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THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHA'S
RELIGION

(Sāsanavaṃsa)

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(Sāsanavaṃsa)

Translated by

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To
THE REVERED MEMORY
OF MY
SINCERE FRIEND AND WELL-WISHER
DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Sāsanavaṃsa* (history of the Buddha's religion) was written in Burma in 1861 A.D. by a monk named Paññasāmi,* who was the tutor of the then reigning king Meng-dun-Meng of Burma, and himself a pupil of the Head of the Order (*Samgharājā*) at Mandalay. He was also the author of *Sīlakathā*, *Upāyakathā*, *Akkharavisodhanī*, *Āpattivinicchaya*, *Nāgarājuppattikathā*, *Vohāratthabheda*, *Vivādavinicchaya*, *Rājasevakadīpanī*, *Nirayakathādīpaka*, *Uposathavinicchaya* and *Saddanīti* (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, P.T.S., p. 154). All these works were written by him earlier than the *Sāsanavaṃsa*. The title of *Sirikavidhajamahādhammarājādhirājaguru* was conferred on him by the then king. The author says at the end of his book that the text has been completed in every respect on the full moon day of the month of *Migasira* (November-December) in the year 1223 of the Kali age. It is a non-canonical text which is historically interesting. It is no less important from literary and ecclesiastical standpoint. In it there is nothing of interest to students of philology. It 'faithfully follows the old pattern', says Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, Cal. University Publication, p. 219). The table of contents given in the text promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from such well-known Pali works as *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa*. The text narrates the events up to the time of the Third Council in the time of Asoka and the despatch of missionaries by the Elder Mahā-moggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which fall into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from ancient commentaries as well as from Buddhaghosa's commentaries, *Dīpavamsa* and other texts. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than that of any other matter of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In the first part the section dealing with the missions strikes the keynote of our text. The text also supplies us with some useful information concerning the nine regions visited by the first Buddhist missionaries as well as

* In the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (Ed. Bode, p. 170), we find Paññasāmi as the author.

some other places of Burma. A careful study of the *Sāsana-vam̐sa* convinces us of the fact that the author was intimately acquainted with the Pali commentaries. We agree with Mabel Bode that the style almost imitates that of the Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa, and his successors. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. The peace of Burma was disturbed from time to time by the Chinese army as recorded in our text (pp. 50, 81, 82, 168-169).

The text has been edited by Mabel Bode, Ph.D., for the P.T.S. (London, 1897) relying mainly on the two palm-leaf manuscripts available from the British Museum collection. Bode has also published a thoughtful paper on the author of the *Sāsana-vam̐sa* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 674-676. Her useful book entitled *The Pali Literature of Burma* (London, 1909) has been written mainly based on our text and her another book entitled *A Burmese Historian of Buddhism* (London, 1898), is equally helpful. In studying this text one may derive some benefit by consulting the *Sāsana-vam̐sadīpa* and *Sāsana-vam̐sadīpaya* edited by Ñāṇatilaka Nāyaka Punnāṇse and Vimalasāra Unnāṇse.

The text gives us an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Asoka. After the third Council was over, Buddhist missionaries were sent to different countries by Moggaliputta Tissa for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Of the nine regions visited by the missionaries as mentioned by the author, five are placed in Indo-China. The author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the southern countries and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the southern doctrines, and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to the text Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy, besides three others who visited Laos and Pegu. It seems that he took special care for the religious future of Maramma (Burma proper). During the reign of the Sinhalese king Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of king Asoka, the Elder Mahinda was sent to Ceylon for the same purpose. Soṇa and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi (Sudhammapura,* i.e., Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the

* Also known as Sudhammanagara (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xxii, p. 17).

missionaries were sent to Suvannabhūmi Buddha came there personally to preach his doctrine. Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in the country extending along the valleys of the Me-nam and Me-ping rivers and including the Shan States to the north of them. The country of Vanavāsī or the region round Prome was visited by the Elder Yonakarakkhita who propagated Buddhism there. Kāsmīra and Gandhāra were visited by Majjhantika, and the whole country became a Buddhist stronghold. Buddhism found its way into Mahimsakamaṇḍala through Mahārevata thera. Mahādhammarakkhita thera and Majjhima thera spread the Buddhist faith in Mahārāṭṭha (Mahānagararāṭṭha or Siam) and Cīnarāṭṭha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books). Similarly Buddhism was propagated in Aparantarāṭṭha which is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i.e. the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives an account of mutually dependent relations of the state and *saṃgha* (church) in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, a great hero of the Burmese, with his constant adviser, Arahanta to the time of Meng-dun-Meng (1852 A.D.) with his council of Mahātheras. The Order though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen yet depends in the last resort upon the king. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese monk, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the *saṃgha* to the head of the state. The king's despotism is also held in check. Mabel Bode is right in pointing out that at the lowest the royal gifts of *vihāras* and the erection of *caityas* 'are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder. The despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the *saṃgha*' (Bode, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, conclusion, p. 54). That king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs is evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The *saṃgharājā* is not the elected head of the Order. He is appointed by the king whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the *saṃgha*. The king himself was under his *ācariya*'s influence so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school according to the views of the *saṃgharājā*.

The history of religion in Maramma is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist *saṃgha* in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa, which includes the districts of Pugān, Ava, Pinyā, Myenzain and also the upper portion of the Thayet* district on the east bank of the river Irawaddy. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities, namely, Pugān, Sagaing, Pinyā, Amarapura, Mandalay, each in its turn having the seat of kings.

Sudhammapura, the capital of king Manohāri of Pegu, was the early Buddhist stronghold in Burma. King Anuruddha of Pagan at the instance of a great *thera* named Arahanta who came from Sudhammapura to Pagan, made war with Monohāri and brought the sacred relics and books to Pagan. All the members of the *saṃgha* in Thaton (Suddhammapura) were also transferred to Pagan. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which were compared by Arahanta with those of Pegu to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisu (1167 A.D.) Uttarājīva, a celebrated teacher, came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who studied in Ceylon for ten years returned with four colleagues to the capital (cf. the account in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 29 ff.).

After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers, Sīvali, Tāmalinda and Ānanda. They disagreed on the application of Vinaya rules to the keeping of a tamed elephant received as a present from the king instead of setting it free, and the personal recommending of pupils by a teacher. The schools are together known as *Pacchāgaṇa* (later school) to distinguish them from the earlier school (*Purimagaṇa*) in Arimaddana founded by Arahanta. The reign of Kyocvā (581 of the Kali age) is highly important for the history of Buddhism. Kyocvā was a pious king who furthered the cause of religion. He loved everybody, read and became master of every book, held public disputations and instructed the household seven times daily. He built a monastery at Sagu and a great tank. There were no wars or commotions during his reign (Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, Vol. II, p. 288). Kyocvā was the author of two manuals, *Paramatthabindu* and *Saddabindu*, for the use of his wives. One of his daughters wrote the *Vibhat-*

* Modern Thayetmyo.

yattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit. In the reign of Bureng Naung (1551 A.D.), the king of united Pegu and Burma, religion thrived most. He even forced Buddhism on the Shans and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri-Mahāsīhasūrasudhammarājā (A.D. 1648) begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism—Pārupana Ekamsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*. Two sects arose, the Ekamsika sect and the Pārupana sect. The former was named so for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment, and the latter sect strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders during the village rounds. During the reign of Bodoah Prā (A.D. 1781), the fifth son of Alomprā, the question was once for all decided. The Pārupana practices were established by a royal decree for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng, an ancient *sīmā* in the island of Ceylon was the subject of dispute among the monks of the Amarapura school, who formed two rival parties. The matter was brought to the *saṃgharājā* at Mandalay for judgment by deputations from both sides. The members of both sides were warmly received by the king who gave them four kinds of requisites as presents. The *saṃgharājā* delivered judgment after consulting many sacred texts. This is the last controversy recorded in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which points to the influence of the Burmese *saṃgha* in Ceylon. Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* has not yet been translated. An English translation of this important text is a great necessity, and I am glad that I have now removed this long-felt want. I had to experience great difficulty in translating it as the text is so very corrupt. I am confident that this translation will be of some use to students and scholars interested in Pali Buddhism current in Burma in the 19th century A.D.

I am grateful to the Pali Text Society for accepting my translation in their S.B.B. Series. I am also thankful to its worthy Secretary, Miss I. B. Horner, for the trouble taken by her in going through the typescript and making suggestions for its improvement.

Calcutta,
43 Kailas Bose Street,
1st December, 1950.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.

SĀSANAVAMSAṢAPPADĪPIKĀ

(The light of the history of the Buddha's religion)

[1] Honour be to the Blessed One, *Arahan* (the elect), Buddha Supreme.

Having dispelled the darkness, the Buddha, the haloed one, the best of men, enlightened mankind born in impurity here. May He who stands well-aroused on the best rock of the path, bestow happiness on me for ever, at all times.

At the request of the monks who have come to a foreign land from the island of Sīhala (Ceylon), I will compose the *Sāsanavamsaṣappadīpikā* (The light of the history of the Buddha's religion).

It may be that the ancients¹ compiled the *Sāsanavamsaṣappadīpikā* following an elaborate method of narration and precision.

Inasmuch as this (book) rendered into the Mramma language,² does not convey the meanings well to the dwellers of the island, I will indeed render it into the original language³ and arrange it in books. Let it be noted by good men.

¹ The *Porāṇas* or *Porāṇakas* were the Elders who took part in the proceedings of the first three Buddhist councils and were evidently the earliest known contributors to the commentary literature. The *Porāṇācariya* was just another name for *Aṭṭhakathācariya* (J.P.T.S., 1886, 58 ff.). The *Porāṇas* or *Porāṇakattheras* have been referred to by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa in connection with those who learn the Dhamma from their teachers and maintain the views of their teachers. They do not entertain any dogmatic view of their own (*Visuddhimagga*, I, 99). Some traditional sayings of legendary or doctrinal character are cited by Buddhaghosa in the name of the *Porāṇas*. The only saying which occurs in the *Vinaya-Parivāra* (*Vinaya*, V, p. 3) is one regarding the line of Vinaya teachers traced from the Elder Mahinda and his four companions. It is doubtful whether the *Porāṇa* citations are pre-Mahinda in their origin. One peculiarity about them is that they are all in the form of verse, the prototype of which may be traced in the *gāthas* attributed to the ancient *theras* and *therīs* (cf. the Buddhist creed formula in the verse of Assaji and the puggala verse of the sister Vajirā). For details, vide B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, pp. 44 ff.; cf. *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, 254, 299, 513, etc.; *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, 352, 604; *Jāt.* III, 16, etc., etc.

² Burmese-Mramma is Burma proper. It is also known as Maramma or Myanmā (*Sāsanavamsa*, P.T.S., Ed. M. Bode, Intro., p. 3).

³ It is Māgadhī (vide Pischel, *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Mai, 1904, p. 807; cf. *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 388).

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IV. The narration of the history of the religion in the Yonaka country.²

[2] V. The narration of the history of the religion in the Vanavāsī country.³

VI. The narration of the history of the religion in the Aparanta country.⁴

VII. The narration of the history of the religion in the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country.⁵

¹ It is identical with Lower Burma (Pegu and Moulmein districts). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 10) Suvaṇṇabhūmi is Sudhammanagara that is, Thaton, at the mouth of Sittaung river. Here the theras Soṇa and Uttara are said to have propagated Buddhism. According to some Rāmañña-*desa* is another name of Suvaṇṇabhūmi (*Indian Antiquary*, XXII, p. 151). Some hold that it is ancient Pegu (Taw sein Ko, A preliminary study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions, Pegu.—*Indian Antiquary*, XXIII, 1893; *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, April 1932). Phayre describes Suvaṇṇabhūmi as including the delta of the Irawadi and Thahtun (*History of Burma*, p. 19). Suvaṇṇabhūmi was a prosperous city and a big centre of trade. The Buddhist texts refer to it (*Jāt.*, VI, p. 22; Vol. IV, p. 86; *Milinda*, p. 359; *Niddesa*, I, p. 155; *Divyāvadāna*, 107—it has been here described as extensive—*mahāntam sauvaṇṇabhūmim*).

² It is called Yonakaraṭṭha (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 12). It is difficult to determine the exact situation of the Yonaka country. It is the country of the Yavana people or Jañ-May (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimme). The Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka mention the Yonas as a subject people, forming a frontier district of Asoka's empire. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, its chief city was Alasanda, identified with Alexandria near Kabul in Pāropanisadæ country (Geiger's Tr., p. 194; cf. *Milinda*, p. 82; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Chap. XXXI).

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XII. During the Buddhist period and afterwards Northern Canara was known as Vanavāsī. According to Bühler it was situated between the ghats, Tungabhadra and Baroda. This country is identical with the country round Prome in Lower Burma.

⁴ According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in our text Aparantaka is however the region lying to the west of the upper Irawaddy. The Burmese identify it with upper Burma. Aparanta means Western India. According to the Chinese Buddhist traveller, Yuan Chwang, western country seems to comprise Sindh, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujerat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 56; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. S. N. Majumdar, Notes, p. 690).

⁵ Gandhāra denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar in the N.W. Frontier Province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab (B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Chap. II). Kasmīra is modern Kashmere.

