

Some New Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation V. The Case of Indika Guneratne¹

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INTRODUCTION

This case belongs to the small number of those in which a written record of what the subject said about a previous life was made before the two families concerned had met. In the present case I myself made the written notes of what the subject said before identifying the person to whom his statements apparently referred.

SUMMARY OF THE CASE AND ITS INVESTIGATION

Indika Guneratne was born near Pilyandala, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), on July 26, 1962. He was the second child of G. D. Guneratne and his wife, S. D. Harriet Guneratne. They were married in 1958 and had one child, a daughter, Shriyani, before Indika was born. By 1973 they had had two more children, a boy and a girl. G. D. Guneratne was a cultivator of modest education and humble means. He lived in a small house on a rubber plantation in an area called Korale Ima, near the village of Gonopola.

Indika began to speak when he was about two years old. When he was between three and three and a half, he started talking about a previous life he claimed to have lived in Matara, a town on the southern coast of Sri Lanka. He said he had been wealthy, had owned a much larger and more beautiful house than the one in which he then lived, had had estates, and had kept elephants. He also said he had owned a truck and a car and specified that the latter was a "Benz."³ Indika made invidious comparisons between his house and family and those of the former life. He commented

¹ The case of Indika Guneratne was presented at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Parapsychological Association, Charlottesville, Virginia, September 6-8, 1973. Dr. Stevenson's forthcoming book will include this and other new cases of the reincarnation type.—*Ed.*

² Thanks are gratefully extended to Mr. E. C. Raddalgoda and Mr. Godwin Samararatne for assistance as interpreters in the investigation of this case. My thanks go also to Mr. V. F. Guneratne, who first drew my attention to the case and kindly made available the results of his own inquiries about it.

³ Indika never used the word "Mercedes," but only said he had a "Benz" car. The Mercedes Benz Company sells both automobiles and trucks (lorries) in Sri Lanka. Its vehicles seem usually to be referred to there by the single name "Benz."

on the shabbiness of his mother's clothes, the absence of electricity in the house, and the paucity of meat on the dinner table.

Indika's father made some inquiries among his acquaintances about the existence of a wealthy person of Matara the facts of whose life could correspond with Indika's statements. From a person of his acquaintance, who knew someone else, M. G. Danthawathie, from Matara, he had learned that such a man had lived in Matara. M. G. Danthawathie, by inquiry, had verified a few of Indika's statements as correct for this particular man, who was a member of a family named Weerasinghe. But Indika's parents had made no other moves to verify Indika's statements in detail up to 1968 when the case first came to my attention. Since the statements verified by M. G. Danthawathie amounted to only a small portion of the entire list of Indika's statements about the previous life and since it was at that time by no means certain that she had identified the correct man, I do not regard the foregoing steps as inconsistent with my introductory statement that a written record of Indika's statements was made before the previous personality had been identified.

I first learned of the case in letters written to me by Mr. V. F. Guneratne in January, 1968. (Subsequently, in 1973, Mr. Guneratne could no longer remember how he had first heard of the case, but it must have been through some private source since, to the best of my knowledge, no Sri Lanka newspaper has published a report of the case.) Mr. Guneratne made some inquiries about the owners of Mercedes Benz cars with the intention of tracing the previous personality through the registry of Benz car owners in Sri Lanka. In this he was unsuccessful because, as it turned out, the related previous personality of this case had not actually owned a Benz car although he had planned to purchase one several years before his death.

I began investigating the case in March, 1968, and at that time (accompanied by Francis Story) I had extensive interviews with Indika's parents. Since they had not yet taken him to Matara for the purpose of verifying his statements and perhaps seeing if he could recognize people and places there, we arranged to do so. But first we made a record of everything his parents could recall that he had said about the previous life and also of all unusual behavior on his part which they thought connected with it. Indika and his father came to Galle on the southwest coast of Sri Lanka where I had preceded them to work on other cases. We then drove over to Matara, which is also on the coast to the south and east of Galle. Indika made no recognitions in Matara, but our inquiries there did lead to verification of nearly all the statements he had made about a life in that city. They corresponded very closely with

facts in the life of a wealthy lumber merchant of Matara, K. G. J. Weerasinghe. He had died on December 18, 1960, in Colombo at the age of approximately seventy-two. We met and interviewed his widow, B. E. Abeynayake, and adopted daughter, Padminie Yapa.

In the autumn of 1970 I returned to the study of the case. I interviewed Indika's parents once more in Gonapola and also met another witness of what he had said. I also talked again in Matara with Padminie Yapa, the adopted daughter of K. G. J. Weerasinghe. And I interviewed several new informants who were related to him whom I met in the region of Matara or elsewhere.

In January, 1972, Mr. Godwin Samararatne went to Gonapola to visit the Guneratnes on my behalf in order to ask them some additional questions about details that I wished answered. At this time he learned that since my last visit in 1970, Indika's father had discovered that a friend of his in Gonapola, P. D. Marathelis, who was an attendant at the Central Hospital in Colombo, had looked after K. G. J. Weerasinghe when he was in that hospital.

Indika's statements included no proper names except that of the town, Matara, where he said he had lived, of Colombo, where he said he had shopped, and of a man (presumably a servant), Premadasa. The search for a person corresponding to his statements focused around wealthy elephant owners—this is really redundant because you have to be wealthy to own elephants privately—in Matara. Although I thought that we had identified the correct person, K. G. J. Weerasinghe, I was unable between 1970 and 1973 to persuade myself that I was more than ninety-five per cent certain about this. And as this did not seem satisfactory I decided to make a further study of elephant owners in Matara, which I did in March, 1973. The opportunity was taken to visit Indika and his family again. At the same time I followed the clue to possible normal communications that Mr. Samararatne had uncovered during the above-mentioned visit he made to the Guneratnes at Gonapola early in 1972.

PERSONS INTERVIEWED DURING THE INVESTIGATION

In Gonapola I interviewed:

Indika Guneratne
G. D. Guneratne, Indika's father
S. D. Harriet Guneratne, Indika's mother
Shriyanee Guneratne, Indika's older sister
L. D. Y. Appuhamy, friend of G. D. Guneratne
P. D. Marathelis, friend of G. D. Guneratne

In Matara I interviewed:

B. E. Abeynayake, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's widow
P. K. S. Perera, widow of an employee of K. G. J. Weerasinghe
K. G. D. Weerasinghe, son of K. G. D. P. Weerasinghe and nephew of K. G. J. Weerasinghe
H. D. C. Padminie Weerasinghe Yapa, K. G. D. Weerasinghe's daughter and K. G. J. Weerasinghe's great-niece and adopted daughter
H. D. C. F. Yapa, a relative of K. G. J. Weerasinghe and Padminie Yapa's husband

In Nugegoda I interviewed:

Chandra Kulatunga, friend of the Guneratnes
M. G. Danthawathie, a native of Matara and friend of Chandra Kulatunga

In Puhulwella I interviewed:

Punchi Appuhamy, employee of the Weerasinghes

In Wehelgoda I interviewed:

K. G. D. P. Weerasinghe, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's older brother

In Kelaniya I interviewed:

K. G. A. Weerasinghe, K. G. D. P. Weerasinghe's son and K. G. J. Weerasinghe's nephew
K. G. W. Weerasinghe, K. G. A. Weerasinghe's son
E. I. Ratnawardena (pseudonym), wife of a nephew of K. G. J. Weerasinghe

I have not included in the above list a number of people I interviewed in Matara and its environs during my efforts to trace other persons whose lives might correspond more exactly than did that of K. G. J. Weerasinghe to the statements of Indika.

