

**ASOKA AND THE MISSIONS  
FROM THE EXTENDED MAHĀVAṂSA**

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# **Asoka and the Missions**

*(from Extended Mahāvamsa V, XII-XV, XVIII-XX)*

edited by

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(1937 - 2481)

translated by

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(August, 2012 - 2556)

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## Introduction

### Texts

Extended Mahāvamsa, Chapters XII-XIV, edited by G. P. Malalasekera, Colombo 1937. Reprinted by the Pali Text Society, Oxford, 1988. The text is reprinted here through the kind permission of PTS.

*for the variants:* Mahāvamsa, Chapters XII-XIV, edited by W. Geiger 1908. Reprinted by the Pali Text Society, Oxford, 1958.

The manuscripts that the text is based on are all written in, or copied from, texts written in Cambodian script, and for that reason it is sometimes known as the Cambodian Mahāvamsa. However just because the manuscripts are in that script cannot be taken as evidence of its provenance without further indication, which appears to be lacking. Indeed all the evidence seems to point to the text being written in Śrī Laṅkā, as was the original text.

The text has extended the first section<sup>1</sup> of the more usual Mahāvamsa in two ways: through addition and through rewriting, adding in further information, some of which is, at least *prima facie*, of importance, though we have no way of ascertaining its authenticity, as we cannot even determine the date of the text, beyond it being after Mahānāma's text.<sup>2</sup>

In the selections I have translated here the additions vary from one or two line insertions that clarify, or give additional information, needed for understanding the text; to whole blocks of information lacking in the original.<sup>3</sup> The rewrites are generally also expansions, although occasionally they just rewrite one line or one verse with another, which the author thought clarified some point or other.<sup>4</sup> In other cases, where a summary of spoken exchanges is given in Mhv. they are reproduced in direct speech in the Extended version of the text.

In my impression this is, for the most part, done in a quite seamless way, and I think if we only had the Extended version, it would probably pass as the work of one author, except in a small number of places where there are grammatical or organisational problems of one sort or another,<sup>5</sup> though it is clear that the author of the Extended section hasn't the same level of writing skill as Mahānāma.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the first thirty-seven chapters, which is the original rescension of the text, written by Mahānāma in the 5th century of the Christian era.

<sup>2</sup> Malalasekera dates it to the 9th-10th centuries: after Mahāvamsa and its Ṭīkā, and before the continuation to the text was made in the 12th century by Dhammakitti.

<sup>3</sup> Malalasekera has made a very good comparison of the text with Mhv and its Ṭīkā (which he also edited) in the informative Introduction to his edition.

<sup>4</sup> 14.26b is an instance of this.

<sup>5</sup> See 13.26b-28a, where an absolute sub-clause is left hanging without a finite verb to complete it; and the note to 13.9a where a section appears to be out of place, but it is so in both versions.

## Introduction - 5

According to the editor of the text<sup>6</sup> the work has drawn upon the Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā (Mahāvamsa-Līnattha), the Buddhavaṃsa and possibly its Commentary, Thūpavaṃsa, Mahābodhivaṃsa, Vinaya Mahāvagga, Jātakatṭhakathā and the Samantapāsādikā for the extra material. As far as I can see it does not, however, make any direct quotes from these works, and it is still unclear whether the author had other sources available, including, all importantly, the Sinhala Commentaries.

### Translation

As far as I know the translation presented here is the first translation into English of any section from the Extended version of the Mahāvamsa. In preparing the text and translation I have made two versions.

The first gives the text and the translation line by line. In this edition colour-coding has been adopted so that where the text agrees (largely) with Mhv. it is printed in blue and red:<sup>7</sup>

**Jinanibbānato pacchā pure tassābhisekato**

**After the Emancipation of the Victor and before the consecration**

and where it is additional it is printed in purple and green:

**aṭṭhārasasādhikam vassatadvayam atikkamā.**

**in excess of two-hundred and eighteen years had passed by.**

The English only version, which is a rewritten and a more fluent translation of the Extended Text, marks the common text in blue and the additional material in purple.

**From the Emancipation of the Victor to the consecration in excess of two hundred and eighteen years had passed by.**<sup>8</sup>

It has sometimes been necessary to take two lines together for the purposes of translation, and occasionally three. These are then printed together, and the translation is printed afterwards.

### Places and People

The text concerned is mainly of importance for the information it gives on the early years of Asoka, his conversion to Buddhism, holding the Third Council, and then the spread of Buddhism in the Missionary period of the Dispensation.

In the first selections, which are made from Chapter V of the text, we are informed about Asoka's career when he was vice-sovereign, the birth of his children Mahinda and Saṅghamittā and his ascension to the throne after murdering his brotherly rivals.

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<sup>6</sup> Edition, p. xl.

<sup>7</sup> Generally, when the text agrees in wording for more than half a *pādayuga* (pair of lines) I mark it as in agreement; less than that I mark it as belonging to the Extended version.

<sup>8</sup> Here the first half of the sentence is common to both texts, the second half is only found in this form only in the Extended version.

## Introduction - 6

This is followed by his meeting with the novice Nigrodha, who so greatly impressed him, his disillusionment with the other ascetic groups and his growing faith in Buddhism.

Once converted Asoka proved to be a great support to the Dispensation and besides building 84,000 monasteries in honour of the 84,000 teachings that the Lord Buddha had given he also gave his children for ordination, purified the Saṅgha and organised the Third Council which ratified the Teaching.

Incidentally as these stories are being told there are also many interesting accounts included in the text, like a previous life-story of Asoka and his relatives; his seeing of an image of the Buddha thanks to the Nāga-King Mahākāla; and a retelling of the Partridge Birth-Story (Tittirajātaka, Jā 319) in verse.

Following the Council, the Missions were sent out and the later selections provide information not only as to *where* the religion spread, but also, and perhaps equally important, as to *how* it spread.

As for *where*, the Missions seem to have gone out to the border districts in all directions: taking Asoka's capital Pāṭaliputta as the centre of the radius, we can see that the Missions went, for example north, to Kasmīra-Gandhāra<sup>9</sup> and to the Himālayan regions; in the west to the Ionian districts,<sup>10</sup> Aparantikā and Mahāratta; further south to Vanavāsī and Mahisamaṇḍala, and on to Sri Laṅkā. And in the east – if indeed that is where it is – to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.<sup>11</sup>

In the text below v. 12.7 includes the important information, that besides the monks who were named as the missionaries, there were also other monks accompanying them. We may infer as much, as they would be needed for the ordinations that were given, but some have argued that there were already monks present in the areas visited.<sup>12</sup> Although that is not impossible, given the addition here it would also not be necessary either, and it seems to me that the monks would not have travelled alone on such important missions, but in company of other monks, even when they are only named in the case of Mahinda's mission, which is, in any case, dealt with in much more detail.

We can compare for this Chapter XII v. 6, which simply says: "He<sup>13</sup> sent the Elder Majjhima to the Himālaya districts." But later when we come to v. 45-47 the text itself states that at least four other Elders accompanied him, and that between them they converted five countries.

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<sup>9</sup> Seemingly treated as one country or district, see the note to v. 3 below.

<sup>10</sup> Probably around modern-day Pakistan, following the Greek armies had of Alexandria, during his push to the East.

<sup>11</sup> The location of which is much disputed, and there is no clear answer to where it was. Some believe it was lower Burma, others Central Thailand and still others in India itself.

<sup>12</sup> See Prapod Assavariruhlakarn: The Ascendency of Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia, p. 61 (Silkworm Books, Bangkok, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> It refers to the Elder Moggalitissa, who directed the Missions.

## Methods of Conversion

As to how the Missions went about their work, that also is very interesting. Gathering the evidence here we can see that it was not simply a didactic exercise, in many places the monks had first to prove that their powers were superior to the local dieties – Nāgas, Yakkhas and the like – which they encountered in the border countries.

One of the most dramatic accounts is the first one, which is given in detail, concerning Majjhantika in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, who overcame the Nāga King Āravāla and his companions, established them in the Refuges and Precepts and gave them good advice on proper behaviour before giving any formal Dhamma teaching to the populace.

A similar story is told of the two Elders Soṇa and Uttara, who were sent to Suvāṇṇabhūmi, and defeated a demoness who was eating all the children born in the King's palace. One of the Elders created with his psychic powers a larger army of demons and chased the original group out. Again this is before any formal teaching took place.

In other cases a display of supernatural powers certainly is said to have helped: Rakkhita stood in the sky to do his preaching in Vanavāsī. Mahinda was able, through his psychic powers, to hide – and later reveal – his companions, and also showed his powers by speaking the King's name before it was given.<sup>14</sup> Even the novice Sumana who accompanied them on the Mission made his voice heard over the whole Island, announcing the time for the teaching.

Not that the teaching was unimportant, indeed in some cases it appears to have been all that was needed: Mahādeva in Mahisamaṇḍala, Dhammarakkhita in Aparantikā, Mahādhammarakkhita in Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhita amongst the Ionians and Majjhima and his companions in the Himālaya had no other recourse but the teaching, at least in the way it is recorded here.<sup>15</sup>

## The Results

In all cases, however, eventually it was the teaching that brought about the conversions, and with them numbers of ordinations, and thereby the final establishment of the Dispensation in the country. And here there is another important thing to note: although in some cases it is only stated that ordinations took place, in others it specifies how many were male and how many female, and the latter were occasionally in the majority, as in Aparantikā.<sup>16</sup>

In Suvāṇṇabhūmi also one and a half thousand women are said to have gone forth; and famously in Laṅkā Mahinda had to send back to the home country and get his sister Saṅghamittā to come to give Bhikkhuṇī ordination to Queen Anulā and one thousand of the palace women.

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<sup>14</sup> This at least seems to be the purport of this obscure passage.

<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that the most popular teachings were either similes or stories of Heaven and Hell.

<sup>16</sup> See v. 40 below.



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Another important thing to notice is the record of the attainments: eighty thousand in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, forty thousand in Mahisamaṇḍala, sixty thousand in Vanavāsī, thirty-seven thousand in Aparantikā, eighty-four thousand in Mahāraṭṭha, one hundred and seventy thousand amongst the Ionians, eight-hundred million in the Himālaya, sixty thousand in Suvaṇṇabhūmi and but a thousand in Laṅkā.

Evidently these figures cannot be taken literally, but they surely do reflect a remembrance about the Missions, and they are said to have occurred in every district reported.

What we have here then is perhaps not so much an accurate, newspaper-like report of the Missions, which is something we have no right to expect anyway. But certainly we can understand that, for the compilers, these reports of overcoming local dieties, the displays of magical powers and attainments were at least as an important part of the Missions' successes, as the teaching of the Dhamma, the large-scale conversions and ordinations were, and were probably regarded as no more exceptional than them either.

In the later selections I have also translated all the relevant passages dealing with the establishment of the nuns' lineage in Laṅkā, which include many details of interest about their personal progress and the strong and vigorous presence which they had in the country.

The selections presented here close with the passing away of the main actors in this part of the story as it is recorded in Chapter XX: first the two great Kings Asoka in Jambudīpa and Devānampiyatissa in Laṅkā; then the two great Missionaries Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, and the generation of monastics who had helped them establish the Dispensation in Laṅkā.

I have concentrated in these selections more on King Asoka's work in Jambudīpa, and then the Missions themselves, with special reference to the Arahats Mahinda and Saṅghamittā; and less on King Devānampiyatissa's good works and building projects in Śrī Laṅkā.

It is not that translations of these sections are undesirable, indeed they would be a great resource for those interested in the history of the Dispensation, but there are simply limits on what I can achieve at present, owing to many other commitments, and it may be I will return to the work on this text again at some point in the future.

## **Acknowledgement**

In preparing this translation I was fortunate enough to be able to consult with two experts on Sri Lankan medieval texts and history: Prof. Dr. Junko Matsumura in Japan, who managed to solve some particularly difficult passages, and Ven. Dr. M. Wijithadhamma in Sri Lanka. However, if any mistakes remain it is solely my responsibility.

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu  
August 2012

**[from V. The Third Recital]**  
**[Tatīyasaṅgīti]<sup>17</sup>**  
**238-338 & 462-645 ≠ 154-211 & 266-282**

**[Asoka's Birth]**  
**ExtMhv 238-245**

**Punekadivasam Rājā gahetvā tanayam varam, [238]**  
 One day King (Bindusāra), after taking his noble son (Asoka),

**nisīdāpiya aṅkamhi kīlapento nisīdati.**  
 sat him on his lap, and sat there playing with him.<sup>18</sup>

**Dakkiṇāvāṭṭasaṅkham te gahetvāna kare, tato [239]**  
 After taking a right-handed shell in his hand, he then

**puttassa ṭhapayum, tattha suto muttam visajjayi.<sup>19</sup>**  
 placed it to his son, and his son urinated right there.

**Saṅkhena tam gahetvāna sutassa muddhanokiri. [240]**  
 Having taken it, he poured (it) down on his son's head with the shell.

**Disvāna kupitā Devī, karamhā tam kumārakam**  
 Having seen (that), the angry Queen, after taking the youngster by the hand

**gahetvāna, tam-attham sā kulūpassānurocati. [241]**  
 to her advisor (Jarasāna), she was pleased (to know) the meaning of it.

**‘Mā<sup>20</sup> bhāyi, tava tanayo mahāpuṅṅo asādiso,**  
 “Do not be afraid, your son has great merit, is incomparable,

**sakala-Jambudīpasmim Aggarājā bhavissati.” [242]**  
 he will be the Foremost King over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.”

**Niyatam byākaritvā<sup>21</sup> Jarasāno apakkami.**  
 After making this assurance, Jarasāna departed.

**‘Nukkameneva, vaḍḍhento yadā Rājasuto ca, sā [243]**  
 In due course, while the King's son was growing, she

<sup>17</sup> I have included the end-titles at the top of the chapter they refer to. The original simply has the number: *Pañcamo Paricchedo*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Lit: *making him play*.

<sup>19</sup> ExtMhv, m.c. for *vissajjayi*.

<sup>20</sup> ExtMhv: *Ma*.

<sup>21</sup> We need to insert the epenthetic vowel to complete the metre in the prior line: *byākaritvā*.

**vijāyitvāna-m-itaram, Tissakumāram<sup>22</sup>-avhayaṃ.**  
gave birth<sup>23</sup> to another (son), who was called prince Tissa.

**Bindusārasutā āsum satañ-ceko bhavissati.**  
There were one hundred and one sons for (King) Bindusāra.

**Asoko āsi tesam tu puññatejobaliddhiko. [244]**  
But Asoka was the most meritorious, powerful and glorious.

**Vemātike bhātare so hantvā ekūṇakaṃ satam,**  
After killing his ninety-nine brothers by different mothers,

**sakale Jambudīpasmiṃ ekarajjaṃ apāpuṇi. [245]**  
he attained sole sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

**[Asoka's Family]<sup>24</sup>**  
**ExtMhv 246-256 ≠ Mhv XIII 8-11**

**Pubbe Moriyavaṃsamhi, Bindusāravhayo suto**  
Formerly in the Moriyān lineage, a son called Bindusāra

**jātassa Candaguttassa avhayantassa Rājino [246]**  
was born to the previous King called Candagutta<sup>25</sup>

**Pāṭaliputtanagare, accayeneva Pituno,<sup>26</sup>**  
in the city of Pāṭaliputta, and after the death<sup>27</sup> of his Father,

**vaddhento 'nukkameneva tato Rājā ahoṣi so. [247]**  
while still growing, in due course he became the King.

**Tassa Rañño duve puttā āsum sodariyā pi vā,**  
To that King there were two sons of the same mother,

**tesaṃ duvinnaṃ, ekūnasatamattā sutā pare [248]**  
and to those two, there were ninety-nine other sons

**vematikā bhātaro ca Rañño āsum tad-antare.**  
of the King who were brothers by different mothers.

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<sup>22</sup> ExtMhv: *kūmaram*.

<sup>23</sup> The absolute is used as an aorist again here.

<sup>24</sup> The titles within the chapter are supplied by the translator to help give context.

<sup>25</sup> Candagutta was the founder of the Mauryan Empire, which eventually Asoka inherited.

<sup>26</sup> One would expect a reading: *pītuno*, to fit the cadence, also at 260 below. No doubt this was the pronunciation whatever the manuscript spelling.

<sup>27</sup> Lit: *after the end*.

**Asokassa kumārassa sabbajeṭṭhassa, Bhūpati [249]**

To the eldest of them all,<sup>28</sup> prince Asoka, the Lord of the Earth

**Avantiraṭṭhaṃ tesam pi uparajjaṃ adāsi so.**

gave the vice-sovereignty over the country of Avanti.

**Athekadivasam Rājā upaṭṭhānam tam-āgataṃ [250]**

Then one day the King came to the attendance hall

**sutam disvāna-m-attano: “Gantvā raṭṭhaṃ tuvaṃ tava**

**Ujjeninagare Tāta vasāhī,” ti apesayi. [251]**

and after seeing his son, and saying: “Having gone to the country you, Dear, must dwell in the city of Ujjenī,” he sent him off.

**Pituno vacaneneva, Ujjenim-agamāsi so**

In accordance with his Father’s bidding, having gone<sup>29</sup> to Ujjenī

**Antarāvaṭumāyam, so Vedise nagare tahim [252]**

by the interior road, there in the city of Vedisa

**Devanāmakaseṭṭhissa ghare vāsam pakappayi.**

he arranged to make his dwelling in the house of the merchant Deva by name.

**Seṭṭhino dhītarāṃ disvā cintetvā pamudā imam: [253]**

After seeing the merchant’s daughter and reflecting gladly (he thought) this:

**‘Sutaṃ lakkhaṇasampannaṃ dhaññaṃ pemaṃ piyaṅkaraṃ,**

‘I have heard she is endowed with auspicious marks, wealth, affection, and is amiable,

**yadi laddhā ime esā ārādhemi manaṃ.’ iti [254]**

if they will receive these (gifts) I will win her favour.’

**Dinnaṃ tehi labhivā, so samvāsam tāya kappayi.**

Having received what was given, he became intimate with her.

**Sañjātagabbhā hutvā, sā Ujjeninagaraṃ nītā,<sup>30</sup> [255]**

After (life) arose in the womb, she was led to the city of Ujjenī,

**janayitvā Rājasutaṃ Mahindaṃ avhayaṃ subhaṃ,**

and after giving birth to the Prince’s<sup>31</sup> handsome son, called Mahinda,

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<sup>28</sup> In v. 281 below, it says that Sumana was the eldest, so I am unsure how to interpret this.

<sup>29</sup> We might have expected the present participle here, *while going*, as he is still on the way to Avantī.

<sup>30</sup> We should read: *nitā*, m.c. to correct the cadence.

<sup>31</sup> *Rāja* here must be written for *Uparāja*, as Asoka is still only a *vice-regent*.

**aparam dārikam ekam Saṅghamittaṅ-ca avhayam. [256]**  
she also had a daughter who was called Saṅghamittā.

**[Asoka's Ascension]**  
**257-275 = Mhv 20-32**

**Yadā maraṇamañcamhi Bindusāro nipannako,**  
When Bindusāra was lying on his death-bed,

**sarivā attano puttam, ānāpetum tato puram [257]**  
**Ujjeninagaram yeva amacce te apesayi.**  
having remembered his son, he sent ministers to fetch him from the city of Ujjenī.

**Asokassa pavattim te gantvā, ārocayum<sup>32</sup> tato [258]**  
Having gone to Asoka with the news, they therefore announced

**vacaneneva, tesam so santikam turitam gato.**  
his bidding, and he went quickly into their presence.

**Antarā añjase tattha Vedisanagare tadā [259]**  
**puttadāre ṭhapetvāna, gantvāna Pitu santikam,**  
After placing his children and wife there on the interior road of the city of Vedisa,  
and going into his Father's presence,

**Pāṭaliputtanagare kālakatassa Pituno,<sup>33</sup> [260]**  
when his Father died<sup>34</sup> in the city of Pāṭaliputta,

**sarīrakiccam katvāna sattāheneva sādhuḥkam,**  
after doing the proper duties to the body for seven days,

**ekūnasatamatte te vemātike ca bhātaro [261]**  
having his ninety-nine brothers by different mothers

**ghātāpetvāna, chattam tam ussapetvāna-m-attano,**  
murdered, and raising the (Royal) canopy over himself,

**abhisekam sayam yeva nagare tattha gaṇhati. [262]**  
he himself was consecrated right there in the city.<sup>35</sup>

**Theramātā kumāre dve pesetvā tassa santikam**  
**Raṅṅo, sayam pi tattheva Vedisanagare vasi. [263]**  
After the two children were sent out of the presence of the King, the venerable  
Mother herself resided right there in the city of Vedisa.

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<sup>32</sup> ExtMhv: *arocayum*.

<sup>33</sup> One would again expect a reading: *pītuno*, see 247 above.

<sup>34</sup> Lit: *made his time*.

<sup>35</sup> This appears to have been an initial coronation as King in the City, later (see v. 265) he was consecrated King over the whole Empire.

**Jinanibbānato<sup>36</sup> pacchā pure tassābhisekato**

After the Emancipation of the Victor and before the consecration

**aṭṭhārasasādhikam<sup>37</sup> vassasatadvayam atikkamā.<sup>38</sup> [264]**  
in excess of two-hundred and eighteen years had passed by.

**Patvā catūhi vassehi ekarajjam Mahāyaso**

Within four years of attaining sole sovereignty the Greatly Famous One

**pure Pāṭaliputtasmiṃ attānam abhisīcayī.<sup>39</sup> [265]**  
had himself consecrated in the city of Pāṭaliputta.

**Tassābhisekenasamakālam, ākāse bhūmiyā<sup>40</sup> tathā,**

From the very time of his consecration, in the firmament and the earth,

**yojane yojane āṇā niccam pavisatā ahu. [266]**  
league by league<sup>41</sup> did his orders always have penetration.

**Anotattodakam kaje aṭṭhānesum dine dine**

**devā Devo akā tehi samvibhāgam janassa pi.<sup>42</sup> [267]**

Day by day the gods brought eight (loads) of water from (Lake) Anotatta<sup>43</sup> on carrying-poles, and the God-King distributed them to the people.<sup>44</sup>

**Nāgalatādantakaṭṭham ānesum Himavantato,**

**anekesam sahasānam devā yeva pahonakam.<sup>45</sup> [268]**

From the Himālaya the gods brought betel-wood tooth-picks, sufficient for countless thousands of (people).

**Agadāmalakañ-ceva tathā 'gadahaṛitakam,**

And also the myrobalan medicine, yellow myrobalan,

**tato ca ambapakkañ-ca vaṇṇagandharasuttamam. [269]**

and then supremely ripe, beautiful, sweet-smelling and tasty mangoes.

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<sup>36</sup> Mhv: *-nibbāṇato*; Sanskritised spelling.

<sup>37</sup> ExtMhv: *sādhikam*; printer's error.

<sup>38</sup> Mhv reads: *sāṭṭharasam vassasatadvayam evam vijānīyam*; know that there were two-hundred and eighteen years.

<sup>39</sup> Mhv: *abhisecayī*; same meaning; same spelling in v. 276 below.

<sup>40</sup> Mhv: *bhūmiyam*; alternative form of the locative.

<sup>41</sup> For the origin of this special power, see v. 298 below.

<sup>42</sup> Mhv: *tu*.

<sup>43</sup> The purest water that can be found, being brought from the Himālaya.

<sup>44</sup> In verse 328 it explains how the King later redistributed this water to those who were worthy.

<sup>45</sup> ExtMhv: *phonakam*; printer's error.

**Pañcavaṇṇāni vatthāni, hatthapuñchanapaṭṭakam  
pītañ-ca, dibbapānañ-ca Chaddantadahato marū. [270]**

The protective gods (brought) five-coloured clothes, yellow strips of cloth for the hands, and divine water from Lake Chaddanta.

**Sumanapupphapatañ-ca<sup>46</sup> asuttaṃ dibbam-uppalaṃ,  
vilepanaṃ añjanañ-ca Nāgā Nāgāvimānato. [271]**

The Nāgas (brought) fallen jasmine flowers, and unthreaded divine waterlilies, and collyrium ointments for the eyes from the divine Nāga mansions.

**Sālivāhasahassāni navutiṃ tu suvā pana  
Chaddantadahato yeva āharimsu dine dine. [272]**

Moreover the parrots brought ninety-thousand carts of finest rice from Lake Chaddanta day by day.

**Te sālī nitthusakaṇe akhaṇḍetvāna, taṇḍule  
akaṃsu mūsikā, tehi bhattaṃ Rājakule ahu. [273]**

After breaking that rice, the mice made it into fine rice without chaff or powder, and that was the food for the King's family.

**Akaṃsu satataṃ tassa madhūni madhumakkhikā,**  
Honey-bees constantly made honey for him,

**tathā kammārasālāsu acchā kūṭāni pātayum. [274]**  
and bears wielded the hammers in the smiths' forges.

**Karavīkā sakuṇikā manuññamadhurassarā,<sup>47</sup>  
akaṃsu tassa gantvāna<sup>48</sup> Rañño madhuravassitaṃ. [275]**

The female cuckoo birds, who have pleasing and sweet voices, after going to the King, made sweet sounds for him.

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<sup>46</sup> Mhv: *pupphapaṭṭakam*.

<sup>47</sup> Mhv: *manuññā*.

<sup>48</sup> Mhv: *tassāgantvāna*.



[The Conversion of Asoka - 1]  
276-291 = Mhv. 33-48

**Rājābhisitto so 'soko kumāram Tissam-avhayaṃ,<sup>49</sup>  
kaniṭṭham sa<sup>50</sup> sodariyaṃ uparajje 'bhisiñcayi. [276]**

The consecrated King Asoka also consecrated the prince called Tissa, who was his younger brother of the same Mother, to the vice-sovereignty.

**Pitā saṭṭhisahassāni brāhmaṇe brahmapakkhike  
bhojesi, so pi te yeva tīṇi vassāni bhojayi. [277]**

His Father (Bindusāra) had fed sixty-thousand brāhmaṇas of the brāhmaṇa faction, and for three years he also fed them.

**Disvānupasamaṃ tesam Asoko pi nivesane:<sup>51</sup>**

But having seen they were not quiet in his house Asoka, said:

**“Viceyya dānaṃ dassan”-ti amacce sannipātayi.<sup>52</sup> [278]**

“After investigating the donation I will give,” and gathered his ministers.

**Ānāpayitvā<sup>53</sup> matimā nānāpāsaṇḍike visuṃ**

The wise one, after having the various sectarians brought separately

**vīmamsitvā nisajjāya bhojāpetvā visajjayi.<sup>54</sup> [279]**

and investigated on their seat, after feeding them, sent them away.

\* \* \*

**Kāle vātāyanagato santam racchāgataṃ yatim,  
Nigrodhasāmaṇeraṃ so disvā, cittaṃ pasādayi. [280]**

One time, while stood at the window, after seeing a peaceful striver,<sup>55</sup> the novice Nigrodha, going along the street, his heart gained faith.

**Bindusārassa puttānaṃ sabbesaṃ jeṭṭhabhātuno,  
Sumanassa kumārassa putto so hi kumārako. [281]**

The young man was the son of prince Sumana, the eldest brother of all of Bindusāra's children.

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<sup>49</sup> Mhv: *Tissasavhayaṃ*.

<sup>50</sup> Mhv: *kaniṭṭhakaṃ*.

<sup>51</sup> Mhv: *parivesane*; at the meals.

<sup>52</sup> Mhv: *sanniyojayi*; commanded (his ministers).

<sup>53</sup> ExtMhv: *Anāpayitvā*; printer's error.

<sup>54</sup> Written m.c. for *vissajjayi*.

<sup>55</sup> The word in Pāli is *yati*, a denomination still sometimes used in Sri Lanka for monks.

**Asoko Pitarā dinnam rajjam Ujjeniyam hi so  
hitvā, gato Pupphapuram Bindusāre gilānake, [282]**

Asoka had left the sovereignty of Ujjenī, given by his Father, and gone to the City of Flowers when Bindusāra was sick,

**katvā puram sakāyattam, mate Pitari, bhātaram**  
and after taking possession of the city, with the death of his Father,

**ghātetvā jeṭṭhakam,<sup>56</sup> rajjam aggahesi pure vare. [283]**  
after killing (all) his elder brothers, he took sovereignty over the noble city.

\* \* \*

**Sumanassa kumārassa devī, tan-nāmikā tato,**  
Prince Sumana's queen, of the same name (Sumanā),

**gabbhinī, nikkhamitvāna pācinadvārato bahi, [284]**  
being pregnant, after fleeing from there to outside the eastern gate,

**caṇḍālagāmam-agamā, tattha nigrodhadevatā**  
went to an outcastes' village, and there a banyan-tree god

**tam āmantiya nāmena, māpetvāna gharam<sup>57</sup> adā. [285]**  
called her by name, and after building a house gave it (to her).

**Tadahe va varam puttam vijāyivā, sutassa sā**  
On the same day, after the noble son was born, to her son

**Nigrodho ti akā nāmam, devatānuggahānugā. [286]**  
she gave the name Nigrodha, because of the assistance of the god.

**Disvā<sup>58</sup> jeṭṭhacaṇḍālo, attano sāminim<sup>59</sup> viya  
maññanto tam, upaṭṭhāsi sattavassāni sādhumam. [287]**  
After seeing (her), the elder outcaste, honouring her like his mistress, attended on her properly for seven years.

**Tam Mahāvaruṇo Thero tadā disvā kumārakam**  
The Elder Mahāvaruṇa, having seen that the boy

**upanissayasampannaṃ Arahā, pucchi Mātaram [288]**  
was endowed with the supporting conditions for Worthiness, asked his Mother

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<sup>56</sup> ExtMhv: *jeṭṭhakam*; printer's error.

<sup>57</sup> Mhv: *māpetvā gharakam*; same meaning.

<sup>58</sup> Mhv: *Disvā tam*.

<sup>59</sup> ExtMhv: *sāminim*; printer's error?

**pabbājesi, khuragge so Arahattaṃ apāpuṇi.**

to let him go forth, and in the shaving house<sup>60</sup> he attained Worthiness.

**Dassanāyopagacchanto so tato Mātudeviyā [289]**

While going from there to see his divine Mother,

**dakkhiṇena ca dvārena<sup>61</sup> pavisitvā puruttamaṃ,**

after entering the supreme city by the south gate,

**taṅ-gāmagāmaggena yāti rājaṅgaṇe tadā. [290]**

he went by the road along the highway through village after village.

**Santāya<sup>62</sup> iriyāya 'smiṃ pasīdi so Mahīpati,**

The Lord of the World gained faith through (seeing) his peaceful posture,

**pubbe tu sannivāseṇa pemaṅ-casmiṃ ajāyatha. [291]**

but love arose in him because of a previous life (spent) together.

**[Asoka Birth-Story]**

**292-305 ≠ Mhv. 49-61**

**Pubbe kira tayo āsum bhātaro madhuvāṇijā,**

Previously, it seems, there were three brothers who were honey merchants,

**eko madhum vikkiṇāti, āharanti madhum duve. [292]**

one would sell the honey, and two would collect the honey.

**Eko Paccekasambuddho vaṇarogāturo ahu,**

One Independent Perfectly Awakened One had a diseased wound,

**aṅṅo Paccekasambuddho tad-atthaṃ madhu-m-atthiko<sup>63</sup> [293]**

and another Independent Perfectly Awakened One seeking honey for his use

**piṇḍacārikavattena nagaraṃ pāvisī tadā.**

entered the city during his usual practice of walking for alms.

**Titthaṃ jalatthaṃ gacchantī ekā ceṭī tam-addasa. [294]**

A maid-servant who was going for water to the tank saw him.

**Pucchitvā madhukāmattaṃ ṇatvā, hatthena ādisi:**

After asking and understanding his desire for honey, she pointed with her hand

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<sup>60</sup> I.e. as he was being prepared for ordination.

<sup>61</sup> Mhv: *duvārena*; same word with an epenthetic vowel.

<sup>62</sup> ExtMhv: *Santāy'*, against the metre.

<sup>63</sup> Mhv: *madhuatthiko*.

**“Eso madhu-āpaṇo Bhante tattha gacchā” ti-m-abravi.**<sup>64</sup> [295]  
and said: “Go there, to the honey-stall, venerable Sir.”

**Paccekabuddho gantvāna āpaṇe tattha tiṭṭhati.**  
The Independently Awakened One, after going to the shop, waited there.

**Tassa Paccekabuddhassa**<sup>65</sup> **vāṇijo so pasādavā**  
**vissandayanto mukhato pattapūram madhum adā.** [296]  
The faithful merchant, gave (so much) honey to the Independently Awakened One  
the bowl was full and overflowing from the rim.

**Puṇṇaṅ-ca uppatāṅ-ca**<sup>66</sup> **patitaṅ-ca mahītale,**  
**disvā madhum pasanno so evaṃ paṇidahi**<sup>67</sup> **tadā:** [297]  
After seeing (the bowl) full of honey and falling on the earth, being faithful, he  
made an aspiration thus:

**“Jambudīpe ekarajjam dānenānena hotu me,**  
“May this donation bring me sole sovereignty over the Rose-Apple Island,

**ākāse yojane āṇā bhūmiyaṃ yojanaṃ tathā.”**<sup>68</sup> [298]  
and my orders (be accepted) a league into the sky and a league into the earth.”

