit the monastery and to test in every way in the midst of the community, the means for long continuance of the Order. As he wished to make lustrous the Order, he invited in fitting manner the Grand therā Upāli and listened with believing heart from the Dīgha-Nikāya, the Samyutta-Nikāya, the Saddhammasamgaha and from various other books, the (sections on the) tenfold royal duties and the four heart-winning qualities. To faith awakened, of deep discernment, he thus learned to distinguish between what ought and what ought not to be done, between what is meritorious action and what is sin, what is blameworthy and what is not blameworthy, and he left undone all things which should not be done, which are sinful and blameworthy, and strove as best he could after the things which ought to be done and are not blameworthy. Almsgiving and other meritorious works he performed day by day, and after he had had the whole town decorated as formerly he full of reverence invited the dignitaries who had come from Ayojjhā and all the people of Laṅkā, the Grand therā (Upāli) with the other bhikkhus (from Sāminda) as well as the bhikkhus from Laṅkā, the sōmaṇeras and all the others, and celebrating as formerly with royal ornaments and all kinds of other sacrificial gifts a great festival he exhibited the Tooth Relic for the salvation, blessing and happiness of them all.

125 Since the royal envoys wished to do reverence to the Mahiyāṅgaṇa-cetiya and the other cetiya places, he sent them in the company of Laṅkā officials, to the various places, let them as they desired, perform their devotions and sent them home after showing them to the utmost befitting favours. In the same way giving them sacrificial articles and appointing officials (charged with their care), he enabled the bhikkhu community with Upāli at the head, to visit the sixteen sacred places\(^1\) in Laṅkā, Mahiyāṅgaṇa and so forth, as well as the

\(^1\) According to W. these were: 1) Mahiyāṅgaṇa, 2) Nāgadēpa, 3) Kalyāṇī, 4) Samantakāṣṭa, 5) Divāgūhā, 6) Dīghavāpi, 7) Mūtiyaṅgaṇa
cetiyas in Sirivāḍghana and other towns. Then he had sacred 129 boundaries fixed, and intent on the good of the bhikkhus, Uposatha houses and dwellings erected here and there. Devoted 130 in faith to the bhikkhu community he had in three years monasteries founded and made bhikkhu communities take up their abode in them. In the periods of the rainy season he 131 provided the fitting maintenance, listened to the sermon of the true doctrine and kept the uposatha fasts. When the 132 bhikkhus were presented with the various necessaries he gave them in addition to the otherwise customary robes, kāṭhina robes. In the course of these three years he had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed on seven hundred persons in the august community, and for three thousand sons of good families he caused the granting of the ceremony of world renunciation as sāmāneras for the good of mankind.

For the good of the world the King, the Ruler of men, 135 effected the furtherance of the Order: for that reason must all gracious Brahmās, Suras and Asuras grant the Monarch happiness and long life!

In the year that bears the name of Sākara the Ruler of 136 men Dhammika the sage, who had helped so much to further the Order in Lāṅkā, since he strove after the dignity of a Buddha, sent once more from the town Ayójjhā a group of 137


1 P. kārteya baddhasimāyo, lit. “he had fixed boundaries made”. The expression sīmaṃ bandhā is used for the fixing of the territorial boundaries of a monastery which was carried out with particular ceremonies (Mhvs. 16. 131 ff.; 78. 61 ff.).

2 P. antocassesu. That is the rainy period lasting three or four months which the bhikkhu along with his companions, must spend in a settled abode (in the monastery).

3 P. punārītesu. What is meant is the Pavāraṇā ceremony held at the end of the rainy season.

4 P. parivāraśāvārakā. Parivāra here has the sense of “ingredient accessories” (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

5 See note to 41. 48.
more than ten priests with two theras at the head — the Grand thera Visuddhācariya\(^1\), who was an abode for the virtue of a life lived in discipline, whose ornament were faith and the other virtues, who was a mine of virtue, and the capable, learned second thera Varaṇāgamuni — to Laṅkā for the furtherance of the Order in Laṅkā. When this community arrived the highly famed King of Laṅkā accompanied them as formerly with great honours into the town, made them take up their abode in the Pupphārāma and dispensed to them daily regular food and everything else as formerly.

After accumulating a store of merit the distinguished Thera Upāli who during these three years unweariedly day and night had done all that was to be done for the furtherance of the Order, was severely troubled by a disease of the nose which befell him. The Śihala Ruler had the best medical treatment given to the incomparable Grand thera (thus) seized by illness. Again and again the highly famed King went to the monastery, visited the Grand thera and when he learned, his heart deeply moved, that the disease was incurable he celebrated with sacrificial objects of every kind, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha and ascribed the merit of it\(^2\) to him (the Grand thera). When the Thera was dead the Ruler of men had the corpse with great ceremonial laid in a covering of fine stuff, had many sacrificial ceremonies performed, the corpse brought to the pyre and the prescribed rites carried out and thus accumulated merit.

The King was aware of how helpful the Ruler of men, Dhammika, the sovereign of the Sāminda country, had been in the furtherance of the Order of the King of the wise in Laṅkā, by twice sending a pious bhikkhu community and by bringing about the presence of many hundreds of bhikkhus, whereas formerly there had not been a single bhikkhu on the

\(^1\) As regards the word *mahāvisuddhācariyathero\(ś\)* we must I think, join the *mahā* with *thero\(ś\)* in order to get the counterpart to *anuthero\(ś\)* in 138 b.

\(^2\) For *pattidāna* see note to 42.50. In this case the *patti* is transferred to a dying man, not one already dead.
island of Lanka and by sending books of every kind which were lacking. He thought: "To a man like that who has given me so much help I will also pay in befitting manner fitting honours." He ordered ministers forth to whom he gave a model of the Tooth of the Sage fashioned out of a costly jewel and many varied gifts such as a likeness of the Victor, a shell curved towards the right\(^1\) and other things, and also a splendid, specially artistic royal letter, and sent with them the bhikkhu community who wished to return to their own country (Sāminda). With great reverence all the dignitaries received this and journeyed forth to the country of Sāminda. When they arrived\(^2\) there King Dhammika was joyful in heart. He gazed to his hearts content at the likeness of the Tooth of the Sage and at the rest, and full of joy as if he had (himself) received the Tooth of the Enlightened One, he celebrated day by day a great festival. Then when he heard and had taken note of the many words expressed in the royal letter: the transference\(^3\) of the merit of the furtherance of the Order and so forth, he put glad confidence in the King of Lanka. He gave over (to the envoys) many books which were not in Lanka, a beautiful likeness of the sacred footprint\(^4\), as sacrificial gifts for the Tooth of the Victor golden canopies and umbrellas and all kinds of beautiful and splendid presents, suitable for the royal use, as well as a royal letter in which expression was given to the share in all merits as his own admission to the Order\(^5\) and the like, wherein the

\(^1\) Such shells are very rare and precious. Their possessor is supposed to be exceedingly lucky. Shells of this kind are mentioned among the gifts exchanged between King Devanampiyatissa and King Asoka (Mhvs. 11. 22, 30).

\(^2\) The acc. pl. samāpatte is governed by apātesi in v. 163 c. Vv. 156-168 certainly form a most clumsy sentence.

\(^3\) This refers to what is related in v. 146.

\(^4\) Cf. with this the note to v. 254.

\(^5\) I assume that attāpasamāpadda means that Dhammika belonged himself, if only for a time, to the Order, as is customary even to-day in the royal family of Siam. With this he had acquired great merit a part of which was to accrue to Kittisirirūjasīha.
163 reasons for the friendly relations between the two kings found expression, and sent all that to fair, holy Lāṅkā.

164 All this the highly famed King of Lāṅkā accepted. When he beheld the books of the good doctrine and the gifts like the footprint of the Sage, he rejoiced greatly and paid great honour to the gifts. He celebrated a great festival and showed them to all the people. Then when he had looked at the royal letter and taken note of the many words expressed in it, such as the transference of merit and the like, also the friendly relations mentioned, the Ruler of the Śīhalas was filled with the highest bliss by satisfaction at the transferred merit. He thought: “The reward accruing from the meritorious works like furtherance of the Order I have experienced in this life, what shall one say of that which may be perfectly enjoyed in a future existence?” In this wise the Ruler believed firmly in the three sacred things. The Ruler of Lāṅkā betook himself to the monastery and heard the sermon of the true doctrine preached by the Grand theras who had arrived the second time. He charged those bhikkhus who had been admitted into the Order by the chapter of monks who had arrived first, to take instruction from the bhikkhu chapter at whose head Visuddhācariya stood, and had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed in proper fashion by those theras on numerous sons of good family.

173 Of the bhikkhus in Lāṅkā some whose ornament was their virtue, learned with the Grand Thera by name Visuddhācariya, absorption which is the way to nirvana; others learned with the second Thera Varāṇāśamuni the content of the doctrine and monastic rules, as well as linguistic knowledge. Thus the King pledged the bhikkhus of Lāṅkā to the study of the sacred scriptures and to the practice of moral discipline and so sheltered the Order of the Enlightened One. And the bhikkhus of Lāṅkā were zealous and discerning. Received into

1 P. pattānumodanena stands as is shown by the preceding verse, for patti-anumāna.

2 See above v. 136 ff.
the branch of those ascetics who are without wants, who have
taken upon themselves a life of discipline, unwearied, never
indolent, they made of the doctrine of the Victor a reality,
zealous by day and night, absorbed in difficult texts; and the
King showed them honour by the dispensing of dwellings and
the like. The chapter of bhikkhus which had come the second
179 time and wished to return to their own country he sent away
with Olanda merchants. On a firmly fixed rock situated on
180 a beautiful spot not too far to the east of the town of Siri-
vañc̣hahe he had hewn out by skilful workers, masons and
181 others a splendid standing image of the Victor nine cubits¹
high and he had the radiant, shining stone image overlaid
182 with gold plates so that it resembled the living Sage. Round
about this Buddha statue he had erected a lofty, massive,
beautiful stone wall and superb stone pillars placed and a
183 splendid, beautiful two-storeyed temple built fair to look at,
as well as a roomy court, outer walls, mañḍapas and so forth
185 set up in the best way. Then he put thereon canopies and
curtains of all kinds of coloured stuffs. Round about he placed
186 arches one after another and provided them in every way
with much ornament. Here and there he set up various flags
187 and pennons and on the day of the sacrificial festival of the
eyes² he lit a row of lamps, placed filled jars (about) and
188 carried out in blameless fashion the various customs prescribed
for festivals. To the people who supplied the coloured paint-
ings, he dispensed abundantly robes, ornaments and the like
and satisfied their wishes in every way. Then he made the
190 splendid loud clang of the musical instruments, like shell
trumpets, kettledrums and so forth resound, like the roar of
the wide sea, and under a good constellation, at a good hour,
191 on a good day determined as favourable he put in the eyes
and celebrated a great festival. Numerous silver bowls and
192 many silver vessels, costly necessaries and valuable monks'
193 robes, banners, white umbrellas, shields, fly-whisks and fans —
194 all these and other fair objects of sacrifice the Ruler offered,
mindful of the reward accruing from a sacrifice to the Buddha,
with the thought that it was as if it took place in the pre-
sence of the still living Prince of the wise, with a heart full
of the joy of faith, intent on merit. Many and manifold foods
196 also such as sweet di-hes, rice, solid dishes and others, sugar,
honey, betel, lime, camphor and so forth, also remedies and
197 perfumes of every kind like sandal¹ and the like, beautiful
flowers, like jasmine, campaka blossoms and others — all these
198 and other objects of sacrifice he offered in pious fashion. The
makers of the Buddha image and the other people he rejoiced
by an offering of many animate and inanimate things, elephants,
199 cattle, buffaloes and so forth. If one reckons the sums spent
in the making of the Buddha statue and the other offerings
200 on the occasion of this vihāra festival according to their
money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred
and fifty (kāhāpanas).
201 The large, beautiful vihāra, well worth seeing, which is
known as Gaṅgārāma because it was built on a fair spot near
202 the Mahāvālukagaṅgā was founded by the King under the
203 name of Rājamahāvihāra. This vihāra, thus superbly furnished
with glory and splendour, was also destroyed by the enemy²
204 who had penetrated into the town. The King had it in the
best way restored to its original condition, and just as he had
205 held a solemn ceremony at the former eye festival, so (now)
he held another eye festival. After the Ruler of men had
dispensed in great abundance to the painters and so forth
206 garments, ornaments and other articles and had sacrificed
with many sacrificial gifts, he erected near by a fair monastery

¹ I think sāragandha should be taken in this sense like the cor-
responding skr. word.

² Thus we learn here that all these festivities described in the fore-
going took place before the capture of Kandy by van Eek in 1765,
that on this occasion the Gaṅgārāma founded by the King, was also
destroyed, but as related in the following, restored after the destruction
of the Dutch expedition, when the change of name possibly took place
for the community and made a chapter of bhikkhus who devoted themselves with lasting zeal to the study and the fulfilment of moral duties, take up their abode there, providing them in every way with what was necessary. Then by holding in the way described formerly, full of reverence for the Triad of the jewels, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha, and at the same time sacrificing to the chapter of the bhikkhus, he increased the fulness of merit for himself and the laity.

Now in order that this beautiful fair vihāra, worthy to be seen, that was erected in this manner, and all the numerous sacrificial ceremonies inaugurated there and the many meritorious works such as the offerings to the community—should be continued for a long time in the right way, the Ruler determined a village situated near the vihāra by name Aruppala, and many other villages and fields, and gardens also, as well as the large, populous village by name Udakagama in the district of Māyadhana and granted them (to the monastery). And the King confirmed this in perpetuity by having an inscription graven on the beautiful mountain (in the stone).

In this way the King of kings dowered with splendid virtues, since he realised the worthlessness of acquired wealth, in his piety had sacrificial festivals celebrated for the Buddha and sacrificial festivals for the community of the excellent sons of the Victor and so performed perpetually all valuable, meritorious works. Therefore should ye all also perpetually perform without wearying, meritorious works.

In the fair, splendid suburb by name Kuṇḍasalu, the Ruler of men had erected in a charming garden a vihāra fair to look on, supplied in the best way possible with outer walls and maṇḍapas, and brought thither relics and images of the

1 Now Diyagama. Three villages of this name might be the one in question: 1) Diyagama in the Kalutara District, Vaddubadda; 2) Diyagama in the Magul Ototu Korale, Kurunegala; 3) Diyagama in Devaladahamuna Pattuwa, Kegalla (Census 1921, II, p. 48, 282, 314).

2 Lit. "the full value of meritorious action" (वार्यस in contrast to अवार्यस in a).
218 Sage. Then he dedicated (to the vihāra) the garden that was adorned with bread-fruit trees, mango trees, cocopalms and other fruit trees, as well as many fields and villages and people for the service of the monastery, and celebrated, intent on merit, day by day all sacrificial ceremonies, such as offerings of food and the like.

220 The wicked king known by the name of Rājasīha in the town of Sītāwaka who had committed parricide and destroyed the Order of the Victor, as he could not distinguish what it was right to do, had adopted a false faith, was devoted to the adherents of the false faith and ordered them to take for themselves the income accruing from the worship of the sacred footprint of the Enlightened One on the Sumanakīṭa. From that time onwards the adherents of the false faith destroyed everything there. When the highly famed Great king heard of these things he realised, reverently devoted to the Enlightened One, that this was unseemly. He commanded the adherents of the false faith from now onwards not to do so, and charged the sons of the Buddha to carry out in the right way the many sacrificial ceremonies which should be performed there. He dedicated the flourishing, populous, large village named Kuṭṭāpiṭi to the sacred footprint and to shield it from the heat of the sun, he erected above it a maṇḍapa with curtains, adorned with an umbrella on the point, fastened it with iron chains and accumulated much good by the celebration of sacrificial ceremonies. But the income accruing therefrom he assigned to the Order.

228 In this manner did our happy, sublime Sihala Ruler in the knowledge that what that deluded king had done, because he knew not the virtues of the sublime Sage — was unseemly, put away all the wrong and by entrusting the spotless bhikkhu community of the sublime sons of the Buddha therewith, he

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1 Cf. for this 93. 3 ff. especially v. 12. Line 220 a agrees in wording with the line 93. 8 a.

2 Note that in this strophe the word pāvara occurs in each of the four lines.
celebrated a ceremonial festival for the Buddha which granted sublime immortality.

The Majhavela-vihāra\(^1\) built by the ruler, King Vaṭṭa-229gāmaṇī, which had fallen into decay, and the cetiya belonging 230 to the vihāra he had rebuilt in the finest way and granted it the village called Siṅgatthala\(^2\) that had been long separated from it. Day by day he celebrated there in the right way a 231 sacrificial ceremony and so smoothed the road to heaven which he would have to tread in the future.

To the Dutiyasela-vihāra\(^3\) the Ruler of men granted the 232 village by name Ratanaḍōṇi\(^4\), having learnt from the record of a stone inscription that it had formerly belonged to it but 233 had been severed from it, and he the highly famed, intent on merit, celebrated a sacrificial festival.

For the restoration of the Majjhapalli-vihāra\(^5\) the Ruler 234 conferred distinction on the bhikkhu Saṅgharakkhita in pious fashion. He caused a great recumbent image (of the Buddha) 235 to be made and finally he had a great festival celebrated there and the festival of the eyes held. In order also to perform 236 the (customary) sacrificial ceremonies he dedicated the village called Mālāgāma\(^6\) (to the monastery) and had a sacrificial festival celebrated daily according to rule. To the sāmaṇera 237 called Siddhattha the Ruler granted the large Rajata-vihāra\(^7\) erected by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī when inspired\(^8\) by the wish 238

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6. The Census 1921, II, p. 398, 368 mentions a village Malagamūva and another Malgōmuva. Both are situated in the Kuruγegala District, the first in the Galboda Egoda Korale, the second in the Meṇanṭa Korale East. The latter seems to be meant here.

7. See note to 99. 41.

8. P. pattiketrā dyatena is a composite verb formed after the Sinhalese model (geṇenarā, geṇāvā).
for the august position of a chief disciple of Metteya\(^1\), the
King of the wise. After the Ruler of Laṅkā had caused the
ceremony of admission to the Order to be performed on him,
he granted this bhikkhu and all the sons of the Victor dwell-
ing in the Uposathārāma rank and showed them favour in
every way. Then in order to restore this vihāra which had
long been in the state of a ruined house, the Ruler of men
in Laṅkā assigned it divers artisans, painters and others, as
well as much fine gold wherewith to gild the Buddha images,
and all handiwork and so forth. That prince among ascetics
— Siddhattha — accepted all this and removed in the best
possible way everything that had been destroyed by age. He
had a lofty, massive stone wall and a fine plaster floor built
in the house, and outside a maṇḍapa, as well as (a picture)
the figure of the Buddha in combat with Māra above on the
rock face. Then when he had caused creeper work of flowers
to be applied in the best manner possible and had caused a
vast image of the recumbent Buddha to be fashioned out of
good bricks, lime and clay and also many sitting and standing
images of the Victor, he had represented in the best way
possible in painting on the beautiful inner wall, enlightened
ones like Muhuttamuni\(^2\), a thousand in number. And at the
foot of the vast statue of the recumbent Buddha he had placed
one after the other beautiful images, that of the Buddha's
constant servant and protector of the true doctrine\(^3\) — Ānanda,
that of the Bodhisatta Metteya, that of the sublime patron
deity (Viṣṇu), and that of King Gāmaṇī. He overlaid the five
great images of the Buddha with gold, and when he had thus
in every possible way finished the works which were to be

\(^1\) Metteya is the future Buddha. Each Buddha has two pre-eminent
disciples ascribed to him (aggasāvakā). Those of the historical Buddha
were Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

\(^2\) I do not know who is meant here. W. omits the name in his
translation.

\(^3\) Saddhammarakkhīno refers to Ānanda. It is he who according to
Vī. II. 287, was questioned as to the dhamma, by Mahākassapa at the
first Council.
made in the inside (of the shrine), he had poured also outside on the wall a series of glorious figures of gods and Brahma figures with flowers in their hands, which looked as if they had appeared for worship. Then too he caused a great, beautiful triumphal arch to be made, well worth seeing, further two lion figures on either side of the portal and in the empty interstices of the wall figures of demons. Also he had pictures poured in coloured painting of the sixteen holy places, Mahiyangawa and the others, further of the famous foot-print on the Saccabuddha mountain, of the ten pāramīs, of the three forms of (right) action, as well as of many jātakas in which subjects like the five great renunciations are treated of. In the mandapa he had all kinds of figures introduced, series of lions, series of elephants, series of geese and creeper work of flowers. In the delightful cave above in the same rock he built a vast image house, well worth seeing, splendid, beautiful with many sculptures fashioned to perfection and so forth. There he had a beautiful, vast, life-like sitting Buddha made — splendid was this figure and fair to look at — and on either side well fashioned, upright standing statues of the Bodhisattra Metteyya and of the lotus-hued god. He also caused many other figures to be set up: figures of sages, figures of many hundreds of the perfect, the four and twenty Buddhas, the

1 See note to 100. 128.
2 This is a sacred mountain in Siam, called Saccabandhana in the narrative (p. 31) mentioned above (Note to 100. 59). There was a foot-print of the Buddha on it which had come there miraculously. King Dhammika had sent a model of this footprint along with other gifts to the King of Laos.
3 See note to 37. 180.
4 P. tiidha cāriyā. The three forms are lokatthacariyā, kātaththa-cariyā and buddhacariyā "action for the advantage of the world, for the advantage of one's kinsfolk and for one's (own) enlightenment." See DhCo. III. 44110.
5 P. pañcamaññapāriccāga. The surrender of the five precious possessions, the wife, the children, the royal dignity, life, limbs. DhCo. l.c. Curlessa, PD. a. v. pāriccāga.
6 See note to 83. 49.
7 P. asokkha "he who no longer undergoes training", synonymous with arahant.
whole of the Bodhi trees in the same number, the four and twenty intimations¹, the sixteen holy places, fair forms of spiritual beings and others, the five great Councils² and yet divers other beautiful pictures well worth seeing. Then he brought thither relics of the Sage and had a cetiya erected, adorned with a golden finial. In the image house itself he had placed on the lofty vaulted³ ceiling a sitting figure of the Sage surrounded by his five hundred followers, Sāriputta at the head. In the court he had walls and maṇḍapas erected at different places, as well as several gate-buildings and here and there stairs and other fine buildings, partly the restoration of much that had suffered by age, partly also many new (buildings).