Unfortunately, I was unable to meet and interview one person who would have been a valuable informant for the case. I refer to Premadasa, the servant who had worked for K. G. J. Weerasinghe for about ten or twelve years before his death and who drove him into Colombo when he went for his last hospital admission. Premadasa remained with his employer in Colombo and was with him when he died. All my efforts to trace him failed. I have also omitted from the above list the names of the numerous persons I talked with in my ultimately futile efforts to find Premadasa.

RELEVANT FACTS OF GEOGRAPHY AND POSSIBLE NORMAL MEANS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE FAMILIES CONCERNED

G. D. Guneratne and his family lived on a rubber plantation near the village of Gonapola, which is about thirty kilometers southeast of Colombo. Their home was about two kilometers from Gonapola in an area known as Korale Ima.

Matara, the city where K. G. J. Weerasinghe lived, is near the extreme southern point of the coast of Sri Lanka about two hundred kilometers from Colombo. It is a city of approximately 75,000 inhabitants.

So far as I could determine in my extensive interviews, the two families concerned in this case had had no acquaintance whatever prior to its development. G. D. Guneratne had been to Matara once (in 1953) prior to Indika's birth. He and his wife had been there twice since then. They had passed through it without stopping over night on their way to the holy place of Kataragama. Matara is the terminal point for the southern railway line in Sri Lanka and consequently an important stopping point for thousands of pilgrims who journey each year to Kataragama which they reach from Matara by a road that goes along the coast toward the eastern side of the island. The Guneratnes had no friends or relatives in Matara and so had no reason to halt or linger there on their way to Kataragama.

Indika's paternal grandmother had gone to Nugegoda, a town between Gonapola and Colombo, during the period when he was talking most about the previous life. She went there for an alms-giving ceremony and had mentioned his statements to a woman in whose house she spent the night. This was M. G. Danthawathie (a native of Matara), whom I later interviewed in 1968 and again in 1973. M. G. Danthawathie suggested to Indika's grandmother that his statements might apply to a man named Weerasinghe, of Matara. She had heard about this Weerasinghe, but had never actually met him. She had to ask a servant for more details about him, but still did not learn (or in 1968 remember) much information. She did not know the initials of the deceased Weerasinghe and thought that his wife had also died, which was incorrect. But she did know that a man called Weerasinghe had kept elephants, had an estate, and lived near the railway station. She had only come to Nugegoda less than eighteen months before my first interview with her in March, 1968, and hence had not reached the area where Indika's family lived until long after he had talked about the previous life. She did not herself know Indika's parents, although a close friend of hers, Chandra Kulatunga, was acquainted with Indika's father. K. G. J. Weerasinghe's adopted daughter, Padminie

Yapa, said that she had never heard of M. G. Danthawathie. From these facts, as well as from the limited information M. G. Danthawathie had about both families, it seemed impossible for her to have been the intermediary for conveying to Indika the correct information he had about the life of K. G. J. Weerasinghe.

As already mentioned, we learned early in 1972 that a friend of G. D. Guneratne, also living in Gonapola, had been an attendant at the Colombo Central Hospital and had looked after K. J. G. Weerasinghe during several of his admissions to that hospital. In 1973 I had two interviews with P. D. Marathelis and also discussed his connections with Indika's family with G. D. Guneratne. I have conflated their testimonies except where they differed.

P. D. Marathelis was born in Gonapola and had lived there all his life. He had worked at the Colombo Central Hospital regularly between 1950 and (approximately) December, 1964. He had been the attendant who looked after the mudalali⁴ Weerasinghe from Matara during three admissions to the Central Hospital. He said he had been one of the mudalali's favorite attendants. He knew enough about K. J. G. Weerasinghe so that there could be no doubt we were talking about the same person. He knew, for example, that his patient had come from Matara, had owned elephants, and suffered from diabetes. He knew also that he had a servant with him in the hospital. (This was the elusive Premadasa.) On the other hand, there were surprising gaps in his knowledge. He did not know the mudalali's initials, nor that he was married, nor that he had died at the Central Colombo Hospital. This last event might well have occurred when P. D. Marathelis was on leave which he sometimes took for as long as one or two months; but I found it a little odd that he had not informed himself about his patient's death if he had become rather well acquainted with him, as he gave us to understand.

P. D. Marathelis and G. D. Guneratne had known each other since their student days. P. D. Marathelis said that prior to G. D. Guneratne's marriage he had visited him at Korale Ima from time to time. G. D. Guneratne did not at first remember such visits, but on reflection thought that perhaps P. D. Marathelis had come to visit his father or to attend functions such as funerals when a visit hardly counts as a social contact. Of greater importance, however, is their friendship after G. D. Guneratne married. They both agreed that they talked from time to time when they met on the road or in the village. It was on one such occasion in about 1971 that G. D. Guneratne, recalling that P. D. Marathelis

⁴ A term in Sinhalese used to refer to businessmen, especially those who are wealthy and of some eminence in their communities.

worked at the Colombo Central Hospital, asked him if he had ever happened to look after K. G. J. Weerasinghe of Matara. (He had learned that K. J. G. Weerasinghe had died at the Colombo Central Hospital when we were in Matara together in 1968.) P. D. Marathelis then told G. D. Guneratne that he had indeed known a mudalali Weerasinghe from Matara and when Indika's father told him some of the details of Indika's statements, he thought they fitted what he knew of the mudalali rather closely.

We are next concerned with whether P. D. Marathelis had any contact with Indika prior to Indika's talking about a previous life. G. D. Guneratne said that P. D. Marathelis had not visited his home during the years between 1960 and 1970. He thought he had visited it once since then. P. D. Marathelis denied even this and said that he had not been up the road to G. D. Guneratne's house for twenty years. This discrepancy was probably resolved when, on talking again to G. D. Guneratne, we learned that P. D. Marathelis had lost a dog some six months earlier and looking for his dog he had come into the Guneratne compound. Was this a visit or not? It had evidently not been remembered as one by P. D. Marathelis. In any case it occurred long after Indika had started—and stopped—talking about the previous life.

In summary then, although it is a fact that P. D. Marathelis, a friend and fellow villager of G. D. Guneratne, had looked after K. J. G. Weerasinghe when he was in the hospital at Colombo, it seems quite unlikely that he could have been a channel for information about the mudalali normally transmitted to Indika either directly or through Indika's father. He did not know a great deal about K. G. J. Weerasinghe in the first place, and he did not have any opportunities for communicating what he did know to Indika before Indika started talking about the previous life. Indika's father has always impressed me as a strictly truthful person and I am sure that he was as surprised as Godwin Samararatne and I were later when he learned in about 1971 that P. D. Marathelis had known K. G. J. Weerasinghe. He communicated the information to Mr. Samararatne as soon as he had an opportunity. I did not learn of any other person more likely to have passed on to Indika the information contained in his statements about the previous life.

A fact of the case that I can neither understand nor omit is that around 1950-51 G. D. Guneratne had himself employed a man called Premadasa who had come from Matara. We naturally wondered whether this man was the Premadasa later employed by K. J. G. Weerasinghe, but were unable to satisfy our curiosity about such an interesting possibility.

Considering the isolated location of G. D. Guneratne's house,

it seems to me most unlikely that he or his wife would ever have had anything to do with K. G. J. Weerasinghe. Although Indika's family lived only about thirty kilometers from Colombo, their home is actually quite isolated in what amounts to a jungle containing rubber plantations. Matara is a small city far distant from Gonapola and although it is, as I have mentioned, a stop for pilgrims going to Kataragama, it is improbable that Indika's parents would have had any occasion to meet a wealthy lumber merchant like K. G. J. Weerasinghe (or members of his family) as they passed through Matara.

It is quite possible, however, that K. G. J. Weerasinghe had visited Gonapola. His nephew, K. G. D. Weerasinghe, said that he traveled very widely and thought it probable that he had been to Gonapola. His adopted daughter, Padminie Yapa, remembered hearing him mention the name of Gonapola once, but she could not remember his saying that he had actually gone there. She did not know of any connections her adoptive father had in Gonapola and thought he might have gone there to buy elephants.

