

The Chronicle of the Island Dīpavaṃsa



An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record
edited and translated by
Hermann Oldenberg

The Chronicle of the Island Dīpavaṃsa

**An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record
edited and translated by
Hermann Oldenberg**

Table of Contents

Note about the Digital Edition

Introduction

[The Chronicle of the Island]

I. Buddha's subjection of the Yakkhas

II. The Conquering of the Nāgas

III. The Great Lineage of Kings

IV. [The First Two Councils]

V. The Schools of the Teachers

VI. [Asoka's Conversion]

VII. The Council of the True Faith

VIII. [The Missions]

IX. [Vijaya's Story]

X. [Paṇḍuvāsa]

XI. [Devānampiyatissa]

XII. [The Coming of Mahinda]

XIII. [The Earthquakes]

XIV. [Mahāvihāra and the Cetiyaḥabbata]

XV. [The Relics, the Buddhas, and Queen Anulā]

XVI. [The Bodhi Tree]

XVII. [The Passing of a Generation]

XVIII. [The Bhikkhuni Lineage]

XIX. [Duṭṭhagāmaṇi]

XX. [Tissa to Kuṭikaṇṇatissa]

XXI. [Abhaya to Subha]

XXII. [Vasabha to Mahāseṇa]

Note about the Digital Edition.

This edition is based on the reprint of the 1879 edition made by the Pali Text Society in 2000. There were no errata published there, and although there appear to be numerous mistakes, which are meant to be there – as accurate reflections of the manuscript evidence – and which are printer’s errors I have been unable to determine. I have tried, therefore, as far as possible, to reproduce what I saw in the printed edition, following Oldenburg when he says in his Introduction: “In many passages I have refrained from correcting manifest grammatical blunders, errors in numbers of years etc., because I was afraid of correcting not the copyist but the author himself.”

In making this transcription I have made a few changes to the transliteration scheme, as follows: ṃ > m̃; â > ā; î > ī; û > ū; ṃk & ñk,¹ & ñg & ṃg > ñk & ṅg; ṃc > ñc; ṃch > ñch.

I have arranged the text and translation verse-by-verse, so that anyone with a modicum of Pāli knowledge can work back from the English to the Pāli text itself, and follow how the work proceeds.

I have included the complex variant readings that Oldenberg recorded for the text. There are something like 650+, and it is possible in typing them in I have made some mistakes (if anyone notices such I would appreciate it being brought to my notice). I have sometimes commented on the footnotes, and my comments are placed within square brackets.

I have included original page numbers also in square brackets, those attached to the text refer to the text page, those attached to the translation to the translation page. Verse numbers were only given after every five verses in the original but here I have included them all.

¹ I have not been able to see any difference between these two representations of the guttural nasal, but in the text sometimes one is printed and sometimes another.

In the Tuṭṭhubha verses Oldenberg printed them as two lines of two *pādas*; here I have put each *pāda* on a separate line of its own. The Siloka verses were printed as two *pādayugas*, which I follow here; though occasionally, where Oldenberg printed three *pādas* on one line, I have separated them, placing the extra line on a line of its own.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful once more to Donny Hacker for help in preparing the translation; despite having much other work on, and his studies as well, he always finds time for Dhamma work.

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
November, 2017

2nd Edition, February 2018

After the text was published for some time it was brought to my attention by Dr. Petra Kieffer-Pülz that there were mistakes in the proof-reading. I have therefore gone over the text and proof-read the text and the translation once again.

In doing so I had the chance to read the text and translation together for the first time, and was able to correct many readings by comparing and cross-checking them.

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
February, 2018

Introduction

[1] The Dīpavaṃsa, an edition of which I here lay before the public, is a historical work composed in Ceylon by an unknown author. George Turnour, who first drew the attention of European scholars to the Dīpavaṃsa,² declared it to be identical with a version of the Mahāvaṃsa to which the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā occasionally alludes, the version preserved in the Uttaravihāra monastery. This is certainly wrong.³ We must undertake, therefore, a research of our own as to the origin of the Dipavaṃsa and its position in the ancient literature of the Ceylonese.

The Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā, when commenting on the title [2] of the Mahāvaṃsa, contains the following important remarks:⁴

“Mahāvaṃsam pavakkhāmīti mahantānaṃ vaṃso
tantipaveniparamparā ’ti pi sayam eva vā mahantattā ubhayattha

² See the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. VI, p. 790, 1054; VII, p. 919 *et seq.*

³ The arguments by which Turnour supports his theory are entirely founded on errors and inaccuracies. Turnour says, for instance, that the opening lines of the Dīpavaṃsa are quoted in that Ṭikā as contained in the Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṃsa. The Ṭikā quotes those lines indeed (India Office MS. of the Mahāv. Ṭikā fol. ko'), but without the slightest reference to the Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṃsa. The only passage referring to the Mahāvaṃsa of the Uttaravihāra which I know, is quite sufficient to show that the work was different from the Dīpavaṃsa. In the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā (India Off. MS. fol. gha') we are told, that the Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṃsa contained a statement somewhat different from the usual one, with regard to the descendents of king Sīhassara: “Uttaravihāravāsīnaṃ pana Mahāvaṃsa Sīhassarassa rañño puttapaputtakā caturāsītisahassāni rājāno ahesuṃ, tesam kaniṭṭhiko Bhaggusakko (corrected to Bhagusakko) nāma rājā. tassa puttapaputtakā dvāvīsātisahassāni rājāno ahesuṃ, tesam kaniṭṭhiko Jayaseno ’ti vuttaṃ.” The Dīpavaṃsa (3, 43. 44) in the contrary agrees with the statements of our Mahāvaṃsa (p. 9) which are in contradiction to the Mahāvaṃsa of the Uttaravihāra.

⁴ I give this passage according to the India. Office MS. (fol. ko'), together with the various readings of the Paris MS. (fol. ko') which M. Feer has kindly communicated to me. – Comp. Turnour's Introd. to the Mahāvaṃsa, p. XXXI.

Introduction - 8

paridīpitattā vā Mahāvaṃso, tam Mahāvaṃsaṃ. tesam pi
buddhabuddhasāvakaḍḍīnam pi guṇamahantānaṃ
Mahāsammatāḍḍīnam pi vā rājamahāmatānaṃ (rājamahantānaṃ?)
pavenidīpitattā ca buddhāgamanadīpakārehi mahādhikāratā sayam
eva mahantattaṃ veditabbaṃ.

anupamavaṃsaanuggahāḍḍīnaṃ (°ḍḍīnaṃ Paris MS.)
sabbam aññataṃ (aññātaṃ Par. MS.) kataṃ suppakāsitaṃ
apariyāgataṃ (ariyābhataṃ Par. MS.) uttamasabbhi vaṇṇitaṃ
suṇantu dīpatthutiya sādhusakkataṃ ti (comp. Dīpav. 1, 5)

iminā Aṭṭhakathānayaṇ' ev' assa mahantattaṃ paridīpitani
(paridīpitattaṃ?) ca veditabbaṃ. – tenāhu porāṇā:

dīpāgamaṃ buddhassa dhātuṃ ca bodhiāgamaṃ
(bodhiyāgamaṃ Par. MS.)
saṅgahattheravādaṃ ca dīpamhi sāsanaāgamaṃ
narindāgamaṃ vaṃsaṃ kittayissaṃ suṇātha me 'ti

(comp. Dīpav. 1, 1). imāya pana gāthāya nayena (gāthānayaṇa Par.
MS.) pi assa sakhyā (saṅkhyā Par. MS.) mahantattaparidīpitattaṃ
ñeyyaṃ. evaṃ Mahāvaṃsaṃ ti laddhanāmaṃ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ
vācānamaggaṃ porāṇaṭṭhakathaṃ ettha Sīhalabhāsaṃ hitvā
Māgadhikabhāsaṃ pavakkhāmiti adhippāyo.”

As two stanzas are quoted here, the first of which is said to be taken from an Aṭṭhakathā, the second from a work of the “Porāṇā” and as immediately afterwards mention is made of the Sinhalese “Porāṇaṭṭhakathā”, the contents of which are expressed in the Mahāvaṃsa in Pāli, there can be very little doubt that this Aṭṭhakathā and [3] that work of the Porāṇā are identical with each other and with the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā mentioned afterwards. If I am right in asserting the identity of the works alluded to under these various expressions, we learn from this passage the following important fact, viz.: there was an Aṭṭhakathā handed down and probably also composed in the Mahāvihāra, written in Sinhalese, the introductory stanzas of which allude to a historical account of Buddha’s visits to Ceylon, of the Councils, of Mahinda etc., intended to be given in that very Aṭṭhakathā, and these stanzas are almost identical with the opening lines of the Dīpavaṃsa. There must, therefore, most probably be some relation between this Aṭṭhakathā

and the Dīpavaṃsa which will be of a sufficient interest to justify a further inquiry.

Let us see what results we may obtain as to the contents of this Aṭṭhakathā and as to its literary form? Let us ask particularly in what way the Pāli stanzas quoted from this Aṭṭhakathā were connected with its main substance which was composed in Sinhalese?

The Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, after the passage quoted above, goes on to give some details about the way in which the author of the Mahāvaṃsa made use of this Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā on which his own work is based. It is said in the Ṭīkā “ayaṃ hi ācariyo poraṇamhi Sīhala[ṭṭha]kathā-Mahāvaṃse ativithārapunarutti-dosabhāvaṃ pahāya taṃ sukhaggahaṇādippayojanasahitaṃ katvā ’va kathesi.” The work in question is called here, as repeatedly afterwards, Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa. It is not difficult to account for this expression where the two at first sight contradictory elements of a (theological) commentary (Aṭṭhakathā) and of an extensive historical narrative (Mahāvaṃsa) are combined together. If we look at Buddhaghosa’s Aṭṭhakathā on the Vinaya, we find that the author has there prefixed to his explanation of the sacred texts a detailed historical account of the origin of the Tipiṭaka, its redaction in the three Councils, and its propagation to Ceylon by Mahinda and his companions. Buddhaghosa’s commentary is based, as is well [4] known, on that very Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā of the Mahavihāra, which we are now discussing, and we may assume almost with certainty, that to this Aṭṭhakathā a similar historical introduction was prefixed which may have been even of a greater extent than that of Buddhaghosa. If our inference is correct, we have found in what way the title “Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa” could apply most properly to this work: it is a historical account (Mahāvaṃsa) which forms a constituent part of a theological commentary (Aṭṭhakathā), and which is composed in order to give to the dogmatical contents of the letter the indispensable historical foundation.⁵

⁵ In order to show how an Aṭṭhakathā could contain extensive and detailed historical statements, we may refer also to the quotations which the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā gives from the Aṭṭhakathā of the Uttaravihāra, concerning the history of Susunāga (Turnour’s Introduction, XXXVII), of

We are not very likely to go too far astray, if we try to form an idea of the style of composition of this Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa according to the analogy of what we have before us in Buddhaghosa's comment. According to this, the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa appears to have been written, in the main, in prose; it was intermixed, however, with a considerable number of stanzas in order to emphasize the more important points of the narration and to raise them above the level of the rest. The Pāli verses quoted above, which are taken apparently from the introduction to the whole work, render it highly probable that all these stanzas were composed in Pāli. It was necessary, of course, to convey to the Sinhalese clergy of that time the understanding of the sacred Pāli texts by a commentary written in Sinhalese; if, however, in the course of such a commentary the most important and remarkable points were to be expressed in a metrical form, we may easily understand, that for such a purpose [5] the language of the sacred texts which contained so abundant a stock of models for metrical composition, appeared much more appropriate than the popular dialect of the Sinhalese.

A considerable number of verses ascribed to the "Porāṇā", i. e. taken from the ancient Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā, and quoted by Buddhaghosa or in the Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā, present the same close resemblance and almost identity with passages of the Dīpsvamsa, which we have observed in the two verses given above. In proof of this I give the following examples:

Samanta-Pāsādikā (MS. Orient. 1027 of the Brit. Museum) fol. ga':
tenāhu porāṇā:

Vedisagirimhi Rājagahe vasitvā timsa rattiyo
kālo 'va gamanassā 'ti gacchāma dīpam uttamam. |
paḷinā Jambudīpāto haṃsarājā va ambare
evam uppaṭitā therā nipatīmsu naguttame. |

the nine Nanda kings (I. I. p. XXXVIII), of Candagutta (I. I. p. XLII), of the descendants of Mahāsammata (I. I. p. XXXV). If we compare the last passage with the statements about the same subject given above (p. 1, n. 2) from the Mahāvamsa of the Uttaravihāra, we are led to believe, that the Mahāvamsa also of the Uttaravihāra formed a part of the Aṭṭhakathā of that monastery in the same way as was the case in the Mahāvihāra.

Introduction - 11

purato puraseṭṭhassa pabbate meghasannibhe
patiṭṭahahiṃsu kūṭamhi haṃsā va nagamuddhanṭi.
Comp. Dīpav. 12, 35-37.

Samanta-Pās. fol. kāh' – kha: sā panāyaṃ (i. e. the second Council)

yehi therehi saṅgītā saṅgītesu ca vissutā
Sabbakāmi ca Sāḷho ca Revato Khuddhasobhito |
Yaso ca Sāṇasambhūto, ete saddhivihārikā
therā Ānandatherassa diṭṭhapubbā tathāgataṃ, |
Sumano Vāsabhaḡāmi ca ñeyyā saddhivihārikā.
dve ime Anuruddhassa diṭṭhapubbā tathāgataṃ. |
dutiyo pana saṅgīte yehi therehi saṅgaho
sabbe pi pannabhārā te katakiccā anāsavā 'ti.
Comp. Dīpav. 4, 50-54.

Mahāv. Ṭīkā fol. khau: tenāhu porāṇā:

yakkhānaṃ buddho bhayajananāṃ akāsi,
te tajjitā taṃ saraṇāṃ akaṃsu buddhaṃ,
lokānukampo lokahite sadā rato
so cintayi attasukhaṃ acintamassa. |
imaṃ ca Laṅkāthala mānusānaṃ [6]
porāṇakappaṭṭhitam vutt[h]avāsaṃ
vasanti Laṅkāthala mānusā bahu
pubbe va Ojamaṇḍavaradīpe 'ti.
Comp. Dīpav. 1, 66. 73.

Mahāv. Ṭīkā fol. ṭām: tenāhu porāṇā:

Suppatiṭṭhitabrahmā ca Nandiseno Sumaṇadeviyā
putto mātā pitā c' eva gihibhūtā tayo janā 'ti.
Comp. Dīpav. 19, 9.

Mahāv. Ṭīkā fol. ḍhṛ': tenāhu porāṇā:

Anulā nāma yā itthi sā hantvāna naruttame
Catumāsaṃ Tambapaṇṇimhi issariyaṃ anusāsitā 'ti.
Comp. Dīpav. 20, 30.

These passages which we may almost with certainty pronounce to belong to the ancient Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra, will suffice to show, to what extent the author of the Dīpavamsa borrowed not only the materials of his own work, but also the mode of expression and even whole lines, word for word, from that Aṭṭhakathā. In fact, a great part of the Dīpavamsa has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like that Aṭṭhakathā; many of the repetitions and omissions⁶ which

⁶ The most striking example of such repetitions is the account of the three Councils, each of which is described twice, the author, no doubt, having had before him two different authorities. The case is similar in the following passages:

(12, 51-53:)

samaṇo 'ti maṃ manussalokeyaṃ khattiya pucchasi bhūmipāla,
samaṇā mayaṃ mahārāja dhammarājassa sāvaka
tam eva anukampāya Jambudīpā idhāgatā. |
āvudhaṃ nikkhipitvāna ekamantaṃ upāvisi,
nisajja rājā sammodi bahuṃ atthūpasamhitam. |
sutvā therassa vacanaṃ nikkhipitvāna āvudhaṃ
tato theram upagantvā sammoditvā c' upāvisi.

(17, 27:)

puṇṇakanarako nāma ahū pajjarako tadā
tasmim̐ samaye manussānaṃ rogo pajjarako ahū.

An instructive example of the abrupt and fragmentary character of some parts of the Dīpavamsa is contained in the account of the conversion of young Moggallāna (5, 55-68), which would be almost unintelligible if we did not possess the same narrative in the Mahāvamsa. (pp. 28-83).

A careful consideration, however, of this passage shows that the boundary line between what is said and what is omitted does not present those signs of capricious irregularity which inevitably characterise gaps caused by a copyist's carelessness. The omissions are governed by a certain principle. The important and interesting parts of the story are fully told; the less prominent events which form only the connecting links between the chief points of the narrative, are altogether omitted. I think that both these omissions and those repetitions are to be accounted for, in the main, by the extremely awkward method in which the author compiled his work, though I do not deny, of course, that many of the gaps which are found throughout the whole work, are to be referred to a different origin, viz. to the misfortunes to which the tradition of the Dīpavamsa has, from then till now, been exposed.

render some chapters of the *Dīpavaṃsa* almost illegible, we may account for not by the inadvertance of copyists, but by this peculiar method of compilation.

The results we have obtained regarding the connexion between the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the ancient *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Mahāvihāra*, furnish us with a clue for gaining an insight into the relative position of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the second important historical text of the Pāli literature, the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The two works are, indeed, in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance, both being based on the historical Introduction to the great Commentary of the *Mahāvihāra*. Each work represented, of course, their common subject in its own way, the *Dīpavaṃsa* following step by step and almost word for word the traces of the original, the *Mahāvaṃsa* proceeding with much greater independence and perfect literary mastership. The *Dīpavaṃsa*, as regards its style and its grammatical peculiarities, betrays the characteristics of an age in which the Sinhalese first tried to write in the dialect of the sacred texts brought over from India; there are passages in the *Dīpavaṃsa* which remind us of the first clumsy attempts of the ancient German tribes, to write Latin. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is composed very differently; its author masters the Pāli grammar and style with a perfect ease which cannot have been acquired but after many fruitless attempts, and which may be compared with the elegant mastership of Latin composition by which the Italian poets and scholars of the renaissance excelled. The turning point between the ancient and the modern epoch of Pāli literature in Ceylon, is marked, no doubt, by the great works of Buddhaghosa, which were not less important from a literary than from a theological point of view.

Both *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dīpavaṃsa* finish their records at the same point, viz. with the death of king Mahāsena. This coincidence is, of course, nothing but a consequence of the two works being derived from the same source. We may find in this a new confirmation of our opinion that this source is the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the *Mahāvihāra* Monastery. The reign of that very king Mahāsena was a fatal time to this monastery. A hostile party succeeded in obtaining king Mahāsena's sanction for destroying the *Mahāvihāra*; during a period of nine years the monastery remained deserted by its former

inhabitants; afterwards, after long and violent ecclesiastical struggles, it was reconstructed. We may easily understand, therefore, why historical writers belonging to the Mahāvihāra fraternity should stop just at the epoch of Mahāsenā's reign, where the past destinies of their spiritual abode were divided from the present.

After these remarks about the relation of the Dīpavaṃsa to the ancient theological commentaries and to the Mahāvaṃsa, we now proceed to collect the data which throw a light on the question, at what time the Dīpavaṃsa was composed. Turnour infers its anterior origin, compared with the Mahāvaṃsa, from the fact of the first lines, as he says, of the Dīpavaṃsa being quoted in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, the authorship of which he ascribes to Mahānāma, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa itself. But apart from Turnour's opinion on the age of the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā being totally wrong, we have seen, that those lines are quoted in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā not from the Dīpavaṃsa itself, but from the Aṭṭhakathā on which the Dīpavaṃsa is founded. So we lose the date on which Turnour's opinion is based. What remains, are the following data:

1) The Dīpavaṃsa cannot have been written before A. D. 302, because its narrative extends till that year. [9]

2) Buddhaghosa was acquainted with a version of the Dīpavaṃsa which, however, differed in some details from that which we possess.⁷

3) The continuator of the Mahāvaṃsa (p. 257, ed. Turnour) tells us, that king Dhātusena (A. D. 459-477) ordered the Dīpavaṃsa to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda.

⁷ Some lines from that version of the Dīpav. are quoted in the Samantapāsādikā. They partly agree with our text; partly they differ in such a way that they cannot be reconciled with it. See my notes on Dīp. 11, 17; 12, 2. – The Dīpav. is also quoted in the Aṭṭhakathā on the Kathāvatthu; see the note on 5, 30.

4) These data being given, it is only of a secondary importance, that the Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā, which was composed in much later times, mentions an Aṭṭhakathā on the Dīpavamsa.⁸

The result is, that the Dīpavamsa – be it in that very version which we possess or in a similar one – was written between the beginning of the fourth and the first third of the fifth century. We do not know as yet the exact date of the composition of the Mahāvamsa,⁹ but if we compare the language and the style in which the two works are written, there will scarcely be any doubt as to the priority of the Dīpavamsa. The words, besides, by which Mahānāma characterizes the works of his predecessors:

porāṇehi kato p' eso ativithārito kvaci
atīva kvaci saṅkhitto anekapunaruttako,

apply so extremely well to those peculiarities of the Dīpavamsa of which we have spoken above, that they appear to have been written most probably with reference to this very work. [10]

I have made use in editing the text of the Dīpavamsa, of the following MSS.:

I. MSS. written in Burmese characters.

1) *F*: MS. belonging to Major Fryer who brought it to England from British Burmah. About the third part of the Dīpavamsa (6, sī -15, si) is wanting; instead of this the MS. contains a fragment of the Thūpavamsa. The MS. has been written Sakkarāj 1190 = A. D. 1828.

2) *N*: A Collation of the MS. presented by the late king of Burmah to the Colonial Library in Colombo. This MS. was collated by

⁸ fol. ṇe (with reference to the ecclesiastical quarrels in Mahāsena's reign):
ye keci bhikkhū vā ussāpitanikāyantaraḷaddhikā vā tath' eva amhākaṃ
ācariyā akaṃsū 'ti yadeyyuṃ, tesam pi taṃ parikappitavipphanditam eva,
tesaṃ abhilāpamattaṃ va 'ti Dīpavamsaṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

⁹ The arguments of Turnour who brings it under the reign of Dhātusena (Introd. p. LIV), are extremely weak.

Gombadde Watte Dewa Aranolis with the MS. M (see below), for the use of Mr. Rhys Davids; its readings are indicated, for the most part in English characters, sometimes in Sinhalese writing, at the margin of M. If the reading of N is not expressly indicated by Dewa Aranolis, but if we are, from the silence of the collation, to draw the conclusion, that N agrees with M a conclusion which is, of course, by no means always a safe one, I designate such readings by *n*. If only a part of the single words is indicated, I include in brackets those parts which we are to supply from M.

II. MSS. written in Sinhalese characters.

3) *G*: MS. of the Paris National Library (collection Grimblot; fonds Pāli 365). Although this MS. is written in Sinhalese characters, its readings agree at a good many passages with the Burmese MSS. The text of *G* has been corrected from a MS. very similar to *B*.

4) *A*: MS. of the India Office (Pāli Collection no. 95).

5) 6) *B. C*: Copies of two MSS. of the Dadalle Wihāre, made for Mr. Rhys David, now in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 945. 946). In the five first Bhāṇavāras there are frequent corrections in *C* made from another MS. than that from which *C* has been copied. I designate these corrections by *c*. [11]

7) *M*: Copy made by Gombadde Watte Dewa Aranolis for Mr. Rhys Davids from a MS. of the Busse Wihāre. Written on paper. Now in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 944).

8) *R*: MS. of the Cambridge University Library (Add. 1255). This is a copy of a MS. belonging to Mr. James d'Alwis.

9) *D*: MS. in the possession of Mrs. Childers, London; it is a copy made for the late R. C. Childers.

10) *E*: MS. of the Paris National Library (Coll. Grimblot, fonds Pāli 366).

11) *S*: A copy written on paper, which the priest Subhūti of Vaskaduve was kind enough to send me. There are some good corrections, written with pencil, on the first leaves, which I designate by *s*.

I have used, besides, the following abbreviations:

X = all Burmese MSS.

Y = all Sinhalese MSS.

Z = the class of MSS. represented by CDEMRS.

All our MSS. are derived from the same original source which was very incorrectly written in Burmese characters, as we may infer from some of the blunders common to all of our MSS.¹⁰ Perhaps this was the MS. brought in 1812 from Siam to Ceylon by the Modliar George Nadoris.¹¹

The way in which the single MSS. are derived from their common source, will be shown by the following table:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-------|--------|
| Burmese Archetype | | | |
| X | Y | | |
| NFsG1 | G1 | W | Z |
| two elements combined | | AbcG2 | CDEMRS |

As to their critical value, the Burmese MSS. (X) deserve to be classed first; least is the value of Z, the [12] apparent correctness of which is owing not to real ancient tradition, but to arbitrary attempts of emendators.

It appeared desirable to print not the text corrected as far as possible, but the text of the *codex archetypus*, and to give in the footnotes my own emendations as well as those tried already in the MSS. In many passages I have refrained from correcting manifest grammatical blunders, errors in numbers of years etc., because I was afraid of correcting not the copyist but the author himself. Many passages also

¹⁰ See, for instance, 1,6.55; 4,45; 11,3; 22,18.

¹¹ See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal VI, p. 790

appeared to me too hopelessly corrupt for me to try to correct them. Of the various readings I could give, of course, only a selection, or the work would have increased to its threefold extent.

I cannot finish without having expressed my sincere thanks to the librarians and owners of MSS. who very liberally lent them to me or allowed me to collate them. My special thanks are due also to Dr. R. Rost who aided my undertaking from its beginning to its end with the greatest kindness in many various ways, and to my learned friends Dr. G. Bühler and Mr. Rhys Davids, but for whose kind and indefatigable assistance I should not have been able to add to the Pāli text of the *Dīpavaṃsa* a translation written in the language of a foreign country.

Berlin, September 1879.

The Editor.

Dīpavaṃsa

[The Chronicle of the Island]¹²

Adoration to the venerable, holy, universal Sambuddha.

I. Buddha's subjection of the Yakkhas¹³

[117] 1. I will set forth the history of Buddha's coming to the Island, of the arrival of the relic and of the Bo (branch), of the doctrine of the teachers who made the recensions (of Dhamma and Vinaya), of the propagation of the Faith in the Island, of the arrival of the chief of men (Vijaya); listen.

2. Listen attentively to (the history proclaimed by) me, which inspires joy and delight, which causes serenity and gladdens the mind, which comprises many various forms.

3. With elated minds, satisfied, delighted and joyful, attentively receive the faultless, auspicious discourse.

4. Listen all, giving your minds (to the subject); I will proclaim a history, handed down from generation to generation, highly praised, adorned in many ways, joined together in this (work), just as flowers of various kinds (form a garland).

5. Attend to this incomparable praise of the Island (Ceylon), which dwells upon the most excellent successions (of teachers and kings), which is new and unrivalled and well narrated, which has been handed down by Saints, which is praised by all good men and revered by the holy ones.

¹² Ed. note: Oldenberg didn't provide a translation of the title, so I have added my own.

¹³ Ed. note: I have added titles to each chapter, mainly drawn from the end-titles; when no end-title exists, I have made a title, according to contents, and placed it in square brackets.

6. On the immovable, firm, unshaken throne, a place worthy of the eminent one, the highest of men sat down, establishing himself in the four branches (of fortitude).

7. Seated on this most excellent throne, at the foot of [118] the king of trees, the chief of men, the highest among human beings, like a fearless lion, did not tremble, when he saw Māra with the hosts of his army.

8. Having overcome the dispute of Māra and put him to flight together with his army, the Conqueror, full of joy, wise, tranquil, and steadfast, –

9. mastered the state of meditation which consists in spiritual insight, and the thorough perfection of attention, (and also the knowledge of) many various qualities, distinguished by manifold attributes.

10. Mastering the knowledge of former existences and the gift of supernatural vision, the enlightened great Sage spent three watches of the night.

11. Thereafter, in the last watch, he revolved (in his mind) the causes of existence; the glorious One fixed the mind on them in direct and reverse order.