All these fine structures the King dedicated (to the monastery) at the festival of the eyes by dignitaries whom he had sent⁴, and in addition clothing, ornaments and much else. He had rows of various triumphal arches without gaps put up, placed on them the necessary ornament, gave orders for the sacred ceremonies and while celebrating in worthy fashion a great rite, he carried out the festival of the eyes under a lucky star and at a favourable hour.

¹ Each of the 24 Buddhas who according to the legend, precede the historical Buddha — they are enumerated Mhvs. 1. 5 ff. — has his special sacred tree under which he attains enlightenment. To each in a former existence on a particular occasion, a Buddha gives the intimation (cākāraya) that he too shall in time attain the dignity of a Buddha.
² The Mahāvamsa 3, 4 and 5. 268 ff. gives an account of the three first Councils (dhammasaṅgīti) in Rājagaha, Vesālī and Pāṭaliputta. Of the two other Councils the one is the Church reform under Parakkamabāhu I (Mhvs. 78. 1 ff), the other perhaps that under Parakkamabāhu II (Mhvs. 84. 7 ff.). We get an idea of what the representation of such a council might have looked like from a fresco from Qysil near Kutscha (Central Asia) the subject of which is the first Council. See A. von Le Coq and E. Waldehun, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien VI. p. 79 und Tafel 14.
³ P. udākhaṇa pabbārā-muttame. Very likely a picture on the ceiling.
⁴ The construction of the sentence is quite irregular. It seems to me, however, that pesite ‘sacces is acc. pl. which like the preceding accusatives is made to depend on datvāna.
From that time onwards there came hither many inhabitants of the whole kingdom from all quarters, like the 271 sea when it overflows the land. When all the people who had gathered there beheld the many golden and other works of art which had been carried out, there their hearts were filled with joy, as if they saw the Enlightened One at the miracle of the double appearances\(^1\). In joyful and high spirits they celebrated amid cries of Hail! a great festival and thus paved their way to Heaven. At that festival he invited the 274 bhikkhu community of the vihāra, had seats prepared in the inner room of the vihāra, made bhikkhus who were preachers of the true doctrine sit down thereon, and had the Mahāmaṅgalasutta\(^2\) and other sacred texts worth hearing recited by them and thus celebrated in worthy manner a sacrificial festival of the doctrine\(^3\). All the people who saw and heard this, in that they at one and the same time beheld the Enlightened One\(^4\) and heard the true doctrine, were filled 278 daily in every possible way with the highest joy and ecstasy, as if by a sermon of the living Sage. Thus he made manifest both: the beauty of his form and the charm of his sermon.

Outside in the court he placed pillars of stone, erected a mandapa, spread seats therein and after establishing the great 280 multitudes gathered round the mandapa in the five major and other commandments relating to moral discipline, he made them listen daily to abundant texts. Full of reverence he also invited the preachers of the doctrine to preach the doctrine repeatedly during the three watches of the night.

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1 The *yamakāyu paṭīheraṃ* is often mentioned, as is the case in the ancient Mahāvamsa (See my translation, note to 17. 44; cf. DhCo. III, p. 199 ff.; Samantapāsādikā, ed. TAKAKUSI I, p. 88 ff.).

2 In the Suttanipāta, Cūlavagga, Sutta 4 (ed. by DINES ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH, p. 46).

3 *P. dharmapijāṭa*. The *dharmāṇa* itself is the *pajācatthu*, the "object of sacrifice", because the sacred texts are recited.

4 I. e. the images of the Buddha in the Rajata-vihāra.

5 The subject from vv. 274 onwards is throughout the King. W. quite unnecessarily takes Siddhattha (see v. 238) as the subject of *nimantīya* in 281 b.
In the year two thousand three hundred and one after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One he had the vihāra called Rajata restored and the great festival celebrated. He then thought of repairing the splendid cetiya erected on a clear, fine large slab of rock to the south of the vihāra but which was so dilapidated that it resembled a heap of dust. Therefore he had fetched from all quarters lime, bricks, stones and so forth. Hereupon he had a fine, square throne built of stone in the best possible manner whereon he placed a relic of the sublime Enlightened One. At the restoration of the cetiya, he erected on a neighbouring, particularly beautiful piece of land for the community whom he invited thither in fitting manner for the purpose, setting up a marked out boundary, a monastery with an Uposatha house and other (buildings) provided with a brick roof and so forth. On the land round about he laid out beautifully a large park adorned with divers blossoming trees, with divers blossoming creepers, with divers fruit trees and the like, and where there were many bathing-ponds. And full of zeal as he was, he piously made the sons of the Victor dwell there and devote themselves to study and religious exercises.

In such wise was the place restored by royal power, visited (in days of yore) by great saints and honoured by the former rulers of Lānkapā. When the highly famed King heard thereof he fixed the boundary of the vihāra solemnly in the same way (as before), performed there all the solemn ceremonies, arranged in still more abundant measure (than before) for an almsgiving to the community and the like and laid up a store of merit. Near the Dohala mountain adorned with rows of trees like pūga, punnāga, nāga and others, resounding with the sweet twitter of all kinds of birds, provided with cool, spotless white stone slabs, enlivened with herds of divers animals, there was in the fair monastery situated there

1 I. e. 1757 A.D.
2 Mentioned in 44. 56. See note to the passage.
3 For the tree names cf. 73. 98, 74. 204, 79. 3.
which bore the name of Sūkara¹, an image house of the Victor, erected by a dignitary who was charged therewith by the King. There the councillor Suvāṇagāma setting up 296 stone pillars, built an Upadhatu house and dedicated it to the sons of the Sage. He also had supplies of wood collected 297 for pillars and the like and numerous dwellings built there. To the bhikkhus to whom dwellings had been assigned there, 298 the Lord of men devoted many villages, fields and so on for the provision of what was necessary. After that Ruler of men 299 had caused all this to be brought about be-kindly dedicated it to that prince of ascetics, Dhammarakkhita.

After the Ruler of men had in such wise stored up divers 300 kinds of merit he passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign from this world thither in accordance with his deeds.

When one reflects on the worthlessness of wealth and of the 301 life of the flesh one utterly rejects the yearning thereafter. Ye also, revering the Triad of the sacred things, ought to perform good works such as spiritual exertions and the like².

Here ends the hundredth chapter, called «The History of Kittisirirājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The Col. Ed. reads sūkaravatunāmāhi instead of the sūkaravagunāmāhi of my MSS. W. gives Varuvaja as the modern name of the monastery.

² The whole of the hundredth chapter has the character of a supplement to chapter 99 and treats especially of the services of the King to the Church. It repeatedly alludes to events which have been touched upon in the foregoing (cf. 98. 91 with the note to 100. 59, also the note to 100. 203). I have already pointed out (note to 99. 53) that Thibbotuvahe’s contribution to the Cālavamsa (see note to 99. 76) which deals with the reign of Kittisirirajāsaīha is composed in praise of this king and completed during his lifetime. This is the case too with the greater part of the hundredth chapter. Here too in v. 228 we meet with the expression auhākaeśa Sīhālīndo and the benediction in v. 185 sounds as if it were addressed to a living person. At the end however Kittisiri’s death is mentioned. The last part of the hundredth chapter must thus have been added later, whether by Thibbotuvahe himself or by another author. The break cannot be fixed with certainty, it might possibly be at v. 228.
CHAPTER CI

SUPPLEMENT

1 On his death, his younger brother Sirivājādirājaśīha received consecration as king in Lalāka. After attaining his consecration as king, he devoted himself with pious joy to the Triad of the Jewels, zealous in listening to the true doctrine, unwearied, discerning. The Ruler of men continued, as formerly without abatement that furtherance of the laity and the Order which his brother had carried out. The highly famed offered meat and drink and so on as before to the sublime Tooth Relic without depriving it of anything. He commanded that the regular almsgiving which had been established for the sons of the Victor should be given to them in the order introduced by the (former) king. The bhikkhus who with the Thera Upāli at their head had arrived from Sāminda, came to the town of Sirivadjana. Here those bhikkhus who had come from there, with the Thera Upāli at their head, established a sacred boundary to the south of the town in the so-called Kusumārāma, according to the ānattidutiya process. When he saw

1 Chapter 101 of the Mbva. has been composed and added to their edition of the chronicle (1877) by H. Sumangala and Bawantudawa. See Malalasekera, Pali Literature, p. 142. No MS. however of those which I could examine, reaches beyond v. 292 of ch. 100, and I do not know on which authority the vv. 100. 293—301 are based.

2 Reigned 1780-1798 (cf. v. 18). It was during the reign of Rājādirājaśīha that the capitulation of Colombo took place (15th Feb., 1796) and with that the passing of the dominion from the Dutch to the British. Cf. Puchis 8, p. 142 ff.; Coningsby, HC., p. 188 ff.

3 Synonym for Pupphārāma 100, 86, 141, now the Malvatu-vihāra.

4 This is a particular form of a saṅghakamma or ecclesiastical act. See Vin II. 89 and 91 (= Cullav. 4. 14 2 and 11).
that the Uposatha house built formerly by King Kittisiri, was
decayed, the Ruler of men who was intent on merit, first of 9
all raised the ground on all sides and then by the adding of 10
still more stones he put up the walls inside the boundary.
He put up stone pillars and so built the Uposatha house 11
which the Ruler made over\footnote{1} to the community from the four
regions of the heavens.

The King was acquainted with various literary works, works 12
in Pāli and Sanskrit, he rejoiced in the continuous giving of
alms, was in form like the god of love\footnote{2}. As expert in the 13
text books relating to language he made a poem in the Sihala
tongue out of the Asadismjātaka\footnote{3} and had it written down.
With a heart full of faith he reverenced\footnote{4} the Toth Relic in 14
faith with a hundred thousand lamps which he had lit in a
single night. Hearing of the great merits of a kāthina offer-
ing over all gifts of alms, he every year presented kāthina\footnote{5}
robes to the community. He had an image of the Aṅgirasa\footnote{6}
made in bronze in the proportions of the King and since he
strove after the dignity of a Buddha, he erected in the 17
monastery called Gaṅgārāma which was held to be pious, a
graceful cetiya well worth seeing.

\footnote{1}{The description of the building is obscure. V. 9 seems to refer
to the securing of the whole base, v. 10 to the laying down of a walled
terrace and v. 11 a b to the building of the house itself.}

\footnote{2}{P. makaraddhāja = skr. makaradvṛtra "whose badge is the makara,
the dolphin".}

\footnote{3}{Jātaka nr. 181 in Faussb. II. p. 86 ff.}

\footnote{4}{I believe that here we should read saṃwānesi instead of samānesi
as the meaning of the latter can hardly be harmonized with dāthā-
dhātu. The instr. dīpasususabhassena would also not fall within
the construction of the sentence. We must, it is true, put up with a slight
disturbance of the metre, when reading saṃvuṇāvesi.

\footnote{5}{See note to 44. 48.}

\footnote{6}{Aṅgirasa in the Rigveda is the designation of "beings half gods
half men who act as intermediaries between the two, as sons of Heaven,
as ancestors of men, as those who impart to mankind the gifts of the
gods" (Grässmann). The expression aṅgirasa is already used of Buddha,
Thorang. 1252 (quoted S. I. 196). Cf. also A. III, 233\footnote{22}; Jā. V. 141\footnote{1}.}
18 After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in accordance with his deeds.
19 The sister's son of Rājādhirājasīha, the Lord of men, Sirivikkamarājasīha\(^1\), the discerning ruler of the country hearkened to the doctrine preached by the Victor. The Ruler found pleasure therein and sacrificed to the sacred Tooth Relic jewels, pearls and other (valuables) and many villages and fields. To the community whose head is the Buddha, he dispensed often delicious foods and so strove after eternal happiness. These and other merits the Ruler accumulated.
23 But as he indulged in intercourse with impious people he changed (for the worse). He had the chief counsellors, the great dignitaries and many other officials gathered together and destroyed his subjects like a devil. He had the people, many hundreds in number, brought to different spots and had them impaled, merciless as death. Much wealth that had come to the people by inheritance, the King had confiscated like a thief that robs villages. And because the Ruler committed in this way many evil deeds the Sihalas and the inhabitants of the town of Colombo\(^2\) rebelled. They all came hither, captured the criminal king alive when the eighteenth year after his consecration had passed, and brought him to the opposite coast\(^3\). After they had brought the King, the torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingiriṣi by name seized the whole kingdom.

End of the Mahāvamsa

May there be prosperity!

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\(^1\) Reigned 1798-1815. For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see Coomaraswamy, HC, p. 155 ff., where also on p. 169 ff., 182 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject.

\(^2\) This means the British.

\(^3\) I. e. To the Indian mainland.
Genealogical Tables

A The Oldest Part of the Mahāvamsa

I

From Vijaya to Asela

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sihabāhu</th>
<th>Sumitta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vijaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abhaya</td>
<td>Ummādacittē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and 9 brothers)</td>
<td>□ Dīghagāmaṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Paṇḍukūbhaya</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Muṭasiva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asela's predecessors are the Damila usurpers Sena and Guttika (11, 12), his successor is Eliya (14).
His descent and his successors

Dutthagamani

II
III

From Mahācūli Mahātissa to Yasalālakatissa

16. Saddhatissa


26. Mahācūli Mahātissa 27. Coranāga
  × Anulā


31. Bhātikābhaya 32. Mahūdūṭhikamahānāga

33. Āmaṇḍagāmanī 34. Kapirajānatisa

35. Cullābhaya 36. Sīvalī daughter

37. Īlanāga

38. Cundamukhasīva 39. Yasalālakatissa

The successors of Tissa (27) are the paramours of Queen Anulā 1. Sīva, 2. Vatuka, 3. Dūrubbhatakatissa, 4. Nilliya and Anulā herself (29). — Yasalālakatissa’s successor is the usurper Subkarāja (40).
IV

From Vasabha to Mahāsena

1.

41. Vasabha, a Lambākaṇṭha
   42. Vaṅkanūsikatissa
   43. Gajabāhukagāmanī

2.

44. Mahāllaṇāga
   father-in-law of 43

45. Bhūtikatissa  46. Kaniṭṭhatissa

47. Khujjanāga  48. Kuṇcanāga

3.

49. Sirināga I.
   brother of the consort of 48

50. Vehārikatissa  51. Abhayanāga

52. Sirināga II.

53. Vijayakumāra

4.

54. Samghatissa, a Lambākaṇṭha
55. Sirisamghabodhi,
56. Goṭhābhaya,

57. Jeṭṭhatissa  58. Mahāsena
### B The Oldest Part of the Cūlavamsa


### C The Later Parts of the Cūlavamsa

#### I

**From Kittinissāṅka to Coḷagaṅga**

Kālinga Prince

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Kittinissāṅka</td>
<td>83. Vikkamabāhu III. daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Virabāhu I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Vikkamabāhu III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Coḷagaṅga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nissāṅkamalla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### II

**From Vijayabāhu III. to Parakkamabāhu IV.**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Relation</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Vijayabāhu III</td>
<td>94. Parakkamabāhu II. daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Parakkamabāhu II</td>
<td>95. Vijayabāhu IV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Vijayabāhu IV</td>
<td>96. Bhuvanekekabāhu I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Bhuvanekekabāhu I</td>
<td>97. Parakkamabāhu III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Parakkamabāhu III</td>
<td>98. Bhuvanekekabāhu II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Bhuvanekekabāhu II</td>
<td>99. Parakkamabāhu IV.</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>Parakkamabāhu IV</td>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>81. 63</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>90. 49</td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td>90. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td>90. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td>Virabāhu 83.41, 87.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II. are Titokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 16 f.)
III
The family of Alagakkonāra

A

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Alagakkonāra} & \quad \text{Arthanāyaka} & \text{daughter} \\
= \text{Alakeśvara} & \quad & \\
\text{91. 3} & \quad & \\
\text{Kumāra} & \quad \text{Alakeśvara} & \\
& \quad \text{Vira Alakeśvara} & \text{ViraBahu} \\
& \quad (\text{Vijayabahu VI.}) & = 106. \text{ViraBahu II.} \\
& \quad \text{cf. 91. 14 note} & \quad \text{91. 13}
\end{align*}\]

IV
From Parakkamabāhu VIII. to Rājasīha I.

111. Parakkamabāhu VIII. 
(Parakkamabāhu IX.)
112. Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.)

113. Bhuvanesabāhu VII. 
Rājasīha
= Rayigam baṇḍāra

daughter
(Dharmapūla)

115. Māyādhana

116. Rājasīha I.

V
From Vimaladhammasuriya I. to Narindasīha

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Virasundam} & \quad \text{brother} \\
117. \text{Vimaladhammasuriya I.} & \quad \text{118. Senāratana} \\
\text{Kumārasīha} & \quad \text{Vijitapūla} \\
96. 22 & \quad \text{95. 22} \\
\text{119. Rājasīha II.} \\
96. 23, 96. 3 & \quad \text{120. Vimaladhammasuriya II.} \\
\text{121. Narindasīha} & \quad \text{97. 23}
\end{align*}\]

VI
From Vijayarājasīha to Vikkamarājasīha

122. Vijayarājasīha 
brother-in-law of 121
123. Kittisirirājasīha 
brother-in-law of 122

124. Rājadhīrājasīha 
Sister of 124
brother of 123

125. Vikkamarājasīha
Indices


I. List of words

| akkhanavadhīn 72. 245 | arahant (M. tr. p. 292) 1. 14 |
| akkhamaḷā 46. 17; 57. 6 | āgāmiya 44. 148 |
| akkhi “axle” 38. 94 | ājira 35. 3 |
| agati 37. 108; 99. 73, 104 | ādi (in proper names) 44. 6, 122; 46. 1; 48. 50; 91. 2; 98. 2 |
| aggikapalla 60. 70 | ādipāda 58. 13 |
| añña — saka 47. 10, 14 | āyubbeda 73. 42 |
| atṭhamulavīhārā 61. 59 | āramika 37. 63 |
| atṭhāyatanānī 84. 4, 18 | ālinda 35. 3 |
| uḍhāyoga 88. 93, 118 | ālambara 69. 20 |
| adhikārin 66. 66; 70. 278 | āvaraṇa 79. (27,) 69 |
| anālaya 42. 42; 46. 4 | āvudha 99. 45 |
| anuuyyāna 68. 58 | iti (in the oratio recta) 37. 114; 44. 16, 90; 45. 20; 48. 30, 116; 74. 64; 77. 99; 94. 23 |
| anussati 98. 14 | itthāgāra 59. 33 |
| annapāsana 62. 53 | iriyāpatha 3. 25 |
| antaraṅgadhura 69. 32 | udakukkhapesāmā 89. 70; 94. 17; 97. 12 |
upacāra 60. 82
upanayana 64. 13
upanissaya 5. 45, 172
upasampaṭṭi 84. 42; 89. 50
upāya 66. 143
upaṅga (the four) 58. 3
upaśana 24. 1; 51. 100
uposatha (M. tr. p. 296) 37. 201
ubbhāhikā 4. 46 f.

eka- 61. 13
ekatthabhakhapāsāda 73. 92
elakatthambha 60. 11

odakantiika 72. 238

kaṅkuṭṭhaka 32. 6
kaṅcuka 48. 140
kaṇṇavedha 62. 53
kaṭamaṅgala 35. 111
kapparukkha 51. 124
kappiyakāraka 37. 173
kaṁgata 69. 30
kaḷanda 37. 204
kaṭāka 35. 25
kiṅkinijāla 73. 68
kumbhaṇḍaka 12. 20
kulambana 36. 26
kusalodaya 71. 24
kuṭṭgāra 73. 62
ketu 85. 100
koṭiṣa 88. 109
koṭṭhaka 1. 56
koṭṭhabaddhanijjhara 79. 28

khaggalātā 72. 102
khaṇḍa 66. 108

khandhāvāra 73. 57
khīṇāsava (M. tr. p. 292) 3. 9

gana 51. 52; 74. 48
ganāsamganiṅkā 60. 17
gati 37. 51; 72. 286
gantha 97. 56
gandhābhi 74. 216
gabhāparihāra 62. 36
gamiyaḥbatta 51. 61
garubhaṇḍāni 84. 39; 85. 105
gavuta 65. 4; 73. 157
girigeti 79. 24
guṇa (the five) 26. 26
gokaṇṇa 70. 36
gopaṇa 60. 12

cakkhumana 81. 26
canda 72. 252
caturaṅgin 70. 217
catussāla 73. 23
cumbata 24. 31
celukkhepa 72. 288
corayuddha 75. 135

chidda 66. 63

jaṭila 1. 16
jara 99. 176
jutakamma 62. 45
jalaḥkavata 78. 40
jetṭṭhāpacāyaka 41. 9

tapassin, tapovana 41. 99
tādin 15. 62
tālāvacara 17. 7
tikkaggapada 66. 87
ticivara 41. 29
tilaka 87. 67
tivanka 78. 39; 85. 66
tulāyaṣṭhi 88. 97

thūpiķa 76. 105, 118

dāṇḍissara 52. 3; 53. 30; 60. 22
dūrīkaroti 85. 44
dedeṭhubha 37. 1:32
donī 76. 91
dosā (the five) 26. 26

dhanajāta 58. 8
dhammakamma 39. 57
dhammadāna 98. 77; 99. 15
dhammadāhu 41. 37
dhammapābhata 84. 14
dhammasampgaha, -samgīti 3. 17; 4. 63
dhātuka 57. 69
dhātugābbha 60. 56; 68. 28

nandana 63. 38; 73. 29
nandin 85. 50
nājāvāra 76. 94
nādu 76. 261–2
nāmakaraṇa 62. 52
nāyaka 62. 56
nikkhala 76. 18
niggatika 74. 22
nijavādabhita 67. 90
nijjhara 79. 28, 66
nitṭhītite 90. 52, 58
nidāna 37. 133
nibandha 90. 21
niyatti 48. 108

niyojeti 72. 207; 77. 59, 82
nirodha 35. 104
nissenigama 39. 3
nītā 67. 96
nettika 60. 11