I have learned nothing more bearing on possible contacts between the two families before the case developed. My own conclusion is that there were none. I may add that when they met in my presence in 1968 all persons concerned acted as if they were doing so for the first time.

THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND DEATH OF K. G. J. WEERASINGHE

Early Life

K. G. J. Weerasinghe was born in (approximately) 1888 in the village of Wehelgoda, which is located about two kilometers east of Matara. He had only four or five years of schooling and could be considered in later life as functionally almost illiterate. But he must have possessed a superior intelligence because he built up a large and successful business as a lumber merchant and building contractor. He became far more wealthy than other members of his family, some of whom became his employees and dependents.

He married, but had little or no pleasure from his relationship with his wife, B. E. Abeynayake. They quarreled over his interest in other women and his insatiable habit of gambling. He objected to her relatives and would not allow them in his house. Instead of healing with increasing years, his marriage seems to have deteriorated further, and at some time in 1960, K. G. J. Weerasinghe actually banished his wife from their home. His older brother then intervened and restored peace so that B. E. Abeynayake returned

to the family home in Matara. But a few months later her husband became ill and died.

He and his wife had no children of their own. He took an interest in his nephew, K. G. D. Weerasinghe (the son of his older brother), and eventually K. G. D. Weerasinghe, his wife, and one child, a girl, were all living with K. G. J. Weerasinghe in Matara. They stayed in his house with him until he died. A son of K. G. D. Weerasinghe remained at Wehelgoda, the original village of the family. K. G. J. Weerasinghe later formally adopted his nephew's daughter, Padminie. When she grew up she married a relative, H. D. C. F. Yapa. She was born in 1949 and was thus eleven years old at the death of her adoptive father. She is the child ("puta") referred to by Indika and mentioned in Tabulation One (Item 4).

At the time of his death K. G. J. Weerasinghe must have been one of the wealthiest men in Matara, if not indeed in the whole south of Sri Lanka. He owned a successful business as a lumber merchant and building contractor. He possessed several houses in Matara and several estates in the country outside it. He was wealthy enough to give whole estates to temples and houses to his employees. He could also afford to stake large sums in gambling.

The Last Illness and Death of K. G. J. Weerasinghe

K. G. J. Weerasinghe suffered from diabetes mellitus and had several admissions to the hospital for its treatment. Three years before his death he developed an ulcer of one foot which, although operated upon, never completely healed. (This poor healing was no doubt related to inadequate control of the diabetes from which he suffered or to associated changes in the circulation of his leg.) Apart from this festering wound, which gave him some difficulty in walking, his health did not seem much impaired for a man about seventy-two years old until shortly before his terminal illness. In December, 1960, he complained of pain in a toe. He then had his servant, Premadasa, drive him to Colombo where he entered a hospital. There he developed urinary retention and sank rather rapidly until he died on December 18, 1960. At the moment of his death, his wife, his older brother, K. G. D. P. Weerasinghe, and his servant, Premadasa, were with him. His adopted daughter, Padminie Yapa, was not present.

The Character of K. G. J. Weerasinghe

My information for the reconstruction of K. G. J. Weerasinghe's character derives mainly from the testimony of Padminie Yapa and of his two nephews, K. G. D. Weerasinghe and K. G. A. Weera-

singhe. Padminie Yapa had lived all her life with her adoptive father, except when she attended boarding school in Colombo. Her father, K. G. D. Weerasinghe, had lived even longer with him since he had stayed in his house from his own school days until after his uncle's death in 1960. K. G. A. Weerasinghe, the other nephew, had worked with his uncle in his business, although not after 1956. Less valuable information came from B. E. Abeynayake, his widow. She was elderly and ailing when I interviewed her in 1968, and she died between then and my next visit in 1970. Apart from her physical condition when I interviewed her, her assessment of her husband's character suffered from the handicap that she had been the person most injured by his proclivities for women, alcohol, and gambling.

Some other persons added additional, and on the whole, confirmatory information. However, one person, E. I. Ratnawardena (pseudonym), the wife of one of K. G. J. Weerasinghe's nephews, gave testimony so much at variance with that given by his adopted daughter and nephews that I reluctantly concluded that she was lying. She could have been uninformed, but since she claimed to be close enough to the family to know the facts, if she was ignorant she deceived us in representing herself as knowledgeable. The drift of her testimony was that K. G. J. Weerasinghe had had a happy marriage, got along well with his in-laws, and never gambled. She acknowledged that he drank alcohol, but she had never seen him intoxicated. (This might have been possible.) She said he did not get angry often. She gave me the impression that she thought it more important to conceal the blemishes in the character of her husband's uncle than to tell us the truth. In castigating her for falsehoods I have thought it proper to protect her identity behind a pseudonym.

The composite picture emerging from the testimony of other informants differed markedly from that of E. I. Ratnawardena. K. G. J. Weerasinghe seems to have had the habits and character typical of successful and wealthy businessmen in Sri Lanka, and for that matter, in many other parts of the world. He conformed closely to the type of Sinhalese businessman known as a "mudalali." His independence, initiative, and courage led him to push ahead in commercial enterprises when more timid men would hold back and consequently let pass the opportunities he exploited. He was a tyrant with a fierce temper easily ignited, although quickly dampened. He was known as a quarrelsome man. His wife and many other persons feared him. He seems never actually to have beaten members of his family or servants, but he threatened to beat his servants. And he had once severely beaten a man during a quarrel arising out of gambling.

He consorted with other women when he chose and gambled with cards and lottery tickets whenever he could. He never won from a lottery ticket, but had great success with cards. Indeed, even professional gamblers refused to play with him and K. G. A. Weerasinghe said that gambling at carnivals shut down when his uncle approached. His other nephew, K. G. D. Weerasinghe, said that he would come to a gambling party with his sarong filled with money! In 1958-59 he won nearly 100,000 rupees at cards. This sum would be enormous in any land and in the United States equal to approximately \$11,000.

K. G. J. Weerasinghe was a regular consumer of alcohol and for many years a heavy one. After 1945, he diminished his intake of alcohol, but continued to drink every evening with one or several friends. They imbibed whisky, toddy, and arrack.⁵

He liked doing things on a grand scale. He wanted to have a bigger house and a better car. Following the habits of persons who become increasingly wealthy, he had started with a small car, a "Baby" Austin, and then went on up, each year or two buying a new and somewhat larger car. He had planned (in about 1957-58) to buy a Mercedes Benz car (an important status symbol in Sri Lanka), but had decided against this when the price suddenly rose.⁶ He was somewhat given to bragging.

Notable virtues in his character balanced the foregoing weaknesses. He liked children and showed generosity to them as to other persons. He brought his nephew (with his wife and daughter) to live in his home and afterwards he adopted his great-niece. He gave at least two houses to valued employees, including his servant, Premadasa, and his office manager. In some respects he was a devout Buddhist. He was generous to bhikkhus (Buddhist monks); he built some temples and rest houses for pilgrims; and he donated estates to other temples. He also made frequent, almost weekly, trips to the holy place, Kataragama. (This last activity has nothing to do with Buddhism properly speaking, although many Buddhists participate in the worship of Kataragama, essentially a Hindu god.)

I saw a photograph taken at the time of his funeral which showed an immense throng. His elephants, including the baby elephant he owned, assisted on this occasion, suitably appareled in the white of mourning. I do not think one can assess a man's popularity very

⁵ In Sri Lanka, "toddy" refers to fermented coconut juice. Its product of distillation is called arrack.