12. Having thoroughly understood the Dhamma, the highly wise One, who had reached emancipation by the destruction of human passions, taught (created beings) the abandonment (of temporal obstacles) and the attainment of the path (to sanctification).

13. The great Sage obtained (“*abhisambuddha*”) the most excellent knowledge of omniscience. Thus first arose the title “Buddha, Buddha”.

14. Having penetrated all qualities and uttered his proclamation (of triumph)¹⁴, the light-giver then spent seven days on that most excellent throne.

15. He in whom all fear had ceased, who had performed his duties and was free from sin, delighted, glad, and joyful, thought many kind thoughts.

16. In one moment, in one instant a Buddha surveys the whole world; he unveiled his fivefold power of vision and looked down over many people.

17. The highest of men sent forth the irresistible power of his knowledge; the stainless teacher then saw the most excellent Laṅkāḍīpa, –

18. an exquisite country, endowed with a beautiful climate, fertile, a mine of treasures, which had been visited by former Buddhas and had been inhabited by multitudes of Saints.

19. Perceiving the most excellent island of Laṅkā, a fertile region, a dwelling-place [119] fit for Saints, the compassionate One who well understood the right and wrong time, thus thought:

20. “In the present time Yakkhas, Bhūtas and Rakkhasas (inhabit) Laṅkāḍīpa, who are all too low for (adopting the doctrine of) the Buddhas; their power I can outroot.

¹⁴ This proclamation of triumph is the famous stanza, Dhṛ., v. 153. [Editor’s note, actually 153-154: *Anekajāṭisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ | gahakāraḥ gavesanto: dukkhā jāti punappunam. | Gahakāraḥ diṭṭhosi! Puna gehaṃ na kāhasi: | sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā, gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhitam, | visaṅkhāragatam cittam, taṇhānam khayam-ajjhagā. Through the round of countless births and deaths I have wandered without finding | the housebuilder I was seeking: born and suffering once again. | O housebuilder, now you are seen! You will not build the house again: | all your rafters have been broken, and the ridgepole has been destroyed, | my mind has reached the unconditioned, and craving’s end has been achieved].*

21. Having driven out the hosts of Yakkhas, the Pisācas and Avaruddhakas, I will establish peace in the island and cause it to be inhabited by men.

22... . Let those wicked beings fully live out their span of life; (afterwards) there, in the most excellent Laṅkāḍīpa, an opportunity will arise for (the propagation of) the Faith.

23. Having removed (those) beings, having comforted many people and taught them the way, the road, the path of Saints, –

24. I shall reach complete Parinibbāna like the setting sun. Four months after my Parinibbāna the first convocation will be held ...;

25. a hundred and eighteen years later¹⁵ the third convocation will take place, for the sake of the propagation of the Faith.

26. Then there will be a ruler over this Jambudīpa, a highly virtuous, glorious monarch known as Dhammāsoka.

27. This king Asoka will have a son, a clever man, Mahinda, the learned converter of Laṅkāḍīpa.”

28. Having foreseen these circumstances which were full of importance, (and understanding) the right and wrong time, the blessed Buddha placed a (divine) guard over this island.

29-30. The Jina, having performed his various duties during the seven-times seven days (at the following places, that is) the throne, the Animisa (Cetiya), the cloister, the jewel-house, the Ajapāla and Mucalinda trees, and seventhly near the Khirapāla grove, the hero went to Bārāṇasī in order to establish the kingdom of the Truth.

¹⁵ A mention of the second convocation, which was held a hundred years after Buddha's death, is wanting in the MSS.; the third is said to have been held 118 years after the second.

31. When he established the kingdom of the Truth and preached the most excellent Truth, the conversion of eighteen koṭis of beings took place.

32. Kondañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma, and Assaji, these five great Theras attained emancipation when [120] he had preached the Anattalakkhaṇa discourse.

33. Residing in Bārāṇasī, in Isipatana, the Jina released the four friends of Yasa and, besides, the fifty youths.

34. Having spent the rainy season in Bārāṇasī, the Tathāgata released in the Kappāsika grove the [thirty] Bhaddavaggiyas.

35. Wandering thence from place to place, he came to Uruvelā; there the stainless Teacher saw Uruvelakassapa, an ascetic of the Jaṭila sect.

36. In the room where Kassapa kept his sacred fire, the highest of men conquered a serpent. Witnessing this miracle they all invited the Tathāgata:

37. “Reside here, o Gotama, during the four winter months; we will daily provide you with rice.”

38. The Tathāgata, the chief of men, residing during the winter in Uruvelā, devoted himself to the conversion of the Jaṭilas together with their followers.

39. (Once, during that period,) both Aṅgas and Magadhas prepared a great sacrifice. (Kassapa), seeing that great gains (could be obtained) at this sacrifice, conceived the following ignoble thought:

40-41. “The great Samaṇa possesses high (magical) powers and great faculties; if he shall perform miracles or preach in the great assembly, the fee will escape me and go to Gotama. Well, the great Samaṇa should not appear in the assembly.”

42. The Tathāgata understands action and resolution, intention and desire, the sixteen constituent parts of thought.

43. Having understood the thought of the Jaṭila, the Sage, who looks through the minds of other men, went by his high (magical) power to (Uttara-) Kurudīpa collecting alms.

44. Near the Anotatta lake Buddha took his meal; there he gave himself up to meditation (jhāna) and compassionate thoughts.

45. With his Buddha-eye, the highest in the world looked over the universe; the stainless Teacher (then) saw the most excellent Laṅkādīpa.

46. At that time the ground of Laṅkā was covered with great forests and full of horrors; frightful, cruel, blood-thirsty Yakkhas of various kinds, –

47. and savage, furious, pernicious Pisācas of various shapes and full of various (wicked) thoughts, all had assembled together.

48. “I shall go there, in their midst; [121] I shall dispel the Rakkhasas and put away the Pisācas; men shall be masters (of the island).”

49. Having considered this matter, full of compassion, the great hero rose into the air and came hither from Jambudīpa.

50. In the midst of the assembly of Yakkhas, above their heads, he was seen, standing in the air, holding his seat (in his hands).

51. The assembled hosts of Yakkhas saw the Sambuddha standing there, but they did not think that he was the Buddha; they supposed him to be another Yakkha.

52. On the bank of the river, near Mahiya Pokkhala, on the site of the Subhaṅgana Thūpa, there the highest of men stood, and entered upon the highest ecstatic meditation.

53. The Sage, the awakener of quick attention, speedily entered upon that meditation (by revolving) in a moment by one thought (the whole system of qualities). Suddenly he thence rose; he who had reached (all) perfections by his virtuous resolutions, ... finished his meditation.

54. There the hero stood, performing miracles by his (magical) power, like a Yakkha of high (magical) power and great (supernatural) faculties; gathering (?) thick clouds, containing thousands of rain drops, he sent rain, cold winds, and darkness.

55. (He then spoke to the Yakkhas:) “I will send you heat; give unto me a place where I may sit down. I possess such power over the fire as will dispel these dangers.”

56. (The Yakkhas replied: “If thou art able to dispel them, sit down wherever thou likest; we all consent; show thy power over the fire.”

57. (Buddha replied:) “You all ask me for warmth; I shall quickly produce the great heat which you are desiring, a fierce, burning fire.”

58. As the sun shines in summer at noon, so fearful heat penetrated the assembly of Yakkhas.

59. Like the heat spread by the four suns at the end of a Kappa, such and greater still was the glow sent forth by the seat of the Teacher.

60. As the rising sun cannot be restrained in the sky, thus (Buddha’s) carpet¹⁶ of skin cannot be restrained in the air.

61. The carpet diffused great heat, like the fire at the end of the Kappa, as the sun (scorches) the earth, [122] or like a great flame of fire.

¹⁶ [Ed. note: A better, and more understandable, translation of *nisīdana* would be *mat: thus (the Buddha’s) hide mat...* etc.]

62. Diffusing heat like a heap of burning coals, the carpet appeared similar to a cloud, or to a glowing iron mountain.

63. It spread insupportable heat over the islands. The Yakkhas quickly fled in all ten directions, to the east, the west, the south, the north, above, and beneath.

64. “Whither shall we go for safety and refuge? How shall we be released from this fearful being?”

65. If this powerful Yakkha assumes the form of the fiery element, and burns us, all of us Yakkhas will perish like a handful of chaff, like dust blown away by the wind.”

66. And Buddha, the chief among Sages, the bringer of happiness, the compassionate, merciful great Sage, when he saw the afflicted, frightened Yakkhas, thought how to administer joy to the minds of these non-human beings.

67. (He) then (thought of) another island, similar to this, with low ground and high ground, with many various aspects, beautifully adorned by rivers, mountains, and lakes, the island of Giri, most similar to the country of Lankā.

68. (It was) free from danger, well protected, surrounded by the ocean, full of excellent food and rich grain, with a well tempered climate, a green, grassy land, the beautiful island of Giri, superior to this (island).

69. It was charming and delightful, green and cool, adorned by gardens and forests, exquisite; there were trees, full of blossoms and fruits; it was empty and solitary, subject to no master.

70. (It was situated) in the great sea, in the midst of the ocean and of the deep waters, where the waves incessantly break; around it there was a chain of mountains, towering, difficult to pass; to enter it against the wish (of the inhabitants) was difficult.

71. Full of desire and anger towards other beings, backbiting, pitiless, given to injuring other beings, cruel and furious, violent, merciless, ...

72. (Buddha thus spoke:) “Ye Rakkhasas and ye wicked hosts of Yakkhas, I give unto you this island which is not far from Laṅkā, the whole old island of Giri; may they all inhabit it and multiply undisturbed.

73. This country of Laṅkā is a residence inhabited by men since remote Kappas; [123] may many men dwell in the country of Laṅkā, as they did in former times in the Oja, Vara, and Maṇḍa island.

74. Adorned with these and other good qualities, a residence fit for men, auspicious in many ways, it will shine among the islands, when the Doctrine will have been brought there, like the full moon in the sky at the time of Uposatha.”

75. Weighing the prosperity and the high happiness of the two, the Sage who knew all worlds, interchanged the two islands and the two (kinds of beings), men and Rakkhasas, (as a peasant) easily (interchanges) his pairs of bullocks.

76. Gotama by his (magical) power drew the island towards himself, like the headstalls of bullocks which are drawn (towards the driver) with a strong rope. The Sage drew together one island towards the other, like two ships which are surrounded by stout ropes.

77. Having joined the beautiful island to the other, the Tathāgata transported (?) the Rakkhasas, (saying:) “May all Rakkhasas dwell in Giridīpa . . .”

78. The eager Yakkhas ran to Giridīpa, like thirsty people in summer to a river; they all entered it never to return; the Sage (then) restored the island to its former place.

79. The highly satisfied Yakkhas and the highly pleased Rakkhasas, having received this excellent island which they desired, all began to

laugh with great joy, and all went to celebrate the festival called Nakkhattamaha.

80. When Buddha saw that joy had been restored to these non-human beings, he the Jina, having exerted his benevolence towards them, pronounced the spell of protection. Having walked three times round the island, for the sake of its ever-lasting protection and the expulsion of the Yakkha hosts, –

81. having comforted the Pisācas and (other) non-human beings, having established a guard and restored a lasting peace, having put down all distress in the island, the Tathāgata returned to Uruvelā.

Here ends (Buddha's) subjection of the Yakkhas.

II. The Conquering of the Nāgas

[124] 1. Again, the holy, glorious Sambuddha (once) dwelt near the most excellent capital of Kosala, in the garden of Sudatta (Anāthapiṇḍika).

2. In this Jetavana garden Buddha, the light-giving king of the Truth, looking all over the world, saw beautiful Tambapaṇṇi.

3. When five years had elapsed (after he had attained Buddhahood), he went to the country of Tambapaṇṇi. By dispelling the Avaruddhaka (demons) he (once) himself had made the island empty.

4. (But) now the mountain serpents and the sea serpents fought a battle in the island, having arranged their arrays on both sides, an awful struggle.

5. All those Nāgas possessed great (magical) powers, all were frightfully venomous, all were wicked and violent, furious and filled with desire.

6. The Serpents were quick and excessively powerful, corrupt, cruel, and harsh, hasty, given to anger, longing for destruction (?).

7. Powerful Mahodara and resplendent Cūḷodara, both were valiant, both had an exceedingly brilliant appearance.

8. No one saw a way how peaceably to compose that struggle (?). Mahodara whose fierceness was furiously excited by pride, was destroying the island with its mountains and its forests: “I will kill all hostile serpents.”

9. Cūḷodara, filled with pride, roared: “May thousand koṭis of Nāgas approach; I will slay all them who dare to enter the battle; I will change the island, all its hundred yojanas, into one desert.”

10. The Serpents whose venomous fury could not be restrained, who possessed high (magical) powers, raged and sent forth flames (sent

forth smoke and flames?); the Serpent kings, infatuated with anger, incited them to destroy the foes (who opposed them) in the battle.

11. Buddha, the blessed wanderer through the world, when he perceived the anger of the Serpent kings, (and saw) that the island was being destroyed, thought, in order to prevent this, many kind thoughts, for the sake of the highest bliss of (men) and gods.

12. (He thus reflected:) “If I do not go (to Laṅkā), the Serpents will not [125] become happy; the island will be destroyed, and there will be no welfare in future time.

13. Out of compassion for the Nāgas, for the sake of happiness (of men) I shall go there; may the happiness of the island prosper (?).

14. I perceive the excellent qualities of Laṅkādīpa; the Serpents shall not destroy the island from which I formerly have driven out the Yakkhas, and to which I have done good.”

15. Speaking thus the Sambuddha rose from his seat; he who possessed the gift of (supernatural) vision, left the Gandhakuṭī, and stood in the door (of the Jetavana garden).

16. All the gods who resided in the trees of the Jetavana garden, offered their services to him: “Let us go (with thee, o Sage who art) possessed of (supernatural) vision.”

17. (Buddha replied:) “Nay, remain ye all, Samiddhi alone may go (with me).” (Samiddhi) went, taking up the tree (where his residence was,) and holding it from behind (over Buddha’s head).

18. Samiddhi, when he heard what Buddha had said, was delighted; he took up the tree, roots and all, and followed the Tathāgata.

19. The highly powerful king of gods gave shade to the Sambuddha, the highest among men, and held (the tree) from behind over the most excellent Buddha.

20. The highest of men went to the place where the Nāgas fought their battle; the merciful Teacher (there) stood in the middle of both noble Nāgas.

21. Going through the air over the heads of both Nāgas, the Sambuddha, the chief of the world, produced a deep, terrifying darkness.

22. There arose a thick darkness, caused by the great (magical) power of the lion (among men); he was covered and veiled (?) by the darkness, and the tree too (?).

23. The frightened, terrified Nāgas did not see each other, nor did they see the Jina (?), (or) to what side they should direct their attacks.

24. They all forsook the battle, threw down their weapons, and stood all with clasped hands, paying reverence to the Sambuddha.

25. When (Buddha) perceived that they were struck with horror, when he saw that the Nāgas were terrified, he sent forth his thoughts of kindness towards [126] them, and emitted a warm ray of light.

26. A great sight it was, astonishing and terrifying; they all saw the Sambuddha like the bright moon in the sky.

27. Standing there, resplendent with all the six colours, shining in the air, illuminating the ten regions (of the world), he thus addressed the Nāgas:

28. “From what cause, o great king, did this contention among the Nāgas arise? Out of compassion towards yourself I have come speedily hither.”

29. (They replied:) “This Nāga Cūḷodara and that Nāga Mahodara, the maternal uncle and the nephew, are quarrelling with each other, desirous of treasure.”

30. The Sambuddha addressed a speech full of compassion to the savage Nāgas: “Anger which arises in the mind of the fool, begins small, and grows great.

31. For what reason do you undergo, all these many Nāgas, great suffering? Destroy that small throne, but do not destroy each other. Destroying one the other you are going to cause an unheard of destruction of life.”

32. Then he who possessed the gift of (supernatural) vision, agitated the Nāgas by (the description of) the sufferings in hell; he unfolded to them the (laws of) birth in the worlds of men and devas, and the nature of Nibbāna.

33. As the Sambuddha, the highest of men, thus preached the true doctrine, all the Nāgas, casting themselves down, propitiated the Tathāgata.

34. All the Nāgas (then) came together, the Serpents reconciled themselves to each other, and all took their refuge (in Buddha), eighty koṭis of living beings.

35. (Thus they spoke:) “We might perish, all we Nāgas, on account of this throne.”

36. The two Nāga (kings), for the sake of restoring peace, took that most excellent throne (and thus spoke to Buddha:) “Accept this throne out of compassion, (o Sage who art) gifted with (supernatural) vision.”

37. The Sambuddha who possessed the gift of (supernatural) vision, accepted it by remaining silent. When they understood that he had accepted it, the two great Serpents were delighted.

38. (They thus addressed Buddha:) “May the blessed One sit down on this splendid, noble Veḷuriya throne which the Nāgas were longing for.”

39. The [127] Nāgas placed that throne in the midst of the two islands. There, on that throne, the light-giving king of the Truth sat down.

40. When those eighty koṭis of Nāgas had propitiated the Sambuddha, the Nāgas there served to him a meal, food and drink.

41. When he had removed his hands from the bowl, the eighty koṭis of Nāgas, surrounding him, sat down near the supreme Buddha.

42. At the mouth of the Kalyāṇī river there lived a Naga together with his children and with a great retinue of Nāgas; his name was Maṇiakkhika.

43. (He was) full of faith, and had taken his refuge (in Buddha), a true and righteous believer. When he came to that assembly of Nāgas, his faith still increased.

44. When this Nāga perceived the Buddha's power, his compassion, and the fear of the Serpents (?), he bowed to him, sat down, and thus entreated the Tathāgata:

45. "Out of compassion to this island thou hast first dispelled the Yakkhas; this kindness towards the Nāgas is thy second act of compassion towards the Island.

46. May the holy, great Sage show his compassion still another time; I shall attend and do service to thee."

47. Having heard what the Nāga said, Buddha, full of compassion for created beings, the blessed One, accepted (his invitation,) for showing kindness to Laṅkādīpa.

48. Having sat on the throne, the light-giver arose; the Sage then rested during the midday time in the interior of the island.

49. In the interior of the island the supreme light spent the day; he who possessed the gift of (supernatural) vision, entered upon the Brahmavihāra meditation.

50. At evening time the Jina thus spoke to the Nāgas: “Let the throne remain here; may the Khīrapāla tree¹⁷ station itself here. Worship, o Nāgas, all of you this tree and the throne.”

51. Having spoken thus, and preached to the Serpents, and given them that sacred object used by (himself), the Sambuddha returned to the Jetavana.

Here ends the Conquering of the Nāgas

[128] 52. Again, in the eighth year (after Buddha had reached Sambodhi), the Nāga king Maṇiakkhika invited the great hero together with five hundred Bhikkhus.

53. (These Bhikkhus) whose senses were subdued, who possessed the high (magical) powers, surrounded the Sambuddha; the Sage rose up into the air in the Jetavana, and proceeding through the air, he came to Laṅkā, to the mouth of the Kalyāṇī river.

54. All the Serpents constructed a pavilion of precious stones on the ground, and covered it with garments of different colours, with divine clothes.

55. (There were) ornaments of various precious stones, various blossoms of many descriptions, many flags of various colours; the pavilion was adorned in many ways.

56. They spread (cloth over the) entire (floor) and prepared seats; (then) they introduced the Fraternity with Buddha at its head, and invited them to sit down.

57. Sitting down together with five hundred Bhikkhus, the Sambuddha entered upon ecstatic meditations; he diffused (the rays of) his kindness to all quarters (of the horizon).

¹⁷ This is the tree which the god Samiddhi had taken to the island; see v. 17 et seq.

58. Seven times Buddha together with his pupils attained mystical trance; at that place (subsequently) the Mahāthūpa was built, the most excellent Cetiya.

59. The Nāga king Maṇiakkhika distributed a great donation (to the Bhikkhus). Having accepted the donation of that Nāga, having taken food, and gladdened (the Nāgas by preaching to them,) the Sambuddha together with his pupils rose up into the air.

60. At the place of the Dīghavāpi Cetiya, Buddha, he who was full of compassion to the world, descended from the air and again entered upon mystical meditation.

61. Having arisen from the trance at that place, the light-giving king of the Truth together with his pupils, wandering through the air, then proceeded to the place where the Bo tree was to be stationed in the Mahāmeghavana garden.

62. The Bo trees of three former Buddhas (there also) had been established on the ground; to that place he went, and there he entered upon meditation.

63. (He thus prophesied:) “Three Bo trees (have stood) at this place at (the time of) the teaching of [129] three Buddhas; my Bo tree also will stand on this very spot in future time.”

64. The highest being, the chief of men, having arisen from that meditation together with his pupils, went to the delightful Meghavana garden.

65. There also he plunged himself in meditation together with his pupils. Having arisen from that meditation, the light-giver proclaimed:

66. “This place first Kakusandha, the chief of the world, has accepted, sitting down on this spot where a throne has been erected.

67. This place secondly Konāgamana, the chief of men, has

68. This place thirdly Kassapa, the chief of the world, has ...

69. Myself, Sambuddha Gotama, the descendant of the Sakya tribe, the chief of men, have attained (trance), seated on this spot, where a throne is to be erected.”

III. The Great Lineage of Kings

1. Setting aside the kings who reigned in the past kappa, to whatever forms of existence they may have passed, I shall completely enumerate the kings of the present kappa.
2. Their descent, their name and tribe, their age and (the length of) their reign, all that I will proclaim, listen to it according to the truth.
3. The first inaugurated king, a ruler of the earth, full of brilliancy, prince Mahāsammata by name, reigned over his kingdom.
4. His son was called Roja by name; (then followed) the prince called Vararoja, Kalyāṇa and Varakalyāṇa, Uposatha, the lord of the earth; –
5. the seventh of them was Mandhātā who reigned over the four Dīpas. (Then followed) Cara, king Upacara, and Cetiya, the lord of the earth; –
6. Mucala, Mahāmucala, Mucalinda and also Sāgara, Sāgaradeva, and Bharata, the prince called Bhagīrasa, –
7. Ruci, and he who was called Mahāruci, Patāpa, and also Mahāpatāpa, Panāda, and Mahāpanāda, the king called Sudassana, –
8. he who was called Mahāsudassana, two Nerus, and Accimā. These were twenty-eight kings by number; their age extended to an Asaṅkheyya (of years).
9. In Kusāvati, in Rājagaha, in Mithilā, [130] best of towns, these kings reigned; their age extended to an Asaṅkheyya (of years).
10. Ten times ten is one hundred; ten times a hundred is one thousand; ten times a thousand is ten thousand; ten times ten thousand is a hundred thousand; –

11. ten times a hundred thousand is one koṭi; (the following numerals are) pakoṭi, koṭippakoṭi, nahuta, and ninnahuta, abbuda, and nirabbuda, –

12. ababa, and also aṭaṭa, ahaha, and kumuda, sogandhika, uppala, puṇḍarīka, paduma.

13. All these numbers are numerable and calculable by the means of calculation; the stage (of numbers) beyond these is called asaṅkheyya (not calculable).

14. One hundred kings, sons of Accimā, governed their great kingdom in the town called Pakula (?).

15. The last of these kings was the prince called Arindama; his sons and grandsons, fifty-six princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Ayujjhanagara.

16. The last of these kings was Duppasaha, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, sixty rulers of the earth, reigned over their great kingdom in Bārāṇasī, best of towns.

17. The last of these kings was the prince called Ajitajana; his sons and grandsons, eighty-four thousand by number, reigned over their great kingdom in the town of Kapilanagara.

18. The last of these kings was Brahmadata, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, thirty-six princes, reigned over their great kingdom in Hatthipura, best of towns.

19. The last of these kings was Kambalavasabha; his sons and grandsons, thirty-two princes, reigned there in the town of Ekacakku.

20. The last of these kings was Purindada, honoured by the surname Deva; his sons and grandsons, twenty-eight princes, reigned over their great kingdom in Vajirā, best of towns.

21. The last of these kings was the prince called Sādhina. His sons and grandsons, twenty-two royal princes, reigned over their great kingdom in Madhurā, best of towns.

22. The last of these kings was valiant Dhammagutta; his sons and grandsons, eighteen princes, reigned there in the town of Aritṭhapura.

23. The last of these kings was the chief [131] of men called Siṭṭhi; his sons and grandsons, seventeen princes, reigned there in the town of Indapatta.

24. The last of these kings was Brahmadeva, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, fifteen princes, reigned there in the town of Ekacakkhu.

25. The last of these kings was Baladatta, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, fourteen royal princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Kosambī.

26. The last of them was the king known as Bhaddadeva; his sons and grandsons, nine royal princes, reigned there in the town of Kaṇṇagoccha.

27. The last of them was the king renowned by the name of Naradeva; his sons and grandsons, seven royal princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Rojānanagara.

28. The last of these kings was the prince called Mahinda; his sons and grandsons, twelve royal princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Campānagara.

29. The last of these kings was Nāgadeva, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, twenty-five princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Mithilānagara.

30. The last of these kings was valiant Buddhadatta; his sons and grandsons, twenty-five princes, governed their great kingdom in Rājagaha, best of towns.

31. The last of these kings was the prince called Dīpaṅkara; his sons and grandsons, twelve royal princes, governed their great kingdom in Takkasilā, best of towns.

32. The last of these kings was the prince called Tālissara; his sons and grandsons, twelve royal princes, reigned over their great kingdom in Kusinārā, best of towns.

33. The last of these kings was the prince called Purinda; his sons and grandsons, nine royal princes, reigned over their great kingdom in the town of Malitthiya (Tāmalitti?).

34. The last of these kings was Sāgaradeva, the lord of the earth; his son Makhādeva was a great, liberal giver.

35. His sons and grandsons, eighty-four thousand by number, reigned over their great kingdom in the town of Mithilānagara.

36. The last of these kings was Nemiya, honoured by the surname Deva, a universal monarch, a lord of the whole earth which the ocean surrounds. [132]

37. Nemiya's son was Kalārajanaka; his son was Samaṅkura; (then followed) king Asoka, an inaugurated prince.

38. His sons and grandsons, eighty-four thousand by number, reigned over their great kingdom in Bārāṇasī, best of towns.

39. The last of these kings was the lord of the earth called Vijaya; his son was high-born, brilliant Vijitasena; –

40. (then followed) Dhammasena, Nāgasena, the (king) called Samatha, Disampati, Reṇu, Kusa, Mahākusa, Navaratha, and also Dasaratha, –

41. Rāma, the (king) called Biḷāratha, Cittadassī, Atthadassī, Sujāta, and Okkāka, Okkā mukha, and Nīpura, –

42. Candimā, and Candamukha, king Sivi, Sañjaya, Vessantara, the ruler of men, Jālī, and Sīhavāhana, prince Sīhassara, the wise preserver of royal succession.

43. His sons and grandsons, eighty-two thousand kings, reigned in the town called Kapila(vatthu).

44. The last of these kings was Jayasena, the lord of the earth; his son was high-born, brilliant Sīhahanu.

45. The sons of that (?) Sīhahanu were five brothers, Suddhodana, and Dhota (Dhotodana), prince Sakkodana, –

46. king Suddhodana, and king Amitodana; all these five kings had names containing the word *odana*.

47. He the son of Suddhodana, Siddhattha, the chief of the world, begot Rāhulabhadda, and then left his home in order to strive for Buddhahship.

48. The total number of these highly powerful ... kings is four Nahutas, one hundred thousand, and three hundred more.

49. So many lords of the earth are mentioned who originated from the family of the Bodhisatta in this first (?) kappa, preservers of royal succession, rulers of men¹⁸. –

50. Perishable, alas! is whatever exists, subject to origin and decay; it appears and perishes; its extinction is bliss.

End of the Great Lineage of Kings

[133] 51. The king called Suddhodana reigned in the town called Kapila(vatthu), he the royal son of Sīhahanu.

¹⁸ The last words, which I think belong to this place, form, in the MSS, the second part of v.53.