pakatatta 78. 25
paccayā (the four) 37. 76
pacekahaththin 72. 248; 76. 244
pañcapatiṭṭhitaṅga 98. 50; 100. 29
pañcacakamma 5. 264
paṭipatti 20. 30
paṭiyatta 78. 35
paṭivedha 20. 30
paṭāḷ 79. 27
paṭikata 72. 91
paṇḍupalāsa 45. 5
pattanikkujjana 45. 31
patti 42. 50; 44. 109; 52. 69;
73. 47; 100. 146, 159
patthāṇḍila 60. 3
padakkhiṇaṃ karoti 37. 196
parikkhāra (the eight) 60. 71
pariccheda 42. 39
paribhoga 51. 20
parivattana 73. 71
parivena 37. 63 (M. tr. p. 294 is misleading)
parisā (the four) 70. 106
pavivita 73. 116
pavivekin 71. 27
paveṇigama 60. 75
pākasāsana 72. 186
pāṭava 72. 103
pāṭihāriyapakkha 37. 202
pādajīla 38. 64; 52. 65; 53. 50
pādamūlaka 66. 66
pāpurattharaññī 54. 24
pāpena (pāpakammena) 52. 77; 53. 8, 40
pāmaṅga 11. 28
pāramitā (the ten) 37. 180
pāsāda 37. 59; 72. 244
piṭṭhito karoti 70. 314
piṭṭhipāsāna 68. 27
piṭṭhasappin 49. 19
piti (five kinds of) 81. 24
puṇṭakiriyā (the ten) 37. 180
puṇṇodaya 37. 139; 53. 23
pupphādhāna 30. 51
pubba (= ādi) 73. 122
pubbakāra 64. 15
puratthā 38. 110
pessiya 67. 58; 84. 5
pharati 72. 251
balipaṭṭa 57. 7
bāhuja 59. 12
bodhikoṭṭhaka 79. 72
bodhighara 38. 43
bhatti 74. 243; 85. 33; 93. 9
bhaya 74. 49
bhava 4. 66
bhavavibhava 91. 19.
bhājana 44. 70; 84. 16.
bhāṇavāra 98. 24
bhāṇubandhu 85. 101
bhāva 66. 39, 42
bhūmi 64. 41
makara 73. 92
maṅgaliññī (the eight) 27. 37
maṇḍapa 37. 103
marumba 29. 8
mahacca 74. 225
mahārakkha 72. 11
mātukā 57. 28
mukha 70. 156, 217
mukha 50. 53
mukhabhaṅga 63. 30
muttacāgin 60. 81
muddhavedi 32. 5
muhum 89. 60
mūla 74. 1
mūlaghaccaṃ 58. 56
medavaṇṇapāsāna 1. 39
yatṭhimaṇḍhukā 32. 46
yathācārāmp 60. 1
yavana 76. 264
yogga 42. 8; 44. 84; 70. 207; 95. 12
yojana 38. 68; cf. C.I tr. p. 349
raṅgabhūmi 31. 82
raṅgamaṇḍala 85. 42
raṭṭha 57. 71
ratanavāluka 76. 104
randha 70. 212
rasa 72. 94
rājadhammā (the ten) 37. 107
rājapābhata 84. 14
rājavibhavaṅga 73. 91
rājini 50. 58
rāyara 76. 94
lava 73.79
lājapāṇcamaka 98.46
līna 78.13
lekha 49.21

vaṭamsa 11.28
vaḍḍhīta 67.52
vaḍḍhēti 50.66
vattakāraka 98.27
vattati 54.59
vaḷabhi 88.97
vasavattin 86.9
vassahāra 23.71
vāṭaroga 56.5
vāṭābādha 37.141
vāripāta 48.148; 68.35; (79.66, 67)
vāsetī 74.218
vāha 68.30
vāhana 74.225
vāhīnī 72.255, 295
viśumbhati 90.71
viṭānka 88.97
vidhvānita 67.96
vibhutta 71.24
vimāna 72.323; 73.107
vilivakāraka 88.105
visodhēti 88.53
vedāṅga 62.33
vedikā 27.16; 73.88; 76.117.
   Cf. M. tr. p. 296
vessa 76.264
vopanānika 67.45
vyādha 69.20

samprambha 72.18
samkhata, saṃkhāra 4.66

samāpya 89.4
samgha 91.27
samghavattīṇi (the four) 37.108; (41.56)
saccakirīyā 18.39; 25.16;
   (51.56); 70.209; 82.16
satthavaṭṭi 37.150
satthāgama 67.88
sanāthikata 73.67
santi 73.71; 85.50
sampdhīheda 70.168
sannīra 39.16; 74.204
samaṇi 59.21
samatāha with gen. 48.20
samavutti 42.3
samāpatti 5.123
samaṇi 72.9
saraṇa 1.32, 62
sahavāḍḍhīta 67.52
sahodha 23.11; 35.11
saḍhukāra 74.223; 85.48
sāpadānap 37.203
sābhimata 61.50
sāmaṇera 39.48
sāragandha 100.196
sāhicca 82.3
sikhāmaha 63.5
sivikāsotthisāla 10.102
su before a finite verb 50.27
sugaṇṭhika 49.34
sudhākara 84.44
sūri 60.19
sekha 3.24
sogata 76.11; 83.37
souda 85.33
sotāpatti, -panna 1.31; (12.21)
II. Names of Persons

Ajātasattu and successors 4. 1 ff.
Alagakkonāra 91. 3, 9 N.
Ajattāru 76. 180 N., 184, 214
Asoka (Dhammāsoka) 5. 19 ff.,
11. 18; 38. 44 &c.
Āriyamuni 100. 95
Udaya I. 49. 1, 45
Upāli 100. 71, 94, 117, 142
Okkāka 2. 11 ff., 45. 38; 80. 32;
87. 34
Kālāsoka 4. 31, 63; 5. 14
Kūṭṭhaka 51. 88
Kumāradās(a and Kālidās) 41. 1
Kulasekhara 76. 76, 80 N. —
90. 47
Kuvaṇṇā 7. 11 ff.
Koṭalla 64. 3; 70. 56
Gokānta 63. 34; 66. 35
Candavajji 5. 120 ff.
Cūnakka 5. 16; 64. 45
Cittā 9. 1, 13 ff.
Colakkonāra 76. 145, 173, 180 N.,
181
Tondriya 76. 180 N., 181
Dāsaka 5. 105 ff.
Dīghasanda(na) 15. 212; 38. 16
Duyyodhana 64. 43
Dussanta 64. 44
Dhammakitti 84. 11
Dhammāsoka see Asoka

Dhammika 100. 66, 136 &c.
Nandā 5. 15 ff.; 64. 45
Narasiha 47. 4, 7 N.
Nālā 50. 9
Nigrodha 5. 37 ff.
Patañjali 37. 217
Panāda see Mahāpanāda
Parakrama camunātha 80. 49,
52
Bimbisāra 2. 25 ff.
Buddhaghoṣa 37. 215 ff., 224
Bhaddai 31. 7 ff.
Mandhātar 2. 2; 37. 53; 81. 28
Mahākassapa 3. 4; 5. 1; 78. 6
Mahādhammakathin 37. 175
Mahānāma 39. 42
Mahāpanāda 2. 4; 31. 8; 37.
62; 51. 9
Mahāsaṃmata 2. 1, 23; 47. 2;
99. 77
Māna, Mānavamma 57. 4, 14, 25
Moggaliputta 5. 95 ff.; 78. 6
Rāma 64. 42; 68. 20; 73. 137;
75. 59; 88. 46; 88. 69
Rāvana 64. 42; 75. 59
Vajirragga, Viduragga 51. 105;
53. 46
Varanāsamuni 100. 138, 174
Visuddhācariya 100. 137, 171,
173
III. List of Passages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
181, 208, 289, 290, 292, 321.— 71. 10, 13-5, 32.— 72. 18, 28, 48, 58, 80, 91, 95, 101-2, 104, 106-7, 113, 122-8, 139, 140, 141-7, 152, 188, 205-14, 209, 211, 227-8, 236, 258, 318.— 73. 2-10, 12-22, 41, 57, 74-81, 95-112, 111, 124-35, 133.— 74. 22-35, 26, 55-66, 56, 64, 72-8, 79, 80, 82, 83, 96, 100, 105, 107, 129, 140, 142, 150, 165, 173, 178, 198-227, 199, 225, 228-31, 240.— 75. 19, 85, 88, 97, 120, 134-5, 143, 156, 179-82.— 76. 3, 8, 12, 18-9, 29, 31, 40, 55, 70-2, 87, 90, 98, 100, 112, 124, 130, 186, 192, 208-19, 212.— 77. 20-4, 52, 58, 84-5, 97.— 78. 2-4, 13, 52-4, 60, 62, 102.— 79. 27.— 80. 15, 33, 39.— 81. 2, 6, 19, 22, 26.— 82. 21, 33, 47.— 83. 4, 5-7, 8-9, 15-21, 33-4, 40.— 84. 14, 15, 38, 40.— 85. 1, 3-10, 4, 38, 42-51, 45, 82.— 86. 17, 22.— 87. 4, 19, 37, 39, 46, 50.— 88. 11, 86, 100.— 89. 4, 16-38, 20, 47-56, 68.— 90. 43, 46, 63, 68, 92, 104, 109.— 91. 9, 25, 27.— 92. 23-6.— 94. 23.— 95. 4, 14.— 96. 5, 19-20.— 97. 29.— 98. 14, 24, 26, 47-8, 61, 69, 73.— 99. 6-11, 11, 16, 43, 45, 46, 53, 55, 56, 60, 63, 104, 113, 163, 171, 175, 181.— 100. 1, 35, 48, 52, 71-4, 75, 102-7, 129, 137, 157, 162, 167, 215, 248, 268, 281, 295.— 101. 14.

IV. The Chronicle

1) Composition (Cf. C. ed. I, p. I ff.): 37. 51; 38. 59.— 79. 84.— 90. 102; 99. 76 ff.— the author of the last portion contemporary with Kittisirirājasīha 99. 53, 133, 163; 100. 228.— — 2) Sources: Different sources: 7. 43-5 and 9. 9-11; 78. 12 ff. and 78. 6 ff.— a new source? (the Rohāṇa chronicle) 22. 1; 45. 37; 57. 3; (47. 1; 81. 40). — puṇaṁapotthakāni 32. 25; traces of p: dry numbers or lists of names 20. 17-28; 24. 13, 47; 26. 25; 27. 47; 32. 26 ff.; 38. 45 ff.; 60. 48 ff.; 79. 62 ff.; 82. 12 ff.; 92. 10-29; 100. 14, 200; absence of a record 37. 46.— annals kept at court 59. 7 ff.— — 3) Chronological dates: 4. 1, 8; 5. 21 ff., 280; 20. 1 ff., 32, 49; 41. 27; 42. 44; 44. 144, 153; 47. 15; 52. 78; 53. 44; 55. 22; 58. 41; 60. 5; 80. 32; 90. 108; 91. 15;
92. 6; 94. 5, 18; 99. 2; 100. 59, 91, 282. — 4) Style and language (cf. C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.). Alamkāra: 18. 14, 68; 52. 42; 58. 15; 60. 4; 70. 292; 72. 51, 102, 144, 209, 255 f., 314, 323, 326; 76. 150 f., 233, 311 f.; 80. 56 ff., 60; 82. 5, 16, 41, 44 ff.; 83. 13, 25, 38, 40, 42; 85. 12 ff., 35, 44 ff.; 88. 91, 121; 89. 2 ff.; 90. 34, 47, 49; 96. 20; 99. 4, 122; 100. 30, 34 &c. — Puns: 1. 13, 25; 5. 256; 9. 29; 14. 43; 15. 27; 17. 8 f.; 26. 6; 31. 56; 33. 65; 37. 115; 50. 65, 83; 51. 108; 67. 92; 72. 295, 315; 85. 87 f.; 90. 2 &c. Metrical licenses: 37, 135 ab, 138 a b; 62. 49 c d; 65. 11 c d; 66. 44 a b; 67. 44 c d. See also C. ed. I, p. XI ff. — Irregular grammatical forms. See also C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.: 44. 11, 31, 44; 47. 55; 50. 10; 62. 60; 70. 262; 75. 26; 90. 109. — Loc. inst. of gen. 38. 115. — Causative inst. of the simple root and the contrary: 48. 102; 70. 287; 73. 156 &c.; 47. 18; 48. 61; 75. 171 &c. — Simple verbe inst. of passive and the contrary: 44. 26; 50. 18; 51. 54; 76. 330 &c.; 70. 208. — Gerund inst. of Loc. abs.: 39. 26; 48. 79 N.; 77. 24 N.; 88. 67 ff. — Irregular compounds: 39. 59; 91. 6, 20; 99. 46. — Irregular construction of sentences: 41. 103; 49. 58; 72. 128, 249; 92. 17, 23–26; 96. 19–20; 99. 6 ff., 42 ff.; 100. 51 f. — Influence of the metre 74. 199; 75. 72. — Influence of Sinhalese 70. 85; 90. 104; 91. 36; 95. 8; 96. 17; 98. 1. — 5) Literary references. Indian epic literature 64. 42 ff.; 66. 141; cf. II, s. vv. Duyyyodhana, Dussanta, Rāma. Ayurveda 73. 4; niti literature 48. 80, 96; 55. 7; 64. 3; 66. 130 ff. (142); 70. 56; 73. 59; yuddhāṇavā 70. 56; the rasa theory 66. 56; 72. 94, 265; 73. 117; 75. 89. — Canonical Pali literature: Quotation of a Buddha-word 73. 143; 99. 180 f. — Dhammasamgiti, -sangaha 3. 17; 5. 276. — Tipiṭaka and Atthakathā: 5. 84, 275; 27. 44; 83. 100; 37. 223; 41. 58; 60. 6; 84. 9, 29; 90. 37, 83; 91. 27. — 84000 sections: 5. 78 (cf. 5. 173 ff.); 33. 12. — Navaghika sāsana 89. 70. — Vinaya, dhamma, suttanta: 3. 30, 34; 5. 150 f.; 20. 56; 54. 34; 99. 90, 170, 173 f. — Nikāyā (the four) 33. 72; 99. 31, 33; 100. 117. — Saccasamyutta 14. 58. — Abhidhamma: 5. 150; 37. 221; 44. 109; 51. 79; 52. 49 f. — Paritta texts: 37. 226; 51. 80;
99. 26. — Single suttantas: 5. 68; 12. 26, 29, 31, 34, 39, 41, 51; 14. 22, 39, 63; 15. 4, 176, 178, 186, 195, 197, 199; 16. 3; 37. 191, 195; 51. 79; 99. 20, 29, 154; 100. 275. — Single jātakas: 5. 264; 12. 37; 35. 30; 64. 41; 83. 33 f.; 97. 39-45; 99. 97; 100. 74, 254. — Peta-, Vīmānavatthu: 14. 58. — Dhammasaṅgā ni: 37. 225; 52. 50; 60. 17. — Cittayamaka 5. 146. Kathāvatthu 5. 278. — Younger Pāli literature: 37. 93, 225, 236; 39. 49, 56; 91. 27; 97. 57, 59; 100. 118. — Sinhalese literature 37. 228, 233; 90. 78, 83; 98. 24. — 6) External confirmation or correction of the chronicle (cf. M. tr., p. XV ff.). a) Sinhalese books. Siri-meghavanna to Mahānāga: 37. 92, 105, 178, 208, 247; 38. 1, 8, 10, 45, 50, 112; 39. 58; 41. 1-5, 6, 26, 27, 37, 53, 63, 91, 102. — Aggabodhi I. to Dāthopatissa II: 42. 13, 15, 39, 40, 67, 68; 44. 1, 22, 63, 65, 82, 117, 144, 153; 45. 16, 35, 80. — Aggabodhi IV. to Aggabodhi IX: 46. 39, 44, 46; 47. 1, 66; 48. 19, 25, 38, 67, 74; 49. 37, 39, 42, 64, 82, 92. — Sena I. to Loka: 50. 1, 85; 51. 1, 26, 89, 134; 52. 36, 81; 53. 1, 4, 12, 27, 38, 51; 54. 1, 56, 72; 55. 33; 56. 6, 9, 12, 14, 16; 57. 1. — Vijayabāhu I. to Parakkamabāhu I: 60. 91; 62. 1; 63. 18, 19; 79. 86. — Vijayabāhu II. to Māgha: 80. 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 42, 44, 45, 48, 51, 53, 79. — Vijayabāhu III. to Vijayabāhu IV.: 81. 19, 44, 51, 56, 58, 79; 82. 7; 83. 30-1, 37, 42; 84. 9, 24; 85. 1-4, 95, 99, 118; 86. 49-50; 87. 9; 88. 35; 89. 71; 90. 1. — Bhuvanekabāhu I. to Rājasīha II: 90. 4, 59, 63, 64, 105-6, 108; 91. 3, 32; 92. 1; 93. 16; 94. 2-3, 22; 95. 25; 96. 40. — b) Ceylon inscriptions: 37. 53; 39. 11. — 42. 3 ff.; 44. 98. — 46. 20, 29; 48. 24. — 50. 9, 45, 68, 70; 51. 12, 26, 74, 88, 90, 105, 134; 52. 1, 11, 13, 17, 33, 45, 58; 53. 4, 13; 54. 1, 7, 35, 48. — 58. 1, 56, 59; 59. 49; 60. 5, 16, 21, 36, 66, 91; 63. 19; 72. 300; 73. 20, 87; 76. 68; 78. 5, 6 ff. — 80. 1, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 50. — 87. 16; 90. 108; 91. 1, 3, 16, 24; 92. 1. —

c) South Indian inscriptions: Kassapa V: 52. 98. Dappula IV: 53. 9. Udaya IV: 53. 44. Mahinda V: 55. 22. Parakkamabāhu I: 76. 80; 77. 103. Parakkamabāhu II:
A. Cosmology. 1. Three worlds, hell and heaven: 4. 38; 34. 14; 37. 178; 44. 117; 60. 91; 72. 306; 90. 40; 92. 30; 94. 21. — The moon and the tides 84. 44. — Regions of the heavens: 28. 13, 16, 18, 20, 36, 39; 31. 86; 63. 51; 72. 300, 329; 74. 150; 95. 15; 96. 25. — 2. The earth: The dīpas 73. 8. — Meru (Sinērū) 31. 53; 37. 79; 42. 2; 54. 43; 78. 24. — Cakkavāla mountains 88. 116. — Udayācala 72. 326. — Uttara Kuru 1. 18; 30. 58; 51. 50. — 3. Destruction of the world 70. 253; 72. 93; 313; 75. 26; 88. 47. — B) Geography and Ethnography. 1. India. a) Geographical Names:

Anotattā-lake 1. 18. Aparantaka 12. 34.
Ujjēṇī 5. 39; 13. 8, 10 (Dakkhiṇāgiri-v. 13. 5; 29. 35).
Uttaramadhirā 88. 121; 92. 25. Uravelī 1. 12, 16 f., 43.
Kauśāmpura 88. 121. Kauśāmbeśī 47. 7.
Kapilavatthu 2. 15; 89. 4. Kasmirā 12. 9; 29. 37.
Kauśāmpura see Bārāṇāsī.
Kusāvatī 2. 6. Kusinārā 3. 2.
Kusumāpura see Pāṭaliputta.
Kelāsa 32. 53; 68. 1; 73. 62 &c.; 89. 45 (Kelāsa-v. 29. 43).
Kosambī 4. 17 (Ghosiṭārāma 29. 34).
Gaṅgā 5. 253; 8. 23; 11. 30 &c.
Campāpurī 88. 121. Jetuttara 89. 2.
Tambaratthu 84. 11. Tāmalittī 11. 23 N., 38; 19. 6.
Tirīṇavali 76. 143, 288. Neṭṭīru 76. 189.
Pāṭaliputta (Kusumāpura, Pupphapura) 4. 31; 5. 39, 120; 11. 24; 17. 10; 18. 8, 68; 92. 23 (Asokārāma 5. 80, 163, 174; 29. 36).
Pāvā 4.17.
Pupphapura see Pātaliputta.
Bārāṇasi (Kāsipurā) 1.14; 41.37; 88.121 (Isipatana-v. 29.31).
Bodhimaṇḍa 29.41; 37.215; 39.47.
Madda 8.7.
Madhurā (dakkhipā M.) 7.49, 51; 50.12 N.; 76.76; 96.40; 97.2, 24; 98.4 (cf. also Uttaramadhurā).
Mahisamaṇḍala 12.29.
Mithilā 2.6; 83.34; 88.121.
Rājagaha 2.6; 29.30; 89.3 (Veluvana-v. 15.17).
Rāmissara 76.97. Lāḷaraṭṭha 6.5, 36; 7.3.
Vaṅga 6.1. Vanavāsa 12.31; 29.42.
Viśālatavi 19.6; 29.40.
Visālā, Vesālī 4.9, 22; 88.121; 99.98 (Mahāvāna-v. 4.12; 29.33).
Sampkassa 89.4. Sāketa 89.3. Sāgala 89.2.
Sāvatthī 88.121 (Jetavāna-v. 1.44; 29.32).
Sivaliputtūru 77.41.
Sihapura 6.35; 59.46.

b) Names of tribes or castes.

Ariyā 61.36; 63.15. Āriyā 90.16 ff.
Kauṇāśī 55.12. Kallara 76.246.
Kāśī 6.1; 37.92; 42.44 &c.
Colī 21.13; 36.112; 52.70 &c.
Damiḷā 1.41; 21.10 &c.; 38.11 ff. &c.
Paṇḍu 7.50, 69; 50.12; 76.76 &c.
Maravarā 76.130, 246, 259. Yādhavā 76.163.
Yonā, Yavanā 10.90; 12.34, 39; 76.264.
Vallabhā 47.15, 18, 24; 54.12 ff.
Sakyā 2.15 ff.; 8.18.
2. Farther India

a) Geographical names, names of tribes

Ayojha 98. 91; 100. 60. Arimaddana 76. 38.
Kamboja 76. 21. Kākadīpa 76. 57.
Kusumititha 76. 59.
Jāvakā 83. 36 ff.; 88. 63; 99. 118.
Pegu 98. 89. Malaya 76. 22.
Rakkhaṅga 94. 15; 97. 10; 98. 89; 99. 25.
Rāmaṇa 58. 8; 60. 5; 76. 10–69.
Sāmindaśisaya 99. 78; 100. 63 &c.

3. Ceylon

a) Physical character, climate &c.