VIII. The narration of the history of the religion in the Mahimsaka country.¹

IX. The narration of the history of the religion in the Mahāratṭha.²

X. The narration of the history of the religion in the Cīna country.³

These two countries were situated near the Cīna country (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 164). They formed one kingdom at the time of Asoka's despatch of missionaries. (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 7.)

¹ The Mahimsaka mountain was near the mount Candaka. The Bodhisatta built a hut of leaves in the Mahimsaka kingdom near the mount Candaka in a bend of the river Kannapaṇṇā, where it issues out of the lake Saṃkhaṇḍa (*Jāt.*, V, 162). It is the Malayagiri, the Malabar ghats. According to Bode it has been identified with Andhaka or Andhra country (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 7). Burma has also a district named Mahimsaka-maṇḍala as mentioned in *Po-du-daung inscription*.

² Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII. It is Mahānagararatṭha or Siam. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 168) Mahāratṭha is situated near Siam (Siyāma country). Mahāratṭha is the present Mahārāṣṭra country watered by the Upper Godāvari and that lying between this river and the Kriṣṇā (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 57; *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 8.)

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII. What is Himavantapadesa in the *Mahāvamsa* is stated to be Cīnaratṭha mentioned in our text (p. 13). According to the *Papañcasūdanī* (II, p. 6) it is 3,000 yojanas in extent (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 27). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 169) Kasmīra-Gandhāra and Cīna countries being adjacent often came into conflict with each other and sometimes the latter country brought the former under its sway.

CHAPTER I

The history of how the religion came to nine places

And here the narration of the history of how the religion came to nine places should be understood thus: How?

(a) Introduction

Our Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, for the welfare of those who were amenable (to the discipline of the teaching), adorned himself at the feet of the Blessed Dīpaṃkara with the celestial flower of prediction, foregoing the happiness that was within his own grasp. Being indifferent to his own pangs in many existences during one hundred thousand *kappas*¹ and four *asaṅkheyyas*,¹ when he had fulfilled equally the thirty perfections,² and had passed away from his birth as Vessantara,³ he enjoyed the celestial happiness in the city of Tusita.⁴

Being supplicated by the gods, he then entered the womb of Māyā who came of an unbroken line of Kṣatriyas, and who was the chief queen of the great king named Suddhodana who came of an unbroken line of Kṣatriyas beginning from King Mahāsammata, in Kapilavatthu,⁵ on Thursday, the full moon

¹ *Kappa* means a cycle lasting many millions of years as pointed out by Geiger (*Mahāvamsa*, Tr., p. 100 f.n. 1). There are three principal cycles—*mahā*, *asaṅkheyya* and *antara*. Each *mahā* consists of four *asaṅkheyya kappas*. The four *asaṅkheyya kappas* are:—*Samvatta*, *Samvattatthāyi*, *Vivatta*, *Vivattatthāyi*; cf. *Aṅguttara*, II, 142.

² *Pāramī* is the same term as *Pāramitā*. For a systematic treatment, vide B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 5 ff.; *Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. B. C. Law, Introduction; *Cariyāpiṭaka Commentary* (P.T.S.), p. 8; cf. *Jātakamālā*, *Mahāvastu* (Vānara Jātaka, Mahāgovindacariyaṃ), *Avadānakalpalatā* (*Sivi*, *Sasa*, *Matsya*, *Ruru*, *Sutasoma* and *Vatṭapotaka*); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 20, 66.

³ *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* (P.T.S.), pp. 78 ff.; cf. *Vessantara Jātaka*, Jāt., VI, pp. 479–593; *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, S.B.B., Pt. III, pp. 100 ff.

⁴ It is one of the Buddhist heavens. Those who are pious and restrained may be born in this heaven (*Majjhima*, I, p. 289). For further details, B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 7, 8, etc.

⁵ Capital of the Śākya country named after the sage Kapila (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 548). It is also known as Kapilapura, Kapilāhvayapura (*Lalitavistara*, 243 and 28) and Kapilasyavastu (*Buddhacarita*, I, V. 2). The village of Piprāwā (Birdpur Estate, Basti district), the findspot of the famous Piprāwā vase, marks the site of Kapilavastu (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 180). Rhys Davids takes Tilaura kot to be the old Kapilavastu and Piprāwā to be the new city built after the destruction of the old one by Viḍūḍabha. Tilaura is about 2 miles north of Tauliva with the headquarters of the Provincial

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day of the month of Asālha. After ten months he was born on Friday, the full moon day of the month of *Vesākha*. At the age of sixteen he attained the office of a crown prince, and after he was twenty-nine years (of age) while going out to the royal park, he saw the four omens¹ displayed by the gods and felt a great emotional thrill. When he departed on the Great Departure and had cut off his bee-coloured hair on the bank of the river called Anomā,² he clothed himself in the yellow robes offered by the gods. After he had partaken of forty-nine morsels of the milk-rice offered by a banker's daughter named Sujātā³ early in the morning on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha on the bank of the river called Nerañjarā,⁴ he brought the golden vessel down to the river according to the general practice of the former *Sambuddhas*, and repaired to the Great Bo-terrace, where he sat in the unconquered cross-legged position.⁵ When with the four weapons of the Path he had cut off the head of many hundreds of hostile corruptions that had followed him like his own shadow from the time of his faring on, whose beginning is incalculable,⁶ [3] and had obtained the state of a foremost righteous lord of the three worlds and at different places and for different persons had extended for forty-five years the net of the attainment of great compassion,⁷ he calling forth the knowledge of preaching, preached the doctrine, and established the religion. And having established it, he, at the age of

Government of the Tarai and 3½ miles to the south-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliwa, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepalese Tarai. Rummindei is only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavastu and 2 miles north of Bhagavānapura. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Asoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbinī grove, the birth place of Lord Buddha (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 29-30).

¹ *Cattāripubbanimittāni*. Cf. *Jāt.*, I, 59; *Dīgha*, II, pp. 24 ff.; *Lalitavistara*, Chaps. XIV and XV; *Mahāvastu*, II, 115.

² According to Cunningham Anomā is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur. But Carlleyle identifies this river with the Kudawanadī in the Basti district of Oudh (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 36; cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 85).

³ Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. XVIII, p. 267; *Jinacarita*, V, 207; *Jāt.*, I, 68 ff.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, 71. It is right to say that Sujātā's meal was considered as one of the most important offerings to the Buddha.

⁴ It is the river Phalgu. Its two branches are the Nīlājanā and the Mohanā and their united stream is called Phalgu. Buddhagayā is situated at a short distance to the west of this river (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 39).

⁵ Cf. *Jinacarita*, V, 213; *Jāt.*, I, 71; cf. *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 183. It means that he sat in uninterrupted or undisturbed meditation.

⁶ Cf. *S.*, ii, 178; and *anavarāga* at *Divy.*, 197.

⁷ As at *PvA.*, 61.

eighty, flickering like the flame of a lamp that is being extinguished, passed away entirely into the sphere of *Nibbāna*,¹ leaving no residuum for future birth. In the three worlds there is no such discrimination in the phenomenon of death, as "this one might be very much loved, this one might be highly respected, this one might be very much afraid." It takes away with it even the best of men in the three worlds, the Blessed One himself. What chance have we, whoever we may be? Wonderful indeed is the nature of created things!

And in this connection, there runs the following: "And this death is called shameless and reckless. It took away with it even the best (man) in the three worlds, much more others. Just as when a thief who is a butcher, gets a cow, he begins to kill her, although she is so useful in this world, even so the king of death, too, does not discriminate between good and bad qualities in this world, but begins to kill."

(b) *A brief account of the First Council*

And a week after the Blessed One had attained the *parinibbāna*, when the Venerable Mahākassapa, accompanied by two and a half thousand monks, was coming to Kusinārā² from Pāvā,² he heard on the road: "The Blessed One, the supreme Buddha, has attained the *parinibbāna*." Seeing the monks, who were not free from grief, weeping, a monk named Subhadda, initiated in old age, spoke thus: "Friends, do not lament, there is nothing to mourn in this matter. Formerly we like serfs of a money-lender, were annoyed by the recluse Gotama thus: 'Do this, it is allowable to you; do not do this, it is not allowable to you.' But now we are able to do whatever we like, not to do what we do not like." On hearing this (Mahākassapa) thought: "Because of such an inimical person

¹ It means annihilation of passion, hatred and delusion. It is the waning out of all evils and the diminishing of the vicious and the weak in man. It is a blissful state of sanctification. It is the tranquil state. It is secure from worldly contact. It is the highest condition and the greatest happiness (B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. XI). In brief the attributes of *Nirvāṇa* consist of the absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of sensual pleasures and all sufferings (*Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 612; cf. *Saundarananda Kāvya*, XVI, vs. 26-29; B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, Lecture V; Appendix to Lecture V, pp. 223, 232).

² For identifications, B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 14; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 106 and 107. Kusinārā is probably identical with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district. Pāvā is identical with a village, named Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia.

the religion of the supreme Buddha, the Blessed One would disappear quickly. [4] With his body now existing like a mass of gold, a great fear has already arisen for the religion that was produced with such difficulty. Should such a person get as a friend another person like him, coming to growth (in numbers), he would be able, methinks, to cause the religion to fail." Thus, being distressed in mind, but feeling strong emotion for the doctrine, he thought: "I will make this monk put on a white garment just here, and having scattered ashes over his body, I will turn him outside (the religion)."¹

Then the Venerable Elder Mahākassapa thought: "People will blame (us), saying: Now that there are only the bodily remains of the recluse Gotama, the assemblies (of monks) quarrel." Thereafter he allayed and dismissed this thought, and pondered: "Although the supreme Buddha, the Blessed One, attained *parinibbāna*, yet the doctrine preached by him exists. Should the doctrine preached by him be recited in order to establish it firmly, such persons will not make the religion disappear; it will on the contrary last for a long time." Remembering the favour of the *Dhamma* on account of the robe made of rags collected from a dust-heap given to him by the Blessed One, he, with five hundred *arahats* (the elect) and under the patronage of the king named Ajātasattu, held the first recital, lasting for seven months, in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave ² at Rājagaha on the fifth day after the full-moon, day in the month of *Āsāḷha*, in the third month since the Blessed One's *parinibbāna*.³

Taking off forty-eight hundred years altogether of the Kali age, he then established the religion to last till the end of the Kali age. When king Ajātasattu⁴ had reigned for eight years, the king named Jambudīpadhaja reigned for more than five years in Takomaṣanta city in the Maramma country.

In this First Council, five hundred great Elders like the Venerable Mahākassapa, Venerable Upāli, Venerable Ānanda and Venerable Anuruddha, helped the religion by first reciting (the doctrine).

¹ *Vinaya*, II, pp. 284 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, III, vs. 5 ff.; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, Chap. III, vs. 5 ff.

² *Mahāvamsa*, III, v. 19; *Mahāvastu*, I, 70; Legge, Fā Hien, 84-85; Watters, on *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 159; B. C. Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature* (M.A.S.I., No. 58).

³ *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), pp. 34 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. III; *Vinaya* II, 284 ff.; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 2 ff.; B. C. Law, *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 26 ff.

⁴ B. C. Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India* (R.A.S. Monograph Series, No. XXIV), pp. 11 ff.

Thus the reason for helping the religion was the evil words of Subhadda.¹ And Subhadda [5] who was initiated in old age, was a resident of the city of Ātuma² and belonged to a barber family. When the Blessed One visited the city of Ātuma then he engaged two novices, who were his own sons, to do the work of hair-dressing, and when he had cooked rice-gruel with such things as he had procured, rice-grain, oil and the rest, he offered them to the Buddha along with the Order. The Blessed One, however, did not accept them and when he had asked the reason for it and had rebuked him, he declared: "To give away from what is not allowable is an offence of wrong-doing and for a monk who was formerly a barber to hold a razor is also an offence of wrong-doing."³ For that reason he made enmity (against the Buddha) and as he was desirous of destroying the (Buddha's) religion, he spoke such evil words as if he were vomiting a hot iron-ball that he had swallowed.

And king Ajātasattu helped, saying: "Venerable sirs, let there be for you the wheel of righteousness.⁴ I will set rolling my wheel of authority. Be confident and recite." Therefore this king should be known as the first king who patronised the religion. And the disciples who succeeded the five hundred elect, Mahākassapa and the rest, were many, beyond reckoning. What is to be stated here after this, should be understood as said in the commentary. For when those great Elders, however, had recited (the doctrine), they attained the *parinibbāna*.

And in this connection, there runs the following: "And those elders possessing psychic powers held the First Council and came to power over the power of death. Although they had psychic powers, yet they gave these up, and having gained power over death, they, their factions at an end,

¹ Cf. *Vinaya*, II, 284 ff.; *Dīgha*, II, 162.

² It is also known as *Ātumā*.

³ *Dīgha*, II, 148 ff.; *Vinaya*, I, 249-250.

⁴ *Dhammacakka* means the wheel of law, the perfection or supreme harmony of righteousness, to proclaim or inaugurate the perfect state of universal righteousness (*Majjhima*, I, 171; *Samyutta*, I, 191; *Milinda*, 343; *Sutta-Nipāta*, 693; *Vinaya*, I, 8). The very first public statement of Buddha's position as a teacher and thinker is found in the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* which is held by tradition as *paṭhamadhammadesanā*. The four truths are formulated in this *sutta*, which represents a definite procedure or scheme of thought. This procedure was not of course peculiar to Buddhism. (B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 29). *Dhammacakka* has been translated as wheel of the doctrine, unfolding the entire *dhamma*, inaugurating the dominion of the law.—Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 23 f.n.; cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, vs. 420-422; *Vin.*, I, 10; *Mahāvastu*, III, 331.

passed into *nibbāna*. And what can be said of us? To get us is no great task for death, and thus should a wise man know."