52. Amid the five mountains, in Rājagaha, best of towns, reigned the prince who was called king Bodhisa (Bhātiya!¹⁹).

53. Suddhodana and Bhātiya were friends of each other. When (Bimbisāra) was eight years old, five wishes arose (in his mind):

54. “May my royal father instruct me in the duties of royalty; may he, the Buddha, the highest of men, arise in my kingdom; –

55. may the Tathāgata show himself first to me (before going to other kings); may he preach to me the eternal Truth; may I penetrate that most excellent Truth.”

56. These were the five wishes which arose in Bimbisāra’s mind. When he was fifteen years old, he received the royal coronation after his father’s death; –

57. he (Buddha) the chief of the world arose in his beautiful kingdom; the Tathāgata showed himself to him first; when he preached his eternal Truth, the lord of the earth apprehended it.

58. The great hero then was full thirty-five years old; Bimbisāra, the lord of the earth, was thirty years old. Gotama was five years older than Bimbisāra.

59. Fifty-two years this prince reigned; thirty-seven years he reigned after having formed that connection with the Buddha.

60. Prince Ajātasattu reigned thirty-two years. Eight years after his coronation the Sambuddha reached Parinibbāna.

61. After the Parinibbāna of the Sambuddha, the highest One in the world, the chief of men, that prince reigned (still) twenty-four years.

¹⁹ The father of Bimbisāra.

IV. [The First Two Councils]

1. The congregation of Bhikkhus, seven hundred thousand (in number), assembled, holy men who having subdued their passions and having become pure, had all attained the summit of perfection.
2. They all, having made enquiry and determined which were the most worthy, elected by vote of the congregation five hundred Theras. [134]
3. Kassapa was the chief propounder of the Dhutaṅga precepts according to the doctrine of the Jina; Ānanda was the first of those learned (in the Suttas), wise Upāli was chief in the Vinaya –
4. Anuruddha in the (supernatural) visions, Vaṅgīsa in promptly comprehending, Puṇṇa among the preachers of the Dhamma, Kumārakassapa among the students of various tales, –
5. Kaccāna in establishing distinctions, Koṭṭhita in analytical knowledge. There were, besides, many other great Theras who were original depositaries (of Buddha's doctrine).
6. By these and other saintly Theras who had fulfilled their duties, to the number of five hundred, was the collection of the Dhamma and of the Vinaya made; because it was collected by the Theras, it is called the doctrine of the Theras (theravāda).
7. The Bhikkhus composed the collection of Dhamma and Vinaya by consulting Upāli about the Vinaya, and by asking the (Thera) called Ānanda regarding the Dhamma.
8. Thera Mahākassapa and the great teacher Anuruddha, Thera Upāli of powerful memory, and the learned Ānanda –
9. as well as many other distinguished disciples, who had been praised by the master, who possessed analytical knowledge, firmness, the six (supernatural) faculties and the great (magical) powers, who had attained the mystic trance proceeding from self-concentration, who had completely mastered the true faith, –

10. all these five hundred Theras bore in their minds the nine-fold doctrine of the Jina, having acquired it from the best of Buddhas.

11. They who had heard and received from Bhagavat himself the whole Dhamma and Vinaya taught by the Buddha, –

12. they who knew the Dhamma, who knew the Vinaya, who all were acquainted with the Āgamas, who were unconquerable, immovable, similar to their master, ever worshipful, –

13. they who had received the perfect doctrine, first (among religions), from the first (among teachers), who were Theras and original depositaries (of the Faith), made this first collection. Hence this whole doctrine of the Theras is also called the first (or primitive) doctrine.

14. Assembled in [135] the beautiful Sattapaṇṇa cave, the five hundred Theras, the teachers, arranged the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher.

15. The nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher (comprises) Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta, Vedalla.

16. The Theras who arranged this true imperishable doctrine, according to Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Saṃyuttas, and Nipātas²⁰, composed the collection of the Āgamas which is known by the name of the Suttas.

17. As long as the true doctrines remain, as long as the collection does not perish, so long – a long time – will the teaching of the Master last.

18. The immovable, firm, insubvertible earth quaked on the appearance of the Collection of the Vinaya and of the Dhamma, which is worthy of the Faith.

²⁰ These are the sections into which the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṃyuttaka-, (Ed. note: *sic*) and Aṅguttara-Nikāya are divided.

19. Nobody, may a Samaṇa come, or a Brāhmaṇa of great learning, skilled in disputation and hair-splitting, can subvert it; firm it stands like Sineru.

20. Neither a deity nor Māra nor Brahmā nor any earthly beings can find in it even the smallest ill spoken sentence.

21. Thus the collection of the Dhamma and of the Vinaya is complete in every part, well arranged and well protected by the omniscience of the Teacher.

22-23. And those five hundred Theras, chief among whom was Mahākassapa, as they knew the doubts of the people, composed the imperishable collection of the Vinaya and of the Dhamma, which is an incarnation of the Faith like the highest Buddha, the collection of the Dhamma.

24. The doctrine of the Theras, which is founded on true reasons, which is free from heresies, full of true meaning, and supports the true faith, will exist as long as the Faith.

25. As long as holy disciples of Buddha's faith exist, all of them will recognize the first Council of the Dhamma.

26. The five hundred pre-eminent Theras, noble by birth (?), laid the first firm, original, fundamental base (of the Faith).

Here ends the Council of Mahākassapa.

[136] 27. Sixteen years had elapsed after the protector of the world had entered Nibbāna; it was the twenty-fourth year of Ajātasattu's (reign), and the sixteenth of Vijaya's; –

28. learned Upāli had just completed sixty years, (then) Dāsaka received the Upasampadā ordination from Thera Upāli.

29. The entire sacred Dhamma texts which the most excellent Buddha had set forth, the whole of the nine-fold speeches of the Jina, Upāli recited.

30. Upāli received from Buddha and (afterwards) recited the entire, complete, and whole nine-fold doctrine contained in the Suttas.

31. Buddha spoke regarding the learned Upāli in the assembly (of the Bhikkhus): “Upāli is the first chief of the Vinaya in my church.”

32. The great teacher, being thus installed in the midst of the Assembly, recited the three Piṭakas to a thousand (pupils), chief among whom was Dāsaka.

33. Upāli taught five hundred Theras whose passions had been extinguished, who were pure, holy, and speakers of truth, the (texts of the) faith.

34. After the Sambuddha had attained Parinibbāna, the great teacher Thera Upāli taught then the Vinaya full thirty years.

35. Upāli taught the clever Dāsaka the whole nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher, eighty-four thousand (divisions).

36. Dāsaka, having learned all the Piṭakas from Thera Upāli, taught it just as his teacher in the Faith (had done).

37. The great teacher (Upāli) entered Nibbāna, after having appointed his pupil, the clever Thera Dāsaka, (to be chief) of the Vinaya.

38. Prince Udaya reigned sixteen years; when Udayabhadda had completed six (years), Thera Upāli attained Nibbāna.

39. Sonaka, a respectable merchant who came from Kāsi, received the first ordination according to the doctrine of the Teacher at Giribbaja (Rājagaha) in the Veḷuvana (monastery).

40. Dāsaka, the leader of the school, dwelt at Giribbaja in the Magadha country, and in his seven and thirtieth year gave Sonaka the first ordination.

41. (When) clever Dāsaka had completed forty-five years, and Nāgadāsa had reigned ten years, and king Paṇḍu-(vāsa) twenty, then Sonaka received the Upasampadā ordination [137] from Thera Dāsaka.

42. Thera Dāsaka taught Sonaka also the nine-fold (doctrine); he, having learned it from his teacher, (again) taught it (to others).

43. Dāsaka in his turn, having made his pupil Thera Sonaka chief of the Vinaya, attained Nibbāna in his sixty-fourth year.

44. The Thera called Sonaka had just completed forty years; Kālāsoka had then reigned ten years and half a month in addition; –

45. Pakuṇḍaka was a robber during seventeen years; (of this period) eleven years and six months more had passed, –

46. when Thera Sonaka, the chief of the school, admitted Siggava and Candavajjī to the Upasampadā ordination.

47. At that time, when Bhagavat had been dead a hundred years, the Vajjiputtas of Vesālī proclaimed at Vesālī the ten indulgences: the practice of (keeping) salt in a horn is permissible; the two inch alternative is permissible; the practice of (taking food after the regular meal when going to) the village is permissible; the practice of (holding Uposatha in different) residences (within the same boundary) is permissible; the practice of (obtaining) the consent (of the Fraternity not before, but after an act) is permissible; the practice of (acting according to) example is permissible; the practice of (drinking) milk-whey is permissible; the practice of (drinking) toddy is permissible; sitting (on seats covered with clothes) without fringes is permissible; (the possession of) gold and silver is permissible.

48. When Sambuddha had entered Parinibbāna ten times ten years, the Vajjiputtas proclaimed at Vesālī these ten indulgences.

49. They proclaimed (the allowableness of) impermissible practices which all had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. Sabbakāmī, and Sāḷha, and Revata, (and) Khujjasobhita, –

50. and Yasa, Sambhūta of Sāṇa, these Theras who had formerly seen the Tathāgata, the pupils of Thera Ānanda; –

51. Sumana and Vāsabhagāmi, who had formerly seen the Tathāgata, these two most excellent pupils of Anuruddha; –

52. these (and other) Bhikkhus, seven hundred in number, came to Vesālī [138] and expressed their assent to the discipline as it had been established in the doctrine of the Buddha.

53. All these who had obtained a (supernatural) insight, who were expert in reaching meditation, who were quit of their load, and saved, assembled together.

Here ends the History of the Second Council.

V. The Schools of the Teachers

1. At the time of the Parinibbāna (which Buddha attained) at Kusinārā, best of towns, seven hundred thousand (spiritual) sons of the Jina assembled.
2. In this assembly Thera Kassapa was chief, he who resembled the Teacher, a great leader; on earth [there] is not his equal.
3. Kassapa, after having selected five hundred amongst the Arahats, taking always the most worthy ones, composed the collection of the Dhamma.
4. Out of compassion for created beings, in order to establish the Faith for a long time, he made, after the lapse of three months, when the fourth month and the second beginning of the Vassa²¹ had arrived, the collection of the Dhamma.
5. At the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇa cave, in the Magadha town Giribbaja (Rājagaha), this first council was finished after seven months.
6. At this council many Bhikkhus (were present), the original depositaries (of the Faith), and who had all reached perfection in the doctrine of the protector of the world.
7. Kassapa was the chief propounder of the Dhutavāda precepts according to the doctrine of the Jina; Ānanda was the first of those learned (in the Suttas), (the Thera) called Upāli was chief in the Vinaya, –
8. Anuruddha in the supernatural visions, Vaṅgīsa in promptly comprehending, Puṇṇa among the preachers of the Dhamma, Kumārakassapa among the students of various tales, –

²¹ See Mahāvagga, 3, 2.

9. Kaccāna in establishing distinctions, Koṭṭhita in analytical knowledge. There were, besides, many other [139] great Theras who were original depositaries (of the Faith).

10. By these and other saintly Theras who had fulfilled their duties, to the number of five hundred, was the collection of the Dhamma and of the Vinaya made; because it was collected by the Theras, it is called the doctrine of the Theras (theravāda).

11. They composed the collection of the Dhamma and of the whole Vinaya by consulting Upāli about the Vinaya and learned Ānanda about the Dhamma.

12-13. Both these, Thera Upāli and Ānanda who had obtained perfection in the true Doctrine, had learned the Dhamma and Vinaya from the Jina; and, clever in the Suttas, they proclaimed what had been taught in long expositions and also without exposition, the natural meaning as well as the recondite meaning.

14. Having received the perfect word (of Buddha), the first (among doctrines), from the first (among teachers), these Theras and original depositaries (of the Faith) made the first collection. Hence this doctrine of the Theras is also called the first (or primitive) doctrine.

15. The most excellent Theravāda remained pure and faultless for a long time, for ten times ten years.

16. When the first hundred years had been completed and the second century had begun, a great schism happened, a most violent one, in the doctrine of the Theras.

17-18. Twelve thousand Vajjiputtas of Vesālī assembled and proclaimed at Vesālī, best of towns, the ten indulgences in the doctrine of Buddha, viz.: the indulgence of (keeping) salt in a horn, of the two inches, of the village and the monastery, of residences, of (obtaining) consent, of example, of milk-whey, of toddy, of silver, of seats without fringes.

19. They proclaimed (a doctrine) which was against the Faith, against the discipline, and repugnant to the doctrine of the Teacher; splitting the (true) meaning and the Faith, they proclaimed what was contrary to it.

20. In order to subdue them, many pupils of Buddha, twelve hundred thousand (spiritual) sons of the Jina, assembled.

21. In this congregation the eight chief Bhikkhus, resembling the Master, great leaders, difficult [140] to conquer, great teachers, were –

22. Sabbakāmī and Sālha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, Vāsabhadgāmi and Sumana, Sambhūta who resided at Sāṇa, –

23. Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka, a sage praised by the Jina. In order to subdue those wicked men (the Vajjiputtas), they came to Vesālī.

24. Vāsabhadgāmi and Sumana were pupils of Anuruddha, the other Theras (pupils) of Ānanda; they had all formerly seen Tathāgata.

25. At that time Asoka, the son of Susunāga, was king; that prince ruled in the town of Pāṭaliputta.

26. The eight Theras of great (supernatural) power gained one party for themselves, and destroying (the doctrine of) the ten indulgences they annihilated those wicked ones.

27-28. After having annihilated the wicked Bhikkhus and after having crushed the sinful doctrine, those eight Theras of great (supernatural) power, those Bhikkhus selected seven hundred Arahats, choosing the best ones, in order to purify their own doctrine, and held a council.

29. This second council was finished in eight months at Vesālī, best of towns, in the hall called Kūṭāgāra.

30-31. The wicked Bhikkhus, the Vajjiputtakas who had been excommunicated by the Theras, gained another party; and many

people, holding the wrong doctrine, ten thousand, assembled and (also) held a council. Therefore this Dhamma council is called the Great Council (*mahāsaṅgīti*).

32. The Bhikkhus of the Great Council settled a doctrine contrary (to the true Faith). Altering the original redaction they made another redaction.

33. They transposed Suttas which belonged to one place (of the collection), to another place; they destroyed the (true) meaning and the Faith, in the Vinaya and in the five Collections (of Suttas).

34-35. Those Bhikkhus, who understood neither what had been taught in long expositions nor without exposition, neither the natural meaning nor the recondite meaning, settled a false meaning in connection with spurious speeches of Buddha; these Bhikkhus destroyed a great deal of (true) meaning under the colour [141] of the letter.

36. Rejecting single passages of the Suttas and of the profound Vinaya, they composed other Suttas and another Vinaya which had (only) the appearance (of the genuine ones).

37. Rejecting the following texts, viz.: the Parivāra which is an abstract of the contents (of the Vinaya), the six sections of the Abhidhamma, the Paṭisambhidā, the Niddesa, and some portions of the Jātaka, they composed new ones.

38. Forsaking the original rules regarding nouns, genders, composition, and the embellishments of style, they changed all that.

39. Those who held the Great Council were the first schismatics; in imitation of them many heretics arose.

40. Afterwards a schism occurred in that (new school); the Gokulika and Ekabyohāra Bhikkhus formed two divisions.

41. Afterwards two schisms took place amongst the Gokulikas: the Bahussutaka and the Paññatti Bhikkhus formed two divisions.

42-43. And opposing these were the Cetiya, (another) division of the Mahāsaṅgītikas. All these five sects, originating from the Mahāsaṅgītikas, split the (true) meaning and the Doctrine and some portions of the Collection; setting aside some portions of difficult passages, they altered them.

44. Forsaking the original rules regarding nouns, genders, composition, and the embellishments of style, they changed all that.

45. In the orthodox school of the Theras again a schism occurred: the Mahimsāsaka and Vajjiputtaka Bhikkhus formed two sections.

46. In the school of the Vajjiputtakas four sections arose, viz.: the Dhammuttarikas, Bhaddayānikas, Channagārikas, and Sammitis.

47. In later times two divisions arose among the Mahimsāsakas: the Sabbatthivāda and Dhammagutta Bhikkhus formed two divisions.

48. The Sabbatthivādas and Kassapikas, the Kassapikas and Saṅkantikas, and subsequently another section, the Suttavādas, separated themselves in their turn.

49. These eleven schools which separated themselves from the Theravāda, split the (true) meaning and the Doctrine and some portions of the Collection; setting aside some portions of difficult passages, they altered them.

50. Forsaking [142] the original rules regarding nouns, genders, composition, and the embellishments of style, they changed all that.

51. Seventeen are the heretical sects, and there is one orthodox sect; together with the orthodox sect they are eighteen at all.

52. The most excellent Theravāda which resembles a large banyan tree, is the complete doctrine of the Jina, free from omissions or additions. The other schools arose as thorns grow on the tree.

53. In the first century there were no schisms; in the second century arose the seventeen heretical schools in the religion of the Jina.

54. The Hemavatikas, Rājagirikas, Siddhatthas, Pubba- and Aparaselikas, and sixthly the Aparā-Rājagirikas arose one after the other.

Here ends the Description of the Schools of the Teachers

(At the time of the second Council the Theras foresaw the following events²²):

55. “In the future time, after a hundred and eighteen years, a certain Bhikkhu will arise, a Samaṇa able (to suppress the schisms of that time).

56. Descending from Brahma’s world he will be born in the human race, originating from a Brāhmaṇa tribe, an accomplished master of all Mantras (Vedas).

57. His name will be Tissa, his surname Moggaliputta; Siggava and Candavajjī will confer on the youth the Pabbajjā ordination.

58. Then, having received the Pabbajjā ordination and attained the knowledge of the sacred texts, Tissa will destroy the Titthiya doctrines and establish the (true) faith.

59. A royal chief called Asoka will govern at that time in Pāṭaliputta, a righteous prince, an increaser of the empire.”

60. All the seven hundred Bhikkhus, the Theras, having taught the (true) doctrine and destroyed (the heresy of) the ten indulgences, had attained Parinibbāna.

61. Descending [143] from Brahma’s world he was born in the human race; at the age of sixteen he had mastered the whole Veda.

²² Here follows an account of the birth and conversion of Tissa Moggaliputta who presided at the third Council. See Mahāvamsa, pp. 28-33.

62. (Once young Tissa thus addressed the Thera Siggava, who had come to his father's house:) "I ask the Samaṇa a question, answer these questions (concerning) the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda and also the Nighaṇṭu, and fifthly the Itihāsa"; –

63. and the Thera having given his permission, he asked an exceedingly difficult question. Siggava then spoke to the youth possessed of mature knowledge:

64. "I also will ask you, young man, a question set forth by the Buddha; if you are clever, answer my question truly."

65. When the question had been pronounced, (Tissa said:) "That I have neither seen nor heard; I will learn this Mantra, I desire to receive the Pabbajjā ordination."

66. Leaving the narrow way of the life of a layman, the youth went forth into the houseless state and to the condition of calm, according to the Jina's faith.

67. The disciple, desirous of learning and full of reverence, was taught the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher by learned Candavajjī.

68. Siggava who had vanquished the young man, conferred on him the Pabbajjā ordination; learned Candavajjī taught the well trained (disciple), versed in the Vedas, the nine-fold (doctrine); (having done so,) these Theras attained Parinibbāna.

69.²³ Two years of Candagutta, fifty-eight of king Pakuṇḍaka having elapsed, Siggava having just completed his sixty-fourth year, Moggaliputta received from Thera Siggava the Upasampadā ordination.

²³ In the following account, some of the numbers mentioned are evidently wrong; I have preferred, however, not to correct them, since the cause of these errors may be attributed to the author as to copyists.

70. Tissa Moggaliputta, having learned the Vinaya from Candavajjī, reached emancipation by the destruction of the substrata (of existence).

71. Siggava and Candavajjī taught the glorious Moggaliputta all the Piṭakas which are filled with collections referring to both (Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs) (or: [144] the Sutta collection, as it had been settled at the two convocations?).

72. Siggava, possessed of (true) knowledge, made the glorious Moggaliputta chief of the Vinaya, and attained Nibbāna after having completed seventy-six years.

73. Candagutta ruled twenty-four years; when he had completed fourteen years, Siggava attained Parinibbāna.

74. (Siggava was) a dweller in the forest, keeping the Dhutaṅga precepts, of limited desires, attached to forest life, full of goodwill, of subdued passions, and perfect in the true Doctrine.

75. In a remote, delightful abode, in the depth of a great forest, this hero (lived) alone without a companion, like a valiant lion in his mountain cave.

Vinaya Lineage 1st telling

76. Sixteen years had elapsed after the protector of the world had attained Nibbāna, learned Upāli had completed sixty years; –

77. it was the twenty-fourth year of Ajātasattu's (reign) and the sixteenth of Vijaya's, (when) Dāsaka received the Upasampadā ordination from Thera Upāli.

78. The learned (Thera) called Dāsaka had completed forty years; ten years of Nāgadasa's (reign) and twenty of Pakuṇḍaka's (Paṇḍuvāsa's!) had elapsed, –

79. (when) Thera Sonaka received the Upasampadā from Dāsaka. The wise Thera called Sonaka had completed forty years; –

80. ten years of Kālāsoka's (reign) had elapsed; it was in the eleventh year of the interregnum in Tambapaṇṇi, (when) Siggava received the Upasampadā ordination from Thera Sonaka.

81. Two years of Candagutta's (reign) had elapsed; Siggava had completed sixty-four, and king Pakuṇḍaka fifty-eight years, (when) Moggaliputta received the Upasampadā ordination from Thera Siggava.

82. Six years of Asokadhamma's (reign), sixty-six of Moggaliputta, forty-eight (years) of king Muṭasīva had elapsed, (when) Mahinda received the Upasampadā ordination from Moggaliputta.

Vinaya Lineage 2nd telling

83. Upāli received the Vinaya from Buddha, Dāsaka received the whole Vinaya from Thera Upāli and taught it just as his teacher in the Faith (had done).

84. Thera Dāsaka taught Sonaka also the Vinaya; (Sonaka) taught it, [145] after having learnt it from his teacher.

85. Wise Sonaka who well knew the Dhamma and the Vinaya, in his turn taught Siggava the whole Vinaya.

86. The pupils of Sonaka were Siggava and Candavajjī; the Thera taught both these pupils the Vinaya.

87. Tissa Moggaliputta, having learnt the Vinaya from Candavajjī, reached emancipation by the destruction of the substrata (of existence).

88. Teacher Moggaliputta taught his pupil Mahinda the whole Vinaya, the complete doctrine of the Theras.

Vinaya Lineage 3rd telling

89. After the Sambuddha had attained Parinibbāna, resplendent Thera Upāli taught the Vinaya full thirty years.

90. This great Sage, after having made his pupil, the learned Thera called Dāsaka, chief of the Vinaya, attained Nibbāna.

91. Dāsaka in his turn made his pupil Thera Sonaka chief of the Vinaya, and attained Nibbāna sixty-four years (after his Upasampadā).

92. Sonaka who possessed the six supernatural faculties, after having made Siggava, the descendant of an Arya family, chief of the Vinaya, attained Nibbāna sixty-six years (after his Upasampadā).

93. Wise Siggava made young Moggaliputta chief of the Vinaya and attained Nibbāna seventy-six years (after his Upasampadā).

94. Tissa Moggaliputta made his pupil Mahinda chief of the Vinaya and attained Nibbāna eighty-six years (after his Upasampadā).

Vinaya Lineage 4th telling

95. Seventy-four years of Upāli, sixty-four of Dāsaka, sixty-six of Thera Sonaka, seventy-six of Siggava, eighty of Moggaliputta: this is the Upasampadā of them all (i.e. the number of years which elapsed between their Upasampadā and their death).

96. Learned Upāli was the whole time chief of the Vinaya, Thera Dāsaka fifty years, Sonaka forty-four years, Siggava fifty-five years, the (Thera) called Moggaliputta sixty-eight years.

97. Prince Udaya reigned sixteen years; when six years of Udayabhadda's reign had elapsed, Thera Upāli attained Nibbāna.

98. The ruler Susunāga reigned ten years; after eight years of Susunāga's reign Dāsaka attained Parinibbāna.

99. After Susunāga's (Kālāsoka's!) [146] death the ten brothers succeeded; they reigned all jointly twenty-two years. In the sixth year of their reign Sonaka attained Parinibbāna.

100. Candagutta reigned twenty-four years; after fourteen years of his reign Siggava attained Parinibbāna.

101. The son of Bindusāra, illustrious prince Asokadhamma, reigned thirty-seven years.

102. When twenty-six years of Asoka's reign had elapsed, the (Thera) called Moggaliputta, after having exalted the splendour of the Religion, attained the end of his life and reached Nibbāna.

Vinaya Lineage 5th telling

103. Learned Thera Upāli, a great teacher, attained Nibbāna seventy-four years (after his Upasampadā), after having made his pupil, the learned Thera Dāsaka, chief of the Vinaya.

104. Dāsaka attained Nibbāna sixty-four years (after his Upasampadā), after having in his turn made his pupil, Thera Sonaka, chief of the Vinaya.

105. Sonaka who possessed the six (supernatural) faculties, attained Parinibbāna sixty-six years (after his Upasampadā), after having made Siggava, the descendant of an Arya family, chief of the Vinaya.

106. Wise Siggava attained Nibbāna seventy-six years (after his Upasampadā), after having made young Moggaliputta chief of the Vinaya.

107. Tissa Moggaliputta attained Nibbāna eighty years (after his Upasampadā), after having made his pupil Mahinda chief of the Vinaya.

VI. [Asoka's Conversion]

1. Two hundred and eighteen years after the Parinibbāna of the Sambuddha Piyadassana was anointed king.
2. When Piyadassana was installed, the miraculous faculties of royal majesty entered into him; he diffused the splendour which he had obtained in consequence of his merits, one yojana above and one beneath (the earth); the wheel of his power rolled through the great empire of Jambudīpa.
3. The Devas constantly brought to him (?) every day sixteen jars of water (?), filled with medical herbs of every description, from the Anotatta lake at the [147] top of the Himavat mountains.
4. The Devas then constantly brought every day fragrant teeth-cleansers made of the betel vine, which were grown in the mountains, soft, smooth, sweet, endowed with flavour, and delightful.
5. The Devas then constantly brought every day fragrant myrobalans, which were grown in the mountains, soft and smooth, endowed with flavour, desirable to great kings (?).
6. The Devas then constantly brought every day divine drinks and ripe mangos endowed with flavour and fragrance.
7. The Devas then constantly brought every day from the Chaddanta lake upper and under garments dyed with the five colours.
- 8-9. The Nāga kings then constantly brought every day fragrant powder for washing the head, and also unguents, and fine seamless clothes to put on of the colour of jessamine, and precious collyrium; all these things (they brought) from the Nāga world.
10. The Devas then constantly brought every day sugar cane, quantities of Areca-nuts, yellow towels.

11. The parrots brought nine thousand loads of hill paddy which was picked out by rats; the bees made honey; the bears forged with sledge-hammers.

12. Heaven-born birds, sweet-voiced cuckoos constantly sang to men, (attracted) by the splendour of Asoka's merit.

13. The great Nāga whose age endures through a Kappa, the attendant of four Buddhas, wearing a golden chain, came, (attracted) by the splendour of (Asoka's) merit.

14. The glorious Piyadassi honoured him with garlands of jewels. Splendid rewards were received for alms (given to religious mendicants).

15. This grandson of Candagutta, the son of Bindusāra (king Asoka), whilst a mere prince, was sub-king of Ujjenī charged with collecting the revenue (of that province). During his progress he came to the town of Vedissa.

16. There the daughter of a Seṭṭhi, known by the name of Devī, having cohabited with him, gave birth to a most noble son.

17. Mahinda and Saṅghamittā chose to receive the Pabbajjā ordination; having obtained Pabbajjā, they both destroyed the fetter of (individual) existence.

18. Asoka ruled in Pāṭaliputta, best of towns; three [148] years after his coronation he was converted to Buddha's faith.