The ocean: 22. 49, 85; 41. 79; 57. 5; 71. 18; 72. 255;
85. 44 f.; 88. 29. — Wilderness, swamps, forests, rocks:
33. 48; 39. 2; 61. 46; 66. 51; 68. 10; 70. 2 ff., 84; 81. 3, 5,
33; 86. 9; 87. 26; 95. 9. — Irregular rain: 21. 27; 70. 208.
— Drought and famine: 32. 29; 36. 20, 74; 37. 189; 87. 1 ff.;
90. 43. — Wind, thunderstorms: 57. 56; 72. 3; 74. 228 ff.;
87. 7 ff. — Earthquake (as a miracle): 5. 259 ff.; 15. 26, 194;
17. 55; 18. 50; 19. 47; 29. 62; 31. 110.

b) Products of the island (or imported)

1. Minerals:

Jewels (maṇi, three kinds 11. 22) 28. 18, 40; 61. 6, 56;
62. 32; 64. 32; 68. 12; 72. 326; 97. 53; 98. 33, 95; 99. 165;
100. 16 ff.; and precious stones (ratana, seven or nine kinds
27. 37; 91. 18; 97. 7) 11. 8 f., 16; 22. 60; 31. 60; 34. 73;
66. 44; 69. 33; 89. 41; 90. 71; 97. 17. — Beryl (veḷuriya)
11. 16; diamond (vajira) 100. 15; ruby (kuruvinda, rattamaṇi,
lohitāṇa) 28. 19; 100. 18; 11. 16; sapphire (indanila, uppala,
nilamaṇi) 11. 16; 28. 19; 100. 17; topaz (puppharūga) 100. 17.
— Pearls (eight kinds 11. 14) 11. 16, 22; 28. 36; 34. 47 f.;
61. 6, 56; 62. 32; 64. 32; 70. 92; 89. 19; 97. 47; 98. 33, 95;
100. 19. — Gold 11. 31; 22. 64; 27. 33; 28. 14; 29. 57; 33. 11; 61. 57; 66. 139; 68. 12; 89. 19 ff.; 91. 18; 97. 17; 53; 98. 44, 75, 94; 99. 54, 165; 100. 30, 72, 75, 241. — Silver 27. 27, 33; 28. 20, 33; 29. 57; 89. 20 ff.; 90. 71; 97. 18; 98. 44, 75; 99. 55, 165. — Copper (loha, tambaloha) 23. 87; 27. 42; 28. 16; 31. 85; 36. 31. — Iron (ayo) 23. 87; 98. 69. — Rock-crystal (pahālika) 27. 36; 29. 9. — Medavapapāsāpa 1. 39; 30. 57, 59; 31. 121. — Yellow orpiment (haritāla) 34. 52. — Cinnabar (kuruvinda?) 29. 8. — kaṅkuṭṭha, kind of earth 32. 6. — Red arsenic (manosilā) 15. 80, 114, 149; 29. 12; 34. 52. — Vermilion (hiṅguli) 27. 18. — Corals (pavāla) 27. 26, 31; 28. 37 f. &c. — Shells (saṅkhā) 71. 25; s. dakkhiṇa-vatṭa 11. 22, 30; 100. 154.

2. Trees and shrubs; fruits, flowers

Akkha (terminalia belerica) 32. 29. amba (mangifera indica) 14. 17 ff.; 15. 38; 22. 4 f.; 79. 3, 85; 100. 4, 218. asana (terminalia alata tomentosa) 23. 87. asoka (jonesia asoka) 73. 98. ādāri-creeper 17. 31. āmalaka (emblica officinalis) 5. 26; 11. 31; 28. 36; 54. 23. udumbara (ficus glomerata) 15. 112; 23. 87. kap(u)ikāra (pterocarpum acerifolium) 73. 123; 100. 1. kadalf (musa sapientum) M. ed. p. 331, v. 5; 70. 211; 72. 318; 73. 123; 75. 61; 85. 36, 114; 98. 41; 100. 30. kadamba (nauclea cadamba) 73. 98. kadambapuppha 17. 31; 19. 73, 75; 25. 48; 33. 85; 35. 104, 116. kapittha (feronia elephantum) 29. 11. kamuka (areca palm) 98. 41. kuṭaja (wrightia antidysenterica) 73. 99. ketaka (pandanus odoratissimus) 33. 50; 73. 98; 100. 1. khajjūra (phoenix silvestris) 100. 6. kharapatta (tectona grandis) 32. 5. campaka (michelia champaca) 73. 98; 98. 59; 100. 1, 197. jambū (eugenia jambu) 36. 71 f.; 73. 98; 100. 4. tamāla (xanthochymus pictorius) 73. 99. tāla (palmyra palm) 10. 59; 23. 46, 59; 73. 123; 79. 3. timbarūsaka (the tinduka tree) 100. 5. tilaka (?) 73. 98. dāḍima (pomegranate) 100. 5. nāga (iron-wood tree) 73. 98, 123; 85. 34; 89. 43; 100. 1, 293. nāraṅga (orange) 100. 5. nālikera (cocopalm) 23. 59; 61. 65; 73. 99; 74. 204; 79. 3; 86.
3. Animals

Elephant, wild or domesticated 7. 56; 18. 28; 23. 8, 47, 49; 29. 4; 37. 112; 41. 23, 47 ff.; 47. 9; 51. 37, 43, 112 f.; 61. 6; 70. 219, 229, 265; 72. 3, 88, 155, 314, 325; 76. 48, 70; 89. 22, 96. 20; 99. 46 and passim. young el.s. 62. 22, 25. rutting el.s. 66. 150; 72. 321; 74. 63; 83. 13. solitary el.s. 72. 248; 76. 244. catching wild el.s. 72. 105. el.-trainer and driver
c) Geographical and ethnographical names

1. Names of the Island

Sīhala, Laṅkā passim. — Prehistoric names 15. 59, 93, 127. — Tambapanni 7. 41; 80. 25; 85. 106; 89. 57. — Ti-
sīhala 81. 46; 82. 1; 87. 25, 71; 88. 65.
2. Names of provinces (raṭṭha) and districts (mapḷala)  
(18 provinces: 86. 11)

Aṭṭhasahassaka 61. 24; 75. 154
Ambavana 66. 85; 69. 9
Ālisāra 60. 14; 70. 106
Uttaṇaraṭṭha 70. 92
Ūvaraṭṭha (see Hūva) 95. 22
Erāhuḷa 74. 91
Kantakapeṭaka 69. 9
Kalyāṇi 1. 63, 74; 22. 12 ff.; 61. 35
Kālagiribanda 72. 62
Kirinda 74. 97
Kurundi 83. 16; 88. 64
Giribā 69. 9
Girimandala 51. 111
Guttasāla 61. 12; 74. 154
Janapada 44. 56; 66. 110
Tabba 69. 9
Dakkhīnasāla 38. 24; 41. 35; 42. 8 &c.
Dīghavāpi 74. 89, 180; 75. 1; 96. 25
Dīghāli 72. 63; 75. 60
Dumbara 70. 8
Dvādasasahassaka 61. 22; 75. 156 N.
Dhanumandala 74. 166
Navayojanaṇaṛṭṭha 72. 61; 75. 72
Nāgadīpa 1. 47; 20. 25; 42. 62
Nilagallaka 70. 14
Paṇcayojanaṇaṛṭṭha 57. 71; 72. 57; 75. 21; 85. 81
Paṇcasaṇaṇaṛṭṭha 95. 9
Paṇcuddharattha 94. 4; 95. 23 ff.; 96. 17

Patiṭṭharattha 55. 22 N.; 81. 15 N.; 88. 87
Paṇi 88. 16; 88. 64
Pillavītthi 69. 8
Purāṭtimadesa 41. 33
Buddhagāmarattha 69. 9
Bodhīgamavaraṇaṛṭṭha 69. 9
Majjhimaṇṇa 70. 20
Malaya 7. 68; 24. 7; 25. 5; 41. 10 &c.
Mahākhetta 72. 63; 75. 50
Mahāțila 66. 71
Mahāṭhala 48. 3
Mahārattha 72. 141, 163, 190
Māyārattha 81. 15; 87. 24
Merukandara 41. 19; 70. 282
Moravapi 69. 8
Ratanakararaṇaṛṭṭha 42. 18; 69. 31
Rattakararaṇaṛṭṭha 68. 23
Rājaṇaṛṭṭha 52. 4; 55. 22; 61. 30
Rohana 22. 6, 8; 35. 27 f.; 38. 12 &c.
Laṅkāgiri 70. 88
Lokagalla 74. 79
Sapara(gamu) 78. 8; 94. 12
Sūrambavana 70. 87
Hūvarattha (see Ūva) 60. 66

3. Towns and villages
Aūgamu 70. 130
Anurādhapura 10. 76, 106
and passim
Antaravītthi 60. 68; 61. 46
Ambaggāma 86. 23
Devanagara 56. 6; 60. 59; 75. 47
Dunivagga 75. 69
Dvāramandala 10. 1; 23. 23
Dhanapiṭṭhi 46. 41
Dhanuvilliaka 70. 15
Nandigāma 25. 14; 38. 14
Nālandā 70. 167
Nilavālatīththa 75. 48
Parakkamapura 72. 151; 74. 15
Puṅkhagāma 61. 26
Pulattthinagara 44. 122; 46. 34
and passim (three suburbs of P. 73. 151 ff.; 78. 79 ff.).
Perādouṇi 91. 2
Bakagalla 75. 124
Badalatthala,-li58.43; 66. 43 N.
Buddhagāma 58. 43; 66. 19.
Bubbula 70. 99
Bodhigāmavara 66. 78
Bhīmatīththa 85. 81; 86. 40
Maṅgalabegāma 67. 52
Majjhimaṃgaṇa 74. 83
Maṇḍagalla 58. 43
Maṇḍagāma 45. 47
Manāra 61. 39
Mallavāḷaṇa 70. 61
Mahāgalla 44. 3
Mahāgāma 22. 8; 45. 42
Mahātīththa 7. 58; 48. 81; 51. 28
Mahānāgalula 58. 39; 60. 90
Mahāvālukagāma 75. 36, 45
Mālāvaratthali 75. 68, 157
Muttākara 70. 63
Rakkhapāsāṇa 57. 67
Ratanagāma 42. 18
Rāmucchuvaliika 70. 11, 14 N.
4. Mountains
(p. = pabbata, g. = giri)

Ariṭṭha-p. 10. 64; 44. 86
Kāsa-p. 10. 27; 25. 50
Gopāla-rock 78. 65
Govindamala (-sela) 81. 5

5. Rivers, fords
(g. = gāṅgā, n. = nadi)

Kacchakatittha 10. 58; 23. 17; 37. 213 N.
Kauha-n. 53. 20
Kadamba-n. 7. 43; 15. 10; 41. 61
Karinda-n. 32. 14
Kāla-n. 86. 40; 44
Kālavāpi-n. 70. 126 f.
Kumbhilavāna-n. 68. 32
Gāṅgā see Mahāvāluka-g.
Gambhira-n. 7. 44; 28. 7
Gālu-n. 75. 34
Gūha-g. 48. 132
Gokana see Mahāvālukag. Gōna-n. 35. 13, 113
Jajjara-n. 68. 16; 79. 67
Mahā-n. 51. 121
Mahārakkhatittha 72. 11
Mahāvāluka-g. (Gaṅgā) 10. 44, 47; 21. 7; 38. 12; 71. 17 &c. (Gokanna 41. 79; 71. 18)
Mālāgāmatittha 72. 50
Yakkhasūkaratittha 72. 21
Vana-n. 75. 156
Sākkhavaddhamānaka-n. 68. 32
Sahassatittha 87. 71
Indian river-names conferred on Ceylonese canals 79. 57 N.

6. Tanks (v. = vāpi)
Abhaya-v. 10. 84
Ambūla-v. 68. 49 N.
Karaviṭṭhavilatta-v. 68. 49 N.
Kāla-v. 38. 42 &c.
Kirū-v. 68. 49 N.
Gaṅgatātāka 70. 286
Girītaṭāka 70. 312; 72. 149
Giribū-v. 68. 49 N.
Giriyā-v. 68. 49 N.
Tintinigāmaka-v. 68. 49 N.
Tilagullaka-v. 68. 49 N.
Tissa-v. 20. 20 &c.; 70. 149
Dīgha-v. 1. 78; 74. 89 &c.
Dūratissv. 33. 9; 49. 8; 79. 32
Nāgasoundi 42. 28 (14. 36; 16. 6)
Paṭḍa-v. 60. 48; 68. 39.
Padī-v. 79. 34
Parakkama-samudda, -sāgara 68. 40; 79. 26, 28, 40
Buddhagāmakaniṭḍhara 68. 49 N.
Manihira-v. 37. 47; 42. 34
Maṇḍika-v. 68. 49 N.
Mahākīrāla-v. 68. 49 N.
Mahāgallā-v. 44. 3
Mahindatāta-v. 42. 29; 79. 28
Mora-v. 69. 8; 72. 177
Rattamālakāṇḍa-v. 37. 48
Vāsā-v. 68. 49 N.
Suvāṇatissv. 79. 32
Sūkaraṭāgama-v. 68. 49 N.

Monasteries and Monastic buildings

(vih. = vihāra, pariv. = pari-veṇa, c. = cetiya; A. = Anurādhapura, P. = Pulatthinagaṇa, M. = Mahāgāma)

Abhayagiri-vih. in A. (different names) 33. 81 ff.; 35. 120;
37. 59; 52. 13; 78. 21. —
37. 97, 123; 44. 96; 53. 33.
— 41. 96; 50. 79. — 42.
28, 63; 50. 26. — 48. 135
Ambatthala-c. 13. 20; 37. 69
Ākāsa-c. 22. 26
Āḷāhana-pariv. 78. 48
Āloka-lena 98. 65
Issarasamaṇa-vih. 19. 61; 20. 14;
39. 10
Uttarārāma in P. 78. 73
Udumbaragiri-vih. 78. 5 N.
Kantaka-c. 16. 12
Kappūra-pariv. in A. 45. 29; 46. 21
Kalyāñī-c. and -vih. 1. 75; 81. 59
Kassapagiri-vih. 44. 98
Kālavāpi-vih. 38. 50 N.
Kūṭatissa-vih. 51. 74
Gandālādou-vih. 91. 30
Ganthākara-pariv. 37. 243; 52. 57
Catuvihārā in A. 53. 37; 54. 5
Candagiri-vih. in M. 60. 61
Cittalapabbata-vih. 22. 23; 24. 9; 45. 59
Cūlagalla-vih. 35. 13; 42. 49
Cetiyaapabbata-vih. 19. 62; 20. 17
Cetiyas of Mahinda and Sam-ghamittā in A. 20. 44, 53; 38. 58
Jambukola-vih. 20. 25; 60. 60
Jambukolalena 60. 60; 80. 23
Jetavana-vih. in A. (37. 59 N.) 37. 33, (65); 41. 40; 78. 21 &c. — in P. 78. 32 ff.
Jetivana-vih. 37. 65, 52. 59 = Jetavana in A.
Tissu(mahā)-vih. in M. 20. 25; 22. 23; 45. 59
Tissārāma 52. 24
Thūparāma in A. 1. 82; 17. 30 &c.; 37. 207 &c. — in P. or M. 60. 56
Dakkhiṇa-vih. in A. 33. 88; 42. 14; 44. 140
Dakkhiṇāgiri-vih. 33. 7; 38. 50 N.; 42. 27; 52. 60
Dappulapabbata-vih. 49. 1 N., 30; 50. 80
Dāthaggabodhi-pariv. in M. 45. 42
Dāthādhatughara in A. 37. 95.
— in P. 73. 128 ff.; 74. 198; 78. 41; 87. 69; 89. 40; 90. 55. — in Jambuddou 81. 34;
82. 9; 85. 91; 88. 12 ff. — in Subhagiri 90. 46 N. — in Hatthigiripura 90. 66 f. — in Kotte 91. 17. — in Kandy 94. 14; 97. 5, 37; 98. 35; 99. 141
Dīghasandha-pariv. 15. 212; 38. 16
Devanagara-vih. 60. 63 N.
Nāga-vih. 22. 9; 45. 58
Nipannapatiṁgūhā, Nisinnapaṭimālanā in P. 78. 75
Pacchinārāma in P. 78. 70
Paṭhama-c. in A. 14. 45; 19. 61; 38. 9
Pauḍavāpi-vih. 60. 63 N.
Pappatu-vih. 91. 21
Pupphārāma 100. 86, 141.
Buddhasāmāpasāda, uposatha-house in P. 78. 55 ff.
Billasela-vih. 85. 59
Bhaṇḍika-pariv. 52. 58
Bhūmatīththa-vih. 85. 81; 86. 16
Macchatīttha-vih. 48. 24
Maṇihira-vih. 37. 40
Maṇḍalagiri-vih. 46. 29; 60. 63 N.; 71. 3
Madhutthala-vih. 60. 63 N.
Mayūra-pariv. (Mora-) in A. 37. 172; 38. 52
Maricavaṭṭi-vih. in A. 26. 8 ff.; 44. 149 &c.
Mahāṭhūpa in A. (different names) 15. 51; 28. 3 ff.; 42. 32; 76. 108 &c. — 20. 19;
33. 21. — 15. 167; 51. 82.
— 80. 68
Mahōpariv. in A. 42. 26; 48. 65
Mahāpāli in A. 20. 23; 37. 181. — in M. 45. 42
Mahā-vih. in A. 15. 8 ff., 214;
37. 4 ff., 54 &c.
Mahiyangāna-c. and -vih. 1. 24,
42; 25. 7; 36. 34, 58; 51.
74; 92. 16 &c.
Mīṭambhiya 46. 19
Yaṭṭhāḷāya-vih. in M. 22. 7
Rajatalena-vih. 28. 20 N., 35.
4; 99. 41; 100. 237 ff.
Ratanapāsāda in A. 36. 7; 48.
135 &c.
Ratanāvali-c. in P. 80. 20
(78. 51 N.). — in Khīragāma 79. 71
Rohana-vih. 45. 54
Laṅkātilaka in P. 78. 53 f. —
near Kandy 91. 30
Lohapāsāda in A. 27. 20 ff.;
37. 59 &c.
Vijjūdhara-cave in P. 78. 66, 74
Veḷuvana-vih. 42. 43; 44. 29
Vessagiri-vih. near A. 20. 15,
20; 39. 11 N.
Silā-c. in A. 1. 82
Silāsobhakakandaka-c. in A. 33.
87
Sotthiyākara-vih. in A. 37. 82,
84
Hatthatvanagalla-vih. 85. 73 ff.;
86. 12, 37

Names of tribes &c.

Pulindā 7. 68
Vanni 81. 11; 83. 10 &c.
Sīhalā passim
Clan names in C. 19. 2 N.;
38. 13 N.
(Parāngi 95. 5; 98. 80)
(Olandā 96. 26; 98. 89; 99. 109)
VI. King and Kingdom

A. The king and the royal family


1. The king (rāja, mahārāja, mahāpati, narapati &c. &c. passim). a. Sun- and Moon-dynasty 62. 5; 63. 11; 72. 121; 87. 29; 91. 16; 93. 2; 94. 1; 96. 41. Mahāśarmatā as ancestor 2. 1, 23; 47. 2; 99. 77. Okkaśka 2. 11 f.; 45. 38; 80. 32. — b. Bodily marks of a king 22. 59; 48. 114; 57. 49; 59. 34 ff.; 62. 46 ff.; 87. 62. cakkavattin 100. 35. — c. Abhiseka (molimāṅga) 7. 46 ff., 72; 9. 29; 10. 78; 36. 123; 56. 3 f.; 59. 2, 8; 67. 16; 72. 312 ff.; 87. 70; 89. 5 ff.; 90. 61; 94. 10. abh. performed twice 11. 7 and 40 f.; 71. 19 ff. and 72. 311 ff. — d. The king assumes a new name 36. 98; 44. 128; 45. 22; 58. 1; 94. 6. the biruda Sirisarpabhodhi 44. 83; 46. 1; 54. 72; 59. 10.

2. The queen (rājini 24. 13 &c.). a. māhesi 7. 47; 8. 28; 10. 37, 78; 22. 7, 12, 22; 33. 36; 37. 211; 46. 27; 51. 6, 86; 55. 8, 16; 56. 15; 62. 19 ff.; 97. 2; 98. 1; 99. 123. two māhesis 33. 45-7; 59. 25, 30; 64. 24; (97. 24; 98. 4). — devī 22. 3; 33. 47; 34. 86; 35. 21; 36. 42, 50; 48. 113; 55. 10; 63. 4, 6; 64. 24. aggamahesi 54. 10; 70. 38; 94. 9; 97. 2, 24; 98. 4. — b. Political marriages 7. 52 ff.; 51. 15 ff., 92 f.; 54. 9 f.; 59. 27 ff., 40 ff.; 63. 6 ff.; 87. 28; 97. 24; 98. 4.

3. The princes (rājaputta 5. 194; 7. 10 &c.) a. Education 64. 3. — b. Ādipāda 41. 34; 49. 3; 50. 8, 25, 46 f.; 51. 94, 126; 52. 4, 8, 42; 53. 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; 54. 1, 11; 55. 11; 57. 4, 61; 59. 12; 60. 88; 61. 2 ff. mahaṭṭipāda 44. 136; 50. 10, 44; 51. 1; 58. 7; 67. 91. — c. Yuvarāja 42. 6; 44. 123, 137; 50. 6, 21, 31; 51. 13, 15, 18, 53 ff.; 52. 1 f., 6, 37, 42; 53. 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; 54. 1, 7, 58; 58. 1; 59. 7; 61. 3; 63. 42; 67. 26; 85. 59. — uparāja 5. 154; 6. 38; 9. 12, 14; 14. 56; 22. 2 ff.; 41. 93; 42. 6; 44. 84, 119, 124; 46. 24; 50. 58 f.; 51. 7, 12, 94; 53. 1, 4, 13, 39; 59. 11; 60. 40, 80, 86 f. two
uparājjas 99. 85, 124. — d. Malayarāja, -rāyara 41. 35; 42. 6; 44. 53; 46. 29; 52. 68; 53. 36; 69. 6; 70. 62, 155. Cf. C. tr. I, p. XV—XX, XXIV.

4. The princesses (rājadhītā, rājakaññā 5. 194; 7. 59 &c.) a. rājini as tittle 49. 3; 50. 58; 54. 11, 63; 59. 41; 60. 84; 62. 1.

5. The bhūgineyya 1. 45; 5. 169; 11. 20; 16. 9; 18. 2; 48. 90; 49. 71; 61. 4 N.; 62. 60; 83. 41; 87. 38, 41; 88. 5.

6. Right of succession 33. 1–4, 20; 49. 65, 84; 50. 44; 52. 37; 54. 1; 60. 87; 61. 4; 62. 59; 63. 22; 80. 27, 28; 90. 1, 4, 49, 59. Cf. C. tr. I, p. XX–XXIV.