This is the brief account of the First Council

(c) *A brief account of the Second Council*

Thereafter, for a hundred years, their disciples came in succession, preserving the religion. Now, as days and nights had gradually passed by, a century after the Blessed One's *parinibbāna* the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī promulgated these Ten Points at Vesālī¹:—

(1) That storing salt in a horn vessel (in order to season unsalted foods, when received), was permissible;

(2) That taking the midday meal when the sun's shadow showed two fingers' breadth after noon, was permissible;

(3) That visiting the village after meal, and there eating (if invited), was permissible;

(4) That holding the *Upasatha* ceremony separately by monks residing in the same residence, was permissible;

(5) That carrying out of official acts by an incomplete chapter, in anticipation of the consent of absent monks to be obtained afterwards, was permissible;

(6) That to do something on the precedence of the preceptor's practice, was permissible;

(7) [6] That taking unchurned milk, even after meal time, was permissible;

(8) That to drink unfermented toddy was permissible;

(9) That the use of a seat not of the prescribed size, if it were without a fringe, was permissible;

(10) That to accept gold and silver was permissible.²

The king named Kālāsoka, son of Susunāga, was associated with them. At that time the Venerable Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍa (ka), while walking on tour through the Vajjian country, heard: "The Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī are said to have promulgated the Ten Points at Vesālī." And he

¹ It is identical with modern Besārh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 13, 15, 24; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 310-311.

² See my *Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, pp. 37 ff.; *Vinaya-piṭaka*, II, pp. 300-301; *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), p. 23; Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Tr., pp. 19-20, f.n. 3; *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), p. 35; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 105, f.n. 2; cf. *Pātimokkha*, XXXIX.

arrived at Vesālī, thinking: "It is not proper that I, hearing the danger to the religion of Him who was gifted with the ten powers should live inactive. Well then, I will expound the Dhamma, holding back the speakers of what is not Dhamma." Then the Most Venerable Yasa came to the Vālukārāma at Vesālī, thinking: "I will recite (the *Dhamma*) with seven hundred elect, Revata, Sabbakāmi and others." And the Vajjiputtaka monks, being in hostile mood, approached the king named Kālāsoka and informed him thus: "O great king, we live guarding the Perfumed Chamber of this Mahāvana monastery. Other monks who speak of what is not *Dhamma* have arrived now with the intention of plundering and destroying it." And the great king Kālāsoka sent his ministers, bidding: "Hold back the newly arrived monks so that they do not enter." And the ministers who went to keep them back, could not find the monks on account of the power of the gods. And that very night the great king Kālāsoka saw a dream of torment in the iron cauldron hell. An Elder nun named Nandā, sister of that king, coming by air, explained the manifoldness of defect in supporting the monks who professed what was not *Dhamma* and in restraining the great Elders who spoke of what was *Dhamma*, and she gave him an instruction for the sake of supporting the religion.

And when king Kālāsoka had been emotionally stirred and had asked the pardon of the Venerable Yasa and other Elders, he, like king Ajātasattu, gave them his patronage for a recital (of the doctrine).

And the Elders, Venerable Yasa and others for eight months held the Second Council in the Vālukārāma under the patronage of king Kālāsoka after refuting the illegal points promulgated by the Vajjiputtaka monks.¹

[7] And at that time ten years had elapsed since the consecration of king Kālāsoka, who was born as a son of king Susunāga in the city of Pāṭaliputta² in the Middle Country. On the other hand, it was one year earlier than the consecration

¹ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. IV, vs. 63-64; *Ibid.*, vs. 9 and 10; *Dīpv.*, IV, 48 ff.; V, 17 ff., 32 ff.; *Vinaya*, II, 294 ff.

² Later capital of Magadha. It is also known as Kusumapura and Puṣpapura. It was made the capital of Magadha by Udāyibhadda some twenty-eight years after the Buddha's demise. It is near modern Patna, the seat of the Government of Bihar (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 86 ff.; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, 540; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 52; *Vinaya*, I, 226-8; *Majjhima*, II, 157 ff.; *Samyutta*, V, pp. 15-16, 171-72; B. C. Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, pp. 38 ff.; B. C. Law, *Persepolis and Pāṭaliputra, Indo-Iranica*, I, No. 2, October, 1946).

of the king named Dvattapoṅka¹ in the city of Sirikhetta in the Maramma country, while it was one hundred years of the religion of the Conqueror.

And in this Second Council, seven hundred great Elders headed by the Venerable Yasa, Revata,² and Sabbakāmi, recited (the doctrine) for the second time, and for the second time they upheld the religion.³

And the most Venerable Elder named Yasa was the pupil of the Elder Ānanda who was extolled by the Blessed One in respect of five excellent points.⁴ The precise reason for holding the Second Council was the promulgation of the illegal points by the Vajjiputtaka monks. And king Kālāsoka, though he was formerly a supporter of the monks who professed what was not *Dhamma*, became again a supporter of the monks who spoke of what was *Dhamma* and patronised them. Therefore this king should be known as the second king who patronised the religion.

But the disciples who succeeded the seven hundred great Elders headed by the Venerable Elders, Yasa, Revata, and Sabbakāmi at the Second Council were many, beyond reckoning. What will be stated hereafter should be understood as said in the commentary. When those great Elders, however, had recited (the doctrine) for the second time, they attained the *parinibbāna*.

And in this connection there runs the following:—

“And when those intelligent Elders had held the Second Council and had upheld the religion, they came under the power of death. Considering that even those Elders who possessed psychic powers came under the influence of death, how can we alone be free since we are far from deliverance?”

This is the brief account of the Second Council

(d) *A brief account of the Third Council*

[8] Thereafter the religion of the Supreme Buddha, the Blessed One, was kept undisturbed and healthy for two hundred and thirty-eight years. But when it reached two hundred and

¹ Dvattapoṅka otherwise known as Dwottabaung was the king of Burma in the year 101 of Religion (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 4; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 277).

² Also called *Soreyya-Revata*.

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. IV, vs. 61-62; cf. *Vinaya*, II, 299 ff.

⁴ *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 24-25.

thirty-eighth year, in the time of His Gracious Majesty the king named Dhammāsoka who reigned in the city of Pāṭali-putta, and had faith in the religion of the Buddha owing to the novice Nigrodha,¹ the gains and honours of the Order of monks were in abundance.

At that time the heretics, numbering at least sixty thousand, longed for gains and honours, and they, although not initiated, were like the initiated and entered (the assemblies of monks) for the Observance, Invitation ² and other services.

As herons among swans,
And as gayals among cattle,
And as asses among Sindh horses.

Then the Order of monks, thinking, "The assembly is now impure," did not hold the Observance ceremony. Disease appeared in the religion, destroying for seven years the Observance and Invitation ceremonies. And when His Gracious Majesty the king Asoka heard this, he sent one of his ministers, bidding him: "Settle the dispute and make (the Order of monks) hold the Observance ceremony." And as the minister did not venture to ask the king: "What shall I do, if the monks are unwilling to hold the Observance ceremony?", he himself was in confusion, and when he had consulted someone else, also in confusion, the latter told him: "If the Order of monks do not hold the Observance ceremony, the great king desires to kill the Order of monks."

Thus when the one who was himself confused, heard the erring word from a fool, he went to the monastery and killed the Order of monks who were unwilling to hold the Observance ceremony.

And when the king heard this he pondered: "This fool, though not ordered by me, did a deed of violence like this. Shall I be free from the evil deed or not?" Thus, being in doubt, he had the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa brought against the current of the Ganges,³ and asked the Elder

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, vs. 37-72; *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 34 ff.; VII, 12, 31; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 45 ff.; *Thūpavamsa* (P.T.S.), p. 38; *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 53.

² *Uposatha* day means sabbath (*Jāt.*, III, 52). It is a ceremony in which a layman takes upon himself the eight *sīlas*. The *Uposatha* days are utilised in reciting the *Pātimokkha* (cf. *Vin.*, I, III, ff.). *Pavāraṇā*—at the end of the rainy season this ceremony is performed by the Buddhists (cf. *Vin.*, I, 160; II, 167; *Dīgha*, II, 220, etc.).

³ *Gaṅgāya paṭisotato* (against the current of the river). But *Mahāvamsa*, V, verse 233 says he lived alone on the mount Ahogaṅga—uddham Gaṅgāya ekova Ahogaṅgaṃhi pabbate—(above the river) for seven years (*sattavassāni*). *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 57; *Mahābodhivamsa*, 106; both say *Upari Gaṅgāya*.

about that matter. And the Elder, with the help of the birthstory of a partridge living on an island answered: "You will be free from the evil deed because you did not intend it." He also taught His Gracious Majesty the King Dhammāsoka the doctrine of the heretics for a week, and when he had compared one doctrine with another, he had the sixty thousand heretics expelled from the religion [9]. Then (the Elder) held the Observance ceremony. He also explained the *Kathāvatthu* ¹ in the midst of the Order of monks, according to the method stated by the Blessed One. And in the Asoka monastery the great Elders, numbering at least one thousand, for nine months recited (the doctrine). At that time eighteen years had elapsed since the reign of His Gracious Majesty the king Dhammāsoka in the city of Pāṭaliputta in the Middle Country, while twelve years had passed since the reign of the king named Ram-pom-ka in the city of Sirikhetta ² in the Maramma country. The reason for upholding the religion was that the sixty thousand heretics, desiring gains and honours, had entered the Observance and Invitation and other ceremonies in the garb of recluses, and also that the Observance ceremony had been suspended for seven years due to the impurity of the congregation. The great Elders, headed by Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, Majjhantika, and Mahādeva, recited (the doctrine) for the third time, and for the third time they upheld the religion. And His Gracious Majesty the king Dhammāsoka should be known as the king who upheld the religion because he, having examined the doctrine of the heretics, expelled them from the religion and so on.

The disciples who succeeded as many as one thousand great Elders headed by Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, Majjhantika and Mahādeva, were many, beyond reckoning. What will be stated hereafter, should be understood as said in the commentary. When those great Elders, however, had recited (the doctrine) for the third time, they attained the *parinibbāna*.

And in this connection there runs the following:

¹ It is a Buddhist book of debate on matters of theology and philosophy published by the P.T.S. in 2 volumes (1894 and 1897); *Points of Controversy* (S. M. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids), *The Debates Commentary* (B. C. Law) and *J.P.T.S.*, 1889.

² It is Prome (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 50; M. Bode, *Sāsana-vamsa*, Intro., p. 4). To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma Pyus founded a kingdom with Śriksetra as the capital. According to the legendary account this kingdom was founded by a Hindu Royal dynasty of Tagaung on the Irawadi in Upper Burma (*Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, p. 415).

“And those Elders of great power in the religion who had recited (the doctrine), came under the control of death, even as the sun under a dark cloud.

[10] And as these went away so we, too, go. Who can be free from death? Beings are destined to death.

Therefore a wise man should always do a meritorious deed for the realisation of *nibbāna* which alone is everlasting.”

This is the brief account of the Third Council

(e) *The founding of the religion in nine places, one by one*¹

Thereafter the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa considered: “Where will the religion of the supreme Buddha, of the Blessed One, be well founded?”² When he saw that the religion of the Conqueror would be well established in the countries outside the Middle Country, he sent the great Elders one by one, to the nine regions in order to establish the religion of the Conqueror, as follows:

He sent the Venerable Thera Mahinda to the island of Sīhala (saying): “You go to this island and establish the religion there.” He sent the Elders Soṇa and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi; the Elder Mahārakkhita to the Yonaka region, the Elder Rakkhita belonging to the Yona country to the country of Vanavāsī, the Elder Dhammarakkhita to the Aparanta country, the Elder Majjhantika to the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country, the Venerable Elder Revata to Mahimsakamaṇḍala, the Venerable Elder Dhammarakkhita to Mahārattṭha, and the Elder Majjhima to the Cīna country,³ and with each he sent a body of monks sufficient for the purpose of ordination there. And when these great Elders had gone separately, they established the religion in each of those places. And when they had established the religion of the Conqueror, being free from danger it stood firm, shining forth with the lustre of the yellow robes of the monks in each of those places, like the moon freed from the dark cloud of dusty smoke called Rāhu.

And among those nine places, the one named Suvannabhūmi is the modern city of Sudhamma itself. If it be asked:

¹ Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chap. VIII, pp. 53 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XII, pp. 94 ff.; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XII, pp. 117 ff.; *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, I, pp. 311 ff.

² Cf. *Thūpavaṃsa*, Book II, Chap. I, pp. 42 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, 94–99.

³ Cf. *Thūpavaṃsa*, Book II, Chap. I, p. 43.

“Why then is this so named?” (the reply is:) “By an inference from the route, or by an inference from the place.”

How by an inference from the route?

[11] It is said that Suvannabhūmi was at a distance of as much as seven hundred yojanas from here. Boats sailing on one breeze would get there in seven days and nights. Now, at one time, a boat while thus sailing went for a week just by the back of a fish, swollen and long in circumference. Thus according to the statement in the commentary, the length of journey to the island of Sīhala from the city of Sudhamma would correspond to the length of journey from the island of Sīhala to Suvannabhūmi. From the city of Sudhamma, it is said, the island of Sīhala was at a distance of seven hundred yojanas only. A boat while sailing at the approach of the favourable wind would reach (both) in seven days and nights. Hence, this is so named by an inference from the route.