19. How great is the number of years between the time when the Sambuddha attained Parinibbāna in the Upavattana (at Kusinārā), and when Mahinda, the issue of the Moriya family, was born?

20. Two hundred years and four years more had elapsed: just at that time Mahinda, the son of Asoka, was born.

21. When Mahinda was ten years old, his father put his brothers to death; then he passed four years reigning over Jambudīpa.

22. Having killed his hundred brothers, alone continuing his race, Asoka was anointed king in Mahinda's fourteenth year.

23. Asokadhamma, after his coronation, obtained the (above-mentioned) miraculous faculties; exceedingly splendid and rich in meritorious works (he was), universal monarch of (Jambu)dīpa.

24. They crowned Piyadassi after full twenty years (?); he passed three years doing honour to Pāsaṅḍa infidels.

25. (There were) adherents of the sixty-two false doctrines, ninety-six kinds of Pāsaṅḍas who proceeded from the Sassata and Ucheda doctrines, all of them established on these two principles; –

26. Niḡaṅṭhas and Acelakas and other ascetics and other Brahmans and sectarians.

27. Searching where truth and where falsehood was, he invited the infatuated, infidel Niḡaṅṭhas (?) and sectarians of the Sassata and Ucheda doctrines, and Pāsaṅḍa and Titthiya infidels of different creeds outside the Faith, sectarian people.

28. After having invited the numbers of Titthiyas and having introduced them into his palace and having bestowed on them great gifts, he asked them an exceedingly difficult question.

29. Being asked this question, they could not answer it by their own power; the ignorant people answered like a man who being asked about the mango tree, replies concerning the Lakucha tree.

30. They all were content with low seats (?) (in the royal hall).²⁴
[149] After having annihilated all the Pāsaṅḍas and defeated the sectarians, –

²⁴ The king invited all the ascetics of different creeds to take the seats of which they deemed themselves worthy. All were content with lower seats, except Niḡrodha, a Buddhist novice, who took his seat on the royal throne.

31. the king thought: “Which other men may we find who are Arahats in this world or see the path towards Arahatship?”

32. (Surely) they are to be found in the world; this world cannot be void of them (?). How may I obtain the sight of such worthy men? If I hear his (i. e. such a man’s) well spoken words, I will give up to him my paternal realm and my conquests.”

33. The king, thinking thus, found nobody worthy of his presents; unceasingly the king searched after virtuous, clever men.

34. Walking about in his palace and looking at many people, he saw the Samaṇa Nigrodha who went along the road for alms.

3–41. When he saw Nigrodha whose walking, turning back and looking was graceful, who turned his eyes to the ground, who was adorned (by decent deportment), an Arahata, whose mind was peaceful, who had reached perfect self-control, who had subdued himself and protected and well defended himself (against human passions), who did not mix with noble people, who was stainless like the moon amidst clouds, fearless like a lion, brilliant like a fire-brand, venerable, unconquerable, firm, of a peaceful disposition, steadfast, who had destroyed his passions, had cleansed himself of all sins, who was the most excellent of men, who led a wandering life, the most excellent Samaṇa, who was endowed with all virtues, the thought occurred to him, that he had been his companion during a former life (?).²⁵ (Seeing) that ascetic who led a life worthy of a Muni, who was happy in consequence of his meritorious deeds in former existences, who had reached the fruition which is obtained by the path of Arahats, walking along the road in search of alms, that wise man thought, full of longing:

42. “Indeed this Thera is one of the venerable ones; like Buddha, the holy One in this world, and like his disciples, he has reached the fruition which is obtained by the transcendent path, and has reached liberation and salvation.” [150]

²⁵ See the story in the Mahāvamsa

43. (Asoka) obtained the enjoyment of the five-fold delight, high bliss; delighted, he who was comparable to Sakka rejoiced like a poor man who has found a treasure, like one who has gained the desire of his heart (?).

44-45. He spoke to one of his ministers: “Well, quickly conduct hither that Bhikkhu, that handsome young man of tranquil appearance, who walks along the road like an elephant, fearless and endowed with the ornament of tranquillity.”

46. The king felt great content; highly delighted he thought in his mind: “Without doubt this excellent person whom I have never seen before, has reached the highest perfection.”

47. Thinking thus, he again spoke thus: “Well prepared seats are spread; sit down on the seat which is worthy of an ascetic; I grant thee whichever thou desirest.”

48. After hearing the speech of the king, he took (the king’s) right hand (?) and mounted the throne. Fearlessly he sat down on the most excellent seat, just as Sakka, king of the gods, seats himself on the Paṇḍukambala.

49. The king thought: “This most excellent boy is certainly immovable and fearless; him ...

50. The king, recognizing that excellent tender boy who observed the customs of the Saints, (to be) well instructed and expert in Dhamma and Vinaya, again spoke thus, full of delight:

51. “Teach me the Faith which thou hast learnt; thou alone shalt be my teacher; I will obey the words which thou teachest me, o great Sage. Instruct me, I listen to thy preaching.”

52. Having heard this exceedingly acute speech of the king, he who was well versed in the analytical distinctions of the nine-fold doctrine, thought over the precious Tipiṭaka and found the excellent sermon on Earnestness:

53.²⁶ “Earnestness is the way to immortality, indifference is the way to death; the earnest do not die, the indifferent are like the dead.”

54. When wise Nigrodha had pronounced this gladdening sentence, the king understood that highest motive [151] (viz. earnestness): “This is the foundation of all doctrines whatsoever that have been preached by the omniscient Buddha.

55. To-day I choose as my refuge thee and Buddha with the Dhamma and the Saṅgha; together with my children and wives, with the number of my relatives I announce to thee my having become a lay-disciple.

56. Abiding together with children and wives in the refuge (of the Faith), in consequence of the arrival of Nigrodha, my spiritual guide, I offer four lacs of silver and eight (daily) portions of rice to the Thera.”

57. (The king having asked, whether there are many ascetics like Nigrodha, he replied:) “There are many disciples of Buddha, versed in the three-fold science, possessed of (magical) power, well acquainted with the exposition of the qualities of mind, who have subdued their passions and reached Arahatship.”

58. The king again spoke to the Thera: “I desire to meet with that precious Assembly; I will pay my respect to all (Bhikkhus) who come to the Assembly; I will listen to the Dhamma.”

59. Sixty thousand ascetics assembled, and the messengers announced to the king: “A large congregation which is full of great joy, has assembled; go thou to see the congregation, as thou desiredst (to do).”

60. Asokadhamma, the ruler of the earth, having heard what the messenger said, thus addressed the circle of his relations, his friends and counsellors and his kinsmen:

²⁶ Dhammapada v. 21. [Ed. note: *Appamādo amatapadaṃ, pamādo maccuno padaṃ, lappamattā na mīyanti, ye pamattā yathā matā.*]

61. “We will offer presents on the occasion of the assembling of the great Saṅgha; we will show them attention as much as we can, as much as we are able.

62. Let them quickly make ready for me a hall, seats, water, attendants, gifts, and food, such as are worthy of being offered, and suitable.

63. Let the makers of curry and rice quickly make ready for me well cooked rice-milk, sweet, pure dishes.

64. I will bestow a great donation on the congregation of the Bhikkhus, the most excellent community. Let them beat the drums in the city, let them sweep the roads, let them scatter white sand and flowers of the five colours; –

65. let them place here and there garlands and triumphal [152] arches, plantain trees, auspicious brimming jars, and let them place here and there ..., –

66. and let them make flags of cloth and fasten them here and there; let the people, adorned with flower garlands, make this city resplendent.

67. Khattiyas, Brahmans, and Vessas, Suddas, and people of different extraction, adorned with various ornaments, shall take clothes, ornaments, flowers, burning torches, and shall proceed to meet the Congregation.

68. All kinds of bands of music, well trained musicians of various schools who are pleasant to hear and sweet-voiced, shall play (various melodies) ... and proceed to meet the Congregation, (a) most meritorious (act).

69. ... dancers and acrobats in auspicious attitudes (?), all shall go to meet the Congregation and shall amuse them, when they have assembled.

70. And let them worship (the Assembly) with large heaps of flowers of different kinds, (aromatic) powder of various descriptions, and unguents.

71. Let them prepare in the city every kind of pomp (?) and desirable gifts.

72. The inhabitants of the kingdom, devoted (?) to the Fraternity, shall undertake to do homage (to the Saṅgha), and shall do so during the whole day and during all the three watches (?) of the night.”

73-75. That night having elapsed, the illustrious prince, causing food of excellent flavour to be prepared in his own residence, gave the following orders to his counsellors and his attendants: “Let all people procure heaps of perfumed garlands and flowers, many flowers, parasols, flags, lamps burning in the day-time; let them procure as much as I have ordered.

76. Let all (people dwelling) in this city, the merchants from the four quarters of the horizon, and all the royal officers, with their oxen, troops, and vehicles, follow me to meet the congregation of Bhikkhus.”

77. The best of kings proceeded with great pomp; the ruler of the earth shone like Sakka (when he goes) to the Nandana garden.

78. The king in whose mind wisdom had arisen, proceeding in great haste towards the Bhikkhu congregation, saluted them, raising [153] his joined hands, and received greetings in return.

79. He spoke to the Bhikkhu congregation: “May (the Saṅgha) have compassion on me.”

80. Taking the alms-bowl of the Thera, the Saṅgha’s (spiritual) father, and paying reverence to him by (offering) various flowers, he entered the city.

81. Inviting them to enter his residence and to be seated, he offered to them with outstretched hands rice-milk and various highly precious food, hard and soft, as much as they wanted and desired.

82. When the congregation of Bhikkhus had finished their meal and removed their hands from the bowls, he offered to each Bhikkhu a suit of robes.

83. He distributed slippers (?), collyrium, oil, parasols, and also shoes, all the requisites of an ascetic, molasses and honey.

79^b. 84. Introducing all the Bhikkhus, as many [as] had assembled, into his interior apartments, Asokadhamma, the ruler of the earth, sat down. Sitting down the king invited the congregation of Bhikkhus (to accept) their gifts, (saying):

85. "I give as much as the Bhikkhus desire, whatever they choose."

86. After having gratified them with (a present of priestly) requisites and offered to them what was required (for their use), he asked them about the very profound, well propounded divisions of the Dhamma:

87. "Are there, venerable Sirs, sections taught by the kinsman of the Sun, by the indication of a certain number of divisions of the Dhamma, (according to) nouns, gender, and inflections, and also according to sections and to the composition?" –

88. "It has been taught, o king, and has been numbered by the kinsman of the Sun; it is well divided, well promulgated, well explained, well taught, –

89. accompanied by reasons and replete with sense, well spoken without a fault: fixed attention, right exertion, the (magical) powers, the (five) organs (of spiritual life), –

90. the (ten) powers, the requisites for attaining supreme knowledge, and those leading to the supreme path, all of these are well divided and well taught: these are the seven divisions of the most excellent elements of supreme knowledge.

91. The doctrine preached by the Teacher, the highest among men, [154] the supreme, transcendent Truth which has been expanded and well divided, consists of nine Aṅgas.²⁷

92. Full eighty-four thousand sections of the Doctrine have been taught by the kinsman of the Sun out of compassion for created beings.

93. He has preached the highest Truth, the most excellent ambrosia, which frees from transmigration, which is the path leading to the extinction of all suffering and an ambrosia-like medicine.”

94. After hearing the speech pronounced by the Congregation of the Bhikkhus, the king, the chief of men, filled with joy and mirth, wisdom having arisen in his mind, pronounced these words to his royal court:

95. “Full and complete eighty-four thousand most precious sections of the Truth have been taught by the most excellent Buddha; –

96. I will build eighty-four thousand monasteries, honouring each single section of the Truth by one monastery.”

97. The prince expending ninety-six koṭis of treasure, he the king, gave immediately on that same day the order (for the erection of the buildings).

98. At that time there were in Jambudīpa eighty-four (thousand) towns; near each town he built one monastery.

99. And having completed the monasteries in three years’ time, (the construction of) the Ārāmas being finished, the prince held during seven days a festival of offerings.

²⁷ The Aṅgas of Buddha’s doctrine are the well-known nine divisions, viz. Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhūta, Vedalla.

VII. The Council of the True Faith

1. There was a great assemblage from all parts of Jambudīpa, eighty koṭis of Bhikkhus, ninety-six thousand Bhikkhunīs, the greater part of the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs possessing the six (supernatural) faculties.

2. The Bhikkhus, by the greatness of their magical power levelling the surface of the earth, producing (the miracle called) the world-show, made visible the (84000 consecration-) festivals, worthy of veneration.

3. The king standing on [155] the Asokārāma, looked over (the whole of) Jambudīpa; by the Bhikkhus' magical power Asoka saw everything.

4. He saw all the Vihāras built all over the earth, the raised (?) flags, the flowers and arches and garlands, –

5. the plantains, the filled jars adorned with various flowers; he saw the whole extent of the great continent, the pomp all over the four quarters.

6-7. Delighted, glad, looking at the festivals which were being celebrated, at the assembled fraternities of Bhikkhus and the assembled Bhikkhunīs and the beggars receiving rich alms which were prepared for them, seeing all the eighty-four thousand Vihāras, which were honoured (by festivals of consecration), –

8. Asoka joyfully made known to the fraternity of Bhikkhus: “I am, venerable Sirs, a relative of the religion of the teacher Buddha.

9. Great liberality has been shown by me out of reverence (?) for the Fraternity.

10-11. By expending ninety-six koṭis, a great treasure, eighty-four thousand monasteries have been erected by me in honour of the (84000) sections of the Truth taught by the most excellent Buddha. I have daily made offerings of four lacs: –

12. one Cetiya offering, one to the (Bhikkhu) called Nigrodha, one to the preachers of the Religion, one for the requirements of the sick; boiled rice is distributed constantly every day, just as the Mahāgaṅgā (gives her water).

13. I cannot find any other greater act of liberality. My faith is most firm; I am, therefore, a relation²⁸ of the Faith.”

14-16. After having heard the word spoken by king Asokadhamma, learned Moggaliputta who was well versed in the Scriptures, a clever decider of cases, answered the question of Asokadhamma, in order to secure a comfortable existence to the Fraternity, for the sake of the propagation of the Doctrine, and because he, the wise one, had learnt the future destiny (of the Faith): “The donor of the requisites (for the Bhikkhus) remains a stranger to the Faith, –

17. but that man who gives up his son or daughter, the issue of his body, and causes them to receive the Pabbajjā ordination, becomes really a relation of the Faith.”

18-19. King [156] Asokadhamma, the ruler of the earth, having heard this speech, addressed both prince Mahinda, his son, and his daughter Saṅghamittā: “I presently shall be a relation of the Faith.” Both children hearing what their father had said, agreed, (saying:) –

20. “Well, Sire, we agree, we will do what you have said; make us quickly receive the Pabbajjā ordination, become a relative of the Faith.”

21. Mahinda, Asoka’s son, had completed twenty years, and Saṅghamittā might be eighteen years of age.

22. When Asoka had completed six years, both his children received the Pabbajjā ordination, and Mahinda, the enlightener of the Island, received at once the Upasampadā ordination; –

²⁸ Ed. note: *dāyāda*, it more correctly means: *one who inherits, or benefits from, (the Faith)*.

23. at the same time Saṅghamittā began to exercise herself in the Sikkhā precepts. He (Mahinda) was like Moggaliputta a great teacher of the doctrine of the Theras.

24. Fifty-four years (after Moggaliputta's Upasampadā) Asokadhamma was crowned; (six years?) after Asoka's coronation, when Moggaliputta had completed sixty (?) years, Mahinda received the Pabbajjā ordination from Moggaliputta.

25. Mahādeva conferred the Pabbajjā ordination on him and Majjhanta the Upasampadā;²⁹ these were the chiefs who acted compassionately towards Mahinda in (those) three ways.

26. Moggaliputta, his Upajjhāya, taught Mahinda, the enlightener of the Island, all the Piṭakas, their whole meaning, and the Doctrine.

27. Ten years after Asoka's coronation Mahinda had completed four years (after his Upasampadā), and had become a teacher of the whole scripture as handed down, and he had many pupils.

28. Mahinda studied and retained in his mind the well propounded, well divided Sutta (collection) as it had been settled at the two convocations, the doctrine of the Theras.

29. Moggaliputta instructed Mahinda, the son of Asoka, in the three sciences, (the doctrine regarding) the six (supernatural) faculties, the four analytical doctrines.

30. And Tissa Moggaliputta continuously taught Mahinda, his pupil, the whole Piṭaka of the Āgamas [157] (i.e. the Sutta-Piṭaka).

31. When (Asoka) had completed three years, (the story of) Nigrodha (happened), after the fourth year (he put his) brothers (to death), after his sixth year Mahinda, the son of Asoka, received the Pabbajjā ordination.

²⁹ See Mahāvamsa, p. 37, l. 2.

32. Both sons of Kontī, the Theras Tissa and Sumitta, who possessed the great (magical) faculties, attained Parinibbāna after Asoka's eighth year.

33. Those royal children received the Pabbajjā ordination, and both Theras attained Nibbāna.

34. Many Khattiyas and Brahmans declared their intention of becoming lay disciples, and great gain and honour accrued to the faith of Buddha; –

35. the schismatics and heretics lost both gain and honour. Paṇḍaraṅgas and Jaṭilas, Niḡaṅṭhas, Acelakas, and others –

36. resided (in the Buddhist Vihāras) during seven years; the Uposatha ceremonies were performed by incomplete congregations; saintly, clever, and modest men did not appear at the Uposatha ceremonies.

37. When a hundred years and (another) hundred and thirty-six had elapsed (after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha), sixty thousand Bhikkhus dwelt in the Asokārāma.

38. Ājīvakas and sectarians of different descriptions ruined the Doctrine; all of them wearing the yellow robe injured the doctrine of the Jina.

39. Surrounded by one thousand Bhikkhus, Moggaliputta, the chief of the school, who possessed the six (supernatural) powers and the great (magical) faculties, convened a Council.

40. Wise Moggaliputta, the destroyer of the schismatic doctrines, firmly established the Theravāda and held the third Council.

41. Having destroyed the different (heretical) doctrines and subdued many shameless people and restored splendour to the (true) faith, he proclaimed (the treatise called) Kathāvattu.

42. From that Moggaliputta Mahinda, who was the pupil of that teacher, learnt the true religion.

43. (Moggaliputta) taught him the five Nikāyas and the seven sections (of the Abhidhamma); he the hero, the clever one learnt from his teacher the two Vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya, the Parivāra, and the Khandhaka. [158]

44. When the second century and thirty-six years more had elapsed (since the Buddha's death), again a most dreadful schism arose in the Theravāda.

45. In the city of Pāṭaliputta ruled prince Dhammāsoka, a great king, who was a believer in the faith of Buddha.

46. He bestowed great gifts on the Saṅgha, the best and most excellent of congregations; in one day he expended four lacs.

47. One he gave in honour of the Cetiya, another for the preaching of the Dhamma, one for the requirements of the sick, one to the Saṅgha.

48. Infidels, sixty thousand in number, seeing this gain and these great honours, furtively attached themselves (to the Saṅgha).

49. The Pātimokkha ceremonies in the monastery of the Asokārāma were interrupted; a minister who ordered the Pātimokkha ceremonies to be performed, killed (some) of the Saints.

50. In order to destroy the infidels, many disciples of Buddha, sixty thousand sons of the Jina assembled.

51. At that convocation the son of Moggali was the president, a great chief, similar to the Teacher; he had not his like on earth.

52. The king asked the Thera about the case of the slaughter of the Saints; having performed a miracle, he satisfied the desire of the king.

53. Having received the Doctrine from the Thera, the king destroyed the Bhikkhu emblems of those who had furtively attached themselves (to the Saṅgha).

54. The reckless infidels, performing the Pabbajjā rite according to their own doctrine, injured the faith of the Buddha just as (men mix) pure gold (with baser metals).

55. They all were sectarian, opposed to the Theravāda; and in order to annihilate them and to make his own doctrine resplendent, –

56. the Thera set forth the treatise belonging to the Abhidhamma, which is called Kathāvatthu. A similar punishment, a similar destruction of an opposite doctrine never occurred.

57-58. After having promulgated the treatise called Kathāvatthu which belongs to the Abhidhamma, the presiding Thera, in order to purify his own doctrine and (to establish) the Faith for a long time, selected one thousand Arahats, choosing the best ones, and [159] held a Council.

59. In the monastery of the Asokārāma which had been built by king Dhammāsoka, this third convocation was finished in the space of nine months.

Here ends the Council of the True Faith which lasted Nine Months

VIII. [The Missions]

1. Far-seeing Moggaliputta who perceived by his supernatural vision the propagation of the Faith in the future in the neighbouring countries, –

2. sent Majjhantika and other Theras, each with four companions, for the sake of establishing the Faith in foreign countries (and) for the enlightenment of men.

3. “Preach ye together with your brethren (?) powerfully the most excellent religion to the foreign countries, out of compassion for created beings.”

4. The great sage Majjhantika went to the country of the Gandhāras; there he appeased an enraged Nāga and released many people from the fetters (of sin).

5. Mahādeva who possessed the great (magical) powers, went to the realm of Mahisa; urging (the people) by (the description of) the suffering in hell, he released many people from their fetters.

6. Then another (Thera), Rakkhita, skilled in magical transformations, rising into the air, preached the Anamataggiya discourse.³⁰

7. The wise Thera called Yonakadhammarakkhita converted the Aparantaka country by preaching the Aggikkhandhopama Sutta.³¹

8. The Thera Mahādhammarakkhita who possessed the great (magical) powers, converted Mahārāṭṭha by preaching the Nāradakassapajātaka.³²

³⁰ The country converted by this Thera is called by Buddhaghosa Vanavāsa.
Ed. note: Amataggiyasamyuttaṃ, SN 15.

³¹ Ed. note: AN 7.72.

³² Ed. note: Jā. 544.

9. The Thera Mahārakkhita who possessed the great magical powers, converted the Yavana region by preaching the Kālakārāma Suttanta.³³

10. The Thera who originated from the Kassapa tribe, Majjhima, Durabhisara, Sahadeva, Mūlakadeva, converted the multitude of Yakkhas in the Himavat.

11. They preached there the Suttanta called Dhammacakkappavattana.³⁴

12. Sona and [160] Uttara who possessed the great magical powers, went to Suvāṇṇabhūmi; there they conquered the multitudes of Piśācas and released many people from their fetters.

13. Mahinda, going with four companions to the most excellent island of Laṅkā, firmly established (there) the Faith and released many people from their fetters.

³³ Ed. note: AN 4.24.

³⁴ Ed. note: SN 56.11.

IX. [Vijaya's Story]

1. The island of Laṅkā was called Sīhala after the Lion (sīha); listen ye to the narration of the origin of the island which I (am going to) tell.
2. The daughter of the Vaṅga king cohabited in the forest with a lion dwelling in the wilderness, and in consequence gave birth to two children.
3. Sīhabāhu and Sīvalī were beautiful youths; the name of their mother was Susimā, and their father was called the Lion.
4. When their sixteenth year had elapsed, (Sīhabāhu) departed from his cave, and then built a most excellent town called Sīhapura.
5. The son of the Lion, a powerful king, ruled over a great kingdom, in Lāḷaraṭṭha, in the most excellent town of Sīhapura.
6. Thirty-two brothers were the sons of Sīhabāhu; Vijaya and Sumitta were the eldest among them, beautiful princes.
7. Prince Vijaya was daring and uneducated; he committed most wicked and fearful deeds, plundering the people.
8. The people from the country and the merchants assembled; they went to the king and complained against the bad conduct of Vijaya.
9. The king, having heard their speech, full of anger, gave this order to the ministers: "Remove ye that boy.
10. Let them remove from the country all those attendants, his wives, children, relations, maid-servants, man-servants, and hired workmen."
11. He was then removed, and his relations were separated from him; so they went on board ship, and (the ship) sailed away on the sea.

12. “May they drift wherever they like; they shall not show their faces again nor shall they ever come back to dwell in our kingdom and country.”

13. The ship in which the children had [161] embarked was helplessly driven to an island, the name of which was then called Naggadīpa.

14. The ship in which the wives had embarked was helplessly driven to an island, the name of which was then called Mahilāraṭṭha.

15. The ship in which the men had embarked went, sailing on the sea, losing her way and her bearings, to the port of Suppāra.

16. The people of Suppāra then invited those seven hundred men to disembark, and offered them lavish hospitality and honours.

17. During this hospitable reception Vijaya and all his followers unnoticed (?) committed barbarous deeds.

18. They made themselves guilty of drinking, theft, adultery, falsehood, and slander, of an immoral, most dreadful, bad conduct.

19. (The people) indignant at such cruel, savage, terrible and most dreadful deeds being committed against themselves, consulted together: “Let us quickly kill those rascals.”

20. There is an island (formerly) called Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, or Maṇḍadīpa, the (recent) name of which is Laṅkāḍīpa, and which is (besides) known by the name of Tambapaṇṇi.

21-22. At the time, when Sambuddha, highest of men, attained Parinibbāna, that son of Sīhabāhu, the prince called Vijaya, having left the land called Jambudīpa, landed on Laṅkāḍīpa. It had been foretold by the most excellent Buddha, that that prince one day would be (its) king.

23. The Teacher at that time had addressed Sakka, the chief of gods: “Do not neglect, Kosiya, the care of Laṅkāḍīpa.”

24. Sujampati, the king of gods, having heard the Sambuddha's command, committed to Uppalavaṇṇa the business of guarding the island.

25. Having heard the command of Sakka that powerful Devaputta with his attendant demons kept guard over the island.

26. Vijaya, having stopped three months at Bhārukaccha and exasperated the inhabitants, went again on board his ship.

27. That crowd of men having gone on board their ship, sailing over the sea, were driven away by the violence of the wind, and lost their bearings.

28. They came to Laṅkādīpa, where they disembarked and went on shore. Standing on dry ground, being exhausted [162] by great hunger, thirst and fatigue, they were unable (?) to walk on foot.

29. They crawled about on the ground with both hands and knees; afterwards, when they rose and stood upright, they saw that their hands were resplendent (copper-coloured).

30. The red-coloured dust of the ground covered their arms and hands; hence the name of that place was called Tambapaṇṇi (copper-palmed).

31. Tambapaṇṇi was the first town in the most excellent Laṅkādīpa; there Vijaya resided and governed his kingdom.

32. Vijaya and Vijita together with Anurādhakhatta, Accutaḡāmi, and Upatissa are those who came first to this country.

33. Many people, crowds of men and women, came together; (hence each) prince founded a town in the different parts.

34. The town of Tambapaṇṇi surrounded by suburbs was built by Vijaya in the south on the most lovely bank of the river.

35. Vijita founded Vijita(pura), the same founded Uruvelā. The minister who was called after the asterism (Anurādha) founded Anurādhapura.

36. He who was called Accutagāmi then founded Ujjenī, Upatissa founded Upatissanagara which had well arranged markets, which was prosperous, opulent, large, charming, and lovely.

37. The king called Vijaya by name was the first ruler who reigned in Tambapaṇṇi over the delightful island of Laṅkā.

38. When seven years (of his reign) had passed, the land was crowded with people. That prince reigned thirty-eight years.

39. In the ninth month after (Gotama) had become Buddha, the host of Yakkhas was destroyed; in the fifth year after his attaining Buddhahip the Jina conquered the Nāgas; in the eighth year after his attaining Buddhahip he completed the Samāpatti meditations (in Laṅkā).

40. On these three occasions the Tathāgata came hither. In the last year of the Buddha Vijaya came hither.

41. The Sambuddha, the most excellent of men, made (the island fit for) the residence of men; the Sambuddha (afterwards) reached complete Nibbāna by the entire annihilation of the substrata of existence. [163]

42. Prince (Vijaya) reigned thirty-eight years after the Parinibbāna of the Sambuddha, the light-giving king of Truth.

43. He despatched a messenger to Sīhapura to the (prince) called Sumitta, (with this message): “Come one (of you) quickly to us, to the most excellent island of Laṅkā; –

44. there is nobody to govern this kingdom after my death. I hand over to you this island which I have acquired by my exertions.”