B. Attributes of royalty; royal life

1. Residence (rājadhāni) 61. 25; 74. 1; 88. 103; 90. 35. palace (pāśāda, rājageha, -ghara, -mandira) 9. 11; 10. 74; 12. 46; 35. 63; 66. 127; 68. 42; 70. 237, 312; 73. 70; 92. 9; 98. 68. rājadvāra 14. 60; 22. 15; 25. 105; 35. 53, 63. rājañagaṇa 5. 47; 72. 214; 90. 66. royal throne (pallaṅka, āsana, sūhāsana) 25. 98; 27. 32 ff.; 31. 76 f., 88; 35. 52, 54; 76. 166; 85. 111; 90. 13, 23; 100. 285. — 2. Royal insignia and ornaments (rājasādhana, -bhāpṭāni, -bhūṣāṇa, -ābharaṇa) 11. 28; 35. 102; 39. 28; 41. 20; 46. 38; 48. 89; 50. 51; 55. 16 f.; 56. 10; 71. 28; 74. 224; 76. 166; 82. 50, 90. 13 (crown 11. 28; 44. 145; 71. 28; 72. 326. cūḷāmaṇi 33. 46. ekāvalī 44. 127; 46. 17. (sēta)chatta 11. 28; 17. 7; 19. 59; 31. 39, 78; 33. 40; 35. 15, 69; 44. 19 f.; 55. 1; 64. 33; 69. 4. cāmara 76. 113; 85. 26; 89. 19; 99. 47, 55; 100. 193. vālavijāni 11. 28; 31. 78; 39. 53. maṇitālaṃanta 31. 78). royal order 15. 188; 24. 58; 25. 67; 31. 32, 114; 58. 2, 57; 76. 68 &c. royal treasure bhaṇḍāgāra) 69. 27; 70. 265. — 3. State elephant 14. 61; 17. 6; 19. 72 ff.; 34. 86; 35. 20 f.; 78. 60 &c. state horse 22. 52; 34. 86. state carriage 31. 38; 72. 323. — 4. The harem (orodha, itthāgāra, antepura) 14. 46; 15. 189; 17. 63; 59. 33; 60. 85; 70. 266; 88. 74 (dancing girls 29. 24). the king’s retinue (parivāra, balatthā, sevakā &c.) 31. 112; 35. 52;
88. 22; 67. 15; 70. 254; 72. 118 ff.; 83. 24; 88. 33 f.; 89. 31 f. (satta rajjaṅgāni 88. 3. rājakammāni 69. 22. rājakammikā 62. 34. paricārakā 63. 53. pañca and dasa pessiyavaggā 7. 56; 67. 58; 84. 5). — 5. Funeral rites, cremation of the members of the r. family 24. 14; 25. 72 f.; 32. 58, 79 f.; 34. 34; 36. 121; 61. 9; 67. 89; 85. 76.

C. Politics

1. Niti, rājaniti (naya, sippa) 10. 23; 48. 80, 96; 55. 3; 58. 1; 64. 3; 70. 56; 90. 56; 99. 81. Manunitt 80. 9, 53; 83. 6; 84. 2; 96. 26. dhamma, dasa rājadhammā (dasu puṇṇa-kriya) 7. 74; 37. 107, 180; 52. 43; 70. 31; 97. 3; 99. 73, 75, 81 f.; 100. 118. saṃgahavatthūni (the four) 37. 108; 52. 43; 92. 8; 95. 2; 97. 2; 99. 14, 73, 83; 100. 118. — Support of poor subjects 52. 3; 53. 30; 60. 22, 74, 77 f.; 62. 32. of poets 60. 75, 79. — 2. Distinctions conferred upon officials 61. 19; 68. 5; 69. 30; 70. 19, 277 ff.; 96. 38. — Relations to foreign sovereigns 11. 18 ff., 27 ff.; 58. 3; 60. 5 f., 24 ff.; 62. 54; 67. 95; 76. 11 ff.; 80. 6 ff.; 87. 29; 88. 87 f.; 98. 89 ff.; 99. 109 ff., 164; 100. 63 ff., 151 ff. honours paid to foreign ambassadors 7. 70; 11. 25 f. &c. — Treaties 71. 1 ff. — Organised espionage 66. 130 ff.; 67. 19. — Foes of the King, rebels. corā 36. 21, 80 f., 91; 37. 18; 59. 4. dāmarikā 61. 71; 74. 34 ff.; 75. 10, 34 ff.; 76. 3.

D. Brahmanism at court

1. Brahmans supported by the king 48. 23; 51. 65 ff.; 77. 105. brahmanical rites observed at court 62. 33, 45 ff.; 63. 5; 64. 13 ff. the purohita 10. 79; 11. 26; 34. 24; 62. 28, 33, 46 (dija 11. 20, vippaseṭṭha 67. 29). care for Hindu temples 79. 19, 22, 81; 85. 85 ff.

E. The king and the Buddhist order

1. Bhikkhus as advisers of the king 42. 22; 57. 38 f.; 87. 39 ff., 62 ff.; as mediators in conflicts of the royal family
24. 50 ff.; 51. 14; 52. 9; 53. 25 ff.; 70. 328 ff. political influence of the clergy 33. 17 ff.; 60. 87; 61. 1; 76. 73 ff. — Bh.s accompany the king in the field 25. 3; 96. 15. — 2. Princes educated by bh.s 81. 76 f. members of the royal family enter the order 15. 18 ff.; 17. 57 f.; 18. 5; 34. 28 f., 35; 84. 29; 94. 22. conversion to Buddhism of foreign mahāsīs 98. 6 ff. — 3. Kings cause sermons to be held or hearken to them 32. 44; 41. 58; 54. 34 ff.; 60. 8; 62. 31; 92. 11 f.; 98. 73 ff.; 99. 15 ff., 20, 30 ff., 88; 100. 116 ff., 275, 280 f. they recite holy texts 52. 48 ff.; 54. 4; 60. 17. — 4. K.s or princes cause holy texts to be copied 45. 3; 60. 22; 81. 40 ff.; 90. 37 f.; 91. 27; 92. 13; 97. 36; 99. 86. payment of the scribes 91. 28; 99. 33. — Literary works composed at the k.'s instigation 54. 35; 97. 50 f., 59; 90. 78 f., 82 f.; 98. 24. sacred books fetched from abroad 84. 26; 100. 73. bhikkhus fetched from abroad to Ceylon 60. 5 f.; 84. 9, 11 ff.; 94. 15 f.; 97. 10 f.; 98. 89 ff.; 100. 58 ff., 136 ff. — The king cares for the accomplishments of the clergy 84. 26 f.; 98. 16 f.; 99. 173 ff.; 100. 101 ff. — 5. Clerical acts, particularly the pabbajjā and upasampadā ceremonies, performed at the k.'s instigation 60. 7; 78. 30; 81. 49 f.; 84. 37, 43; 87. 72; 89. 47; 90. 39, 62, 65; 91. 31; 92. 19, 21 ff.; 94. 20; 97. 8, 13, 26; 98. 16; 99. 168 ff.; 100. 94 ff., 133 f., 172. purification of the order and church-reform caused by the k. 5, 236 ff.; 36. 41, 111 ff.; 39. 57; 44. 46, 76; 51. 64; 52. 44; 73. 2 ff.; 78. 2 ff.; 84. 7 ff.; 91. 11; 100. 44 ff. the k. determines a sīmā 15. 184 ff.; 78. 56 ff. — 6. Dedication to the church or to a sanctuary of the kingdom, the regalia &c. 18. 36; 19. 31; 31. 90, 92, 111 f.; 32. 36; 39. 31; 42. 61; 82. 50; 85. 109 ff.; 86. 57. donations equal to the bodily weight 51. 128; 60. 21; 73. 11. the k. grants titles to the bh.'s 84. 31, 38; 89. 64 ff.; 100. 239. — 7. Conflicts with the bh.'s 44. 74 ff.; 53. 14 ff.; 93. 6 ff., 10. — Persecution of the christians 98. 80 ff.
F. Administration of the kingdom

1. Officials and titles (cf. C.tr.I, p.XXV ff. and p.359, 2). chatta mark of distinction for officials 70. 85, 122. — General expressions: adhikārin 66. 66; 70. 278, 297 f.; 72. 21, 37, 75. 122, 123, 133, 160, 207, 232, 265. adhinātha 70. 216, 278. antarāṅgadhura 69. 32, 35. amacca 4. 37; 5, 35, 239 &c.; 58. 30; 66. 72 &c. (mahāmacca 16. 10; 61. 1; 72. 96, 129 &c.; mahāmatta 72. 70, 181; mūlāmacca 69. 34). maṇḍalika, maṇḍalaniyaka 46. 31; 51. 109, 122; 54. 8; 69. 5; 70. 242, 246. mantin 66. 113; 89. 27. saciva 66. 67; 67. 90; 68. 7, 18; 70. 83, 324. sāṃanta (58. 20); 61. 63; 66. 142; 69. 5, 16; 70. 9, 57, 129, 136, 179, 189, 242, 246, 314; 72. 16 ff., 50, 54, 78, 82, 165. — Special designations: asiggāha 39. 54; 42. 42; 44. 1, 43, 54, 58 ff.; 66. 29. ādipottahakān (bhandārap, bhandāgarādhikārin) 69. 27; 72. 27, 160, 182, 196, 207. kaṇčukin (nāyaka) 63. 55; 69. 26; 70. 44; 72. 58; 75. 176. kammanātha (nāyaka) 72. 58, 206. gaṇaka ( emancipate) 11. 20; 69. 30; 76. 39. chattaggāha (nāyaka) 38. 3; 59. 16; 66. 29; 70. 60; 72. 68. jīvitaṇṭhotthakān 70. 174, 318; 72. 161; 74. 90. daṇḍanātha, nāyaka (adhiniyaka) 11. 26; 70. 5, 8, 15, 19, 64, 68, 124, 279; 72. 36, 65, 162, 222. dovariika 35. 51. dhammerakanātha 59. 16. nagaraguttika 10. 81. bhandārapottthakān, bhandāgarādhikārin see ādipottthakān. mahālekha 52. 33; 72. 1, 161, 166, 170, 182, 206. mūlapottthakān 75. 139 f. lekhaka 66. 155. sabhāpati (kuṭhārasabhānāyaka) 67. 61, 64, 70, 80. setṭhinātha 59. 16. senāpati (senāni, adhināyaka, camāpāti, dhañjiniati &c.) 11. 25; 15. 212; 35. 59; 50. 82; 51. 30, 40, 88; 52. 16, 28; 53. 43 ff.; 54. 13 ff., 58 ff.; 55. 2; 56. 7; 64. 9 ff., 22; 65. 13 ff., 27 ff.; 66. 2 ff.; 67. 82; 70. 123, 129 ff., 153 ff., 285; 72. 45, 49, 76, 122 f., 137 f.; 90. 12; 96. 38 (sakkasenāpati 52. 52, 61 ff., 72 ff.; 54. 53. andhasenāpati 41. 87). — Titles: kesadhātu 57. 65 ff.; 72. 2, 5, 7, 107; 76. 253 ff., 324 ff. &c. (cf. C. ed.II, p. 601, col. 2); (nāyaka 70. 68, 279). jītagiri 72. 25. dhammādhikārin 75. 20 ff., 69 ff.; 76. 39. nagaragiri, galla 66. 35, 62; 70. 68, 89, 146, 199, 318; 72. 107; 76. 60. nīlagiri 70. 137, 140.
māragiri 72. 11, 164, 174. laṅkāgiri 72. 27, 124 ff.; 76. 250. laṅkādhiṅkārin 70. 278, 283, 306, 316. laṅkādhiṅnāyaka (cānātha & c) 70. 24, 95 ff.; 123, 174, 205, 220. laṅkāpura 72. 39, 222; 75. 70; 76. 250, 324, 326. lokagalla 72. 222. saṅkha(kha)nāyaka 70. 278; 72. 31, 41; 75. 75.

2. Administration of justice. The k. the highest judge 21. 14. alleviation of punishment 36. 80 f.; 83. 4 ff.; 87. 48 f. amnesty 34. 84; 62. 42; 80. 2 ff. — Law-books 49. 20; 80. 41. — Crimes: high treason 35. 10; 36. 21, 91; 87. 48(?). robbery 61. 67. indebtedness 36. 39. — Forensic procedure 35. 10; 37. 38; 78. 13. — Punishment: hipsāmutto vohāro 36. 28. fine 83. 6. prison 35. 22; 54. 31; 62. 42; 70. 238, 264; 83. 4. mutilation, capital punishment 35. 11, 36, 43; 36. 121; 59. 22; 60. 42 ff.; 75. 160 ff., 190 ff., 83. 4; 87. 49.

3. Internal administration. Book-keeping at court 66. 155; 69. 27. — Taxes 61. 53, 70; 68. 54; 73. 3; 74. 18 f.; 87. 50. alleviation of taxes 36. 26. the gāmabhojaka 61. 73. — The village community 10. 103; 23. 4; 38. 38; 55. 31; 60. 75; 74. 48 f.; 84. 3 ff.; 86. 53. — Administration organised by Parakkamabāhu I. 69. 27 ff.; 74. 48 f.

G. Army and war

1. The soldiers (bhaṭṭā 39. 20; 58. 20 & c.; yodhā 22. 44; 69. 7 & c.; sūrā 69. 36; 99. 119 & c; virā 72. 248 & c.) Enrolling of soldiers 10. 24. soldier's pay 90. 15, 18 f., 20. — Four-membered army 18. 29; 25. 81; 70. 217, 226; 71. 18 & c. balavūhāna 15. 189; 17. 28; 25. 1, 57; 70. 23, 69 & c. war elephants 25. 26 ff., 81; 41. 23; 50. 21 ff.; 70. 229; 76. 48 & c. chariot warriors 25. 81 (rathin 88. 34; rathesabha 15. 189; sārathi 14. 42). cavalry 25. 81 (numerous in the Damila armies 76. 100, 298, 331). infantry (patti) 25. 81. — Mercenaries (āyudhiṇa 61. 69; āyudhajīvin 66. 67): Sihalā 55. 12; 61. 69; 74. 44; 90. 17 ff. Damila, Keralā, Kaṇāṭā 45. 11; 55. 5, 12; 69. 18; 70. 230; 74. 44. the Velakkāra 60. 36; 63. 24, 29; 74. 44. villages granted to the mercenaries for maintenance 74. 48. — Militia 67. 70; 70. 82, 187, 260; 72.
127; 74. 52, 112; 75. 102; 99. 42 ff. (among the Damiās 76. 130, 246 f., 259 ff.). vyādha, kirātā, corā as soldiers 69. 20; 70. 285; 72. 208. — Officers (sāmanta see F 1). an umbrella their badge 66. 49; 70. 122; 76. 160; 88. 75. a palanquin their conveyance 70. 85, 122; 72. 100. — Trumpets 25. 65; 65. 27; 66. 32; 72. 119; 74. 222; 85. 113; 88. 75; 89. 46. drums 69. 20; 70. 227; 74. 222; 75. 104; 76. 161; 85. 114; 88. 75; 96. 15 f.; 99. 46. flags 70. 225; 85. 113; 88. 75. a relic as field-badge 25. 1; 26. 9. — 2. Weapons (āyūdra, aya 7. 36; 69. 7, 38; 99. 49 &c.; five kinds 7. 16; 41. 48; 70. 229). Bow and arrows 6. 29; 7. 19; 25. 89 ff.; 99; 33. 68, 65; 36. 31; 55. 6; 57. 43; 66. 27; 70. 114; 72. 134, 246, 250; 74. 96, 117; 83. 44; 96. 14. poisoned arrows 76. 49; 83. 38, 45. gokaṇa arrows 76. 48. archers 25. 82; 69. 19; 70. 116; 72. 244, 322. — Sword: asi 10. 59 ff.; 22. 44, 53; 66. 108; 72. 84. khagga 25. 63, 89; 30. 93; 31. 79; 64. 4; 66. 24, 31, 49; 72. 102; 88. 74 &c. thanu 24. 1; 69. 22. (royal swords 72. 102–4). — Dagger: churikā 55. 6, 17; 69. 24. asiputta ka 41. 24. nikkaraṇī 44. 112. — Spear: kunta 25. 1; 26. 9; 36. 47; 96. 14; 99. 49. satti, sattha 69. 20; 70. 116; 90. 7. tomara 24. 35; 70. 116. salla 70. 307. — Lasso 7. 20; 10. 55. — Club 23. 58; 69. 17. — catapults 72. 251; 83. 44. — Armour (kavaca) 69. 7, 38. shield 25. 58, 62 ff.; 67. 42; 99. 48. doublet of buffalo hide 74. 73. — 3. The war (yuddha 1. 63; 38. 36 &c.). Preparation of war 68. 7, 38, 52; 69. 28, 33, 38; 70. 1, 57. yuddhopakaraṇī 69. 5, 14, 17, 34; 70. 1; 96. 12. — Review of troops 99. 42 ff. sham-fights 89. 26, 31 f. manoevers 69. 36. — Four methods of war 58. 3. guerilla warfare (corayuddha) 75. 18 N., 135. ambush 66. 75 f. stratagem 25. 56. — Battle (yuddha, samgāma, raṇa &c. 24. 19; 70. 246; 72. 5, 17; 96. 17 &c.). single combat of the commanders 25. 67 ff., 83 ff.; 41. 47 ff.; 60. 30 ff. victory and defeat (jaya and parājaya, bhavā 70. 78 f., 180, 225, 246; 71. 16 &c.). celebration of victory 76. 332. abharāyaṇa as distinction of victorious officers 72. 320. officers of the defeated foe beheaded 70. 122. — Naval battles 70. 63 ff., 91; 96. 32. — Field entrenchments 10. 46; 25. 20;
VII. The people

A. Clans, castes, guilds.

1. Clan-names 19. 2; 35. 16 ff.; 38. 13; 39. 44; 41. 69; 42. 30; 66. 35; 69. 13; 74. 213; 80. 15; 85. 51; 90. 7; 91. 3
(Moriyā and Lambakaṇṇā in India 5. 17; 77. 27 f.) — Castes (vaṇṇa 72. 145) and guilds 7. 57; 19. 1, 3; 69. 24; 80. 41, 75.
setṭhin 11. 26; 19. 2, 67; 59. 16. khattiya, rājaśīna 3. 3;
7. 47; 17. 63; 19. 54, 66; 87. 28; 89. 27. brāhmaṇa, dvija,
vippa 3. 3; 9. 2; 10. 20, 102; 19. 2; 33. 37 ff.; 34. 24; 35. 18;
37. 41; 62. 33, 46; 64. 16; 66. 132; 67. 94. vessa 3. 3; 20.
15; 76. 264. sudda 3. 3. — Kulīna: līna 61. 50, 52, 62, 68;
66. 153. kulaputta 72. 304; 92. 22; 97. 13 f.; 26; 99. 169;
100. 134, 172; kulitthi 60. 78; kulavamsa 95. 6; kulapati
23. 19. — Slaves (dūsa, dāsi) 9. 4, 15, 19, 22, 24; 27. 12; 61.
68; 70. 202; 88. 106; 90. 2 (shaving of the head 6. 42. re-
demption of slaves 87. 46). outcasts (caṇḍāla) 5. 57; 10. 91 ff.;
33. 2; 35. 18; 66. 132; 88. 106.

2. Single professions (kammakāra 61. 68; 69. 21; 99. 50;
pesakāra, pesiya 7. 56; 30. 6; sippika, -in 34. 73; 66. 139;
88. 13, 35. list of craftsmen 88. 105-7. (wandering craftsmen
66. 139). payment of the craftsmen 27. 22 f.; 30. 14, 18 f.;
88. 110. of artists 100. 198 f. farmer and herdsman: kasi-
kamma 69. 37; 76. 287; gopā (ka), gopāla 9. 22; 10. 13, 17;
19. 2. smith: kammāra 68. 25; 88. 105; lohakāra 68. 25;
soppakāra 18. 24; 66. 139; 68. 25. goldsmith's works 98. 94;
100. 30, 72. barber &c: nhāpita, nhāpaka, kappaka 29. 20;
34. 84; 69. 26; 70. 44. bricklayer: (itthaka)vadāhaki 30. 5,
8, 30; 35. 101, 109 f.; 37. 27; 88. 106. mason: silākoṭṭaka
68. 25. wood-carrier: dārubhatika 34. 22. writer: lekhaka

B. Settlement

1. Village: gâma, passim. fence of briers round a v. 66. 87 (gâmika “villager” 23. 66; 67. 70; jânapada 29. 22). — small town: nigama (negama 70. 254). — town: nagara, purâ, purî 87. 67 (nâgara 4. 5, 15; 14. 59; 17. 63; 79. 1 &c.; pora 29. 22). — 2. Description of a town 10. 84 ff.; 73. 55 ff.; 88. 92 ff., 116 ff.; 91. 5. four districts of a t. 73. 26. streets: vitthi 34. 76; 73. 59. houses: geha, ghara, âgâra (special kinds: adâhaya, hammâya 88. 93, 118). houses of more than one storeys: pûsâda 88. 92; 91. 5 &c. (cf. vii, C, 12 e). halls: sâla, câtussâla 15. 47, 50; 35. 88; 37. 15; 73. 23; 76. 123. alms-houses: dànasâla 54. 30; 73. 26. hospitals: vejjasâla (37. 182) 49. 18, 19; 52. 25, 57; 54. 31, 53; 73. 34. dispensaries: bhesajageha 52. 27. lying-in hospitals: sivikäsottthi-sâla 10. 102; sûtighara 79. 61. shops: âpâna 5. 52; 23. 29; 34. 76; 91. 5. gardens, parks (uyâna), bathing-ponds (pokkharânu), bath-houses (nânakoṭṭhaka): 15. 2, 7, 8, 30, 202, 207; 35. 97, 98; 37. 33; 68. 57 f.; 73. 95–123; 78. 45 ff.; 79. 1 ff.; 100. 288 f. jantarâghara 15. 31. — 3. Fortification of the city 60. 2 f.; 73. 57 ff.; 94. 7 f. wall and trench (pâkâra, parikhâ) 25. 8; 35. 96; 60. 3; 70. 236; 91. 5, 7. gate-towers, bastions &c. (gopura, dvâraṭâla, dvârakoṭṭha, patthanda, torâna, khandhâvâra) 51. 34; 60. 3; 70. 116, 190; 91. 5, 7; 96. 30; 98. 70. gates (four) 34. 79; 35. 97. fourteen gates of Pulatthinagara 73. 160 ff. — 4. Suburbs (of P.) 79. 151 ff.; 78. 79 ff.