**Bhātare āgate āha: “Edisassa madhum adam,**  
When his brothers came he said: “I gave honey to such a one,

**anumodatha tumhe taṃ tumhākaṅ-ca yato madhu.”** [299]  
you should also rejoice as the honey is also yours.”

**Jeṭṭho āha atuṭṭho so: “Caṇḍālo nūna so siyā**  
The eldest was not satisfied and said: “Maybe it was an outcaste

**nivāsenti ca caṇḍālā kāsāyāni sadā.”** iti [300]  
(for) outcastes always wear yellow clothes.”

**Majjho: “Paccekasambuddham**<sup>69</sup> **khipa pārāṇave.”** iti  
The middle one said: “Chase<sup>70</sup> that Independent Perfectly Awakened One across  
the seas.”

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<sup>64</sup> Mhv: *ti taṃ 'bravi.*

<sup>65</sup> Mhv: *Tattha pattassa Buddhassa.*

<sup>66</sup> Mhv: *uppatataṅ-ca.*

<sup>67</sup> ExtMhv: *panidahi*; printer's error.

<sup>68</sup> Mhv: *yojane ti ca.*

<sup>69</sup> Mhv: *Paccekabuddham taṃ.*

<sup>70</sup> Lit: *throw.*

**Pattidānavaco tassa sutvā, te cānumodisum̃. [301]**

But having heard the words transferring merit, they rejoiced.

**Āpaṇadesikā sā tu ṭhatvā tattha gataṃ, Isim̃<sup>71</sup>**

**disvā ‘bhivandayitvā: “Kiṃ madhum̃ Bhante labhittha vo?” [302]**

But she who pointed out the stall, after going and standing there, seeing the Seer, and worshipping (him, asked): “Did you receive the honey, venerable Sir?”

**“Āmā,” ti vutte tasmim̃ so: “Kin-nām̃’ ayyassa patthanam̃**

He said: “Yes,” and right there: “Just what is (my) noble sister’s wish

**asmim̃ nāmā?” ti vutte, sā Devittam̃ tassa patthayi,<sup>72</sup>**

in this?” he said, and she made her wish for the Queenship,

**adissamānasandhiñ-ca rūpaṃ atimanoramaṃ. [303]**

having a highly delightful form with invisible joints.<sup>73</sup>

**Asoko madhudo, Asandhimittā<sup>74</sup> Devī tu ceṭikā,**

Asoka gave the honey, but Queen Asandhimittā was the maid-servant,

**caṇḍālavādī Nigrodho, Tisso so pāravādiko, [304]**

Nigrodha said outcaste, Tissa said across (the seas),

**Caṇḍālavādī caṇḍālagāme āsi, yato tu so**

the one who said outcaste was born in an outcaste’s village, but from

**patthesi mokkham̃, mokkhañ-ca sattavassāni<sup>75</sup> pāpuṇi. [305]**

having desired liberation, after seven years he attained liberation.

### [The Conversion of Asoka - 2]

306-330 = Mhv. 62-86

**Niviṭṭhapemo tasmim̃ so Rājā ’titurito tato**

Because of that established sense of love the King very quickly

**pakkosāpesi taṃ, so tu santavutti-m-upāgami. [306]**

summoned him, but he approached in his peaceful way.

**“Nisīda Tātānurūpe āsane,” t’ āha Bhūpati.**

“Sit down, Dear, on a suitable seat” said the Lord of the Earth.

<sup>71</sup> Mhv: *Āpaṇadesikā sā tu devittam̃ tassa patthayi.*

<sup>72</sup> ExtMhv: *pāthayi*; printer's error.

<sup>73</sup> Meaning, I suppose, being very smooth.

<sup>74</sup> Mhv: *'sandhimittā.*

<sup>75</sup> Mhv: *sattavasso ca.*

**Adisvā bhikkhum-aññam, so sīhāsanam-upāgami. [307]**  
Not having seen any other monk, he approached the lion's seat.

**Tasmim pallaṅkam āyante Rājā iti vicintayi:**  
As he approached the throne the King reflected:

**“Ajjāyaṃ sāmaṇero me ghare hessati sāmiko.” [308]**  
“Today this novice will be the master in my house.”

**Ālambitvā karaṃ Rañño, so pallaṅkam samāruhi,**  
Having taken hold of the King's hand, he ascended the throne,

**nisīdi Rājpallaṅke setacchattassa hetṭhato. [309]**  
and sat below the white canopy over the King's throne.

**Disvā tattha nisīdantaṃ<sup>76</sup> Asoko so Mahīpati,**  
Having seen him sitting there the Lord of the World Asoka,

**sambhāvetvāna guṇato, tuṭṭhacitto<sup>77</sup> tadā ahu. [310]**  
having honoured him according to his virtue, was satisfied at heart.

**Attano paṭiyattena khajjabhojjena tappiya,**  
Having satisfied (him) with the food prepared for himself,

**Sambuddhabhāsitaṃ Dhammaṃ sāmaṇeram-apucchi taṃ. [311]**  
he questioned the novice about the Dhamma taught by the Perfectly Awakened One.

**Tass' Appamādavaggaṃ so sāmaṇero abhāsatha;**  
The novice recited the Section on Heedfulness<sup>78</sup> to him;

**taṃ sutvā, Bhūmipālo so pasanno Jinasāsane. [312]**  
after hearing that, the Protector of the Earth found faith in the Victor's Dispensation.

**“Aṭṭha te niccabhattāni dammi, Tātā” ti āha taṃ.**  
He said to him: “Dear, I give you eight meals in perpetuity.”

**“Upajjhāyassa me Rāja tāni dammī!” ti āha so. [313]**  
He said: “I give them to my preceptor, King!”

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<sup>76</sup> Mhv: *nisinnaṃ taṃ*.

<sup>77</sup> Mhv: *tuṭṭho 'tiva*.

<sup>78</sup> Geiger mentions that there are 11 sections of the Thematic Discourses with this title; but the section that came to my mind was the second in the Dhammapada.

**Puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu tāni 'dā cariyassa<sup>79</sup> so,**  
Again when eight more were given he gave them to his teacher,

**puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu Bhikkhusaṅghassa tāni 'dā.<sup>80</sup> [314]**  
and with the giving of eight more he gave them to the Community of monks.

**Puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu, abhivāsesi buddhimā.<sup>81</sup>**  
With the giving of eight more, being wise, he accepted (them).<sup>82</sup>

**Dvattiṃsa bhikkhū ādāya, dutiye divase gato, [315]**  
Having taken thirty-two monks, he went on the second day,

**sahattā tappito Raññā, Dhammaṃ desiya Bhūpatim**  
and they were satisfied with the King's own hand, and he taught the Lord of the Earth Dhamma

**Saraṇesu ca Silesu ṭhapesi samahājanam.<sup>83</sup> [316]**  
and established him and the multitude in the Refuges and the Precepts.

\* \* \*

**Tato Rājā pasanno so diguṇena dine dine**  
**bhikkhū saṭṭhisahassāni anupubbena vaḍḍhayi. [317]**  
After that the faithful King day by day increased the (number of) monks by successively doubling them until there were sixty thousand.

**Titthiyānam saḥassāni nikaḍḍhitvāna saṭṭhi so,**  
After putting aside sixty thousand of the sectarians,

**saṭṭhibhikkhusahassāni ghare niccam abhojayi. [318]**  
he ever fed sixty thousand (Buddhist) monks in his house.

**Saṭṭhibhikkhusahassāni bhojetum turito hi so,**  
**paṭiyādāpayitvāna khajjabhojjam mahāraham, [319]**  
To feed the sixty thousand monks, after having the very best staple and non-staple foods quickly got ready,

**bhūsāpetvāna nagaram gantvā Saṅgham nimantiya**  
adorning the city and going he invited the Community

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<sup>79</sup> Mhv: *tān' adācariyassa*.

<sup>80</sup> Mhv: *tān' adā*.

<sup>81</sup> ExtMhv: *buddhimā*; printer's error.

<sup>82</sup> It means for himself.

<sup>83</sup> ExtMhv adds *ti*, against the metre and several manuscripts.

**gharam, netvāna bhojetvā datvā sāmaṇakam bahum, [320]**  
to his house, and after leading, feeding and giving many things needed by an ascetic,<sup>84</sup>

**“Satthārā desito Dhammo kittako?” ti apucchatha.**  
he asked: “How much Dhamma was taught by the Teacher?”

**Byākāsi Moggaliputto Tisso Thero tad’ assa tam. [321]**  
Then the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa explained it to him.

**Sutvāna: “Caturāsītidhammakhandhā,” ti so ’bravi:**  
**“Pūjemi tesam<sup>85</sup> paccekam vihārenā,” ti Bhūpati. [322]**  
After hearing: “(There are) eighty-four thousand sections,” the Lord of the Earth said: “I will worship each of them with a monastery.”

**Datvā tadā channavutidhanakoṭi<sup>86</sup> Mahīpati**  
Then the Lord of the World, having placed riches worth nine-hundred and sixty millions

**puresu caturāsīsītasahassesu mahītale, [323]**  
in the eighty-four thousand cities on the earth,

**tattha tattheva Rājūhi vihāre ārabhāpayi;**  
made them start building the monasteries right there and then;

**sayam Asokārāmaṃ tam<sup>87</sup> kārapetuṃ samārabhi. [324]**  
and he himself undertook to have the Asokārāma built.

**Ratanattaya-Nigrodhagilānānam ti Sāsane**  
**paccekam satasahassam so adāsi dine dine. [325]**  
For the Three Treasures, Nigrodha and the sick in the Dispensation, he gave day by day separately one-hundred thousand.

**Dhanena Buddhadinnena Thūpapūjā anekadhā**  
**anequesu vihāresu anekā<sup>88</sup> akarum sadā. [326]**  
With the wealth given to the Awakened One they continually made innumerable offerings to the Shrines in innumerable monasteries.

**Dhanena Dhammadinnena paccaye caturo vare**  
**Dhammadharānam bhikkhūnam upanesum sadā narā. [327]**  
With the wealth given to the Dhamma the people continually presented the four noble requisites to the monks who were bearers of the Dhamma.

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<sup>84</sup> Such as bowls, robes, strainers, etc.

<sup>85</sup> Mhv: *te 'ham*.

<sup>86</sup> Mhv: *-koṭim*.

<sup>87</sup> Mhv: *tu*.

<sup>88</sup> Mhv: *aneke*.



**Anotattodakājesu Saṅghassa caturo adā;**

From the water of the Anotatta<sup>89</sup> he gave four (measures) to the Community;

**Tepiṭakānaṃ Therānaṃ saṭṭhiyekaṃ dine dine; [328]**

day by day he gave one to the sixty Elders who knew the Three Baskets;<sup>90</sup>

**duve<sup>91</sup> Asandhimittāya deviyā tu adāpayi;**

but two he had given to Queen Asandhimittā;

**sayāṃ pana duve yeva paribhuñji Mahīpati. [329]**

and the Lord of the World enjoyed two himself.<sup>92</sup>

**Saṭṭhibhikkhusahassānaṃ dantakaṭṭhaṃ dine dine**

**soḷasitthisahassānaṃ adā nāgalatāvhayāṃ. [330]**

Day by day he gave toothpicks (made from) what is called betel wood to sixty-thousand monks and to sixteen thousand (dancing) women.

**[King Asoka sees the Buddha]**

**331-338 = Mhv. 87-94**

**Athekadivasāṃ Rājā Catusambuddhadassināṃ**

**kappāyukaṃ Mahākāḷaṃ Nāgarājaṃ mahiddhikaṃ [331]**

**suṇitvāna tam-ānetuṃ hemasaṅkhalibandhanaṃ.<sup>93</sup>**

One day, King (Asoka), having heard about the Nāga King Mahākāḷa, of great power, who had lived for an aeon and seen the Four Perfectly Awakened Ones,<sup>94</sup> had him brought into his presence bound by golden chains.

**Pesayitvā tam-ānetvā setacchattassa heṭṭhato [332]**

**pallaṅkamaṃ nisīdetvā, nānāpupphehi pūjīya,**

After sending for and bringing him, and having him sit under the white canopy over the throne, he worshipped him with many flowers,

**soḷasitthisahasēhi parivāriya-m-abravi: [333]**

and surrounded him with sixty thousand (dancing) women, and said:

**“Saddhammacakkavattissa Sabbaññussa Mahesino**

**rūpaṃ anantañāṇassa dasēhi mama Bho.” iti [334]**

“Show me the form of the one who set rolling the True Dhamma, the Omniscient Great Sage with endless knowledge, Dear Sir.”

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<sup>89</sup> See v. 267 above.

<sup>90</sup> Those who knew the Tipiṭaka, or Three Baskets of the Teaching by heart.

<sup>91</sup> Mhv: *ekam*.

<sup>92</sup> As there are only eight measures, the numbers do not add up, and we should read *ekam* in the verse above, with Mhv.

<sup>93</sup> Mhv: *soṇṇasaṅkhali-*.

<sup>94</sup> This means the four Buddhas who have already arisen in this auspicious aeon: Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama; one more will come later in this aeon: Metteyya.

**Dvattimsalakkhaṇopetaṃ, 'sītyānubyañjanujjalāṃ,**<sup>95</sup>  
Endowed with the thirty-two marks, the eighty characteristics,

**byāmapabhāparikkhitaṃ, ketumālopasobhitaṃ:**<sup>96</sup> [335]  
encircled by a fathom-wide light, adorned with the garland of rays:

**nimmāsi**<sup>97</sup> **Nāgarājā so Buddharūpaṃ manoharaṃ.**<sup>98</sup>  
(such) was the captivating form of the Buddha the King of the Nāgas created.

**Taṃ disvā 'tipasādassa vimhayassa ca pūrito** [336]  
Having seen that, full of faith and astonishment, (Asoka said):

**“Etena nimmitaṃ rūpaṃ īdisaṃ! Kīdisaṃ nu kho**  
“Such is this (mere) created form! What would (have been)

**Tathāgatassa rūpaṃ?”-ti Āsi pītunnatunnato.** [337]  
the Realised One's (true) form?” And his joy was raised on high.

**Akkipūjan-ti saññātaṃ taṃ sattāhaṃ nirantaraṃ,**  
For seven days he uninterruptedly (performed) what is known as the Eye-  
Worship,<sup>99</sup>

**mahāmahaṃ Mahārājā kārāpesi mahiddhiko.** [338]  
and the Great King, of great power, had a great festival celebrated.

\* \* \*

[The Going-Forth of Asoka's Brother and Nephew]  
462-479 = Mhv. 154-172

**Ekāhaṃ Uparājā so addakkhi migavaṃ gato**  
One day the Prince (Tissa) went hunting and saw

**kīlamāne mige 'raññe, disvā etaṃ vicintayi:** [462]  
deer sporting in the wilderness, and having seen that he thought thus:

**“Migā pi evaṃ kīlanti araññe tiṇagocārā,**  
“Even the deer who live on grass enjoy (themselves) in the wilderness,

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<sup>95</sup> Mhv: *asīvivañjanujjalāṃ*.

<sup>96</sup> Mhv: *-mālābhisobhitaṃ*.

<sup>97</sup> Mhv: *nimmāyi*.

<sup>98</sup> Mhv: *manoramaṃ*.

<sup>99</sup> Meaning he paid respect by looking at the form uninterruptedly for seven days; a similar thing is said in the commentaries about the Buddha after he attained Awakening: he spent the second seven days doing unblinking worship (*animisapūja*) to the Bodhi Tree (see e.g. Jinacarita v. 277).

**kīḷissanti na<sup>100</sup> kim bhikkhū sukhāhāravihārino?” [463]**  
will not the monks who live on pleasant food (also) enjoy (themselves)?”

**Attano cintitaṃ Rañño ārocesi gharaṃ gato.**  
He went to his house and informed the King of his thought.

**Saññāpetuṃ tu sattāhaṃ rajjaṃ tassa adāsi so: [464]**  
To teach him, for seven days, (Asoka) gave him sovereignty:

**“Anubhoḥi imaṃ rajjaṃ sattāhaṃ tvaṃ, kumāraka,**  
“You can experience sovereignty for seven days, young man,

**tato taṃ ghātayissāmi,” iti avoca<sup>101</sup> Mahīpati. [465]**  
after that I will kill you,”<sup>102</sup> so said the Lord of the World.

**Āhātītamhi sattāhe: “Tvaṃ kenāsi kiso?” iti**  
With the passing of seven days, he said: “Why are you so wasted away?”

**“Maraṇassa bhayenā,” ti vutte, Rājāha taṃ puna: [466]**  
“Through fear of death,” he said, and the King spoke again, saying:

**“‘Sattāhāhaṃ marissan’-ti tvaṃ na kīḷi ime, kathaṃ**  
“Thinking: ‘After seven days I will die,’ you did not enjoy them, how

**kīḷissanti yatī, Tāta, sadā maraṇasaññino?” [467]**  
will the strivers enjoy (themselves), Dear, when they always contemplate death?”

\* \* \*

**Icevaṃ bhātarā vutto Sāsanasmim pasīdi so,**  
Spoken to thus by his brother he gained faith in the Dispensation,

**kālena migavaṃ gantvā, Theram addakkhi saññatam,**  
and in time having gone hunting (again), he saw the restrained Elder,<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Mhv: *na kiḷissanti*; different word order.

<sup>101</sup> Mhv: *iccavoca*; sandhi form, same words.

<sup>102</sup> As he had already killed ninety-nine of his brothers, this must have sounded very threatening.

<sup>103</sup> Mhv. adds: *Nisinnam rukkhāmūlasmin, so Mahādhammarakkhitam;* *Mahādhammarakkhitam sitting at the root of a tree.* The Elder is one of the Asokan missionaries, who converted Mahārāṭṭha.

**sālasākhāya Nāgena vījayantaṃ anāsavaṃ: [468]**  
pollutant-free, being fanned with a Sāl branch by a Nāga:

**‘Ayaṃ Thero viyāham-pi pabbajja Jinasāsane,  
vihariṣsaṃ kadāraññe?’<sup>104</sup> iti cintesi<sup>105</sup> paññavā. [469]**  
‘When will I live in the wilderness like this Elder, having gone-forth in the Victor’s  
Dispensation?’ thought the one with wisdom.

**Thero tassa pasādatthaṃ, uppatitvā vihāyasā**  
The Elder, in order to instil faith, after rising into the sky

**gantvā Asokārāmassa, pokkharaññe<sup>106</sup> jale ṭhito. [470]**  
and going to Asoka’s monastery, stood on the water of the pool.

**Ākāse ṭhapayitvāna cīvarāni dharāni<sup>107</sup> so**  
After hanging the robes he wore in the sky

**ogāhetvā<sup>108</sup> pokkharaṇiṃ, gattāni parisiñcayi.<sup>109</sup> [471]**  
and descending into the pond,<sup>110</sup> he bathed his limbs.

**Taṃ iddhiṃ Uparājā so disvā atipasīdi ca:<sup>111</sup>**  
The Prince, having seen this psychic power, gained great faith, and saying:

**“Ajjeva pabbajissaṃ!”-ti buddhiñ-cākāsi buddhimā. [472]**  
“Today itself I will go forth!” the wise one made a wise (decision).

**Upasaṅkamma<sup>112</sup> Rājānaṃ pabbajjaṃ yāci sādaro,**  
He approached and respectfully asked (permission) from the King for his going-  
forth,

**nivāretuṃ asakkonto, tam-ādāya Mahīpati [473]**  
being unable to prevent him, after taking hold of him the Lord of the World

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<sup>104</sup> ExtMhv: *kada 'raññe*; printer's error.

<sup>105</sup> Mhv: *cintayi*.

<sup>106</sup> Mhv: *pokkharaññā*.

<sup>107</sup> Mhv: *varāni*; *the noble (robes)*.

<sup>108</sup> Mhv: *ogāhitvā*.

<sup>109</sup> Mhv: *parisiñcatha*.

<sup>110</sup> Monks are allowed three covers for their bodies: their robes, a fire-house and a body of water. See Vinaya Cullavagga, Ch.5,16,2.

<sup>111</sup> Mhv: *disvātiya pasīdiya*.

<sup>112</sup> Mhv: *Upasaṅkammitvā*.

**mahatā parivārena, vihāraṃ agamā sayam,<sup>113</sup>**  
surrounded by a great retinue, went to his own monastery,

**pabbaji<sup>114</sup> so Mahādhammarakkhitattherasantike. [474]**  
and he went forth in the presence of the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita.

**Saddhiṃ teneva catusahassāni<sup>115</sup> narā pi ca,**  
With him (roughly) four thousand other men also

**anupabbajitānaṃ, tu gaṇanā ca na vijjati. [475]**  
received the going-forth, but the (exact) number is not known.<sup>116</sup>

**Bhāgiṇeyyo Narindassa Aggibrahmā ti, vissuto**  
The Lord of Men's nephew called Aggibrahmā,<sup>117</sup> well-known

**ahosi Rañño dhītāya Saṅghamittāya sāmiko, [476]**  
as the husband of the King's daughter Saṅghamittā,

**tassā tassa suto vā pi<sup>118</sup> Sumano nāma nāmato,**  
and their son who was known by the name of Sumana,

**yācitvā so pi Rājānaṃ Uparājena pabbaji. [477]**  
after asking (permission) from the King went forth with the Prince.

**Uparājassa pabbajjā tassāsokassa Rājino**  
The Prince's going-forth was in King Asoka's

**catutthe āsi vasse sā, mahājanahitodayā. [478]**  
fourth year, and increased the benefit of the multitude.

**Tattheva upasampanno, sampanna-upanissayo,**  
Right there he received the higher ordination, and having the supporting conditions,

**ghaṭento Uparājā so chaḷabhiñño 'rahā ahu. [479]**  
while striving the Prince became a Worthy One, with the six psychic powers.

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<sup>113</sup> Mhv: *agamāsi taṃ*.

<sup>114</sup> ExtMhv: *pabbajji*.

<sup>115</sup> Mhv: *tena catusahasassāni*.

<sup>116</sup> A curious admission, as the numbers never seem to be realistic anyway. Geiger interprets this as meaning: *the number of those who afterwards were ordained is not known*; but quite how he derives this meaning is unclear to me.

<sup>117</sup> Although I cannot find more information on Aggibrahmā, it appears he must have been Tissa's son, as it is inconceivable that Asoka, who had killed all his rivals to the throne, except Tissa, would marry his daughter to one of his rivals sons.

<sup>118</sup> Mhv: *cāpi*.

**[Building the 84,000 Monasteries]  
480-490 = Mhv. 173-183**

**Vihāre te samāradde sabbe sabbapuresu pi  
sādhukaṃ tīhi vassehi niṭṭhāpesuṃ manorame. [480]**

All those delightful monasteries he had undertaken (to build) in all the cities were completed properly within three years.

**Therassa Indaguttassa kammādhiṭṭhāyakassa tu**  
And through the superintendent Elder Indagutta's

**iddhiyā cāsu niṭṭhāsi Asokārāmasavhayo. [481]**  
psychic power the one called Asokārāma<sup>119</sup> was completed.

**Jinena paribhutesu ṭhānesu ca tahiṃ tahiṃ**  
In the various places that had been visited<sup>120</sup> by the Victorious One

**Cetiyaṇi akāresi ramaṇīyaṇi Bhūpati. [482]**  
the Lord of the Earth made delightful Shrines.

**Purehi caturāsītisahasseehi samantato**  
From the eighty-four thousand cities on all sides

**lekhe ekāham-ānesuṃ: “Vihārā niṭṭhitā” iti. [483]**  
letters were brought on the same day, saying: “The monasteries<sup>121</sup> are finished.”

**Lekhe sutvā Mahārājā, mahātejiddhivikkamo,**  
Having heard the letters<sup>122</sup> the Great King, of great power, success and heroism,

**kātukāmo sakiṃ yeva sabbārāmamahāmahaṃ. [484]**  
desired to hold great festivals himself at all the monasteries.

**Pure bheriṃ carāpesi: “Sattame divase ito**  
In the cities the drum was beaten (and it was announced): “A week from this day

**sabbārāmamaho hotu sabbadesesu ekadā. <sup>123</sup> [485]**  
all the monasteries will hold a festival at the same time in all directions.

**Yojane yojane dentu mahādānaṃ mahītale,**  
On the whole earth, league by league,<sup>124</sup> give a great donation,

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<sup>119</sup> I.e. Asoka's monastery.

<sup>120</sup> Lit: *made use of*.

<sup>121</sup> Vihāra literally means *a living place*, but by this time it had taken on the special meaning of *a living place for monastics*; i.e. a monastery.

<sup>122</sup> We would say *having read the letters*, but in court the letters would have been read out.

<sup>123</sup> Mhv: *sabbathā*.

<sup>124</sup> Meaning: *in every place*.

**karontu gāmārāmānaṃ maggānañ-ca vibhūsanam. [486]**  
and make decorations along the pathways and in the village monasteries.

**Vihāresu ca sabbesu Bhikkhusaṅghassa sabbadā<sup>125</sup>**  
In all the monasteries for the Community of monks everyday

**mahādānāni sajjentu,<sup>126</sup> yathākālaṃ yathābalaṃ, [487]**  
prepare a great donation, according to the right time, and according to ability,

**dīpamālāpupphamālālaṅkārehi<sup>127</sup> tahiṃ tahiṃ,**  
with ornamentation of garlands of flowers and strings of lights here and there,

**turiyehi ca sabbehi, upahāraṃ anekadhā. [488]**  
and all musical instruments, and manifold presents.

**Uposathaṅgam<sup>128</sup>-ādāya sabbe Dhammaṃ suṇantu ca,**  
Having taken upon themselves the Observances<sup>129</sup> let everyone listen to Dhamma,

**pūjāvisese 'neke hi<sup>130</sup> karontu tadahū pi ca.' [489]**  
and make innumerable offerings and merit on that day."

**Sabbe sabbattha sabbathā yathāṇattādhikā pi ca,**  
And everyone, everywhere, in everyway, in accordance with that superior order,

**pūjā sampañiyādesuṃ, devalokamanoramā. [490]**  
prepared offerings, delighting the heavens.

**[The Going-Forth of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā]  
491-519 ≠ Mhv. 184-211**

**Tasmiṃ dine Mahārājā, sabbālaṅkārahūsito,**  
On that day the Great King, decked out with all adornments,

**sahorodho sahāmacco, baloghaparivārito, [491]**  
together with his harem and ministers, and surrounded by his army,<sup>131</sup>

**agamāsi sakārāmaṃ, bhindanto viya medinim,**  
went to his own monastery,<sup>132</sup> as though splitting the (whole) earth,<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Mhv: *sabbathā*.

<sup>126</sup> Mhv: *vattentu*.

<sup>127</sup> Mhv: *-mālālaṅkāre ca*.

<sup>128</sup> Mhv: *Uposathaṅgān'*.

<sup>129</sup> This means the eightfold precepts, in brief, to restrain from killing, stealing, sexual contact, wrong speech, intoxicants, eating after noon, amusements and decorations.

<sup>130</sup> Mhv: *ca*.

<sup>131</sup> I do not find the compound *balogha* in the dictionaries, it would literally mean *a flood of strong men*.

**Saṅghamajjhamhi aṭṭhāsi, vanditvā Saṅgham-uttamam. [492]**

and, after worshipping the supreme Community, stood in the midst of the Community.

**Tasmim samāgame āsuṃ asītibhikkhukoṭiyo,**

In that assembly there were eight-hundred million monks,

**ahesuṃ satahassam tesu khīṇāsavā yatī.<sup>134</sup> [493]**

and of them one hundred thousand were strivers who had destroyed the pollutants.<sup>135</sup>

**Navuti bhikkhusahassāni ahū<sup>136</sup> bhikkhuṇiyo tahiṃ,**

There were (also) ninety thousand monastic<sup>137</sup> nuns in that place,

**khīṇāsavā bhikkhuṇiyo sahasam ahu tā tadā.<sup>138</sup> [494]**

and at that time one thousand nuns had destroyed the pollutants.

**‘Lokavivaraṇam’ nāma pāṭheram akaṃsu te**

**Khīṇāsavā pasādattham Dhammāsokassa Rājino. [495]**

Those who had destroyed the pollutants performed the miracle called ‘Opening the World’<sup>139</sup> for the purpose of instilling confidence in King Dhammāsoka.

**‘Caṇḍāsoko’ ti ñāyittha pubbe pāpena kammunā,**

Previously, because of his wicked deeds, he was known as ‘Violent Asoka’

**‘Dhammāsoko’ ti ñāyittha pacchā puñṇena kammunā. [496]**

and later because of his meritorious deeds he was known as ‘Righteous Asoka’.

**Samuddapariyantam so Jambudīpam samantato,**

**passi sabbavihāre ca nānāpūjāvibhūsite, [497]**

He looked at the Rose-Apple Island, which is surrounded on all sides by the ocean, and all the monasteries decorated with many offerings,

**atīva tuṭṭho te disvā, Saṅgham pucchi, nisīdiya:**

and having seen that he was very satisfied, and after sitting, he asked the Community:

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<sup>132</sup> I.e. the Asokārāma.

<sup>133</sup> The simile is not clear, maybe it is meant to indicate his power.

<sup>134</sup> ExtMhv: *yati* (singular), printer's error.

<sup>135</sup> I.e. were Arahants.

<sup>136</sup> Mhv: *satahassāni āsuṃ*.

<sup>137</sup> This is a curious use of the word *bhikkhu*, which normally signifies a male monastic, perhaps Geiger's reading is to be preferred.

<sup>138</sup> Mhv: *āsu tāsu tu*.

<sup>139</sup> Described in the Buddhavaṃsa commentary as making all the beings in the universe visible to each other, from the highest heaven to the lowest hell.



**“Kassa Bhante pariccāgo Mahāsugatasāsane?” [498]**

“Was anyone, venerable Sirs, so generous in the Dispensation of the Greatly Happy One?”

**Thero Moggaliputto so Rañño puṭṭho<sup>140</sup> viyākari:**

The Elder Moggaliputta<sup>141</sup> answered the King’s question:

**“Dharamāne pi Sugate natthi cāgī tayā samo!” [499]**

“Even while the Happy One was living there has been no generosity like unto yours!”<sup>142</sup>

**Taṃ sutvā vacanaṃ, bhiyyo tuṭṭho Rājā apucchi taṃ:**

Having heard that statement, the King was very satisfied and asked him:

**“Buddhasāsanadāyādo hoti kho mādiso?” iti [500]**

“Is there one who inherits the Awakened One’s Dispensation who is like unto me?”

**Thero tu Rājaputtassa Mahindassopanissayaṃ,  
tatheva Rājadhītāya Saṅghamittāya pekkhiya, [501]**

But the Elder saw the supporting conditions of the King’s son Mahinda, and similarly of the King’s daughter Saṅghamittā,

**Sāsanassābhivuddhiṅ-ca taṃ hetukam-apekkhiya,<sup>143</sup>**

and seeing the conditions for the growth of the Dispensation,

**paccābhāsatha Rājānaṃ so Sāsanadhurandharo: [502]**

the one responsible for the Dispensation answered the King:

**“Tādiso pi mahācāgī na dāyādo ti Sāsane,**

“Even such a one, who is greatly generous, is not known as an heir in the Dispensation,

**yo hi koci, Mahārāja, āmisam rāsikam kare [503]**

whoever, Great King, having amassed a heap of wealth

**paṭhavītalato yāva Brahmālokā pi aggato**

from the plains of the earth up to the tip of the Brahma worlds

**dadeyya Bhikkhusaṅghassa mahādānaṃ asesato [504]**

and would give it entirely as a great donation to the Community of monks

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<sup>140</sup> Mhv: *pañham*.

<sup>141</sup> Ven. Moggaliputta was the Chief Elder in the Saṅgha at the time, and would soon head the Third Council.

<sup>142</sup> Interestingly, this places Asoka above Anāthapiṇḍika as the most generous supporter.

<sup>143</sup> Mhv: *hetukam avekkhiya*.

**paccayadāyako tveva vuccate Manujādhipa,**  
is still only known as a supporter of (material) requisites, O Ruler of Men,

**yo puttam̄ vā<sup>144</sup> dhītaram̄ vā pabbajjāpeti Sāsane**  
(but) he who lets his son or daughter go forth in the Dispensation

**so Sāsanassa dāyādo hoti, no dāyako api. [505]**  
is a (true) supporter of the Dispensation, as well as our (material) supporter.

**Atha Sāsanadāyādabhāvam-iccham̄ Mahīpati,**  
Then the Lord of the World, wishing to have the nature of a supporter of the Dispensation,

**Mahindam̄ Saṅghamittāñ-ca ṭhite tatra apucchatha: [506]**  
asked Mahinda and Saṅghamittā as they were standing there:

**“Pabbajissatha no,<sup>145</sup> Tātā? Pabbajjā mahatī matā.”**  
“Will you go forth, Dears? Going-forth is known as a great thing.”

**Pituno vacanam̄ sutvā, Pitaram̄ te abhāsisum̄: [507]**  
Having heard their Father’s statement, they said this to their Father:

**“Ajjeva pabbajissāma sace tvam̄ Deva-m-icchasi,**  
“Today we will go forth if the God-King wishes,

**amhañ-ca lābho tuyhañ-ca pabbajjāya bhavissati.” [508]**  
there will be gain for us and for you in our going-forth.”

**Uparājassa pabbajitakālato ca pabhūti so<sup>146</sup>**  
Since the time of the Prince (Tissa’s) going-forth

**kumāro pakatiyā pi kāmo hoti pabbajitum̄;<sup>147</sup>**  
the young man (Mahinda) had naturally desired to go forth;

**sā cāpi Aggibrahmassa pabbajjā katanicchayā. [509]**  
and (Saṅghamittā) had made a resolve at (her husband) Aggibrahmā’s going-forth.