⁶ His nephew, K.G.A. Weerasinghe, was the informant for this information about the mudalali's intention to buy a Benz car. His other nephew, K.G.D. Weerasinghe, had never heard of this project and at first doubted it. On thinking about the matter, however, he thought that it was possible.

accurately from the number of persons attending his funeral. But funerals are not compulsory occasions and the photograph of this one added to my general impression that K. G. J. Weerasinghe was a respected and to some extent a loved man, as well as a feared one. If he did not earn (or had lost) his wife's affection, he seemed to have had and kept that of his adopted daughter, Padminie Yapa.

His love of elephants and pleasure in their company perhaps compensated him somewhat for the unhappiness of his marital life. He enjoyed feeding and watching them. Elephants on one of his estates in the country were said to do no work on weekends until he had arrived and fed them; they knew the sound of the horn of his car. The elephants played with him and sometimes squirted him with water. He bought one baby elephant about 1938. He must have purchased another one toward the end of his life because, as already noted, a baby elephant appeared with four adult elephants in the photograph of the mourners at his funeral.

THE STATEMENTS MADE BY INDIKA

In Tabulation One I have listed all the statements made by Indika. I learned of all these statements except that of Item 7 (about estates) and Item 22 (about the elephant "Kethi") before Indika and his father went to Matara.

I have included in Tabulation One two items which Indika did not utter as explicit statements (Item 16, about having a telephone, and Item 19, about a servant named Premadasa), but which could be inferred from his remarks or other behavior as being fragments of his memories of the previous life.

I have omitted from Tabulation One two items about which the testimony was uncertain or confused. Indika tried to tell his parents something about the way the beds of the previous personality and his wife were arranged in their house, but their understanding of this was unclear. Indika also seemed to refer to a burglary that had taken place. The house of K. G. J. Weerasinghe had in fact been broken into by burglars during his lifetime, but I could not find in my notes of the interviews of 1968 a statement as to exactly what Indika had said about a burglary. When I checked this item again in 1970, his parents had forgotten that he had made such a remark.

The children subjects of these cases nearly always mention the manner or mode of dying in the previous life or include among the memories some detail of the last hours or days of the previous personality. Indika's failure to say anything about these matters therefore forms an exception to a common feature of these cases.

Tabulation One
SUMMARY OF STATEMENTS MADE BY INDIKA GUNERATNE

Items	Informants ¹	Verification ¹	Comments
1. He had lived in Matara.*	G. D. Guneratne, Indika's father S. D. Harriet Guneratne, Indika's mother Shriyanee Guneratne, Indika's older sister	I visited K. G. J. Weerasinghe's home in Matara three times.	
2. To reach Matara [from Gonapola] you go first to Colombo.	G. D. Guneratne	Maps of Sri Lanka	G. D. Guneratne was a second-hand informant for this remark made to Indika's mother. It is possible to go to Matara from Gonapola without going into Colombo, but I think most persons would go toward (if not actually into) Colombo itself to reach the main coastal road going south to Galle and Matara.
3. He had a wife.*	G. D. Guneratne Shriyanee Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's widow	
4. He had a child.*	G. D. Guneratne S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Padminie Yapa, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's great-niece and adopted daughter	In the early interviews of this case, Indika was thought to have said he had a "son." Later it became clear that he had used the Sinhalese word "puta" (English: "child"). The word "puta" usually refers to a son, but may also apply to a daughter, especially an only daughter as in the case of the household

¹ The *Informants* column lists the witnesses of what Indika said or did relating to the previous life, while the *Verification* column names the persons who vouch for the accuracy of what he said or did with regard to the previous personality.

* Items also correct for another wealthy citizen of Matara, S. A. Wickramaratana, are indicated by an asterisk. See text for a discussion of the applicability of these items to him.

5. His wife dressed better than his [present] mother.*	G. D. Guneratne S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Verified by me in comparing the financial condition of the two families.	of K. G. J. Weerasinghe. I asked Mr. E. C. Raddalgoda, one of my interpreters, how he referred to his two daughters and he promptly replied: "puta." In fact K. G. J. Weerasinghe had adopted Padminie Yapa, a great-niece who lived in his home. He would occasionally address her as "puta," although he more often called her by a pet name "Hinidu" or just "Du." But probably he used "puta" in referring to her when he talked with other persons.
6. He had a great deal of money.*	S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Padminie Yapa K. G. D. Weerasinghe, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's nephew	Indika's parents were persons of very humble means. At the time of my interview with B. E. Abeynayake in 1968, she was not particularly well dressed and no doubt was much less prosperous than she and her husband had been during his lifetime. In earlier days they were among the wealthiest people in Matara.
7. He had estates.	G. D. Guneratne	Padminie Yapa	Indika used to say that he (in the previous life) had "bundles of money," Padminie Yapa confirmed that her adoptive father had "money in bundles."
8. He had a car.*	G. D. Guneratne L. D. Y. Appuharny, friend of G. D. Guneratne Shriyanee Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake P. K. S. Perera, widow of an employee of K. G. J. Weerasinghe K. G. A. Weerasinghe, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's nephew K. G. D. Weerasinghe	Indika's father did not mention this item until after the first visit to K. G. J. Weerasinghe's home in Matara. Although K. G. J. Weerasinghe lived in Matara, he also had several estates in the country outside the city.

Tabulation One (continued)

Item	Informants	Verification	Comments
9. His car was a Benz with license plate No. 1 SRI 600.	G. D. Guneratne	Incorrect	All informants knowledgeable on this point agreed that K. G. J. Weerasinghe had never owned a Mercedes Benz automobile or truck. His nephew, K. G. A. Weerasinghe, however, said that about 1957-58 he had made all arrangements to buy a Mercedes Benz car but when the price suddenly went up he cancelled his order. He actually owned Hillman and Austin cars. I ascertained from the Registry of Motor Vehicles in Colombo that the license number 1 SRI 600 had been given to an Opel owned by K. S. Kadigawa, of Bambalappitiya, near Colombo. This number had never been assigned in Sri Lanka to any other car. So Indika was clearly wrong in stating this license number as related to the previous life.
10. His house was near the railway station.*	G. D. Guneratne L. D. Y. Appuhamy	Verified by me on visits to Matara.	The item as given is taken from G. D. Guneratne's 1968 statement. In 1970 he said Indika had mentioned that one had to cross the railway tracks to reach "his" house. L. D. Y. Appuhamy recalled (in 1970) that Indika had described the house as between the railway tracks and the main road. The house of K. G. J. Weerasinghe was less than 200 meters from the railway station and between it and the main road. It was not necessary to cross the tracks to reach the house. K. G. J. Weerasinghe owned other houses in Matara beside the one he lived in and it was necessary to cross railway tracks to reach some of these.
11. His house was larger and more	G. D. Guneratne S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Verified by me on visits to the large	G. D. Guneratne said only that Indika had said the house (of the previous life) was large.

beautiful than the Guneratne house.*		house of K. G. J. Weerasinghe in Matara which permitted comparison with the much smaller house of G. D. Guneratne.	Indika did not refer to electricity by name. He said that he (in the previous life) had lights that did not leak and that you could put the lights on by moving something on the wall.
12. In his home he had electricity.*	G. D. Guneratne Shriyanee Guneratne	I verified myself that the home of K. G. J. Weerasinghe in Matara had electricity, although that of G. D. Guneratne in Gonapola did not.	
13. He had plenty of books.	G. D. Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake Padminie Yapa	Indika's father had the impression he referred to books for writing in, such as exercise books that were kept in one room. The remark can only be considered correct if taken to refer to account books of K. G. J. Weerasinghe's lumber business, of which there were a great many. And he used exercise books for keeping his accounts. Indika's statement could not refer correctly to books for reading. Yet as Indika mentioned "his" books and offered to give some to other persons, his father had the impression that perhaps the previous personality had actually owned a bookshop or stationery store.
14. He had a gun.*	G. D. Guneratne Shriyanee Guneratne	I saw the gun that had belonged to K. G. J. Weerasinghe which was still at his house in Matara in 1968.	
15. He had a box where he kept money.	G. D. Guneratne	I saw at the house of K. G. J. Weerasinghe a safe that had belonged to him.	