C. Domestic and social life

1. The family. Terms of kinship 7. 65; 9. 16, 24, 26 f.; 10. 7, 29, 73 f., 82; 11. 20; 48. 51, 82; 51. 24; 52. 11; 57. 28; 59. 28; 61. 1; 62. 2; 63. 38, 40, 51, 53; 64. 33; 67. 16; 69. 23; 70. 266; 93. 3; 99. 1, 123. three kinds of sons 87. 18 ff. —
Marriage (parinaya) 72. 91. marriage-outfit of a bride 7. 55 ff.; 87. 28. brides from India 7. 50 ff.; 87. 28; 96. 40. allusion to the buying of brides 72. 91. master of the house (kuṭumbikā) 25. 61; 90; 24. 25. fire kept in the house 10. 14. — Pregnancy 22. 42 ff.; 62. 36. child-birth, birth-rites 9. 21; 62. 45. childhood 87. 55 ff.; 88. 6 (wet nurse 35. 20). domestic ceremonies 22. 65; 74; 62. 53; 63. 5; 64. 13. — Death and funeral 74. 144 f.

2. Food and drink 7. 24; 10. 3; 14. 55; 22. 44; 70; 24. 56; 29. 28; 30. 37; 39; 32. 30; 39 f.; 45; 49; 34. 55 f.; 62; 35. 65; 67; 92 f.; 36. 69; 100; 54. 22 f.; 70. 211; 73. 36; 85. 38; 89. 44 ff.; 51 ff.; 100. 4; 195 f. — morning meal 25. 114. pod-pepper and other spice 25. 114; 26. 16; 28. 21; 54. 22 f. — Intoxicating drinks (suhrā) 25. 32; 54. 70 f. — Betel chewing 35. 62; 54. 22; 100. 3, 196.

3. Dress (vattaha 11. 29; 29. 28; 35. 65; 36. 53 &c.) and ornaments (āhararava 7. 27 &c.). Stuff 58. 9; 70. 109; 73. 84; 90. 70. — Turban 11. 28; 23. 38; 32. 78; 35. 53 (hair-knot 66. 103). mantle 35. 102; 60. 70; 66. 103, 109. shoes (pūdaka, upāhāra) 11. 28; 30. 14; 39. — Ornaments, unguents, perfumes (sugandha 89. 42) 7. 55; 11. 28; 25. 91; 32. 29; 34. 52; 66. 44 f.; 134; 70. 108) 73. 84; 76. 206, 237; 85. 41; 116; 89. 19; 97. 47. aṇjana 11. 29; 34. 52. incense 89. 42.

4. Articles of personal use (tools &c.). Umbrella (ātapatta, chattra) 76. 113; 89. 19; 99. 47, 55 (cf. vi, B, 2). fan 11. 28; 31. 78; 76. 115; 85. 27, 46; 89. 20; 100. 193. napkin 11. 29. twigs for cleansing the teeth 5. 25. — Knife (vāsi) 28. 24 f. hammer, axe and other tools 29. 3; 88. 108 f. — Pottery, vessels: kalasa 74. 205; 85. 28. kumbha 89. 20; 90. 71. ācāmakumbhi 27. 40. ghaṭa 29. 57 ff.; 76. 112, 115; 85. 26; 92. 17. thāla, thāli 89. 21, 44; paṭīgāra 89. 21. pāṭi 30. 12. bhājana 11. 31; 22. 5, 64 (fig. 44. 70; 84. 16). bhiṅkāra 11. 28; 76. 115; 89. 20. saraka 32. 55. — Spoon 27. 40. basket (piṭaka, puṭa) 36. 93; 88. 109. water-strainer 36. 92.

62. 23, 24 &c. chair, pīthā: 27. 39; pullūka 27. 32 ff.; 31. 76 f. sivikā 11. 31; 32. 7. — Carpet, mat 14. 51; 25. 102; 27. 35; 34. 54; 73. 64; 88. 109; 90. 70; 98. 46. — Lamp 25. 101; 31. 80; 33. 6; 34. 55, 77; 74. 205; 85. 40 f.; 89. 43 f.; 90. 71; 92. 17; 99. 62. lamp-stand 76. 205; 89. 23. — Mirror: aṭṭasa: 100. 106; dappaṇa 89. 21. — Charcoal-pan 60. 70. bell 21. 15. mill-stone (nisada) 23. 6; 28. 40; 30. 9. chest (mañjūsa) 30. 60. — parissāvana 36. 92.

6. Measures and weights, time, money. Measures of length: yojana (cf. M. tr. p. 297, Nr. 34) 1. 21; 5. 23, 179, 262; 6. 13, 39; 18. 29; 20. 12; 23. 22, 26; 28. 7, 13 ff.; 38. 68 (note is incorrect; cf. C. tr. I, p. 349), 85. 4; 86. 44; 89. 14. gāvuta 65. 4; 73. 154; 74. 63; 76. 197; 89. 9. usabhā 22. 42; 23. 88; 25. 43; 85. 4. battha 1. 41; 18. 27; 25. 43; 70. 128; 78. 63, 69. ratana 15. 167; 30. 58, 63; 72. 235; 78. 77; 92. 17. vidatthi 28. 14. aṅgula, -li 18. 27; 28. 14; 30. 59; porisa 72. 235. yaṭṭhi 78. 63; 86. 41. bāṇapāta 72. 239. dhanu 35. 31. tāla 17. 43. — Square measures: ammaṇa 38. 77. karīsa 10. 30; 28. 13; 35. 83, 86. — measures of capacity: ammaṇa 30. 7 ff. doṇa 15. 167; 31. 18; 74. 3. nāḷ 30. 37; 32. 45. — weights: nikkha(la) 76. 18; 82. 13 f.; 100. 14. — — Time: year (vassa, saṁvacchāra passim, hāvana 41. 3; 44. 153 &c.). months (māsa 3. 16; 5. 279; 25. 8 &c.). names of months 1. 12, 19. 46, 73; 3. 2; 11. 37, 40, 42; 12. 2; 13. 14, 18; 16. 2, 14; 17. 1, 17; 18. 7, 61 f., 64; 19. 9; 20. 33; 29. 1, 14, 63; 31. 109; 39. 37; 41. 80; 85. 89; 90. 62; 100. 91. sukka-, kālapakkha 18. 61 f., 64; 19. 9; 20. 33; 29. 14; 31. 109. day (divasa passim, vāsara 62. 10, 32; 70. 263 &c.). yāma 25. 105; 85. 40. — — Money: kahāpaṇa 4. 13; 21. 26; 25. 100; 30. 14, 18; 53. 29, 32 f.; 77. 102; 81. 45. gold coins 27. 21; 48. 7; 81. 45; 100. 14. silver coins 91. 12; 97. 6. sums of money in numbers only (to be supplied by kahāpaṇa) 6. 24 f.; 7. 61; 10. 18, 24; 23. 36 ff.; 26. 22; 34. 87; 35. 64, 72; 89. 66; 92. 13.

7. Traffic and trade. Roads: maggānumagga 67. 20. — footpaths 70. 4; 72. 240. high-roads (mahāmagga) in C. 25. 6 ff.; 50. 37; 58. 41; 73. 163; 74. 83; 89. 13 f. cause-
ways and bridges 70. 127 f.; 86. 21 ff.; 98. 86; 99. 118. resthouses 60. 66; 89. 15; 99. 118. mile-stones 80. 25 N. — Means of conveyance: yūna, vāhana 10. 31 ff.; 58. 21; 61. 6; 99. 34. carriage (ratha) 7. 56; 14. 42; 15. 189; 31. 38; 33. 46; 70. 127; 89. 16. cart (sakaṭa) 28. 21 ff.; 30. 6; 34. 46. litter 70. 85, 122; 72. 100; 90. 5, 8; 95. 12; (? 15. 189; 25. 1, 57; 70. 23, 69). — Trade: (merchant see VII, A, 2). navigation and ocean-trade 6, 43; 7. 51, 58; 8. 11; 11. 23, 38; 18. 7 f.; 19. 4, 17, 70; 23. 24; 35. 26 f.; 58. 9; 69. 33; 100. 63 ff., 75 ff. harbours in C. Mahāṭittha 7. 58; 25. 79; 48. 31; 51. 28; 60. 34; 88. 63 &c. Jambukola 11. 23, 38; 18. 7; 19. 23 ff. Uruvelapaṭṭana 28. 36. Mattikāvāṭatittha 60. 34. Maunāra 61. 39; 83. 16. Vālukagāma 75. 45. Pallavāvaṅka 76. 46. Pulacceri 83. 17 (?). Bhīmatittha 86. 40. Kolambatittha 94. 1. Tikopamālatittha 100. 76. in India: Tāmalitī 11. 38; 19. 6. — Articles of trade: horses from India (sindhava) 21. 10; 23. 71; 31. 38. elephants from Birma 76. 17-34. jewels 69. 33. spice 28. 21; 54. 46; 58. 9. stuffs 58. 9.

8. Rural life. Agriculture (kasikamma) 69. 37. its intrinsic value 92. 24 ff. clearing of the jungle 23. 51; 68. 30. — Irrigation works 68. 16 ff., 32 ff.; 79. 27 ff.; 88. 111 ff. mātikā "canal" 61. 65; 68. 24, 33; 79. 25 ff., 40 ff. (nettika 60. 14). vāpiṭṭa (see V, C, c, 6) gauh, kar, bandh 10. 88; 23. 92 f.; 35. 120; 36. 3; 37. 46; 38. 42; 42. 34; 51. 73; 79. 69. structure of a tank: (bandhana, seta, setubandha) 42. 34; 68. 17, 23, 26, 28. paṇāli "outflow running through the dam, sluice" 79. 27, 30, 42 ff., 68. āvarana "lock" 60. 52; 61. 65; 79. 27 N., 69. koṭṭhabaddha "square hole (for the lock)" 68. 16; 79. 27 N., 28. weir (vāripāṭa) 48. 148; 68. 35, 37, 40. flood-escape (nijjhara) 68. 33, 50; 79. 28, 66. — raising of the water by means of machines 34. 45. subterranean canals 35. 98. — Fields 23. 51; 68. 30, 52 ff.; 88. 114 f.; 92. 26. produce of the fields 23. 51; 34. 3; 68. 31; 92. 26. corn (dhaṅhā) 68. 7, 38; 70. 1. sowing and harvest 10. 31; 24. 58; 34. 3. barn 68. 31. — cocomplantation 90. 93. sugar-mill 34. 41; 61. 53. — Herdsman
9. 22; 10. 13, 17; 19. 2. assagopa 39. 1; hatthipaka 88. 34. cattle (gopu) 35. 42. domestic animals: elephant, cow, buffalo, dog, see V, C, 3, b, 3.

9. Education of the people, literary life. Education: wandering schoolmasters 66. 138. art of writing, letters 7. 51, 57; 8. 7; 22. 15; 23. 25, 33, 35; 33. 40; 66. 36; 67. 55, 58; 76. 30; 98. 90; 100. 64, 158. lekhaka 99. 33. royal inscriptions and sannas 28. 2; 33. 50; 54. 23; 86. 34 f.; 39; 100. 214. — Appreciation of books, their destruction and restitution 52. 50; 80. 67; 81. 41 ff.; 99. 125. See also V, E, 4. — Knowledge of languages and dialects 66. 130; 69. 22; 90. 80. Pāli as ecclesiastical language 98. 90. grammar 64. 3. philosophy 90. 80. — Poetry: kāveyya 42. 13; 64. 3. poets in C. 42. 13; 60. 75. See V, E, 4.

10. Sport and amusement. Sport (kīlā 66. 111): hunting 5. 154; 10. 2; 14. 1, 4; 70. 32 ff.; 72. 263 (bow and javelin, the hunter’s weapons 14. 4; 70. 41). capture of wild elephants 72. 105. art of fencing 24. 1; 64. 4; 69. 22. pugilistic contest 63. 30; 75. 75. riding on horseback or on elephant 22. 56; 23. 72 ff.; 24. 1; 62. 6; 64. 4; 69. 22; 88. 34; 96. 7 f. Archery (dhanusippa 57. 43) 23. 86 ff.; 24, 1; 69. 19; 72. 243, 245; 83. 45. plays in water 26. 7, 10; 70. 31. — Music and dance: music (turiyavādita 34. 60; tālāvacara 17. 7). song (gītā) 34. 79; 72. 94. dance (naceca) 34. 60, 79; 85. 43. musicians 30. 91; 69. 24; 72. 94, 264. singers 72. 264; 85. 43. dancers and dancing girls 10. 87; 29. 24; 32. 78; 74. 217; 85. 43. wandering musicians 66. 132 ff.; bards and minstrels 74. 222; 89. 34. musical instruments, turiya (five kinds 73. 68; 85. 30, 45; 89. 33) 29. 25; 76. 114. lute 30. 75; 31. 83; 72. 264; 74. 216. trumpet 74. 222; 99. 60; 100. 33, 190. flute 72. 264; 74. 216. cymbal 99. 60; 100. 33, 190. drums: bheri 74. 221; 96. 15; 99. 46; maddala 96. 15; 99. 46; muddinga 74. 216; kāhala 74. 222. — rasa-theory 66. 56; 72. 94, 265; 73. 117; 75. 89. Iaya 73. 79. — dance and music at festival occasions 34. 60, 79; 74. 215–7; 85. 42 f.; 89. 33 ff.; 90. 74; 99. 46. d. and m. as amusement of ladies and princes and at court 25. 99, 102; 29. 24; 64. 4;
69. 22; 70. 31; 73. 141. — Public amusements: samajā 34. 79 (cf. E. Handy, Album Kern, p. 61 ff.). Āsāha-feast 85. 89; 99. 53. vasanta-kīḷā 64. 17. — stage for mimics (raṅgabhūmi) 31. 82. puppet-plays 66. 133. snake-charmers 66. 131. mendicant artists 52. 30; 53. 30. — festival processions 31. 36 ff.; 37. 77 ff.; 38. 77; 52. 53 ff.; 72. 313 ff.; 74. 224 ff.; 76. 108 ff.; 89. 16 ff.; 99. 45 ff.; 53 ff. decoration of the streets 19. 38; 34. 76 f.; 37. 74 ff.; 62. 43; 74. 199 ff.; 85. 4 ff.; 89. 14 f.; 98. 40 ff.; 99. 7 f., 43; 100. 25 ff. illumination 34. 80. donations distributed to the people at festival occasions 29. 20 f., 27 f.

11. Medicine. Physicians and medical art 32. 38; 73. 16 f., 39; 99. 176 f.; 100. 144. wandering quacks 66. 137. kings as physicians 37. 112–50; 73. 34–54. gynecology 37. 140. veterinary science 25. 34; 37. 112 ff., 128; 73. 50 ff. medical books 97. 59. — Diseases 15. 60, 63; 35. 66; 36. 82 ff.; 37. 141; 52. 25, 77; 56. 5; 99. 176. cripples 37. 148. poisoning 66. 131, 138. chirurgical instruments 37. 150; 76. 51. bleeding 37. 128. medicaments: bhesajja 5. 224; 22. 30; 32. 38; 76. 49 f. &c. honey and ghee 5. 49 ff., 215. — Hospitals and dispensaries see VII, B, 2.

12. Art: architecture, plastic and graphic art. Architecture. a. building material (dabba) 25. 39; 37. 25, 29: parpsu 30. 6 f. mattikā 11. 29; 29. 5; 30. 21. cuṇṇa 88. 106; 100. 284. sudhā 25. 29; 29. 8; 32. 1; 34. 46; 68. 27; 91. 29 f.; 97. 38, 47. iṭṭhakā 25. 20; 28. 5, 7 ff.; 30. 15 f.; 35. 85; 88. 98, 106; 92. 10; 100. 87, 284 (tambalohiṭṭhakā 27. 42). giṅjaka 88. 97. silā 25. 29; 33. 23, 25; 35. 118; 36. 102; 68. 25; 88. 107; 97. 47; 98. 86; 100. 284, 296. medavannapāsāṇā 30. 57; 31. 119, 121. — b. Workmen: vaddhaṇi see VII, A, 2; 88. 106 f. — c. Various buildings: ekatthūnīkageha, ekatthambhāpāsāṇā 9. 3; 73. 92. pāsāṇa, addhagoya, hamiya see VII, B, 2. — d. Elements of a house: ajira 35. 3. ulinda 35. 3; 98. 44. dvāra 73. 63; 88. 99. kavāṭa 35. 25; 73. 63. bhitti 73. 63; 88. 98. thambha 27. 30; 36. 102; 60. 11; 78. 41; 88. 98; 100. 296 f. sopāṇa 34. 44; 73. 63; 78. 41; 88. 99. vedikā 27. 16, 26; 73. 88; 88. 99.
gabbha 27. 15, 28; 73. 61; kūṭūgāra 27. 15, 26; 73. 62; 78. 38, 49, 55; viṭaṅka 88. 97; sīhapañjara 27. 16, 28; chadana (72. 211); 97. 39; valabhi 88. 97 (tulāyaṭṭhi 88. 97; gopānasī 37. 141; 88. 98). — e. Pāsāda (digha-, cūlapo 78. 36 ff., 50; 90. 90): pākāra 27. 41; kūṭūgāra, gabbhasālāghara, pañjarageha 78. 55; dvārakoṭṭhaka 27. 41; gopura 60. 12; pāsādatala 25. 98, 105; 28. 3; thūpikā 31. 13; 73. 135; singa 90. 66, 90; underground tunnel 55. 7. — Thūpa, cetiya (M. tr., p. 295, Nr. 26). a tree as cetiya 1. 67; thūpa "tomb" 20. 53; thūpa "tomb" 20. 44; 25. 73; cetiya = thūpa 29. 15; 30. 57; 86. 51 &c; dhātugabbha = thūpa 60. 56; 68. 28; 79. 14; silāmaya the 35. 118; model of a the 30. 11 ff. — erection of a the 30. 15 ff. mantling of a ruined the (kaṅcuka) 1. 42; 33. 23, 25; 35. 85, 121; 36. 12. — parts of a the: foundation 29. 2–12 (māṅgalitthakā 29. 15, 46–63); moonstone 31. 61; toraṇa 35. 10; vālikaṇgana, -mariyāṅā, cetiyāṅā 33. 31; 34. 70; 37. 60; hatthipākāra, -vedī 33. 5; 38. 10; 39. 30; 41. 95; pupphādhūna 30. 51, 56; 33. 22; pādavedikā 34. 41, 35. 2; dhātugabbha 30. 57 ff., 62 ff; 34. 49; sudhākamma 32. 1; 33. 5; 34. 46; the "tree": caturassacaya 31. 124; muuddhavedi 32. 5; souṇathūpa 100. 263; vedikā on the tee 34. 30; 35. 2. figures of sun and moon on the tee 36. 66; thūpikā 44. 133; 76. 105; 80. 20; 87. 66. chatta 33. 5; 35. 2; 36. 24, 65; 38. 51; 44. 133; vajiracumbara 36. 66; 38. 74; 41. 95. — Maṇḍapa, provisional pavillon, erected for various purposes: as a chapel 100. 227; for a sermon 98. 71 ff.; 100. 279; in connection with a pāsāda 14. 47; 27. 29 ff.; 36. 99, or with a temple 100. 185, 217, 243; ratanam 27. 29; 37. 103; silām 36. 102; thambhā, chatta and vedikā of a mo 27. 30 f.; 100. 226. — f. Ornamentation of the buildings (the object itself or its representation in relief or in fresco-painting): pupphaṇumuṇghatā 30. 90; 32. 4; strings of pearls 27. 31; 30. 66 f., or of bells 27. 16, 27; 30. 66; 73. 68; ratanapadumāni 27. 34, 30. 68. — Figures (panti "rows") of animals 27. 30, 37; 30. 65; 100. 255, or of deities 27. 30; 30. 74 ff.; 89 ff., 92, or of sun, moon and stars 27. 33; 30. 68; 36. 66; or of sacred symbols 27. 37; 30. 65, 92;
b. Plastic art. Statues of the Buddha 35. 89; 38. 65, 86; 39. 6, 7, 40; 45. 61; 49. 14, 44; 51. 76; 52. 65; 53. 49; 78. 74 ff.; 79. 78; 85. 10, 66; 88. 56; 90. 94; 92. 14; 98. 66; 100. 154, 235, 257. golden or gilded images 30. 72; 48. 137; 49. 77; 50. 34, 66; 51. 23, 48 ff.; 55. 20; 61. 57; 100. 72, 75, 249. stone images 36. 104, 128; 37. 14; 38. 61; 42. 18; 44. 68; 51. 77; 52. 12; 53. 50; 85. 77; 100. 181. bronze images 36. 31; 37. 31. images made of stucco 100. 245. — Buddhist iconography 38. 62—4 with N.; 45. 61; 52. 26, 65; 53. 50; 73. 78; 98. 66. — Statues of Metteyya and of other bodhisattas 38. 68; 45. 62; 51. 77; 79. 75; 100. 248, 259; of Ānanda, Sāriputta, Moggallāna 39. 53; 51. 80; 100. 248; of Mahinda and of his companions 37. 68, 79, 87; 38. 58; of princes 39. 52; 88. 57; 100. 249. — Images of gods 30. 73 ff.; 86. 19; 90. 102; 100. 248, 259. tīvāṅka images 78. 39; 85. 66. — Figures of animals 39. 52; 100. 252.

c. Graphic art (cf. the notice in a) Paintings on stuff 27. 18. a picture of the Buddha 85. 94 ff. — Mural paintings 78. 35 ff., 40, 52, 88; 90. 66, 90; 100. 244, 247 ff., 250 ff., 260 ff.

d. Special arts. Ivory work 37. 100 ff. — mosaic 51. 69. — figures moved by mechanism 85. 15 ff.
VIII. Hindu religion and popular belief