X.³⁵ [Paṇḍuvāsa]

1. The daughter of the Sakka prince Paṇḍu, the princess called Kaccānā, came over hither from Jambudīpa in order to preserve the dynasty.
2. She was crowned as the queen-consort of Paṇḍuvāsa; from this marriage eleven children were born:
3. Abhaya, Tissa, and Utti, Tissa, and Asela the fifth, Vibhāta, Rāma, and Siva, Matta together with Mattakala.
4. The youngest of them was a daughter known by the name of Cittā; because she fascinated the hearts of the men who saw her, she was called Ummādacittā (fascinating Cittā).
5. (Paṇḍuvāsa) arrived in Upatissagāma in the same year in which he was crowned. This king reigned full thirty years.
6. There were seven Sākiya princes, the grand-children of Amitodana, born in the family of the Lord of the world: Rāma, Tissa, and Anurādha, Mahāli, Dīghāvu, Rohana, Gāmanī the seventh of them.
7. The son of Paṇḍuvāsa, prince Abhaya by name, reigned immediately (after his father) twenty years.
8. The wise son of Dīghāvu, the clever Gāmanī, who attended Paṇḍuvāsa, cohabited with the princess Cittā.

³⁵ This chapter belongs to the most fragmentary parts of the whole work. First is related the marriage of Paṇḍuvāsa and Kaccāna (vv. 1 - 4). After a stanza referring to the length of Paṇḍuvāsa's reign (v. 5), the names of Kaccāna's brothers are given who came over to Ceylon (see Mahāvamsa, p. 56). The following verses contain a short abstract of what is related at length in the Mahāvamsa, pp. 57 et seq.

9. In consequence [164] of that intercourse the prince called Paṇḍuka was born. Saving his life (from the persecutions of his uncles), (Paṇḍuka) resided in Dovārikamaṇḍala.

XI. [Devānampiyatissa]

1. Abhaya's twentieth year having elapsed, Pakuṇḍa had completed his twentieth year. Pakuṇḍaka was crowned when the thirty-seventh year from his birth had elapsed.

2. After Abhaya's twentieth year Pakuṇḍaka lived as a robber; seventeen years later he put to death seven of his maternal uncles, and received the royal coronation in the town of Anurādhapura.

3. When ten years (of his reign) had elapsed and sixty years (of it) were still to follow, he fixed the boundaries of the villages and completely tranquillized (the country).

4. Enjoying sovereignty both over men and Yakkhas, Pakuṇḍa reigned during full seventy years.

5. The son of Pakuṇḍa was the prince called Muṭasīva; this king reigned sixty years over Tambapaṇṇi.

6-7. There were then ten brothers, the sons of Muṭasīva: Abhaya, Tissa, and Nāga, Utti together with Mattābhaya, Mitta, Siva, and Asela, Tissa, and Kira completing the number of ten, and princess Anulā and Sivalā, the daughters of Muṭasīva.

8. When eight years of Ajātasattu had elapsed, Vijaya came hither; after the fourteenth year of Udaya, Vijaya expired. After the sixteenth year of Udaya, they crowned Paṇḍuvāsa.

9. In the interval between the two kings Vijaya and Paṇḍuvāsa, Tambapaṇṇi was without a king during one year.

10. In the twenty-first year of Nāgadāsa, Paṇḍuvāsa died, and they crowned Abhaya in the twenty-first year of Nāgadāsa.

11. ...seventeen years;³⁶ twenty-four ...

12. In the fourteenth year of Candagutta the king called Pakuṇḍaka died; in the fourteenth year of Candagutta [165] they crowned Muṭasīva.

13. Seventeen years had elapsed after the coronation of Asoka, then Muṭasīva died.

14. When seventeen years of that king (that is, Asoka) and six months of the next year had elapsed, in the second month of the winter season, under the most auspicious Nakkhatta of Asāḷhā, Devānampiya was installed in the kingdom of Tambapaṇṇi.

15. At the foot of the Chāta mountain three bamboo poles were to be found. (The first was) white like silver; its creeper shone like gold.

16-17. There was also (the second), the flower pole, (whereon most beautiful,) delightful (figures) like the shapes of flowers (presented themselves), dark blue, yellow, red, pure white, and black; and so also (the third), the bird-pole on which birds (appeared), each with its natural colours, and also quadrupeds.

18. The eight descriptions of pearls (also presented themselves), viz. the horse pearl, the elephant pearl, the chariot pearl, the myrobalan pearl, the bracelet pearl, the signet pearl, the Kakubha pearl, the Sadisa (Pākatika?) pearl.

19. When Devānampiya had succeeded to the throne, (the people,) moved by the splendour of his coronation, brought the three kinds of gems from the Malaya country, the three bamboo poles from the foot of the Chāta hill, and the eight kinds of pearls from the sea-shore.

³⁶ The first words of this fragment seem to refer to the interreign after Abhaya's death, which lasted seventeen years. The number of twenty-four I cannot explain.

20. Great crowds brought in the space of seven days, in consequence of Devānampiya's merit, the gems which were produced in Malaya and which were worthy of a king.

21. When the king saw these costly, precious treasures, the unequalled, incomparable, wonderful, rare treasures, –

22-23. he spoke with a heart full of joy: "I am high-born, noble, the chief of men; such is the reward of my righteous deeds; look at the treasures I have gained, which are worth many lacs and are produced in consequence of my merit. Who is worthy to receive the donation of these treasures, –

24. my mother or my father, a brother, relations, friends, or companions?" Thus meditating the king remembered prince Asoka.

25. Devānampiyatissa and Dhammāsoka, the master of men, were both intimate friends, united by faithful [166] affection, though they never had seen each other.

26. "I have a dear ally, the ruler of Jambudīpa, the righteous Asokadhamma, a friend dear as my life.

27. He is worthy to receive from me the gift of these treasures, and I also am worthy to present unto him the treasure of these most precious ornaments (?).

28. Arise, my dear (?)³⁷ quickly take these treasures, go to Jambudīpa, to the city called Puppha(pura), and present these most precious treasures to Asoka, my ally."

29. Mahāariṭṭha, Sāla, the Brāhmaṇa Parantapabbata, the astrologer Puttatisa, these four men were the messengers despatched by Devānampiya.

³⁷ The king addresses his nephew Ariṭṭha; see the Mahāvamsa, p.69

30. Devānampiya sent the three resplendent gems, the eight excellent pearls, and the three (bamboo poles which had the size of) chariot poles, besides a collection of the most precious chanks, together with many valuable objects.

31. The king sent his minister Sāla and his commander-in-chief Ariṭṭha, Parantapabbata, and his astrologer Puttatissa, who were delighted (?) (with this service).

Devānampiyatissa's Coronation, 1st telling

32. (Asoka in return sent) a royal parasol, a ... of Sāra wood (?), a diadem, ear ornaments, water from the Ganges, and an (anointing) vase, a chank trumpet, and a palanquin, –

33. a right hand chank, a virgin, all that being worthy (?) of a royal coronation; a suit (a koṭi?) of clothes which are (cleansed by being passed through the fire) without being washed,³⁸ costly towels, –

34. most precious yellow sandal wood, and measures of rouge, yellow, and emblic myrobalan; and therewith he sent this message:

35. “The Buddha is the best among those who are worthy of presents, the Faith is the best of all things which refer to the extinction of the passions, and the Saṅgha is the best field of merit: these are the three best objects in the world of men and Devas.

36. To this (triad) I, the prince, pay my reverence for the sake of the highest bliss.” [167]

37. Those four messengers having sojourned five months (in Pāṭaliputta, departed,) taking away the presents sent by Asokadhamma, –

³⁸ I have adopted Turnour's translation of “adhovimāṇ” (Mahāvamsa, p. 70)

38. and arrived in this island from Jambudīpa on the twelfth day of the increasing moon in the month of Vesākha. The requisites for the coronation having been sent by Asokadhamma, –

39. they celebrated a second coronation of king Devānampiya. This second coronation took place on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha; –

40. one month after that day, on the full moon day of the month of Jeṭṭha, Mahinda arrived in this island from Jambudīpa together with his six companions.

Here ends the Description of the Things for the Royal Coronation

XII. [The Coming of Mahinda]

Devānampiyatissa's Coronation, 2nd telling

1. The (monarch) called Asoka sent (to Devānampiya) a chowrie, a turban, a sword, a royal parasol, slippers, a diadem, a ... of Sāra wood, an (anointing) vase, a right hand chank, –
2. a palanquin, a conch trumpet, water from the Ganges, a koṭi of clothes which are (cleansed by being passed through the fire) without being washed, a golden vessel and spoon, costly towels, –
3. a man's load of water from the Anotatta lake, most precious yellow sandal wood, a measure of rouge, eye collyrium brought by the Nāgas, –
4. yellow and emblic myrobalan, costly Amata drugs, one hundred and sixty cart loads of fragrant hill paddy which had been brought by parrots; (all these things being) the rewards for his meritorious actions.
5. (Besides he sent the following message:) “I have taken my refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha; I have avowed myself a lay pupil of the Doctrine of the Sakyaputta.
6. Imbue your mind also with the faith in this triad, in the highest religion of the Jina, take your refuge in the Teacher.”
7. Doing honour (to Devānampiyatissa by) this (commission), Asoka the illustrious despatched the messengers to Devānampiya. [168] As the messengers had departed, –
8. many Theras who possessed the great (magical) powers addressed Mahinda, in the most excellent Asokārāma, out of compassion for the country of Laṅkā, (as follows:)

9. “The time has come to establish the Faith in the island of Laṅkā; go, most virtuous one, convert the island of Laṅkā.”

10. The wise and learned Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, having heard the speech of the Fraternity, consented together with his companions.

11. Adjusting his robe so as to cover one shoulder, raising his clasped hands, and saluting them with an inclination of the head, (he said:) “I go to the island of Laṅkā.”

12. The (prince) called Mahinda became then the chief of that number; Itṭhiya and the Thera Uttiya, Bhaddasāla and Sambala, –

13. and the novice Sumana who was possessed of the six (supernatural) faculties and of the great (magical) powers, those five great Theras being possessed of the (same) six (supernatural) faculties and great (magical) powers, departing from the Asokārāma went forth together with their retinue.

14. Wandering from place to place they reached Vedissagiri. They sojourned as long as they liked in the monastery of Vedissagiri.

15. Thera (Mahinda), having instructed his mother (in the doctrine of) the refuges, the moral precepts, and the Uposatha ceremonies, made the inhabitants of the island firm in the true faith and in the religion.

16. (Once) in the evening, Thera Mahinda, the great teacher, retiring into solitude, reflected whether the time would be favourable or unfavourable (for the conversion of Laṅkā).

17. Perceiving the thought of the Thera, Sakka the chief of gods appeared to the Thera, and thus addressed him face to face:

18. “The time has come to thee, great hero, to convert Laṅkā; go quickly to the best of islands out of compassion for created beings.

19. Go to the most excellent Laṅkāḍīpa, preach the Dhamma to created beings; proclaim the four Truths, release men from the fetters (of sin); –

20. make illustrious the doctrine of the supreme Buddha in Laṅkāḍīpa. Thy (advent) [169] has been foretold by the Chief (of the Faith); the fraternity of Bhikkhus has elected thee –

21. and I shall do service to thee at thy arrival in Laṅkāḍīpa and perform all that is necessary; it is time for thee to depart.”

22. Having heard the speech of Sakka, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, reflected (thus): “Bhagavat has rightly prophesied about me, the fraternity of Bhikkhus has elected me, –

23. and Sakka has exhorted me; I shall establish the Faith; I will go to Tambapaṇṇi; subtle is the people of Tambapaṇṇi, –

24. (yet) they have not heard of the well proclaimed path which leads to the destruction of all suffering. I shall proclaim it to them; I shall go to the island of Laṅkā.”

25. Mahinda, the son of Asoka, who well knew the time and the season, having resolved to go to Laṅkā, told his companions (to come). Mahinda was the chief of that number; there were (then) his four fellow pupils, –

26. the novice Sumana, and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka. To these six men who were endowed with the six (supernatural) faculties, (Mahinda) who possessed the great (magical) powers, thus made known (his intention):

27. “Let us go now to the extensive, most excellent island of Laṅkā, let us convert many people and establish the Faith.”

28. Expressing their assent (by exclaiming:) “Be it so”, they all were joyful. (They added:) “It is time, venerable sir, let us go to the mountain called Missaka; the king (Devānampiyatissa) is just leaving the town in order to hunt.”

29. Sakka, the chief of the gods, was delighted and addressed Thera Mahinda who had retired into solitude, with the following speech:

30. “Venerable sir, Bhagavat has given this prediction about thee: In future times the Bhikkhu Mahinda will convert the island, he will propagate the religion of the Jina, he will set on foot there the kingdom of Righteousness, he will deliver created beings from great pain, and will establish them on firm ground, he will act for the welfare of many people, for the joy of many people, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the welfare, and for the joy of gods and men.” [170]

31. Thus Bhagavat has indicated thee, and now, at the present time, the Thera and the Bhikkhus have charged thee with the conversion of the island. It is time, great hero, to convert the island; the hour has come, great hero, to convert the island; upon thee this task has devolved; bear this burden, convert Tambapaṇṇi, propagate the religion of the Jina. I am thy obedient pupil who gets up before thee and walks behind thee.”

32. (Mahinda replied:) “I accept what Bhagavat, our Teacher, has said; I will save Tambapaṇṇi, I will show the light (to the island) and cause the splendour of the Jina to increase. (Tambapaṇṇi) is covered and enclosed by the overclouding darkness of ignorance and of (worldly) existence; it is ruined by envy and selfishness; it cannot rise from the delusions which are produced by the fault of idleness; it has entered on a wrong way and goes far astray from the true path; it is exhausted; high born people have become (as it were) people covered with sores, and have become (feeble like) Muñja or Babbaja grass. Tambapaṇṇi has entirely been subdued by obstacles and passions in consequence of the obscurity of error and of the darkness of ignorance and of (worldly) existence; it is covered, pervaded, veiled, overshadowed, and girt round with that great darkness, the obscurity of error.

33. I shall destroy the darkness of error and throw light on all Tambapaṇṇi, I shall cause to shine the religion of the Jina.” Being thus exhorted by Vāsavinda, the chief of gods, by such a speech, he rose up from his solitude, and having attained to the fullness of resolve, he thus asked for the assent of the fraternity of Bhikkhus:

34. “Let us go to Tambapaṇṇi; the people of Tambapaṇṇi are subtle; (yet) they have not heard of the well proclaimed path which leads to the destruction of all suffering. I shall proclaim it to them, I shall go to the island of Laṅkā.”

35. Having resided thirty days on the delightful hill of Vedissa, (they reflected thus:) “It is now time to start; let us go to the best of islands.”

36. They flew through the air from Jambudīpa, as the king of swans flies in the [171] air. Having thus risen, the Theras alighted on the best of mountains (Missaka).

37. To the east of the most excellent town (Anurādhapura), on the cloud-like mountain they stationed themselves, on the top of Missaka, as swans (alight) on the summit of a hill.

38. The (Thera) called Mahinda was then the chief of that fraternity; Itthiya, Thera Uttiya, Bhaddasāla, and Sambala, –

39. the novice Sumana, and the lay-pupil Bhaṇḍuka, all these possessing the great (magical) powers, were the converters of Tambapaṇṇi.

40. The Thera, rising into the air as the king of swans rises to the sky, stationed himself to the east of the most excellent town on the cloud-like mountain, –

41-42. on the top of Missaka, as swans (alight) on the summit of a hill. At that time Devānampiyatissa, the son of Muṭasīva, was king and ruler of Tambapaṇṇi. The eighteenth year had elapsed since the coronation of Asoka, –

43. and full seven months since the coronation of Tissa, when Mahinda, twelve years (after his Upasampadā ordination), arrived in this island from Jambudīpa.

44. In the last month of summer, on the full moon day of the month Jeṭṭha, under the asterisms Anurādhā and Jeṭṭha, Mahinda at the head of his companions arrived on mount Missaka.

45. The king, going a-hunting, (also) came to mount Missaka. A god who had assumed the form of an elk appeared to the king.

46. The king, seeing the elk, quickly rushed on him and running behind him he came to a place enclosed by hills.

47. There the Yakkha disappeared near the Thera; seeing the Thera sitting there, the king was frightened.

48. (The Thera reflected:) “As the king is alone, he shall see also me alone lest he should be frightened; when his troops have come up, then he may see the Bhikkhus (also).”

49. Thera (Mahinda) saw the prince, the protector of the earth, who appeared like a wicked person, going to hunt; he called him by the name of that prince: “Come hither, Tissa”, thus he then addressed him.

50. (The king thought thus:) “Who is that solitary, bald-headed man without companion, wearing a yellow garment and wrapped in a mantle, who addresses [172] me in the language of non-human beings?”

51. (Mahinda replied:) “I whom you ask, o prince, o protector of the earth, am a Samaṇa belonging to the world of men. We are Samaṇas, great king, pupils of the king of Truth; out of compassion towards thee we have repaired hither from Jambudīpa.”

52. The king laid aside his weapons and seated himself by the side (of Mahinda); having seated himself, the king exchanged greetings with words full of deep meaning.

53. Having heard the speech of the Thera, he laid aside his weapons; then he approached the Thera, exchanged greetings with him, and sat down.

54. Gradually the ministers and the troops also arrived; fourty thousand men in number they surrounded (the king and the Theras).

55. When the troops had come up, the king perceived the (other) seated Theras (and asked:) “Are there many other Bhikkhus, pupils of the universal Buddha?”

56. “There are many disciples of Buddha, versed in the threefold science, possessed of the (magical) powers, well acquainted with the exposition of the qualities of mind, who have subdued their passions and reached Arahatship.”

57. After having ascertained by means of the Amba parable that this victorious king was a clever person, (Mahinda) preached to him the most excellent Hatthipada Sutta.³⁹

58. When they had heard that most excellent (portion of the) Doctrine, these forty thousand men took their refuge (with Buddha), like a wise man in whose mind faith has arisen.

59. Then the king, glad, highly delighted and joyful, addressed the fraternity of Bhikkhus: “Let us proceed to the town, my capital.”

60. Quickly (Mahinda) converted the pious, learned and wise king called Devānam(ṭiya) together with his army.

³⁹ Ed. note: Either MN 27: Cūḷahatthipadopama or MN 28: Mahāhatthipadopama.

61. Hearing what the king said, Mahinda replied: “Go you, great king; we shall stay here.”

62. When he had sent away the king, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, addressed the fraternity of Bhikkhus: “Let us confer the Pabbajjā ordination on Bhaṇḍuka.”

63. Having heard what the Thera said, they all quickly turning their thoughts (towards [173] that object) examined the village boundary and conferred the Pabbajjā ordination on Bhaṇḍuka. At the same time he received the Upasampadā ordination and attained Arahatship.

64. The Thera standing on the top of the mountain said to the charioteer:⁴⁰ “Nay, a chariot is not suitable (to us); the Tathāgata has rejected (its use).”

65. Having sent away the charioteer, the Theras who had subdued their senses and possessed the great (magical) powers, started through the air, as the king of swans (rises) to the sky. Descending from the sky, they alighted on the ground.

66. When the charioteer saw them who put on their under garments and dressed themselves in their robes, he joyfully went to tell the king.

67. When the king had (first) despatched the charioteer, he had thus addressed his ministers: “Erect a pavilion in the town within the precincts of the palace.

68. The princes and princesses, the queens, and the women of the harem who desire to meet them, may see the Theras who have arrived.”

⁴⁰ The king had sent his chariot the next morning for bringing the Theras to the town; see Mahāv., p.81.

69. The high-born ministers, after having heard the speech of the king, constructed in the middle of the precincts of the palace a pavilion canopied with cloth.

70. A canopy was spread, a clean, white and spotless cloth; it was decorated with flags and shells, and adorned with white strips of cotton.

71. White sand was scattered, well mixed with white flowers; (such was) the white, decorated hall, similar to the snowy regions (of the skies).

72. Having decorated the hall with entirely white cloth and having made the floor level, they spoke to the king:

73. “The well constructed, beautiful hall, great king, is completed; choose now, Sire, seats which are suitable for ascetics.”

74. At that moment the charioteer arrived announcing to the king: “A chariot, Sire, is not suitable for the Bhikkhu fraternity to sit down (therein).

75. O wonderful. Sire! all the Theras who possess the great (magical) powers, first remained behind me after having sent me away, (but now) [174] they have arrived before me.

76. A high seat and a great seat are not suitable for the Bhikkhus; order a carpet (for them); the Theras approach.”

77. The king, delighted at hearing the speech of the charioteer, went forth to meet the Theras, and having saluted, he exchanged greetings (with them).

78. Taking the alms-bowls of the Theras and honouring them with perfumed garlands, the prince together with the Theras arrived at the gate of the royal palace.

79. The Thera, having entered the hall in the interior apartments of the king, saw the floor strewn (as above described) and the seat covered with cloth.

80. They sat down on the seats prepared for them which were covered with cloth. When they had seated themselves, the king gave them water, rice-gruel and food, –

81. and served to them with his own hands a most excellent meal. When the Thera had finished his meal and removed his hand from the bowl, –

82. (the king) addressed queen Anulā together with the women of the interior apartments: “You know the opportunity, queen; it is time to pay your respects to them (the Theras).”

83. Queen Anulā, surrounded by five hundred girls, bowed to the Theras and honoured them to her heart’s content.

84. Having approached the Theras and saluted them, she sat down. (Mahinda) preached to them the Dhamma; the great teacher exposed the fearful Peta stories, –

85-86. the Vimāna stories, the Saccasaṃyutta.⁴¹ When they had heard that most excellent (portion of the) Doctrine, princess Anulā and her five hundred attendants, like a wise man (?) in whose mind faith has arisen, attained the reward of Sotāpatti; this was the first case of the attainment (of a stage of sanctification which occurred in Laṅkā).

⁴¹ Ed. note: SN 56.

XIII. [The Earthquakes]

1. The whole crowd, the multitude of people who had not seen the Theras before, assembled at the gate of the royal palace and set up a great shout.
2. The king hearing the great noise ... (asked:) “For what reason have [175] all these numerous people, has this great crowd, assembled?”
3. (The ministers said:) “This great crowd, Sire, has assembled for seeing the Fraternity; as they did not obtain a sight (of them), they set up that great shout.”
4. (The king replied:) “The palace is much too small for this multitude to place themselves therein; the elephant stables are not too small; (there) these crowds may see the Thera.”
5. When (Mahinda) had finished his meal and gladdened (the king by preaching the Dhamma), he rose from his seat, left the royal palace, and went to the elephant stables.
6. In the elephant stables they prepared a magnificent couch; on that excellent couch Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, sat down.
7. Seated on that most excellent couch Mahinda, the chief of (that) company (of Bhikkhus), then preached the most excellent Devadūta Sutta.⁴²
8. Having heard that Devadūta discourse (which treats of) the most fearful (consequences of) former deeds, they were frightened and seized by great emotion, being terrified by the fear of hell.
9. When he saw that the people were oppressed by fear, he proclaimed the four Truths; at the end (of his discourse) one thousand men attained (sanctification); this was the second case of the attainment (of sanctification which occurred in Laṅkā).

⁴² Ed. note: MN 130.

10. Leaving the elephant stables (he went forth), followed by a great crowd, delighting many people, as Buddha had done in Rājagaha.

11. The crowd left the town by the southern gate; there was a pleasure garden called Mahānandana, to the south of the town.

12. In (this) royal pleasure garden they prepared a magnificent couch; there the Thera sat down and preached the most excellent Dhamma.

13. There he preached the most excellent Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta.⁴³ At that time one thousand created beings attained sanctification through the Dhamma.

14-15. A great crowd then gathered in the Nandana pleasure garden; noble women and maidens, the daughters-in-law and the daughters of noble families crowded together in order to see the Thera. While he exchanged greetings with them, night had fallen.

16. (The king therefore [176] addressed Mahinda:) “The Theras may pass the night here in the Mahānandana garden; it is too late for going hence to the distant dwelling in the mountains.”

17. (Mahinda replied:) “The town, which is filled with so many people, is too close by; in the night there will be a great noise; nay, let us go to that mountain which is like the palace of Sakka and well fitting for a retired existence.”

18. (Tissa answered:) “There is a solitary garden of mine, the Mahāmeghavana, suitable for going and coming, not too far and not too near, –

19. easily accessible for people who want (to see you), by day not exposed to much noise, at night there is no noise at all.

⁴³ Ed. note: MN 129.

20. It is well fitted for a retired existence, and suits ascetic people; it is endowed with prospects and shadow, it is beautiful, and produces flowers and fruits, –

21. it is well enclosed by a wall and well protected by towers at the gates. There is a well arranged royal gate in my delightful garden, –

22. a well constructed lotus-pond covered with white and blue lotuses, cold water in suitable reservoirs, which is sweetly scented by flowers.

23. So delightful is my garden, appropriate for (you) and the fraternity of Bhikkhus. There, o Thera, reside; have compassion on me.”

24. Hearing what the king said, Thera Mahinda with his companions, surrounded by the host of ministers, proceeded then to the Meghavana garden.

25. Being invited by the chief of men, Thera Mahinda, the great teacher, entered the suitable Mahāmeghavana garden. In that garden, in the royal pavilion, the Thera, the great teacher, passed the night.

26. On the second day the king again visited the Theras. Having bowed to them, he spoke thus to the Theras;

27. “Have you had a good night’s rest? do you find this residence comfortable?” (The Theras replied:) “The dwelling is solitary, well fitting the season, agreeable to lie in for men, –

28. convenient for a retired existence and desirable.” The king, delighted by that speech, rejoicing and excited, –

29. he the ruler of the earth, took a golden vessel and dedicated the garden (to the Fraternity [177]). Raising his clasped hands, he pronounced the following words:

30. “Here, venerable Sir, I give up the beautiful Mahāmeghavana garden to the Fraternity of the four quarters of the world; accept it.”

31. Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, hearing what the chief of men said, accepted the garden for the sake of the construction of a monastery for the Fraternity.

32. At the moment when the Mahāmeghavana garden was given and accepted, the earth began to quake, and again and again thunder (was heard).

33. The chief of men called Tissa bestowed it on the Fraternity; they turned the Mahāmeghavana garden into (a monastery called) the Tissārāma.

34. The Mahāmeghavana was the first Ārāma, worthy of the Religion, which Devānampiya bestowed on the Fraternity.

35. Then the earth quaked, a horror-exciting portent. All people and the king, being terrified, asked the Theras (about the reason of that earthquake).

36. “This is the first monastery in the most excellent island of Laṅkā; the reason of this first earthquake is that the Faith has been established here.”

37. Witnessing that astonishing, terrifying miracle, they all waved their garments, as nothing of the kind had been experienced in the town.

38. Thence the rejoicing king in whose mind wisdom had arisen, raising his clasped hands, presented many flowers to Mahinda, the enlightener of the island.

39. The Thera accepted the flowers and threw them down in one place; then the earth again quaked; this was the second earthquake.

40. Witnessing this miracle also, the royal retinue together with the people of the kingdom shouted; this was the second earthquake.

41. The delighted king who rejoiced still more, (then asked:) “Satisfy my desire (to learn the reason of) this second earthquake.”

42. “The Fraternity will (here) perform its business which is irreproachable and worthy of the Faith. At this very spot, o great king, will be the consecrated enclosure.”

43. The king, still more delighted, presented flowers to the Thera; the Thera accepted the flowers and threw them down on another spot; then the earth quaked again; this was the third [178] earthquake.

44. (The king asked:) “What is the reason, great hero, of this third earthquake? Satisfy all my wishes, tell me, you are well experienced.”

45. “On this spot will be the bath-house with a tank; here the Bhikkhus always will fill the bath.”

46. Devānampiya, filled with high joy and delight, presented full-blown jasmine flowers to the Thera.

47. The Thera accepted the flowers and threw them down on another spot. Then the earth quaked again. This was the fourth earthquake.