Tabulation One (continued)

Item	Informants	Verification	Comments
16. He had a telephone.	G. D. Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake Padminie Yapa I saw the telephone at the Weerasinghe house in 1968, and verified that it had been installed during the lifetime of K. G. J. Weerasinghe.	In 1968, G. D. Guneratne did not say that Indika said he had had a telephone in the previous life, but that he seemed in play to relive speaking on a telephone and, acting as if holding a telephone receiver to his ear, he would say, "Hello." In 1970, he said that Indika had mentioned a telephone in words. "Hello" is widely used in answering the telephone among Sinhalese speakers. K. J. D. Weerasinghe said that his uncle used the word in answering the telephone.
17. He had a dog.*	G. D. Guneratne S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Padminie Yapa	S. D. Harriet Guneratne said Indika described the dog as being "big." This was true of two large dogs, partly Alsations, owned by K. G. J. Weerasinghe.
18. There was a truck [lorry] at his house.	G. D. Guneratne	K. G. A. Weerasinghe B. E. Abeynayake P. K. S. Perera Padminie Yapa	K. G. J. Weerasinghe's house was in the same compound as the office and yard for his lumber business so the trucks would often be in front of the house. He had Ford and Chevrolet trucks.
19. He had a servant named Premadasa.	G. D. Guneratne	Padminie Yapa Punchi Appuhamy, employee of the Weerasinghes B. E. Abeynayake P. K. S. Perera K. G. A. Weerasinghe K. G. D. Weerasinghe	Indika did not explicitly refer to Premadasa as being a servant. His manner of talking about Premadasa, however, permitted this conjecture. K. G. J. Weerasinghe had a servant called Premadasa for many years. Premadasa, who had been at first a mahout (elephant driver), became a favorite with his employer, and worked at times as a servant in the house. He drove K. G. J. Weerasinghe to Colombo when he was admitted to the hospital there and looked after him during his final illness.

20. Once Premadasa had removed the tire from his car.	G. D. Guneratne	Unverified	Indika seems not to have referred to the removal of a tire with a leak which needed repairing, but to some unauthorized removal of the tire by the servant. He said, "I must beat him." Informants could not recall any episode of Premadasa having removed a tire incorrectly or dishonestly.
21. He owned elephants, including a baby elephant.*	G. D. Guneratne S. D. Harriet Guneratne L. D. Y. Appuhamy Shriyanee Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake	L. D. Y. Appuhamy and S. D. Harriet Guneratne remembered Indika mentioning having only one elephant, not several.
22. One elephant was called "Kethi."	G. D. Guneratne	K. G. A. Weerasinghe	Indika's father did not tell me this item until after the visit to the Weerasinghe home in Matara. K. G. A. Weerasinghe gave this verification in response to a leading question and I have not obtained a verification of the elephant's name from any other informant, including K. G. D. Weerasinghe, K. G. J. Weerasinghe's other nephew. B. E. Abeynayake could not remember an elephant called "Kethi" even when asked a leading question, although she gave the names of other elephants, at least two of which another informant mentioned also.
23. Sometimes the elephant would get unchained.	S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Padminie Yapa K. G. A. Weerasinghe K. G. D. Weerasinghe	One of the Weerasinghes' elephants got unchained once and killed a man before it was controlled again.
24. When this happened he could control the elephant.	S. D. Harriet Guneratne	Unverified	K. G. J. Weerasinghe used to feed the elephants and they liked him. If an elephant got unchained probably he would leave the matter to the mahouts and would not try to intervene himself. Conceivably, he might have tried to control the baby elephant.
25. The baby elephant used to blow water at him.	G. D. Guneratne	K. G. A. Weerasinghe	

Tabulation One (continued)

Item	Informants	Verification	Comments
26. He bought saris for his wife and clothes for his child in Colombo.*	G. D. Guneratne	B. E. Abeynayake Padminie Yapa	K. G. J. Weerasinghe used to bring his wife saris and other gifts when he returned from visits to Colombo. He also brought back clothes for Padminie. Although S. A. Wickramaratana bought saris in Colombo, I did not learn whether he also bought clothes for his adopted son while there.
27. He wore a coat and long trousers.*	G. D. Guneratne.	Incorrect as to wearing trousers. Correct as to wearing coat.	Every knowledgeable informant on this point agreed that K. G. J. Weerasinghe wore only a sarong and never trousers. He used to tease his friends if they came to his house wearing trousers.
28. He drank arrack.*	G. D. Guneratne L. D. Y. Appulhamy	Padminie Yapa K. G. A. Weerasinghe	Padminie Yapa did not specifically say K. G. J. Weerasinghe had drunk arrack, but said that he had drunk alcohol. K. G. A. Weerasinghe said he took arrack, and also whisky and "toddy." In Sri Lanka, toddy is a fermented variety of coconut juice. When distilled it yields the product called arrack. One can also make arrack from molasses.
29. His wife objected to his drinking alcohol.*	G. D. Guneratne	Padminie Yapa	K. G. J. Weerasinghe had prolonged antagonisms toward his in-laws and would not even allow them in his house. No informant, however, could recall that he had ever come to blows with any of his in-laws. He had once, however, beaten another man very badly in a quarrel over gambling. The beaten man had afterwards wanted to shoot K. G. J. Weerasinghe, but friends restrained him and then, feeling humiliated and unrevengeful, he killed himself by drinking poison. Conceivably, Indika had fused memories of this physical assault with those of the quarrels with the in-laws. For another example of such a fusion of memories, see the case of Imad Elawar (Stevenson, 1966). It is also possible that a mistake occurred here in translation since the word "machang" (a corruption of "massina" meaning "brother-in-law") may also be used loosely in referring to friends. And the man beaten up by K. G. J. Weerasinghe and with whom he had been gambling might have been his friend before the quarrel, if not after it.
30. He had a fight with a brother-in-law and broke his legs.	G. D. Guneratne	Incorrect as to breaking legs, although not as to quarreling	

Perhaps the rule, if I may call it such, is not completely broken, however, in that the only proper name of a person included in Indika's memories was that of the servant, Premadasa, who drove K. G. J. Weerasinghe to Colombo for his last hospital admission, stayed with him there, and was present when he died.

A few of the items in Tabulation One remain unverified. Indika was definitely wrong on only four details; namely, the make and the license plate number of the car he claimed the previous personality had owned, the wearing of trousers, and the breaking of a brother-in-law's legs.

Concerning the claim to have had a Benz car, we might understand it as a memory of a desire rather than a fact. According to one of his nephews, K. G. J. Weerasinghe came close to buying and owning a Benz and then changed his mind when the price rose suddenly. An intense craving to own a Benz might have developed (in Indika's mind) into a private reality of belief that he had (in the previous life) in fact owned a Benz.

For the incorrectness of the detail of wearing trousers I have no explanation. I thought at one time that it might have arisen from an error of translation, but the interpreters went into this possibility quite carefully and have excluded it. It was suggested to me that perhaps Indika clothed the previous personality with trousers as part of a program to enhance the prestige of that figure. But this suggestion lacks plausibility. In the first place, it supposes that Indika constructed the previous personality as a fantasy instead of from real memories, whatever the provenance of the memories may have been. And secondly, wearing trousers was quite uncharacteristic of K. G. J. Weerasinghe. Many Sinhalese, especially educated, English-speaking ones, have taken more or less to Western dress including trousers. But K. G. J. Weerasinghe belonged to a group of businessmen who, while by no means backward, sternly maintained nationalist habits in their clothing. All informants agreed that he always wore the Sinhalese sarong. Moreover, when friends came to his house wearing trousers he would deride them for this. It seems to me therefore extremely unlikely that his memories could have included the wearing of trousers. Indika's error in this item therefore remains a puzzle that I cannot solve.