A. Hindu gods (deva 18. 51; 32. 63 ff.; 51. 108; 70. 223; 96. 39 &c. amara 99. 107. sura 72. 322; 100. 135. — 1. Hindu cult in C. 45. 55; 48. 143; 73. 71; 83. 49; 90. 101 ff. veda and vedaṅga 5. 107, 143; 10. 20; 62. 33; 64. 16. the brāhmaṇa caste see VII, 1. brahmanical ceremonies 62. 33, 45, 52 ff. bhatti 74. 243; 85. 33, 70, 82, 121; 93. 9. Hinduism forcibly introduced 80. 75; 88. 9 ff. Hindu temples (devālaya, -ṭhāna) 37. 40; 79. 19, 22, 81; 88. 93, 119; 99. 45. — 2. Groups of gods: tāvatiṣṭā, tettiṃśa and their heaven 27. 18; 30. 44, 89; 31. 79. tusita gods and their heaven 32. 72 ff.; 33. 13. dvatīṃśa kumāriyo 30. 89; 31. 80. brahma gods 18. 51; 85. 15; 87. 11. planetary gods (gaḥa) 87. 1. — 3. the three great gods: Brahmā 30. 74; 74. 197, 237; 89. 17 (the brahma world 5. 139; 19. 45; 31. 11). Viṣṇu (nātha-sura &c.) 7. 5; 83. 49; 85. 85 ff.; 90. 102; 97. 46; 99. 42; 100. 248. (Lakkhi 72. 101. Āśāthi festival 85. 89). Śiva 73. 91; 74. 193; 93. 9 ff. (Cauḍi 73. 161). — 4. Other gods: Indra (Sakka, Devinda, Vāsava, Sujampati, Pākasāsana, Sahassakkha, Nārāyaṇa, Vajirapūṇi) 15. 185; 17. 13; 21. 31; 28. 6; 30. 74; 31. 34, 78; 37. 151; 39. 23; 47. 25; 51. 108; 62. 11; 65. 19; 72. 59, 168, 186, 265, 299, 328; 74. 206; 85. 12; 96. 37. his residence, his palace, his hall of justice, his garden 15. 185; 73. 70, 87; 74. 198, 206; 80. 5; 88. 121; 89. 5, 40. his trumpet 30. 74. his bow 85. 12. Kuvera (Vessavana) 10. 89; 27. 29. his residence Ālakā 37. 106; 39. 5; 74. 207; 80. 5. his treasures 87. 31. Skanda 45. 45; 55; 57. 7. Vissakamman 18. 24; 28. 6 ff.; 30. 11; 31. 34, 76; 73. 69. Pajjuna 21. 31; 85. 44 (devo vassati 21. 32; 36. 77). Soma 62. 5; 63. 14. Brhaspati 42. 3; 52. 38. Sarasvati 73. 86. Yama 72. 249, 309; 75. 30. Mārā 30. 75; 31. 85; 41. 48; 66. 99; 74. 237; 80. 70; 86. 9; 88. 81; 93. 17; 96. 42. Namuci 98. 96. the four lokāpālā (mahārājā) 30. 89; 31. 79; 72. 59. minor gods 30. 75; 31. 78, 82. — 5. Demigods,
nymphs &c. Kandappa 77. 106. kumbhāṇḍā 12. 20. gandhabba 12. 20; 73. 163. accharā 25. 102; 27. 13. nāgū (bhujagū &c.) and garudā (supaṇṇa) 1. 84; 5. 28; 12. 9 ff.; 14. 40; 19. 3, 19 ff.; 31. 19, 27 ff.; 46 ff.; 50. 27; 75. 38; 83. 14. Nāga king Aravāla 12. 9, 15, 19. Kālanāga 5. 87; 30. 75; 31. 27, 46, 83. Mahānāga 41. 77 ff. Ananta 73. 120. Nāgas original inhabitants of C. 1. 45 ff.; 63 ff.; 71 ff.; 19. 35. — 6. Demons. asurā 1. 84; 51. 39; 72. 299; 96. 37; 99. 63. dānavā 75. 54. kimnarā (-riyo) 5. 212; 78. 40. rakkhasā (-siyo) 12. 45 ff.; 15. 60; 39. 34; 54. 66; 72. 70; 83. 46. yakkhā (-iyo) 9. 23; 10. 84 ff.; 12. 20 ff.; 18. 52; 19. 3; 31. 81; 36. 82 ff.; 50. 36; 55. 21; 99. 125. y.s in bodily shape 10. 104; 14. 7. twenty-eight y.-chiefs 30. 90; 31. 81. the y. Kālavēla 10. 84; 37. 44. y.s original inhabitants of C. 1. 20 ff.; 7. 9, 11, 30 ff.; 63. 12. pretā and bhūtā 10. 104; 74. 145. — demons in animal shape 7. 9; 10. 53 ff.; 14. 3, or changing their shape 7. 26, or producing animal beings 10. 4. — Rāhu 83. 42.

B. Popular belief. 1. Spirits, local or tutelar deities (devatā, deva, devaputta, maru) 5. 27; 8. 13, 25; 15. 67, 81, 135, 165; 19. 19; 20. 41; 22. 19, 80; 23. 10; 27. 30; 30. 15, 50, 99; 31. 56, 83 f., 93; 32. 63; 37. 238; 42. 54; 57. 32, 38; 70. 210; 80. 55; 99. 112, 133. tree spirits 1. 52; 5. 42; 10. 89. mountain deities 14. 3 (Sumanadeva 1. 33; 86. 19). gnomes 14. 38. chattamhi devatā 28. 6. devatās in animal shape 28. 9. vyādhideva 10. 89. devapalli 57. 38. offerings to the d.s (bali) 15. 67, 135; 36. 89. — 2. Magic art and witchcraft. Incantations, charms 41. 80 ff.; 51. 81; 52. 80; 57. 6 ff.; 66. 138. magic water and thread 7. 9; 73. 73. rag-trees 49. 27. magic remedies 46. 37. fending of the influence of evil spirits (sānti) 85. 50. — Rainfall effected by charm 37. 189 ff.; 87. 1 ff. — Oracle, soothsaying, signs (nimitta) and their interpretation 6. 2; 8. 10, 14; 14. 53; 22. 46 ff.; 68; 35. 66; 39. 22; 57. 38 f., 53; 62. 38 ff.; 66. 132; 67. 29 f., 32; 77. 48; Brahmins as soothsayers 9. 2. casting lots 95. 20 ff. — Dreams and their interpretation 62. 12 ff., 21 ff.; 66. 47 ff.; 95. 14 f. — Bodily marks and their interpretation 5. 45; 22. 59; 35. 109; 48. 114; 57. 49; 59. 34 ff.; 62. 46 ff.; 81. 68 f.;
IX. Buddhism

Buddha, dhamma, samgha (vatthuttaya, ratanattaya) 5. 81; 12. 28; 13. 13; 21. 8; 23. 13; 26. 23 f.; 64. 15; 87. 43; 90. 65; 91. 6, 9, 16; 92. 27; 97. 1; 98. 2; 99. 11; 100. 169, 301.

A. Buddha. 1. Bodily and mental qualities of a B. 3. 1, 6; 5. 91; 17. 46; 18. 22; 54. 29; 74. 2; 85. 54; 99. 67. former B's 1. 5 ff.; 15. 34 ff.; 27. 11; 39. 51. future B's 32. 73; 37. 242; 38. 68; 51. 77 ff.; 52. 47; 80. 12; 87. 3; 100. 237. pacekabuddha 1. 55; 5. 50. — 2. Gotama B.: in former existences 42. 5. his life 1. 12 ff.; 2. 22; 8. 1 ff.; 35. 31; 51. 10; 73. 162; 74. 3. miracles performed by the B. 17. 44; 82. 29; 100. 272. his visits to C. 1. 19 ff.; 15. 160 ff.; 74. 2. his disciples 3. 4 ff., 9 ff.; 37. 176; 39. 53; 51. 80; 85. 78 ff., 107. the five great resolves 17. 46 ff.; 18. 22; 82. 33. titles of the B. 1. 57; 82. 17; 85. 100 f.; 90. 51.

B. Dhamma. 1. puñña, apuñña; kamma 32. 22 f.; 37. 51; 93. 15, 17; 94. 21 f.; 95. 24 et passim. saṃsāra 22. 34 ff.; 30. 44; 32. 21, 81 ff.; 37. 152; 93. 11, 14; 100. 237 &c. three bhavas 4. 66. gati, agati 37. 51 N., 108; 80. 13. patti 42. 50 N.; 44. 107; 52. 69; 100. 146, 159. — 2. The eightfold path 12. 42; 84. 32. compassion with living beings 35. 6; 49. 36; 52. 15, 28; 54. 32; 60. 74; 74. 20 f. — 2. Influence of Mahāyānism (cf. PARANAVITANA, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II, p. 35 ff.) 1. 57; 50. 65; 80. 12; 82. 17; 85. 119; 86. 5-7; 87. 3; 90. 51. kings as bodhisattwas 36. 90; 88. 35; 90. 48; 100. 136.

C. Samgha passim (cūtuddisa s° 32. 34; 45. 54; 73. 155; 79. 17. gāva "chapter" 60. 17; 89. 18, 57; = samgha 99. 66, 106). 1. Organisation of the order: pabbajjā, upasampadā (see V, E, 5; M. tr., p. 294, 296) 5. 129 ff.; 12. 30 ff.;
14. 31 f.; 37. 210, 223; 57. 19; 81. 49 f.; 84. 37, 43; 87. 72; 89. 47 ff. &c. shaving of the head 5. 46; 16. 11. the yellow robe 5. 229; 14. 13; 18. 10. cripples not admitted 57. 19. pabbajjā of nuns 15. 19 ff. — pañca saddhammikā 80. 66: sāmaṇera 13. 4; 22. 25; 31. 119 &c.; 99. 25, 89, 169, 173; 100. 44, 96 f., 238. bhikkhu passim (sāmaṇa 14. 8; 26. 21; 30. 37; 33. 93; 66. 144; 67. 94; 97. 14. yati 37. 175; 53. 15; 57. 19; 89. 58 ff.). — therī, mahāthera 37. 218; 89. 64 et passim. ayyaka 45. 69. yatissara 67. 61, 80. — bhikkhuni 5. 198 ff., 208; 19. 68, 78 ff.; 26. 15 &c. therī 19. 65, 77. — nissaya 36. 112. upajjhāya (antevāsin) 5. 69, 206, 208. ācariya (sāvaka) 5. 70, 208. — the bhaṇḍāgārika 89. 58. — bhikkhus living in villages or in the wilderness 52. 19, 22; 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20; 57. 32; 84. 18, 22; 99. 170. tapodhana, tapassin 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20; 89. 57; 91. 25. wandering bhikkhus 98. 15. — retirement from the order 93. 14 f. occupations not allowed to bh.s 84. 7; 100. 45 f. kulasāmsagga 33. 95. — exclusion 5. 270 ff.; 37. 39; 94. 22. cremation of dead bh.s 20. 34 ff., 43 f., 47, 53; 100. 148. — titles granted to bh.s: sāmin (mahāsā, sāsanaś &c.) 52. 20; 58. 23; 81. 76; 86. 38; 89. 64. samghāthera 4. 56; 37. 45. samghāruja 100. 69, 108. rāja-guru 90. 81.

2. Necessaries of a bh: catupaccayā 3. 14; 5. 196; 22. 24; 33. 94; 37. 76 N.; 51. 122; 60. 10, 15, 69; 84. 16; 89. 50; 90. 41; 94. 20; 97. 11; 98. 22; 99. 26. aṭṭha parikkhārī (sammaṇakā pā) 4. 26 N.; 20. 24; 26. 21; 30. 37, 39; 54. 25; 60. 71; 84. 21, 39, 41; 85. 39; 88. 52; 89. 66 f.; 91. 21, 33; 97. 8; 99. 89. ticivara, chācivara 33. 26; 34. 7, 84; 35. 77; 36. 40, 110, 131; 41. 29; 91. 23, 33; 100. 132. patta 14. 52; 24. 26 ff.; 35. 7. parissāvama 35. 74. dhāmmakaraka 22. 68. akkhamāla 46. 17; 57. 6.

3. The vihāra. Four vihāras 53. 37; 54. 5, 33, 54. aṭṭha mūlavihāra 61. 59. aṭṭhāyatanāni 84. 4, 18. assama 72. 145. bhikkhuṇi-pāsāya 18. 11 f.; 20. 21; 37. 43 &c. ārāma 10. 101; 15. 185; 19. 41; 24. 13 (cf. 22. 23); 29. 32 &c. — simū 14. 32; 15. 183 ff.; 78. 56 ff.; 100. 129, 287, 291. simūsamuggihāta 37. 36 f., 56. pākāra 36. 8, 37; 78. 51, 91; 100. 217, 265 &c.
— Component parts of a v. (49, 32; 60, 11 ff.; 78, 32 ff., 49 ff., 70 ff., 79 ff.; 79, 13 ff., 62 ff.; 84, 18 ff.; 85, 2 ff.; 86, 50 ff.; 100, 240 ff., 282 ff.): mālaka 15, 29, 36 ff.; 16, 15; 32, 58 &c. bodhi tree 34, 31; 37, 91; 48, 5; 49, 15; 68, 28; 79, 16, 62, 72; 85, 2, 70; 86, 51; 90, 99. the bodhi tree of Bo-gaya 15, 22; 17, 17, 47 ff.; 18, 34 ff., 42; 19, 43, 56; 20, 4 ff.; 37, 246. the bodhi tree in the Mahāvihāra, Anurādhapura 17, 30, 40; 18, 4 ff.; 19, 1 ff.; 20, 1; 23, 28; 28, 1; 34, 58 ff.; 36, 52, 103, 126; 37, 85; 38, 55, 57, 67, 69; 41, 29, 32, 94; 42, 66; 44, 45, 65; 48, 70, 124; 51, 78; 52, 11, 24. its eight saplings 19, 60–2. the b. trees of former Buddhas 15, 78, 112, 147. — pāsāna-vedi, silā-vā round a bodhi tree 36, 52, 103; 37, 91; 42, 19; bodhikoṭṭhaka 79, 72. dvārārana 36, 103, 126. bodhīghara 15, 205; 37, 15, 31; 38, 43, 69; 41, 65; 42, 19, 66; 48, 70; 49, 15, 74; 51, 54; 53, 10; 60, 62; 79, 72. — thūpa or cetiya (see VII, C, 12, e) 17, 37 ff.; 26, 8 ff.; 29, 1 ff.; 78, 51 &c. thūpaghara, cetiya 31, 60; 35, 87, 90 ff.; 36, 9, 106; 48, 66. — Single buildings: dwelling house for the priests (pāsāla, āvāsa &c.) 27, 9 ff.; 36, 11; 60, 11, 57; 78, 33 ff., 49 ff., 67, 81 ff.; 90, 96; 92, 11; 100, 297. gubā, lena 3, 19; 16, 12; 20, 16; 78, 38, 66, 74 ff. pariveṇa 15, 204, 206 ff.; 35, 57, 88; 36, 8, 10; 57, 20; 78, 36, 71. relic temple 37, 15; 46, 29; 78, 41; 85, 75; 90, 66 ff.; 94, 14; 97, 36 ff.; 98, 25, 35. image house (paṭimāgeha &c.) 35, 89; 37, 15, 183; 60, 83; 68, 28; 78, 53 ff., 85 ff.; 85, 77; 88, 50; 88, 56; 90, 99; 98, 67; 100, 295. dhammasālā 78, 42, 73; 79, 21; 98, 78 (dhammāsana, therāsana 3, 22, 35; 44, 115; 85, 46). upo-sathāghara, -āgīra 15, 37; 34, 30; 35, 85; 36, 16, 107; 37, 201; 51, 70; 78, 56; 92, 10; 100, 93, 287. padhānagha &c. 36, 105; 37, 232; 39, 58; 42, 46; 44, 119; 46, 11. aggisālā 78, 43, 51, 71, 86. potthakulāya 78, 37. dānasālā 37, 182; 74, 150. āgantukasālā 79, 20, 22, 63, 80. bhattasālā, bhojanasālā 15, 205; 20, 23; 36, 12; 78, 42 (bhattanāvā 37, 181 N.; 42, 67). salākagga 15, 205; 36, 74; 49, 32. caṅkamana 15, 205; 78, 42. nāhānakotṭhaka 78, 45 ff., 83. vaeccakuṭi 78, 43, 50, 86. — Servants and officials in a v. (ārāmika &c.) 37, 63, 173; 46, 14, 28; 52, 26; 57, 21; 78, 4 N.; 88, 58; 97, 55; 98, 27; 100, 218. dāsā 46, 10, 20; 80, 36, 40; 100, 11.
4. Duties of the bhikkhus, vihāra-life. Dasasilām 18.10. — Scholarly studies 90.80; 100.178. tepiṣṭaka 5.84, 275; 27.44; 78.7. — Performing of ecclesiastical acts: dhammakamma 39.57 (cf. VI, E, 5); kammavācā 5.207. — Recitation of sacred texts 3.33, 36; 41.58 f. gapasajjhāya 31.86; 32.11, 63; 34.49. preaching of the doctrine (dhamma-dūna 98.77 ff.; 99.15, 24): dhammadesanā, -desaka, -kathika &c. 14.22, 58; 15.4 &c.; 32.45; 35.92; 60.20; 85.46 f.; 98.73, 79; 99.18 f., 170; 100.275 (maṇḍapas erected for the preachers 98.72; 99.16. seats prepared for the prs. 4.51; 99.18. fans in the hands of the prs 85.46; 98.73). — kulūpaka, -ga 30.40; 36.116. — Ceremonies performed by the bh.s: vassa, antovassa 1.14; 3.15; 16.8; 17.1; 18.2; 100.131. uposatha 5.235, 273; 13.14, 18; 29.63; 32.41; 35.76; 36.16; 51.83; 53.29; 74.20; 100.131 (pūṭhihari-yapakkha 37.202) (cf. IX, C, 3: uposathaghara). pavāraṇā 5.235, 280; 17.1; 20.24; 34.62; 37.90; 100.132. kathina 44.48; 85.99 ff.; 86.46 ff.; 91.34; 100.132. paritta 46.5; 51.80; 52.80; 62.31; 87.5; 99.26. — Ceremonies performed in buildings erected in water (udakkukhepasimā) 78.28 ff.; 87.71; 89.47, 70; 94.17; 97.12. — Higher attainments. upaniṣaya (marks of future holiness) 5.45, 172, 194. padhūna 36.105; 42.46 (cf. IX, C, 3: padhūnaghara). kammaṭṭhūna 5.148. meditation, trance (jhūna) 5.123, 220; 15.209; 23.63; 35.104; 88.55. vipassanā, -ssaka 5.152; 19.46; 99.170; 100.174. — The path of salvation (sotāpatti &c.) 13.17; 15.18; 23.61; 27.44; 29.68; 31.101. anāsava, khīṭasava 5.112; 20.54 f.; 28.24; 29.6. arahant, -hatta 1.14; 5.46, 172, 214; 14.14, 33; 16.11, 17; 19.46, 65 f.; 23.63; 25.104; 26.5; 29.68 f.; 31.95, 100; 84.25; 86.13. tādin 34.49. iddhi 1.37; 5.174; 12.15; 13.19; 14.14; 30.99; 32.15. abhiññā 4.12; 5.152, 275; 13.4; 14.14; 22.34; 52.38. — Therās as soothsayers 15.169 ff. miracles performed by th.s 5.258 ff.; 12.10 f., 49 f.; 13.19; 14.35; 15.38 ff.; 31.85; 32.15. nirvāna of th.s 5.219, 226 f.; 20.33.

5. Cult. Inauguration of a monastic building 26.14 ff.; 36.130. music and dance at festival occasions 5.181; 34.60.
Vesākha-festival 1. 12; 32. 35; 34. 59; 35. 100; 36. 40, 109, 130; 44. 46; 51. 84. āsālha-festival 99. 53. abhiseka (nettāpija, nettamaha, akkipižā) 5. 94; 38. 58: 39. 7; 100. 187, 191, 204 ff., 235, 267. Cf. EZ. II, p. 254. — traces of a temple ritual: the Buddha-image or a relic of the B. is treated as the living master (buddhapuṭṭhāna 34. 61) 38. 64; 52. 26; 53. 30; 78. 35; 90. 77 ff.; 97. 33; 100. 182. — Relic-cult (sārīrika dāthāt獠 17. 12; 80. 69; 99. 58. paribhogika dh. 55. 17; 82. 18, 34): dāthadātсло 17. 14; 37. 92 ff.; 38. 8, 70f.; 42. 33; 44. 45; 51. 22; 54. 5, 45; 57. 22; 60. 16; 61. 56, 61; 64. 30; 70. 266, 310; 72. 304; 73. 128; 74. 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 183 ff., 193, 198 ff., 226, 246; 81. 17 ff., 26 ff., 33 ff., 77; 82. 6 ff., 40 ff.; 84. 13; 85. 25, 33, 92, 111; 86. 54 ff.; 87. 5, 69, 74; 88. 10, 15, 65; 89. 16-46; 90. 41, 46 ff., 54 ff., 67, 72, 77; 91. 12, 19; 92. 9; 94. 11 ff.; 95. 2, 9 ff., 21; 97. 4 ff., 25, 52; 98. 8, 25, 37 ff., 94; 99. 58, 63, 68, 86, 105, 123, 141, 143 ff., 166; 100. 1 ff., 12, 22 ff., 40 ff., 124 (an image of the d. 100. 153, 157). pattadhātсло 17. 12; 20. 12; 33. 48, 55; 37. 192; 61. 56, 61; 64. 30; 70. 266, 310; 72. 304; 74. 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 188 ff., 210, 226; 81. 17 ff., 77; 85. 25, 33; 87. 69, 74; 88. 10, 66; 89. 16-46; 90. 72. dakkhipakkhakadātсло 17. 14, 20, 24, 37 ff., 50; 37. 207 N.; 42. 53 ff.; 64. 30. kesadātсло 39. 49 ff.; 44. 45; 50. 71; 54. 41; 64. 30. gīvatthhidātсло 20. 19; 64. 30. — the relics of the Mahāthūpa 17. 51; 31. 16 ff., 45 ff. relics of theras 20. 44; 85. 80. — Miracles performed by relics 17. 25 ff., 43, 51 f.; 31. 97 ff.; 82. 41 ff. — Reliquaries (caṅgoṭa, karaṇḍaka) 31. 77, 87 f.; 50. 71; 76. 115; 85. 27; 89. 21; 90. 72; 91. 18 f.; 92. 14; 97. 6, 53 f.; 98. 27 ff., 94; 99. 160, 165; 100. 13 ff. — Relic feasts 88. 16; 90. 41, 57, 75; 95. 2; 97. 25; 99. 68; 100. 8 &c.