**Uparajjam̄ Mahindassa dātukāmo pi Bhūpati,**  
Although the Lord of the Earth desired to give the vice-sovereignty to Mahinda,

**tato pi adhikā sā ti pabbajjā yeva roçayi. [510]**  
even more that that he was pleased with his going-forth.

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<sup>144</sup> Mhv: *Yo ca puttam̄.*

<sup>145</sup> Mhv: *kim̄.*

<sup>146</sup> Mhv: *pabbajjākālato pabhutī hi so.*

<sup>147</sup> Irregular cadence, the same word occurs irregularly in other verses also. See below, *passim.*

**Piyam puttam Mahindañ-ca buddhirūpabaloditam,**  
His dear son Mahinda, who was wise, handsome and very strong,

**pabbajjāpesi samahaṃ, Saṅghamittañ-ca dhītaram. [511]**  
he let go forth with festivities, and also his daughter Saṅghamittā.

**Tadā vīsativasso so Mahindo Rājanandano,**  
Then Mahinda, the King's joy, was twenty years old,

**Saṅghamittā Rājadhītā, aṭṭhārasasamā vayā. <sup>148</sup> [512]**  
and the King's daughter, Saṅghamittā, had reached eighteen. <sup>149</sup>

**Tadahe va ahū tassa pabbajjā upasampadā,**  
On the same day he had the going-forth and higher ordination,

**pabbajjam sikkhādānañ-ca tassā ca tadahū ahu. [513]**  
and on that very day she had the going-forth and the placing in training. <sup>150</sup>

**Upajjhāyo kumārassa ahu Moggali-avhayo,**  
The prince's preceptor was called Moggali, <sup>151</sup>

**pabbājesi Mahādevatthero, Majjhantiko pana [514]**  
the Elder Mahādeva let him go forth, but Majjhantika <sup>152</sup>

**kammavācaṃ akā, tasmim sopasampadamaṇḍale,**  
made the formal announcement, and in the place of the higher ordination, <sup>153</sup>

**Arahattam Mahindo so <sup>154</sup> patto, sapaṭisambhidam. [515]**  
Mahinda attained Worthiness, together with the analytic knowledges. <sup>155</sup>

**Saṅghamittāyupajjhāyā Dhammapālā ti vissutā,**  
Saṅghamittā's preceptor <sup>156</sup> was the well-known (nun) Dhammapālā,

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<sup>148</sup> Mhv: *tadā*.

<sup>149</sup> I do not know how we can reconcile this with her having had a son who had taken novice ordination two years earlier. If it were so it would mean that she gave birth to her son around age 11.

<sup>150</sup> This means she was given the further ordination as a *sikkhamāna*, which she must hold for two years, before acquiring her higher ordination as a *bhikkhūñī*.

<sup>151</sup> I.e. Moggaliputta Tissa.

<sup>152</sup> These are two of the named missionaries in the later part of the text, who took the Dispensation to Mahisamaṇḍala and Kasmīra-Gandhāra respectively. They were sent on their missions by Mahinda's preceptor, Moggaliputtatissa.

<sup>153</sup> It means right there in the *sīma*, or boundary-hall.

<sup>154</sup> Mhv: *Mahāsatto*.

<sup>155</sup> They are four: *analytic knowledge of meanings, conditions, language and of improvisation; atthapaṭisambhida, dhammapaṭisambhida, niruttipaṭisambhida, paṭibhānapaṭisambhida*.

<sup>156</sup> Interesting that she is called *upajjhāya* here, as the normal word is *pavattinī*.

**ācariyā Āyupālā, kāle sā pi<sup>157</sup> anāsavā. [516]**

her teacher Āyupālā, and in time she also (became) pollutant-free.

**Ubho Sāsanapajjotā Laṅkādīpopakārino,**

They both were Lights of the Dispensation, and helpers of the Island of Laṅkā,

**chaṭṭhe vasse pabbajimsu Dhammāsokassa Rājino. [517]**

they went forth six years after King Dhammāsoka (came to the throne).

**Mahāmahindo vassehi tīhi Dīpappasādako,**

The Great Mahinda, who brought faith to the Island, in his third year

**piṭakattayaṃ uggaṇhi upajjhāyassa santike. [518]**

learned the three baskets<sup>158</sup> in the presence of his preceptor.

**Sā bhikkhuṇī candalekhā, Mahindo bhikkhusūriyo,**

The nun, a crescent moon, the monk Mahinda, the sun,

**Buddhasāsanapajjotā dve kaniṭṭhā ca bhātaro. [519]**

younger sister and brother, these two were Lights of the Awakened One's Dispensation.

### [Tissa and Sumitta's Story]

520-536 ≠ Mhv 212-226

**Pubbe Pāṭaliputtamhā vane vanacaro caram,**

Formerly a woodman from Pāṭaliputta, while roaming in a forest,

**Kuntikinnariyā saddhiṃ saṁvāsam kappayī kira. [520]**

it seems, became intimate with a harpy<sup>159</sup> called Kuntī.

**Tena saṁvāsam-anvāya dve putte janayī tu sā,<sup>160</sup>**

As a consequence of that she gave birth to two sons,

**Tisso jeṭṭho kaṇiṭṭho tu Sumitto nāma nāmato. [521]**

the eldest was called Tissa, and the younger brother Sumitta.

**Mahāvaruṇatherassa kāle pabbajja santike,**

In time they received the going-forth in the presence of the Elder Mahāvaruṇa,

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<sup>157</sup> Mhv: *sāsi*.

<sup>158</sup> The three baskets of the teaching: Discipline (*Vinaya*), Doctrine (*Dhamma*), and the Abstract Teaching (*Abhidhamma*).

<sup>159</sup> *Kinnarī* (masc.: *kinnara*) have a bird's wings and legs, and a human's torso and head. In Greek mythology the harpy is exactly the same, though under the influence of Christianity they were later demonised.

<sup>160</sup> Mhv: *duve*.

**Arahattam̐ pāpuṇimsu chaḷabhiñṇāguṇam̐ ubho. [522]**

and they both attained Worthiness with the virtue of the six psychic powers.

**Pāde kīṭavisenāpi phuṭṭho jeṭṭho savedano,**

(Later) the elder was stung on the foot by a poisonous insect and was suffering,

**āha puṭṭho kaṇiṭṭhena bhesajjam̐ pasatam̐ ghatam̐. [523]**

and when asked by his younger brother he said (he needed) a measure of medicinal ghee.

**Thero nivedanam̐ Rañño gilānavattato pi so<sup>161</sup>**

**sappi-atthañ-ca caraṇam̐ pacchābhattam̐ paṭikkhipi. [524]**

The Elder opposed informing the King of the existence of that illness and roaming for ghee after the (morning) meal.<sup>162</sup>

**“Piṇḍāya ce caram̐ sappim̐ labhase tvam̐ tam-āhara,”**

“If you receive ghee on your alms round, please bring it,”

**icchāha Tissatthero<sup>163</sup> so Sumittattheram-uttamam̐. [525]**

said the Elder Tissa to the supreme Elder Sumitta.

**Piṇḍāya caratā tena na laddham̐ pasatam̐ ghatam̐,**

(But) while wandering for alms he did not receive medicinal ghee,

**sappikumbhasatenāpi byādhi jāto asādhiyo. [526]**

and the illness grew (so that) one hundred pots could not accomplish (a cure).

**Teneva byādhinā Thero patto āyukkhayantikam̐,**

Eventually, through that illness, the Elder came to the end of his life,

**bhikkhūnam̐ ovaditvāna,<sup>164</sup> nibbātum̐ mānasam̐ akā. [527]**

and after advising the monks, he formed the intention of passing away.

**Ākāsamhi nisīditvā, tejojjhānavasena<sup>165</sup> so**

After sitting in the sky, through the meditation on the fire element

**yathārucim̐<sup>166</sup> adhiṭṭhāya sarīram̐ Parinibbuto. [528]**

(and) fixing his determination on the body, as he desired he attained Emancipation.

**Tejo<sup>167</sup> sarirā nikkhamma nimmaṃsacchārikam̐ ḍahi**

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<sup>161</sup> Mhv: *gilānapaccaye pi ca*.

<sup>162</sup> The reason being to maintain the Disciplinary rules, which state that a monk cannot ask for for his needs without being invited, and cannot seek for food after the morning meal.

<sup>163</sup> Mhv: *Tissatthero*; giving the pathyā cadence.

<sup>164</sup> Mhv: *ovaditvāppamādena*.

<sup>165</sup> Mhv: *tejojjhāna-*.

<sup>166</sup> Mhv: *yathārucci*.

**Therassa sakalam kāyam, aṭṭhikāni tu no ḍahi. [529]**

The fire element emitted from his body burned the Elder's whole body and flesh to ashes, but his bones did not burn.

**Sutvā nibbutim-etassa Tissattherassa,<sup>168</sup> Bhūpati**

Having heard about the Elder Tissa's passing away, the Lord of the Earth

**agamāsi sakārāmaṃ baloghaparivārito. [530]**

went to his monastery surrounded by a great army (of people).

**Hatthikkhandhagato<sup>169</sup> Rājā tānaṭṭhīni 'varohayi<sup>170</sup>**

The King, going on the back of an elephant, brought the bones down (from the sky)

**kāretvā dhātusakkāraṃ, Saṅghaṃ byādhim-apucchi taṃ. [531]**

and, after paying respects to the relics, he asked the Community about the illness.

**Saṅgho kathesi taṃ Rañño: "Byadhijāto mahā ahu,"**

The Community said this to the King: "The illness increased greatly,"

**taṃ sutvā jātasamvego: 'Ṭhito rajjamhi osadham [532]**

and after hearing that he became anxious (thinking): 'While staying in this country medicine

**nādāsiṃ Bhikkhusaṅghassa, abhesajjena nibbuto.'**

was not given to the Community of monks, and without medicine he passed away.'

**Catunagaradvāresu pokkharāṇiṃ<sup>171</sup> khaṇāpiya [533]**

He had a pit dug at the four city gates

**khaṇāpetvā sudhāpetvā bhesajjassa purāpayi,**

and after having them dug and cleaned he filled them with medicine,

**cātuḍḍisassa Saṅghassa bhesajjassa adāpayi:**

and he had medicines for the Community of the four directions given, thinking:

**'Mā hotu Bhikkhusaṅghassa bhesajjam dullabham.' iti [534]**

'Do not let medicine for the Community of monks be difficult to obtain.'

**Sumittathero nibbāyi caṅkamanto va caṅkame**

The Elder Sumitta passed away while walking in the cloister

**mahājanā pi teneva pasannā Buddhasāsane. [535]**

and through that the multitude gained faith in the Awakened One's Dispensation.

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<sup>167</sup> Mhv: *Jālā*.

<sup>168</sup> Mhv: *Tathā nibbutim-etassa sutvā Therassa*.

<sup>169</sup> Mhv: *Hatthikkhandhaṭṭitto*.

<sup>170</sup> Mhv: *tān' aṭṭhīn' avarohayi*.

<sup>171</sup> ExtMhv: *pokkharāṇiṃ*; printer's error.

**Kuntiputtā duve Therā te lokahitakārino,**  
Kuntī's two sons were Elders who sought the benefit of the world,

**nibbāyimsu Asokassa Rañño vassamhi aṭṭhame. [536]**  
they passed away in King Asoka's eighth year (as King).<sup>172</sup>

**[Decline of the Dispensation]**  
**537-544 ≠ Mhv 228-235**

**Tato pabhuti Saṅghassa lābhā<sup>173</sup> 'tīva mahā ahu,**  
From that time the gains of the Community were very great,

**pacchā pasannā ca janā yasmā lābhā<sup>174</sup> pavattayum, [537]**  
and because of those people who later gained faith there were (great) gains,

**pahīnalābhasakkārā titthiyā lābhakāraṇā,**  
and because the sectarians who had gains lost their gains and respect,

**antamaso ghāsacchādanamattaṃ pi nālabhimsu te, [538]**  
and did not receive even so much as their food and clothing,

**sayam kāsāyam-ādāya, vasimsu saha bhikkhuhi**  
having themselves taken the yellow robes<sup>175</sup> they dwelt with the monks

**yathā sakañ-ca te vādaṃ: "Buddhavādo" ti dīpayum,**  
and each one explained his own view, saying: "(This is) the Awakened One's view,"

**yathāsakaṃ tam<sup>176</sup> kiriyaṃ akariṃsu yathāruciṃ.<sup>177</sup> [539]**  
and they each carried out their own vows just as they liked.

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<sup>172</sup> According to MhvṬ this story was introduced here as it began the increase in the success of the Dispensation, which led to rogue monks entering the Community, which is related next.

<sup>173</sup> Mhv: *lābho*.

<sup>174</sup> Mhv: *lābhami*.

<sup>175</sup> I.e. without proper ordination.

<sup>176</sup> Mhv: *ca*.

<sup>177</sup> Mhv: *-ruci*.

**Tato Moggaliputto so Thero thiraguṇodayo,**  
Then the Elder Moggaliputta, firm in the development of virtue,

**Sāsanabbudam-uppannaṃ disvā taṃ atikakkhalaṃ, [540]**  
having seen the arising of this very rough tumour on the Dispensation,

**tassopasamane kālaṃ dīghadassī apekkhiya,**  
being far-seeing, looked for the right time to relieve it,

**datvā Mahindatherassa mahābhikkhugaṇaṃ sakam, [541]**  
after giving over his own great chapter of monks to the Elder Mahinda,

**uddhaṃ Gaṅgāya eko va Ahogaṅgamhi pabbate  
vihāsi satta vassāni, vivekaṃ anubrūhayam. [542]**  
dwelt alone for seven years high up the Ganges on the Ahogaṅga mountain,  
devoting himself to solitude.<sup>178</sup>

**Titthiyānaṃ bahuttā ca dubbacattā ca, bhikkhavo**  
(As) the sectarian monks were manifold and obstinate, the monks

**tesaṃ kātuṃ na sakkhimsu, Dhammena paṭisedhanaṃ. [543]**  
were not able to make them train, or be restrained by Dhamma.

**Teneva Jambudīpamhi sabbārāmesu bhikkhavo**  
Because of that in all the monasteries in the Rose-Apple Isle the monks

**satta vassāni nākamsu Uposathapavāraṇaṃ. [544]**  
did not hold the Observance or the Invitation<sup>179</sup> for seven years.

**[Murder in the Monastery]  
545-576 ≠ Mhv 236-255**

**Taṃ sutvāna Mahārājā Dhammāsoko mahāyaso,**  
Having heard that, the Great King Dhammāsoka, of great fame,

**ekaṃ amaccaṃ pesesi Asokārāmaṃ-uttamaṃ: [545]**  
sent a minister to the supreme Asokārāma, saying:

**“Gantvādhikaraṇaṃ etaṃ vūpasamma Uposathaṃ**  
“Having gone (there) please settle this dispute and have the Observance

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<sup>178</sup> This is exactly the place where the Elders who led the Second Council went to discuss what measures should be taken in regard to the Vesālī monks who were not maintaining traditional discipline.

<sup>179</sup> The fortnightly Observance, when the Disciplinary Rules are recited, and the yearly Invitation for correction. These are two of the main legal acts that the Saṅgha carry out, and being unable to perform them would be considered a serious problem.



**kārehi Bhikkhusaṅghassa<sup>180</sup> mamārāme nu tvaṃ.”<sup>181</sup> iti [546]**  
carried out for the Community of monks in my monastery.”

**Avisahanto ‘macco so taṃ kammaṃ paṭipucchituṃ,**  
That minister, being unable to ask (the King) about that deed,<sup>182</sup>

**aññe ‘macce ‘pasaṅkamma, idaṃ vacanam-abravi: [547]**  
when another minister had approached, made this statement:

**‘Ayye Rājā pesayittha maṃ, gantvāna Uposathaṃ  
adhikaraṇaṃ sametvāna, kārapetuṃ Uposathaṃ. [548]**  
“Noble Sir, the King has sent me, and after going and settling the dispute about the  
Observance, I am to make them hold the Observance.

**Kathan-nu ‘maṃ adhikaraṇaṃ sameyyāmi ahaṃ?” iti**  
Now how can I settle this dispute?”

**Saññāpetvāna<sup>183</sup> te ‘maccā paṭi-āhaṃsu taṃ tadā: [549]**  
Having made it known to him, the minister then answered him:

**‘Yathā pi nāma paccantaṃ core ghāteṇti sabbathā,**  
“As in the border countries those known as thieves are all killed,

**evam-eva tayā bhikkhū<sup>184</sup> haññate iti rucati.” [550]**  
so you must set your mind on the death of the monks.”

**Gantvāna sannipātetvā Bhikkhusaṅghaṃ sa dummati:**  
Having gone and assembled the monks, that fool

**‘Uposathaṃ karoṭhā,” ti sāvesi Rājasāsanam. [551]**  
conveyed the King’s message, saying: “Hold the Observance.”

**‘Uposathaṃ titthiyehi na karoma mayam,” iti**  
“We do not hold the Observance with the sectarians,”

**avoca Bhikkhusaṅgho taṃ amaccaṃ mūḷhamānasam. [552]**  
the Community of monks said to that minister, confused in mind.

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<sup>180</sup> Mhv: -saṅghena.

<sup>181</sup> Mhv: *mamārāme tuvaṃ*.

<sup>182</sup> It is not clear here, but maybe he felt he didn't have the right to question the King's order.

<sup>183</sup> ExtMhv: *Saññāpetvāna*.

<sup>184</sup> Mhv: bhikkhu.

**So 'macco katipayānaṃ Therānaṃ paṭipāṭiyā<sup>185</sup>**

**acchindi asinā sīsaṃ: "Kārohī"<sup>186</sup> ti "Uposathaṃ." [553]**

That minister successively cut off the head of some of the Elders with a sword, saying: "Hold the Observance."

**Rājabhātā Tissathero taṃ disvā kiriyaṃ lahuṃ**

The Kings' brother, the Elder Tissa, after seeing that deed and quickly

**gantvāna, tassa āsanne āsanamhi nisīdi so. [554]**

going, sat down on a seat near to him.

**Theraṃ disvā amacco so gantvā, Rañño nivedayi:**

The minister, after seeing the Elder and leaving, informed the King:

**"Mahārāja ettakā bhikkhū asinā pātītā mayā,**

"Great King, I have felled some of the monks with a sword,

**ayyassa Tissattherassa sampatto, kiṃ karom' ahaṃ?"**

(but) with the arrival of the Elder Tissa, what should I do?"

**Sabbaṃ pavattim sutvāna,<sup>187</sup> jātaḍāho Mahīpati, [555]**

Having heard the news, the Lord of the World grew feverish,

**sīghaṃ gantvā Bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pucchi ubbiggamānaso:**

and after going quickly, with agitated mind he questioned the Community of monks:

**"Evaṃ katena kammaṃ, kassa pāpaṃ<sup>188</sup> siyā?" iti [557]**

"Through the doing of this deed, for whom will there be evil (consequence)?"

**Tesaṃ apaṇḍitā keci: "Pāpaṃ tuyhan,"-ti keci tu:**

Some who were not wise said to him: "The evil (consequence) is yours," but some said:

**"Ubhinnañ-cā,<sup>189</sup> ti āhaṃsu, "Natthi tuyhan"-ti paṇḍitā. [558]**

"For both (of you)," but the wise said: "There is no (evil consequence) for you."

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<sup>185</sup> Mhv: *paṭipāṭiyā*.

<sup>186</sup> Mhv: *Kāremī*.

<sup>187</sup> Mhv: *taṃ sutvā*.

<sup>188</sup> ExtMhv: *pāpaṃ*; printer's error.

<sup>189</sup> ExtMhv: *Ubhinnañ cā*; printer's error.

**Taṃ sutvāha, Mahārājā: “Samattho natthi bhikkhu nu<sup>190</sup>**

Having heard that, the Great King said: “Is there no monk who can settle

**vimatiṃ me vinodetvā kātuṃ Sāsanapaggahaṃ?” [559]**

my doubts, and having dispelled them, to uphold the Dispensation?”

**“Atthi Moggaliputto so Tissatthero Rathesabha,**

“There is the Elder Tissa Moggaliputta, O Best of Charioteers,

**vimatiṃ te vinodetvā, kuru Sāsanapaggahaṃ.” [560]**

after dispelling your doubt, he will uphold the Dispensation.”

**Icchāha Saṅgho Rājānaṃ Rājā tattha nisīdati.<sup>191</sup>**

The Community, having said this to the King, the King sat down right there.

**Uccinitvāna caturo There te Dhammakathike, [561]**

Having chosen four Elders who were Dhamma preachers,

**visuṃ visuṃ parivāre sahasseva bhikkhunaṃ,**

and surrounding each of them with a thousand monks,

**caturo te amacce ca sahasseva nare api, [562]**

and four ministers together with a thousand men,

**tadahe yeva<sup>192</sup> pesesi, attano vacanena so:**

he immediately sent them, with his statement:

**“Tātā, Therehi gantvāna Therāṃ ānayitum.” iti [563]**

“Dears, having gone with the Elders, bring the Elder (here).”

**Te Therā tattha gantvāna, āyācimsu Mahāmatim.**

Those Elders, having gone there, requested the Greatly Wise One (to come).

**Thero taṃ vacanaṃ tesāṃ sutvā nāgacchatī ti so; [564]**

The Elder heard their word, (but) he did not come;

**te janā pi punāgantvā Rañño, ārocayimsu taṃ.**

those people having come again to the King, informed him.

**Puna aṭṭha Dhammakathike aṭṭha ‘macce ca pesayi [565]**

**saddhiṃ soḷasapurisasahasseehi Mahīpati.**

Again, the Lord of the World sent eight Dhamma preachers and eight ministers together with sixteen thousand men.

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<sup>190</sup> Mhv: *Samattho bhikkhu atthi nu.*

<sup>191</sup> Mhv: *Rājā tathāsi sādaro.*

<sup>192</sup> ExtMhv: *va*; against the metre.

**Te tathevā ti āhaṃsu: “Na gacchāmi” ti āha so. [566]**  
But to them also he spoke, saying: “I will not go.”

**Punāgantvā narā sabbe Rañño taṃ paṭivedayum.**  
Having come again all those people told it to the King.

**Tasmiñ-ca samaye Rājā Bhikkhusaṅghaṃ apucchi so: [567]**  
At that time the King asked the Community of monks, saying:

**“Dvikkhattum paṇiṃ Bhante kasmā Thero na āgato?”**  
“Twice I sent (for him), venerable Sirs, why does the Elder not come?”

**“‘Pakkosati’ ti vuttattā”, Saṅgho taṃ idam-abravi. [568]**  
The Community said this to him: “Because it is said: ‘(The King) summons (you).’”

**Rājā pucchi: “Kathaṃ Thero āgaccheyya nu kho?” iti**  
The King asked: “How can the Elder (be made to) come?”

**Bhikkhū āhaṃsu Therassa tassāgamanakāraṇaṃ: [569]**  
The monks said there had to be a (good) reason for the Elder to come to you, (so) say:

**“‘Hohi Bhante upatthambho kātum Sāsanapaggahaṃ,’**  
“‘Venerable Sir, you should be a support to uphold the Dispensation,’

**iti vutte Mahārāja Thero essati<sup>193</sup> so.” iti [570]**  
when this is said, Great King, he will come.”

**Puna pi There amacce<sup>194</sup> ca Rājā soḷasa soḷasa**  
**visum saḥassapurise, tathā vatvāna pesayi: [571]**  
Yet again the King sent sixteen Elders and sixteen ministers each with a thousand men, and after saying this, he said:

**“Mahallako nu kho Bhante daharo kho nu so?” iti**  
“Is he elderly, venerable Sir, or is he youthful?”<sup>195</sup>

**“Mahārāja, Mahāthero vuḍḍhataro khīṇāsavo.<sup>196</sup>**  
“Great King, the Great Elder is elderly, and has destroyed the pollutants.

**Thero mahallakatte pi nārohissati yānakaṃ.” [572]**  
But even though the Elder is elderly he will not mount a vehicle.”

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<sup>193</sup> Mhv: *ehiti*.

<sup>194</sup> Mhv: *'macce*.

<sup>195</sup> It is curious that here Asoka does not seem to know the Elder's age, although earlier in the story he has already been in close contact with him.

<sup>196</sup> We should read: *khīṇāsavo* m.c.

**“Kuhim nu Bhante Thero vasatī?” ti apucchi so,**  
“Where does the Elder reside, venerable Sir?” he asked,

**“Deva, upari Gaṅgāya Ahogaṅgavhayam.” iti [573]**  
“God-King, on the upper Ganges, on what is called (mount) Ahogaṅga.”

**“Bandhayitvā bhane nāvāsaṅghātam<sup>197</sup> netha vo.” iti**  
“Having bound together a wooden raft, friend, please lead (him) to us.”

**Te tassa santikam gantvā, Rañño sāsanam<sup>198</sup>-abravum. [574]**  
Having gone into his presence, they spoke the King’s message.

**Tam sutvāna, Mahāthero pīticitto tam-āha ca:**  
Having heard that, the Great Elder joyously said this:

**“Aham pi pabbajitvāna, tad-atthāya-m-ihāgato, [575]**  
“After going-forth, I came here for (my own) benefit,<sup>199</sup>

**so dāni kālo sampatto Buddhasāsanapaggaham.”**  
now the time has arrived to uphold the Awakened One’s Dispensation.”

**Uṭṭhahitvā cammakhaṇḍam pappoṭhetvā ca nikkhami. [576]**  
Having stood up and beaten his leather water-jar, he departed.

**[The King’s Dream]**  
**577-595 ≠ Mhv 256-263**

**Rattibhāge Mahīpālo ekam supinam-addasa:**  
During the night the Guardian of the World saw a dream:

**Sabbaseto hatthināgo, parāmasiya sīsato, [577]**  
A pure white noble elephant, after touching him on his head,

**gahesi dakkhiṇe hatthe; Rājā ubbiggasāṅkito,**  
took his right hand; the King was fearful and frightened,

**pāto va brāhmaṇe pucchi, sutvāna byākarimṣu te: [578]**  
and in the morning asked the brāhmaṇas, having heard (about it) they answered:

**“Mahārāja, bhayaṃ natthi, sotthi tava bhavissati;**  
“Great King, there is no danger, there will be safety for you;

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<sup>197</sup> ExtMhv: *-saṅghātam*; printer's error.

<sup>198</sup> ExtMhv: *Sāsānam-*.

<sup>199</sup> This is not quite in harmony with what was said above (vs. 542), about Ven. Moggaliputta already being a leader of the monks.

**eko ca samaṇo nāgo āgato parirakkhitum, [579]**  
one noble ascetic will come and protect (you),

**gahetvā dakkhiṇe hatthe, vinodessati vimatiṃ.”<sup>200</sup>**  
having taken your right hand, he will dispel (your) doubt.”

**Tāvad-eva Mahīpālo sutvā Therassa āgataṃ, [580]**  
At the instant the Guardian of the World heard (that) he went to the Elder,

**paccuggantvāna taṃ Theraṃ, jāṇumattaṃ jalaṃ ṭhito,**  
having gone out to meet the Elder, he stood knee-deep in water,

**nāvāya uttarantassa Therassādāsi gāravo<sup>201</sup> [581]**  
and as the Elder came out of the ship he respectfully gave

**attano dakkhiṇaṃ hatthaṃ, idam-āha Mahīpati:**  
his right hand, and the Lord of the World said this:

**“Anukampāya maṃ Bhante tvam gaṇhāhi karaṃ mama.” [582]**  
“Out of compassion for me, venerable Sir, please take my hand.”

**Dakkhiṇeyyo Mahāthero Rājino anumakampako**  
The Great Elder, who was worthy of offerings, out of compassion for the King

**ālambitvā karaṃ Rañño, nāvāyotari taṅkhaṇe. [583]**  
took hold of the King’s hand, and at that instant descended from the ship.

**Taṃ disvāṇa asiggāho: ‘Chindissāmi ahaṃ,’ iti**  
Having seen that, the sword-bearer thought: ‘I will cut off (his arm),’

**kosato asim khaḍḍanto chāyāya ca Mahīpati [584]**  
**disvā āha: “Pubbe va ahaṃ duggahitakāraṇā**  
but as he drew his sword from the sheaf, the Lord of the World saw his shadow and said: “Formerly, because of holding wrong views

**assādam-pi na vindāmi, mā Therassa ‘paraṃjjhayi.’ [585]**  
I found no satisfaction, do not offend against the Elder.”

\* \* \*

**Rājā Theraṃ nayitvāna uyyānaṃ Rativaddhanaṃ,**  
The King, after leading the Elder to the garden (called) Delight-Increasing,

**Therassa pāde dhovitvā makkhitvā ca nisīdiya. [586]**  
and washing and rubbing the Elder’s feet, sat down.

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<sup>200</sup> We should read: *vīmatiṃ* m.c.

<sup>201</sup> Mhv: *otarantassa Therassādā sagāravo*.

**Samatthabhāvaṃ Therassa vīmaṃsanto Mahīpati:**  
Inquiring into the Elder's proficiency, the Lord of the World

**“Daṭṭhukāmo ahaṃ Bhante pāṭiheraṃ” ti abravi. [587]**  
said: “Venerable Sir, I desire to see a miracle.”

**“Kin?”-ti vutte, “Mahīkampam” āha taṃ puna-v-āha so:**  
“Which (one)?” he said, “An earthquake” he said, and again he said:

**“Sakalāyekadesāya taṅkampam<sup>202</sup> daṭṭhum-icchasi?” [588]**  
“What do you desire to see, a quake of the whole earth or in one direction?”

**“Ko dukkaro?” ti pucchitvā “Ekadesāya kampanam  
dukkaram,”<sup>203</sup> ti suṇitvāna taṃ duṭṭhukāmatam ’bravi. [589]**  
After asking, “Which is the more difficult?” and hearing: “A quake in one direction  
is more difficult,” he said he desired to see that one.

**Ratham assam manussaṅ-ca pātiṅ-codakapūritam  
Thero yojanasīmāya antaramhi catuddise [590]**  
**ṭhapāpetvā tad-antehi<sup>204</sup> saha taṃ yojanam mahim**  
After placing a chariot, a horse, a man and a pot full of water within a boundary of  
a league on all four sides, the Elder shook the earth until its end for a league

**cālesi iddhiyā, tatra nisinnassa adassayi.<sup>205</sup> [591]**  
with his psychic power, and showed it to the one sitting there.

**Disvāna so pāṭiheraṃ: “Paggahetun”-ti “Sāsanam,”**  
After seeing that miracle, he said: “Uphold the Dispensation,”

**niṭṭham ‘gantvāna: ‘Thero ‘yam sakkhissati,’ Mahīpati [592]**  
and after coming to the conclusion: ‘The Elder will be able (to do) this,’ the Lord of  
the World

**kukkucam pucchi: “‘ham Bhante ‘maccekam bhikkhunam: ‘Idam  
adhikaranam sametvāna gantvā mayham vihārakam [593]**  
**bhikkhavo ‘posatham ajja kārāpehī’ ti pāhiṇim,**  
asked about his doubt: “Venerable Sir, I sent a minister to the monks, saying: ‘After  
going and settling this dispute in my monastery make the monks hold the  
Observance today,’

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<sup>202</sup> Mhv: *kataram*.

<sup>203</sup> Mhv: *dukkaram*.

<sup>204</sup> Mhv: *tad-addhehi*.

<sup>205</sup> Mhv: *ca dassayi*.

**tattake te ime bhikkhū voropetvāna jīvitā. [594]**  
and he deprived<sup>206</sup> so many of those monks of their lives.

**Pāpass’ atthittanattittam itarasseva kammunā?”**  
Through this action is there or is there not evil (consequence) for the other?”<sup>207</sup>

**“Paṭicca kammaṃ natthī,” ti “Kiliṭṭham cetanaṃ vinā,”**  
“Through this action there is no (evil consequence), the intention being void of defilement.”

**[The Partridge Birth-Story]**  
**596-626 ≠ Jā 319**

**Thero bodhesi Rājānaṃ vatvā Tittirajātakam: [595]**  
The Elder related<sup>208</sup> the Partridge Birth-Story and enlightened the King:

**Aṭṭe Brahmadaṭṭamhi kārente Rājataṃ kira**  
In the past, it seems, when Brahmadaṭṭa was ruling

**samidde nagare ramme pure Bāraṇasivhaye, [596]**  
in the successful and delightful city called Bāraṇasī,

**dījakulamhi ekasmiṃ Bodhisatto nibbattiya**  
the Awakening One arose in a twice-born<sup>209</sup> family

**vayappatto, sabbasippaṃ ugaṇhitvāna, vissuto, [597]**  
after learning all the crafts, having come to maturity, being famous,

**Takkasilāya nikkhamma, pabbajji Isipabbajam.**  
and leaving from Takasila, he went forth in the Seers’ going-forth.

**Himavantappadesamhi pañcābhiññāsu pāragū, [598]**  
Being one who had gained the five psychic powers in the Himālaya district,

**patvā aṭṭha samāpattiyo,<sup>210</sup> kīlanto jhānakīlitaṃ,**  
after attaining the eight attainments, while enjoying the absorptions,

**ramaṇīye vanasaṇḍe vasanto ekako bhava, [599]**  
and dwelling<sup>211</sup> alone in a delightful jungle abode,

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<sup>206</sup> Using the absolute as an aorist again here.

<sup>207</sup> It is awkwardly said, but he is asking is there an evil consequence, not for one one who did the deed, but for the other one, the one who gave the order; i.e. for himself.

<sup>208</sup> To make sense of this sentence we must again take the absolute as an aorist here.

<sup>209</sup> I.e. brāhmaṇa family, said to be twice born, because of the *upanayana* ritual in which the child is invested with the sacred thread.

<sup>210</sup> A more metrical reading here would have been *samāpattī*, which would give pathyā.

<sup>211</sup> There is no finite verb in this sentence.