Indika failed to make any recognitions at the house of K. G. J. Weerasinghe in Matara. He did not recognize the road to the house or in any manner lead the way to it; he showed no familiarity with the house itself when we reached it; and when inside he did not seem to recognize any of the rooms or objects in it. Nor did he show any sign of recognizing B. E. Abeynayake, the widow of K. G. J. Weerasinghe, or their adopted child, Padminie Yapa. For

some reason Indika was tense and timid at the Weerasinghe house; he was reluctant to move around and go into the side rooms. Perhaps the long journey from his home had fatigued him. Certainly the residents of the house, B. E. Abeynayake and Padminie Yapa, received him amiably enough. Indika's anxiety at the house might have prevented him from making recognitions, but I think it more likely that he could not have done so in the best of moods because his memories seemed already to have largely faded at that time. He was then about five years and eight months old.

THE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN INDIKA'S STATEMENTS AND BEHAVIOR AND FACTS IN THE LIFE OF K. G. J. WEERASINGHE

The reader may have asked himself how I came to identify K. G. J. Weerasinghe as the deceased person to whom Indika's statements referred in view of the fact that he gave no names for any members of the previous family. He mentioned only one proper name of a person, that of the servant, Premadasa. But he did mention the name of the town of the previous life. (I consider the verification of the proper name of an elephant, "Kethi," doubtful because given by only one informant in response to a leading question.) The emphasis given to elephants, and especially to a baby elephant, in Indika's statements suggested that we commence our search among the owners of elephants in Matara.⁷ I have already mentioned that M. G. Danthawathie, an acquaintance of the Guneratne family in Nugegoda (not far from Gonapola), who had come from Matara, had previously suggested the Weerasinghe family as most likely fitting Indika's statements best. But I wanted to be sure that no other family or person matched them better.

I spent considerable time in the Matara area making inquiries about the owners of elephants. The local authorities and other informants were not accustomed to visits by Americans and even less to ones inquiring about baby elephants! But they afforded us every possible assistance, and I can say that I am now quite positive that Indika's statements (and unusual behavior) refer to K. G. J. Weerasinghe and no one else.

When I first began learning about elephant owners in Matara, I was told that an official list was kept of such persons, and (in 1968) informants at a police station purported to give me some names from such a list. But later I learned from the Kachcheri

⁷ Although wild elephants are common in parts of Sri Lanka and trained ones are used in forestry work and for other tasks, private ownership of elephants is rare and keeping them in the city even rarer.

(District Administrative Offices) that one did not need a license in order to own an elephant privately in Sri Lanka. One needed a permit in order to have a (trained) elephant on the streets in a parade and a hunter was required to notify the government if he captured and retained a wild elephant. Since elephants breed in captivity there was no reliable list of who had them. From officials at the Kachcheri (as well as at the police station) and from the main informants in Matara of the Weerasinghe family we developed our own list of elephant owners in the Matara area.

Several elephant owners were said to have homes at a village called Akuressa some sixteen kilometers outside Matara and nearer the area of the forests where the elephants worked. Although Indika had seemed to make it quite clear that the previous life had been lived in the town of Matara, I went out to Akuressa and made some inquiries. But there was no railway line anywhere close to it and as Indika had mentioned that the house of the previous personality was near the railway, I thought this lack at Akuressa and the quite rural location disqualified all the elephant owners there.

In Matara itself there had been two other deceased persons who had kept elephants within the city. The first of these (named Amaraskera) seemed unsuitable because his house (later turned into a school) was about two kilometers from the railway line and railway station. But the second man had lived near the railway station, as had K. G. J. Weerasinghe. He was S. A. Wickramaratana, a judge, who had owned a large house such as only wealthy people can possess. I called on his widow and she and her son-in-law went over the list of details we were trying to match. Members of the family had had elephants and S. A. Wickramaratana's sister had owned a baby elephant, although he himself had not. He had been wealthy and his house had electricity. He had a gun, but no money box. He drank alcohol and his wife objected to this. He had adopted a child, a boy. I became impressed by the number of details in Indika's statements that could apply to any well-to-do man in Sri Lanka and in many other countries. So I considered the applicability to S. A. Wickramaratana of the thirty items of Tabulation One. I found that at least sixteen items were correct for him and there were possibly others since I did not ask about the applicability of every detail to him. One statement (Item 27) was incorrect for K. G. J. Weerasinghe, but correct for S. A. Wickramaratana since he wore trousers. I found, however, several other facts of his life which led me to set him aside confidently as not being the person we were looking for. For example, he had never owned trucks, nor any dogs after his marriage. He had no safe or money box. And the name Premadasa made no sense to the

members of his family whom I interviewed. In contrast, the servant Premadasa was said by several informants to have been an important employee of K. G. J. Weerasinghe (see Items 19 and 20 of Tabulation One). Also important in rejecting S. A. Wickramaratana as the related previous personality was his membership in the Christian (Anglican) Church of Sri Lanka. As I shall describe below, Indika showed behavior much more harmonious with that of a Buddhist than a Christian. Finally, I should note that S. A. Wickramaratana died about 1965, some three years *after* the birth of Indika. Now the case of Jasbir (Stevenson, 1966), as well as other similar ones of which I shall be publishing full reports later, should warn us that the death of a person after the birth of the subject does not automatically (in my opinion) disqualify that person from being the one to whom the subject's memories refer. But such temporal relationships should make us cautious in saying that we have identified the correct previous personality corresponding to the subject's statements.

I have indicated with asterisks in Tabulation One all the items which I found to be correct for S. A. Wickramaratana. K. G. D. Weerasinghe, who seemed to me to be in as good a position as anyone to know who the elephant owners of the city had been, said he was positive that there were no families in Matara other than the Weerasinghes, the Amarasekeras, and the Wickramaratanas who had owned elephants during the years 1940-60.

INDIKA'S BEHAVIOR RELATED TO THE PREVIOUS LIFE

Circumstances and Manner of Indika's Talking About the Previous Life

In 1968 Indika's father told me that he generally talked about the previous life in the evenings. He was not then said to talk in his sleep or seem to dream about the previous life. However, in 1970 his father told me that he was then apparently having nightmares about once every two weeks. At these times he seemed uncomfortable in his sleep, and would get up from his bed and try to walk. His parents could not understand what he said. Without more information we cannot conclude that the content of these nightmares related to Indika's memories of a previous life.

Indika often used the present tense in talking about the previous life. Once, when he suffered a minor injury to his lip, he wanted his mother to tell his "wife." His mother said she did not know the address, to which Indika replied that she should give him a suit, implying that properly dressed he would go to Matara by

himself to see his "wife." When his mother asked him the way, he said that he would go to Colombo and thence to Matara and that his car would be there. Indika asked his mother to send for his "wife" on other occasions when he felt unwell.

Sometimes Indika seemed to forget his present surroundings and act as if he was actually in Matara. He would say, for example, "Where is my money box?", "Where is my gun?" and "There is a dog. Let me shoot him." (This last remark occurred when a dog came onto the property where the Guneratnes lived; Indika seemed to imagine—almost hallucinate—that he had a gun.)⁸

Indika's mother said that on Sundays he would say: "I must go to Colombo to buy saris for my wife and clothes for my child." When his mother asked him if he knew how to buy saris, he said: "Don't worry. I know how to buy saris. And when I go home I can bring a sari for you." (K. G. J. Weerasinghe's wife said her husband knew how to buy saris for her and did so when he went to Colombo. See Item 26 of Tabulation One.) And as he described the play of the baby elephant blowing water at him, those listening to him thought he was reliving times spent with the elephants. His father said of these occasions: "Though his body appears to be here, his mind appears to be there" (meaning in the previous life at Matara).