How by an inference from the place?

Suvannabhūmi, it is said, stood near the great ocean. It was a great harbour, being the place where merchants arrived from various countries. So, the multitude, princes and others, would come by boat to Suvannabhūmi from the town of Campā and the like for trade. The city of Sudhamma, too, itself stands nowadays near the great ocean. Hence this is so named by an inference from the place.

But some say: “The name Suvannabhūmi denotes Hari-bhūñja country.” They say so, because of the abundance of gold found there, while others hold: “It refers to Siyāma country.” All this should be examined.

Some say: “The name Aparanta denotes only a separate country”, while others hold: “The name Aparanta refers to Sunāparanta country.”¹ That is right. If it be asked: “Why is the expression ‘The name Aparanta refers to Sunāparanta country’ used; (the reply is:) because it has been called by two names in the commentaries.” In the commentary on the last fifty Suttas (of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*)² as well as in the commentary on the *Salāyatana* section of the *Samyutta-Nikāya*,³ the master commentators, while showing the Sunāparanta country as the best place where the Elder Koṇḍadhāna obtained the management of distributing gifts

¹ *Majjhima*, III, pp. 268 ff.; *Samyutta*, IV, 61-62; *Theragāthā Commy.*, (Hewavitarane Ed.), I, p. 158; *Majjhima Commy.*, pp. 85 ff.; *Divyāvadāna*, 38 ff.

² *Papañcasūdanī* (P.T.S.), ed. I. B. Horner, Pts. IV and V.

³ *Sāratthappakāsinī* (P.T.S.), ed. F. L. Woodward, Vols. II and III.

by tickets, have spoken of the Aparanta country connecting with it the word *Suna*. In the Dhammapada-commentary¹ as well as in the Aṅguttara commentary, however, this very country has been spoken of without the word *Suna*. And the word *Suna* here is used for a son.² [12] When the eldest son of king Mandhātu had summoned the inhabitants of the four islands, he provided them each with a dwelling place. The place belonging to the inhabitants of the Northern Island (continent) was called the Kuru country, that belonging to the inhabitants of the Eastern Island was called the Vedeha country, that belonging to the inhabitants of the Western Island was called Aparanta. Because of their birth in the Western Island the people were called by the word *Suna*. Those who were born there (afterwards), were also called either Suna's sons or *Sunas*, like the Vajjiputtaka monks. It should be understood that they were distinguished by this very word *Suna* and were so designated either on account of the wish of the author or on account of the sweetness of the word.

The country called Yonaka was the dwelling place of the Yavana people. It was called Jam-may (*Yam Yanāḥmayā*).

The country called Vanavāsī was the place where stood the town of Sirikhetta (modern Prome). But some say: "The country known as Vanavāsī was indeed another country, not the place where stood the town of Sirikhetta." That is not right. The country known as Vanavāsī was the very place where stood the town of Sirikhetta. If (it be asked:) "How is this known?" (the reply is:) "During the reign of a king who was the brother of this king of ours there was found in the town of Sirikhetta an ancient bronze image of the Buddha that lay sinking down into a bed of earth covered with thickets. And on its pedestal was found an ancient inscription beginning with the expression: 'This is for the worship of the inhabitants of the Vanavāsī country.' Hence, this is how it is known."

The country called Kasmīra-Gandhāra meant the Kasmīra country and the Gandhāra country. Those countries stood joined together as one. Consequently (Moggaliputta Tissa) sent the Elder Majjhantika alone to the two countries. Being a copulative compound of place-names, it takes the singular neuter gender. Some also say that the commentary uses the singular number because the places formed a common territory under a single king.

¹ Even Aparanta does not occur in the P.T.S. edition of the *Dhammapada-atthakathā*.

² The word really stands for a dog. Cf. *Kukkurāparanta*.

The name of Mahimsakamaṇḍala was applied to the Andhaka country which was also called the Yakkhapura country.

The name of Mahāraṭṭha was given to the Mahānagara country. Quite recently, [13] this very Mahāraṭṭha being connected with the word *nagara* has been called the Mahānagara country. The teachers also call it the Siyāma country.

The country named Cīna stood joined together as one with the Himalayas; it is the Cīna country.

This is the founding of the religion in nine separate places

(f) *The account of the succession of Elders*

Now the account of the succession of Elders¹ from the beginning should be related.

The Elder Upāli was the pupil of the supreme Buddha, the Blessed One. His disciple was the Elder Dāsaka whose disciple was the Elder Soṇaka who had the Elders Siggava and Caṇḍavajji, as his disciples, and their disciple was the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa.² These five great Elders are given the first place in the history of the religion and form the succession of teachers. The succession of Elders has not been broken up till now, because there has been this succession of their disciples. And in the succession of teachers, conscientious monks should be included and mentioned, not the shameless ones. Those who are called shameless monks, even if they are learned, destroy the line of *Dhamma* by their leaning on gain, the world and the like, and they create a great danger in the way of the religion. To keep guard over the religion is the task of the conscientious monks only, not of the shameless.

So said the Ancients: "When the great Elders thought: 'Who will protect the religion in future?'; they uttered this word thrice: 'In future those who are conscientious will protect the religion, those who are conscientious will protect it, those who are conscientious will protect it'." Thus it should be known that even in the Middle Country there were many shameless persons.

One hundred years after the Blessed One's *parinibbāna* when the Vajjiputtaka monks, as said before, had promulgated the illegal points and had conferred with the wicked monks

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 1880, pp. 148 ff.; *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Tr., Intro., xlvii ff.

² *Dīpavamsa*, Chap. V, pp. 39 ff.

who had been turned out at the time of the Second Council¹ and had sought their associates, they, like the great Elders, held a council called the Great Council.²

And when they had held it they became a separate school. Oh, this is indeed a ridiculous act! Just as the old jackal³ at the thought of being a quadruped yearned for respect and like a lion uttered a lion's roar, thinking he was himself like a lion, so they, not knowing the real teaching, destroyed its true meaning by the mere shadow of words. Whatever teaching they removed, that was done in their own school, [14] not in the school of those who spoke what was *Dhamma*. When they had upset the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*, they lived as they wished. But this was called a Great Council. It was one school of those who spoke what was not *Dhamma*. Later as time passed on, two schools, one Gokulika by name and the other called Ekavyokāra,⁴ split off from it, and split off from one another in respect of their doctrine.

Thereafter two schools, one Bahussutika by name and the other called Paññattivāda, split off from the Gokulika school, dividing amongst themselves. Once more, from these very schools another school called the Cetiyaavāda split off. After this a long time passed, when into the school of those who spoke what was *Dhamma*, there entered a different school, and two schools, one school called the Mahimsāsaka and the other called the Vajjiputtaka, split off. Even thereafter from the Vajjiputtaka school itself there split off four schools, dividing amongst themselves, namely, one school called the Dhammuttarika, another school called the Bhaddayānika, yet another called the Channāgārika and another still called the Sammiti. And again, from the Mahimsāsaka school there split off five schools, dividing amongst themselves, namely, one school called the Sabbatthivāda, another school called the Dhammaguttika, yet another called the Kassapiya, yet another called the Samkantika, and yet another called the Suttavāda.⁵

Thus in the Middle Country, splitting off separately from the Theravāda school of those who spoke what was *Dhamma*, of the great Elders who recited at the Second Council, there were seventeen different schools of those who spoke what was

¹ The text wrongly reads *paṭhama* (first).

² *Dīpav.*, pp. 31-32.

³ *Dīgha*, III, 24.

⁴ It is also known as Ekavyohāra.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Chap. V; *Dīpavamsa*, V, 45-48; *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, I, pp. 172 ff.; Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Tr., Appendix B, pp. 277 ff.; N. Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, pp. 225 ff.

not *Dhamma*. And these schools of those who spoke what was not *Dhamma* were not merged into the succession of Elders in the religion. They were of no help to the religion, and if they are included in the succession of Elders, it is not possible to count (their number). They were like a crane in a flock of swans, like a gayal in a herd of cows, and like *hārakūṭa* (stork) in a group of *Supaṇṇa*-birds.¹

The succession of Elders, as come down from the Elder Mahākassapa and others and also beginning with Upāli and Dāsaka, should, however, be understood exactly as recorded in the *Parivāra* chapter of the commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā*.²

One can know by an inference from the pure conduct and so on of the Elder Upāli and others, that those Elders down to the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa were of pure conduct and so on, [15] just as one can know by an inference from a shower from a cloud in the up-stream of the river. This is called an inference from the cause.³

One can know, by an inference from the pure conduct and so on of the Elders as far as the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa that the Elder Upāli was of pure conduct and so on, just as seeing smoke above one can know, by an inference, that there is a fire. This is called an inference from the result.

One can know, by an inference from the pure conduct and so on of the Elder Upāli at the beginning and of the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa at the end that the Elders Dāsaka, Soṇa, Siggava and others midway were of pure conduct and so on; just as seeing the footprint of a deer below and on top of a slab of stone one can know, by an inference, that there is an invisible footprint in the middle. This is called an argument from the footprint of a deer.

Thus according to the three arguments, it should be understood that this Theravāda school consisted of those who spoke what was *Dhamma*, who were conscientious and well-behaved. Thus the above argument should be developed and the succession of Elders should be understood as contained in the books in the *Parivāra* chapter of the *Samantapāsādikā*.⁴

¹ A kind of fairy bird, a mythical creature imagined as winged, considered as an enemy to the *nāgas*. (Cf. *Dīgha*, II, 259; *Jāt.*, I, 202; II, 13; VI, 256, 257, etc.)

² P.T.S., Vol. VII.

³ This indicates that the *theras* of Burma used to study the text-books of Indian logic.

⁴ See also *Parivāra* in *Vinaya Piṭaka*, V, pp. 2 ff.; *Samantapāsādikā*, VII, p. 1304.

thereafter (to be added are others) beginning with Mahinda, Itṭiya.

Here ends the First Chapter of the history of the (Buddha's) religion, called the narration of the history of how the religion came to nine places.

CHAPTER II

The history of the religion in the island of Sīhala

Now, the occasion arises to relate the account of the religion in the island of Sīhala. So I will tell it.

From the fact of its having become a stronghold for the religion, the island of Sīhala has indeed been like an interior of a shrine. The supreme Buddha, it is said, visited the island of Sīhala thrice even during his life-time. The first time he went alone to subdue the *Yakkhas*, and when he had subdued the *Yakkhas*, he thought: "After my attainment of *parinibbāna* the religion will be established in the island of Sīhala." Thus while providing a guard over the island of Tambapaṇṇi he thrice went round the island. [16] The second time, he went alone to subdue the Nāga kings, the one being a maternal uncle and the other his nephew, and when he had subdued them he came back. The third time, he went there accompanied by five hundred monks, and entered upon the attainment of cessation he sat at the places where were the Great Shrine,¹ the Thūpārāma Shrine, the Great Bo-tree,² the Mahiyaṅgana Shrine,³ the Mutingana Shrine,⁴ the Dīghavāpi Shrine⁵ and the Kalyāṇiya Shrine.⁶

But at that time the religion just remained dormant. But later on, when the Conqueror's wheel had reached its two hundred and thirty-fifth year, in the second half of the month of *Kattika*, the Venerable Elder Mahinda, sent by the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa who was well settled in the succession of Elders, as said above, went to the island of Sīhala with such Elders as Itṭiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla.⁷ When the Conqueror's wheel had reached its two hundred and

¹ *Thūpavaṃsa* (ed. B. C. Law), Chap. XI; B. C. Law, *Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature* published in *Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe für*, W. Geiger, 1931.

² *Thūpavaṃsa*, Bk. II, Chap. II; *Mahāv.*, XVIII, 40-41; *Ibid.*, XIX, v. 15.

³ *Thūpavaṃsa*, II, Chap. V.

⁴ Erected by Devānaṃpiya Tissa in Ceylon on the spot consecrated by the Buddha (*Samantapāsādikā*, I, 89; cf. *Majjhima Commy.*, II, 1024).

⁵ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, I, 78; *Dīpavaṃsa*, II, 60; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 89; *Mahāvamsa*, XXXII, 2; XXXIII, 9, 14, etc.

⁶ Built on the spot where the Buddha preached to Maṇiakkhika and his followers. (*Mahāvamsa*, I, 75 ff.; *Majjhima Commentary*, II, 701; *Mahāvamsa*, XXXVI, 34.)

⁷ Cf. *Thūpavaṃsa*, *Thūpārāmakathā*, p. 43.

thirty-fifth year, in the same second half of the month of *Kattika*, the Elders, Soṇa, Uttara and others, each went to that place where he had been charged to establish the religion.

The Venerable Elder Mahinda, however, waited for seven months, and when the Conqueror's wheel had reached its two hundred and thirty-sixth year, he went, on the full moon day of the month of *Jetṭha*, to the island of Sīhala in order to establish the religion. Thus it should be pointed out as separate that among those nine places (the mission) went to the island of Sīhala in the two hundred and thirty-sixth year, while (it) went to eight other places in precisely the two hundred and thirty-fifth year. But why did the Venerable Elder Mahinda wait for seven months and come to the island of Sīhala last of all? At that time in the island of Sīhala there was a king named Muṭasiva, old, weak, and incapable of supporting the religion. But he had a son named Devānāmpiya Tissa. And the Venerable Elder Mahinda thought: "The prince who is young, will be able to support the religion; only let that Devānāmpiya Tissa obtain the kingship, let me just see the kinsmen with my mother in the city of Vedissakagiri." When he thus wished and had waited seven months, he went to the island of Sīhala exactly in the two hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Conqueror's wheel. Thus it should be understood.