**Paccantagāmaññataram gacchamāno tad-antare**  
while going to a certain border village, in the meantime,

**loṅambilasevanattham, narā disvā pasīdiya, [600]**  
in order to get salt and vinegar, people, after seeing him, gaining faith,

**pavane aññatarasmim kāretvā pannasālakam,**  
and making a leaf-hut in a certain forest,

**paccayeh' upaṭṭhahitvā, sakkaccam tam vasāpayum. [601]**  
and attending on him with requisites, respectfully made him live (there).

\* \* \*

**Tasmim gāme tadā eko sakuṇiko,<sup>212</sup> vigaṇhiya**  
Then in that village one fowler, after capturing

**ekam dīpakatittiram sikkhāpetvāna pañjare [602]**  
**pakkhipitvā, sinehena niccañ-ca paṭijaggati.**  
and training a decoy partridge and putting it in a cage, always looked after it with affection.

**So tam araññam netvā, tittire āgatāgate [603]**  
Having led him to the wilderness, when the partridges had gathered round

**tassa saddena, gaṇhitvā netvāna vikkiṇāti te.**  
at his sound, after grabbing and carrying them away he sold them.

**'Mamam nissāya tittirā nassanti bahu ñātakā, [604]**  
(Thinking:) 'Because of me many of my partridge family are perishing,

**kiṃ mayham tam pāpan?'-ti nirāsaddo ahosi so.**  
what is this wickedness to me?' he became silent.

**Nissaddabhāvam ñatvā so paharivāna tittiram [605]**  
After understanding his silence, and beating the partridge

**veḷupesikā sīsamhi abhiṇham, luddako tato**  
with a section of bamboo on the head repeatedly, the hunter

**dukkhāturāya saddam karoti tittiro lahum. [606]**  
quickly made the partridge make a sound through his suffering.

\* \* \*

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<sup>212</sup> Also spelt like this in v. 607 below, though we would expect: *sakuṇik-*.

**Evam sakuṇiko, lobham nissāya, tittire bahū  
gaṇhitvā, dīgham-addhānam kappesi jīvitattano. [607]**

In this way the fowler, through greed, after grabbing many partridges, made his living over a long period of time.

**Dukkhāturo so tittiro iti evam vicintayi:**

The suffering partridge reflected thus:

**“‘Aho ime marantū!’ ti cetanā me na vijjati, [608]**

“‘Alas, all these die!’ it is not my intention,<sup>213</sup>

**paṭiccammam panidam abhiṇham mama phussati,<sup>214</sup>**

but I am affected by the repetition of this deed,

**akaronte mayi saddam ete pi nāgamum.” iti [609]**

for when I don’t make a sound they do not come.”

\* \* \*

**“Karonte yeva gacchanti ayañ-ca āgatāgate  
ñātake me, gahetvāna pāpeti jīvitakkhayam. [610]**

And: “When I do make this (sound) my relatives come and gather round, and after grabbing them, their lives are brought to destruction.

**Ettha, kin-nu idam pāpam mayham attheva natthi?” ti**

Herein, is this a wicked deed of mine or not?”

**Tato paṭṭhāya: ‘Ko nu kho kaṅkham chindeyya maṃ?’ iti**

Because of that (he thought): ‘Who can clear my doubts for me?’

**paṇḍitam so tathārūpam voloketvāna vicari. [611]**

he went round looking for such a wise man.

\* \* \*

**Athekadivasam so te gahetvā tittire bahū**

Then one day, after grabbing many partridges

**pūretvā pacchiyam: ‘Pānim pivissāmi,’ ti cintayi. [612]**

and filling his basket, he thought: ‘I would like to drink water.’

**Bodhisattassa assamam gantvā, tam pañjaram tato**

**ṭhapetvā santike tassa, pivitvā pāniyicchitam, [613]**

Having gone to the Awakening One’s hermitage, and placed the cage there in his presence, and after drinking the water he desired,

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<sup>213</sup> Lit: *my intention is not found.*

<sup>214</sup> Written m.c. for *phusati.*

**vālukātale nipanno niddaṃ okkami tāvade.**  
he lay down on the sand and instantly fell asleep.

\* \* \*

**Niddokkantassa bhāvaṃ so ñatvāna tittiro tato, [614]**  
Understanding his sleepy nature, the partridge,

**‘Kaṅkham-idaṃ tāpasam-eva pucchissāmī,’ ti cintayi,**  
thinking: ‘I will ask this ascetic about this doubt,’

**‘Jananto me sacāyaṃ so ajjevimaṃ kathessati.’ [615]**  
(and): ‘If he is knowing (the answer) he will answer me today.’

**Nisikko pañjare gātham pucchanto pāṭham-āha so:**  
While sitting in the cage he, questioning, recited this verse:

**“Susukam vata jīvāmi, labhāmi ceva bhuñjituṃ, [616]**  
“Happily indeed I live, I surely receive (enough) to eat,

**paripante ca tiṭṭhāmi, kā su Bhante gatī mama?”**  
but I stand in danger, venerable Sir, what is my destiny?”

**Tassa pañham vissajjento dutiyaṃ gātham āha so: [617]**  
Answering his question he spoke the second verse:

**“Mano te nappaṇamati, pakkhi, pāpassa kammunā,**  
“(If) the mind is not bowed, bird, by deeds of wickedness,

**apāpaṃ tassa bhadrassa, na pāpaṃ upalippati.” [618]**  
there is nothing wicked for the lucky one, no wickedness attaches.”

**Sutvāna vacanaṃ tassa, tatiyaṃ gātham-āha so:**  
Having heard his statement, he spoke the third verse:

**“Nātaṃ no nisikko,’ ti bahu āgacchate<sup>215</sup> jano, [619]**  
“(Thinking): ‘Our relative is sitting (there)’ many come (to see),

**paṭicca kammaṃ phusati, tasmim me saṅkate mano.”**  
I am affected by this deed, there is still a doubt in my mind.”

**Sutvā so Bodhisatto taṃ catutthagātham-āha so: [620]**  
Having heard this the Awakening One spoke the fourth verse:

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<sup>215</sup> ExtMhv: *agacchate*.

**“Na paṭicca kammaṃ phusati mano, te nappadussati,**  
“The mind is not affected by this deed, there is no wrong for you,

**apossukkassa bhadrassa na pāpaṃ upalippati.” [621]**  
for the lucky one who does not act no wickedness attaches.”

**Evam so tittiraṃ tattha saññāpesi anekadhā,**  
Thus he convinced the partridge in many ways,

**nissāya Bodhisattaṃ kho nikkukkucco ahoṣi so. [622]**  
and through the Awakening One he became without remorse.

**Sakuṇiko pabuddho so Bodhisattaṃ ‘bhivandiya,**  
The fowler, having woken, after worshipping the Awakening One,

**pañjaraṃ tattha-m-ādāya sakagharaṃ apakkami. [623]**  
picked up his cage from there, and left for his home.

**Dhammadesanimaṃ Satthā āharitvāna, Jātakaṃ**  
The Teacher, having taught this Dhamma teaching,

**samodhānesi sabbam taṃ: “Tittiro Rahulo ahu. [624]**  
made the connection to all in the Birth Story: “The partridge was Rāhula.

**Kaṅkham vinodayanto so: ahaṃ eva Buddho ahu.”**  
The one dispelling his doubts: that was I, the Awakened One.”

\* \* \*

**Taṃ Dhammadesanaṃ sutvā Rājā attamano tato. [625]**  
Having heard this teaching of the Dhamma the King was uplifted.

**Vasanto tattha sattāhaṃ Rājuyyāne manorame**  
Living there seven days in the delightful Royal Garden

**sikkhāpesi Mahīpālaṃ Sambuddhasamayaṃ varam. [626]**  
(the Elder) trained the Lord of the World in the noble religion of the Perfectly Awakened One.

**[Holding the Third Council]**  
627-645 = Mhv. 266-282

**Tasmim̐ yeva ca<sup>216</sup> samaye<sup>217</sup> duve yakkhe Mahīpati  
pesetvā mahiyam̐ bhikkhū asese sannipātayi. [627]**

At that time the Master of the World sent two yakkhas and he assembled the rest of the monks on the earth.

**Sattame divase gantvā sakārāmaṃ manoramam̐,**  
Having gone on the seventh day to his own delightful monastery,

**kāresi Bhikkhusaṅghassa sannipātam̐ asesato. [628]**  
he made an assembly from the entire Community of monks.

**Therena ekamante so nisiṇṇo sāṇi-m-antare,<sup>218</sup>**  
With the Elder seated on one side within a curtain,

**ekeke laddhike<sup>219</sup> bhikkhū pakkositvāna santikaṃ,d[629]**  
after calling the schismatic monks one by one to his presence,

**“Kimvādī Sugato bhante?” iti pucchi Mahīpati.**  
the Lord of the World asked: “Venerable Sir, what was the Happy One’s doctrine?”

**Te sassatādikaṃ diṭṭhim̐ byākarimsu yathāsakaṃ. [630]**  
They explained their own view, beginning with eternalism and so on.

**Te micchādiṭṭhike sabbe Rājā uppabbājāpayi,**  
The King had all those holding wrong views disrobed,

**sabbe saṭṭhisahassāni āsum̐ uppabbajāpitā. [631]**  
and those he had disrobed were sixty-thousand in all.

**Apucchi Dhammike bhikkhū: “Kimvādī Sugato?” iti**  
He (also) asked the monks who knew Dhamma: “What was the Happy One’s doctrine?”

**“Vibhajjavādī,” tāhaṃsu; taṃ Theram̐ pucchi Bhūpati: [632]**  
They said: “The doctrine of analysis;” and the Lord of the Earth asked the Elder:

**“Vibhajjavādī Sambuddho hoti?” “Āmā,” ti<sup>220</sup> āha so.**  
“Did the Perfectly Awakened One (teach) the doctrine of analysis?” “Yes,” he said.

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<sup>216</sup> ExtMhv omits *ca*, but it is needed for the metre.

<sup>217</sup> Mhv: *Tasmim̐ yeva ca sattāhe*.

<sup>218</sup> Mhv: *saha ekante nisimmo sāṇi- antare*.

<sup>219</sup> Mhv: *ekeka-*.

<sup>220</sup> Mhv: *Sambuddho hoti Bhante?* ti.

**Rājā<sup>221</sup> “Āmā,” ti sutvā taṃ pasannamanaso tadā:<sup>222</sup> [633]**

The King, having heard him say: “Yes,” gained faith of mind, and then said:

**“Saṅgho visodhito yasmā tasmā Saṅgho Uposatham**

“Since the Community is (now) purified, therefore the Community should hold

**karotu Bhante,” iccevaṃ vatvā, Therassa Bhūpati, [634]**

**Saṅghassa rakkhaṃ datvāna nagaram pāvisī subhaṃ.**

the Observance, venerable Sir,” and having said this, the Lord of the Earth, after giving over protection of the Community to the Elder, re-entered his lovely city.

**Saṅgho samaggo hutvāna, tad-ākāsi Uposatham. [635]**

After the Community came back into harmony, it held the Observance.

\* \* \*

**Thero anekasaṅkhamhā<sup>223</sup> Bhikkhusaṅghā visārade**

The Elder, out of the innumerable monks in the Community who were mature,

**chaḷabhiññe Tepiṭake<sup>224</sup> pabhinnapaṭisambhide [636]**

had the six psychic powers, knew the Three Baskets, and had developed the analytic knowledges,

**bhikkhusahassaṃ uccini kātum Saddhammasaṅgahaṃ,**

chose a thousand monks to make the compilation of the True Dhamma,

**te hi Asokārāmaṃhi akā Saddhammasaṅgahaṃ. [637]**

and they made the compilation of the True Dhamma in the Asokārāma.<sup>225</sup>

**Mahākassapathero ca Yasatthero ca kārayum**

**yathā te Dhammasaṅgītim, Tissatthero pi taṃ tathā. [638]**

Just as the Elder Mahākassapa and the Elder Yasa had made the Dhamma Recital, so did the Elder Tissa<sup>226</sup> do likewise.

**Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṃ, parappavādamaddanaṃ,<sup>227</sup>**

The Objects of Controversy,<sup>228</sup> which crushed the disputants,

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<sup>221</sup> ExtMhv: *Raja*; printer's error.

<sup>222</sup> Mhv: *Thero*: “Āmā,” *ti, taṃ sutvā Rājā tuṭṭhamano tadā*.

<sup>223</sup> Mhv: *-saṅkhyamhā*.

<sup>224</sup> ExtMhv: *Tipiṭake*.

<sup>225</sup> I.e. Asoka's own monastery.

<sup>226</sup> Moggaliputta Tissa.

<sup>227</sup> Mhv: *paravādappamaddanaṃ*.

<sup>228</sup> Now the fifth book of the Theravāda Abhidhamma collection.

**abhāsi Tissatthero ca tasmim Saṅgītimaṇḍale. [639]**  
the Elder Tissa related in the Recital pavilion.

**Evaṃ bhikkhusahassena rakkhāyāsokarājino,<sup>229</sup>**  
Thus, with a thousand monks, being under the protection of King Asoka,

**ayaṃ navahi māsehi Dhammasaṅgīti niṭṭhitā. [640]**  
did he complete this Dhamma recital in nine months.<sup>230</sup>

**Raṅṅo sattarase vasse, dvāsattatisamo Isi,**  
In the seventeenth year of the King's reign, the Seer, who was seventy-two,

**Mahāpavāraṇāyaṃ<sup>231</sup> so Saṅgītim taṃ samāpayi. [641]**  
concluded the Recital with a Great Invitation.<sup>232</sup>

**Sādhukāraṃ dadantī va devā ca manujā pi ca<sup>233</sup>**  
While gods and men were giving their applause

**Saṅgītipariyosāne akampittha mahāmahī. [642]**  
at the close of the Recital the great earth itself shook.

**Upāli Dāsako ceva, Soṇako Siggavo tathā**  
Upāli and Dāsaka, Soṇaka, Siggava and then

**Tisso Moggaliputto ca pañcetevijitāvino [643]**  
Tissa Moggaliputta, these victorious five

**paramparāya Vinayaṃ Jambudīpe sirivhaye,**  
**acchijjamānaṃ ānesuṃ Tatiyo yāva Saṅgaho. [644]**  
brought the unbroken Discipline lineage down in what is called the glorious Rose-Apple Island as far as the Third Council.

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<sup>229</sup> Mhv: *rakkhāyāsokārājino*; printer's error.

<sup>230</sup> The first council took one month to prepare and three months to recite; the so-called sixth council in Burma in 1956, in which the Tipiṭaka, the commentaries and sub-commentaries were all recited took two years to complete.

<sup>231</sup> Mhv: *Mahāpavāraṇāya*.

<sup>232</sup> It is not clear if this was a special Invitation for correction at the end of the Recital, or part of the normal yearly Invitation at the conclusion of the Rains Retreat.

<sup>233</sup> Mhv: *Sāsanaṭṭhitikāraṇe*.

**Hitvā seṭṭham Brahnavimānaṃ pi manuññaṃ,**  
Having abandoned the excellent, pleasing Brahma mansion,

**āgammakā Sāsanakiccaṃ katakicco.**  
**jegucchaṃ so Sāsanahito<sup>234</sup> naralokaṃ**  
for the benefit of the Dispensation, he<sup>235</sup> was one who came to this loathsome  
world of men, and did his duties for the Dispensation.

**Ko nāmañño Sāsanakiccami pamajje? ti [645]**  
Who else would be heedless in regard to the duties to the Dispensation?

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate*  
*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsa Tatiyadhammasaṅgīti nāma Pañcama Paricchedo*  
*The Fifth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Third Recital*

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<sup>234</sup> Mhv: *Sāsanahetu*; in the text the metre is wrong, and Geiger's reading may be preferred.

<sup>235</sup> I.e. Moggaliputta Tissa.



**[XII. Faith in Various Districts]  
[Nānādesappasādo]**

1-62 ≠ Mhv 1-55

[Summary]

1-9 ≠ Mhv 1-8

**Thero Moggaliputto so, Jinasāsanajotiko,**

The Elder Moggaliputta, the light of the Dispensation of the Victor,<sup>236</sup>

**niṭṭhāpetvāna Saṅgītiṃ, pekkhamāno anāgatam,** [1]

having brought the (Third) Recital<sup>237</sup> to a close, looking towards the future,

**Sāsanassa patiṭṭhānam paccantesu apekkhiya,**

and to the establishment of the Dispensation in the border countries,

**pesesi Kattike māse te te There tahiṃ tahiṃ.** [2]

during the month of Kattikā<sup>238</sup> sent various Elders here and there.

**Theraṃ Kasmīra<sup>239</sup>-Gandhāraṃ Majjhantikaṃ-apesayi:**

He sent the Elder Majjhantika to Kasmīra-Gandhāra, saying:

**“Patiṭṭhāpehi tattheva raṭṭhasmiṃ Sāsanam.” iti**

“Have the Dispensation established there in the country.”

**Apesayi Mahādevattheraṃ Mahisamaṇḍalam.** [3]

He sent the Elder Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala.

**Vanavāsī<sup>240</sup> apesesi Theraṃ Rakkhitanāmakaṃ;**

To Vanavāsī he sent the Elder Rakkhita by name;

**tathāparantakaṃ Yonaṃ Dhammarakkhitanāmakaṃ.** [4]

but the Ionian<sup>241</sup> named Dhammarakkhita to Aparantikā.

<sup>236</sup> I.e. the Buddha, often called *Jina* or *Victor* in the texts.

<sup>237</sup> Traditionally said to have been called by King Asoka after purifying the Sangha, and intended to confirm the true teachings. The traditional date is around 250 years after the Buddha's parinibbāna. However, Asoka doesn't mention it in his Edicts, which must put at least his part in the Council in doubt.

<sup>238</sup> I.e. November.

<sup>239</sup> Text: *Kasmīrā*, treating them as two here, but referential *raṭṭhasmiṃ* below is singular.

There is a map showing the locations of these destinations here: <http://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Maps/Map-12-Asokan-Missions.htm>.

<sup>240</sup> Mhv: *Vanavāsāṃ*; and below.

<sup>241</sup> Or, we might say now, the Greek.

**Mahāraṭṭham Mahādhammarakkhitattheranāmakaṃ;**  
To Mahāraṭṭha<sup>242</sup> (he sent) the Elder by name Mahādhammarakkhita;

**Mahārakkhitatheran-tu Yonalokaṃ apesayi.** [5]  
he sent to the world of the Ionians the Elder Mahārakkhita.

**Pesesi Majjhimaṃ Theram Himavantappadesakaṃ;**  
He sent the Elder Majjhima to the Himālaya<sup>243</sup> districts;

**Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ There dve Soṇaṃ Uttaram-eva ca.** [6]  
to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (he sent) two Elders, Soṇa and Uttara.

**Sabbe pi te Mahātherā gacchantā attapañcamā,**<sup>244</sup>  
All of these Great Elders went with five besides themselves,

**paccantime janapade vattesuṃ upasampadaṃ.**  
to give the higher ordination in the border countries.<sup>245</sup> [7]

**Mahāmahindatheraṃ taṃ, Theram Iṭṭhiyam-Uttiyaṃ,**  
That Great Elder Mahinda, the Elder<sup>246</sup> Iṭṭhiya and Uttiya,

**Sambalaṃ Bhaddasālaṅ-ca, sake saddhivihārike,** [8]  
Sambala and Bhaddasāla,<sup>247</sup> his attendant monks,

**“Laṅkādīpe manuññaṃhi manuññaṃ Jinasāsanam  
patiṭṭhāpetha tumhe,” ti pañca There apesayi.** [9]  
he sent these five Elders, saying: “You must establish in the pleasant Island of  
Laṅkā the pleasant Dispensation of the Victor.”

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<sup>242</sup> Now called Maharashtra.

<sup>243</sup> Lit: *place endowed with snow*.

<sup>244</sup> Text: *-pañcamā*, printer's error.

<sup>245</sup> See the introduction for a consideration of the importance of this addition.

<sup>246</sup> Singular where a plural is expected.

<sup>247</sup> From the text below we know that two others accompanied Mahinda to Laṅkā, they are the novice Sumana, and the upāsaka Bhaṇḍuka.

[Majjhantika in Kasmīra-Gandhāra]

10-32 ≠ Mhv 9-28

**Tadā Kasmīra-Gandhāre, pakkam̐ sassam̐ mahiddhiko**

**Āravālo<sup>248</sup> Nāgarājā, vassam̐ karakasaññitam̐** [10]

Then in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, the Nāga King Āravāla, the one of great power, (destroyed) the ripe crops, having made the rain known as hail

**vassāpetvā samuddasmim̐, sabbam̐ khipati dāruṇo.**

fall into the lake,<sup>249</sup> and all was violently upset.

**Tatra Majjhantikathero, khippam̐ gantvā vihāyasā,** [11]

The Elder Majjhantika, having gone quickly through the air,

**Āravāladahe vāripiṭṭhe caṅkamanam̐ akā,**<sup>250</sup>

walked up and down on the top of the water on Āravāla's lake,

**tiṭṭhati ca nisīditvā, seyyam̐ kappesi tāvade.** [12]

he stopped and having sat down, he instantly lay down.

**Nāgamāṇavikā disvā kuddhā Rañño nivedayum̐:**

Having seen that, the angry young Nāgas informed the (Nāga) King, saying:

**“Deva! Muṇḍanako eko chinnapaṭadharo ahu,**

“God-King! This solitary shaveling wearing his (patchwork) cloth,<sup>251</sup>

**vārimhi kāsūm̐ letvāna,**<sup>252</sup> akā caṅkamanādike.” [13]

having lain on this lake<sup>253</sup> of water, is walking up and down and so on.”

**Sutvāna tāsam̐ vacanam̐ Nāgarājā mahiddhiko,**

Having heard their statement the Nāga King, of great power,

**nikkhamma bhavanato ‘yam̐ vividhā bhimsikākari:** [14]

came out from his dwelling and did various fearful things:

<sup>248</sup> Mhv: *Aravāl-* here, and below.

<sup>249</sup> *Samudda* normally means *ocean* or *sea*, but Kasmīra-Gandhāra was a long way away from the ocean, and the word can cover any large body of water, which is what is meant here.

<sup>250</sup> Mhv: *caṅkamanādike*; *walking up and down and so on*.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. 14.11 below.

<sup>252</sup> This would imply a verb *leti*, or possibly *layati*, neither of which is found in the Dictionaries. It is presumably connected with Sanskrit *layana*; *clinging, adhering, resting, lying down*.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. SED: *karṣū*, *Us f. (Uṇ. i, 82) a furrow, trench, incision ŚBr. KātyŚr. &c.; a river, canal...*

**vātā mahantā vāyanti, megho gajjati vassati,**  
great winds did blow, a cloud thundered and rained,

**phalanti asaniyo,<sup>254</sup> vijjū niccharanti tato tato,** [15]  
thunderbolts crashed, lightning struck here and there,

**mahīruhā pabbatānam kūṭāni papatanti ca,**  
trees and the tops of the mountains (all) fell down,

**virūparūpā Nāgā ca bhimsāpentī samantato.** [16]  
and deformed Nāgas caused fright on all sides.

**Sayam dhūpati jalati akkosanto anekadhā,**  
He himself angrily fumed and burned in many ways,

**“Etha, gaṇhatha hanatha,” Nāge sabbe apesayi.** [17]  
and he sent all the Nāgas, saying: “Go, seize and kill (them).”

**Sabbaṃ taṃ iddhiyā Thero paṭibāhiya bhimsanam**  
The Elder having repelled all those fearful things with his psychic power

**avoca Nāgarājam taṃ, dassento balam-uttamaṃ:** [18]  
said this to the Nāga King, showing his supreme strength:

**“Sadevako pi ce<sup>255</sup> loko āgantvā tāsayeyya maṃ**  
“If the world together with its gods having come were to (try to) frighten me

**na me paṭibalo assa yam-ettha<sup>256</sup> bhayabheravaṃ.** [19]  
they would not be able to (give rise to) fear and fright in me here.

**Sace pi tvaṃ mahiṃ sabbaṃ sasamuddaṃ sapabbataṃ,**  
**ukkhipitvā Mahānāga, khipeyyāsi mamopari,** [20]  
Even if you, having taken up the whole earth with its oceans and mountains, Great Nāga, were to throw them at me from on high,

**neva me sakkuṇṇeyyāsi janetuṃ bhayabheravaṃ.**  
there is no possibility to give rise to fear and fright in me.

**Aññadatthu tavevassa vighāto Uragādhīpa.”** [21]  
Assuredly, it is only for your own distress, Ruler of Snakes.”

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<sup>254</sup> Mhv: *phalantāsaniyo*; which is better metrically.

<sup>255</sup> Text: *ca*, which gives *savipulā*, which is normally avoided in the classical period.  
Mahāvamsa: *ce*, which also gives better sense.

<sup>256</sup> Mhv: *janetuṃ*; to give birth to.

**Taṃ sutvā nimmadassassa, Thero Dhammaṃ adesayi,**  
Having heard that, he was crushed, and the Elder taught the Dhamma,

**tatto<sup>257</sup> Saraṇasīlesu Nāgarājā paṭiṭṭhahi,** [22]  
and truly the Nāga King was established in the Refuges and Precepts,

**tatheva caturāsīti saḥassāni Bhujāṅgamā,**  
and right there and then eighty-four thousand Serpents,<sup>258</sup>

**paṭiṭṭhahimsu Saraṇe Silesu ca lahuṃ lahuṃ.** [23]  
were also very quickly established in the Refuges and Precepts.

**Himavante ca Gandhabbā Yakkhā Kumbhaṇḍakā bahū,**  
In the Himālaya many Gandhabbas, Yakkhas and Kumbhaṇḍakas,

**paṭiṭṭhahitvā Saraṇe Silesu ca lahuṃ lahuṃ,** [24]  
had been very quickly established in the Refuges and Precepts,

**Bhaṇḍako<sup>259</sup> nāma Yakkho tu, saddhim Hāritayakkhiyā,**  
but the Yakkha named Bhaṇḍaka, together with the Yakkhinī Hāritā,

**pañcasatehi puttehi Phalaṃ pāpuṇi ādikāṃ.** [25]  
and their five-hundred children attained (Path and) Fruit and so on.

**Tato Majjhantiko Thero Nāge sabbe avoca so:**  
Then the Elder Majjhantika said this to all the Nāgas:

**“Mā dāni kodhaṃ janayittha ito uddhaṃ yathā pure,** [26]  
“Now do not give rise to anger in the future as in the past,

**sassaghātañ-ca mā kattha, sukhakāmā hi pāṇino.**  
do not destroy the crops, for breathing beings desire happiness.

**Karotha mettaṃ sattesu, vasantu manujā sukhaṃ.”**  
Develop loving-kindness towards beings, let humans live happily.”

**Iti tenānusiṭṭhā te tatheva paṭipajjisum.** [27]  
Like this they were admonished and they followed the path in that place.

**Tato ratanapallaṅke Theram so Uragādhipo**  
**nisīdāpiya, aṭṭhāsi vījamāno tad-antike.** [28]  
Then the Ruler of Snakes, having made the Elder sit down on a jewelled couch,  
stood near by fanning him.

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<sup>257</sup> Mhv: *tato*; and then.

<sup>258</sup> Another term for Nāgas.

<sup>259</sup> Mhv: *Paṇḍako*.

**Tadā Kasmīra-Gandhāre vāsino manujāgatā**

Then the humans residing in Kasmīra-Gandhāra who had come

**Nāgarājassa pūjattham, mantvā Theram mahiddhikam,** [29]

in order to worship the Nāga King, after discussing the Elder of great power,

**Theram-evābhivādetvā, ekam-antam nisīdisum.**

and worshipping the Elder, sat down on one side.

**Tesam Dhammam-adesesi Thero Āsīvisūpamaṃ.** [30]

The Elder taught them the Dhamma about the Simile of the Poisonous Snake.<sup>260</sup>

**Asītiyā sahasānam Dhammābhisamayo ahu,**

For eighty thousand (of them) there was a penetration<sup>261</sup> of the Dhamma,

**satasahasam purisā pabbajum Therasantike.** [31]

and one-hundred thousand men went forth<sup>262</sup> in the presence of the Elder.

**Tato pabhuti Kasmīra-Gandhārā te idāni pi**

Since that time until now those in Kasmīra-Gandhāra

**āsum kāsāvapajjotā,<sup>263</sup> vatthuttayaparāyaṇā.** [32]

are light up with the monastic robe, finding support in the three objects.<sup>264</sup>

[More Missions]  
33-47 = Mhv 29-43

**Gantvā Mahādevatthero, desam Mahisamaṇḍalam,**

The Elder Mahādeva, having gone to the district of Mahisamaṇḍala,

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<sup>260</sup> Probably SN 35. Sut. 238, although there are others that include a relevant simile. An appropriate simile for Nāgas to learn, there four poisonous snakes represent the four elements, which are subject to disintegration.

<sup>261</sup> I.e. they attained Path and Fruit. *Abhisamaya* is the noun regularly used in this connection. Cf. *passim*.

<sup>262</sup> I.e. ordained as monks. Technically *pabbajjā* is the lower ordination, which is normally followed by *upasampadā*. But here and elsewhere in this text it appears to be used as a shorthand to indicate both. It appears from this again, that Majjhantika must have been the leader, and was probably accompanied by at least four other monks, to make up the number required to give the higher ordination.

<sup>263</sup> Mhv: *kāsāya*-.

<sup>264</sup> The three objects of reverence, i.e. the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.

**suttantaṃ Devadūtaṃ so<sup>265</sup> kathesi janam-ajjhago.** [33]  
preached the Discourse on the Divine Messengers<sup>266</sup> in the midst of the people.

**Cattālīśasahassāni<sup>267</sup> Dhammacakkhuṃ visodhayuṃ,**  
Forty thousand (people) purified the Dhamma-Eye,<sup>268</sup>

**cattālīśasahassāni pabbajīṃsu ca santike.**<sup>269</sup> [34]  
and forty thousand (people) went forth in his presence.

\* \* \*

**Gantvāna Rakkhitatthero Vanavāsīṃ, nabhe ṭhito,**  
The Elder Rakkhita, having gone to Vanavāsī, while standing in the sky,

**Samyuttaṃ Anamataggaṃ kathesi janam-ajjhago.** [35]  
preached the Thematic Discourses on the Unknown Beginning<sup>270</sup> in the midst of the people.

**Saṭṭhinarasahassānaṃ Dhammābhisamayo ahu,**  
For sixty-thousand (people) there was a penetration of the Dhamma,

**sattatisahassamattā<sup>271</sup> pabbajīṃsu tad-antike.** [36]  
around thirty-seven thousand went forth in his presence.

**Vihārānaṃ<sup>272</sup> pañcasataṃ tasmīṃ dese patiṭṭhahi,**  
Five hundred monastic dwelling places were established in this district,

**patiṭṭhāpesi tatthevaṃ Thero so Jinasānaṃ.** [37]  
and the Elder established the Dispensation of the Victor<sup>273</sup> in that place.

\* \* \*

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<sup>265</sup> Mhv: *taṃ*.

<sup>266</sup> MN 130. Another simile, this time about the signs of sickness, old age and death, which one heedless ignores.

<sup>267</sup> Text: *Cattālīsa-* here, *Cattālīsa-* below. The text varies, here I have preferred to write *Cattālīsa-* each time.

<sup>268</sup> I.e. they attained path and fruit.

<sup>269</sup> Mhv: *tad-antike*; same meaning.

<sup>270</sup> SN 15. Similes about the extreme length of Saṃsāra.

<sup>271</sup> Mhv: *sattatīśasahassamattā*; same meaning.

<sup>272</sup> Text: *vihārāṇ-ca*, but plural is required.

<sup>273</sup> Another epithet for the Buddha.

**Gantvā 'parantakam Thero Yonako Dhammarakkhito,**  
The Ionian Elder Dhammarakkhita, having gone to Aparantikā,

**Aggikkhandhopamam Suttam kathesi<sup>274</sup> janam-ajjhago,** [38]  
preached the Discourse on the Simile of the Mass of Fire<sup>275</sup> in the midst of the people,

**sattatimsasahassani pāṇe tattha samāgame<sup>276</sup>**  
and thirty-seven thousand breathing beings who had assembled together there

**Dhammāmatam apāyesi Dhammādhamesu kovido.** [39]  
tasted<sup>277</sup> the Deathless Dhamma of the one skilled in what was Dhamma and not Dhamma.

**Purisānam sahassā-ca<sup>278</sup> itthiyo ca tatodhikā**  
A thousand of men and even more women than that

**Khattiyānam kulā yeva, nikkhamitvāna pabbajum.** [40]  
from the Noble families, having renounced (the world), went forth.

\* \* \*

**Mahāraṭṭham Isi gantvā so Mahādhhammarakkhito,**  
The Seer Mahādhhammarakkhita, having gone to Mahāraṭṭha,

**Mahānāradakassapavham Jātakam<sup>279</sup> kathayī tahim.** [41]  
preached the Birth Story called Mahānāradakassapa<sup>280</sup> in that place.

**Maggaphalam pāpuṇimsu caturāsīisahassakā,**  
Eighty-four thousand (people) attained Path and Fruit,

**terasam-tu sahassāni pabbajimsu ca santike.<sup>281</sup>** [42]  
but thirteen thousand (people) went forth in his presence.

\* \* \*

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<sup>274</sup> Mhv: *kathetvā*; having preached.

<sup>275</sup> AN Bk. 7 Sut. 68, on the preference of embracing fire over embracing a woman.

<sup>276</sup> Mhv: *samāgate*; same meaning.

<sup>277</sup> Lit. *drank*.

<sup>278</sup> Mhv: *sahassā ca*.

<sup>279</sup> Text: *Mahānāradakassapajātakam*, which leaves the line short by one syllable. Mhv: *Mahānāradakassapavham Jātakam*.