Indika never said how old the child (Padminie Yapa) of the previous personality had been, but when asked this question he stretched his hand up as high as he could to indicate that the child was considerably taller than he (Indika) then was. (Padminie Yapa was eleven years old when her adoptive father died and Indika was less than six when he made this gesture.)

Indika used several words and phrases that his parents did not think he could have heard other people use by the time he spoke them. He mentioned, for example, "railway tracks" in relation to the previous personality's house in Matara. At the time he used these words he was about three years old. He had never seen a railway train or railway tracks. The nearest railroad station was twelve kilometers away. When Indika mentioned that he had taken alcohol in the previous life and that his "wife" had objected to his habit, his father asked him how he would ask for a drink of an alcoholic beverage. To this Indika replied by using a phrase which is a colloquialism used in bars in Sri Lanka meaning "pour me a small drink of arrack." His father did not think that he had ever heard the Sinhalese (or English) word for arrack before. Indika

⁸ Indika's mother said Indika was referring to a real stray dog that had come onto their property; but his father, who had seen no dog, thought that Indika hallucinated the dog. The point is not important with regard to Indika's belief that he had a gun and if he could find it, he would shoot the dog.

never asked for arrack himself; he only described drinking it in the previous life. His father also did not think it likely that he would have heard the word "Benz" at the time he claimed to have had a car of that make in the previous life.

On another occasion, when some friends of G. D. Guneratne were teasing Indika about his claim to remember even the license number of the car he said he had possessed in the previous life, in which he was in fact incorrect (Item 9), he used the expression "athipili." Indika's father took this to mean "Do not tease me." This expression was not known in Gonapola, and I thought it might be a dialect word from the area of Matara. But I could not find anyone in that area who could recognize it.

Indika also impressively imitated the use of a telephone by putting his hand up to his mouth (apparently to represent the receiver) and saying "hello." "Hello" is a word used in answering the telephone in Sri Lanka (and was so used by K. J. G. Weerasinghe), but it is otherwise not said much by Sinhalese speakers. Yet Indika's father sometimes greeted his friends with "hello," so this detail of Indika's behavior was unusual only in his accompanying use of his hand in playing as if he were answering a telephone.

Indika's Comparisons of the Previous Life and His Present Situation

Possibly Indika talked more about the previous life in the evenings because these provided greater contrasts with the life he seemed to be remembering. For one thing, the Guneratnes lit oil lamps instead of turning a switch on the wall for electric light. And they could afford to eat meat only about once a week. Indika would remind them that he was used to having meat and fish more often. When meals failed to come up to his standards he became annoyed. He particularly complained of the limited quantities of food given him. If served two pieces of fish, he would ask for four or five. He contrasted the smallness of the Guneratne house with the larger size and elegance of the one he said he had lived in. He complained of the shabbiness of his mother's clothes compared to those of his (previous) wife. Particularly startling to his parents were Indika's references to having had elephants, cars, and trucks, all possessions that only well-to-do people have in Sri Lanka. He told them he had "bundles of money." But all these boasts were mingled with some generous thoughts and one motive he expressed for wanting to go to Matara was to get money for his parents. He said if they would take him to Matara, "then I can give you money." He proposed to get the money from his (previous) wife and give it to his mother. He also proposed to bring her a sari from Matara. If

a child tore his exercise book and cried, Indika would say to him: "Don't cry. I can give you another exercise book."

Indika's Wishes and Fears About Going to Matara

As already mentioned, Indika expressed at one time strong desires to go to Matara. He evidently felt a pull from there toward the money and other possessions of the previous life. When angered by something in his home, he would threaten to go there. By 1968, however, he had developed a fear of going to Matara. At this time his memories had largely faded, or at least he was not talking spontaneously any more about the previous life and had not done so for more than a year and a half. He may have feared that his parents would leave him in Matara, but this is conjectural since he did not say so. I think it is also possible that memories and fears of domestic quarrels eventually repelled him from Matara more than the memories of wealth attracted him to there. As I have mentioned earlier, when Indika's father brought him (in 1968) to Matara at the time I was there, Indika seemed rather tense and he failed completely to recognize anything or any person, e.g., K. G. J. Weerasinghe's widow (B. E. Abeynayake) and adopted daughter (Padminie Yapa) in the house at Matara.

Other Behavior of Indika Related to the Previous Life

During the period when Indika talked most of the previous life, he also showed several other traits which I have not yet mentioned. He had a strong interest in motor vehicles of all kinds and when he had an opportunity to see one or be in one he would examine it closely and critically. He pointed out the difference between these cars and those of the previous life.

Indika also showed an interest in elephants and if one passed by when he was at school he would call out to it. His interests in other animals also corresponded to those of K. G. J. Weerasinghe. Thus he showed a fondness for dogs and cattle and he disliked cats.

White was the favorite color of both Indika and K. G. J. Weerasinghe.

When quite young Indika showed an interest in bhikkhus (Buddhist monks) and a solicitous respect for them typical of older, devout persons. At one time his family had a shop in the village of Gonapola and lived there when Indika was about three years old. There was a bus stop near the shop. Whenever Indika saw a bhikkhu standing in wait for the bus he would invite him to have a seat in the shop. His older sister did not show such concern for the welfare of bhikkhus. Indika also expressed opposition to killing. He

said that although he had a gun, it was wrong to kill with it. His mother was sure that, although his family are Buddhists, no one had spoken to Indika about the evils of killing. However, like so many of us, he had mixed or alternating attitudes toward killing. As I mentioned earlier, he once saw, or thought he saw, a dog that had strayed onto the property and he wanted to shoot it. In 1973 I learned that he had some skill in hunting birds with a catapult, but his father suppressed it by removing his weapon.

Not long before my visit to his family in 1970, Indika had asked to go to the holy place of Kataragama. We cannot think of this as in any way specific since his parents (as many other persons in Sri Lanka) liked to visit Kataragama. The expressed wish does, however, accord with the other evidence that Indika had a strong interest in religion.

Indika showed three other traits that accord with similar behavior reported for K. G. J. Weerasinghe. First, he lost his temper very easily. Secondly, he had a marked interest in gambling as exemplified by his wish to buy lottery tickets. And third, he showed some fear of burglars that may have had a connection with the fact that K. G. J. Weerasinghe's home was broken into by burglars and money was stolen from it during his lifetime.

Other Observations of Relevant Behavior on the Part of Indika

Like many other children subjects of these cases, Indika was a somewhat solitary child who liked to play alone and preferred the company of adults to that of other children.

Indika's father told me that he had never shown any evidence of extrasensory perception apart from the memories of the previous life if they are considered in that category.

Summary of Correspondences Between the Behavior of Indika and that of K. G. J. Weerasinghe

In 1968, when I learned that Indika's family had not met, or even adequately identified, a family with a member corresponding to Indika's statements, I recorded on a questionnaire that I had earlier devised for this purpose all the behavioral traits of Indika that seemed to his parents unusual and possibly related to the memories of a previous life. In making out this list, we compared Indika's conduct with that of his older sister, Shriyane, or with that of other children of his age. I have summarized in Tabulation Two the relevant behavior reported for Indika and the corresponding behavior reported for K. G. J. Weerasinghe. I recorded most of the more important items of this tabulation before taking

Indika and his father to Matara for the verifications and gathering of information about the related previous personality. I do not believe the very slight information the Guneratnes had already learned from M. G. Danthawathie about the Weerasinghe family could have influenced their answers to my questionnaire except for the fact, which she had told them, that K. G. J. Weerasinghe kept elephants. Therefore, I think that we can regard the information given by Indika's parents about his behavior as largely uncontaminated by any information they had about the previous personality.