48. Witnessing that miracle, the great crowds who had assembled, noising their clasped hands, paid reverence to (the Thera) who possessed the great (magical) powers.

49. The king, glad and delighted, quickly asked: “What is the reason, o great hero, of this fourth earthquake?”

50. “The descendant of the Sakyas, the great hero, was enlightened regarding the whole Truth near the Assattha tree; (there) he became the highest Buddha. That tree will be established on this very spot in this most excellent island.”

51. Hearing that, the king, glad, joyful, and excited, presented most excellent jasmine flowers to the Thera.

52. The Thera accepted the flowers and threw them down on the ground; at that moment also the earth quaked; this was the fifth earthquake.

53. Witnessing that miracle also, the royal retinue together with the people of the kingdom shouted and waved their garments.

54. (The king asked:) “What is the reason, o great sage, of the fifth earthquake? Tell me this matter, if that is consistent (?) with your pleasure and will.”

55. “Each fortnight they will here recite the Pātimokkha; on this very spot the Uposatha hall will stand.”

56. (The king) presented beautiful flowers to the Thera also in another place; the Thera accepted the flowers and threw them down on that spot. Then the earth quaked again; this was the sixth earthquake.

57. Witnessing this miracle also, the crowds who had assembled, joyfully thus addressed each other: “Here a Vihāra will stand.”

58. The king who was still more delighted, said to the Theras: “What is the reason, o great Sage, of the sixth earthquake?”

59. “As long as in future [179] times the alms due to the Fraternity (will be distributed), the assembled Fraternities of Bhikkhus will receive them, o great king, on this very spot.”

60. Hearing the Thera’s speech, the delighted king presented most beautiful flowers to the Thera.

61. The Thera accepted the flowers and scattered them on another spot; then the earth quaked again; this was the seventh earthquake.

62. Witnessing this miracle, the whole royal retinue and the people of the kingdom waved their garments, when the ground of the earth quaked.

63. (The king asked:) “What is the reason, o great sage, of the seventh earthquake? Explain it, o great sage, satisfy the desire of the multitude.”

64. (Mahinda replied:) “As long as learned people will reside in this monastery, the refectory and the dinner hall will be on this spot.”

XIV. [Mahāvihāra and the Cetiya-pabbata]

1. Having heard the speech of the Thera, the king was still more delighted. Not accepting the Campaka flowers (offered to him by the gardener), he presented them to the Thera.

2. The Thera threw down the Campaka flowers on the ground; then the earth quaked again; this was the eighth earthquake.

3. Witnessing this miracle, the royal retinue and the people of the kingdom shouted and waved their garments.

4. (The king asked:) “What is the reason, o great hero, of the eighth earthquake? Explain it, o great sage, we listen to your speech.”

5-6. “The relics of Tathāgata’s body consist of eight Doṇa-measures, men possessed of magical power will convey hither one Doṇa, o great king, and deposit it at this very spot, and erect (here) a resplendent Thūpa which will be the means whereby hearts will be touched and many people will be converted.”

7. The whole crowd that had assembled, the royal retinue and the people of the kingdom shouted at the quaking of the great earth.

8. (The Thera) resided (during the next night) in the Tissārāma, and when the night had passed, he put on [180] his under garment and wrapped himself in his robe; –

9. then he took his alms-bowl and entered the town, the capital. Going about in quest of alms he came to the gate of the palace.

10. He entered the royal palace and sat down on a seat; there he took his meal and cleansed the bowl with his hand.

11-12. Having finished his meal and gladdened (the king by preaching the Dhamma), he left the palace and the town by the southern gate. He then preached in the Nandana garden the most

excellent Aggikkhandha Suttanta.⁴⁴ There one thousand men attained sanctification.

13. Having preached the true Faith and having delivered many created beings (from their sinful condition), the Thera rose from his seat and resided again (during the next night) in the Tissārāma.

14. Having resided there during the night, when the night had passed, he put on his under garment and wrapped himself in his robe; –

15. then he took his alms-bowl and entered the town, the capital. Going about in quest of alms he came to the gate of the palace.

16. He entered the royal palace and sat down on a seat; there he took his meal and cleansed his bowl with his hand.

17-18. Having finished his meal and gladdened (the king by preaching the Dhamma), he left the town, the capital. When he had rested at noon in the most excellent Nandana garden, he preached there the beautiful Suttanta of the Āsivisa parable.⁴⁵ At the end (of this sermon) one thousand men attained sanctification; (this was) the fifth case of the attainment of sanctification (which occurred in Laṅkā).

19. Having preached the true Faith and awakened created beings, he rose from his seat and went to the Tissārāma.

20. The king was greatly delighted at the eight-fold (?) earthquake; glad, rejoicing and satisfied the king thus addressed the Theras:

21. “The monastery has been firmly established, an excellent resting-place for the Fraternity. (Your) Abhiññāpādaka meditation,⁴⁶ venerable Sir, (has caused) this great earthquake.”

⁴⁴ Ed. note: AN 7.72.

⁴⁵ Ed. note: AN 4.110.

⁴⁶ Ed. note: It rather means, with the *abhiññā* as a basis...

22. (The Thera replied:) “By this alone, o king, the rest-house for the Fraternity has not yet been firmly established; the Tathāgata [181] has instituted (the ceremony) called the determination of boundaries.

23-24. Having defined on all sides by the eight classes of landmarks the boundaries within which all Bhikkhus are considered as one section, and (having decreed about) not parting with the three robes,⁴⁷ all the sections (of the Fraternity) assemble and vote on their affairs. A place enclosed by boundaries which have been fixed in that way, is called one community. (Then) the monastery is well established, and the rest-house duly founded.”

25. (The king answered:) “My sons and wives together with my ministers and my retinue, all have become your lay pupils and have taken for all their life their refuge (in the Faith).

26. I ask you, great hero, do what I say; let the whole multitude (of the town’s people) reside on the ground included by the boundaries.

27. Here always they will find a defence through the protecting power (?) of charity and compassion.” (Mahinda said:) “Determine you the limits, o king, as you like; –

28. the limit being given, the Fraternity will settle the boundaries.” Mahāpaduma and Kuñjara, the two state-elephants, –

29. were first harnessed to a golden plough in Koṭṭhamālaka. The great army consisting of four hosts (preceded), and together with the Theras the king, –

30. the destroyer of his enemies, made a furrow with the golden plough. (During this progress there were seen) adorned full vases, beautiful flags of different colours, –

⁴⁷ See the rules about the definition of boundaries and about the “*ticivarena avipavāsa*”, Mahāvagga, II, 6-12.

31. triumphal arches decorated with various flowers and flags, garlands (?), and many burning lights (?). (Thus the king) ploughed with the golden plough.

32. For the sake of the conversion of many people, the prince together with the Theras, turning his right hand towards the city, walked around it and came to the bank of the river.

33. Drawing (?) the furrow which indicated the line of the great boundary, on the ground with the golden plough, he then (?) arrived (again) at Koṭṭhamālaka.

34. The two ends of the furrow having been united in the presence of [182] a great crowd, the earth quaked; this was the first earthquake.

35. Witnessing that miracle, the whole royal retinue together with the people of the kingdom joyfully said to each other: “There will be a monastery within the boundary.”

36. The ruler Devānampiya indicated to the Theras how far they had fixed the marks of the boundary line, of the enclosure, (and spoke thus:)

37-38. “As the preparatory ceremonies for fixing the boundary and the enclosure have been performed, may the Thera now out of compassion for me settle the limits, in order to establish firmly the Vihāra which will be suitable for the Fraternity of Bhikkhus.” Having heard what the king said, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, –

39. thus addressed the fraternity of Bhikkhus: “O Bhikkhus, let us fix the boundary.” Under the constellation of Uttarāsāḷha the whole Fraternity assembled.

40. Having determined the extent of the sacred enclosure, (Mahinda) who was gifted with (supernatural) vision, fixed the boundary within which the Bhikkhus were to be considered as one section. Having firmly established the most excellent Tissārāma monastery, –

41. he resided (during the next night) in the Tissārāma, and when the night had passed, he put on his under garment and wrapped himself in his robe; –

42. then he took his alms-bowl and entered the town, the capital. Going about in quest of alms, he came to the gate of the palace.

43. He entered the royal palace and sat down on a seat; there he took his meal and cleansed the bowl with his hand.

44. Having finished his meal and gladdened the king (by preaching the Dhamma), he left the town, the capital. When he had rested at noon in the Nandana pleasure garden, –

45. he then preached the Āsivisūpama Suttanta, the Anamataggiya Sutta, and the incomparable Cariyā Piṭaka;⁴⁸ –

46. he also repeatedly propounded the Gomayapiṇḍaovāda and the Dhammacakkappavattana⁴⁹ in that same place, in the Mahānandana garden.

47-48. These Suttantas he preached during (those) seven days, and (in this time) Thera Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, delivered eight thousand and five [183] hundred people from the fetters (of sin). Having resided in the Tissārāma together with his companions something less than a month, –

49. he thus addressed all the towns-men on the full-moon day of Āsāḷhā, when the time of Vassa had approached: “The time of Vassa is near.”

Here ends the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra.

⁴⁸ Āsivisūpama = AN 4.110; Anamataggiya Sutta is presumably Anamataggasamyuttaṃ, SN 15; Cariyā Piṭaka is the final book in Khuddaka Nikāya.

⁴⁹ SN 22.96 & SN 56.11.

50. Having arranged his sleeping-place, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, took his alms-bowl and his robe, and left the Tissārāma.

51. He put on his under garment and wrapped himself in his robe; then he took his alms-bowl and entered the town, the capital.

52. Going about in quest of alms, he came to the gate of the palace. He entered the royal palace, and (there the Theras) sat down on the becoming seats.

53. There (Mahinda) took his meal and cleansed the bowl with his hand; (then) he preached the Mahāsamaya Suttanta⁵⁰ in order to exhort (the king).

54. Having exhorted the king, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, rose from his seat and departed without taking leave.

55. The great teacher left the town by the eastern gate, and sending back all people he proceeded to the (Missaka) mountain.

56. The ministers were filled with anxiousness, and announced to the king: “All the great Theras, Sire, have gone to the Missaka mountain.”

57. The king, frightened at this news, ordered the horses quickly to be put to the chariot. The prince taking the queens with him, quickly ascended the chariot.

58. Thera Mahinda together with his companions had proceeded to the foot of the mountain. There was a lake called Nāgacatukka, situated amidst the rocks; after bathing at that place and drinking (the water of that lake), he ascended the summit of the mountain.

59. The prince who profusely perspired in consequence of his great haste, saw from afar the Thera, standing on the summit of the mountain.

⁵⁰ DN 20.

60. Leaving the queens in the chariot, the prince descended from the chariot, approached the Theras, saluted, and addressed them thus:

61. “Why, great hero, have you left the delightful kingdom, myself, and the [184] people, and retired to this mountain?”

62. (Mahinda replied:) “Here we shall spend three full months, the Vassa which Tathāgata has allowed to begin earlier or later”.⁵¹

63. (The king replied:) “I do everything that is required for the comfort of the Bhikkhu fraternity; have compassion on me, and instruct me.”

64. “The Bhikkhus have been permitted by Buddha to begin the Vassa in a village as well as in the forest, (provided they) dwell in a room with shut doors.”

65. “I have understood what you have said, the whole sense with its reasons; this very day I shall erect a residence suitable for the Vassa.”

66. The illustrious monarch who had reached the full perfection attainable by a layman, looked out (for a place), and dedicated (it) to the Theras, (saying:) “Reside here out of compassion; –

67. well, venerable Thera, take possession of these rock-cut cells (and of this) Ārāma. In order to establish firmly the Vihāra, fix the boundary, great Sage.”

68-69. The son of the king’s sister, renowned by the name of Mahāriṭṭha, and also fifty-five illustrious noblemen approached the king, saluted him, and said: “We all desire to receive the Pabbajjā ordination from that man endowed with highest wisdom; –

70-71. we will embrace a life of holiness; give us your consent, Sire.” Hearing what they all had said, the delighted king, the ruler of the earth, approached the Theras, and thus addressed (Mahinda);

⁵¹ See Mahāvagga, III, 2, 2.

“(There are) fifty-five chiefs with Mahāriṭṭha at their head; confer on them personally the Pabbajjā ordination, great hero; I give my consent.”

72. Hearing the king’s speech, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, thus addressed the Bhikkhu fraternity: “Let us fix the boundary, o Bhikkhus.”

73. (The Theras), in order to establish firmly the Vihāra, consecrated the boundary within which all bhikkhus were to be considered as one section, and the enclosure (?), and proclaimed the decree about not parting with the three robes.

74. Having fixed the [185] inner and the outer boundary at the Tumba enclosure, Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, proclaimed the (extent of) the great boundary.

75. The (Thera) who was gifted with (supernatural) vision, consecrated the whole enclosure and the boundary, and firmly established the second monastery which was situated on the Tissapabbata.

76. After having consecrated the boundary on the mountain precisely on the full-moon day of the month Āsāḷhā, on the Uposatha day, under the constellation of Uttarāsāḷhā, –

77. he conferred the Pabbajjā ordination on Mahāriṭṭha who was the first person (who received it) in this second enclosure; at the same time he conferred the Upasampadā ordination on this prince who belonged to the royal family of Tambapaṇṇi.

78. At the same time (those) fifty-five (other noblemen received) the Pabbajjā and Upasampadā ordinations. In the first Ārāma thirty-two consecrated enclosures were established; –

79. thirty-two in the second Ārāma, in the monastery of the Tissa mountain. The other small Ārāmas contained one enclosure each.

80. The Ārāma and the monastery being founded on that most excellent mountain, sixty-two persons, who were all Arahats, entered on the Vassa residence; this was the first time (that this event occurred in Laṅkā).

Here ends the Acceptance of the Cetiya Mountain

XV. [The Relics, the Buddhas, and Queen Anulā]

1. (Mahinda said to the king:) “In the first month of the summer, on the full moon, on the Uposatha day, we have come hither from Jambudīpa; we have dwelt on this most excellent mountain.
2. During five months we have not left the Tissārāma nor the mountain; now we will go to Jambudīpa; permit it, o lord of charioteers.”
3. (The king replied:) “We serve you with food and drink, with clothes and dwelling-places; the whole people has taken refuge (in the Faith); what causes you dissatisfaction?”
4. (Mahinda said: “We have no object here [186] to which we may pay respect by) salutations and by rising from our seats, or by raising our clasped hands, and by respectful contemplation. For a long time, o great king, we have not seen the Sambuddha, the highest among men.”
5. (The king answered:) “Verily I have understood you, venerable sir; I will erect a most excellent Thūpa; find you out a suitable place (?); I will build a Thūpa in honour of the Teacher.”
6. (Mahinda gave the following order to Sumana:) “Go, chief Sumana; repair to Pāṭaliputta, and address thus the righteous king Asoka:
7. “Your ally, great king, has been converted to the faith of Buddha; grant to him (some of) the most excellent relics; he is going to erect a Thūpa in honour of the Teacher.”
8. Learned (Sumana) who was versed in the scriptures, a powerful, eloquent speaker, who had reached the perfect possession of (magical) power, who was firm and well grounded (in the Faith), –
9. took his alms-bowl and his robe, and instantly departed from the mountain. According to the truth he thus addressed king Dhammāsoka:

10. “Hear, great king, the message which my teacher sends you. Your ally, great king, has been converted to the faith of Buddha; grant to him (some of) the most excellent relics; he is going to erect a Thūpa in honour of the Teacher.”

11. Having heard this speech, the rejoicing and excited king filled the alms-bowl with relics, (saying:) “Quickly depart, pious man.”

12. The powerful, eloquent speaker then took the relics, rose into the air and repaired to Kosiya (Indra).

13. The eloquent man having approached Kosiya thus addressed him: “Hear, great king, the message which my teacher sends you.

14. King Devānampiya has been converted to the faith of Buddha; grant to him a most excellent relic; he is going to erect a splendid Thūpa.”

15. Having heard his speech, Kosiya rejoicing gave him the right collar-bone (of Buddha, saying:) “Quickly depart, pious man.”

16. The novice Sumana, leaving Kosiya and taking away the right collar-bone, descended on the most excellent mountain (Missaka).

17. The [187] wise man who was filled with modesty, fear of sin, and reverence, despatched by the king of Theras, placed himself on the most excellent mountain.

18. The king together with his brothers, at the head of a great army, and accompanied by the most excellent Bhikkhu fraternity, then went to meet the relics of the highest Buddha.

19-20. On the day of the full moon of the month Kattika, on the day of the Cātumāsa festival, the great hero arrived. (The dish with the relics) was placed on the frontal globe of the (state) elephant.

21. (The elephant) reared, like a struck gong; at that moment the earth quaked, when the Sage in the neighbourhood (of the mountain) approached.

22. The sound of the chanks and the roll of the drums mixed with the boom of the kettle-drums (was heard). The prince escorting (the relic) paid reverence to the highest of men.

23. The noble elephant turning westward proceeded together with the foot soldiers; he then entered the town by the eastern gate.

24. Men and women (there) offered various perfumes and garlands. The most excellent elephant leaving (the town) by the southern gate, –

25. proceeded to the very spot which teacher Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kassapa, the old Sages, formerly had visited.

26. When the most excellent elephant had proceeded to that hill, the chief of men (there) deposited the relics of Sakyaputta.

27. At the moment when the relics were placed (there), the gods expressed their delight, and the earth began to quake in an astonishing, terrifying manner.

28. (The king) with his brothers, gladdening the ministers and the people of the kingdom (by his order), caused the bricks for the Thūpa to be manufactured.

29. The noblemen paid singly their reverence to the most excellent Thūpa; the highly precious relics which shone like a light, were covered with excellent gems.

30. (There were) white (?) canopies, separate canopies, covers (?), various (?) canopies, suitable ornaments, beautiful chowries.

31. Near the Thūpa a brilliancy spread in all directions over the four quarters from the lamps, like [188] the brilliancy of the rising sun.

32. Cloths brilliant with various colours were spread (?), and above (the Cetiya?) shone like (?) the cloudless sky.

33. A canopy covered with gold, which was encircled by (ornaments) made of gems and by most precious crystal, and adorned by gold sand....

(Mahinda related to the king the story of the relics of the three former Buddhas:)

1. Kakusandha

34. “Here Sambuddha Kakusandha, chief of men, surrounded by forty thousand (Bhikkhus who were holy) like (himself), looked (over this island).

35. The Buddha, gifted by (supernatural) vision, moved by compassion, looked on created beings, and on the suffering men in Ojadīpa, Abhayapura.

36. In Ojadīpa (he looked) with the power of the rays of his Bodhi on many created beings, on a great multitude that was to attain (supreme) knowledge, as the sun (awakens) the lotuses.

37. Accompanied by forty thousand Bhikkhus he repaired to Ojadīpa, resembling the rising sun.

38. (The Buddha’s name was) Kakusandha, (that of the chief Thera) Mahādeva, the mountain (was called) Devakūṭa; (there reigned in the island of) Ojadīpa, (in the town of) Abhayapura, a prince named Abhaya.

2. Konāgamana

39. The well constructed town which was worth seeing, delightful, and pleasant, was situated near the Kadambaka river.

40. (At that time there raged in the island) a fearful epidemic fever called Puṇṇakanaraka; the people were in a state of affliction like fishes in a net.

41. In consequence of the power of the Buddha the fever ceased. When (the Buddha) had preached the Truth which delivers from death, and had established the Faith of the Jina, –

42. eighty-four thousand men attained sanctification. At that time the monastery was the Paṭiyārāma, and (the Cetiya was) the Dhammakarakacetiya (Cetiya where the drinking vessel of the Buddha is preserved).

43. Mahādeva accompanied by one thousand Bhikkhus, remained (there), and the Jina, the highest being, himself departed from that place. [189]

44. Here Sambuddha Konāgamana, the great Sage, accompanied by thirty thousand Bhikkhus, looked (over the island).

45. The Sambuddha gifted with (supernatural) vision, diffused his compassion through ten thousand worlds; the great hero looked on the suffering people of Varadīpa.

46. In Varadīpa (he looked) with the power of the rays of his Bodhi on many created beings, on a great multitude that was to attain (supreme) knowledge, as the sun (awakens) the lotuses.

47. Accompanied by thirty thousand Bhikkhus the Sambuddha repaired to Varadīpa, resembling the rising sun.

48. (The Buddha's name was) Konāgamana, (that of the chief Thera) Mahāsumana, the mountain (was called) Sumanakūṭa; (there reigned in the island of) Varadīpa, (in the town of) Vaḍḍhamāna, a prince named Samiddha.

3. Kassapa

49-50. At that time the island suffered from a drought; there was a famine ... When the created beings were afflicted by the famine like fishes in shallow water, abundant rain fell, when the Omniscient had arrived; the country became prosperous; he brought consolation to many people.

51. To the north of the town which was situated near the Tissatalāka, there was the Uttarārāma monastery; (the Cetiya at that time was) the Kāyabandhanacetiya (Cetiya where the girdle of the Buddha is preserved).

52. Eighty-four thousand men attained sanctification. When the Truth which delivers from death, had been preached, –

53. Mahāsūmana, similar to the rising sun, accompanied by one thousand Bhikkhus, remained (there), and the great hero himself, the highest being, departed.

54. Here Sambuddha Kassapa, the ruler of the world, accompanied by twenty thousand Bhikkhus, looked (over the island).

55. Omniscient Kassapa looked down on the world of men and gods, and discerned by the pure vision of the Buddhas the beings who were to attain (supreme) knowledge.

56. Omniscient Kassapa, the receiver of offerings, diffusing (the rays of) his high compassion, perceived the furious contest (between king Jayanta and his brother Samiddha), –

57. and by the power of the rays [190] of his Bodhi, as the sun (awakens) the lotuses, he saw many beings in the island of Maṇḍadīpa who were to attain (supreme) knowledge.

58. “I shall go to Maṇḍadīpa and cause the Religion to shine there; I shall produce there high splendour like that of the moon in the darkness (of the night)”.

59. Surrounded by multitudes of Bhikkhus the Jina proceeded through the air; resembling the rising sun he repaired to Maṇḍadīpa.

60. (The Buddha’s name was) Kassapa, (that of the chief Thera) Sabbananda, the mountain (was called) Subhakūṭa, the name of the town was Visāla, that of the prince was Jayanta.

61. To the east of the town which was situated near the Khema tank, there was the Pācīnārāma monastery; (the Cetiya at that time was) the Dakasāṭṭika Cetiya (Cetiya where the rain-cloak of the Buddha is preserved).

62. The Sambuddha, after having comforted and reconciled the (two) brothers, preached the Truth which delivers from death, and established the Faith.

63. When the Truth which delivers from death, had been preached, and the doctrine of the Jina had been established, eighty-four thousand men attained sanctification.

64. Glorious Sabbananda, surrounded by one thousand Bhikkhus, remained in Maṇḍatīpa; the ruler of the world departed.

4. Gotama

65. Here (also stood) the Sambuddha who has appeared in the world (in the present age), the ruler of the world. “Out of compassion for the living I will save created beings.”

66. The Sambuddha, the chief of the world, the highest among men, looked on the great armies of Nāgas which had assembled, ready for a battle.

67. The Serpents emitted smoke and flames, they raged, they spread great horror, they were destroying the great island.

68. (The Buddha) went alone (to the island:) “I shall go to the most excellent island; I shall pacify the two Serpents, the uncle and the nephew.”

69. This Sambuddha was called Gotama; (it was) on the mountain called Cetiya (pabbata); there reigned in the delightful town called Anurādhapura a prince named Tissa.

70. In Kusinārā, in the Upavattana of the Mallas, the holy Sambuddha [191] reached complete Nibbāna by the destruction of the substrata (of existence).

71. (He at that time foretold:) “Two hundred and thirty-six years will elapse; then (a Thera) called Mahinda by name will cause the splendour of the Religion to shine (in Laṅkā).

72. In the south of the town, at a delightful place (will be) a beautiful Ārāma called the Thūpārāma.

73. At that time the island (will be known) by the name of Tambapaṇṇi; they will deposit a relic of my body in that most excellent island.”

Queen Anulā

74. The queen called Anulā was a believer in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Fraternity; she confessed the true doctrine, and put away the desire of existence. (She expressed to the king her desire of being admitted into the Order.)

75. Having heard what the queen said, the king addressed the Thera thus: (“Queen Anulā) believes in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Fraternity; she confesses the true doctrine, –

76. and puts away the desire of existence. Confer the Pabbajjā ordination on Anulā.” (Mahinda replied:) “It is not permitted to Bhikkhus, o great king, to confer the Pabbajjā ordination on women; –

77. my sister Saṅghamittā, o king, shall come hither. She will confer the Pabbajjā ordination on Anulā and will release her from all fetters.

78. Wise Saṅghamittā and clever Uttarā, Hemā and Māsagalla, Aggimittā, chary of speech, Tappā and Pabbatacchinnā, Mallā and Dhammadāsiyā, –

79. these Bhikkhunis who are free from desire and firm, whose thoughts and wishes are pure, who are firmly established in the true Dhamma and Vinaya, –

80. who have subdued their passions, who have their senses under control and have attained (perfection), who possess the three-fold Science and know well the (magical) powers, who are well grounded in the highest bliss, will also come hither.

81. (Devānampiya) sat down, surrounded by his ministers, and deliberated (about inviting princess Saṅghamittā). Having sat down in order to hold a council (about [192] this matter), he thus addressed the ministers ...

82. Prince Ariṭṭha, having heard what the king said, –

83. and having heard the speech of the Thera and received his commission, respectfully saluted his uncle (?) and departed in the northern direction.

84-85. Having established their residence in a certain quarter of the town, the noble ladies, five hundred virgins, queen Anulā at their head, all high-born and illustrious, having undertaken to observe the ten moral precepts, all this multitude late and early surrounded Anulā.

86. (Ariṭṭha) having proceeded to a sea-port went on board a great ship; when he had crossed the sea and reached the shore he stood (on dry ground).

87. The powerful minister (then) crossed the Viñjha range; having arrived at Pāṭaliputta, he presented himself to the king.

88. (Ariṭṭha thus addressed Asoka:) “Your son, Sire, your offspring, o great king Piyadassana, Thera Mahinda has sent me in your presence.

89. King Devānampiya, your ally, Piyadassana, who is converted to Buddha, has sent me in your presence.”

90. (Then) the great Sage (went to Saṅghamittā and) communicated to her the message of her brother: “The royal virgins, o Saṅghamittā, and princess Anulā, –

91. all look to you for the Pabbajjā ordination.” Wise Saṅghamittā, when she had heard the message of her brother, –

92. quickly went to the king and thus addressed him: “Give your consent, great king; I shall go to the island of Laṅkā; –

93. the great Sage has communicated to me the message of my brother.” (Asoka replied:) “Your sister’s son Sumana and my son, your elder brother, –

94. being gone, prevent, dear, that you, my daughter, should go also.” (Saṅghamittā replied:) “Weighty, o great king, is my brother’s command.

95. The royal virgins, o great king, and princess Anulā, they all look to me for their Pabbajjā ordination.”

XVI. [The Bodhi Tree]

1. The prince (Asoka) fitted out a great army consisting of four parts, and then went forth, taking with [193] him a branch of the Bo tree of the Tathāgata.
2. Having passed through three kingdoms and the Viñjha range, having passed through the great forest, the prince came to the ocean.
3. The great four-fold army with the Bhikkhuni congregation at its head (?), proceeded to the great sea, carrying the excellent Bo tree.
4. When (the Bo branch) was carried to the sea, on high the musical instruments of the gods (were heard,) and below those of men, the instruments of men from all four quarters.
5. Prince Piyadassana bowing paid his reverence to the Bo tree, and spoke thus:
6. “Learned, possessed of (magical) power, virtuous, most firm ...”
7. The prince then (when the Bo branch had been despatched) wept, shed tears, and looked (on the parting vessel). Then he returned and came to his residence.
8. The Nimmita Nāgas in the water, the Nimmita Devas in the heavens, the Nimmita Devas in the tree (itself), and (the Nāgas) of the Nāga world, –
9. they all surrounded the most excellent branch of the Bo tree which was carried away. The wild Pisācas, the Bhūtas, Kumbhaṇḍas, and Rakkhasas, these non-human beings surrounded the branch of the Bo tree as it approached.
10. The Tāvatiṃsas and Yāmas and also the Tusita gods, the Nimmānarati gods and the Vasavatti gods –

11. (were) glad, joyful and delighted, when the Bo branch approached. And all the Tettiṃsa Devaputtas with Inda as their leader, –

12-13. snapped their fingers and laughed when the Bo branch approached. The four (divine) Mahārājas of the four quarters (of the horizon), Kuvera and Dhataratṭha, Virūpakkha and Virūḥhaka, surrounded the Sambodhi tree which was carried to the island of Laṅkā.