6. History of the Samgha. The three councils 3. 5 ff.; 4. 9 ff.; 5. 228 ff. Buddhist sects 5. 1 ff. (cf. M. tr., p. 276 ff.). theravāda, ācariyavāda 5. 2; 37. 227; 52. 46; 54. 46 f. &c. vibbajjavāda 5. 271 f. mahāsamghikā 5. 4; 50. 68. — Schisms in C. 33. 95 ff.; 37. 2 ff. — church-reforms see VI, E, 5. — tayo nikāya 41. 97 and N.; 44. 131; 45. 16; 46. 16; 48. 73; 51. 14,
64, 133; 52. 10, 12, 35, 80; 54. 4, 27; 55. 20; 60. 10, 13, 56; 70. 181, 328; 73. 5, 12, 20; 76. 74; 78. 5, 10. dve nikāyā 46. 15. dhammarucikā 5. 13; 38. 75; 52. 17 f. vetullavāda 36. 41, 111; 42. 35; 78. 22. sāgaliṅkā 5. 13; 39. 41; 42. 43; 52. 7. dhammadhātā 41. 37–40. sassatādiṭṭhi 5. 269. ubhayasāsana (= hīna- and mahāyāna) 84. 10 (cf. IX, B, 2). — Ascetic groups of bh.s in C: pamsukulina 47. 66; 48. 4; 49. 80; 50. 63, 76; 51. 52; 52. 21, 27; 53. 25, 48; 54. 18, 24, 25; 61. 59. lābhavāsino 54. 27; 60. 68, 72. vantajīvākā 60. 69. tapovanavāsino 41. 99 N.; 52. 22; 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20. — Bhikkhus in the Cola and Paṇḍu country 36. 112 ff.; 89. 67; 90. 80. foreign bh.s fetched to C. 60. 5 f.; 84. 9, 11 ff.; 94. 15; 97. 10; 98. 89 ff.; 100. 58 ff., 122 ff. — Persecution of the order by Rāja- sīha I. 93. 10 ff.; 100. 220 ff. by the Paraṅgis 95. 7 ff. by the Olandas 99. 112 ff., 125. — Non-buddhist sects: titthiyā 5. 74. jaṭilā 1. 16. nigaṇṭhā 10. 97 ff.; 33. 43, 79; 39. 20. paribbājakā 7. 6; 8. 11; 10. 101. tāpasī 7. 11; 66. 135 f. ājīvakā 10. 102.

7. The laity (upāsaka, -sīka 89. 30). ariyā: puthujjana 5. 113. conversions 1. 32, 33; 12. 19 ff., 27 ff.; 14. 23, 40, 58, 64; 19. 46. sarāṇa, sīla 1. 32, 62; 14. 23, 40; 22. 69; 25. 110; 35. 75; 36. 73; 54. 29; 98. 13; 100. 280. uposatha vows 17. 6; 35. 76; 37. 202 ff.; 39. 18; 48. 10; 60. 21; 97. 19; 98. 13; 100. 131. padakkhiyam kar 18. 36; 29. 48; 81. 94; 37. 196; 72. 328. — Sacrificial offerings to the community or to a sanctuary: pūjā, dāna 17. 62; 32. 35; 34. 57, 59; 35. 74 ff.; 44. 46; 54. 37, 39; 64. 15; 70. 193 ff.; 85. 26, 70, 112–6; 89. 19 ff.; 90. 78 ff.; 97. 29 ff.; 98. 52 ff., 58 ff., 76; 100. 211, 225 &c. pūjopakaraṇāni 70. 193 f., 198; 98. 93 (saṅkha 70. 194; 100. 190. pañcaturiyāni 70. 194; 98. 54; 100. 7, 33, 190. sætacchatta &c. 70. 194; 98. 52; 99. 55; 100. 31, 193. dhajapatakā 70. 194; 99. 57; 100. 187. puṇṇaghāta 29. 48; 30. 90; 32. 4; 98. 36; 100. 188. Cf. also VI, C, 9). pūjāvatthūni 97. 33; 98. 54, 75; 99. 22, 56; 100. 124, 146, 197, 205 f. (food, garments, carpets &c. 30. 36 f.; 31. 113; 32. 35, 39; 33. 72; 34. 62; 35. 77 ff., 92 ff.; 36. 100, 131; 51. 61; 85. 116; 90. 73; 92. 27; 97. 29; 98. 10 f., 15; 99. 26; 100. 10, 195, 205 &c.
Cf. catupaccaya, atthaparikkhara, ticivara, chaecivara in IX, C, 2; kathina in IX, C, 4. salakabhatta (cf. salakagga IX, C, 3); 27. 11; 34. 64; 48. 73. — medicaments 22. 30, 37; 60. 70; 98. 10; 100. 3, 196. — flowers, perfumes, incense 15. 27 f.; 22. 30, 37; 30. 27; 85. 70, 83; 90. 73; 92. 16; 97. 29; 98. 8 ff., 64, 75; 99. 56; 100. 3, 33, 197. — valuables, gold, jewels &c. 17. 62; 36. 125 f.; 61. 56; 85. 121; 97. 28; 98. 11, 33, 53; 99. 37; 100. 9, 31 f. — elephants, horses, cattle, buffalos 90. 76; 92. 29; 98. 33; 99. 37; 100. 42. — slaves, male and female 46. 10, 20; 80. 36, 40; 90. 76; 100. 11. — lamps and oil 32. 41; 92. 16 f.; 98. 75; 100. 33. lamp-feasts, illuminations 32. 37; 35. 79; 76. 119; 85. 40 f., 70 f., 84, 116; 86. 31; 98. 60 ff., 84). — Festival processions in honour of a sanctuary see VII, C, 10. Covering of a thupa with costly stuffs 33. 10 f.; 34. 42, 46 ff., 74; 44. 44; 54. 37, 42. — Donations of land, tanks and fields 34. 63; 35. 83, 117 f., 120; 36. 3; 85. 120 f.; 88. 52; 90. 76 &c. maintenance villages (bhogagama) 46. 14 f.; 49. 21, 26 ff.; 52. 46; 53. 31; 60. 66 ff., 72 f.; 61. 54; 84. 3 ff.; 85. 58; 90. 87, 97 &c. — Ceremonies connected with donations 15. 25; 26. 18; 27. 46. — Pilgrimages 66. 136; 80. 24; 85. 118; 86. 1, 9 ff.; 88. 48; 92. 15–8; 97. 16, 27 ff.; 99. 36 ff.; 100. 125 ff. the sixteen sacred places in C. 1. 77 ff.; 100. 128, 253. the sacred foot-print on the summit of the Samanakuta 1. 77; 60. 64; 85. 118 ff.; 86. 10, 28 ff.; 88. 48; 97. 18; 98. 84; 100. 221 ff. the same in Siam 100. 160, 253.
Additions and Corrections

1. Mahāvaṃsa ed.

2. 11. Put; after Okkākā, and read pavuttā instead of papputtā.

4. 30 d. Read: tāppakkhaṇāhiṃ.

5. 169. Put comma instead of full stop at the end of the verse.

5. 170. Read: tassa tassa and put full stop after nāmato.

Pāda c begins Yācītvā.

19. 3 c. Read: seṣīnāṃ.

19. 70 d. Read: vidū.

23. 11 c. Read: sahoḍham.

33. 8 c. Read: Velaṅgaviṭṭhiṃkap.

35. 11 a. Read: sahoḍhe.

35. 13 a. Read: Goṇakanadīṭre.

35. 113 a. Read: Goṇanadīyā.

36. 7 c. Read: Ratanaṃsādāṃ (proper noun).

37. 45 b. Expunge the comma after so.


p. 353, col. 2. Expunge the last article Honakanadī.

II. Cūlavāṃsa ed. I

37. 79. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.
37. 103. Put: after ratanamaṇḍapaṃ.
37. 114 d. Read: *nāgo rogiti nicchayaṃ.
37. 202 a b. We have probably to read: cutuddasim pañca-
dasim yā ca pakkhasa atṭhami.
37. 206 b. Read: coran rattiyaṃ, uggate &c.
38. 3 b. Read: chattagāhakajantuno.
38. 29 c d. Read: cuto, pūtto Parindo pi, tatiye tassa bhūtuko &c.
38. 60 d. Read: atṭanā instead of attano.
38. 65. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṇgalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno &c.
38. 77 b. Read: kampalohajāṃ.
38. 79 c d. Read: ko hi nāma samattho? ti mukhamattāṃ
nidassitaṃ.
38. 88 c. Read: rājakule.
41. 82 c d. Read: gahetvā khipi; tih’ evam angulīhi sa tam
chupi.
41. 89 b. Expunge the comma after vasap.
41. 96 b. Read: Uttare instead of uttare.
44. 51 b. Add the note: *vihārakam all MSS. and Ed.
44. 56 b. Read Janapadāṃ (it is proper noun).
44. 90 b. Read: sakkā hantum ti dārakam’.
44. 123 c. Read: ’parajhitvā.
47. 66. Read p. 89*; tatth’ eva.
48. 20 d. We have probably to read: pubbavuttito instead
of -no.
49. 17 d—18. Read: paṭimāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c’ eva
&c. with full stop after anappake.
49. 78 d. Expunge the full stop after avalokiya.
49. 81 b. Expunge the comma after sādhukam.
50. 34 a b. Read: Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovāṇaṃ satthu-
bimbakam.
50. 48 d. Read: ’samo instead of samo.
51. 88 d. Read: Kutṭhaka° instead of Tuṭṭhaka°.
54. 57 a. Read: tām rājaṃ.
56. 6 c. Read: Devanagarāṃ (it is proper noun).
59. 2 a. Read: Abhisēkamaṅgalatthāṃ pāsādādiṃ &c.
59. 49 b. Read: Sundarivhāṃ.
61. 4 d. Read: ‘khiḷā instead of khilā.
61. 36 a. We have probably to read: Ariyadesīso.
61. 51 c, Note. Read: thā instead of ṭhā.
61. 53 d. Read: ‘khiṇatosā instead of khīva°.
65. 6 c. Read: Paṭilaṭḍha°.
66. 26 c. Read: kumāraṃ.
66. 56 a. Perhaps we should read: Nānāhassarasaṅkuṣsa.
66. 59 d. I propose to read ten’ ato instead of te tato.
66. 80 d. Read: Ranamburāṃ.
70. 54 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭham (it is proper noun).
70. 98 d. Read: Ambavanāṃ instead of Ambu°.
70. 103 a. Read: Janapadaṃ.
70. 112 d. Read: gaṅgūpasse instead of Gaṅgū°.
70. 120 a. Read: gaṅgājulam instead of Gaṅgū°.
70. 181 c. Read: vasi karitasampūhāno.
72. 58 a. Read: Ārakkha° instead of Ārakkha°.
72. 106 d. Expunge » before and after sāvadhāranāṃ.
72. 121–2. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » before Bila-
lavhayamhi.
72. 127 b. Expunge » before sakalārātivāhini.
72. 170 d. Read: Kālavāpiyam.

III. Cūlavaṃsa ed. II

73. 96 c.d. Read: nayanā nandanādam.
73. 145 d. Expunge the comma after natthitām.
74. 46 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭham.
74. 64 d. Read: na dassūmāti sabbathā« &c.
74. 149 c. Expunge » before yasimām.
74. 150 c. Put » before cātuddisikadinānam.
74. 206 d. Read: maggamaggavicakkhaṇo.
75. 24 b. Read: yuddhakilanatakam.
76. 124 c. Read: So Kaṅcakudiyā°.
76. 130 a. Read: So Kaṅcakudiyā°.
76. 157 a. Read: Dāmiḷe neke.
76. 190 b. Read: ōpperūmaḷam.
76. 192–3. Read: vissutam || etth’ antare &c.
76. 223 a. Read: ōpperūmaḷo.
76. 232 a. Read: ōpperūmaḷe.
76. 316 a. Read: Vīrappernayaram.
77. 52 b. Read: jhāpetvā.
78. 38 d. Puts; at the end of the verse.
78. 39 b. Expunge; after akkhirasāyanam.
80. 33 d. Read: Sarājakulavadḍhano.
80. 37 c. Read: Khandhāvara°.
80. 39 b. Read: Sarājakulavadḍhanoṃ.
82. 37 a,b. Read: passanto > bhagavā nāṇacakkhaṇaṃ tesum māṃ pi ca &c.
85. 56 a. Read: mahāvibhāram, not Mahā°.
86. 17 d. Read: tamṭampuṇṇakriyāsu.
86. 18 b. Read: Gaṅgāsiripuraṃ.
88. 22 b. Read: dakkhiṇasmirīṃ disantare.
90. 82 b. Expunge the comma after tadanantaram.
91. 24 d. Read: Sunettaparivenaṃkaṃ.
91. 25 c,d. Put comma after pūjetvā and expunge it after tapassinam.
93. 7 a. Read: tassa dhammadhiṃ instead of tass’ adhammadhip.
97. 18 a. Read: kūṭicala°.
98. 61 a. Expunge < after karontū and insert it after ekūhe va.
98. 95 d. Expunge the full stop after thito.
99. 29 d. Expunge the comma after so.
99. 80 d. Read: yāv’ etarahi.
99. 89 d. Read: parikkhaṇāni.
99. 107 b. Read: Laṅkam.
100. 15 d. Put comma after narādhipo.
100. 16 b. Expunge the comma after varaṃ.
100. 44 a. Insert; after so.
p. 601, col. 1, ult. Read: 73. 62, 114; 78. 77; 89. 45.
p. 612, col. 1, line 29. Add: Pajjunna, the Hindu rain-god 85. 44.
p. 613, col. 2, line 12. Expunge 18 and insert 88. 18 on the following line after 87. 16.
p. 620, col. 1, Mahāvālukagaṅgā. Add: 78. 28.
p. 624, col. 1. Expunge the article Rājakulavadāhana.
p. 624, col. 1, Rājaratṭha. Add: 74. 46.
p. 630, col. 1. After Sarassatāmaṇḍapā insert the article Sarājukulavadāhana, a parivena built by Āyasmanda 80. 39 (cf. 80. 33).
p. 632, col. 2. Add after Sudhammā the article: Sunetraparivena, a monastic building erected by Parakkamabāhu VI. 91. 24.
p. 632, col. 2. Expunge the article Sunārī and add after Sundarapabbata: Sundari, a Kāliṅga princess 59. 49.
p. 642, line 31. Add: *tithimā, s. m., the moon 95. 17. — Cf. skr. tithipraṇī.
p. 644, line 4. Add: +dhani, s. m. sound, noise 99. 60. — skr. dvani, Ch., Abhp. 128.
p. 652, line 5. Add: +vipphulīnga, s. n. a spark of fire 72. 84; 75. 110; 95. 14. — skr. vipphulīnga, Ch., Abhp. 35.
p. 654, line 27. Add: *sāhīcca, s. n. art of poetry 82. 3. — skr. sahitya.
p. 657. To make agree this list of kings with that in C. tr. II, Introduction expunge the separate numbers 90 and 92 of Līlāvati's second and third reign, and then read 90 instead of 91, and 91, 92, 93 &c. up to 125 instead of 93, 94 &c. up to 127.
IV. Mahāvaṃsa, tr.

Introd. p. XXXVI ff. Wickrēmasinghe's Chronological Table of Ceylon kings in EZ. III, p. 4 ff. differs somewhat from my list of kings. As nr. 5 he adds after Pāpjukābhaya the name of Gaṇātissa which does not occur in the Mhvs., and therefore nrs. 6–28 in W.'s list correspond to 5–27 of my list. Instead of nrs. 28–32 Wickr. has only nr. 29 Anulā, omitting the names of the paramours of this queen. Nrs. 30–58 correspond to 33–61 of my list. In Cūlavamsa trsl. II, Introduction I accepted Wickr.'s table.

2. 11. Translate the verse thus: and sixteen even unto Okkāka. These (kings) who are mentioned in groups reigned in due order, each one in his capital — and add the note: We must with the Tikā read pavutta. instead of paputta.

5. 69. The note 4 on page 31 is indeed misleading (Wickrēmasinghe EZ. II, p. 276). Read thus: Upajjhāyassa. Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an upajjhāya “spiritual preceptor” and an ācariya “teacher”. The former instructs him in the rules of the monkish life, the latter in the study of the holy scriptures. In his relation to the upajjhāya the novice is called saddhīcihārika, and antevāsika in his relation to the ācariya.

5. 139. Read: after it had been perfumed, instead of for better care thereof.

7. 43. Page 58, note 3 read Malvatu-oya inst. of Malvaṭe-oya.

9. 23. Read Citta instead of Cittā.

10. 53. The note 1 on page 72 is wrong. Read thus: According to v. 62 foll. not far from the Kacchakatitha (see note to v. 58), on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga. The Dhūmarakkhapabbata is also mentioned Mah. 37. 213. It is identical with the Dimbulagala (anciently Udumbaragiri, cf. Cūlav. tr. II, p. 102, note to 78. 5), the so-called “Gunner's Quoin”. H. Srokey, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register III, p. 229).

10. 90. To Yonas add the note: See E. R. Ayrton, Ceylon Notes and Queries I, Oct. 1913, p. VIII.
11. 10 ff. As to yaṭṭhi Professor N. Law (letter of 3rd April 1930) calls my attention to skr. yaṣṭi in the meaning "necklace", occurring in the Kauṭaliya Arthasastra 2.11.29 (p. 76 of Śrama Sastyr’s edition). Accordingly we should translate thus:

(10) At the foot of the Chāta mountain there appeared three cane-like necklaces of the size of a chariot whip. (11) Of them one was a creeper-necklace of bright silver: on this might be seen brilliant delightful creepers of golden colour. (12) One was a flower-necklace: on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. (13) At last, one was a bird-necklace whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of various colours, as if they were living.

Notes: 1) P. jāta. — 2) Perhaps suvāṇṇapāṇṇā "with golden leaves". — 3) P. kusunayatṭhi, commonly called puspahara, a string made of golden flowers. — 4) I. e. a necklace formed by a string of birds made of gold and other precious metals. Cf. also the description of the various necklaces in the Kauṭaliya I. 1.

11. 22. Here we should translate: Those three kinds of precious stones and the three chariot-like necklaces &c &c. — with Note 1): Refers to rathapatodena samanā pari-māṇyato in v. 10.

11. 26. Read: the rank of general, instead of the rank of staff-bearer — and add the note: In daṇḍanāyaka the word daṇḍa means "army", and nāyaka "leader". Cf. Cūlav. tr. I, p. XXVI.

15. 4 (p. 96, N. 2). The note should run thus: I. e. "the discourse of the fool and the wise man" = Majjhima, Nr. 129 (III. 163).

15. 38 (p. 100, l. 12). Read mango-fruit instead of mango-tree.

17. 31 (p. 118, l. 25–6). Read: was covered with kadambspuppha- and ādāri-creepers — and add in note 3 after This creeper: (skr. kadambspuṣpā; the name seems to prove that the flowers of this creeper remind those of the kadamba-tree).
19. 73, 75 (p. 134, l. 11 and 17). Read Kadambapuppha-thicket.
22. 7. Expunge in note 3 the words: Tradition seems &c., and add: Cf. on Yatahalena H. C. P. Bell, Kegalla-District, p. 35–6.
24. 22 (p. 165, N. 5). The note should run thus: According to local tradition the battle took place near Yudagannava 1½ miles NNW. of Buttala. The spot is marked by a thūpa (now in ruins).
24. 39. To came to a vihāra (p. 167, l. 18) add the note: According to popular tradition this vihāra was that of Okkampitiya, about five miles East of Buttala.
25. 48 (p. 173, l. 28). Read: surrounded by a kadambapuppha-thicket.
25. 99 (p. 177, l. 16). Read: sitting on the throne, instead of in the royal chamber.
32. 40 (p. 224, N. 2). Ja-la-pūta means "net-cake". I was told in Ceylon that even now cakes of a peculiar shape are prepared there for which such a denomination would be befitting.
33. 49 (p. 232, l. 6) Read: 'The great black Sihala is fleeing'.
33. 85 (p. 235, l. 22). Read: concealed herself in a kadambapuppha-thicket.
35. 104 (p. 254, l. 6). Read: in a kadambapuppha-thicket.
35. 116 (p. 255, l. 2). Read: on the place of the kadambapuppha-thicket.
p. 288, l. 12. Read: south-east of Anurādhapura, instead of south-west of A.
p. 289, l. 31—290, l. 2. (See above note on 10. 53). The passage should be corrected thus: Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10. 53, 57, 58. We must look for it on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. It is the Dimbulāgala rock, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", as Mr. H. Storey has shown.
V. Cūlavāṃsa, tr. I

Introd. p. XXII, l. 7. To bhāgineyya add the note: Mr. A. M. Hogart, C. J. Sc. II, p. 34, refers to the part played by the sister's son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur. "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer."

Introd. p. XXV, line 9. Add the note: The inscriptions of King Nissanka Malla's "Council Chamber" in Polonnaruva supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king's right hand there sat 1) the mahādīpāda (p. XVIII), 2) the adīpādas (p. XVI), 3) the senāpatī (p. XXVI), 4) the adhikārins (p. XXV), 5) the Chief secretary (mahālekha, p. XXVIII); — and on his left side 1) the Governors of the provinces (maṇḍalika, p. XXV f.), 2) the eighty-four chiefs of smaller districts (sāṃanta, p. XXV), 3) the heads of the merchants (sēṭthin). The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 sāṃanta appointed by Parakkama-bāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa (Mhvs. 69. 16). See H. W. Collingwood, JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1924, p. 304 ff.; the same, HC. p. 68.

37. 175 (p. 16, N. 5). The identification of Mahādharmmakkathē with Ta-mo-kiu-ti is doubtful as -kiu-ti would correspond to a -gutta rather than to a -kathin.

P. 17, 18, 19, 20 top. Read Upatissa I. instead of Upatissa II.

37. 213 (p. 22, N. 4). Read: right bank, instead of left bank.

38. 68 (p. 36, N. 4). Add at the end of the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvamsa not the Buddhist yojana, but the common Indian yojana is meant which has the double length. See Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.

P. 52, top. Read Upatissa II. instead of Upatissa III.
41. 89 (p. 60, N. 5). Add at the end of the note: But we may also take vasāma as part. pres. and assume that the sentence extends to v. 92 with pāhcti as finite verb.

42. 67 (p. 73, N. 2). Add in the note: Cf. note to 70. 286 and 312.


56. 6. The translation should run thus: he thought it not the time to carry on war and came suddenly into the company of the gods when he just had visited (the town of) Devanagara.

59. 7. The translation is not precise enough. It should run thus: After the wise (prince), that best of men, had held the position of a yuvarāja seventeen years he caused (this number of years) to be written down (in the annals). — Add the note: Satturasava+hāni refers as adverbiale to yuvarājapada+hāni sito santo and is at the same time object of likhāpayi.

60. 64 (p. 220, N. 2). On line 13 of the note read thus: The Jambukola-vihāra is the monastery erected by Devānap-piyatissa at the landing place Jambukola (Mbvs. 20. 25) and Jambukolalena the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale with its celebrated rock temple.

VI. Cūlavāṃsa, tr. II

74. 151. My translation of the verse is wrong. It is based on a reading cātuddisika+ādinām, but the cātuddisika+ādināna of the MSS. is quite correct and we must translate: “Collect for the poor (bhikkhus) from the four regions of the heavens a plentiful gift of alms.”

81. 67 (p. 141, l. 17). Read: after that, instead of for that.
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<th>Date of Return</th>
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<td>21.1.81</td>
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Author: Geiger E. W.

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