<sup>280</sup> Jā 544. On Heaven and Hell.

<sup>281</sup> Mhv: *tad-antike*; same meaning.



**Gantvā Yonakavisayam<sup>282</sup> so Mahārakkhito Isi,**

The Seer Mahārakkhita, having gone to the locality of the Ionians,<sup>283</sup>

**Kālakārāmasuttantaṃ kathesi janam-ajjhago, [43]**

preached the Kālakārāma Discourse<sup>284</sup> in the midst of the people,

**pānasatasahassāni sahasāni ca sattati**

and one hundred thousand and seventy thousand breathing beings

**Maggaphalaṃ pāpuṇṇiṃsu, dasasahassāni pabbajum. [44]**

attained Path and Fruit, and ten thousand went forth.

\* \* \*

**Gantvā catūhi Therehi desesi Majjhimo Isi**

The Seer Majjhima, together with four Elders,<sup>285</sup> having gone

**Himavantapadesasmiṃ Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ, [45]**

into the Himālaya district Set Rolling the Dhamma Wheel,<sup>286</sup>

**Maggaphalaṃ pāpuṇṇiṃsu asītipāṇakoṭiyo.**

and eight-hundred million breathing beings attained Path and Fruit.

**Visum te pañca raṭṭhāni pañca Therā pasādayum, [46]**

Separately these five Elders brought faith to five countries,

**purisā satasahassāni ekekasēva santike**

and a hundred thousand men in the presence of each (of the Elders)

**pabbajiṃsu, pasādena Sammāsambuddhasāsane. [47]**

went forth,<sup>287</sup> having faith in the Dispensation of the Perfectly Awakened One.

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<sup>282</sup> Mhv: *Gantvāna Yonavisayam*; same meaning.

<sup>283</sup> This was probably not Ionia itself, but where the Greeks were still stationed on the edge of India, possibly around what is now Pakistan, following the campaigns of Alexandria the Great.

<sup>284</sup> AN Bk. 4 Sut. 24. On the lack of conceit in the Buddha in regard to sense objects.

<sup>285</sup> According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* the companions were named Kassapagotta, Durāsada (= Dundhubhissara in MhvṬ), Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva, though these names are given in different forms elsewhere.

<sup>286</sup> A play on words, the *Dhammacakkappavattana*, which was the First Discourse of the Buddha, is found at SN 56.11.

<sup>287</sup> That means, I believe, a hundred thousand went forth in the presence of each of the Elders.

[Soṇa and Uttara in Suvaṇṇabhūmi]  
48-62 ≠ Mhv 44-55

**Saddhiṃ Uttaratherena Soṇatthero mahiddhiko,**  
The Elder Uttara together with the Elder Soṇa, of great psychic power,

**Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ agamā, tasmīṃ tu samaye pana** [48]  
went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, but at that time

**jāte jāte Rājagehe dārake, ruddarakkhasī,**  
whenever children were born in the King's Palace, a fierce demoness,

**samuddato nikkhamitvā bhakkhayitvāna, gacchati.** [49]  
having left the ocean and eaten (the child), would then depart.

**Tasmīṃ khaṇe Rājagehe jāto hoti kumārako**  
At that moment in the King's Palace a prince was born

**There manussā passivā: 'Rakkhasānaṃ sahāyakā.'**  
and people, having seen the Elders (thought): '(These are) friends of the demons.'

**Iti cintiya māretuṃ sāvudhā<sup>288</sup> upasaṅkamuṃ.** [50]  
Thus thinking to kill them they approached with weapons.

**Disvā āvudhahatthe: "Kiṃ āgacchathā?" ti pucchiya**  
Having seen (them) holding weapons in their hands, he asked: "Why did you come?"

**"Jāte Rājakule te hi dārake rakkhasā bahū** [51]  
**khādanti, tesam tumhe pi rakkhasānaṃ sahāyakā<sup>289</sup>**  
**ahumhā." ti Vutte te Therā āhamsu te nare:** [52]  
"These children born in the Royal family are eaten by many demons, and you are friends with these demons." When this was said, those Elders said this to those people:

**"Samaṇā mayam sīlavantā, paṇavadhādi saññamā,**  
"We are virtuous ascetics, who are restrained from killing breathing beings and so on,

**kalyāṇadhammā asamā, na rakkhasisahāyakā."** [53]  
having unmatched goodness, we are not friends of the demoness."

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<sup>288</sup> Mahāvamsa: *sāyudhā*; same meaning.

<sup>289</sup> Geiger gives a variant verse found in a number of versions which is similar to this verse:  
*Jāte jāte Rājakule dārake khādanti rakkhasā, tumhe tesam sahāyakā Therā te evam-āhu te.*

**Tasmim̐ khaṇe s̐a rakkhas̐i s̐aparis̐āya: “D̐ārake  
Kh̐ādiss̐āmī,” ti turit̐ā nikkhant̐ā hoti s̐āgarā. [54]**

At that moment the demoness said to her assembly: “I will eat the children,” and quickly left from the waters.

**Te disv̐āna, mah̐āravam̐ viraviṃsu mah̐ājanā:**  
Having seen them, the multitude cried out a loud cry:

**“Ayyā pi rakkhas̐ā sabbā āgatā kh̐āditum̐!” iti [55]**  
“The noble<sup>290</sup> demons have come to eat us all!”

**Diguṇe rakkhase Thero māpayitvā bhayānake,**  
The Elder, having created twice as many fearful demons,

**taṃ rakkhasim̐ s̐aparisam̐ parikkhipi samantato. [56]**  
surrounded that demoness and her assembly on all sides.

**Rakkhas̐i paris̐āyo tā passitv̐ā disodisam̐**  
After seeing that (created) demoness’ assembly in all directions

**‘Idam̐ imehi laddhan’-ti mantvā bhītā palāyi s̐ā. [57]**  
and considering: ‘This (land) is (now) theirs’, fearfully she ran away.

**Tassa desassa ārakkham̐ ṭhapetv̐āna samantato**  
Having placed a protection of that district on all sides

**tasmim̐ samāgame Thero Brahmajālam̐ adesayi, [58]**  
the Elder taught the Brahmajāla (Discourse)<sup>291</sup> in that gathering,

**Saraṇesu ca Silesu aṭṭham̐su bahu<sup>292</sup> te janā.**  
and established the multitude in the Refuges and Precepts.

**Saṭṭhiyā tu sahas̐ānam̐ Dhammābhisamayo ahu, [59]**  
But for sixty thousand there was a penetration of the Dhamma,

**aḍḍhuḍḍhāni sahas̐āni pabbajum̐ kuladārakā.**  
and three and a half thousand sons of good families went forth.

**Pabbajimsu diyadḍham̐ tu sahas̐am̐ kuladhītaro. [60]**  
But one and half thousand daughters of good families (also) went forth.

**Tato pabhuti sañjāte Rājagehe kumārake**  
Since that time when a prince was born in the King’s Palace

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<sup>290</sup> A strange epithet to use here.

<sup>291</sup> DN 1.

<sup>292</sup> For *bahū* m.c. to fit the cadence. Mhv: *bahavo*.

**nāmaṃ karīṃsu Rājāno Soṇuttarasanāmake.** [61]  
the Kings gave them the names of Soṇa and Uttara.

**Mahādayassāpi Jinassa, kaḍḍhanam**  
The very sympathetic Victor, gave up and

**vihāya pattaṃ Amataṃ sukhaṃ pi te,**  
renounced attainment of the Deathless happiness for himself,

**karīṃsu lokassa hitaṃ tahiṃ tahiṃ.**  
and sought<sup>293</sup> the benefit of the world here and there.

**Bhaveyya ko lokahite pamādavā? ti** [62]  
Who would be heedless in benefiting the world?

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate*  
*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsa Nānādesappasādo nāma Dvādasamo Paricchedo*  
*The Twelfth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Faith in Various Districts*

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<sup>293</sup> *Karīṃsu* is plural, which doesn't fit with the subject.

### [XIII. Mahinda's Journey]

#### [Mahindāgamaṇo]

1-29 ≠ Mhv 1-21

[To Vedisa]

1-8 ≠ Mhv 1-8

**Mahāmahindathero so, tadā dvādasavassiko,**  
Then the Great Elder Mahinda, having twelve Rains,<sup>294</sup>

**upajjhāyena āṇatto Saṅghena ca mahāmatī** [1]  
being of great intelligence, ordered by his preceptor and the Community

**Laṅkādīpaṃ pasādetuṃ, kālaṃ pekkhaṃ vicintayi:**  
to bring faith to the Island of Laṅkā, having sought the right time, thought:

**‘Vuddho Muṭasivo Rājā, na sakkā Sāsanapaggahaṃ,**<sup>295</sup> [2]  
‘King Muṭasiva is old, he is unable to uphold the Dispensation,

**tanayo Piyatisso ca Rājā ca abhaviṣṣa so**  
if his son Piyatissa were to become King

**so sakkā paggahaṃ kātuṃ Sāsanassa ca Satthuno,**  
he would be able to uphold the Dispensation of the Teacher,

**na hi so samayo patto na gacchissāmi Dīpakam.’** [3]  
therefore the time has not arrived when I will go to the Isle.’

**Tad-antare Mahindo so, daḷhaṃ katvāna mānasam,**  
In the meantime Mahinda, having resolved his mind (to go later),

**passituṃ nātisaṅghañ-ca Dakkhiṇāgiriyaṃ varam,** [4]  
in order to see his relatives (went) to the noble Dakkhiṇāgiri,<sup>296</sup>

**upajjhāyañ-ca Saṅghañ-ca vanditvāpuccha Bhūpatim**  
and after worshipping his preceptor and Community, he asked the Lord of the Earth<sup>297</sup>

**ādāya caturo There, Saṅghamittāya atrajaṃ,** [5]  
and took with him four Elders, and (his sister) Saṅghamittā's son,

<sup>294</sup> In the monastic life seniority is counted by the number of Rains Retreats one has completed. At twelve Rains Mahinda would be an Elder, although still quite a young monk.

<sup>295</sup> This line has an extra syllable.

<sup>296</sup> It was a state (*janapada*) situated more or less where Madhya Pradesh is now, having Ujjainī (modern Ujjain) as capital.

<sup>297</sup> King Asoka, his Father.

**Sumanam sāmaṇerañ-ca, chaḷabhiññam mahiddhikam.**  
the novice Sumana, who had the six deep knowledges and great power.

**Ñātīnam saṅgaham kātum agamā Dakkhiṇāgirim** [6]  
To give favour to his relatives he went to Dakkhiṇāgiri

**tathā tattha<sup>298</sup> carantassa cha māsā samatikkamū.**  
and while walking from one place to the other six months passed by.

**Kamena Vedisagirinagaram Mātudeviyā** [7]  
**sampatto Mātaram passi, Devī disvā Piyam sutam,**  
Having by and by reached his Mother Devī's city Vedisagiri he saw his Mother, and  
Devī, having seen her dear son,

**bhojayitvā sapisam attanā, yeva kāritam**  
and prepared food for him and his assembly, made

**vihāram Vedisagirim Theram ārocayī<sup>299</sup> subham.** [8]  
the lovely monastery (called) Vedisagiri, and announced it to the Elder.

[Asoka's Children in Avanti]  
9-13 ≠ Mhv 9-11

**Avantiraṭṭham bhuñjanto,<sup>300</sup> Pitarā dinnam-attano,**  
While he was enjoying the country of Avanti, which was given to him by his  
Father,

**so Asokakumāro pi, Ujjenigamanā purā,** [9]  
Prince Asoka, on his journey to the city of Ujjenī,

**Vedisanagaram patvā, vasati ca pure vare,**  
after arriving at the city of Vedisa, dwelling in that noble city,

**Devim nāma labhitvāna kumārim, seṭṭhidhītaram,** [10]  
and receiving a girl named Devī, a merchant's daughter,

**gahī subham abhirūpaṃ Vedisanagare vare,**  
took ahold of that lovely and handsome (girl) in the noble city of Vedisa,

**samvāsam tāya kappesi, gabbham gaṇhiya tena sā.** [11]  
became intimate with her, and through him she conceived<sup>301</sup> a child.

**Ujjeniyam kumāram tam Mahindam janayī sutam,**<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Mhv: *tassa*.

<sup>299</sup> Mhv: *āropayī*; (*the Elder*) got ready.

<sup>300</sup> This section is evidently either an interpolation to explain the genealogy of Mahinda and Saṅghamitta, or is at least out of position, as the events should properly have been stated first.

<sup>301</sup> Lit: *an embryo took hold*.

In Ujjenī she gave birth to a son, prince Mahinda,

**vassadvayaṃ atikkamma Saṅghamittaṅ-ca dhītaraṃ,** [12]  
and after two years had passed also to a daughter Saṅghamittā,<sup>303</sup>

**putte cuddasavasse, so abhisekaṃ apāpuṇi.**  
and fourteen years after his child, he attained his consecration.

**Tasmiṃ kāle vasati sā Vedisanagare tadā.**<sup>304</sup> [13]  
Then at that time she<sup>305</sup> dwelt in the city of Vedisa.

**[Determining the Time]**  
**14-21 ≠ Mhv 12-17**

**Thero tattha nisīditvā: ‘Kālaññū’ iti, cintayi,**  
Then the Elder, after residing there, thinking: ‘This is the right time,’

**‘Pitarā me samāṇattaṃ abhisekam-ahussavaṃ** [14]  
and ‘(in) the consecration festival which is ordered by my Father

**Devānaṃpiyatisso so Mahārājānubhotu ca,**  
the Great King Devānaṃpiyatissa will partake,<sup>306</sup>

**Vatthuttayaguṇe cāpi sutvā jānātu dūtato.** [15]  
and having heard about the virtues of the Three Objects from the envoy may he understand.

**Ārohatu Missakanagaṃ Jeṭṭhamāsassuposathe**  
May he ascend mount Missaka on the Observance day<sup>307</sup> in the month of Jeṭṭha,<sup>308</sup>

**tadahe va gamissāma Laṅkāḍīpavaraṃ mayaṃ.** [16]  
(and) we will go on the same day to the noble Island of Laṅkā.’

**Tasmiṃ khaṇe ca devindo āgamma Therasantikāṃ**  
At that time the lord of the gods came into the presence of the Elder

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<sup>302</sup> Mhv: *subhaṃ*; (to a) beautiful (son).

<sup>303</sup> It is clear from this that Devī was more of a courtesan, and not the main Queen (*Aggamahesī*), who is named elsewhere in the Chronicle (5.85) as Asandhimittā; the latter died quite early and Asoka then raised Tissarakkhā to Queen, see XX v.6 below.

<sup>304</sup> Mhv: *Vedise nagare tahiṃ*.

<sup>305</sup> Presumably referring to Devī.

<sup>306</sup> Although he partook in the coronation, it appears he did so without attending, probably simply by sending tribute and good wishes.

<sup>307</sup> That is on the Full Moon day, the fast days are observed on the New Moon and Full Moon days.

<sup>308</sup> The month after Visakhā, normally falling in June.

### XIII. Mahinda's Journey - 71

**avoca iti Sakko taṃ Mahindattheram-uttamaṃ:** [17]  
and Sakka said this to the Great and Supreme Elder Mahinda:

**“Bhante, Muṭṭasivo Rājā kālakato idāni pi**  
“Venerable Sir, now the King Muṭṭasiva has died

**Devānampiyatisso tu putto rajjaṃ akārayi,** [18]  
and his son Devānampiyatissa<sup>309</sup> is making his rule,

**tasmā hi Bhante, kāloyaṃ gamanatthāya Dīpakaṃ,**  
therefore, venerable Sir, this is the right time to go to the Isle,

**yāhi Laṅkaṃ pasādetuṃ, Sambuddhenāpi vyākato,** [19]  
go to bring faith to Laṅkā, as predicted by the Perfectly Awakened One,

**mayāṃ pi tatthupatthambhā bhavissāmā,” ti abravi.**  
and we will provide the support (for you) there,” he said.

**Deviyā bhaginī dhītu putto Bhaṇḍukanāmake,** [20]  
Devī's sister's daughter's son,<sup>310</sup> Bhaṇḍuka by name,

**Therena Deviyā Dhammaṃ sutvā desitam-eva tu**  
having heard the Dhamma preached by the Elder to Devī

**Anāgāmiṭṭhalaṃ patvā, vasi Therassa santike.** [21]  
and attained the Fruit of Non-Returner, dwelt in the presence of the Elder.

#### [Arrival in Laṅkā] 22-29 ≠ Mhv 18-21

**Vedisanagare ramme vasitvā tiṃsa rattiyo:**  
After dwelling in the delightful city of Vedisa for thirty nights, thinking:

**“Kāloyaṃ gamanassā,” ti “Gacchāma Dīpam-uttamaṃ,”** [22]  
“This is the right time for the journey”, (he said): “We will go (now) to the supreme Island,”

**mantetvāna Mahindo so Jeṭṭhamāsassuposathe**  
and the Elder Mahinda, having advised (them thus) on the Observance day in the month of Jeṭṭha

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<sup>309</sup> The name means: Tissa, Beloved of the Gods.

<sup>310</sup> I.e. Devī's grand-nephew.



**Thero catūhi Therehi Sumanenāpi Bhaṇḍunā** [23]  
with the four Elders, Sumana and Bhaṇḍu<sup>311</sup>

**saddhiṃ tena gahaṭṭhena naratāñattihetunā,**  
the householder, by knowing their human state,<sup>312</sup>

**paṭipāṭiyā vihārā uggantvāna nabhe tale** [24]  
having risen in succession from the monastery into the sky

**sobhamānā ca te Therā haṃsarājā va ambare,**  
those Elders, shining like kings of geese in the sky,

**khaṇeneva idhāgamma pabbate meghasannibhe** [25]  
**aṭṭhaṃsu tattha kūṭamhi ramme Missakapabbate.**  
in an instant came here and stood resembling clouds on the mountain there on the top of the delightful mount Missaka.

**Ṭhitā hutvā girikūṭaṃ haṃsā va, nagamuddhani** [26]  
**Mahindo nāma nāmena Saṅghatthero tadā ahu,**  
Having stood like geese on the mountain peak, there were on the top of the mountain the Community Elder known by the name of Mahinda,

**Iṭṭhiyo Uttiyo Therā Bhaddasālo ca Sambalo** [27]  
the Elders Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla and Sambala

**sāmaṇero ca Sumano, chaḷabhiñño mahiddhiko,**  
and the novice Sumana, who had the six deep knowledges and great power,

**kumāro Bhaṇḍuko ceva diṭṭha-Sacco ca sattamo.**  
and the young man Bhaṇḍuka, these seven who had seen the Truth.

**Iti hete Mahātherā Laṅkāḍīpappasādakā.** [28]  
Thus these Great Elders lit up the Island of Laṅkā.

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<sup>311</sup> The young man is sometimes called Bhaṇḍu in the narrative, and at others Bhaṇḍuka. Both would mean *shaven-headed*.

<sup>312</sup> I do not understand the text here, but MhvṬ doesn't see a problem and paraphrases: *manussabhāvajānanāya*.

**Laṅkāpasādaguṇena viyākato so,  
Laṅkāhitāya, Muninā sayitena ante, [29]**

As predicted by the Sage on his last resting place,<sup>313</sup> for the benefit of Laṅkā,  
through the virtue of the faith of Laṅkā,

**Laṅkāya Satthusadiso hitahetu tassā,**  
he who, through being of benefit to Laṅkā, was like the Teacher,<sup>314</sup>

**Laṅkāmarūhi mahitobhiniṣīdi tathā ti.**  
through the protective gods of Laṅkā came to reside there.

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate*

*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsē Mahindāgamano nāma Terasamo Paricchedo*

*The Thirteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Mahinda's Journey*

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<sup>313</sup> I.e. the Buddha on his death bed in Kusināra.

<sup>314</sup> I.e. Mahinda.

[XIV. Entry into the City]  
[Nagarappavesano]

1-80 ≠ Mhv 1-65

[The Meeting]

1-15 ≠ Mhv 1-10

**Sambuddhaparinibbānā dvinnam vassasatopari**

Over two hundred years after the Emancipation of the Perfectly Awakened One

**tasmim Dīpe Sāsanassa Mahindo so thapīyate** [01]

Mahinda established the Dispensation in this Island

**tasmīn-ca divase patto nakkhatto Jeṭṭhamūlako.**

on the very day the root of the constellation of Jeṭṭha was reached.

**Ahosi tasmim nagare Rājā ghosāpayissate,**

The King had it proclaimed there in the city,

**amacce<sup>315</sup> sannipātetvā: “Chaṇam ghosetha vo.” iti** [02]

after assembling his ministers (saying): “Please proclaim a festival for us.”

**Devānampiyatisso so Rājā salilakīḷitam**

King Devānampiyatissa, having given a water-sport

**datvā nagaravāsīnam, migavam kīḷitum agā.** [03]

for the city-dwellers, went for the sport of deer-hunting.

**Cattālīsasahashehi narehi parivārito,**

Surrounded by forty-thousand of his men,

**dhāvanto padasā yeva, agamā Missakam nagam.** [04]

while running on foot, he came to mount Missaka.

**There dassetum-icchanto devo tasmim mahīdhare,**

The god of the mountain, wishing to show (him) the Elders in that place,

**tiṇam khādayamāno<sup>316</sup> va āsi<sup>317</sup> gokanṇarūpavā.** [05]

took a form like an elk grazing in the thicket.

<sup>315</sup> Text: *Amacce*; printer's error.

<sup>316</sup> Mahāvamsa: *Gumbam bhakkhayamāno*; grazing in the thicket.

<sup>317</sup> Mhv: *aṭṭhā*.

**Rājā disvā: ‘Pamattam taṃ na yuttam vijjhitum,’ iti**

The King, having seen (him), thinking: ‘It is not proper to shoot one who is heedless,’

**jiyam poṭhesi tasmim, so dhāvi ‘mbatthala-m-aggato,**

therefore struck his bow-string, and (the elk) ran to the top of Ambatthala,<sup>318</sup>

**piṭṭhito anubandhanto Ambalattābhirihi<sup>319</sup> so. [06]**

and pursuing from behind he (also) ascended the Ambatthala.

**Rājānudhāvi so dhāvam, Therānam santikam gato,**

The King chased along, and he ran within the presence of the Elders,

**avidūrehi Therehi sayam antaradhāyati. [07]**

and with the Elders not so distant (the elk) himself vanished.

**Thero ‘Bahusu diṭṭhesu atibhāyissatī,’ ti so**

The Elder, thinking: ‘In seeing many (people) he will be very fearful,’

**‘Itare pi mamaṃ yeva Rājā mā passatū<sup>320</sup> jane,’**

(determined): ‘Let the King see no other people than myself,’

**adhiṭṭhahitvā, attānam dassesi samanantare. [08]**

and having made the resolution, he showed himself immediately.

**Rājānam āgataṃ disvā, Mahindo dūratogato,**

Having seen the King come, Mahinda came from afar,

**“Tissa, Tissa, ito ehi!” iti Thero avoca so. [09]**

and the Elder said: “Tissa, Tissa, come hence!”

**‘Tisso’ ti vacanam sutvā, bhīto Rājā vicintayi:**

Having heard the word ‘Tissa’ the fearful King reflected:

**‘Koci Tisso ti nāmena Dīpe jāto naro idha, [10]**

**gahetvā lapitum nāmaṃ samattho pi na vijjati,**

Here in this island there is no man born, who, having taken (it), is able to speak my name Tissa,

**muṇḍako pana ekoyam chinnabhinnapaṇandharo, [11]**

but this solitary shaveling, wearing his patchwork robe,

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<sup>318</sup> A plain in front of the Missika mountain, it means: Mango Plain, and perhaps gets its name from the discussion that follows.

<sup>319</sup> Text: *Ambalattābhirihi*; printer's error.

<sup>320</sup> Text: *passatu*, against the cadence.

**paṇḍukāsāvavasano, Tissanāmena avhayi.**  
a cloth died with yellow dye, called (me) by name Tissa.

**Nu kho ayam pi kim: hoti manusso amanussako?** [12]  
What is this: a human being or a non-human being?

**Tam-attham cintitam Rañña Thero ñatvā tam-abravi:**  
After understanding the sense of the King's thoughts, the Elder said this:

**“Samaṇā mayam, Mahārāja, Dhammarājassa sāvakā.**  
“We are ascetics, Great King, disciples of the King of the Dhamma.

**Taveva anukampāya, Jambudīpā idhāgatā.”** [13]  
Having compassion on you, we have come here from the Rose-Apple Island.”

**Therassa vacanam sutvā, so vigatabhaya ahu,**  
Having heard this statement of the Elder, he was without fear,

**sarivā sakhisandesam: ‘Samāṇo’ iti nicchito.** [14]  
and remembering his friend's<sup>321</sup> message he considered: ‘(He is) an ascetic’.

**Dhanum sarañ-ca nikkhippa upasaṅkamma tam Isim,**  
Having put aside his bow and arrow he approached the Seer,

**sammodamāno Therena so nisīdi tad-antike.** [15]  
and, greeting the Elder, he sat down in his presence.

**[The Questions]**  
**16-28 ≠ Mhv 11-23**

**Tadā tassa manussā te āgamma parivārayum**  
Then the men who had come with him surrounded them

**tadā sese pi dassesi Mahāthere<sup>322</sup> sahāyate.** [16]  
and he showed the rest of his friends, the Great Elders.

**Te pi disvā, ’bravī Rājā: “Kadāme āgatā?” iti**  
After seeing them, the King said: “When did these come?”

**“Mayā saddhin,”-ti Therena vutte, pucchi idam puna:** [17]  
“(They came) with me,” said the Elder, and again (the King) asked this:

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<sup>321</sup> Presumably meaning Asoka.

<sup>322</sup> Mhv: *Mahāthero*; it would then mean: *The Great Elder then showed his friends.*

**“Santi īdisakā aññe Jambudīpe<sup>323</sup> yatī?” iti**

“Are there other strivers like these in the Rose-Apple Island?”

**Āha: “Kāsāvapajjoto Jambudīpo, tahiṃ pana [18]**

He said: “The Rose-Apple Island shines with the dyed robe, moreover, in that place

**Tevijjā iddhippattā ca, cetopariyakovidā,**

there are those with the Three Knowledges, psychic powers, skill in mind-reading,

**Dibbasotā<sup>324</sup> Arahantā, bahū Buddhassa sāvakā”.** [19]

Worthy Ones with Divine Hearing, and many disciples of the Awakened One.”

**Pucchi: “Kenāgatathā?” ti, “Na thalena na vārinā**

He asked: “By what means did you come?” “Neither by land nor by water

**āgatambā” ti vutto, so vijāni: ‘Nabhasāgamaṃ.’ [20]**

did we come,” he said, so he understood: “They came through the air.”

**Vīmaṃsaṃ so Mahāpañño paññaṃ pañhe<sup>325</sup> apucchi taṃ,**

Enquiring, the One with Great Wisdom asked him a wisdom question,

**puṭṭho puṭṭho viyākāsi taṃ taṃ pañhaṃ Mahīpati: [21]**

and one question after another the Lord of the World answered in this way and that:

**“Rukkhoyaṃ Rāja kin-nāmo?” “Ambo nāma ayaṃ taru.”**

“This tree, King, what is its name?” “The name of this tree is mango.”

**“Imaṃ muñciya aññambo?”<sup>326</sup> “Santi Ambatarū bahū.” [22]**

“Aside from this, are there other mangoes?” “There are many mango trees.”

**“Imañ-ca ambaṃ te ambe muñciyatthi mahīruhā?”**

“Aside from this mango and those mangoes, are there (other) trees?”

**“Santi Bhante bahū<sup>327</sup> rukkhā, anambā pana te tarū.” [23]**

“Venerable Sir, there are many other trees, and those trees are not mangoes.”

**“Aññe ambe anambe ca muñciyatthi mahīruhā?”**

“Aside from (those) mangoes and (those) not mangoes, are there (other) trees?”

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<sup>323</sup> Text: *Jambudīpē*, printer's error.

<sup>324</sup> Mhv inserts *ca*.

<sup>325</sup> Mhv: *saṃhaṃ pañhaṃ*; a subtle question.

<sup>326</sup> Mhv: *atthambo*.

<sup>327</sup> Text: *bahu*; against the metre.

**“Ayaṃ Bhadantambarukkho,”**<sup>328</sup> **“Paṇḍitosi Narissara!** [24]  
“(There is) this mango tree, venerable Sir,” “Lord of Men, you are wise!

**Santi te ñātakā Rāja?”** **“Santi Bhante bahū janā,”**  
Do you have relatives, King?” “There are many people, venerable Sir,”

**“Santi aññātakā Rāja?”** **“Santi aññātakā”**<sup>329</sup> **bahū,”** [25]  
“Are there (others) who are not relatives, King?” “There are many who are not relatives,”

**“Ñātake te ca aññe ca muñciyañño pi atthi nu?”**  
“Aside from these and the others, is there anyone else?”

**“Aham-eva bhaveyyāmi,”** **“Sādhu, sādhu”** ti so **‘bravi,** [26]  
“There would be myself,” “(It is) good, good!” he said.

**‘Paṇḍito’ ti vidityāna, Cūḷahatthipadopamaṃ**  
**Suttantaṃ desayī Thero, Mahīpassa**<sup>330</sup> **mahāmatī.** [27]  
Having understood: ‘He is wise,’ the Elder taught the very wise Lord of the World the Short Discourse on the Simile of the Elephant’s Foot.<sup>331</sup>

**Desanāpariyosāne, saddhim tehi narehi so**  
**cattālīsasahashehi Saraṇesu paṭiṭṭhahi.** [28]  
At the end of the Teaching, together with forty-thousand of his men, he established him in the Refuges (and Precepts).

### [Ordination and Teaching] 29-50 ≠ Mhv 24-41

**Bhattābhīhāraṃ sāyaṇhe Rañño abhiharuṃ, tadā**  
In the evening an offering of food was brought to the King, then

**Suttantaṃ hi suṇitvā so Mahindeneva bhāsitaṃ,** [29]  
after hearing the Discourse that was spoken by Mahinda,

**‘Na bhuñjissanti dāni me’**<sup>332</sup> **iti jānaṃ tu Bhūpati,**  
although the Lord of the Earth knew: ‘They will not eat now’,

**‘Apucchitvāna bhuñjissam ayuttaṃ,’** iti cintayi, [30]  
thinking: ‘It is not suitable to eat without having asked,’

<sup>328</sup> Mhv: *Bhante, ambarukkho*; same meaning.

<sup>329</sup> Mhv: *te ñātito*.

<sup>330</sup> For *Mahīpatissa*? Or parallel to the form *Bhūmipa* at 35 below?

<sup>331</sup> MN 27. About others who come to refute the teaching of the Buddha, but end up as his disciples; and the gradual Path leading to Awakening

<sup>332</sup> Mhv: *'me dāni*; which gives the pathyā cadence.

**‘Pucchituṃ yeva vaṭṭati,’<sup>333</sup> bhattenāpucchi te Isī,**  
(and:) ‘It is right to ask,’ he invited the Seers to the meal,

**“Paribhuñjatha kiṃ, Bhante?” “Na bhuñjāma idāni pi.”** [31]  
saying: “What will you eat, venerable Sir?” “We do not eat now.”

**Iti vutte tu so Rājā: “Kiṃ kālaṃ?” anupucchati,**  
When this was said the King inquired: “What is the right time?”

**“Aruṇato va paṭṭhāya yāva majjhantikā.” iti** [32]  
“Starting from dawn up and till the middle of the day.”

**Kāle vutte ’bravi evaṃ, “Gacchāma nagaraṃ.” iti**  
When the right time was told, he spoke thus: “We will go to the city.”

**“Tuvaṃ gaccha Mahārāja vasissāma mayaṃ idha.”** [2633  
“You go, Great King, we will take up residence here.”

**“Evaṃ sati kumāroyaṃ amhehi saha gacchatu.”**  
“If that is so, let this young man go with us.”

**“Ayaṃ hi āgata-Phalo Rāja viññāta-Sāsano,** [34]  
“This (young man) has come to (Path and) Fruit,<sup>334</sup> King, understood the Dispensation,

**apekkhamāno pabbajjāṃ, vasatamhāka santike,**  
and is seeking the going-forth, (therefore) he must dwell in our presence,

**idāni pabbājessāma imaṃ, tvaṃ gaccha Bhūmipa.”** [35]  
we will give him the going-forth now, (but) you can go, Lord of the Earth.”<sup>335</sup>

**“Pāto rathaṃ pesayissaṃ tumhe tattha ṭhitā puram**  
\* “In the morning I will send a chariot, standing in that you

**yāthā,” ti There<sup>336</sup> vanditvā, Bhaṇḍuṃ netvekam-antikam** [36]  
can proceed to the city,” and after worshipping the Elders, he led Bhaṇḍu to one side

**pucchi Therādhikāraṃ so, Rañño sabbam abhāsi so:**  
and asked what the Elder referred to, and he told the King all:

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<sup>333</sup> Mhv: *yuttan-ti*; *is it suitable (to ask)*.

<sup>334</sup> As stated above in 13.21 he had attained the third Path and Fruit.

<sup>335</sup> *Bhūmipa*, which I can't find listed anywhere, is presumably for *Bhūmipati*.

<sup>336</sup> Text: *here*, by ellipsis.



**“Deva! Pañca ime bhikkhū khīṇāsavā bhavissare,** [37]  
“God-King! These five monks have destroyed the pollutants,

**Mahātherā mahāpaññā, pabhinnapaṭisambhidā.”**  
(they are) Great Elders of great wisdom, who have developed analytic knowledge.”<sup>337</sup>

**‘Therā laddhā,’ ti tussitvā, ‘Labhā me’ iti cintayi.** [38]  
After rejoicing: ‘The Elders have been received,’ he thought: ‘This is a gain for me.’