[17] And the Venerable Elder Mahinda was accompanied by four Elders Itṭiya and others, his nephew the novice Sumana¹ and a lay worshipper named Bhaṇḍuka,² and with them he, in the two hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Conqueror's wheel, on the full moon day of the month of *Jetṭha* rose up in the air like royal swans (in the month of *Jetṭha*) and going by the air route stayed on the peak of the Missaka mountain³ on the eastern side of the city of Anurādhā.

And on the full moon day of the month of *Jetṭha*, in the island of Laṅkā, there was a gathering (of people) in connection with the constellations of *Jetṭhā* and *Mūlā*, and the people celebrated the festival. So it has been said in the Vinaya sub-commentary called the *Sāratthadīpanī*:⁴ "On the full moon day of the month *Jetṭha*, either the constellation of *Jetṭhā*

¹ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, XIII, 4, 18.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, XIII, 16, 18; XIV, 29, 31 ff.; *Dīpavamsa*, XII, 26, 39, 62, 63.

³ It is in Ceylon, cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), pp. 101-102, 103, 135, etc. According to Geiger it is the mountain Mihintale, 8 miles to the east of Anurādhapura (*Mahāvamsa*, Tr., p. 89); cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Tr., p. 114 f.n.

⁴ It is a commentary on the *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*, written by Sāriputta.

or that of Mūlā takes place." And here it should be noted that a constellation on a full moon day is said to be the most auspicious, according to the scheme of the constellations of the lunar zodiac. And when king Devānampiya Tissa had the festival announced and commanded his ministers: "Celebrate the festival", he left the city with a retinue of forty thousand men, and being desirous of enjoying the chase, he went to the Missaka mountain. Now, a deity residing on that mountain assumed the form of a deer and made the king greedy and when he called the king he made him turned towards the Elder. When the Elder saw the king approaching, he resolved: "Let the king see me only, not others" and he said, "Tissa, Tissa, come here." When the king heard this he thought: "There is none among all people born in this island who can address me by my name Tissa. But this closely shaven-headed fellow wearing the yellow patch-work garment addresses me by my name. Who can this be, is he human or non-human?"

The Elder replied: "Recluses are we, O great king, disciples of the king of Dhamma. Out of compassion for you we have come here from Jambudīpa." ¹

And at that time it was a month since king Devānampiya Tissa had been consecrated as king with (gifts of) consecration sent by king Asoka. [18] For it was on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha that his consecration took place. Remembering the message of the religion which was connected with the virtue of the Three Jewels, that king Asoka had sent him as a gift of Dhamma and which he had recently heard, and also hearing that saying of the Elder: "Recluses are we, O great king, disciples of the king of Dhamma," he thought: "Have not the masters come?" He instantly threw down his weapons and, while speaking in friendly terms, sat down on one side.

As it has been said: ² "The king, throwing down his weapons, sat down on one side, and as he was seated he exchanged friendly greetings connected with various matters."

And while the friendly greetings were being exchanged, those forty thousand men came there and surrounded (the

¹ Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Chap. XII, p. 66; *Mahāvamsa* (P.T.S.), Chap. XIV, v. 8; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XIV, v. 13; Jambudīpa is one of the four *mahādīpas* or the great continents including India (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, Intro. xvi-xviii; B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, Chap. I; cf. *Visuddhimagga*, I, 205-6; *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.), I, 127.

² *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chap. XII, v. 52; *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XIV, v. 10; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XIV, v. 15.

king). Then the Elder showed (him) six other persons also. When the king saw (them) he asked: "When did these come?"

"Just with me, O great king."

"But are there now in the Jambudîpa other such recluses also?"

"There are, O great king. The Jambudîpa is nowadays gleaming with yellow robes and stirred by the wind of saints. In this connection (it has been said):

'Great is the number of disciples of the Buddha who are cankerwaned, *arhants*,¹ learned in the three kinds of knowledge, gifted with psychic powers and skilled in reading the thoughts of others'."²

"Reverend Sir, by what way have you come?"

"Neither by water nor by land, O great king."

The king understood that they had come by air. The Elder thought: "Has the king accomplishment in wisdom?" And to test him he asked a question referring to a mango-tree nearby.

"What name does this tree bear, O great king?"

"This is called a mango-tree, Reverend Sir."

[19] "Is there yet another mango (-tree) besides this one, O great king, or not?"

"There are many other mango-trees, Reverend Sir."

"And are there yet other trees, O great king, besides this mango and the (other) mangoes?"

"There are, Reverend Sir; but those trees are not mangoes."

"And are there yet other trees, besides the other mangoes and those which are not mangoes?"

"There is this mango-tree, Reverend Sir."

"Very well, O great king. You are wise. Have you any kinsmen, O great king?"

"They are many, Reverend Sir."

"Besides them are there some, O great king, who are not your kinsmen?"

"Reverend Sir, those who are not my kinsmen are greater in number than my kinsmen."

"Is there yet any one besides your kinsmen and those who are not your kinsmen, O great king?"

"There is only myself, Reverend Sir."

¹ One who has reached the highest state of sanctification; an elect; *vide* Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Tr., App. X, p. 292.

² *Dīpavamsa*, Chap. XII, vs. 56 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XIV, vs. 14 ff.; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XIV, vs. 19 ff.

"Very well, O great king. One is neither the kinsman nor not the kinsman of oneself." ¹

Thinking: "The king is wise, and will be able to understand the doctrine," the Elder then preached (to the king) the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta*.² At the end of the discourse the king with his forty thousand men was established in the Three Refuges.³ All that will be told hereafter should be understood as narrated in the *Samantapāsādikā*, etc.

In this way, in the island of Sīhala, those supporters of the religion who were in the line of disciples beginning with the Elder Mahinda, were many, beyond reckoning. How? The disciple of the Venerable Elder Mahinda was the Elder named Ariṭṭha, whose disciple was Tissadatta, whose disciple was Kālasumana, whose disciple was Dīgha, whose disciple was Dīghasumana, whose disciple was Kālasumana, whose disciple was Nāga, whose disciple was Buddharakkhita,⁴ whose disciple was Tissa, whose disciple was Revata, whose disciple was Sumana, whose disciple was Cūlanāga, whose disciple was Dhammapālita, whose disciple was Khema, whose disciple was Upatissa, whose disciple was Phussadeva, [20] whose disciple was Sumana, whose disciple was Mahāpaduma, whose disciple was Mahāsiva, whose disciple was Upālī, whose disciple was Mahānāga, whose disciple was Abhaya, whose disciple was Tissa, whose disciple was Sumana, whose disciple was Cūlabhaya,⁴ whose disciple was Tissa, whose disciple was Cūladeva, whose disciple was Siva. This should be regarded as the succession of Elders down to those who assembled in the Fourth Council as recorded in books.⁵ And this has been said in the commentary: "It should be understood that since there has been a succession of disciples of these (Elders) themselves down to the present day, they have been brought into the line of teachers."

Thus it should be understood that since there has been a succession of their disciples, the line of the teachers, being well known in the religion, has come down to the present day.

In the religion, those who are expert in the *Vinaya* should be endowed with the three attributes. Verily the three attributes should be expected of him who is expert in the *Vinaya*. What are the three?

¹ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, XIV, vs. 17-21.

² *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 175-84.

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, XIV, v. 23.

⁴ Cf. *Vinaya*, V, 3; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 62, 63.

⁵ *Vinaya*, V, p. 3; Law, *Buddhaghosa*, pp. 44-45.

Such rule ¹ has been properly handed down to him, properly regulated, properly resolved into rule and into linguistic form.² This is one attribute. In the *Vinaya*, he is firm and irrefutable. This is the second. And by him the succession of teachers is well-grasped, well-borne in mind and well reflected upon. This is the third.

There the expression, 'by him the succession of teachers is well-grasped,' means by him the succession of Elders as well as the succession of their disciples, is properly grasped. 'Well-borne in mind' means well pondered so that as soon as he turns to it, it becomes clear like a shining lamp. 'Well-considered' means well-investigated; investigated by comparing preceding and following connections according to the meaning and reason; for, putting aside his own view, he follows the words of his teachers. "My teacher learnt it from such and such a teacher, and he (learnt it) from such and such (a teacher)"; in this way, he cites all the successive teachers in the Theravāda (school), until he stops, having reached the expression: "The Elder Upāli learnt it from the supreme Buddha." Then citing from here: "The Elder Upāli learnt it from the Supreme Buddha, the Elder Dāsaka from his own preceptor the Elder Upāli, the Elder Soṇaka ³ from his own preceptor the Elder Dāsaka, the Elder Siggava ⁴ [21] from his own preceptor the Elder Soṇaka, the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa from his own preceptors the Elder Siggava and the Elder Caṇḍavajji." ⁵ In this way, he cites all the successive teachers in the Theravāda (school) until he stops, having reached his own teacher. The succession of teachers grasped in this way becomes well-grasped. But if he is unable (to grasp it) in this way, he should learn two or three circles (of teachers). According to the last method, as his teacher and the teacher of that teacher speak the text (of the canon) and the interrogation ⁶ on it, so he ought to learn. The abovementioned succession of Elders handed down the three Piṭakas orally from the life-time of the Blessed One ⁷ until

¹ On *Sutta* as 'rule' (a *Vinaya* rule or clause), see *Vinaya Texts*, I, pp. xxviii f. and *Book of the Discipline*, I, p. x.

² Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 65, 68, IV, 51; *Āṅguttara*, IV, 140.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 104, 114 ff.; *Dīpavamsa*, IV, 39 ff.; V, 79 ff.; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 32, 235; *Vinaya*, V, 2.

⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 99, 120-51; *Dīpavamsa*, IV, 46; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 32, 235.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 99, 121, 129, 150; *Dīpavamsa*, IV, 46; V, 58, 70, 86; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 36, 40, 235.

⁶ *Paripucchā*, see *Vinaya*, I, 190; II, 219.

⁷ Cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 291.

they were recorded in books. But they did not arrange (a description of this lineage) writing it fully in a book.

Thus the great Elders accomplished the difficult task and helped the religion.

Here runs this story:

In the island of Sīhala, it is said, because the rain-god, frightened by the fear of Caṇḍālatissa, did not shower down rain, a fear of famine arose. Then Sakka, the ruler of gods, approached (the Elders) and said: "Reverend sirs, you will not be able to learn the three Piṭakas; but go to the Jambudīpa by boat. Should the boat not suffice, cross (the sea) by means of a piece of wood or bamboo, and for your safety we will protect you."

Then at least sixty monks went to the sea-shore. But they thought: "We will not go to the Jambudīpa. We will live in this very place and learn the three Piṭakas." After this, when the boat had turned away from the harbour, they went to the Malaya country, a place in the island of Sīhala, and lived on roots, fruits and the like, and studied together. Becoming much oppressed by the danger of hunger, and being unable even to do this, they placed their chests on the sandy ground while keeping their heads facing each other, and without uttering a word they studied in their minds. Thus did they preserve the three Piṭakas together with the commentary for twelve years and helped the religion forward.

But at the end of twelve years, when that fear was allayed, seven hundred monks who earlier had gone to the Jambudīpa, came back and entered the monastery called Maṇḍalārāma,¹ a place in the island of Sīhala in the Rāma-country.

[22] And when these sixty monks arrived at that monastery, having consulted each other, they studied together. At that time they agreed with each other and did not differ. They were as united as is the water of the Yamunā (Jumna) with the water of the Gaṅgā (Ganges). Thus it should be understood that the great Elders accomplished the difficult task precisely because they remembered the three Piṭakas orally in this way.

That they remembered the canonical texts without missing a single word, precisely that was a difficult task. In the island of Sīhala, it is said, when the Elder Tissa, son of a landlord,

¹ According to some this monastery was near the village of Bhokkanta. According to the *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* it was in the village of Kālakagāma (p. 448).

named Punabbasu, learnt the Buddha's word and came to this Jambudīpa, he (again) learnt the Buddha's word in the presence of the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yona country. And he, while going back at the fording place for embarking on the boat, had a doubt in respect of a certain verse, he returned for a hundred yojanas¹ of the way and while coming towards his teacher, he, on the road, answered a question of a certain landlord. Being pleased, the latter offered him a blanket worth one hundred thousand coins. He, carrying it along, offered it to his teacher. The Elder having cut it into pieces with a knife, put a braiding² on his piece of cloth to sit upon.³ For what reason? For helping future mankind. It is said that he thought thus: "Noticing the way followed by us fellow students will, in future, think: 'Conduct should be perfected'." And when the Elder Tissa removed his doubt before his teacher, he went to his own place in the very island of Sīhala. In this way, it should be understood how very difficult a task it was to bear in mind the canonical text without missing even a single word.