Tabulation Two

CORRESPONDENCES IN BEHAVIORAL TRAITS REPORTED FOR
INDIKA GUNERATNE AND K.G.J. WEERASINGHE

<i>Indika Guneratne</i>	<i>K.G.J. Weerasinghe</i>
1. Interest in elephants*	Owned elephants and enjoyed feeding and playing with them
2. Interest in lotteries	Renowned gambler at cards; also bought lottery tickets regularly
3. Solicitous and respectful toward bhikkhus	Patronized and assisted bhikkhus and donated funds to temples
4. Eager to eat meat and fish	Meat and fish his favorite foods
5. Extremely interested in motor vehicles	Owned automobiles and trucks; wanted to buy better automobiles
6. Made invidious comparisons between humble circumstances of his family and luxury of previous life	Inclined to be boastful and to brag
7. Lost temper easily when annoyed**	Lost temper on slight provocation
8. Fondness for dogs	Dogs were his favorite animals
9. Dislike of cats**	Disliked cats
10. Interested in cattle**	Had owned cattle
11. Favorite color was white**	Favorite color was white

* Indika's family knew the previous personality had kept elephants before this item was recorded.

** These items were not recorded before the two families had met. All other items were recorded before Indika and his father went to Matara and met the family of K.G.J. Weerasinghe.

THE ATTITUDES OF INDIKA'S PARENTS TOWARD HIS STATEMENTS
AND BEHAVIOR RELATED TO THE PREVIOUS LIFE

At the height of Indika's statements and behavior related to the previous life his parents became somewhat uneasy about his situation. His father told me they were reluctant to take him to

Matara for fear that they might lose him. At that time he had been showing much pressure to go there and threatening to do so if not taken. Later as Indika's memories, or their intensity, faded and his attitude toward Matara changed from a desire to go there into a reluctance to do so, they felt more comfortable about taking him there. In 1968, Indika's father readily agreed to meet us in Galle and go on with us from there to Matara for a meeting with the Weerasinghe family. After the visit of 1968 they did not take him back to Matara.

Indika's parents tolerated very well his complaints about the humbleness of their home as compared to the luxury he claimed to remember. It cannot have been particularly pleasing to them to listen each night to his demands for more meat or his references to shabby clothes and leaky lamps—not to mention a Benz car and pet elephants. I think his parents deserve great credit for helping Indika make a happy adjustment to the circumstances of his modest situation, as it seemed to me he was doing in 1970 and 1973.

INDIKA'S LATER DEVELOPMENT

Indika continued talking about the previous life for a rather shorter time than the average subject of these cases. He had stopped speaking spontaneously about it at the age of about four and a half. Since I did not first meet him until March, 1968, when he was in his sixth year, the memories had by then already receded considerably and this may account for his complete failure to make any recognitions of people or places at Matara. Some other children whose memories lasted longer than Indika's have made recognitions at the places of the previous lives they remembered when they were older than Indika was in 1968.

Indika entered school at the age of five. He was in the second class in 1970 when he was eight years old. His mother considered that he had been precocious and learned effortlessly, although he had not begun to speak until the age of two, an age older than that at which his older sister had first spoken.

In 1970, Indika seemed to be developing into an entirely normal, healthy boy. His parents had not questioned him about the previous life since 1968, and he had said nothing further himself. At this time Indika still showed some of the behavior earlier noted which seemed related to the previous life. He still had a quick temper, and not long before my visit he had threatened to stab a boy who, he thought, had insulted him. He still called for more and better meat and fish. He disdained sprats as a cheap variety of fish. He

still liked lotteries. And he still showed a marked interest in the precepts and practices of Buddhism.

As I mentioned earlier, Mr. Godwin Samararatne visited the Guneratnes in January, 1972. At that time Indika had by no means fully adjusted to his humble surroundings. He still expressed disappointment when not given meat or when he otherwise felt dissatisfied with the family food. Sometimes he would not eat the food provided. He would never wear torn clothes, but discarded them. His maternal grandmother, who had some extra resources, was spending money on Indika to lessen the shock of his adjustment.

In 1973, when I visited the family again, Indika (who was then almost eleven) was continuing to demand food of high quality and would not eat anything which displeased him. He also liked clean clothes, something rather unusual for a Sinhalese village child. His interest in lottery tickets and in automobiles had continued undiminished. He sometimes tampered with the controls of cars and tried to start them. He still showed a tendency to lose his temper easily.

At this time Indika was no longer having nightmares, but his mother said he was having "heart trouble" a symptom of which was pain in his chest that came on especially when he stayed in the sun. (I did not achieve any further understanding of this symptom.) Indika was then in the fifth class of school and standing tenth in a class of thirty-four students. He was thus at a level with his peers and perhaps a little ahead of them.

Indika's mother said he no longer referred to the previous life and only smiled when asked about it. When we asked him a direct question he said he no longer remembered anything. He did not even remember the name of the town of the previous life he had talked about earlier. His then was another case in which behavior that seemed related to the previous life persisted after the imaged memories had faded completely from consciousness.

COMMENTS ON THE EVIDENCE FOR PARANORMAL PROCESSES IN THE CASE

I have already mentioned that this case belongs to the very small group of cases in which a written record of the subject's statements was made before the two families had met. Apart from some slight confirmatory information given to Indika's parents through M. G. Danthawathie, I myself first made all the verifications of Indika's statements and was also the first to compare his behavior with that of the previous personality, K. G. J. Weerasinghe. In this case,

therefore, as in a few others, we can completely exclude a mingling of memories on the part of the families concerned as a factor giving rise to a spurious appearance of more concordance between the statements and behavior of the subject on the one hand and the actual facts of the life of the previous personality (and his reported behavior) on the other hand.

Concerning the possibilities for normal communication between the two families, I am as confident that this could not have occurred in this case as I am of any case in my collection. Indika's family rarely passed through Matara, and they had no friends or relatives there. K. G. J. Weerasinghe came up to Colombo from time to time to shop or for medical examinations. His affairs might have taken him to the village of Gonapola, but we do not know of his ever having visited it. Gonapola is not far from Colombo, but it is not on a main road and rather difficult of access on a secondary road. Indika's family do not actually live in the village of Gonapola itself, but outside it on an even more isolated rubber plantation.

If the two families had somehow met, one cannot imagine they would have had any prolonged social intercourse since they belonged to quite different social and economic classes.

I cannot think of any reason why G. D. Guneratne and his wife would contrive the case. For a number of Indika's statements I have the additional testimony also of his older sister Shiyanee or of one of their neighbors, L. D. Y. Appuhamy, who said that he had talked at length with Indika. His account of what Indika told him followed the main outlines of what G. D. Guneratne and his wife had already told me Indika had said. There were some of the usual variations in small details, but it seemed clear that he had heard Indika make very much the same statements that his parents had reported.

Indika's parents had made no move to obtain decisive verifications of Indika's statements up to the time he was almost six years old in 1968. Since he had threatened to leave them they were afraid of losing him if they took him to Matara. Considering their humble condition and the wealth of the previous family, it may be thought that some temptation existed to exploit Indika's statements for extracting some financial gain for him and themselves. And yet I never heard that they had done so or tried to do so. Indika's parents had not taken him back to Matara between 1968 and 1973, which they would certainly have done if they had had any intention of asking for assistance from the Weerasinghe family. I am quite positive that Indika's father would never have considered such a step. He impressed me as being a person of integrity who, although not proud to be poor, was proud of doing the best he could without expecting special help from anyone else.

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