**Bhaṇḍussa gihbhāvena gatāsaṅko Narissaro,**  
Because of Bhaṇḍu’s lay appearance the Lord of Men lost his fear,<sup>338</sup>

**aññāsi narabhāvaṃ so. “Pabbājema imaṃ,” iti** [39]  
knowing he had the nature of a man. Saying: “We will let him go forth,”

**Thero, taṃ gāmasīmāyaṃ, tasmim̐ yeva khaṇe,**<sup>339</sup> **akā**  
the Elder, in that village boundary, at that very instant, gave

**Bhaṇḍukassa kumārassa pabbajjāṃ upasampadam,** [40]  
to the young man Bhaṇḍuka the going-forth and the higher ordination,

**Tasmim̐ yeva khaṇe so ca Arahattaṃ apāpuṇi.**  
and at that very instant he also attained Worthiness.

**Sumanāṃ sāmaṇeraṃ taṃ Thero āmantayī tato:** [41]  
Then the Elder addressed the novice Sumana:

**“Dhammassavanakālo tvaṃ ghosāpehi idāni pi.”**<sup>340</sup>  
“Please announce the time for listening to the Dhamma now.”

**“Sāvento kittakam̐ ṭhānaṃ Bhante ghosemaham̐?” iti** [42]  
“When sounding it, venerable Sir, how far shall I announce it?”

**“Sakalam̐ Tambapaṇṇim̐,” ti vutte: “Sādhū!” ti āha so.**  
“(Over) the whole of Copper-Dust (Island),”<sup>341</sup> and when this was said, he said: “(It is) good!”

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<sup>337</sup> It means the four branches of analytical knowledge: *attha-*, *dhamma-*, *nirutti-* & *paṭibhāna-* *paṭisambhidā*; *analytic knowledge of meanings, conditions, language and of improvisation.*

<sup>338</sup> Although he is said to have already lost his fear above (v. 14), on learning they had come out of compassion.

<sup>339</sup> Mhv: *gaṇe*; *in that very group.*

<sup>340</sup> Mhv: *ghosehi*” *apucchi so*; *requested him: announce...*

<sup>341</sup> DPPN: *the name given to that district in Ceylon where Vijaya landed after leaving Suppāraka (Mhv.vi.47; Dpv.ix.30). It is said to have been so called because when Vijaya's followers, having disembarked from the ship, sat down there, wearied, resting their hands on the ground, they found them coloured by the red dust that lay there.*

**Sāmaṇero samāpajji catutthajjhānapādakam** [43]  
The novice attained a basis in the four absorptions<sup>342</sup>

**adhiṭṭhahitvā vuṭṭhāya, tikkhattum sakam-iddhiyā**  
and after making a resolution and rising from it, three times through his own  
psychic power

**sāvento sakalam Laṅkam, Dhammakālam aghosayi.** [44]  
he sounded it through the whole of Laṅkā, announcing the time for the Dhamma  
(Teaching).

**Rājā Nāgacatukke so soṇḍipasse nisīdiya**  
The King, who was sitting on the side of the Four Nāgas tank

**bhuñjanto, tam ravam sutvā, amacce te apesayi.**  
eating, after hearing that roar, sent his ministers to them.

**Gantvāna turitā sabbe vanditvā**<sup>343</sup> **te apucchisum:** [45]  
Having quickly gone and worshipped them all, they asked:

**“Upaddavo nu atthī?” ti Āha: “Natthi upaddavo,**  
“Is there some danger?” He said: “There is no danger,

**sotum Sambuddhavadanā kālo ghosāpito.”** iti [46]  
the time was being announced to hear the Perfectly Awakened One’s words.”

**Sāmaṇeraravam sutvā, Bhumkā devā aghosayum,**  
Having heard the roar of the novice, the Earth-Gods announced (it too),

**evam kamena so saddo Brahmalo kam samāruhi.** [47]  
and in succession the sound thus rose up to the Brahmā world.

**Tena ghosena devānam sannipāto mahā ahu**  
With the announcement a great many gods assembled

**Samacittasuttam desesi Thero tasmim samāgame.** [48]  
and the Elder taught the Discourse on the Peaceful Mind<sup>344</sup> in that assembly.

**Asaṅkhiyānam devānam Dhammābhisamayo ahu**  
An innumerable number of gods penetrated the Dhamma

**bahū Nāgā Supaṇṇā ca Saraṇesu paṭiṭṭhahum.** [49]  
and many Nāgas and Supaṇṇas were established in the Refuges.

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<sup>342</sup> The four absorptions (*jhāna*) give one the strength of mind to effect psychic powers.

<sup>343</sup> Text: *vaṇḍitvā*; printer's error.

<sup>344</sup> AN Bk. 2, Sut. 31. On gratitude.

**Yathedaṃ Sāriputtassa Suttam Therassa bhāsato**  
Just as when the Elder Sāriputta spoke this Discourse

**asaṅkhiyānaṃ devānaṃ Dhammābhisamayo ahu,**  
an innumerable number of the gods penetrated the Dhamma,

**tathā Mahindatherassa ahu devasamāgamo.** [50]  
so did the gods who assembled around the Elder Mahinda.

**[Entering the Town]**  
**51-80 ≠ Mhv 42-65**

**Rājā pabhāte, pesetvā ratham yojesi sārathim,**  
At daybreak the King, having sent the driver, yoked the chariot,

**“Nayanatthāya te There gaccha tvaṃ Missakaṃ lahuṃ.”** [51]  
and said: “In order to lead those Elders (here) go quickly to (mount) Missaka.”

**Rathañ-ca yojayitvā so pājetvā Missakaṃ nagam**  
**ekam-ante ṭhapetvā, taṃ vanditvā Theram-uttamaṃ,**  
After yoking and driving the chariot and putting it aside at mount Missaka, and  
having worshipped the Supreme Elder,

**“Arohatha ratham, yāma nagaram” iti te ’bravi.** [52]  
he said to them: “Mount the chariot, and let us go to the city.”

**“Nārohāma ratham, gaccha gacchāma tava pacchato.”**  
“We do not mount chariots, you go and we will follow after you.”

**Iti vatvāna pesetvā sārathim sumanorathā,** [53]  
After saying this and sending the driver away with good wishes,<sup>345</sup>

**vehāsam abhugantvā, te nagarassa puratthato,**  
and ascending into the sky, at the east of the city,

**Paṭhamatthūpaṭhānamhi, otarimsu mahiddhikā.** [54]  
on the place of the First Shrine, the ones with great power descended.

**Therehi paṭhamotiṇṇaṭhānamhi, kata-Cetiyam,**  
On that place where the Elders first crossed over, a Shrine was made,

**ajjāpi vuccate, tena evaṃ Paṭhamacetiyam.** [55]  
so it is said today, and therefore it is (called) the First Shrine.

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<sup>345</sup> Geiger misinterprets this, even parsing the compound wrongly. It should be *su, good + manoratha, wishes*, not *ratha + sumanas*.

**Sāraṭhiṃ pahinitvāna, Rājā kāresi maṇḍapaṃ**

Having dismissed<sup>346</sup> the driver, the King had a pavilion made

**antonivesane yeva vitānaṃ samalaṅkataṃ.** [56]

in the inner residence having a decorated canopy.<sup>347</sup>

**Rañña Theraguṇe<sup>348</sup> sutvā, sabbā<sup>349</sup> antepuritthiyo**

Having heard from the King of the Elders' virtues, all the women in the harem

**Theradassanam-icchimsu, yasmā tasmā Mahīpati** [57]

desired to see the Elders, therefore the Lord of the World

**anto va Rājavatthussa rammaṃ kāresi maṇḍapaṃ,**

had a delightful pavilion made inside the Royal Grounds,

**sethehi pupphavatthehi chāditaṃ samalaṅkataṃ.** [58]

covered and decorated with white cloth and flowers.

**Uccāseyyāviraṃaṇaṃ sutattā Therasantike**

Having heard in the presence of the Elder that they had given up using high seats

**kaṅkhi: 'Uccāsane Thero nisīdeyya nu no?' ti ca** [59]

he had a doubt: 'Can the Elder sit down on a high seat or not?'

**Tassetāṃ cintayantassa sārathī, dvāram-āgato**

The driver, who was thinking about this, went to the door

**Pathamacetiyaṭṭhāne, disvā There tahiṃ ṭhite,** [60]

of the First Shrine, and having seen the Elders standing in that place,

**cīvaraṃ pārūpante te, ativimhitamānaso,**

and putting on their robes, was greatly surprised in mind,

**gantvā nivedayi<sup>350</sup> Rañño: "Āgatā Deva te" iti.** [61]

and after going to the King announced: "They are coming, God-King."

**Pucchitvā sārathīṃ Rājā: "Bhaṇe, Therā rathe ṭhitā**

The King, after questioning the driver, (said): "Look here, did the Elders stand in the chariot

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<sup>346</sup> Dictionaries: *pahiṇāti*, with retroflex *ṇ*. Printer's error?

<sup>347</sup> These two additional lines seem to only repeat what is said in verse 58 below, and one wonders whether they were meant to replace them?

<sup>348</sup> Mhv: *Theraguṇaṃ*.

<sup>349</sup> Mhv: *Rañño*; *in the King's (harem)*.

<sup>350</sup> Giving an unusual *savipulā*, we would expect a reading *nivadayī*, to give the *pathyā* cadence.

**udāhu padasā sabbe āgatā kiṃ puram?” iti** [62]  
or did they all come to the city on foot?”

**“Nāruhyiṃsu ratham, Deva, api ca mama pacchato**  
“They did not mount the chariot, God-King, but following me

**idāni ‘pācinadvāre purato te pi āgamuṃ.”** [63]  
they came and are now in front of the western door.”

**Sutvā: “Idāni Ayyā me pīṭhakesu na icchisuṃ,**  
**susādhu bhummattharaṇaṃ paññāpethā,” ti bhāsiya,**  
Having heard (that), he said: “Now, these Noble ones do not desire (to sit) on chairs,  
(therefore) it is good to spread out a cover on the floor,”

**gantvā paṭipathaṃ There sakkaccaṃ abhivādayi,**<sup>351</sup> [64]  
and having gone in front he respectfully worshipped the Elders,

**Mahāmahindatherassa hatthato pattam-ādiya,**  
taking the Great Elder Mahinda’s bowl from his hand,

**sakkārapūjā vividhā puram Theram pavesayi.** [65]  
and with manifold respect and worship he led the Elder to the city.

**Disvā āsanapaññattim nemittā byākaruṃ iti:**  
Having seen the designated seats the fortune-tellers predicted:

**“Gahitā pathavīmehi, Dīpe hessanti Issarā.”** [66]  
“Having taken the ground, they will be Lords of this Island.”

**Narindo ānayo**<sup>352</sup> **te There antepuram varam,**<sup>353</sup>  
The Lord of Men brought those Elders to the noble harem,

**disvā āsanapaññattim Thero iti vijānaya:** [67]  
and having seen the prepared seat, the Elder thought thus:

**‘Laṅkādiṭṭe paṭiṭṭhitam Sāsanaṃ Satthuno varam,**  
‘The noble Dispensation of the Teacher has been established in the Island of Laṅkā,

**vasundharāyam niccalaṃ patthataṃ hutvā va ṭhassati.**<sup>354</sup>  
having spread (a cloth) on the unmoved earth it will remain.’

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<sup>351</sup> Mhv: *abhivādiya*.

<sup>352</sup> Mhv: *pūjayanto*.

<sup>353</sup> Mhv: *nayi; led them*.

<sup>354</sup> The metre is very poor here.

**Tattha te dussapīthesu nisīdīmsu, yathāraham,** [68]

There they sat down on the cloth seat, according to their worth,<sup>355</sup>

**te yāgukhajjabhojjehi sayam Rājā atappayi,**

and the King himself satisfied them with rice-gruel, staple and non-staple foods,

**niṭṭhite bhattakiccami sayam upanisīdiya.** [69]

and at the conclusion of his duties concerning the meal he himself sat down nearby.

**Kaniṭṭhassoparājassa Mahānāgassa jāyikam,**

He had his younger Brother, the deputy King Mahānāga's wife,

**vasantiṃ Rājagehe va pakkosāpesi cānulam:** [70]

Anulā, who resided in the Royal Palace, summoned and said:

**“Abhivādanasakkāram karontu pamukhā imā.”**

“Pay your respects and worship in front of these.”

**Āgamma<sup>356</sup> Anulādevī pañca-itthisatehi sā**

Queen Anulā, having come with five hundred women

**There vandīya pūjetvā, ekam-antam upāvisi.** [71]

and having worshipped and honoured the Elders, took a seat on one side.

**Bhattakiccāvasāne, so vassanto Dhammaratanam<sup>357</sup>**

At the end of the meal duties, raining Dhamma-jewels down

**mahājanassa Rañño ca Deviyā saha itthiyā,** [72]

on the King, the Queen, the women and the multitude,

**Petavatthum Vimānañ-ca Saccasamyuttam-eva ca,**

**desesi Pañnavanto va mahājanasamāgame,**

the Wise One taught the Ghosts Stories and the Divine Mansions, and also the Thematic Discourses on the Truths<sup>358</sup> to the assembled multitude,

**sutvā pañcasatā itthi Paṭhamam Phalam-ajjhagum.**<sup>359</sup> [73]

and having heard them five-hundred women attained the First (Path and) Fruit.

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<sup>355</sup> It means that they sat in line according to their seniority.

<sup>356</sup> Text: *Agamma*.

<sup>357</sup> This line has a faulty cadence.

<sup>358</sup> I.e. Petavatthu (KN 7), Vimānavatthu (KN 6) and SN 56.

<sup>359</sup> Text: *ajjahagum*.

**Hiyyo diṭṭham-anussehi sutvā Theraguṇe bahū**

Having heard of the Elders' virtues from those who had seen them on the previous day many

**Theradassanam-icchantā, samāgantvāna nāgarā** [74]

of the city-folk after gathering, desiring to see the Elders,

**Rājadvāre mahāsaddam akarum pi samantato.**

made a loud noise all around the King's Gates.

**Rājā, kolāhalam sutvā, pucchitvā te vijāniya,**

The King, having heard the commotion, questioned them and understood,

**mantetvāna amaccehi, idam-āha Mahīpati:** [75]

and the Lord of the World, after giving orders to his ministers, said this:

**“Sabbesam idha sambādho, sālam Maṅgalaḥatthino**

**sodhetha<sup>360</sup> tattha dakkhinti There 'me nāgarā.” iti** [76]

“Here they are all crowded together, clean up the State Elephant's stall and the city-folk can see the Elders there.”

**Sodhetvā Hatthisālam tam vitānādīhi sajjukam**

**alaṅkaritvā, sayanāni<sup>361</sup> paññāpesum yathāraham,** [77]

Having cleaned up the Elephant stall and quickly decorated it with canopies and so on, they prepared the seats according to their worth,

**sa Thero tattha gantvāna nisīditvāna-m-āsane,**<sup>362</sup>

and after going there and sitting down on the seat the Elder,

**tam<sup>363</sup> Devadūtasuttam so<sup>364</sup> kathesi Kathiko Mahā.** [78]

the Great Preacher, preached the Discourse on the Divine Messengers.<sup>365</sup>

**Tam sutvāna, pasīdimsu nāgarā te samāgatā,**

Having heard it, the city-folk who had gathered round, gained faith,

**tesu pāṇasahassam tu Paṭhamam Phalam-ajjhagā.** [79]

but a thousand breathing beings attained the First (Path and) Fruit.

<sup>360</sup> Mhv: *sodhentu*; same meaning.

<sup>361</sup> This line is 9 syllables long, Mahāvamsa reads *sayane*, which fits the metre better.

<sup>362</sup> Mahāvamsa 14.63a reads: *Mahāthero nisīdiya; the Great Elder ... sat down.*

<sup>363</sup> Mhv: *so*.

<sup>364</sup> Mhv omits this *so*.

<sup>365</sup> MN 130. As Mahādeva did in Mahisamaṇḍala above, v. 33.

XIV. Entry into the City - 87

**Laṅkādiṭṭhe so Satthukappo akappo**

In the Island of Laṅkā, he who was like the Teacher, the incomparable

**Laṅkādhīṭṭhāne dvīsu ṭhānesu Thero,**

Elder, resolved on (the good of) Laṅkā in two places,

**Dhammaṃ bhāsivā Dīpabhāsāya evaṃ**

after speaking on Dhamma in the language of the Island he thus

**Saddhammotāraṃ kārayī Dīpadīpo. [80]**

made the True Dhamma descend on the Island of Light.

*Sujanappasādasamvegathāya Kate*

*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsa Nagarappavesano nāma Cuddasamo Paricchedo.*

*The Fourteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Entry into the City*



[from XV. The Acceptance of the Great Monastery]  
[Mahāvihārapaṭiggahaṇam]

[The Great Cloud Monastery and Queen Anulā]  
1-37b ≠ Mhv. 1-26b

“Hatthisālā pi sambādhā,”<sup>366</sup> iti tattha samāgatā,  
“The elephant stall is crowded,” said those who had assembled there,

te Nandanavane ramme, dakkhiṇadvārato bahi, [1]  
and outside the southern gate, in the delightful Joy Grove,

Rājuyyāne ghanacchāye sītale nīlasaddale,  
in the King’s garden, which was well-covered, cool and grassy,

paññāpesum āsanāni Therānam sādārā narā. [2]  
the people reverentially prepared seats for the Elders.

Nikkhamma dakkhiṇadvārā, Thero tattha nisīdiya,<sup>367</sup>  
Having left by the southern gate, the Elder sat down there,

Āsivisopamaṃ suttaṃ abhāsi Dhammakovido. [3]  
and the one skilled in Dhamma related the Simile of the Poisonous Snake.<sup>368</sup>

Tesu pāṇasahassan-tu paṭhamam Phalam-ajjhagum  
In that place one thousand breathing beings entered into the first (Path and  
Fruit)<sup>369</sup>

tato divasato, tattha dutiye divase pi vā [4]  
on that day, and there on the second day also

aḍḍhateyyasahassānam Dhammābhisamayo ahu.  
two and a half thousand penetrated the Dhamma.

Mahākulinā cāgamma itthiyo bahukā hi tam,<sup>370</sup> [5]  
Many women from the great families came there,

vanditvāna nisīdimsu, uyyānam pūrayantiyo.  
and after worshipping, sat down, filling the garden.

<sup>366</sup> Mhv: *sambādhō*.

<sup>367</sup> Mhv: *nisīdi ca*.

<sup>368</sup> Probably SN 35. Sut. 238, although there are others that include a relevant simile. It was also taught by Majjhantika in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, see above XII v. 30.

<sup>369</sup> I.e. they became Stream-Enterers (*Sotāpanna*).

<sup>370</sup> Mhv: *tahim*.

**Bālapaṇḍitasuttantaṃ tāsāṃ Thero adesayi, [6]**

The Elder taught the Discourse on the Fools and the Wise,<sup>371</sup>

**sahassa-itthiyo tāsu paṭhamāṃ Phalam-ajjhagum.**

and one thousand of those women entered into the first (Path and) Fruit.

**Evaṃ tattheva uyyāne sāyaṇhasamayo ahu, [7]**

And so there in that garden the evening time set in,

**tato Therā nikkhamimsu: “Yāma taṃ pabbataṃ.” iti**

and therefore the Elders departed, saying: “We go to the mountain.”

**Vudikkhiya manussā te: “Therā nikkhamā tāvade,” [8]**

Having seen (them going) men said: “The Elders have left straight away,”

**gantvā nivedayum Rañño, sīgham Rājā upāgami,**

and after going and informing the King, the King went quickly,

**upāgammā ‘bravī Theram vanditvā Dharaṇīpati: [9]**

and after going and worshipping the Elder, the Lord of the Planet said:

**“Bhante, idāni sāyaṇhe dūro va pabbato ito,**

“Venerable Sir, it is far from here to the mountain in the evening,

**idheva Nandanuyyāne nivāso phāsuko.” iti [10]**

live comfortably right here in the Joy Wood.”

**“Purassa accāsannattā asāruppan,”-ti bhāsīte,**

“(It is) unsuitable, being too near to the city,” he said,

**vaco sutvāna Therassa idaṃ vacanam-abravi: [11]**

and having heard that word, he uttered this statement to the Elder:

**“Mahāmeghavanuyyānaṃ nāccāsannaṃ na dūrakaṃ,**

“The Great Cloud Grove is neither too near nor too far,

**rammaṃ chāyūdakupetaṃ, nivāso tattha rocatu.**

delightful, endowed with shade and water, be pleased to reside there.

**Nivattitabbaṃ Bhante!” ti Thero tattha nivattayi. [12]**

You should turn back, venerable Sir!” and the Elder turned back.

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<sup>371</sup> MN 129; it relates the deeds done by fools and by wise men and their respective rewards.

**Tasmim nivattaṭṭhānamhi Kadambanadiyantike,**

In that place where they turned back, on the banks of the Kadamba river,<sup>372</sup>

**Nivattacetiyaṃ nāma kataṃ vuccati cetiyaṃ. [13]**

the Shrine said to be called the Turning Shrine was built.

**Taṃ Nandanam dakkhiṇena sayam There<sup>373</sup> Rathesabho,**

**Mahāmeghavanuyyāne<sup>374</sup> Pācīnadvārakam nayi. [14]**

The Best of Charioteers led the Elders to the south of the Joy (Wood), (through) the Eastern Gate in the Great Cloud Grove.

**Tattha Rājaghare ramme, mañcapīṭhāni sādhuṃ<sup>375</sup>**

**sādhukam<sup>376</sup> santharāpetvā: “Vasathettha sukham.” iti [15]**

There, near the delightful Palace, after spreading properly good beds and chairs he said: “Dwell comfortably here.”

**Rājā, There ’bhivādetvā, amaccaparivārīto,**

The King, after worshipping the Elders, surrounded by his ministers,

**puram pāvīsi, Therā tu taṃ rattim tattha te vasum. [16]**

entered the city, but the Elders dwelt for the night right there.

**Pabhāte yeva pupphāni gahetvā, Dharaṇīpati**

Having gathered flowers in the morning, the Lord of the Planet

**There upecca vanditvā pūjetvā kusumehi ca, [17]**

after approaching the Elders and worshipping (them) with the blossoms,

**pucchi: “Kin?”-ti<sup>377</sup> “Sukham vuttham? Uyyānam phāsukam?” ti ca**  
asked: “How?” and “(Did you) live happily? (Was the) garden comfortable?”

**“Sukham vuttham Mahārāja uyyānam yatiphāsukam.” [18]**

“(We did) live happily, Great King, the garden is comfortable for strivers.”

**“Ārāmo kappako<sup>378</sup> Bhante Saṅghassā?” ti apucchi so.**

He asked: “Is a monastery suitable for the Community, venerable Sir?”

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<sup>372</sup> Which lay to the east of the city.

<sup>373</sup> Mhv: *Theraṃ*; singular.

<sup>374</sup> Mhv: *-vanuyyānam*; of the Great Cloud Grove.

<sup>375</sup> Mhv: *sādhukam*.

<sup>376</sup> Mhv: *sādhūni*.

<sup>377</sup> Mhv: *Kacci*.

<sup>378</sup> Mhv: *kappate*.

**“Kappate,” iti vatvāna, kappākappesu kovido [19]**

**Thero Veļuvanārāmapaṭiggahaṇam-abravi.**

After saying: “(It is) suitable,” the Elder skilled in what was suitable and unsuitable spoke about the receiving of the Bamboo Grove Monastery.<sup>379</sup>

**Tam sutvā abhihaṭṭho so tuṭṭho āsi Mahīpati. [20]**

Having heard (that), the Lord of the World was happy and very joyful.<sup>380</sup>

**Therānaṃ vandanatthāya Devī pi Anulā gatā**

In order to worship the Elders, Queen Anulā came

**saddhiṃ pañcasatitthīhi, sutvāna Dhammadesanaṃ [21]**

together with five-hundred women, and after listening to the Dhamma teaching

**tāya cittappasādāya, dutiyaṃ Phalam-ajjhagā.**

with faithful minds, they entered the second (Path and) Fruit.<sup>381</sup>

**Tadā sā Anulādevī ahu kāmā pabbajitum<sup>382</sup> [22]**

Then Queen Anulā had a desire to go forth

**saddhiṃ pañcasatitthīhi, idam-āha Mahīpatiṃ:**

together with the five hundred women, and said this to the Lord of the World:

**“Ajjeva pabbajissāma, sace icchasi, Bhūmipa.” [23]**

“Today itself we will go forth, if it is your wish, Lord of the Earth.”

**Sutvāna tassā vacanaṃ, Rājā Therānaṃ avoca so:**

Having heard her statement, the King said to the Elder:

**“Bhante pi Anulādevī icchamānā pabbajitum<sup>383</sup> [24]**

“Venerable Sir, Queen Anulā desires to go forth

**saha pañcasatitthīhi, pabbājetha idāni vo.”**

together with five hundred women, please give them the going-forth.”

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<sup>379</sup> By the Buddha from King Bimbisāra; see The Great Chapter, section 40, elsewhere on this website.

<sup>380</sup> Not listed with this meaning in PED; here it = *abhi*, *very*, and *haṭṭha*, *joyful*.

<sup>381</sup> They became Once-Returners (*Sakadāgāmi*).

<sup>382</sup> Irregular cadence.

<sup>383</sup> Irregular cadence.

**“Na kappati Mahārāja pabbājetum thiyo hi no. [25]**

“It is not suitable, Great King, for us to give the going-forth to women.”<sup>384</sup>

**Atthi Pāṭaliputtasmim bhikkhuṇī me kaniṭṭhakā,**

There is in Pāṭaliputta<sup>385</sup> a nun who is my younger sister,

**Saṅghamittā ti nāmena pākaṭṭhā<sup>386</sup> sā bahussutā, [26]**

Saṅghamittā by name, who is famous and very learned,

**Narinda Samaṇindassa Mahābodhidumindato**

**dakkhiṇasākhama-ādāya, tathā bhikkhuṇiyo varā, [27]**

Lord of Men, having brought the southern branch from the Great Bodhi Tree of the Lord of Ascetics,<sup>387</sup> and then also noble nuns,

**Laṅkādiṭṭhe<sup>388</sup> pure Rāja Buddhānaṃ pi sayambhunaṃ**

**tiṇṇannaṃ-ca Bodhirukkho patiṭṭhāpiya Rājino [28]**

to the city in the Island of Laṅkā, King, (as) the Bodhi Trees of the three self-made Buddhas<sup>389</sup> were planted by the Kings

**ajja pana Dumo Bodhi Gotamassa yasassino,**

(so) today the Bodhi Tree<sup>390</sup> of the famous Gotama,

**raṃsivissajjanākāro, patiṭṭhāpeyya Bhūmipa. [29]**

which has a resplendent halo, should be planted, Lord of the Earth.

**“Āgacchatū,” ti pesehi Rañño no Pitu santikaṃ,**

Send a message into the presence of the King, our Father, saying: “Let her come,”

**pabbājessati sā Therī āgatā itthiyo imā.” [30]**

and that Elder Nun, having come, will give the going-forth to these women.”

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<sup>384</sup> Mahinda says this because he believes the dual ordination is necessary, whereby a *bhikkhuṇī* needs to be ordained by other nuns, and then have the ceremony confirmed by the monks. This is sometimes disputed, as the Buddha never revoked the original ordination by monks only.

<sup>385</sup> Mentioned in Mahāparinibbānasutta (DN 16, elsewhere on this website) as *Pāṭaligāma*. So called because of the *Trumpet Flowers* (*Pāṭali*) that were growing there when it was founded; it is also known as *Pupphapura* and *Kusumapura* (both meaning *Flower City*).

<sup>386</sup> Mhv: *vissutā*.

<sup>387</sup> It means: *a sapling, uparopa*.

<sup>388</sup> ExtMhv puts this and the next three lines in square brackets and refers vaguely to the Introduction in a note. I have been unable to find anything in the Introduction to explain it though.

<sup>389</sup> These are the three Buddhas preceding Gotama in this aeon: Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kassapa; all the Buddhas have different Bodhi Trees, in their cases they were: *Acacia Sirissa*, *Udumbara* (*Glamorous Fig Tree*) and *Nigrodha* (*Banyan Tree*).

<sup>390</sup> The *Assatha* or *Fig Tree* (*Ficus Religiosa*).

**“Sādhū!” ti vatvā gaṇhitvā Rājā bhīnkāram-uttamam:**

After saying: “Well said!” and taking the noble water-jug, the King

**“Mahāmeghavanuyyānam dammi Saṅghass’ imam,” iti [31]**

saying: “I give this Great Cloud Grove to the Community,”

**Mahindatherassa kare dakkhiṇodakam-okiri.<sup>391</sup>**

sprinkled water over the right hand of the Elder Mahinda.<sup>392</sup>

**Mahiyā patite toyē saheva vacanena sā [32]**

As the water fell on the Earth with that statement

**Vasundharā imā ceva cattārinahutādhikā,**

the Earths, in excess of four myriads,

**dviyojanasatā saṅkhyā, saḥassabahalā pi vā [33]**

for two hundred leagues in extent, or a thousand thick,

**pavedhayitvā sāmantā, sandhāarakajalantikā.**

bearing waters to their edge, shook<sup>393</sup> on all sides.

**Disvāna taṃ acchariyam, bhīto ubbiggasāṅkito, [34]**

Having seen that wonder, fearful, frightened and apprehensive,

**“Kasmā kampati bhūmī?” ti Bhūmipālo apucchi taṃ.**

the Guardian of the Earth asked: “Why does the earth tremble?”

**“Mā bhāyasi, Mahārāja, Dasabalassa Sāsanam [35]**

“Do not be afraid, Great King, the Dispensation of the One of Ten Powers

**ṭhassati idha, teneva Medinī ‘yam pakampati.**

will be established here, and because of that this Earth trembles.

**Vihāraṭṭhānam paṭhamam idaṃ ṭhānam bhavissati.”**

The first monastic dwelling place will be in this place.”<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>391</sup> Mhv: *ākiri*.

<sup>392</sup> This is a way of making a formal donation by pouring water; it was also done this way by King Bimbisāra when he donated the Bamboo Wood.

<sup>393</sup> It appears that the absolute is used in a finite sense here.

<sup>394</sup> I.e. the Mahāvihāra, or Great Monastery, which became the seat of Theravāda orthodoxy. The emphasis is changed somewhat from the Mahāvamsa version; there, as soon as he had given the Grove the Dispensation is said to be established; whereas here it will be established only when the monastery has been built.

*from XV. The Acceptance of the Great Monastery - 94*

**Taṃ sutvā vacanam, bhīyo saddho āsi Mahīpati, [36]**  
Having heard that statement, the Lord of the World had great faith,

**Therassa upanāmesi jātipupphāni gandhinī.<sup>395</sup>**  
and offered sweet-smelling jasmine flowers to the Elder.

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<sup>395</sup> Mhv: *jātimā*.

[from XVIII. The Acquisition of the Great Wisdom Tree]  
[Mahābodhigahaṇo]

[Requesting the Nuns and the Bodhi Tree ]  
1-32 ≠ Mhv. 1-18

**Mahābodhiñ-ca Theriñ-ca ānāpetum Mahīpati,**  
In order to bring the Great Bodhi and the Elder Nun, the Lord of the World,

**Therena vuttavacanam saramāno, sake pure [1]**  
**Antovassekadivasam, nisinno Therasantike,**  
remembering the statement spoken by the Elder, on a certain day in the Rainy  
Season, while sitting in his own city near the Elder,

**sahāmaccehi mantetvā, bhāgineyyam sakam sayam, [2]**  
**Ariṭṭhanāmakāmaccam, tasmim kamme niyojayi.**<sup>396</sup>  
after consulting his ministers, urged his own nephew, the minister called Ariṭṭha, to  
(undertake) these deeds.

**Mantvā āmantayitvā tam, idam vacanam-abravi: [3]**  
After considering (it) and inviting him, he uttered this statement:

**“Tāta sakkhissasī gantvā<sup>397</sup> Dhammāsokassa santikam**  
“Dear, after going into the presence of (King) Dhammāsoka will you be able<sup>398</sup>

**Mahābodhim Saṅghamittam Therim ānāyitum idha?” [4]**  
to bring the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā and the Great Bodhi here?”

**“Sakkhissāmi aham Deva ānetum te duve tato<sup>399</sup>**  
“I will be able, God-King, to bring these two from there

**idhāgato pabbajitum sace lacchāmi, Mānada.” [5]**  
if, after returning here, I am allowed to go forth, your Honour.”

**“Gaccha Tāta tuvam Therim ānetvā Bodhiyā saha,**  
“You may go, Dear, and after bringing the Elder Nun together with the Bodhi  
(Tree),

**yadā patvāna Laṅkāyam, pabbajjassu yathicchitam.” [6]**  
after you have reached Laṅkā, you can go-forth according to your wish.”

<sup>396</sup> Mhv: *niyojayam*.

<sup>397</sup> Mhv: *sakkhisi gantvā tam*.

<sup>398</sup> *Sakkhissasi* is unclear, it suggests a verb *sakkhati*, which is not found in Pāli. In Mhv. there are many vll, most of which connect it with *sakkoti*; *being able*.

<sup>399</sup> Mhv: *tā tato idha*.



**Evam vatvāna, so Rājā bhāgineyyam apesayi,**  
Having said that, the King sent his nephew,

**so Therassa ca Rañño ca sāsanam gaṇhi<sup>400</sup> vandiya. [7]**  
and he took the message of the Elder and the King and worshipped (them).