14. Mahāmukhas and kettle-drums, Divillas (?), leather-covered drums, and tabors (resounded); the gods joyfully shouted “Sādhu” when the Bo branch approached.

15. Pāricchattaka flowers, celestial Mandārava flowers, and celestial sandal powder rained through the air, and the gods did homage to the Bo branch when it approached.

16. The gods offered on the ocean to the Bo tree of the Teacher [194] Campaka flowers, Salla, Nimba, Nāga, Punnāga, Ketaka flowers.

17. The Nāga kings, the Nāga princesses, the young Nāgas, great crowds, left their residence and showed honour to the excellent Bo branch.

18. The Nāgas, dressed in garments of various colours and wearing ornaments of various colours, joyfully sported around the great Bodhi on the ocean (shouting:) “Hail to us.”

19-20. The Nāgas offered to the Bo branch on the glittering ocean red, white and blue lotuses of various kinds, Atimutta of honey-sweet scent, Takkārika and Kovilāra flowers, trumpet flowers, and quantities of Bimbajāla flowers, Asoka and Sāla flowers mixed with Piyaṅgu.

21. The delighted Nāga virgins, the joyful Nāga kings, (all the) Nāgas joyfully sported around the Bo branch which was carried along, (shouting:) “Hail to us.”

22. There the ground consisted of gems, and was covered with pearls and crystals; there were gardens and tanks adorned with various flowers.

23. Having remained there seven days, (the Nāgas) together with gods and men paid honour to the excellent Bo branch on its departure from their residence.

24. The Nāga virgins and the gods, surrounding the Sambodhi branch, (offered) strings of garlands and flower wreaths, and waved their garments.

25. The gods sported around the Bodhi which was carried along, (shouting:) “Hail.” Pāricchattaka flowers, celestial Mandārava flowers, and celestial sandal power rained through the air.

26. The Nāgas, Yakkhas, and Bhūtas, together with gods and men, surrounded the Sambodhi branch which was carried along on the ocean.

27. There, surrounding the Bo branch, they danced, sung, played (instruments), laughed, and snapped the fingers of both hands.

28. The Nāgas, Yakkhas, and Bhūtas, together with gods and men, when the most excellent Bodhi was carried along, exclaimed: “Oh auspicious event, hail.”

29. Beautiful Nāgas of brilliantly blue colour, holding flags, praised the most excellent Bodhi which was being established in the island of Lankā.

30. Great crowds, the prince with the queens, left the delightful (town of) Anurādhapura, and went to meet [195] the Sambodhi tree.

31. The prince together with his sons surrounded the Sambodhi tree; they offered scented garlands and most excellent perfumes (?).

32. The streets were well swept and offerings were prepared. When the Bodhi was established, the earth quaked.

33. The king appointed eight (persons of each class?) and the chiefs of each of eight warrior clans (?) to be Bodhi guards (?), for the custody of the most excellent Bodhi.

34. He fitted them out with great state, and bestowed on them beautiful ornaments of every description; out of reverence for the Bo branch he ordered sixteen great lines to be traced on the ground (?).⁵²

35. Then he caused also pure white sand (?) to be scattered on that spot where the great lines had been drawn. He appointed one thousand families ...

36. He bestowed on them golden drums for the performance of the rites of royal coronations and other festivals. He gave (to them) one province and erected (for them) the Candagutta (palace?) –

37. (and) the Devagutta palace, (and) duly (bestowed on them) land donations (?); to other families he gave the revenue of villages.

38. The five hundred high-born, illustrious virgins of the royal court who were free from passion and steadfast, all received the Pabbajjā ordination.

39. The five hundred virgins who surrounded Anulā, who were free from passion and steadfast, all received the Pabbajjā ordination.

40. Prince Ariṭṭha, released from the chain of fear, received the Pabbajjā ordination according to the doctrine of the Jina, together with five hundred companions. All these persons attained Arahatship and full perfection in the doctrine of the Jina.

⁵² If my translation of this very corrupted passage is correct, the sixteen lines mentioned here may stand in some connexion with the sixteen lines drawn on the ground by Māra near the Bo tree at Uruvela (Jātaka, I, p. 78).

41. In the first month of the winter season, when the tree was full of blossoms, the great Bo branch was brought (hither) and established in Tambapaṇṇi. [196]

XVII. [The Passing of a Generation]

1-2. The excellent island of Laṅkā is thirty-two yojanas long, eighteen yojanas broad, its circuit is one hundred yojanas; it is surrounded by the sea, and one great mine of treasures. It possesses rivers and lakes, mountains and forests.

3. The island, the capital, the king, the affliction (which vexed the island), the relics, the Thūpa, the lake, the mountain, the garden, the Bodhi tree, the (chief) Bhikkhuni, –

4. the (chief) Bhikkhu, and the most excellent Buddha: these are the thirteen subjects (to be treated in the following exposition). Listen to my enumeration of the four names of each of these subjects (in the time of the four last Buddhas).

5. (The island) was called Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, Maṇḍadīpa, and the excellent Laṅkādīpa or Tambapaṇṇi.

6. Abhayapura, Vaḍḍhamāna, Visāla, Anurādhapura are the four names of the capital at (the time of) the teaching of the four Buddhas.

7. Abhaya, Samiddha, the ruler of men Jayanta, and Devānampiyatissa are the four kings.

8. The fever, the drought, the contest (of the two kings), and (the island's) being inhabited by the Yakkhas, these are the four afflictions which the four Buddhas have removed.

9. The relic of holy Kakusandha was the drinking vessel, the relic of Buddha Koṇagamana the girdle, –

10. the relic of Sambuddha Kassapa the rain-cloak; of glorious Gotama there is a Doṇa of corporeal relics.

11. In Abhayapura was the Paṭiyārāma, in Vaḍḍhamānapura the Uttarārāma, in Visāla the Pācīnārāma, in Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma which is situated in the southern direction: (there) the

four Thūpas at (the time of) the teaching of the four Buddhas (were situated).

12-13. The town of Abhayapura was situated near the Kadambaka (lake), the town of Vaḍḍhamāna near the Tissa lake, the town of Viśālapura near the Khema lake; Anurādhapura....; the indication of the four directions (?) is as above.

14. The four names of the mountain are Devakūṭa, Sumanakūṭa, and Subhakūṭa; now it is called Silākūṭa.

15. The famous [197] (?) garden (which was called in the four periods respectively) Mahātittha, Mahānāma, Sāgara, and Mahāmeghavana, a path worthy of Saints, was the first resting place of the four chiefs of the world.

16. The Bodhi tree of holy Kakusandha was the most excellent Sirīsa; Rucānandā who possessed the great (magical) faculties, took its southern branch and planted it in Ojadīpa, in the Mahātittha garden.

17. The Bodhi tree of holy Konāgamana was the most excellent Udumbara; Kanakadattā who possessed the great (magical) faculties, took its southern branch –

18. and planted it in Varadīpa, in the Mahānāma garden. The Bodhi tree of holy Kassapa was the most excellent Nigrodha; –

19. (the Therī) called Sudhammā who possessed the great (magical) faculties, took its southern branch and planted the sacred tree in the garden called Sāgara.

20. The Bodhi tree of holy Gotama was the most excellent Assattha; Saṅghamittā who possessed the great (magical) faculties, took its southern branch –

21. and planted it in the island of Lanḱā, in the delightful Mahāmeghavana. Rucānandā, Kanakadattā, Sudhammā who possessed the great (magical) powers, –

22. and learned, wise Saṅghamittā who was endowed with the six (supernatural) faculties, these were the four Bhikkhunīs who brought each a Bo branch (to this island).

23. The Sirīsa Bo tree (was planted) in the Mahātittha garden, the Udumbara in the Mahānāma, the Nigrodha in the Mahāsāgara garden; so the Assattha was planted in the Mahāmeghavana.

24. On a mountain, in those four gardens, the four Bo trees have been planted; on a mountain was the delightful resting-place (of the four Buddhas), when the four Buddhas proclaimed their doctrine.

25. Mahādeva who possessed the six (supernatural) faculties, Sumana versed in the analytical knowledge, Sabbananda possessing the great (magical) powers, and learned Mahinda, these highly wise Theras were the converters of Tambapaṇṇi.

Kakusandha and his Bo Tree

26. Kakusandha, the highest in the whole world, who was endowed with the five kinds of (supernatural) vision, looking on the whole world, saw the excellent Ojadīpa. [198]

27. There raged then an epidemic fever called Puṇṇakanaraka; at that time there raged an epidemic fever among the people.

28. Many people, attacked by this sickness, became distressed and disconsolate like fish which lie lost on the bank (of a river).

29-30. Vexed by fear they were unable to regain happiness and tranquillity of mind. Kakusandha, the chief of the world, when he saw the afflicted beings who were being destroyed by the bonds of sickness, came hither from Jambudīpa together with forty thousand companions, for the sake of subduing the disease.

31. Forty thousand (Saints) who possessed the six (supernatural) faculties and the great (magical) powers, surrounded the Sambuddha, as the stars in the sky surround the moon.

32. Kakusandha, the illuminator of the world, established himself with his pupils on the Devakūṭa mountain, shining in splendour like a god.

33. When he stood resplendent in Ojadīpa on the Devakūṭa mountain, all people believed him to be a god. They did not understand that he was the Tathāgata.

34. (When they saw him) who arose with the rising dawn, on the day of the full moon, on the Uposatha day, and who illumined that mountain with its forests as if it were burning, –

35. when they saw the burning mountain which diffused light through the four quarters, all the people of Abhayapura with the king were joyful and delighted.

36. Buddha Kakusandha, the ruler of the world, formed the following resolution: “May all people, all men who live in Ojadīpa, see me.”

37-38. The Devakūṭa mountain was honoured among Rishis and liked by men; to that place went the hosts of people (who had been afflicted) by the distress of that fever, all the citizens together with the king, leaving the town, the capital, and there they paid homage to Kakusandha, the highest among men.

39. The royal retinue together with the people of the kingdom, a great crowd, arrived respectfully saluting the Sambuddha whom they believed to be a god.

40-41. All this multitude approached the most excellent Buddha, the highest among men. (The king thus addressed him:) “Consent, o Bhagavat, [199] to dine to-day together with the Bhikkhu fraternity (in my palace); let us go to the town, to the capital.” The Sambuddha agreed to the request of the king by remaining silent.

42. Having understood his consent, the royal retinue and the people of the kingdom, paying great honour and respect (to the Buddha), then returned to the town.

43. (The king thus reflected:) “This fraternity of Bhikkhus is numerous, the crowd of the people is great; there is no place prepared for its reception in this narrow town, in my capital.

44. I possess a great pleasure garden, the delightful garden of Mahātittha which is not too narrow nor too distant, which will be convenient for the ascetics –

45. and will be suitable for a retired existence and for the Tathāgata. There I will bestow presents on the Buddha and on the Bhikkhu fraternity.

46-47. May all people obtain the sight of the Buddha and of the Fraternity.” Omniscient Kakusandha, followed by forty thousand Bhikkhus, arrived at the Mahātittha garden. When the highest among men had entered the Mahātittha garden, –

48. the creepers and trees (were covered?) with flowers out of season. The king took a golden water-pot, –

49. and dedicated (the garden) for the sake (of the welfare) of Laṅkā, by pouring water over the hand (of the Buddha, saying): “I give, o Lord, this garden to the Saṅgha and to the Buddha, its chief.” It was a delightful resting-place, an appropriate residence for the Fraternity.

50. Kakusandha, the ruler of the world, accepted the garden. At that moment the earth quaked; this was the first resting-place (of the Saṅgha in Laṅkā).

51. The highest leader of the world stood there, causing the immovable earth to quake. (He then formed the following wish:) “Oh that Rucānandā might take the Bo branch and come hither.”

52. The Bhikkhunī who possessed the high (magical) powers, understanding the thought of holy Kakusandha, went to the great Sirīsa Bodhi, and standing at its foot (she thought:)

53. “The Buddha desires that the Bodhi tree shall grow in Ojadīpa.” Thither she went in order to fetch the Bodhi tree, (the majesty of) which [200] is beyond human reason (?).

54. (She then expressed, the following resolution:) “May, with the consent of the most excellent Buddha, out of compassion for mankind, the southern branch sever itself through my magical power.”

55. When Rucānandā had pronounced this demand with clasped hands, the right branch severed itself (from the tree) and fixed itself in the vase.

56. Rucānandā who possessed the high (magical) powers, took the Bo branch in the golden vase, and ordered five hundred Bhikkhunīs to surround it.

57. At that moment the earth quaked together with oceans and mountains; it was a grand sight, wonderful and astonishing.

58. Witnessing this, the royal retinue and the people of the kingdom delighted all raised their clasped bands and paid reverence to the excellent Bodhi branch.

59. All the gods were delighted; the Devas joyfully shouted when they perceived the most excellent Bodhi branch.

60. The four (divine) Mahārājas, the glorious guardians of the world, all these gods kept guard over the Sīrīsa Bodhi branch.

61. The Tāvātimsa gods, the Vasavatti gods, Yama, Sakka, Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita, all surrounded the most excellent Bo branch.

62. The delighted crowds of gods, raising their clasped bands, together with Rucānandā, paid reverence to the most excellent Bo branch.

63. Rucānandā who possessed the high (magical) powers, carrying the Sirīsa Bo branch, went to the excellent Ojadīpa, accompanied by the sister-hood of Bhikkhunīs.

64. The gods danced, laughed, and snapped the fingers of both hands, when the most excellent Sirīsa Bo branch was carried to the excellent Ojadīpa.

65. Rucānandā who possessed the high (magical) powers, accompanied by a host of Devas, approached Kakusandha, carrying the Sirīsa Bo branch.

66. At that moment the great hero Kakusandha, the ruler of the world, repaired to the spot in the Mahātīttha garden destined for the reception of the Bo tree.

67. Rucānandā herself did not plant the resplendent Bo branch; Kakusandha, perceiving that, himself stretched out his right hand.

68. Rucānandā who possessed the high (magical) powers, placed the [201] southern branch of the Bo tree in the Buddha's right hand, and respectfully saluted him.

69. Kakusandha, the chief of the world, the highest among men, took it and gave it to king Abhaya (saying:) "Plant it on this spot".

70. Abhaya, the increaser of the kingdom, planted it on the spot which Kakusandha, the leader of the world, had indicated.

71. When the Sirīsa Bo branch had been planted in that delightful place, the Buddha preached the Doctrine, the four Truths which soothe (the mind of men).

72. When he had finished, one hundred and forty thousand men and thirty koṭis of gods attained (sanctification).

73. The Bo tree of Kakusandha was a Sirīsa, that of Konāgamana an Udumbara, that of Kassapa a Nigrodha; (this is) the description of the three Bo trees.

Gotama and his Bo Tree

74. The Bo tree of the incomparable Sakyaputta is the most excellent Assattha; taking it (hither) they planted it in the Meghavana garden.

75-76. The children of Muṭasīva were ten [other] brothers, Abhaya, Tissa, and Nāga, Utti and also Mattābhaya, Mitta, Sīva, and Asela, Tissa, and Kira; these were the brothers. Princess Anulā and Sīvalī were the daughters of Muṭasīva.

77. How great is the number of years which elapsed between the time when Vijaya came over to the most excellent Laṅkādīpa, and the royal coronation of the son of Muṭasīva?

78. Devānampiya was crowned two hundred years and thirty-six years more after the Sambuddha attained Parinibbāna.

79. When Devānampiya was crowned, the royal (magical) powers came over him; the lord of Tambapaṇṇi diffused rays of pure splendour.

80. At that time the most excellent Laṅkādīpa was a storehouse of treasures. Produced by the pure splendour of Tissa many treasures came to light.

81. When the glad and excited king saw these treasures, he sent them as a present to Asokadhamma.

82. Asoka was delighted when he saw these presents. He sent in return to Devānampiya various treasures destined to be used at his coronation. [202]

Devānampiyatissa's Coronation, 3rd telling

83-86. The (monarch) called Asoka sent a chowrie, a turban, a royal parasol, a sword, slippers, a diadem, a ... of Sāra wood, an (anointing) vase, a right band chank, a palanquin, a conch trumpet, earrings, a koṭi of clothes which are (cleansed by being passed through the fire) without being washed, a golden vessel and spoon,

costly towels, a man's load of water from the Anotatta lake, most precious yellow sandal wood, a measure of rouge, eye collyrium brought by the Nāgas, yellow and emblic myrobalan, costly Amata drugs, one hundred and sixty cart loads of fragrant hill paddy which had been brought by parrots; (all these things being) the rewards for his meritorious actions.

87. The requirements for his coronation as king of Laṅkā having been sent by Asokadhamma, Tissa, the lord of Tambapaṇṇi, celebrated his second coronation.

88. When thirty nights had elapsed after the second coronation of Tissa, Mahinda together with his companions arrived on this island from Jambudīpa.

89. (King Devānampiya) erected the most excellent monastery called Tissārāma. He also planted the great Bo tree in the Mahāmeghavana garden.

90. He built the great, delightful Thūpa. Devānampiya erected a monastery on the Cetiya mountain; –

91. he constructed the Thūpārāma, the Tissārāma (Issarasamaṇa?) Vihāra, the Vessagiri (Vihāra), and the Colakatissa (Vihāra?).

92. Ārāmas too (where the minor Bo branches were planted) at the distance of a yojana from each other, were made by king Tissa. He gave the great donation (which is called) the most excellent Mahāpela. This prince reigned forty years.

93. Then (followed his) other four brothers, the sons of Muṭasīva. Prince Uttiya reigned ten years.

94. Eight years after the coronation (of Uttiya), the enlightener of the island attained Nibbāna. (The king) caused the funeral ceremonies to be performed to the east of the Tissārāma.

95. When the twelfth year (after his Upasampadā) had been completed, Mahinda came hither; at the end of his sixtieth year he attained Nibbāna on the Cetiya mountain.

96-97. When the enlightener of the island has attained [203] Nibbāna, king Uttiya, having ordered full vases, triumphal arches, garlands, and burning lamps to be prepared, erected a most excellent hearse which was worth seeing. (Thus) he paid reverence to the enlightener of the Island.

98. Both gods and men, Nāgas, Gandhabbas, and Dānavas, all were grieved and paid reverence to the enlightener of the Island.

99. When they had performed the ceremonies during seven days on the most excellent Cetiya mountain, some people spoke thus: “Let us go to the town, to the capital.”

100. (Other people replied:) “There (in the town) is a great, fearful noise and uproar; let us here burn the enlightener of the island of Laṅkā.”

101. When the king heard what the crowd said, (he answered:) “I will erect a great Thūpa to the east of the Tissārāma”.

102. Carrying Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, together with the funeral hearse, (the people) together with the king, entered the eastern gate of the town.

103. Marching through the centre of the town, they left it by the southern gate, and performed great ceremonies during seven days in the Mahāvihāra.

104. Both gods and men erected a funeral pile of odoriferous drugs and placed it in the royal garden, (saying:) “Let us burn the virtuous one.”

105. They took Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, together with the funeral hearse, circumambulated the Vihāra, and caused (the people) to pay reverence to the most excellent Thūpa.

106. The great crowd, leaving the Ārāma by its eastern gate, performed the funeral ceremonies at a place close by it.

107. They all, weeping, raising their clasped hands, ascended the pile, and bowing they set the pile on fire.

108. The great teacher having thus been burnt entirely, they erected a most excellent Thūpa which contained his relics, and Ārāmas at the distance of one yojana from each other.

109. After the funeral ceremonies for Mahinda, the enlightener of the island, had been performed, that place first received the name of Isibhūmi.

XVIII. [The Bhikkhuni Lineage]

[204] 1.⁵³ At the present time there are other aged, middle-aged, and young (Bhikkhus), holders of the Vibhajja doctrine, preservers of the tradition of the Vinaya and of the Faith.

2. Learned and virtuous they illuminate this earth; by a conduct which conforms to the Dhutaṅga rules they shine in the island of Laṅkā.

3. Many followers of Sakyaputta are here who well understand the true Religion and (its) history. Truly, for the sake of many people “the possessor of (supernatural) vision has appeared in the world; the Jina has dispelled the darkness and shown the light.

4. They whose faith is well and firmly grounded on the Tathāgata, leave all wretched states of existence and are born again in heaven.

5. And those who penetrate the constituent members of Bodhi, the organs (of spiritual life), the (ten) powers, attention, right exertion, and the complete system of (magical) powers, –

6. the holy eight-fold path which leads to the destruction of suffering, conquer the army of Death and are victorious in the world.

7. The younger twin-sister of queen Māyā, born from the same mother, kind like a mother, suckled Bhagavat.

⁵³ The opening lines of this chapter were evidently intended to form the conclusion of a list of Theras which, however, is wanting in the *Dīpavaṃsa* or at least in the MSS. we possess. Vv.1. 2 exactly correspond to v. 44 which ends the great list of Theras. Buddhaghosa gives in the Introduction of the *Samanta Pāsādikā* a list of Theras which he says is composed by the *Porāṇā* (comp. *Introd.*, pp. 2-5). This list presents a close resemblance to the list of Theras contained in this chapter.

8. (She was) called Mahāpajāpatī, known by the name of Gotamī, renowned, an original depository (of the Faith), possessing the six (supernatural) faculties and the high (magical) powers.

9. The two chief female pupils were Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā; (besides, there was) Paṭācārā, Dhammadinnā, Sobhitā, Isidāsikā –

10. Visākhā, Soṇā, and Sabalā, wise Saṅghadāsī, and Nandā, a guardian of the Dhamma and well versed in the Vinaya. These (Bhikkhunīs) who well knew the Vinaya and the paths (of sanctification), (lived) in Jambudīpa. [205]

11. The Therī Saṅghamittā, and wise Uttarā, Hemā, and Pasādapālā, and Aggimittā, Dāsikā, –

12. Pheggu, Pabbatā, and Mattā, Mallā, and Dhammadāsiyā, these young Bhikkhunīs (these eleven Bhikkhunīs?) came hither from Jambudīpa.

13. They taught the Vinaya Piṭaka in Anurādhapura. They (also) taught the five Collections (of the Sutta Piṭaka) and the seven Treatises (of the Abhidhamma).

14. Saddhammanandī, and Somā, and also Giriddhi, Dāsiyā, and Dhammā, a guardian of the Dhamma and well versed in the Vinaya, –

15. and Mahilā who kept the Dhutaṅga precepts, and Sobhaṇā, Dhammatāpasā, highly wise Naramittā who was well versed in the Vinaya, –

16. Sātā, versed in the exhortations of Therīs, Kālī and Uttarā, these Bhikkhunīs received the Upasampadā ordination in the island of Laṅkā.

17-18. ... and renowned Sumanā who well understood the true religion and (its) history, these Bhikkhunīs who were passionless and tranquil, the resolutions of whose minds were pure, who were firmly grounded in the true Faith and in the Vinaya, came together with

twenty thousand Bhikkhunīs ... honoured by illustrious, noble Abhaya.

19. They taught the Vinayapiṭaka in Anurādhapura; they (also) taught the five Collections (of the Sutta Piṭaka) and the seven Treatises (of the Abhidhamma).

20. Renowned Mahilā who well understood the true religion and (its) history, and Samantā, the daughters of king Kākavaṇṇa, –

21. and learned Girikālī, the daughter of his Purohita, Dāsī and Kālī, the daughters of a rogue, well versed in the whole of the sacred Scriptures (?), –

22. these Bhikkhunīs, well versed in the whole of the sacred Scriptures, unconquerable, the resolutions of whose minds were pure, who were firmly grounded in the true Faith and in the Vinaya, –

23. came from (?) Rohana together with twenty thousand Bhikkhunīs, honoured by illustrious king Abhaya. They taught the Vinayapiṭaka in Anurādhapura.

24. Mahādevī and Padumā, illustrious Hemāsā, Unnalā, [206] Añjalī, Sumā, –

25. these Bhikkhunīs who possessed the six (supernatural) faculties and the great (magical) powers, came ... together with sixteen thousand Bhikkhunīs.

26. Honoured by illustrious king Tissa Devānampiya (?), they taught the Vinayapiṭaka in Anurādhapura.

27. Mahāsoṇā and Dattā, wise Sīvalā, zealous Rūpasobhinī, venerated Devamānusā, –

28. Nāgā and Nāgamittā, Dhammaguttā, and Dāsiyā, and Samuddā gifted with (supernatural) vision, who well understood the true Religion and (its) history, –

29. Sapattā, Channā, and Upālī, excellent Revatā, these were the highest among the Vinaya-studying Bhikkhunīs, the daughters of Somadeva, –

30. Mālā and Khemā and Tissā, the highest among the preachers of the Dhamma, these taught the Vinaya first after the death of Abhaya (*or*: when the danger had disappeared?).

31-32. Sīvalā and Mahāruhā who well understood the true Religion and (its) history, and had converted to the Faith many people in Jambudīpa, came hither from Jambudīpa together with twenty thousand Bhikkhunīs, invited by illustrious king Abhaya.

33. They taught the Vinayapiṭaka in Anurādhapura; they (also) taught the five Collections (of the Suttapiṭaka) and the seven Treatises (of the Abhidhamma).

34. Sīvalā together with queen Samuddanavā, daughters of a king, wise Nāgapālī, and clever Nāgamittā, –

35. Mahilā, a guardian of the Bhikkhunīs and well versed in the Vinaya, Nāgā, and Nāgamittā who well knew the true Religion and (its) history, these Bhikkhunīs then received the Upasampadā ordination in the island of Laṅkā.

36. All these were high-born and renowned in the Doctrine, the most excellent ones among sixteen thousand Bhikkhunīs, acknowledged to be the leaders.

37. Honoured by Kuṭikaṇṇa (and by his son,) illustrious Abhaya, they taught the Vinayapiṭaka in Anurādhapura.

38. Cūlanāgā and Dhannā, venerated Soṇā, and renowned Saṇhā who well knew the true Religion and (its) history, –

39. highly learned and wise Mahātissā, the [207] daughter of Gamika, Cūlasumanā, Mahāsumanā, and clever Mahākālī, –

40. illustrious Lakkhadhammā, honoured and high-born, wise Dīpanayā who was venerated in Rohana, –

41. renowned Samuddā who well knew the true Religion and (its) history, holders of the Vibhajja doctrine and of the Vinaya, who both were ornaments of the Sisterhood, –

42. these and other Bhikkhunīs received the Upasampadā ordination in the island of Laṅkā. (These Bhikkhunīs,) the resolutions of whose minds were pure, who were firmly grounded in the true Faith and in the Vinaya, –

43. learned, versed in the Tradition, free from evil passions, and illustrious, went out (attained Nibbāna) after having spread radiance, like fire-brands.

44. At the present time there are other aged, middle-aged, and young (Bhikkhunīs), holders of the Vibhajja doctrine and of the Vinaya, preservers of the tradition of the Faith. Learned and virtuous they illuminate this earth.

45. Prince Sīva reigned ten years; he established the Ārāma and the Vihāra of Nāgaraṅgaṇa.

46. Prince Sūratissa reigned ten years; he constructed five hundred monasteries, a liberal, great, and meritorious deed.

47. Having conquered Sūratissa, the two Damila princes Sena and Gutta righteously reigned during twelve (twenty-two?) years.