And whatever ordinarily they could not learn by heart, they preserved by way of study, remembrance and the like, in order that it might neither disappear nor be confused. That, indeed, was a difficult task. In the island of Sīhala, it is said that in times of great emergency a monk learnt by heart the *Mahāniddeśa*.⁴ An Elder named Mahātipiṭaka, the preceptor of the Elder Tissa, who was the eighth among those versed in the four *Nikāyas*, said to the Elder Mahārakkhita: "Friend Mahārakkhita, learn the *Mahāniddeśa* before such and such a person." "Surely this is bad, Reverend Sir, that I have not learnt it." "Learn it, friend. I will sit down with you." "Very well, Reverend Sir, I will learn it if you sit down (with me)." [23] Settling there, as he was uninterruptedly learning it by heart, night and day, he on the last day saw a woman underneath the bed, and said: "Reverend Sir, I heard this before. Had I known thus, I would not have learnt the doctrine before such a person." Many great Elders, who

¹ *Yojana* = about 7 or 8 miles.

² *Paribhaṇḍa*, on this word see *Book of the Discipline*, II, p. 409, n. 8.

³ *Nisīdana*. He put on the braiding in accordance with *Nissaggiya*, XV. (*Vinaya*, III, p. 232). On *nisīdana* see *Book of the Discipline*, II, p. 87, n. 2.

⁴ The eleventh book of the *Suttapiṭaka*. It is a sort of word for word comment or gloss on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. The P.T.S. has published an edition of this text in Roman characters under the able editorship of Louis de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas.

studied in his presence, became well-versed in the *Mahāniddeśa*. Thus it should be understood how very difficult a task it was to preserve by way of study, remembrance, and the like that which they ordinarily could not learn by heart, in order that it might neither disappear nor be confused.

In this way, for a long time since the life-time of the Blessed One the succession of great Elders, as said above, handed down the canonical text even orally.

Marvellous indeed that due to the abundance of their mindfulness, wisdom and concentration, the ancient great Elders were able to maintain it even orally. The ancient Elders who handed down the canonical text even orally were four hundred and ninety-five. When the wheel of the Conqueror had reached four hundred and fifty years since the *parinibbāna* of the Blessed One, as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Sāratthasaṃgaha*,¹ when the king named Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the son of the king named Saddhātissa, who was the eighth king in the island of Sīhala, had been reigning six years, the five hundred great Elders who had come down gradually from the great Elders, as said above, thought thus: "In future, beings of poor mindfulness, wisdom and concentration, will not be able to bear in mind (the canonical text) orally." And they under the patronage of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, caused the three *piṭakas* to be written in books together with the commentary in the Āloka cave in the Malaya country, a place in the island of Tambapaṇṇi. And as compared with the Councils already mentioned, this should be called even by the name of the Fourth Council.

And this has been said in the Vinaya sub-commentary called the *Sāratthadīpanī*:² "The Council for writing the books was indeed like the Fourth Council."

But in the island of Sīhala, king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, and in the town of Sirikhetta in the Maramma country, a king named Kukkuṭasīsa, reigned at the same time.

On the other hand, it has come down in the *Sandesakathā*,³ sent here by the monks of the island of Sīhala that at the time of the king who built the city of Amara they committed the books to writing when (the Buddha's rule) had reached four hundred and thirty-three years.

¹ This work was written by Buddhapiya (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 72).

² It is a commentary on the *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā* written by Sāriputta (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 61).

³ It is written mostly in prose. Edited by Minayeff in *J.P.T.S.*, 1885; B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, pp. 560-561.

[24] This has, indeed, been said concerning it: "The measure of time was four hundred and thirty-three years."

This is about the founding of the religion in the island of Sīhala until the writing of the books.

Thereafter in the Jambudīpa as well as in the island of Sīhala, the monks split off separately into schools just as the rivers coming out from lake Anotatta¹ split off into the Ganges, the Yamunā (Jumna) and the rest. In this connection we will speak later of the splitting off of schools in the Jambudīpa. In the island of Sīhala, however, the division of schools should be regarded thus. How?

One hundred and eighteen years after the time of the founding of the religion in the island of Sīhala, when (the monks) in the Abhayagiri monastery built by King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had distorted the *Parivāra* chapter in respect of its reading and meaning, being more numerous than the dwellers in the Great Monastery, one school split off. This was named the school of the dwellers of the Abhayagiri, this was also called the Dhammaruci school.

Three hundred and forty-two years after the secession of the school of the dwellers of the Abhayagiri, when the monks had performed differently the reading of both the *Vibhaṅgas* in the Jetavana monastery built by the king named Mahāsenā, there was another school that was separate from the school of the dwellers in the Abhayagiri. This was named the school of the dwellers in the Jetavana, this was also called the Sāgaliya school.

Three hundred and one years after the secession of the school of the dwellers in the Jetavana, when the monks who resided at Kurunḍa and Kolamba and were patronised by the king named Dāṭhāpati the nephew, performed differently the reading of both the *Vibhaṅgas* and the *Parivāra* chapter, they became separated into the two schools as already said; having examined and agreed with the best dwellers in the school of the Great Monastery, taking the name of the Great Monastery, another school split off.

Thus in the island of Sīhala four schools seceded together with the school of the dwellers in the Great Monastery, who were in the line of the Elder Mahinda the Great and others. In this

¹ It is included in the list of seven great lakes in the Himalayas. The Buddha is said to have visited it several times. It is generally supposed that the Anotatta or Anavatapta lake is the same as the Rawanhrada or Langa (cf. *Anguttara*, IV, 101; *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), pp. 16, 41, 62, etc.; *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), pp. 31, 37 and 92).

connection the school of the dwellers in the Great Monastery was the one which spoke according to the doctrine. The rest, however, were those who spoke what was not the doctrine. From the expression: "And these schools of those who spoke what was not the doctrine lived giving up the truth and bringing disrespect to the doctrine by untruth" (it appears that) in the island of Sīhala the three shameless schools which spoke what was not the doctrine, [25] also lived without acting according to the precepts of covering oneself properly all-round,¹ and so on. It should be understood that since then the undergarment, upper garment and so on of some monks have appeared in various manners.

One thousand five hundred and twenty-seven years after the secession of the schools that spoke what was not the doctrine, when the king named Sirisaṃghabodhi had become a partisan of the school of the Great Monastery and had restrained the three schools that spoke not according to the doctrine, he patronised the religion of the Conqueror. And King Sirisaṃghabodhi enjoyed the fortune of his kingship simultaneously with the king named Anuruddha (Anwaratha who reigned) in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in the Maramma country. Thereafter in the time of the king named Vohāratissa² in the island of Sīhala, when he consulted his minister named Kapila and restrained the schools that spoke, not according to the doctrine for the sake of the monks residing at the Great Monastery, he patronised the religion of the conqueror.³

And thereafter in the time of the king named Goṭhābhaya, when the monks residing at Abhayagiri had been sent beyond the ocean, the religion was purified with the help of the monks residing at the Great Monastery. But thereafter in the reign of the king named Mahāsenā, son of king Goṭhābhaya, amongst the monks residing at Abhayagiri there was a monk named Saṃghamitta who became the chief teacher of the king, and who began to destroy, after consultation with king Mahāsenā, the park of the Great Monastery, which had become the abode of the great Elders who were the elect Mahā-Mahinda and so on. Then the Great Monastery became devoid of monks for nine years.

¹ See *Sekhiya*, I, ff. (*Vin.*, IV, p. 185).

² Also known as Vohārikatissa in the *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), p. 307.

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), pp. 307 ff.; *Extended Mahāvamsa*, pp. 346 ff.

Alas! the shameless monks caused destruction of the dwelling place of the great Elders of immense psychic powers, as crows (do with) the dwelling place of the royal swans.

And amongst the monks residing at Jetavana, a monk named Tissa, in consultation simply with that king removed the boundary in the Great Monastery. But because they lacked skill, their formal act of removing the boundary did not take place.¹

Wonderful, alas! is the act of the wicked persons of bad behaviour! Just as a monkey² of little worth tears a priceless Benares cloth, [26] so the schismatic was too far from the site he wanted to divide.

And in this connection, there runs the following:

“Just as a wicked monkey of little worth energetically tears up a priceless Benares cloth like the tearing of grass, so the wicked speaker of what was not the doctrine energetically caused dissension in the good school (of those) that spoke according to the doctrine. Oh, wonderful is this!

The schismatics were far, far away from those whom they wanted to divide, just as heaven³ is from the earth. Oh, the ignorance of one's action!”

Thus, by the power of the schools that speak what is not the doctrine, the school speaking according to the doctrine, dwindles. Just as royal swans cannot as a rule stand up against the wind of a vulture's wings, even so by the power of those speaking what is not the doctrine, one who speaks according to doctrine dwindles. As in a forest of tigers, a golden deer takes its food keeping itself hidden, so they did not get a chance to live righteously according to their likings.

One thousand four hundred and seventy-two years after the establishment of the religion in the island of Sīhala, one hundred and seventy-eight years after the *parinibbāna* of the supreme Buddha, a king named Mahārājā reigned. But that king belonged to Udumbaragiri.⁴ Under the patronage of that king the monks residing at the Great Monastery headed by the Elder Kassapa, purified the religion of stain as a goldsmith removes dirt from the gold. They purified it by turning out

¹ On the right way to remove a boundary, see *Vinaya*, I, p. 110.

² *Sākhāmiga*, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 25; cf. *Jātaka*, II, 73.

³ Lit., ‘the highest state of existence (among the gods)’.

⁴ It is also called *Dhūmarakkha* (*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, I, 289).

A mountain in Ceylon not far from Kacchakatittha on the right bank of the river named Mahāvāluka. According to the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* (p. 289) this mountain also called *Udumbarapabbata* was the abode of many learned monks.

(all) those from the school of the dwellers of the Great Monastery, who spoke what was not the doctrine. It should be understood that Mahārājā also [27] reigned simultaneously with the king named Narapati-cañ-ñā-sū-nā (who reigned) in the town of Arimaddana in our Maramma country.

Thereafter under the patronage of king Vijayabāhu and king Parakkamabāhu the monks residing at the Great Monastery purified the religion. When all those who spoke what was not the doctrine had been turned out, simply the school of the dwellers of the Great Monastery alone remained, like the moon free from the dross and stain of cloud and the like.

Though these kings, king Sirisaṃghabodhi, king Vohārikatissa, and king Goṭhābhaya purified the religion, not yet was it completely purified for the schools that spoke what was not the doctrine were not all destroyed. In the time of these kings, Sirisaṃghabodhi the great king, Mahārājā, king Vijayabāhu and king Parakkamabāhu the religion did become completely purified, for those who spoke what was not the doctrine were all destroyed. At that time those who spoke what was not the doctrine could not raise even their heads, like owls at sunrise. But later a long time after the religion had declined owing to the danger in the island of Sīhala of the false views that had arisen; since there was no Order of monks even for the completion of a quorum, an Order (of monks) was brought from the Rāmañña country in the time of king Vijayabāhu the great, and he established the religion. And thereafter, in the time of the king named Vimaladhammasuriya, when an Order (of monks) had been brought from the country of Rakkhaṅgapura,¹ he established the religion (again). And after that, in the time of king Vimala, when an Order of monks had been brought from that same place, he established the religion. And after that, in the time of king Kittisirirājasīha, when an Order of monks had been brought from the Siyāma country, he did likewise.

This is the account of the decline of the religion in the island of Sīhala

Thereafter in the year eight hundred and ninety of the religion of the Conqueror, in the time of the king named Buddhādāsa, an Elder who preached the *Dhamma* rendered into the Sinhalese language the remainder of the *Suttapiṭaka*, leaving aside the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*,

¹ Modern Arakan. Cf. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, XCIV, 15.

and arranged and fixed it. For that reason, it has been said in the *Cūlavamsa* :

It is said, the eighty sons of the king Buddhadāsa were called by the names of the eighty great disciples (of the Buddha).¹ [28] Among those sons, a prince named Upatissa, called by the name of the Elder Sāriputta, reigned for forty-two years after the death of his father. After that the youngest prince named Mahānāma reigned for eighty-two years. In the time of that king, in the year nine (hundred) and thirty-three of the Conqueror's wheel, when the number of kings in the island of Sīhala amounted to sixty-six, the Elder named Buddhaghosa went to the island of Sīhala and wrote after rendering into the Māgadhī language, the commentarial books, written in the Sinhalese language. But that king Mahānāma reigned at the same time with the king named Sa-ṇa-la-naḥ-kro-naḥ (who reigned) in the city of Siripaccaya in our Maramma country. In the *Parittanidāna*, it has been said that he reigned at the same time with the king named Brū-mam-ti.

This is not correct.

In the ninth regnal year of the king named Kittisirimegha in the island of Sīhala, when the number of kings in that same island amounted to sixty-two, in the year eight hundred and thirty of the Conqueror's wheel, Dantakumāra, son-in-law of the king named Kuhasiva (Guhasiva), married a princess named Hemamālā from the city of Kalinga in the Jambudīpa, and when he had stolen the tooth-relic (of the Buddha) and had crossed (the ocean) by boat, he went to the island of Sīhala.² In the year two hundred and thirty of the Conqueror's wheel, king Jetṭhatissa reigned for nine years, king Buddhadāsa, nineteen years, king Upatissa, forty-two years, and king Mahānāma twenty-two years. Thus adding all together the religion of the Conqueror becomes nine hundred and thirty-two years old. At that time when it was less by two years, in the time of king Mahānāma in the year nine hundred and thirty of the religion, the Elder named Buddhaghosa went to the island of Laṅkā. "After the lapse of nine hundred and fifty-six years"—this has been written in the letter sent with a message by the monks of the island of Sīhala in the time of the king who built the city of Amara.