**Assayujasukkapakkhe nikkhanto dutiye dine<sup>401</sup>**  
Leaving on the second day of the bright fortnight in Assayuja<sup>402</sup>

**so 'nuyutto, Jambukole nāvam āruyha paṭṭane, [8]**  
he, being dedicated, after boarding a ship in the port of Jambukola,<sup>403</sup>

**Mahodadhim taritvāna, Therādhiṭṭhānayogato,**  
and crossing the ocean, through<sup>404</sup> the power of the Elder's determination,

**Nikkhantadivase yeva Pāṭaliputtam-āgami. [9]**  
on the very day of departure it arrived at Pāṭaliputta.

**Tadā tu Anulādevī, pañcakaññāsatehi ca,**  
Then Queen Anulā, with five hundred young women,

**Antepurika-itthīhi saddhim<sup>405</sup> pañcasatehi ca, [10]**  
and together with five hundred women of the harem,

**dasasīlam samādāya, kāsāyavasanā suci,**  
having undertaken the ten precepts, pure in the yellow robes,<sup>406</sup>

**pabbajjāpekkhiṇī, sekhā, pekkhanti Theriyāgamaṃ, [11]**  
being in training, looked forward to the going-forth, looked for the coming of the Elder  
Nun,

**nagarassekadesamhi ramme Bhikkhuṇupassaye**  
**kārāpīte Narindena vāsam kappesi subbatā. [12]**  
and made her dwelling in good conduct in the delightful Nunnery in a certain  
district of the town where the Lord of Men had had it made.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> Mhv: *gayha*.

<sup>401</sup> Mhv: *dutiye 'hāni*.

<sup>402</sup> Normally falling in October.

<sup>403</sup> Probably on the northern coast of the Jaffna peninsular.

<sup>404</sup> ExtMhv: *Therādiṭṭhabalena pi; through strength unseen by the Elder*, which doesn't make much sense.

<sup>405</sup> Mhv: *tathā*.

<sup>406</sup> It is interesting that she is portrayed as already wearing the yellow robe, even though she only has ten precepts, which are not even *sāmaṇerī* precepts. It is a strong echo of the first nun Mahāpajāpati, and her following, who also donned robes before they were ordained.

<sup>407</sup> The exact location cannot now be determined, except that it was within the city limits.

**Upāsikāhi tāhesa vuttho Bhikkhuṇupassayo**  
(As) these lay-women lived in the Nunnery

**Upāsikāvihāro ti tena Laṅkāya vissuto. [13]**  
it became well-known throughout Laṅkā as the Lay-Womens' Monastery.<sup>408</sup>

\* \* \*

**Bhāgineyyo Mahāriṭṭho Dhammāsokassa Rājino**  
**appetvā, Rājasandesam Therasandesam-abravi: [14]**  
His nephew Mahāriṭṭha, having reached King Dhammāsoka, spoke the King's message and the Elder's message:

**“Putto Deva Mahindo maṃ pesesi tava santikaṃ.**  
“Your son Mahinda, God-King, sent me into your presence.

**Anulā nāma sā Devi, bhātujāyā<sup>409</sup> ca Rājino [15]**  
**Piyatissasahāyassa tumhākaṃ Rājakuñjara,**  
The Queen named Anulā, your friend the King Piyatissa's brother's wife, O Chief of Kings,

**ākaṅkhamānā pabbajjam, dasasīlam samādiya, [16]**  
desiring the going-forth, has undertaken the ten precepts,

**saddhim sahasa-itthīhi, niccam vasati saññatā.**  
together with a thousand women, and lives constantly restrained.

**Mahātherim Saṅghamittam pabbājetum visajjaya, [17]**  
Please send the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā to give the going-forth,

**tāya saddhim Mahābodhidakkhiṇam sākham-eva ca.”**  
and together with her a branch from the south side of the Great Bodhi Tree.”

**Theriyā santikaṃ gantvā amacco idam-abravi: [18]**  
(Then) the minister, having gone into the presence of the Elder Nun said this:

**“Ayye bhātā Mahindo so maṃ pesesi tavantikaṃ.**  
“Noble Sister, your brother Mahinda send me into your presence.

**Bhātujāyā tu Anulādevī nāma upāsikā, [19]**  
**Devānampiyatissassa tāhi kāmā pabbajitum,<sup>410</sup>**  
Devānampiyatissa's brother's wife, the lay-woman called Queen Anulā, through having a desire for the going-forth,

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<sup>408</sup> The proper name for a residence for nuns (*bhikkhuṇī*) is an *Upassaya*; but before they were ordained they lived there as lay women under ten precepts, so it became famous as the Lay-Womens' Monastery.

<sup>409</sup> ExtMhv: *bhātujāya*.

<sup>410</sup> Irregular cadence.

**saddhim̄ saḥassa-itthīhi, niccam̄ vasati saññatā. [20]**  
together with a thousand women, lives constantly restrained.

**Pabbājethā ti tumhe taṃ gantvā kira mayā saha.”**  
Having gone together with me please give them the going-forth.”

**Amaccassa vaco sutvā, turitā turitā tadā [21]**  
Having heard the minister’s word, and then very quickly

**gantvā Pitu samīpaṃ sā Therī Theramatam̄ ’bravī:**  
having gone into the presence of her Father, the Elder Nun related the Elder’s thought:

**“Bhātā mayham̄ Mahindo so pesetvā mama santikaṃ, [22]**  
“My brother Mahinda has sent (these) into my presence,

**pahiṇitvā janam̄ amhe, gacchissāmi aham̄.” iti**  
and after we have sent the people back, I will go.”<sup>411</sup> (and:)

**“Bahū janā kuladhītā Anulāpamukhā pi ca,**  
“Very many people, daughters of good families, with Anulā at their head,

**ākaṅkhamānā pabbajjam̄, gamanam̄ me vudikkhayum̄.” [23]**  
desiring the going-forth, are looking forward to my journey.”

**Sukkakaṇṭho va so Rājā sutvāna Theriyā vaco,**  
The King, who was flushed,<sup>412</sup> having heard the Elder Nun’s statement,

**assudhāram̄ pavattento, taṃ Therim̄ idam-abravi: [24]**  
with a shower of tears set rolling, said this to the Elder Nun:

**“Mahindo Amma putto me nattā so Sumano pi vā**  
“My son Mahinda, Dear, and my grandson Sumana

**ohāya idha amhe, maṃ chinnahattham̄ akā viya, [25]**  
having left us here, I am as though with my hands cut off,

**Tambapaṇṇiyadīpamhi ubho tattha gamimsu te,**  
they both having gone there, to the Copper Dust Island,

**apassantassa te mayham̄, mahā soko uppajjati.<sup>413</sup> [26]**  
they are no longer seen by me, and great grief has arisen.

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<sup>411</sup> The Pāḷi is very poorly constructed here.

<sup>412</sup> Lit: *white-throated*. I cannot find this word or phrase used elsewhere, and the reading must be in doubt.

<sup>413</sup> Irregular cadence, perhaps we should read: *upajjati*.

**Passantassa mukham-ajja<sup>414</sup> tava sokopasammati,**  
Seeing their faces today *your* grief will be allayed,

**idāni pi tuvaṃ Amma apassanto kathaṃ ahaṃ [27]**  
but now, not seeing you also, Dear, how will I

**sokaṃ vinodayissāmi puttanaṭṭaviyogajaṃ?**  
dispel *my* grief in being parted from my son and grandson?

**Alaṃ Amma tayā gantuṃ ajja, mā agamāsī tvam.” [28]**  
Enough, Dear, (if) you were to go today, you (also) will not return.”

**Pituno vacanaṃ sutvā sā Therī idam-abravi:**  
Having heard the statement of her Father, the Elder Nun said this:

**“Bhātuno vacanaṃ Rāja ahosi garukaṃ mama, [29]**  
“My brother’s word has importance for me, King,

**saddhiṃ sahassa-itthīhi Deviyāsā mahā ahu.**  
together with the (request) of the great Queen and the thousand women.

**Api ca bhātuno mayhaṃ na karomi vaco viya [30]**  
Further, I suppose, this is not (just) my brother’s word

**pabbājaniyā ca bahū paṭimānenti<sup>415</sup>-m-āgataṃ.**  
and many are waiting for the coming of the going-forth.

**Ichhāmi taṃ Mahārāja gamissāmi idānahaṃ.” [31]**  
This I desire (to give), Great King, and (so) now I must go.”

**“Yadi tayā gantukāmā, gahetvā Bodhim-uttamaṃ**  
“If you desire to go, after taking (a branch of) the Supreme Bodhi (Tree)

**gantvā, Ayye, aduṃ Laṅkaṃ dakkhassu bhātuno.” iti [32]**  
and going, Noble Sister, you must see your brother in Laṅkā.”

\* \* \*

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<sup>414</sup> Better to read: *mukhaṃ ajja*, which gives the more usual pathyā cadence.

<sup>415</sup> ExtMhv: *pati-*.

**[Festivities for the Bodhi Tree]**

**111-124 ≠ Mhv. 64-68**

**Kattikasukkapakkhassa dine pāṭipade tahiṃ**

On the first day of the bright half of (the month) Kattikā

**Mahābodhiṃ Mahāsālamūle pācīnake subhe [111]**

**ṭhapāpetvā Mahīpālo pūjaṃ katvā dine dine,**

(Asoka), the Guardian of the World, after placing (a branch of) the Great Bodhi (Tree) to the east of the root of a lovely great Sāla tree, and worshipping it day by day,

**gaṇhato sattarasame divase tu navaṅkurā [112]**

on the seventeenth day new shoots starting taking hold

**sakiṃ yeva ajāyimsu Bodhikkhandhā manoramā.**

and arose on the trunk of the delightful Bodhi (Tree).

**Disvā pasannamanaso tuṭṭhacitto Mahīpati, [113]**

Having seen (that) the Lord of the World, his mind faithful and satisfied,

**dasanakhasamodhānaṃ añjaliṃ akarī sire:**

with his ten fingers raised in reverential salutation to his head, said:

**“Sakale Jambudīpamhi rajjaṃ me demihaṃ,” iti, [114]**

“I give it sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Island,”

**abhisiñci Mahābodhiṃ mahāraṃje Mahīpati.**

and the Lord of the World consecrated the Great Bodhi (Tree) with great sovereignty.

\* \* \*

**Sumanasāmaṇero so Mahindeneva pesito [115]**

The novice Sumana who was sent by Mahinda

**gaṇhanatthāya dhātuñ-ca saddhiṃ pattena Satthuno,**

in order to take a relic of the Teacher together with his bowl,

**Puṇṇamikattike yeva dine, gantvā vihāyasā, [116]**

on the Full-Moon day of Kattikā, having flown through the sky,

**patto Pupphapuraṃ rammaṃ, tasmīṃ tu samaye pana**  
arrived in the delightful City of Flowers,<sup>416</sup> and at that time

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<sup>416</sup> Another name for Pāṭaliputta, Asoka's capital, now known as Patna.

**Sālamūlamhi ṭhapitaṃ Mahābodhiṃ tahiṃ subhaṃ [117]**  
having placed the Great Bodhi (Tree) at the root of the lovely Sāla tree in that place

**Kattikacchaṇapūjāhi pūjayantañ-ca addasa,**  
he saw (them) worshipping with offerings at the Kattikā festival,

**kārāpetvāna rakkhaṃ so Bodhiyā, Dharaṇīpati [118]**  
and the Lord of the Planet, having placed a guard around the Bodhi (Tree),

**saddhiṃ amaccasaṅghehi vasati Bodhisantike.**  
dwelt near to the Bodhi (Tree) together with his council of ministers.

**Antepurittiyo sabbā, Saṅghamittāpadhānakā, [119]**  
All the women of the harem, with Saṅghamittā at their head,

**nagarā abhinikkhamma, sabbapūjāvidhāni vā  
pūjayantā Mahābodhiṃ vasiṃsu, saha bhattunā. [120]**  
having gone out from the city, worshipping with all sorts of offerings, (also) dwelt  
near the Great Bodhi (Tree), together with their husband.

**Surucirapavarorubodhipūjā, dhajākulā  
bahavidhā visālā ca, pupphā panasamatthakā, [121]**  
The worship of the beautiful, noble, excellent Bodhi (Tree), with many and  
extensive flags, flowers and fruits at its head,

**narānaṃ marūnaṃ cittaṃ, padumaṃ va suphullitaṃ**  
(opened) the minds of men and the protective gods, like a lotus opened

**suriyaraṃsena vinā kiccena attano viya. [122]**  
by the rays of the sun without any effort on its part.

**Pāṭaliputtarahade kusumaṃ suvikāsaṃ**  
The blossoming flowers in the lakes of Pāṭaliputta

**narānaṃ marūnañ-ceva cittaṃ vikāsinī ahu. [123]**  
delighted the minds of the people and the protective gods.

**Vissajjetvāna chabbañṇaraṃsiyo sā nabhe tale,**  
After emitting six colourful rays in the sky and on the ground,

**pasādetvā jane sabbe, Buddho viya sujīvati. [124]**  
and instilling faith in all the people, it dwelt well like an Awakened One.

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate  
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsa Mahābodhigahaṇo nāma Aṭṭhārasamo Paricchedo  
The Nineteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Acquisition of the Great Bodhi  
Tree*

[from XIX. The Journey of the Great Bodhi Tree]  
[Mahābodhāgamaṇo]<sup>417</sup>

[The Nuns and the Bodhi Tree set out for Laṅkā]  
1-37 ≠ Mhv 1-22

**Mahābodhirakkhaṇattham aṭṭhārasa Rathesabho,  
devakulāni datvāna aṭṭhāmaccaḥkulāni ca [1]**

In order to protect the Great Bodhi, the Best of Charioteers, after appointing eighteen (from) royal families, and eight (from) ministerial families,

**aṭṭha brāhmaṇakulāni, aṭṭha seṭṭhikulāni ca,**  
eight (from) brāhmaṇa families, eight (from) merchants' families,

**gopakānam padhānānam viśāsānam kulāni ca [2]**  
(and from) the foremost and faithful cow-herders families,

**kuliṅgapesakārānam kumbhakāraḥkulāni vā,**  
the sparrow weavers,<sup>418</sup> the potters families,

**taracchānam kulāneva aṭṭha aṭṭha-m-adāsi so. [3]**  
the hyena families, eight of each were appointed.

**Pāhesi Nāgayakkhe te parisāya saheva so,**  
He sent Nāgas and Yakkhas together with their assembly,

**udakāharanattāya siṅcayitvā dine dine, [4]**  
and after sprinkling with water brought for the purpose day by day,

**hemasaṅghuḥaṭṭe yeva datvā aṭṭhaṭṭha kāmado,**  
and giving eight gold and eight silver water-pots, as desired,

**gāhāpetvā Mahābodhim, pūjehi vividhehi vā: [5]**  
and taking the Great Bodhi (Tree), with worship in various ways, he said:

**“Yathā yathā ca tumhe te purato purato,” iti.**  
“In whatever way you like (go) from city to city.”

**Senaṅgaparivutto so uyyojento Narādhipo, [6]**  
The Ruler of Men, surrounded by his army, dismissing (them),

**hatthi-assaratheheva gantvāna tad-anantaram**  
having gone immediately with his elephants, horses and chariots,

<sup>417</sup> Mhv.: *Bodhi-āgamaṇo*.

<sup>418</sup> It is unclear why the weavers are designated as *sparrow weavers*, or what the *hyena* families mentioned below were. Geiger suggests these may be totem clan names.

**aṭaviṃ samatikkamena Viñjhāṭaviñ-ca-m-avhayam, [7]**  
by crossing through the jungle called the Viñjhā forest,

**Tāmalittim anupatto divaseheva sattahi.**  
arrived at Tāmalitti within seven days.

**Devanāgamanussā te sannipativā lahum lahum<sup>419</sup> [8]**  
The gods, Nāgas and men, having quickly assembled

**antarāmagge-m-akaram Bodhipūjam yathāvidhi**  
on the highway, worshipped the Bodhi (Tree) in the way they liked

**accuārāhi pūjāhi pūjetvāna<sup>420</sup> dine dine, [9]**  
and after worshipping (it) with a great offering day by day,

**Gandhabbehi ca gītehi vāditehi anekadhā,**  
with manifold Heavenly Musicians' music and song,

**anupubbena gantvā, te sattāhenevupāgamum. [10]**  
having gone gradually, they (also) arrived on the seventh day.<sup>421</sup>

**Mahāsamuddatīramhi Mahābodhim Mahīpati  
ṭhapetvā sattadivasāni nāpūjāhi pūjayi, [11]**  
The Lord of the World, having placed the Great Bodhi (Tree) on the bank on the  
Great Ocean worshipped (it) with various offerings for seven days,

**vijjamānena rajjena sakale Jambudīpake  
Mahābodhim abhisiñci Mahīpālo<sup>422</sup> Rathesabho. [12]**  
and the Guardian of the World, the Best of Charioteers, consecrated the Great  
Bodhi (Tree) with sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

**Maggasirasukkapakkhe dine pāṭipade tato**  
On the first day of the lunar fortnight in the bright half of Maggasira<sup>423</sup>

**ukkipitvā Mahābodhim tehi yevaṭṭha-aṭṭhahi [13]**  
**Sālamūlamhi dinnehi jātuggatakulehi so,**  
after raising the Great Bodhi (Tree) with (help) given by eight of each from the  
high-born families appointed at the root of the Sāl tree,

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<sup>419</sup> This line is one syllable too long.

<sup>420</sup> ExtMhv: *pūjetvāna*.

<sup>421</sup> This account is different from the Mahāvamsa, where the Bodhi (Tree) is put on board ship  
and sails down to Tāmalitti. Here it appears to be taken by the land route, before it sets sail.

<sup>422</sup> ExtMhv: *Mahīpalo*.

<sup>423</sup> Normally falling in December.



**sabbapūjāvidhānehi galamattam jālam tahiṃ [14]**

**orohitvāna nāvāyaṃ paṭiṭṭhāpiya sādhuḥkaṃ,**

with all kinds of offerings, having descended into the water up to his neck and established (it) properly on the ship,

**Saṅghamittam Mahātheriṃ sahekādasabhikkhuṇiṃ [15]**

**nāvam āropayitvāna pūjehi vividhehi vā,**

and having invited the Great Elder Saṅghamittā with eleven other nuns<sup>424</sup> onto the ship with various offerings,

**Mahāriṭṭham mahāmaccam idaṃ vacanam-abravi: [16]**

uttered this statement to the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha:

**“Ayaṃ Tāta Mahābodhiṃ tikkhattum Jambudīpake**

**sakale vijjamānena rajjena abhisiṅcayim. [17]**

“This Great Bodhi (Tree), Dear, I consecrated three times with sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

**Idāneva Mahābodhiṃ ānayitvāna-m-attano,**

Now, after bringing the Great Bodhi (Tree) myself,

**sabbapūjāvidhānehi<sup>425</sup> patvāham idha paṭṭane, [18]**

and arranging all kinds of ceremonies here in the port town,

**galappamāṇe udake orohitvā, tahiṃ imam**

having descended up to my neck into the water, and herein

**paṭiṭṭhāpiya nāvāyaṃ Saṅghamittāya Theriyā, [19]**

established (it) on the ship with the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā,

**purato me sahāyassa pesesiṃ tava passato,**

seeing that you are sent back from the city to my friend,

**evam evābhipūjetu Rājā rajjena me sakhā. [20]**

the King should also worship (it) with sovereignty in the same way.

**Sabbapūjāvidhānāni katāni idha sabbaso**

Having made all kinds of ceremonies and offerings there

**Devānampiyatisso tu Mahārājā sakhā ca me [21]**

my friend the Great King Devānampiyatissa

**karotu sabbapūjāni mayā pūjam pi yādisam.”**

should also make all the offerings that have been made by me.”

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<sup>424</sup> These are named in Dīpavaṃsa, XVIII, vv. 11-12 as follows: *Uttarā, Vicakkhaṇā, Hemā, Pasādapālā, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Pheggu, Pabbatā, Mattā, Mallā and Dhammadāsiyā.*

<sup>425</sup> ExtMhv: -pūjā-.

**Sahāyassa vaco datvā, Mahīpālo jutindharo [22]**

Having given this advice to his friend, the resplendent Guardian of the World,

**assūni parimuñcanto, idaṃ vacanam-abravi:**

lamenting tearfully, uttered this statement:

**“Aho pi vata re tassa Dasabalassa tādino, [23]**

**vīsarasaramsijālaṃ muñcamāno idāni so,**

**Bodhirukkho pasādentō amhe ohāya gacchati.” [24]**

“Alas, the Bodhi Tree of the virtuous one, the One of Ten Powers, while it is still emitting a net of twenty coloured rays, we have gladly given (it) up.”

**Idaṃ vatvā, Mahārājā sirasi katvāna-m-añjalim,**

Having said this, the Great King, after making reverential salutation with his head,

**passamāno Mahābodhiṃ gacchantam saha Theriyā, [25]**

seeing the Great Bodhi (Tree) going with the Elder Nun,

**assudhāram pavattetvā, tīre aṭṭhāsi dummano.**

with a shower of tears set rolling, stood depressed on the bank.

**Mahābodhisamārūjhā sā nāvā<sup>426</sup> passato gatā [26]**

While watching the ship with the Great Bodhi (Tree) on board going

**mahājanassa Rañño ca, pakkhanditvāna toyadhiṃ,**

from the multitude and the King, after crossing the water (someway),

**samantā yojane vīci<sup>427</sup> sannisīdi mahaṇṇave. [27]**

the waves settled down for a league all round on the great sea.

**Supupphi<sup>428</sup> pañcavaṇṇāni padumāni samantato,**

Five coloured lotuses on all sides blossomed,

**antalikkhe pavajjimsu anekaturiyāni ca. [28]**

and in the firmament manifold instruments played.

**Devatāhi anekāhi pūjānekā pavattitā,**

Manifold offerings were made by the gods,

**gahetuṃ ca<sup>429</sup> Mahābodhiṃ Nāgā ’kaṃsu vikubbaṇaṃ. [29]**

and the Nāgas worked magic (in order) to seize the Great Bodhi.

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<sup>426</sup> ExtMhv: *navā*; printer's error.

<sup>427</sup> ExtMhv: *vīci*; singular, where a plural is required.

<sup>428</sup> Mhv: *pupphiṃsu*; which is preferable.

<sup>429</sup> v.l.: *gahetvā va*. ExtMhv excludes *ca*; but it is found in Mhv. and is needed for the metre.

**Saṅghamittā Mahātherī, abhiññābalapāragā,**  
The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, who had gained the strength of psychic powers,

**Supaṇṇarūpā hutvāna, te tāsesi Mahorage. [30]**  
after taking the form of a Supaṇṇa,<sup>430</sup> frightened the Great Snakes.

**Te tāsītā Mahātherim uttastubbiggamānasā  
nihatatejā passitvā, taṃ vibhūtiñ-ca Theriyā [31]**  
Trembling and fearful, after seeing the spiritual power and the splendour of the  
Great Elder Nun, worshipping the Elder's

**vanditvā sirasā pāde, jīvitam yācayimsu te:**  
feet with their heads at her feet, they begged for their lives, saying:

**“Mā kujjhasi tuvaṃ Ayye amhākaṃ gamanam imam [32]**  
“Don't be angry with us, Noble Sister, on this journey

**antarāyo tavevajja natthi, sotthi bhavissati;**  
today there will be no obstacle for you, you will be safe;

**Bodhi-āyacanattham te 'gamissamhā mayam.' iti [33]**  
we have come in order to ask for the Bodhi (Tree).”

**Adāsi sā Mahābodhim Nāgānam pūjitum, tadā**  
She gave the Great Bodhi (Tree) to the Nāgas to worship, then

**Mahābodhim gahetvāna, Bhujāṅgabhavanam gatā. [34]**  
having taken the Great Bodhi (Tree), they went to the Dragons' abode.

**Sattāham Nāgarajjena pūjāhi vividhāni pi  
pūjayitvāna ānetvā, nāvāyam ṭhāpayimsu te, [35]**  
After worshipping with various offerings and giving sovereignty over the Nāga  
realm for seven days and bringing it back, they placed it on the ship,

**tadahe va tu sā nāvā Jambukolaṃ idhāgamā.**  
and that same day the ship arrived at Jambukola (in Laṅkā).<sup>431</sup>

**Mahābodhiviyogena Dhammāsoko sasokavā, [36]**  
(King) Dhammāsoka, affected with grief<sup>432</sup> over separation from the Great Bodhi  
(Tree),

**anātho, visayam yāva dāsanassa vilokiya,**  
helpless, looking longingly towards that region,

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<sup>430</sup> The traditional enemies of the Nāgas (a mythical snake) were the Supaṇṇas (a mythical bird).

<sup>431</sup> This is the same port from which the envoys had left Laṅkā, see Ch. XVIII, vs. 8 above.

<sup>432</sup> A play on his name: *Asoka* means *griefless*, here he is said to be *sasokavā*, *with grief*.

**bahudhā paridevitvā, agamāsi sakam puram. [37]**  
and after making great lamentation, he went back to his city.

**[Reception in Laṅkā]**  
**38-51 = Mhv. 23-31**

**Devānampiyatisso so Rājā lokahite rato,**  
King Devānampiyatissa, who delighted in the benefit of the world,

**sutattā sāmaṇeramhā divasaṃ Bodhiyāgamaṃ [38]**  
**Sumanavacaneneva, pāṭipadadivāsato<sup>433</sup>**  
had heard the word of the novice Sumana about the day of the arrival of the Bodhi (Tree), and from the first day

**Maggasirassa paṭṭhāya, tassevuttarādvārato [39]**  
**bhusāpetvāna yāvā pi Jumbukolaṃ mahāpathaṃ**  
that began (the month of) Maggasira, having decorated the highway from the north gate as far as Jambukola

**rajatapaṭapaṇṇehi vālukāneva sādīsā [40]**  
**samantato okirimsu okirāpesi añjase,**  
with silver leaves of cloth strewn like sand that had been sprinkled all round on the highway,

**nikkhandadivasato Rājā nagaramhā ṭhito ca so [41]**  
and from the day the King went out from the city he waited

**samuddāsanasālāyaṃ vatthusmiṃ, tattha Bhūpati,**  
at the grounds of the reception-hall by the ocean, and there the Lord of the Earth,

**mahāsamuddamajjhena sajjitāya vibhūtiyā, [42]**  
**āgacchantaṃ Mahābodhiṃ, Mahātheriddhiyāddasa,**  
through the psychic power of the Great Elder Nun, saw the Great Bodhi (Tree) coming in the middle of the great ocean, decked out in all its splendour,

**Mahindassānubhāvena, samīpaṃ viya-m-āgataṃ. [43]**  
and by the power of Mahinda, he drew as though close (to it).

**Tasmim ṭhāne katā sālā pakāsetum tam-abbhutaṃ**  
In that place a hall was made to display the wonders

**Samuddāsanasālā ti nāmenāsīdha pākaṭā. [44]**  
which became well-known as the Ocean Reception Hall.

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<sup>433</sup> ExtMhv: *divasato*.

**Samuddāsanasālāya nikkhamitvā bahi<sup>434</sup> ṭhito,**  
After leaving the Ocean Reception Hall and standing outside,

**torañāni ussāpento, ubho maggassa passato [45]**  
while raising the pandal, he saw<sup>435</sup> both of the roads

**pañcavaṇṇāni pupphāni okirimsu samantato,**  
strewn all round with five-coloured flowers,

**dhajapaṭākānekāni, sapupphānagghiyāni ca, [46]**  
and various flags and clothes, together with priceless flowers,

**puṇṇaghaṭāni sabbāni puṇṇāni kumudehi ca.**  
great water pitchers, all full with lilies.

**Ṭhapāpetvā Mahīpālo maggānaṃ antarantare [47]**  
The Guardian of the World, having placed them at intervals along the road,

**Mahātherānubhāvena saddhiṃ Therehi tehi ca,**  
through the power of the Great Elder together with the other Elders,

**ekāheneva gantvāna Jambukolaṃ apāpuṇi. [48]**  
after leaving, in one day had reached Jambukola.

**Mahābodhāgame pīvegeneva Mahīpati,**  
The Lord of the Earth, driven by joy at the coming of the Great Bodhi (Tree),

**galappamāṇaṃ salilaṃ vigāhetvā, suviggaho [49]**  
**ukkhīpitvā Mahābodhiṃ uttamaṅge siraṃhi so,**  
after plunging into the water up to his neck, raising the beautiful body of the Great Bodhi (Tree) on his head,

**ṭhapetvā sabbapūjāya, uttaritvā samuddato, [50]**  
emerging from the ocean, placing it aside with all offerings,

**soḷesehi kuleheva ṭhapetvā maṇḍape subhe,**  
and placing it (under the care of) the sixteen families in that lovely pavilion,

**divasāni pi tīṇeva samuddassa tīre<sup>436</sup> gato, [51]**  
went for three days to the shore of the ocean,

**nivāsetvāna, Laṅkindo Laṅkārajjena pūjayi.**  
and having adorned it, the Lord of Laṅkā worshipped it with sovereignty over Laṅkā.

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<sup>434</sup> ExtMhv: *bahi*; against the metre.

<sup>435</sup> The only way to construe this is to take the infinite participle as finite.

<sup>436</sup> ExtMhv: *tīre*; against the metre.

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[The Nuns and the Nunneries]  
118-120 & 166-189 ≠ Mhv 68-85

**Mahābodhimhi Nāthassa, Laṅkābhūvadane subhe  
Saddhammadhajabhūte tu ṭhite acchariyehi pi, [118]**

Near the Lord's Great Bodhi (Tree), through the wonder of being near the flag of the true Dhamma (preached) in the lovely words of the land of Laṅkā,

**tadā sā Anulādevī pañcakaññāsatehi pi**  
Queen Anulā, with five hundred women and

**antepurika-itthīhi saddhim pañcasatehi vā, [119]**  
together with (another) five hundred women of the harem,

**santike pabbajitvāna Saṅghamittāya Theriyā,**  
after receiving the going-forth in the presence of the Elder Saṅghamittā,

**sahassabhikkhuṇī heva, vaḍḍhetvāna vipassanaṃ,**  
those one thousand nuns, after developing insight,

**na cirasseva sā Therī Arahattaṃ apāpuṇi. [120]**  
in no long time<sup>437</sup> attained the state of Worthiness.

\* \* \*

**Upāsikāvihāro ti ñāte Bhikkhuṇupassaye**  
In the Nunnery known as the Lay-Womens' Monastery

**Sasaṅghā Saṅghamittā sā Mahātherī tahiṃ vasi. [166]**  
the Great Elder Saṅghamittā lived together with her Community.

**Agārattayapāmokkhe agāre tattha kārayi.**  
She made there three dwelling places which were (considered) the foremost.<sup>438</sup>

**Tadā hi Anulādevī sutvāna Dhammadesanaṃ [167]**  
At that time Queen Anulā, after hearing a Dhamma teaching

**Therassa santike yeva, Saccānaṃ paṭibujjhiya,**  
in the Elder (Mahinda's) presence, understanding the Truths,

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<sup>437</sup> It seems to me, that as Arahat Saṅghamittā herself had received the Sikkhamāna training for two years, that she would have asked Anulā and the others to keep it too, so *no long time* here should probably include that period.

<sup>438</sup> In Mhv it mentions that she built twelve dwelling places in all.

**kāsāyāni nivāsetvā, dasasīlāni vādiya [168]**

and donning the yellow robes, undertook the ten precepts

**Dolakanāmāmacassa ghare vāsam akappayi.**

and made her dwelling in the home of the minister named Dolaka.

**Gatāya Theriyā tattha Laṅkādiṭṭe tato param, [169]**

Afterwards, with the coming of the Elder Nun to the Island of Laṅkā,

**Cūlaṅgaṇa-Mahāgaṇa-Sirivaḍḍhā ti – te tayo**

**pāsāde pamukhe tattha kārapesi Mahīpati. [170]**

these three foremost palaces: Small Chapter, Great Chapter and Increasing Splendour were made by the Lord of the World.

**Parivāratthāya tesam pāsāde apare bahū,**

For the benefit of his retinue and many others in the palace,

**Mahābodhāhaṭṭāyeva nāvāya kūpayatthikam [171]**

**Cūlaṅgaṇanāmagehe<sup>439</sup> ṭhapāpesi Mahissaro,**

when the Great Bodhi (Tree) was brought in the ship, the Ruler of the World had the mast placed in the house named the Small Chapter,

**Mahāgaṇakagehamhi lakāraṅ-ca patiṭṭhitam, [172]**

the sail was established in the Great Chapter house,

**Sirivaḍḍhanagehamhi arittam ṭhapitam tadā.**

and then the rudder was placed in the Increasing Splendour house.<sup>440</sup>

**Etādiso: guṇopeto Ratanattayagāravo, [173]**

**Bodhiyā garukam katvā yāvajīvam<sup>441</sup> Mahīpati,**

The Lord of the World, who was of such a kind: endowed with virtue and respect for the Three Treasures, after paying lifelong respect to the Bodhi (Tree),

**yāni sabbāni ṭhānāni kārapetvāna Dīpake,**

and causing all the places in the Isle to be prepared,

**pākaṭā nāma nāmena, yāva ajjatanā iti. [174]**

(gained) a famous name, lasting even until today.

**Raṅṅo maṅgalaṭṭhī so, vicaranto yathāsukham,**

The King's state elephant, wandering wherever it liked,

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<sup>439</sup> ExtMhv: *Cūl-*.

<sup>440</sup> Dr. Hema Goonatilake, in her paper, *The Unbroken Lineage of the Sri Lankan Bhikkhuni Sangha from 3rd Century B.C.E. to the Present*, makes the interesting point that these nunneries are the first museums we hear of in history.