48. Prince Asela, a son of Muṭasīva, put Sena and Gutta to death, and reigned ten years.

49. A prince, Elāra by name, having killed Asela, reigned righteously forty-four years.

50. Avoiding the four evil paths of lust, hatred, fear, and ignorance, this incomparable monarch reigned righteously.

51. (Once) no rain fell during a whole winter, summer, and the rainy season. (Then) continually the cloud rained, rain fell during seven times seven days.

52. There were three cases which the king decided;⁵⁴ (after that) rain fell only during the night and not in day-time.

53. A prince, Abhaya by name, the son of Kākavaṇṇa, whom the ten warriors surrounded, whose elephant [208] was Kaṇḍula, –

54. put thirty-two kings to death and alone continued the royal succession. This prince reigned twenty-four years.

End of the Mahāvāra

⁵⁴ In the Mahāvamsa (p. 128) an account of these three cases is given.

XIX. [Duṭṭhagāmani]

- 1.⁵⁵ The king (Duṭṭhagāmani) built an exceedingly costly, quadrangular palace (the Lohapāsāda) of nine stories in height, at an expense of thirty koṭis.
2. (He also erected the Mahāthūpa, at the foundation of which the following materials were used:) chunnam work, great stones, clay, bricks, pure earth, a plate of iron, then marumba,⁵⁶ –
3. small gravel, eight layers (?) of stones, twelve (layers?) of crystal and silver.

⁵⁵ This chapter is very confused and fragmentary. However by comparing the Mahāvamsa it is possible to ascertain what the single verses refer to. Verse 1 relates to the great palace called Lohapāsāda which was erected by king Duṭṭhagāmani (comp. Mahāv., p. 165, l. 2). Vv. 2-4 contain a description of the different preparatory works for the construction of the Mahāthūpa built by the same king. There is nothing, however, to indicate the transition of the narrative from the Lohapāsāda to the Mahāthūpa; perhaps v. 10 which would answer to this purpose, originally belonged to the place between vv. 1 and 2. – Vv. 5-9 refer to the Bhikkhus present at the solemn inauguratory ceremonies at the foundation of the Mahāthūpa (see Mahāvamsa, p. 171). – Vv. 11-17 refer to the acts of liberality performed by king Lajjitissa (Mah., p. 202), and to the history of his successors. – Vv. 18-20 give an account of the buildings erected by the seven great warriors of Abhaya Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (Mah., p. 206). Vv. 21-22 refer to Mahācūli Mahātissa, the successor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (Mah., p. 208). The last verse relates to the death of Duṭṭhagāmani.

⁵⁶ I cannot define the exact meaning of “marumba”. Turnour translates this word by “incense” (Mah., p. 169), which is decidedly wrong. To me it seems to mean something like “gravel”. In the explanation of the tenth Pācittiya Rule, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga, I find the following passage which I give exactly according to the Paris MS. (fonds Pāli 6) which is written in Burmese characters: “pathavī nāma dve pathaviyo jātā ca pathavī ajātā ca pathavi. jātā nāma pathavi suddhapaṃsu suddhamattikā appapāsāṇā appasakkharā appakathalā appamarumpā appavālikā ...; ajātā nāma pathavi suddhapāsāṇā suddhasakkharā suddhakathalā suddhamarumpā suddhavālikā”, etc.

4. After the prince had caused these foundations to be laid, the Fraternity of Bhikkhus was called together, and the circle (of the base) of the Cetiya was described.
5. Indagutta, Dhammasena, the great preacher Piyadassī, Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha, wise Mittanna, – [209]
6. Anattana, Mahādeva, learned Dhammarakkhita, Uttara, and Cittaḡutta, and clever Indagutta, –
7. the great chief Suriyagutta of prompt wisdom, all these fourteen (Theras) came from Jambudīpa to this country (when the foundation of the Mahāthūpa was laid).
8. (Besides these there were present) Siddhattha, Maṅgala, Sumana, Paduma, and also Sīvalī, Candagutta, and Suriyagutta, Indagutta, and Sāgara, Mittasena, Jayasena, and Acala, the twelfth of them.
9. (The person that held the circle by which the base of the Thūpa was described, and his parents, had the following auspicious names, viz.:) Suppatiṭṭhitabrahmā, the son, Nandisena, the father, Sumanadevī, the mother, these three lay persons.
10. (The king constructed) the Mahāthūpa, the most excellent Mahāvihāra, expending twenty (twenty-four?) invaluable treasures.
11. (King Lajjitissa,) having heard the precepts for the conduct of itinerant Bhikkhus, which were propounded by the Fraternity, gave medicaments for the itinerant Bhikkhus, for the sake of their comfort, ...
12. Having heard the well-spoken speech of the Bhikkhunīs, which had been delivered at the ... time (at Harikāla?), the royal lord gave to the Bhikkhunīs whatever they desired.
13. He constructed the Silāthūpa, a Vihāra on the Cetiya mountain, and the most excellent assembly hall which is called Jalaka.

14. (By the next king, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, a monastery) was constructed at the place where the Nigaṇṭha Giri had dwelt. (From this circumstance,) the appellation and the name of Abhayagiri derived its origin.

15. The five kings Ālavatta (Pulahattha!), and Sābhiya (Bāhiya!), Panaya, Palaya, and Dāṭhika reigned fourteen years and seven months.

16. Prince Abhaya (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi), the son of Saddhātissa, put the Damila Dāṭhika to death and became king.

17. He erected the Abhayagiri (monastery) between the Silāthūpa and the Cetiya. This prince reigned twelve years and five months.

18. The seven champions of Abhaya constructed five Ārāmas. Uttiya and Sāliya, Mūla, Tissa, and Pabbata, Deva, and Uttara, these were the seven [210] champions (of that king).

19. The (warrior) called Uttiya constructed the (monastery) called the Dakkhiṇavihāra, Sāliya the Sāliyārāma, Mūla the Mūlāsaya, –

20. Pabbata the Pabbatārāma, Tissa constructed the Tissārāma, Deva and Uttara constructed the Devāgāra.

21. The son of Kākavaṇṇa, Mahātissa, the ruler of the earth, made an agreement to work for wages in the paddy fields, and gave (the money) to the tranquil, thoughtful Thera Summa.

22. Having made an agreement for full three years' labour at a (sugar-) mill, he bestowed a great donation of a thousand koṭis on the Bhikkhus.

23. Wise, enlightened Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmani, after having performed meritorious deeds, entered after the dissolution of his (human) body, the body of a Tusita god.

XX. [Tissa to Kuṭikaṇṇatissa]

1. The illustrious son of Kākavaṇṇa, known by the name of Tissa, built the Mahāthūpa (and) a Vihāra.
2. He ordered the most excellent Kallakālena monastery to be constructed; and many other Vihāras have been erected by Saddhātissa.
3. The number of the highly precious divisions of the Dhamma is eighty-four thousand; he paid reverence to each single division of the Dhamma separately.
4. Illustrious Saddhātissa constructed a beautiful palace with seven stories, and ordered it to be roofed with iron plates; –
- 5-6. (hence) it first received the name Lohapāsāda (iron palace). He made a lump of glass (?). Around the most excellent Mahāthūpa he constructed a wall, decorated with figures of elephants, a beautiful enclosure; he (also) constructed a quadrangular tank (and gave it) for a certain time (to the Fraternity).
7. This prince reigned eighteen years. Having done many other meritorious deeds and distributed rich donations, this wise monarch after the dissolution of his (human) body entered the body of a Tusita god.
8. The son of Saddhātissa, known by the name of Thūlathana, constructed a great Ārāma, the Alakandara monastery. This prince reigned one month and ten days. [211]
9. The son of Saddhātissa, known by the name of Lajjitissa, governed nine years and six months.

10. He constructed a ...⁵⁷ at the most excellent Mahāthūpa and established the most delightful Kumbhila Ārāma.

11. He built the Dīghathūpa to the east of the Thūpārāma; in the most excellent Thūpārāma he constructed receptacles cased in stone.

12. After the death of Lajjitissa his younger brother named Khallāṭanāga reigned six years.

13. His commander-in-chief, Mahārattaka by name, put this Khallāṭaka to death and reigned one day, a wicked, ungrateful person.

14. The younger brother of the king, called Vaṭṭagāmani, killed that wicked general and reigned five months.

15. (After that time) the Damila Pulahattha reigned three years, and the general Bāhiya two years.

16. Having killed this (king), Panayamāra reigned seven years. Having killed this (king), Palayamāra reigned seven months.

17. Having killed this (king), a person Dāṭhiya by name reigned two years. These five sovereigns belonging to the Damila tribe governed fourteen years and seven months in the interval (between the two parts of Vaṭṭagāmani's reign).

18. Then the glorious, great king Vaṭṭagāmani came back and having put to death the Damila Dāṭhika, gained the sovereignty himself.

19. This king Abhaya Vaṭṭagāmani reigned twelve years' and in the beginning (before the above-mentioned interruption) five months.

20. Before this time, the wise Bhikkhus had orally handed down the text of the three Piṭakas and also the Aṭṭhakathā.

⁵⁷ Probably the passage refers to the three "pupphayāna" mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (p. 201, l. 14), though I do not know how to explain or to correct the word used here (tilaṅcanaṃ).

21. At this time, the Bhikkhus who perceived the decay of created beings, assembled and in order that the Religion might endure for a long time, they recorded (the above-mentioned texts) in written books.
22. After his (Vaṭṭagāmani's) death Mahācūli Mahātissa reigned fourteen years justly and righteously.
23. This king, full of faith, having done many meritorious deeds, [212] went to heaven after fourteen years.
24. The son of Vaṭṭagāmani, known by the name of Coranāga, reigned twelve years living like a robber.
25. The son of Mahācūli, the prince known by the name of Tissa, reigned three years over the Island.
26. King Siva cohabited with queen Anulā; he ruled one year and two months.
27. A king from a foreign country, Vaṭuka by name, a Damila, governed one year and two months.
28. Then followed king Tissa, known by the surname "the wood-cutter"; he then ruled one year and one month.
29. (A person) called Niliya by name, known as the Damila king, ruled the kingdom and governed three months.
30. A woman, Anulā, killed these excellent persons and governed four months over Tambapaṇṇi.
31. The son of Mahācūli, called Kuṭikaṇṇatissa, constructed an Uposatha hall near the Cetiypabbata monastery.
32. In front of the building he erected a beautiful stone Thūpa; there he planted a Bo branch and constructed a great structure (around the Bo branch?).

33. He built a bath ... for the Bhikkhunīs. He also made a fence round the Padumassara garden.

34. He caused a ditch to be dug for the protection of the town, and a wall to be constructed full seven yards (in height).

35. He (also) caused the ponds Khema and Dugga to be dug (which he gave) for a certain time (?) (to the Fraternity). He (also) caused the Setuppala well and the beautiful Vaṇṇaka dike (?) to be constructed. This prince reigned twenty-two years.

XXI. [Abhaya to Subha]

1. Prince Abhaya, the son of Kuṭikaṇṇa, went to visit the Fraternity (?) in the beautiful Mahāthūpa.
2. The (Bhikkhus) who had subdued their passions and obtained self-control, who were spotless and pure of heart, recited (the Dhamma) in the relic room in honour (of the relics).
3. The king, when he heard them reading in the delightful relic room, walked round the Thūpa; but he could not see them at any of the four gates.
4. The royal ruler [213] of men, having paid in every way reverence to the most venerable recitation, thus thought: “Where do they read?”
5. They do not recite at the four gates nor outside; surely the wise men read in the relic room.
6. I also desire to see the most excellent relic room, I will hear the recital and see the Bhikkhu fraternity.”
7. Sakka, the king of gods, when he perceived the desire of the king, appeared in the relic room and thus addressed the Theras:
8. “The king, venerable sirs, desires to see the relic room.” For the sake of the preservation of his faith they conducted him into the relic-room.
9. As the king beheld the relic-room, wisdom arose in his mind; he raised his clasped hands and worshipped the relics and made great offerings during seven days.
10. He seven times made most excellent offerings, prepared with honey. He seven times made priceless offerings of ghee (?), –
11. and (also) duly seven times other (?) offerings. Seven times he made offerings of lamps, repeating them, –

12. and seven times beautiful offerings of flowers. During seven days he made offerings of water full (of flowers), and during seven days offerings of (common) water.

13. He ordered a priceless net-work of corals to be made, covering the surface of the Mahāthūpa as if it were dressed in a garment.

14. He made strong pillars for placing lamps around the foot of the Thūpa, and got a tube filled with ghee; then he ordered the lights seven times to be lit.

15. He caused a tube (to be laid) around the foot of the Thūpa and to be filled with oil, and ordered the oil-lamps fourteen times to be lit.

16. Having caused (a tube?) to be filled with scented water, he fixed mats at the top (of the Thūpa); (on these) he caused handfuls of blue lotuses to be scattered; this offering was made seven times.

17. Having dug a channel (from the Thūpa) to the Khema pond (which was situated) to the west of the Thūpa, he made there a water offering.

18. An entire Yojana around (the Thūpa) he caused flowers to be planted, and made a flower thicket at the most excellent Mahāthūpa.

19. The prince, having collected flowers covered with opening bud, [214] made a flower thicket fourteen times.

20. Having gathered various flowers, he constructed seven times a flower-pillar with a terrace and an enclosure.

21. He saw ... of various shapes, ornamented ...; the prince made them similar in shape.

22. He ordered chunnam work to be executed at the most excellent Mahāthūpa. Having celebrated the coronation (of the Bo tree?), he held a festival connected with the execution of chunnam work (at the buildings around the Bo tree?).

23. Sakyaputta, the great hero, penetrated the whole Truth near the Assattha tree (and became?) the supreme (Buddha?).

24. Of this Bo tree which stood in the delightful Meghavana garden, illuminating the island, the prince held a coronation and a bathing festival.

25. The Bhikkhu fraternities who bring happiness (to the people), after having spent the rainy season (in the prescribed manner), celebrated the Pavāraṇā ceremony; (the king) bestowed on them a Pavāraṇā donation in order to show his liking for the Pavāraṇā ceremony.

26. He bestowed a donation of sandal wood on the Bhikkhu fraternity, the most excellent assembly. To the most excellent Mahāthūpa he made the donation of a great kettle-drum.

27. ... dancers and acrobats in auspicious attitudes (?), all ... He constructed ... and made a donation of it to the Mahāthūpa.

28. At the full moon day of the month Vesākha the Sambuddha was born; he celebrated a festival twenty-eight times in honour of this month.

29. Between the two monasteries of the delightful Mahāmeghavana and of the most excellent Thūpārāma he constructed an Uposatha hall.

30. He did many other meritorious acts and distributed rich donations. This prince reigned twenty-eight years.

31. Prince Nāga, the son of Kuṭikaṇṇa, made bricks and other things (?) of costly substances in the most excellent (Ambatthala Thūpa?), –

32. and erected seats for the Dhamma preachers everywhere in the beautiful Ambatthala Thūpa. He made a great offering called Giribhaṇḍagahaṇa.

33. As many wise Bhikkhus were in Laṅkāḍīpa, he gave a robe to each one of the Bhikkhu congregation, [215] of the most excellent assembly. This prince reigned twelve years.

34. Āmaṇḍagāmani, the son of Mahādāthika, known by the surname Abhaya, caused a well and also the Gāmeṇḍitalāka to be dug.

35. He constructed the Rajatalena (Vihāra). Over the Thūpa, in the most excellent Thūpārāma, he constructed a double canopy made of silver.

36. In the two most excellent palaces of the Mahāvihāra and of the Thūpārāma, he completely constructed treasuries and treasure-caves.

37. He also interdicted the destruction of animal life in the territory of Tambapaṇṇi. This prince reigned nine years and eight months.

38. His younger brother, known as king Kanirajānu, reigned full three years.

39. The royal son of Āmaṇḍagāmani, known as Cūlābhaya, constructed the most excellent Gaggarārāma.

40. King Cūlābhaya reigned one year. A woman called Sīvalī, known by the surname Revatī –

41-43. the daughter of king Āmaṇḍa, reigned four mouths. The son of Āmaṇḍa's sister, Ilanāga by name, removed this Sīvalī and reigned in the town. King Ilanāga, the destroyer of his enemies, having heard the Kapi-Jātaka, ordered the Tissa and Dūra ponds to be dug. This king reigned six years in the island of Laṅkā.

44. The king called Sīva, known by the surname Candamukha, constructed the Manikārāma (Manikāragāma tank?) near the monastery called Issara.

45. The queen-consort of that king, known by the name of Damilādevī, bestowed her own revenues from that very village on that Ārāma. This king reigned eight years and seven months.

46. King Tissa, known by the surname of Yasalāla, governed eight years and seven months.⁵⁸

47. King Subha, the son of a doorkeeper, constructed the Subhārāma and the delightful Villavihāra.

48. Likewise he constructed hermit's cells which were called after his own name. This king governed six years over his kingdom.

⁵⁸ According to the Mahāvamsa: seven years and eight months

XXII. [Vasabha to Mahāsenā]

[216] 1. King Vasabha constructed in the Cetiyaṭabbata monastery ten Thūpas, a most glorious deed by which high reward is to be gained.

2. In the Issariya Ārāma he constructed a delightful Vihāra (and) a pleasing and delightful Uposatha hall.

3. He also ordered a large kettle-drum to be made for the most excellent Mucela monastery. Every three years he gave six robes (to each monk).

4. Throughout the whole of Laṅkāḍīpa he repaired dilapidated Ārāmas. Everywhere he constructed residences and made most precious offerings to the pious (Bhikkhus).

5. In the most excellent Thūpārāma he constructed a relic-chamber; full forty-four times the king held (Vesākha) festivals.

6. In the Mahāvihāra, in the Thūpārāma, and in Cetiyaṭabbata monastery, at each of these places he ordered a thousand oil-lamps to be lit.

7-8. The eleven tanks (formed by this king were) the Mayanti, the Rājuppala tank, the Vaha, Kolamba, Mahānikkhavaṭṭi tank and also the Mahārametti, the Kehāla and Kāli tanks, the Jambuṭi, Cāthamaṅgana, and Abhivaḍḍhamānaka tanks.

9-10. He also constructed twelve irrigation canals in order to augment the fertility (of the land). Various meritorious acts he did; he made a wall and a ditch around the town with towers at the gates, and a great palace. He ordered lotus-ponds to be dug at different places in the town, the capital.

11. The most eminent king conducted water by means of an underground aqueduct (to those ponds). This ruler governed forty-four years.

12. The son of Vasabha, known as Tissa, the royal lord, ordered the Ārāma called Maṅgala to be constructed. He reigned straightway (after his father's death) three years over the Island.

13. Tissa's son, Gaḷābhukagāmaṇi, caused a great Thūpa to be built in the delightful Abhayārāma.

14. This royal chief constructed the pond called Gāmaṇi, according to the wishes of his mother; this lord (also) ordered the Ārāma called Rammaka to be built. He ruled twenty-two years over the Island.
[217]

15-17. The ruler of Tambapaṇṇi called king Mahallanāga caused the Sajīlakandakārāma, the Goṭapabbata in the south, the Dakapāsāna Ārāma, the Sālīpabbata Vihāra, the Tanaveli (Vihāra), and in Rohana the Nāgapabbata (Vihāra) and the Girisālīka Ārāma to be constructed. Having reigned six years he reached the end of his life and died.

18-19. The son of Mahallanāga, known by the name of Bhātutissa, caused for the sake of (re-)establishing the Mahāmeghavana garden, a wall fence with towers at the gates to be constructed (around it); this king also founded the Vara-Ārāma (Gavara-Ārāma?).

20. Having caused the pond called Gāmaṇi to be dug, Bhātutissa, the lord (of the Island), gave it to the Bhikkhu fraternity.

21. He (also) ordered the pond called Randhakaṇḍaka to be dug. In the delightful Thūpārāma he constructed an Uposatha hall.

22. This king bestowed a great donation on the Bhikkhu fraternity. He reigned twenty-four years over the Island.

23. His younger brother, well known by the name of Tissa, erected an Uposatha hall in the delightful Abhayārāma.

24. He constructed twelve edifices within (the limits of) the most excellent Mahāvihāra. In the Dakkhiṇārāma he built a Vihāra and a Thūpa.

25. Many other meritorious acts he did in honour of the blessed religion of the Buddha. He reigned eighteen years.
26. The sons of Tissa's own body, two brothers worthy of royal dignity, reigned as rulers three years over the Island.
27. Vaṅkanāsikatissa reigned three years in Anurādhapura, a king of proper and meritorious conduct.
28. After the death of Vaṅkanāsikatissa his son Gajābāhukagāmani reigned twenty-two years.
29. After Gajābāhu's death the father-in-law of that king, Mahallakanāga, reigned six years.
30. After the death of Mahallanāga his son Bhātikatissa reigned twenty-four years over Laṅkā.
31. After Bhātikatissa's death his younger brother Kaniṭṭhatissa reigned eighteen years over Laṅkādīpa.
32. After the death of Kaniṭṭhatissa his son, known by the name of Khujjanāga, reigned two years.
33. Kuñjanāga, the younger [218] brother of Khujjanāga, put his royal brother to death and reigned one year over Laṅkā.
34. Having gained the victory (over Khujjanāga), Sirināga reigned nineteen years in the most excellent Anurādhapura over Laṅkā.
35. The king called Sirināga by name made an offering of a garland of costly substances to the Mahāthūpa and erected a parasol over the Thūpa.
36. He constructed an Uposatha hall, the most excellent Lohapāsāda. This prince reigned nineteen years.
37. The son of Sirināga, the royal lord called Abhaya, gave two hundred thousand silver pieces to the Bhikkhu fraternity.

38. At the most excellent great Bo tree he constructed a stone ledge. This king governed twenty-two years.

39. His younger brother, known as king Tissaka, erected a most excellent parasol over the Abhayārāma and over the Mahāthūpa.

40. In the delightful Mahāmeghavana and in the beautiful Abhayārāma, at both most excellent Vihāras, he constructed a golden Thūpa.

41. Having heard the Gilāna discourse (of Buddha) which was preached by Thera Deva, he gave medicaments for the sick and (constructed) five most excellent residences (for the Saṅgha?).

42. Having seen a portent in the night, (he constructed) the Dassamālinī Ārāma; near the delightful Bo tree he erected figures formed by lamps.

43. In the reign of that king they proclaimed many wrong doctrines; proclaiming captious doctrines they ruined the religion of the Jina.

44. The king, when he perceived that wicked Bhikkhus ruined the religion of the Jina, together with the minister Kapila subdued those wicked ones.

45. Having destroyed these captious doctrines and caused the (true) religion to shine, he gave (to the Fraternity) the Hatthapaṇṇika (Sattapaṇṇika?) palace and (caused) boiled rice (to be provided) in the Meghavana. This royal ruler governed twenty-two years.

46. Tissa's own son, known by the name of Sirināga, reigned full two years over the Island.

47. This Sirināga constructed an enclosure around the great Bo tree and also a beautiful pavilion. [219]

48. (The king) called Asaṅgatissa (Saṅghatissa) fixed golden parasols over the most excellent Mahāthūpa, on the top of the Thūpa.

49. (He also constructed) of jewels a Thūpa of the shape of a flame at the most excellent Mahāthūpa, and in connection (?) with that work he also brought offerings.

50. (Having heard) the Andhakavinda Suttanta,⁵⁹ which was preached by Thera Deva, this victorious king ordered rice-milk continually to be distributed at the four gates (of the town).

51. Vijayakumāra,⁶⁰ the son of Sirināga, reigned after his father's death one year.

52. Saṅghatissa reigned four years; he fixed a parasol and goldsmith's work on the Mahāthūpa.

53. King Saṅghabodhi by name was a virtuous prince; this king reigned two years.

54. This victorious king ordered rice-milk continually to be distributed in the delightful Meghavana garden, and in the most excellent Mahāvihāra he constructed a room where food was distributed by tickets.

55. The king called Abhaya, known by the surname Meghavaṇṇa, constructed a stone pavilion in the most excellent Mahāvihāra.

56-57. To the west of the Mahāvihāra he built a cloister for monks given to meditation. He (also) constructed an incomparable stone altar around the Bo tree and ordered a trench to be made, lined with stones, and a very costly triumphal arch. In the most excellent Bo tree sanctuary he erected a throne of stone.

⁵⁹ This discourse of Buddha which contains praises of those who provide rice-milk for the Fraternity, is contained in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, V1, 24.

⁶⁰ The stanza treating of Vijaya is interposed between two sections which refer to king Saṅghatissa's reign. The confusion seems brought on by an injudicious employment of different sources; I do not believe that we ought to alter the succession of these verses.

58. Within the Dakkhiṇārāma he constructed an Uposatha hall. He distributed a great donation to the fraternity of Bhikkhus, the most excellent community.

59. The king, having constructed a royal palace, a great, delightful building, gave it to the Bhikkhu fraternity and then received [220] it back.

60. In the Meghavana garden the king also celebrated a Vesākha festival. He reigned thirteen years.

61. The son of Meghavaṇṇa was king Jeṭṭhatissa; this royal lord reigned over the island of Tambapaṇṇi.

62-65. In the most excellent Mahāthūpa he offered a very costly jewel. Having built a palace covered with iron and offered to it that most excellent jewel, the chief of men gave (to that palace) the name “Maṇipāsāda” (“palace of the gem”). Having constructed the Pācīnatissapabbata Ārāma, the ruler of men called Tissa gave it to fraternity of Bhikkhus. The ruler of the earth, the chief of men, having ordered the Ālambagāma pond to be dug, held festivals (there) during eight years. This king reigned ten years over Tambapaṇṇi.

66. After Jeṭṭhatissa’s death his younger brother, king Mahāsena, reigned twenty-seven years.

67. This king once thought thus: “There are two kinds of Bhikkhus in the Religion (of Buddha); which of them hold the right doctrine and which hold the wrong doctrine, which are modest and which are shameless?”

68. When thinking about this matter and searching after modest persons, he saw wicked Bhikkhus who were no (true) Samaṇas and (only) looked like (Samaṇas).

69. He saw people who were like stinking corpses, and in behaviour like blue flies, wicked persons, who were no (true) Samaṇas and (only) looked like (Samaṇas), –

70. Dummitta and Pāpasoṇa and other shameless men. He went to those wicked Bhikkhus and asked them about the sense (of the Religion) and the doctrine.

71. Dummitta and Pāpasoṇa and other shameless men secretly consulted in order to mislead the pious (king).

72. These wicked, infatuated men taught that (computing) the twenty years (required for) the Upasampadā ordination from the conception, which has been admitted (by Buddha) in (the story about) Kumārakassapa,⁶¹ is not allowable.

73. The practice of (wearing) ivory (fans)⁶² [221] which has not been admitted in the story about the Chabbaggiyas, these shameless, idle (?) teachers taught to be allowable.

74. Regarding these and other matters many other shameless Bhikkhus, without a reason, for the sake of their own advantage, taught that (the true doctrine) was a false doctrine.

75. Having performed through his life, in consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, evil as well as good deeds, this king Mahāsenā passed away (to another existence) according to his actions.

⁶¹ Mahāvagga, I, 75.

⁶² I have translated this passage according to the indications given in the Mahāvamsa Tikā (see the quotation in the footnote, p. 113), although I do not know any story in the Vinaya mentioning the Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus, which relates to the use of ivory fans. There is in the Khuddakavattukhandha[ka] (Cullavagga, V, 28, 1) a precept which implicitly excludes the use of fans made of ivory (“*anujānāmi bhikkhave tisso vījaniyo vākamayaṃ usīramayaṃ morapiñchamayaṃ*”). I think that this is the passage alluded to, though the Chabbaggiyas are not expressly mentioned in it; in the short stories which precede and follow this one, most frequently mention is made of the transgressions of the Chabbaggiyas, so that the expression “Chabbaggiyānaṃ vatthu” may have been extended to this passage also, by an inaccuracy which scarcely will be deemed strange.

76. Therefore one should fly far from intercourse with wicked men, as from a serpent or a snake, and self-controlled ones should perform acts of benevolence as long as his existence lasts.