¹ *Cūlavamsa* (P.T.S.), p. 14, v. 176:

"*Asītiputtā tass'āsum sūrā viraṅgarūpino
asītiyā sāvakānaṃ nāmakā piyadassanā.*"

² Cf. *Dāṭhāvamsa* (B. C. Law Ed.), Chap. IV, vs. 10 ff.

Thus I will stop here and explain the Elder Buddhaghosa's rebirth and its reason. How?

[29] When the great Elders discussed: "Who is that person who will be able to render into the letters of the Māgadhi language the instruction of the canonical texts from the letters of the Sinhalese language?" and when they went to the Tāvatisa heaven and met the god named Ghosa, they, accompanied by Sakka, the lord of gods, requested him and caused him to take rebirth in the womb of the brahmin wife, Kesiya, of the brahmin named Kesa in the Ghosa village near the Bo-tree. He was named Ghosa (utterance) because of the fact that his birth took place at the time when the brahmins were muttering to one another, "Please eat, please drink",¹ and the like. When he was seven years old he became well-versed in the three Vedas.² Now, when he, while talking with an Elect about the teaching in the Vedas, had finished that talk, he asked about the Buddha's *mantra* known as the highest knowledge, namely, what are the good, bad or undetermined things? and the like. Then on hearing it he was willing to learn it, and when he had gone forth before that Elect, he studied daily the three Piṭakas with at least sixty thousand verses, and made an utterance. Even in a month he became well-versed in the three Piṭakas. After that, as he sat alone in seclusion he thought: "In the three Piṭakas expounded by the Buddha, who possesses the greater knowledge, I or my preceptor?" When his preceptor who was also his teacher had known the cause of it, he rebuked and instructed him. He being thrilled by deep emotion, paid homage begging his pardon. The preceptor-teacher said "Friend, you go to the island of Sīhala, and write in the letters of the Māgadhi language the three Piṭakas written in the letters of the Sinhalese language. If this be so, I will pardon you."³ And when Buddhaghosa had freed his father from the state of heresy and had taken on his head⁴ the word of his teacher, he went by boat to the island of Sīhala in order to write the three Piṭakas.

At that time when he had been voyaging for three days on the ocean, the Elder Buddhadatta was also coming by boat from the island of Sīhala, and when through the power of the

¹ Cf. *Buddhaghosuppatti* (Ed. Gray), p. 39.

² Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 247; B. C. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, pp. 12-13.

³ B. C. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 32; Law, *Buddhaghosa*, 14.

⁴ Respectfully.

gods, they had met each other on the way, they asked the reason and when each one knew it the Elder Buddhadatta said thus: "Friend, thinking the *Jinālamkāra* compiled by me, to be of little value, they did not give me a chance to translate and write the three Piṭakas. But you explain the three Piṭakas." So saying, he offered the Elder Buddhaghosa his own myrobalan fruit, the writing pen made of brass, and the sharp stone, given to him by Sakka, the lord of gods.

[30] Thus when these two Elders were talking to each other, the two boats moved themselves and went on their ways. And when the Elder Buddhaghosa reached the island of Sīhala, first of all he met the Elder Saṃghapāla and informed him of the reason thus: "I have come to render the three Piṭakas into the letters of the Māgadhi language." The monks of Sīhala, too, gave him a verse beginning with "Standing firmly on morality,"¹ and they dismissed him, saying: "Reviewing the three Piṭakas you explain the meaning of this verse."

On that very day, he, starting in the evening, wrote the *Visuddhimagga*, making the said verse the first and the foremost. When he had done and produced that work, the lord of gods, being willing to test the power of his knowledge, caused that book to disappear. Once again the Elder wrote it. As before, the lord of gods caused it to disappear.² Once again the Elder wrote it. Thus when he had made him do it three times, he showed the previous books also. And there was no difference between the three books even by a mere sentence; and when the Elder Saṃghapāla had satisfied himself about it, he gave him the three Piṭakas. Thus in the *Visuddhimagga* it has come down that the *Visuddhimagga* was written at the request of the Elder Saṃghapāla. But in the account given in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (the expression) "at the request of the Elder Saṃgharāja" has come down.

This is the brief account of Buddhaghosa's rebirth as handed down and shown in the Buddhaghosuppatti account

In the *Cūlavamsa*, however, it has come down thus:

"The Elder named Buddhaghosa who was born in a brahmin village near the great Bo-tree, became well-versed in the three *Vedas*. And in the different doctrines he was very skilful. As he desired to hold a debate with others, he was wandering about in the Jambudīpa, and reached a monastery and dwelt

¹ "Sīle patitthāya naro sapañño, cittaṃ paññaṃ ca bhāvayaṃ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu, so imaṃ vijāṭaye jāṭanti."

(*Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., I, p. 1.)

² Cf. *Saddhammasaṃgaha*, J.P.T.S., 1890, p. 53.

there as a guest. And in that monastery lived the Elder named Revata.¹ While the brahmin youth was talking with the Elder he asked questions with reference to the three *Vedas*. As he asked, so the Elder answered. But the young man could not explain the question asked by the Elder. Then the young man asked: "What is the name of this *mantra*, Reverend Sir?" He replied, [31] "'This is *Buddha-mantra*". He wished to learn it, and when he had been ordained before the Elder, he learnt the three *Piṭakas*. Within a short time he became well-versed in the three *Piṭakas*. He became famous by the name of Buddhaghosa, meaning 'one who has a voice like that of the Buddha'. And while Buddhaghosa was dwelling with the venerable Revata, he composed the book called the *Nāṇodaya* as well as the book, *Atthasālinī*. Thereafter he, being desirous of composing the *Paritta-aṭṭhakathā*, undertook it.² Then his teacher spoke thus:

"Friend, in the Jambudīpa only the text exists, but there is no commentary. The *Ācariyavāda* also remains divided. For this reason the commentary taken by the Elder Mahinda the great, the texts recited in the three Councils, and the narrative preached by the Elder Sāriputta and others, exist in the island of Sīhala. You go (there) and write them in the letters of the Māgadhi language."

Thus being dismissed when the Elder Buddhaghosa had arrived in the island of Sīhala and had entered the Great Monastery at Anurādhapura and had heard the *Theravāda* with the Sinhalese commentary before the Elder Saṃghapāla, he announced: "I will compose the commentary." And the monks of Sīhala, as said above, gave him a verse beginning with "Standing firmly on morality." And Buddhaghosa summarising the three *Piṭakas* together with the commentary, composed the *Visuddhimagga*. Exactly as said above, Sakka caused it to disappear and to be composed thrice. And when the Elder Saṃghapāla had satisfied himself, he gave (him) the three *Piṭakas*.

Although (the account of) Buddhaghosa's rebirth has come down in various ways in different books, yet one should not be confused in mind as to the description of his going to the island of Sīhala, his writing of the three *Piṭakas* and his preparation of the commentary. When the Elder Buddhaghosa had written the three *Piṭakas*, he returned to the Jambudīpa.

¹ *Saddhammasaṃgaha* J.P.T.S., 1890, pp. 51-52, about Revata who gave him ordination after he embraced Buddhism.

² Cf. *Cūḷavaṃsa* (P.T.S.), I, pp. 17-18; *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour), pp. 250-53

Thus after he had rendered the canon into the Pāli language, the Conqueror's wheel shone forth brilliantly in the island of Sīhala, like the midday sun, on account of the succession of teachers, disciples and their disciples. [32] With (the presence of) the stream-winners, once-returners, non-returners and *arahants*, numbering many crores, the island of Laṅkā looked very beautiful like the Tāvātimsa heaven with the Pārīchattaka tree in full blossom, three *yojanas* high, or like a great pond having lotuses with a hundred leaves, and so on. In different places, namely, roads, highways, shops, houses, gateways, bathing places, woods, mountain slopes, caves, temples, monasteries, halls and the like, there was no place where the fruits of the Paths had not been obtained; even after waiting a little when they were standing for alms, they obtained fruits of the Paths. Owing to the great number of persons realising the fruits of the Paths it had to be shown by stretching out one's finger: "This is an ordinary man, this is an ordinary man, this is an ordinary man." At one time, in the island of Sīhala there was no ordinary monk.

So indeed, it has been said in the *Vibhaṅga commentary*:¹ "Once there was no ordinary monk."

The womanfolk, they say, who used to husk the grain, could not get a chance for husking the grain, as they did not get the sunshine on account of the coming and going of those of great power and supernatural knowledge. When the novice Sumana had brought the right collar-bone (of the Buddha) to the island of Sīhala from the world of gods and had sprinkled drops of water all over the island of Laṅkā, three hundred *yojanas* in extent, so as to show its miracle and having made the island of Laṅkā like an open space round a *cetiya* used by the Blessed One, the people arriving by boat and seeing a cocoanut tree (springing up) from the water of the great ocean, worshipped the whole of the Island of Laṅkā. At least five hundred monks together with the Elder Ariṭṭha at once learnt the *Vinaya-piṭaka* in the presence of the Elder Mahinda the great. For these reasons the island of Laṅkā, when the Conqueror's wheel was established, got the name of excellent island. After the three Piṭakas had been established in the island of Sīhala through being written in books and when later on, in the time of the king named Coranāga, the whole island of Laṅkā was oppressed by the danger of famine, monks who knew the three Piṭakas went to the Jambudīpa.

¹ *VbhA.*, 383.

When those monks who had not come but had remained there, were oppressed by the danger of hunger, they tightened the *mucons membrane* of the stomach and placed their bellies against heaps of sand, they bore the three Piṭakas in mind.

In the time of king Kūṭa-Kaṇṇatissa,¹ however, when the fear of famine had subsided, the monks having returned from the Jambudīpa, together with the monks who had remained in the island of Sīhala, arranged the three Piṭakas in the great monastery, [33] making them equal and free from contradiction. And when they had arranged (them), they learnt (them) carefully in the island of Sīhala.

The Elder Buddhaghosa composed the commentaries thereon after rendering them into the Māgadhi language. Subsequently, and mostly thereon, they composed the commentaries, the sub-commentaries, the smaller commentaries, the sweet discourses, the books on essential traits, the books on the knotty words, and the minor books.

Again the religion was manifest like the sun in the sky.

Thereupon the Elder Buddhadatta composed the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary.

The teacher, the Elder Dhammapāla² composed the commentaries on the *Itivutta(ka)*, the *Udāna*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Thera-Therī (gāthā)*, the *Vimānavatthu*, the *Petavatthu*, and the *Netti*. And because of the fact that the teacher, the Elder Dhammapāla, lived at Padaratittha in the Daṃḍa country near the island of Sīhala, he must be included in the island of Sīhala.

The Elder named Mahānāma composed the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* commentary.³

The Elder named Upasena composed the *Mahāniddeśa* commentary.⁴

But the Elder Ananda composed the sub-commentary on the *Abhidhamma*. And this being the first among all sub-commentaries, became well-known as the *Mūlaṭīkā* (original sub-commentary).

The teacher, the Elder Dhammapāla, composed (also) these: The great sub-commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, the sub-commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* commentary, the sub-

¹ Cf. *Mahāv.*, XXXIV, 28 ff.

² B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, pp. 481 ff.; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 60.

³ At the request of his disciple Mahānāma-*Gandhavaṃsa*.—*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 70.

⁴ Called *Saddhammapajjotikā*, at the request of Thera named Deva.—*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 70.

commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya* commentary, and the sub-commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya* commentary.

The Elder Sāriputta, requested by king Parakkamabāhu, composed the *Vinaya* sub-commentary, called the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and also the sub-commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*.

The Elder Kassapa, a resident of the Damiḷa country (composed), the *Vinaya* sub-commentary, called the *Vimativinodanī*.

The smaller commentary, however, was the work of the teacher, the Elder Dhammapāla. And this is called the smaller commentary because of the fact that the meanings which are not clear in the *Mūlatīkā* have been made clear and well-explained (in it).

The minor commentary on the *Visuddhimagga* and the Sweet Discourse were composed by certain Elders. And this is called the Sweet Discourse because of the sweetness of its taste and because of the fact that the remaining meaning as well as the meanings which are not clear in the *Mūlatīkā*, have been made clear (in it) and that it has been combined with the *Mūlatīkā*.

But the Elder Kassapa¹ composed the *Mohavicchedanī*, a book on essential traits. While the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, the *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, and the *Vinayavinicchaya* were the works of the Elder Buddhadatta; the *Vinayasamṅgaha* of the Elder Sāriputta, the *Khuddasikkhā* of the Elder Dhammasiri [34] the *Paramatthavinicchaya*, the *Nāmarūpapariccheda* and the *Abhidhammatthasamṅgaha* of the Elder Anuruddha, the *Saccasaṅkhepa* of the Elder Dhammapāla, the *Khemā* of the Elder Khema, these are called books on essential traits because of the fact that they are to be characterised easily and have been well-explained in brief.

But among their commentaries, the old sub-commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasamṅgaha* was composed by the young Elder Vimalabuddhi, the old sub-commentary on the *Saccasaṅkhepa*, the *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, the *Khemā*, and the *Abhidhammāvatāra* by the Elder Vācissara-Mahāsāmi, and the old sub-commentary on the *Paramatthavinicchaya* by the Elder Mahābodhi.