<sup>441</sup> ExtMhv: *-jīvam*.

**purassa ekapassamhi kandarantamhi sītale, [175]**

**Kadambapupphagumbante aṭṭhāsi, gocaraṃ caraṃ.**

stayed on one side of the city in a cool spot in a mountain grotto, near to a Kadambapuppha bush, where it grazed.

**Abhiṇṇam<sup>442</sup> gamanam tattha narā, hatthim vudikkhiya: [176]**

Often people journeyed there, and after seeing the elephant,

**“Ramamāno ayam hatthī Kadambavanake,” iti**

and saying: “This elephant delights in the Kadamba Grove,”

**taṇḍulāneva pāyitvā,<sup>443</sup> akarum hatthiposanam, [177]**

after feeding it with rice, fattened up the elephant,

**Āḥhaka-m-avhayantena ṭhānam tena pavuccati.**

and that place came to be known by the name of the Measure of Grain.<sup>444</sup>

**Athekadivasam hatthī na gaṇhi kabalāni so,**

One day the elephant didn't take (even) a morsel,

**Dīpappasādakam Theram Rājā so pucchi tam-manam. [178]**

and the King asked the Elder who brought faith to the Island the reason.

**“Kadambapupphagumbasmiṃ Thūpassa karanam karī**

**icchatī,” ti Mahāthero Mahārājassa abravi. [179]**

“Near the Kadambapuppha bush site he desires that a Sanctuary be built,” the Great Elder said to the Great King.

**Sadhātukam tattha Thūpaṃ Thūpassāgāram-eva ca,**

**kippaṃ Rājā akāresi niccaṃ janahite rato. [180]**

The King, who was ever delighting in the welfare of the people, quickly built a Sanctuary there together with a relic, and a Sanctuary room.

**Saṅghamittā Mahātherī, suññāgārābhilāsini,**

The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, who longed for an empty abode,

**ākiṇṇattā vihārassa vasamānassa tassa pi,<sup>445</sup> [181]**

as the dwelling place she lived in was crowded,

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<sup>442</sup> ExtMhv: *Abhiṇṇam*.

<sup>443</sup> ExtMhv: *pāyitva* (?), and reports that *māyitvā* is found in all manuscripts.

<sup>444</sup> Contrary to Geiger, who interprets *ālhaka* as meaning *post* (a meaning not found in the Dictionaries), this story indicates that the reason for the name is that the elephant was given a full measure of food by the visitors to the place.

<sup>445</sup> Mhv: *sā*.



**vuḍḍhatthinī Sāsanassa, bhikkhuṇānaṃ hitāya ca,**  
seeking the benefit of the Dispensation, and the welfare of the nuns,

**Bhikkhuṇupassayaṃ aññaṃ icchamānā vicakkhaṇā [182]**  
being wise and desiring another Nunnery,

**gantvā Cetiyaagehaṃ taṃ, pavivekasukhaṃ subhaṃ,**  
after going to that lovely Shrine House, which was comfortably secluded,

**dīvāvihāraṃ kappesi, vihārakusalāmalā. [183]**  
spent the day there, she who had faultless skill in dwellings.

**Theriyā vandanatthāya Rājā Bhikkhuṇupassayaṃ**  
**gantvā, tattha gataṃ sutvā, nikkhamitvā upassayā, [184]**  
The King, after going to the (first) Nunnery in order to worship the Elder Nun,  
hearing she had left the place, departing from the nunnery,

**patvā Cetiyaagehamhi, Mahātheriṃ avandayi.**  
and arriving near the Shrine House, worshipped the Great Elder.

**Sammoditvāna saddhiṃ so Saṅghamittāya Theriyā, [185]**  
After exchanging greetings with the Elder Saṅghamittā,

**tassā ñatvā adhippāyaṃ, adhippāyavidū vidū,**  
understanding her intention, the wise man, skilled in intentions,

**samantā Thūpagehassa rammaṃ Bhikkhuṇupassayaṃ**  
**kārāpesi Mahīpālo mahātejiddhivikkamo. [186]**  
the Guardian of the World, a hero of great power, had a delightful Nunnery built  
around the Sanctuary House.

**Hatthāḷhakasamīpamhi kato Bhikkhuṇupassayo**  
The Nunnery was built near where the elephant took his measure of grain

**Hatthāḷhakavihāro ti vissuto āsi tena so. [187]**  
therefore it became well-known as the Elephant's Measure monastery.

**Sumittā Saṅghamittā sā Mahātherī mahāmatī,**  
The good friend,<sup>446</sup> the Great Elder Saṅghamittā, who was greatly wise,

**tasmīṃ hi vāsaṃ kappesi ramme Bhikkhuṇupassaye. [188]**  
(then) made her dwelling in that delightful Nunnery.

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<sup>446</sup> This is a play on her name, which means *friend of the community*.

**Evam Laṅkālokaḥitaṃ, Sāsanavuddhiṃ,  
saṃsādhento esa Mahābodhidumindo,**

Thus benefiting the world of Laṅkā, and accomplishing  
the development of the Dispensation, the Great Bodhi Tree,

**Laṅkāḍīpe rammē Mahāmeghavanasmiṃ,  
aṭṭhā dīghaṃ kālam<sup>447</sup>-anekabbhutayutto ti. [189]**

endowed with various wonders, remained for a long time,<sup>448</sup>  
in the Great Cloud Grove, in the delightful Island of Laṅkā.

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate*

*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

***Mahāvamsē Mahābodhāgamano nāma Ekūnavīsatiṃ Paricchedo***

*The Nineteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Journey of the Great Bodhi  
Tree*

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<sup>447</sup> ExtMhv: *Aṭṭhāsi dīghakālam*; giving an extra syllable and being against the pattern of the metre. The edition follows Geiger here. Malalasekera records no variants.

<sup>448</sup> Indeed it still remains there to this day, being the oldest historical tree in the world.

## [XX. The Complete Emancipation of the Elders] [Theraparinibbānam]

[The Passing of King Asoka]  
1-13 ≠ Mhv 1-6

**Yasmiṃ rajje paṭiṭṭhito Pāṭalinagare vare  
aṭṭhārasamavassamhi, Dhammāsoko jutindharo, [1]**

The resplendent (King) Dhammāsoka established his reign in the noble Pāṭali town,  
and in the eighteenth year,

**tasmiṃ kāle, Mahārājā Piyatisso saḥāyako,  
at that time, his friend the Great King Piyatissa,**

**ānāpayitvā te dūte Jambudīpe sirivhaye: [2]**  
after sending his messengers to the splendid Rose-Apple Island, saying (to them):

**“Vacanena Mahindassa paññavantassa tādino  
“By the bidding of the wise and virtuous Mahinda**

**ānayittha Mahābodhiṃ Saṅghamittāya Theriyā,”  
bring the Great Bodhi (Tree) and the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā,”**

**Mahāmeghavanārāme Mahābodhi paṭiṭṭhahi. [3]**  
and he planted the Great Bodhi in the Great Cloud Grove monastery.

**Tato dvādassame vasse Mahesī tassa Rājino,  
Twelve years after that the King’s Chief Queen,**

**piyā Asandhimittā sā Sammāsambuddhamāmakā,<sup>449</sup> [4]**  
the dear Asandhimittā, who was devoted to the Perfectly Awakened One,

**Maccu mukhamhi sampattā, rogena paripīṭitā.  
being oppressed by disease fell into the mouth of Death.**

**Tato catutthavassamhi,<sup>450</sup> Dhammāsoko Mahīpati, [5]**  
After a further four years, the Lord of the World Dhammāsoka,

**gahetvāṃ’ itaram Deviṃ, Tissadeviṃ-ca-m-avhayaṃ,  
having taken another Queen, Tissadevī by name,**

**Mahesiyā abhāvena ṭhapesi visamāsayaṃ. [6]**  
appointed this contrary one to Chief Queen in his loss.

<sup>449</sup> Mhv: *matā Sambuddhamāmakā.*

<sup>450</sup> Mhv: *catutthe vassamhi.*

**Tato ca tatiye vasse, bālā rūpena mānini,**  
After a further three years, foolishly proud of her beauty,

**assaddhā appasannā ca Sāsanam tassa Satthuno, [7]**  
faithless and without devotion to the Teacher's Dispensation,

**rucivā attano rūpaṃ, nandanam janayanti pi,**  
delighting in her beauty, which made her rejoice,

**attano jātigottena mānatthaddhā tadā pana, [8]**  
and being very vain about her birth and lineage,

**passantā taṃ Mahīpālaṃ satataṃ pi gatam gatam**  
seeing the Guardian of the World constantly going

**vandanatthaṃ Mahābodhiṃ, saddhiṃ sapisāya ca, [9]**  
to worship the Great Bodhi (Tree), together with his assembly,

**ussūyamānā, sā Devī cintayantī tadā iti:**  
and being jealous, the Queen thinking like this:

**“Mayā pi ca<sup>451</sup> ayaṃ Rājā Mahābodhiṃ mamāyati,” [10]**  
“The King is (more) devoted to this Great Bodhi, (than) to me,”

**iti kodhavasam gantvā, attano 'natthakāraḥ,**  
and coming under the influence of anger, being one who works against her own benefit,

**maṇḍukaṇṭakayogena Mahābodhiṃ aghātayi. [11]**  
she destroyed the Great Bodhi with a poisonous thorn.<sup>452</sup>

**Sattatiṃsāni vassāni Rājā rajjaṃ akārayi.**  
The King made his reign for thirty-seven years (in all).<sup>453</sup>

**Catutthe divase yeva divasambhā payojitā, [12]**  
On the fourth day after the day (the destruction) was instigated,

**dukkhito dummano hutvā, byādhinā paripīlito,**  
having become sorrowful and depressed, oppressed by sickness,

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<sup>451</sup> ExtMhv omits *ca*, spoiling the metre.

<sup>452</sup> The *maṇḍu* (or elsewhere *maṇḍuka*) thorn is unidentified, but it is mentioned both in the Vinaya commentary (on the Pārājika), and in the Jātaka commentary (Jā 186).

<sup>453</sup> This figure – and the ones above that precede it – agree with Mhv, but in that text the King is said to have died four *years* after the Bodhi (Tree) was poisoned, which would have made 41 years in all.

**aniccatāvasaṃ patto Dhammāsoko mahāyaso. [13]**  
the greatly famous Dhammāsoka came under the influence of impermanence.<sup>454</sup>

**[The Passing of King Devānampiyatissa]  
14-42 ≠ Mhv 7-28**

**Devānampiyatisso tu Rājā, Dhammaguṇe rato,**  
But the King Devānampiyatissa, who delighted in the virtue of the Dhamma,

**Mahāvihāre navakammaṃ, tathā Cetiyaṃ pabbate. [14]**  
built the Great Monastery, and (another) near the Cetiya mountain.<sup>455</sup>

**Thūpārāme navakammaṃ niṭṭhāpetvā yathārahaṃ,**  
And after completing the building of the Sanctuary monastery, as was fit,

**Dīpappasādakaṃ Therāṃ pucchi pucchitakovidō: [15]**  
he asked the Elder who brought faith to the Island, who was skilled in questions:

**“Kāressāmi ahaṃ Bhante vihāre te bahū idha**  
“Venerable Sir, I will build here many monasteries

**Cetiyaṃeva sabbāni niṭṭhāpetvā asesato,**  
and after completing all the rest of the Shrines,

**patiṭṭhāpetuṃ Thūpesu kathaṃ lacchāmi dhātuyo?” [16]**  
where will I find the relics to place inside the Sanctuaries?”

**“Sambuddhapattaṃ pūretvā, Sumanenāhaṭṭā idha**  
“Having filled the Perfectly Awakened One’s bowl, Sumana brought it here

**Cetiyaṃ pabbate Rāja ṭhapitā idha dhātuyo, [17]**  
to the Cetiya mountain, King, and placed (many) relics there,

**Hatthikkhandhe ṭhapetvāna dhātuyo, idha āhara.”**  
after putting those relics on the back of an elephant, bring them here.”

**Taṃ tassa vacanaṃ sutvā, Rājā attamaṇo ahu, [18]**  
Having heard this statement, the King was uplifted,

**bhusāpetvā mahānāgaṃ, maṅgalaṭṭhisammatāṃ,**  
and after decorating the great elephant, the appointed state elephant,

**pūjāsakkārasammānaṃ gāhāpetvā anekadhā, [19]**  
and making them give worship, respect and honour in various ways,

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<sup>454</sup> A figurative way of saying he died.

<sup>455</sup> Now known as Mihintale.

**tattha gantvā Satherena, tathā āhari dhātuyo.**  
and going there with the Elder, he brought the relics back.

**Vihāre kārayitvāna ṭhāne yojanayojane, [20]**  
After buildings monasteries league by league,<sup>456</sup>

**tesu tesu vihāresu, Cetiyesu tahiṃ tahiṃ,**  
in every monastery, and inside every Shrine,

**dhātuyo ca nidhāpesi, nakkhattena subhena so. [21]**  
he deposited the relics, with lovely celebrations.

**Sambuddhabhuttapattam so Rājavatthughare subhe,  
ṭhapayitvāna pūjesi nānāpūjāhi sabbadā. [22]**  
After placing the bowl the Perfectly Awakened One had eaten from in the lovely  
Royal Palace, he worshipped it with various offerings everyday.

**Pañcasatā issaraputtā, mahābhogā mahāyasā  
chaḍḍayitvā, mahābhoge pabbajum Therasantike. [23]**  
The five hundred noble sons, having discarded great wealth and fame, went forth  
in the presence of the Elder of great (spiritual) wealth.

**Pañcasatehissarehi vasitaṭṭhāne kato tu so,**  
He built a dwelling place with the five-hundred nobles,

**vihāro tad-upādāya Issarasamaṇavhayo. [24]**  
and in reference to that it was called the Noble Ascetics monastery.

**Pañcasatā vessajanā mahābhogā mahāyasā  
nikkhamma, Girigāmambā pabbajum Therasantike,**  
Five hundred people from the farmer class having renounced great wealth and  
fame, went forth in the presence of the Elder in Mountain Village,

**teheva vasitattṭhāne kato Vessagiravhayo. [25]**  
and he built a dwelling place there called Farmers' Mountain (monastery).

**Yāyaṃ Mahāmahindena Therena vasitā guhā**  
Whatever caves were lived in by the Great Elder Mahinda

**sapabbate vihāre, sā sā Mahindaguhā ahu. [26]**  
on the mountain dwellings, those became (known as) Mahinda's caves.

\* \* \*

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<sup>456</sup> I.e at every place.

**Mahāvihāraṃ paṭhamam, dutiyam Cetiyaṃ subham,**  
First the Great Monastery, second the lovely Cetiya (monastery),

**Thūpārāmaṃ tu tatiyaṃ, Thūpapubbaṅgamaṃ subham, [27]**  
but the Sanctuary monastery was third, preceding the lovely Sanctuary (itself),

**catuttham tu Mahābodhipatiṭṭhāpanakāraṇam.**  
but fourth he had the Great Bodhi planted.

**Mahācetiyaṭṭhānamhi silāyūpassa cārūno [28]**  
The beautiful stone pillar (marking) the place of the Great Shrine

**Sambuddhagīvādhātussa patiṭṭhāpanapañcamam,**  
and (inside) the relic of the Perfectly Awakened One's neck (bone), he established fifth,

**Issarasamaṇam chaṭṭham, Tissavāpim tu sattamaṃ, [29]**  
the Nobles Ascetics' (monastery) was sixth, the Tissa tank seventh,

**aṭṭhamam Paṭhamathūpaṃ, navamaṃ Vessagirivhayaṃ,**  
eighth was the First Sanctuary, ninth the (monastery) called Farmers' Mountain,

**Upāsikāvihāraṇ-ca, tathā Hatthāḷhakāvayaṃ, [30]**  
The Lay-Womens' Monastery, and then the (one) called the Elephant's Measure,

**kireva Bhikkhuṇisaṅgho, bhikkhuṇīphāsukāraṇā,**  
**Hatthāḷhake osarivā, bhikkhuṇīnam upassaye. [31]**  
it seems the Community of nuns, after entering the Elephant's Measure, which was made for the comfort of the nuns, (lived) in this home for the nuns.

**Hatthāḷhakā nikkhamivā, Saṅghamittā anāsavā**  
After leaving the Elephant's Measure, the pollutant-free Saṅghamittā

**gatā Bhikkhuṇisaṅghena bhattaggahaṇakāraṇā. [32]**  
went with the Community of nuns for the reception of food.

**Kāretvā bhattasālam so Mahāpālikam-avhayaṃ,**  
Having made a reception hall called the Great Range,

**pāṭiyekkam pāṭiyekkam sampannaparivāritam, [33]**  
for each of the honoured assemblies separately,

**vatthabhojanapānādi, upakaraṇasampadam,**  
**tassev' Ubhatoṣaṅghassa adāsi Manujādhipo. [34]**  
the King furnished (it) with (all) utensils, and gave clothes, food, drinks and so on for both Communities.

**Tathā Bhikkhusahassassa sapaṛikkhāram-uttamaṃ  
Pavāraṇāya dānañ-ca anuvassañ-ca dāpayi. [35]**

In the same way he had donated to a thousand monks at the Invitation a donation of the very best requisites annually.

**Nāgadīpe Jambukole vihāre tamhi paṭṭane**

In the port of Jambukola in the Nāgadīpa<sup>457</sup> (he built) the monasteries (known as)

**Tissamahāvihārañ-ca, Pācīnārāmam-eva ca, [36]**

Tissa's Great monastery,<sup>458</sup> and the Eastern monastery,

**ettakamhi vihāramhi bahudānaṃ nirantaram  
paṭiyattaṃ paṭiyattaṃ sakkaccaṃ pi dine dine. [37]**

and in all these monasteries he continually had great donations prepared with respect day by day.

**Iti etāni kammāni Laṅkārajahitathiko,**

Thus these deeds the one who sought the kingdom of Laṅkā's benefit,

**Devānampiyatisso so, kārapesi, guṇappiyo,**

(King) Devānampiyatissa, to whom virtue was dear, had made,

**yāvajīvam tu nekāni puññakammāni ācīni. [38]**

and throughout his life he accumulated countless meritorious deeds.

**Paṭhame yeva vassamhi rajjam patvā, pabhūti so**

After attaining sovereignty in the first year, subsequently

**sabbāni puññakammāni dānasīlādikāni<sup>459</sup> vā. [39]**

(he did) all meritorious deeds, beginning with donations, virtue and so on.

**Rajjam patvāna paṭṭhāya, ācīnityā dine dine,**

After attaining sovereignty, accumulating (merit) day by day,

**vibhajjetvā yadi vatvā gaṇanāya asaṅkhiyā, [40]**

sharing what has been called an immeasurable amount,

**Laṅkādīpo ahū phīto Dhammatejena pālito.**

the Island of Laṅkā became prosperous and was protected by the strength of Righteousness.

**Devānampiyatisso so, Ratanattayamāmakō, [41]**

Devānampiyatissa, who was devoted to the Three Treasures,

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<sup>457</sup> Now known as Jaffna, it is not an island, but a peninsular.

<sup>458</sup> Not the monastery of the same name in the south as Geiger suggests.

<sup>459</sup> ExtMhv: -*sīladikāni*; printer's error.



**vassāni cattājisāni rajjam kāresi Dīpake,**  
made his rule over the Isle for forty years, (and then),

**maccu mukhamhi sampatto, rogena paripīlito. [42]**  
being oppressed by disease, he fell into the mouth of Death.

**[The Passing of Arahat Mahinda]  
43-64 ≠ Mhv 29-47**

**Tassaccaye kaniṭṭho so,<sup>460</sup> Uttiyo iti vissuto,**  
After his passing his younger brother, well-known as Uttiya,

**Muṭasīvassa<sup>461</sup> Rañño tu rajjam kāresi sādhuḥkaṃ. [43]**  
(born) of King Muṭasiva, made his rule righteously.

**Tadā Mahindathero so Laṅkādīpo mahāgaṇī,**  
Then the Elder Mahinda, the Light of Laṅkā, leader of a great crowd,

**Laṅkādīpamhi dīpetvā, Jinasāsanam-uttamaṃ [44]**  
**pariyattim paṭipattim paṭivedhañ-ca sādhuḥkaṃ,**  
after lighting up the Island of Laṅkā, and propagating the supreme Dispensation of  
the Victor (consisting of) proper study, practice and penetration,

**Laṅkāya Satthukappo so katvā lokahitaṃ bahuṃ, [45]**  
who, like the Teacher,<sup>462</sup> benefiting many in the world in Laṅkā,

**gaṇehi Bhikkhusaṅghehi pañṇavantehi tādihi,**  
with a virtuous crowd of wise monks in the Community,

**tassa Uttiyarājassa jayavassamhi aṭṭhame, [46]**  
in the eighth victorious year of the King Uttiya,

**Antovassaṃ, saṭṭhivasso Cetiyaṇṇate vasi,**  
within the Rains Retreat, after he had dwelt sixty years near the Cetiya mountain,

**Assayujassa māssassa sukkapakkhaṭṭhame dine, [47]**  
on the eighth day of the bright half of the month Assayuja,<sup>463</sup>

**Parinibbāyi so Thero nibbuto dīpavaḍḍhano.**  
that passionless Elder, who increased the light,<sup>464</sup> attained Emancipation.

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<sup>460</sup> Mhv: *taṃkaniṭṭho*.

<sup>461</sup> Long -ī- here must be m.c., if it is not a printer's error.

<sup>462</sup> I.e. the Buddha.

<sup>463</sup> Around October.

<sup>464</sup> Or perhaps: *who increased the (virtue in the) Island*.

**Nibbutassa Mahindassa aṭṭhamiyāṃ dine pana**  
As the passionless Mahinda (passed away) on the eighth day

**tena taṃ divasaṃ nāma aṭṭhamiyā ti sammataṃ. [48]**  
it was agreed upon that his name (be given) to the eighth day.<sup>465</sup>

**Taṃ sutvā, Uttiyo Rājā sokasallasamappito,**  
Having heard that, King Uttiya, affected by the dart of grief,

**gantvāna Theram<sup>466</sup> vanditvā kanditvā bahudhā bahū, [49]**  
after going, worshipping and lamenting the Elder a great deal,

**āsittagandhatelāya lahuṃ suvaṇṇadoṇiyā**  
**Theradehaṃ khipāpetvā, taṃ doṇiṃ sādhuḥṣitaṃ [50]**  
having the body of the Elder quickly laid out in a golden casket that had been sprinkled with perfumed oil, and placing

**suvaṇṇakūṭāgāramhi ṭhapāpetvā, alaṅkate**  
**kūṭāgāram<sup>467</sup> ropayitvā<sup>468</sup> kārento sādhuḥṣitaṃ [51]**  
that perfect casket on a golden bier, and lifting the decorated bier, while making righteous ceremonies

**mahatā va janoghena āgatena tato tato,**  
with a great flood of people who had come together from here and there,

**mahatā va baloghena kārento pūjanāvidhiṃ, [52]**  
while making various offerings with a great army (of people),

**alaṅkatena maggena, bahudhālaṅkataṃ puram,**  
through the city's decorated path, that had many decorations,

**kūṭāgārā ropayitvā dhāretvā Rājavīthiyā, [53]**  
after lifting and carrying the bier along the Highway,

**Mahāvihāram netvāna, saddhiṅ-ca parisāya pi,**  
and leading (it) to the Great Monastery, together with the assembly,

**ṭhapāpetvā Mahīpālo kūṭāgāram alaṅkataṃ [54]**  
and placing the decorated bier (there), the Guardian of the World,

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<sup>465</sup> It seems each day of the lunar month had a name specially assigned to it, and they gave Mahinda's name to the eighth day of the month.

<sup>466</sup> Mhv: *gantvā Therāṅ-ca*.

<sup>467</sup> Mhv: *kūṭāgāre*.

<sup>468</sup> This must be for *āropayitvā*, as *ropayitvā*, *planting*, *cultivating*, itself would not give a good meaning.

**Pañhambamālake yeva sattāhāni tahim̐ pana**  
(celebrated) in the Mango Question enclosure, for seven days

**torañadhajapupphehi, gandhapuṇṇaghaṭehi pi,**<sup>469</sup> [55]  
with arches, flags and flowers, with pots full of incense,

**vihārañ-ca samantā ca maṇḍitaṃ yojanattayaṃ.**  
adorned for a distance of three leagues around the monastery.

**Ahu Rājānubhāvena, Dīpan-tu sakalaṃ pana** [56]  
(This) was through the power of the King, but the whole Island

**ānubhāvena devānaṃ tathevālaṅkataṃ ahu.**  
was decorated through the power of the gods.

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<sup>469</sup> Mhv: *ca*.

**Nānāpūjam<sup>470</sup> kārayitvā sattāham tam<sup>471</sup> Mahīpati [57]**

The Lord of the World, after making many offerings for a week,

**puratthimadisābhāge, Therānam-bandhamālake,**  
in the easterly direction, in the Elders' enclosure,

**kāretvā gandhacitakam Mahāthūpam padakkhiṇam, [58]**  
after making circumambulation of the fragrant pyre near the Great Sanctuary,

**karonto tattha netvāna<sup>472</sup> kūṭāgāram manoramam**  
leading the delightful bier to that place

**citakamhi ṭhapāpetvā sakkāram antimam akā. [59]**  
and placing it on the pyre, paid his final respects.

**Ujjāletvāna aggim so, gandhodakena siñciya,**  
After lighting the fire, and sprinkling with perfumed water,

**Therassa ḍahanaṭṭhāne Cetiyaṃ tattha Bhūpati [60]**  
**kāretvā dhātuyo tattha nidhāpesi yathāraham.**  
the Lord of the Earth right there in the Elder's cremation spot after making a Shrine deposited the relics there, as was fit.

**Upaḍḍhadhātuyo tassa gāhāpetvā Narādhipo [61]**  
The Ruler of Men after having half of his relics

**Cetiyaṃ pabbate yeva tathā tattha nidhāpayi,**  
deposited there in the Cetiya mountain,

**sabbesu ca vihāresu Thūpe kāresi Uttiyo,<sup>473</sup>**  
**dhātuyo ca nidhāpetvā, pūjāpesi dine dine. [62]**  
and depositing relics in all the monastic Sanctuaries, (King) Uttiya made offerings day by day.

**Isino dehanikkhepakataṭṭhānamhi tassa tam**  
The place where the sage's body had been laid

**vuccate, bahumānena, Isibhūmaṅgaṇam iti. [63]**  
is called, out of respect for him, the Seer's Courtyard.

**Tato pabhuti Ar'yānam samantā yojanattaye**  
**sarīram āharitvāna, tamhi desamhi ḍayhati. [64]**  
Thenceforth after bringing the body of the Noble Ones from three leagues all round, it was burnt in that place.

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<sup>470</sup> Mhv: *Nānāpūjā.*

<sup>471</sup> Mhv: *tam sattāham.*

<sup>472</sup> Mhv: *netvā tam.*

<sup>473</sup> Mhv: *khattiyo.*

[The Passing of Arahat Saṅghamittā]  
65-74 ≠ Mhv 48-53

**Saṅghamittā Mahātherī, mahābhiññā mahāmatī,**  
The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, of great power, great intelligence,

**katvā Sāsanakiccāni sīlapaññāguṇehi ca, [65]**  
after fulfilling all duties to the Dispensation with virtue and wisdom,

**bahulokahitaṃ katvā Laṅkādiṇe manorame,**  
and benefiting many people in the delightful Island of Laṅkā,

**tassa Uttiyarājassa navavassassa accāye, [66]**  
nine years after (the beginning of the reign) of King Uttiya,

**ekūnasatṭhivassāni, Hatthāḷhaka-upassaye  
vasantā Saṅghamittā sā, dīpo lokassa nibbutā. [67]**  
fifty-nine years (after arriving), while residing in the Elephant's Measure house, the  
light of the world passed away.

**Taṃ<sup>474</sup> sutvā, Uttiyo Rājā sokasallasamappito**  
Having heard that, King Uttiya, affected by the dart of grief,

**assudhāraṃ pavattento, nikkhanto parisāya pi [68]**  
with a shower of tears set rolling,<sup>475</sup> went out with his assembly

**Therassa viya pūjāya pūjāsakkāram-uttamaṃ  
karonto Theriyā tassā sattāhāni tahiṃ pana, [69]**  
and just as for the Elder (Mahinda), he made supreme offerings and paid respect to  
the Elder Nun for a week in that place,

**sabbā alaṅkatā Laṅkā Therassa viya āsi ca.**  
and decorated the whole of Laṅkā as for the Elder (Mahinda).

**Kūṭāgāragataṃ, Theridehaṃ sattadinaccāye, [70]**  
After seven days, the Elder's body (was placed) on top of a bier,

**nayitvāna purā rammā saddhiñ-ca parisāya pi,**  
and, after being led round the delightful city with the assembly,

**ṭhapāpetvā Mahīpālo kūṭāgāraṃ alaṅkataṃ, [71]**  
and placing the decorated bier aside, the Guardian of the World,

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<sup>474</sup> ExtMhv omits, but probably be accident, as it leaves a 7-syllable line, and compare the same line at 20.49a above.

<sup>475</sup> The third time this phrase has been used about the Elder: first when she told her Father, King Asoka, she was going to Laṅkā, and next when she actually left for the Island, never to return.

**Cittasālāsamīpamhi, Mahābodhipadassaye,**  
near to the Beautiful hall, in sight of the Great Bodhi,

**Thūpārāmavihārassa puratthimadisāya vā, [72]**  
on the eastern side of the Sanctuary monastery,

**Theriyā vuttaṭṭhānamhi, aggikiccaṃ akārayi.**  
in the place indicated by the Elder Nun, had the cremation carried out.

**Thūpañ-ca tattha kāresi Uttiyo so Mahīpati.<sup>476</sup> [73]**  
The Lord of the World Uttiya also had a Sanctuary built in that place.

**Gahetvā dhātuyo tassā Thūpe tattha nidhāpayi,**  
Having taken her relics he deposited them in the Sanctuary,

**sabbapūjāvīdhānehi pūjāpesi dine dine. [74]**  
and he worshipped there day by day, with all kinds of offerings.

**[The Passing of Other Elders]**  
**75-82 ≠ Mhv 54-58**

**Pañcāpi te Mahātherā Ittiyo<sup>477</sup> Uttiyo pi ca**  
Also the five Great Elders: Ittiya, Uttiya,

**Bhaddasālo Mahāthero Sambalo ca mahāmatī, [75]**  
the Great Elder Bhaddasāla and the greatly intelligent Sambala,

**Mahindo pañcamo ceva nibbāyimsu anāsavā.**  
and Mahinda, (these) five, being without pollutants, attained Emancipation.

**Ariṭṭhādayo Mahātherā, mahāpaññā visāradā, [76]**  
(Also) beginning with the Great Elder Ariṭṭha, greatly wise and skilful,

**vācetvāna bahū sisse Vinayesu visārade,**  
after skilfully teaching many students in the Discipline,

**Suttanta-m-Abhidhammesu, kovide paṭisambhīde, [77]**  
Doctrine and Abstract Doctrine, being expert in discrimination,

**anekāni saḥassāni bhikkhukhīṇāsavā tathā,**  
and innumerable thousands of monks who had destroyed the pollutants,

**Saṅghamittāpabhutayo Theriyo dvādasā pi ca, [78]**  
and the twelve Elder Nuns beginning with Saṅghamittā,

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<sup>476</sup> Mhv: *Mahāmatī*.

<sup>477</sup> Spelt *Itthiya* elsewhere. Spelling mistake?

**khīṇāsavā bhikkhuṇiyo sahaṣṣāni bahūni vā**<sup>478</sup>

and many thousands of nuns who had destroyed the pollutants,

**bahussutā mahāpaññā Vinayamhi Jināgamam,**<sup>479</sup> [79]

who were learned, greatly wise in the Discipline of the Victor's tradition,

**ālokaṃ dassayitvāna, obhāsetvā, imam mahim**

**jālitvā aggikkhandhā va, nibāyimsu anāsavā. [80]**

after showing the light, shining forth, and lighting up the earth like a mass of fire, being pollutant-free, attained Emancipation.

**Dasavassāni so Rājā rajjam kāresi Uttiyo,**

King Uttiya made his reign for ten years,

**aniccabhāvaṃ sampatto, rogena paripīḷito,**

being oppressed by disease, he attained the state of impermanence,

**evaṃ aniccatā esā sabbalokavināsinī. [81]**

just so is the whole impermanent world heading for destruction.

**Tam etam atisāhasam atibalam nāvāriyam yo naro**

**jānanto va,**<sup>480</sup> **aniccatam bhavagata nibbindate neva ca,**

That man who, knowing the very violent, very strong and unstoppable impermanence, doesn't grow weary of coming to existence, and

**nibbiṇṇo viratiṃ ratim**<sup>481</sup> **na kurute pāpehi puññehi ca,**

being tired of it, doesn't have disgust for wicked things and delight in meritorious things,

**tassesā atimohajālabalatā, jānam pi yam muyhati.**<sup>482</sup> [82]

because of the strength of his great delusion, is one who, though knowing (the truth), forgets (it).

*Sujanappasādasamvegatthāya Kate*

*Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People*

*Mahāvamsa Theraparinibbānaṃ nāma Vīsatiṃ Paricchedo*

*The Twentieth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Complete Emancipation of the Elders*

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<sup>478</sup> Mhv: *ca*.

<sup>479</sup> Mhv: *Vinayādi Jināgamam*.

<sup>480</sup> Mhv: *pi*.

<sup>481</sup> ExtMhv: *viratiratiṃ*, chosen from one manuscript, when all the others have the reading here, which is metrical.

<sup>482</sup> Mhv: *sammuyhatī ti*.