The first sub-commentaries on the *Abhidhammatthasamṅgaha* and on the *Abhidhammāvatāra* were composed by the Elder Sumaṅgalasāmi; the new sub-commentary on the *Saccasaṅkhepa*

¹ He was also the author of the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and the *Vimativicchedanī*.—*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 70.

by the Elder Araññavāsī;¹ the new sub-commentary on the *Nāmarūpapariccheda* by the Elder Mahāsāmī; the new sub-commentary on the *Paramatthavinicchaya* by a certain Elder; the sub-commentary on the *Vinayavinicchaya* by the Elder Revata; the old commentary on the *Khuddasikkhā*² by the Elder Mahāyasa and the new sub-commentary on this book by the Elder Saṅgharakkhita.

The meaning of knotty words in the *Vinaya* called the *Vajirabuddhi* was composed by the Elder Vajirabuddhi; the books on the minor knotty words, on the medium knotty words, and on the big knotty words by the Elders who lived in the island of Sīhala. And they are called the meanings of knotty words because of the fact that without explaining word by word, they explain well just those (words) that are not clear.

But the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* was composed by the great Elder Moggallāna; the *Atthavyākhyāna* by the Elder Cūlabuddha; the *Vuttodaya*,³ the *Sambandhacintanā* and the *Subodhālaṃkāra* by the Elder Saṅgharakkhita; the *Vyākaraṇa* by the Elder Moggallāna; the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Cūlavamsa*, the *Dīpavamsa*, the *Thūpavamsa*, the *Bodhivamsa* and the *Dhātuvasa* by the Elders who lived in the island of Sīhala.

The *Dāṭhādhātuvasa* was composed by the Elder Dhammakitti. These are called the minor books because of the fact that what they say refers to what the original texts say.

Thus it should be understood that when the best of the Elders, Buddhaghosa and others, had made firm, according to their capability, and as much as they could, the religion of the canonical texts, being supported by many roots, branches, and forks, [35] it reached its full development, and when it had become strong like a great banyan tree, it endured for a long time.

This is about the establishment of the religion in the island of Sīhala since the writing of the books

But even these great Elders, when they had composed the commentaries and the rest according to their capability and as much as they could, came to the mouth of death.

¹ Or better 'by a *thera* who lived in a forest'.

² Cf. *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 61. A brief summary of the *Vinaya* rules is contained in the *sikkhās*—the *Khuddasikkhā* by Dhammasiri and the *Mūlasikkhā* by Mahāsāmī.

³ Exposition of metre, written by Saṅgharakkhita *thera*.—*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLVI, Pt. I (Col. G. E. Fryer).

And just as the moon, shining in this world and bringing about the welfare of beings, sets, so the great Elders, shining with the lustre of knowledge and bringing about the welfare of beings, came to death.

Here, in the history of the religion, ends the Second Chapter called the narration of the history of the religion in the island of Sīhala

In Memory of

U Mya Kyaing @ Walter L Eng Chye

donated by

wife Dāw Betty @ Tan Hui Cheng,

son Dr. Victor Paw Hoon Li and Dr. Tania Li

grandchildren Nicky-Simon & Allanah

of Halifax, Canada

CHAPTER III

The history of the religion in Suvannabhūmi

Now, according to the table of contents, the occasion arises to relate the account of the history of the religion in the country of Suvannabhūmi. Therefore I will begin the narration of the history of the religion in the country of Suvannabhūmi.¹

Here Suvannabhūmi is the name of one country among the three Rāmañña countries. The three Rāmañña countries are: Hamsāvati, Muttima (Martaban) and Suvannabhūmi. The entire Rāmañña country should be taken as one region. Beginning with (the conversion of) Tapussa and Bhallika² (who hailed from) the Uklāpa country,³ the religion was established in the Rāmañña country from the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Āsāḥī, when exactly seven weeks had elapsed since the Blessed One attained the highest wisdom.

This is the first founding of the religion in the Rāmañña country

Even before the time of attainment of the highest wisdom by the Blessed One, in the time of King Tissa in the town of Subhinna in Aparanta, one of his ministers had two sons, Tissa and Jaya. Feeling a thrill of emotion concerning a householder's state, they renounced the life of a householder and adopted the life of a sage on a mountain called Gajjagiri near the great ocean and lived there. At that time [36] when a knower of charms had made an intimacy with a female serpent and two eggs had been brought forth, that female serpent leaving them out of shame, went away. Then the Elder prince Tissa got them, and when he had divided them with his younger brother, each of them kept one with him. As time passed by, two men were born from those eggs. When they reached the age of ten, the young boy born from the younger

¹ Identical with Lower Burma (Pegu and Moulmein districts). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 10) it is called Suddhammanagara, that is, Thaton at the mouth of Sittaung river.

² Tapussa was a merchant of Ukkala and Bhallika was his friend. They were the first disciples of the Buddha having the *Buddha* and *Dhamma* as their refuges (*Devācikasaraṇa*), *Vinaya*, I, 3 ff.; *Anguttara* I, 26; *Jāt.* (Fausböll), I, 80 ff.; *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), p. 381; *Theragāthā Commy*, I, 48 ff.; *Anguttara Commy*, I., 207 ff.; *Ang.*, III, 450; *Divyāvadāna*, 393; *Mahāvastu*, III, 303.

³ Identified with modern Orissa (*Utkala*).

brother's egg died and was reborn as a prince named Gavampati in the city of Mithilā¹ in the middle country. When he was seven years old, having dedicated himself and taken ordination before the Blessed Buddha, he very shortly became an elect. But when the young boy born from the Elder brother's egg was twelve years old, Sakka, the lord of gods, arrived and when he had built a city called Sudhammapura² in the Rāmañña country, he caused (the boy) to reign there under the name of Sīharājā. In the stone inscription, however, he is called by the name of Sirimāsoka. And Thera Gavampati, wishing to see his own mother, started from the city of Mithilā. But then he knew by his divine insight that his mother had died; and after thinking, "Where has my mother been reborn now?", he knew: "She has been reborn in a country inhabited by a large number of hunters and fishermen". He thought: "If I do not go and instruct her, my mother may seek demerit leading to hell and be reborn in the four hells," and after taking permission of the Blessed One, he came to the Rāmañña country through the air. When he reached Sudhammapura in the Rāmañña country, he preached the doctrine to the inhabitants of the country together with his own brother Sīharājā and established them in the five precepts. Then Sīharājā said: "Reverend Sir, you are the most excellent being in the worlds." "O king, I am not the most excellent; there is my teacher named Gotama who is like the crest of all beings in the three existences. He now lives at Rājagaha in the middle country." He asked: "Reverend Sir, if this is so, are we worthy to see your teacher or not?" And when Thera Gavampati said "Yes, O king, you are worthy to see the Blessed One. Let me request him and come back", and having spoken (thus) he requested the Blessed One.

And in the eighth year after he had gained the highest wisdom, the Blessed One with many hundred monks came by air to Sudhammapura in the Rāmañña country. [37] It is said in the *Rājavamsa*³ that he came with five hundred monks. In the stone inscription, however, it is said (thus), "with as many as twenty thousand monks".

¹ Modern Tirhut, B. C. Law, *Mithilā in Ancient India; India Antiqua*, 1947, Kern Inst., Leyden, pp. 223 ff.; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 30-31.

² Thaton, Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 12.

³ A short chronicle of the kings written by Aggadhammālaṅkāra at the request of his protector Mahāpavaradhammarājālokādhipati (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 57).

And here, because only this much would be intended; that the Blessed One came with his retinue, not alone, so no confusion of mind should arise on account of the different views.

Now, when (the Buddha) had come and dwelt at the jewelled hall, he gave the essence of immortality to the inhabitants of the country together with their king and established them in the three refuges and five precepts.

Then the Blessed One gave the six hermits who came to see him six hair-relics to worship. After that, having worshipped them for thirty-seven years the Elder Gavampati according to the will-power of the Blessed One at the time of his attainment of the *parinibbāna* took thirty-three teeth from the funeral place and bringing them to Sudhammapura, and giving them to Sīharājā, he set up thirty-three shrines.

Thus, in precisely the eighth year since the Blessed One's *parinibbāna*, the Elder Gavampati established the religion at Sudhammapura in the Rāmañña country.

This is the second establishment of the religion in the Rāmañña country

Two hundred and thirty-five years after the Blessed One had attained the *parinibbāna*, the two Elders Soṇa and Uttara,¹ accompanied by a group of five monks born in smith families, came to that part of the Rāmañña country known as Suvanṇabhūmi, and founded the religion (there). And it has come down in the commentary that these Elders were the pupils of the Venerable Elder Tissa, Moggali's son.

Till then the religion stood firm on account of Tapussa and Bhallika and also the Elder Gavampati. Although the people did not altogether understand all of it, those who were believing at heart took faith in the religion according to their own wishes.

But subsequently when the Elders Soṇa and Uttara, at the very pressing behest of their teacher, had made efforts to establish the religion, [38] they did establish it. Therefore in the commentary (on the *Vinaya*) the expression, "Go to this country and establish the religion there," is used in a causative form as a command.

But at that time the king named Sirimāsoka reigned at Sudhammapura in the Suvanṇabhūmi country. And that

¹ Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), 12, Vs. 44 ff.

Sudhammapura stood on the top of the mount of Kelāsa,¹ with one half of it at the southern corner resting on the top of the mount and other half on the low level.

There almost all the houses were like the houses of persons who cook molasses. For this very reason they were also called Golamittika.

But as that city stood near the great ocean, a water-*yakkhinī* used to come frequently and eat the princes who were born in the palace.

On the very day of the arrival of the Elders Soṇa and Uttara, a son was born in the palace. And the water-*yakkhinī* thought: "I will eat him," and came there with five hundred *yakkhinīs*. When the people saw her they got frightened and shouted loudly. At that time the Elders built up a terrifying figure composed of man and lion having the two heads and bodies combined, but the head was that of a lion. On exhibiting it, they drove away that *yakkhinī* with her retinue. And the Elders provided a safeguard so that the *yakkhinī* might not come again. And they preached the *Brahmajālasutta*² to the people who came to that assembly. Sixty thousand (of them) were *stream-winners* and the like, bound for the beyond. Three and a half thousand boys of respectable families were initiated, while the girls of respectable families numbered two and a half thousand. One thousand and five hundred princes were initiated. And the rest of the people were established in the refuge. In this way, he established the religion there.

And it has been said in the commentary :

"When Soṇa and Uttara of great psychic power had gone to Suvāṇṇabhūmi and thrown out the demons, they preached the *Brahmajāla*."³

Thenceforward princes were called by the name of Soṇa and Uttara. [39] And on the head (of each) of the remaining youths they placed, so as to free them from the danger of demons, and after they had exhibited it, a figure of a man-lion which the Elders built up from palm-leaves and betel-pepper leaves. The people also made a stone figure of a man-lion and set it in a place near Sudhammapura. That still exists at the present day. Thus (two) hundred and thirty-five years after the Blessed One had attained the *parinibbāna*, when the Elders,

¹ It is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of *Mānas-sarovara* beyond Gangri and to the east of the Nīti Pass (N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 82-83).

² *Dīgha*, I, pp. 1-46.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 12, Vs. 51 ff.

Soṇa and Uttara, had come (to Suvannabhūmi), they helped the religion by establishing it there.

This is the third establishment of the religion in the Rāmañña country

Thereafter in the year one thousand and six hundred (of the Buddha era), the Rāmañña country, the place where the religion had come into existence for the three reasons already mentioned, was disturbed by three kinds of fear, namely, fear from village-plundering thieves, fear from a kind of burning fever, and fear from the adversaries of the religion. And at that time the religion became weak there, as when water is scanty lotuses growing in it become weak.

Even the monks there could not comply with (the Buddha's) teaching as they wished. In the time of the king Manohari,¹ otherwise known as Suriyakumāra, the religion became very weak.

In the year one hundred (thousand?) and sixty-one of the Conqueror's wheel, in the year four hundred and nineteen of the Kali age, the king named Anuruddha of the town of Arimaddana brought an Order of monks from there together with the Piṭakas. After that, in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine of the Conqueror's wheel, the great king Sirisaṃghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion in the island of Lankā. Six years after that, in the year five hundred and thirty-two (?) of the Kali age, the Elder named Uttarājīva became famous in the religion.

He was the pupil of the Elder Ariyavaṃsa,² a resident of the Rāmañña country. The Elder Ariyavaṃsa was the pupil of the Elder Mahākāla who lived in the town of Kappuṅga. The Elder Mahākāla was the pupil of the Elder Prāṇadassī who lived in the city of Sudhamma.

This has been told in order to explain the history of the Elders Uttarājīva and Chapada. When that Elder Prāṇadassī had obtained the ordinary psychic powers, he had always gone continuously early in the morning [40] to the Great Bo-tree near the little town of Uruvelā³ in the Magadha country, and when he had swept the great Bo-terrace and had come back

¹ He was also known as Manuha (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 34).

² See also *Gandhavaṃsa* (J.P.T.S., 1886), pp. 64-5, where various writings are attributed to him.

³ Uruvelā means a great sand bank (*mahāvelā*). It is situated on the banks of the River Nerañjarā near the Bo-tree at Bodh-Gayā, *Majjhima*, I, 166; *Vinaya*, I, 23 ff.; *Jat.*, I, 67 ff.

again, he walked for alms food in the city of Sudhamma. This was the Elder's constant habit.

And the significance (of it) is this: People who had gone to the Magadha country from the city of Sudhamma and who were carrying on trade at the little town of Uruvelā, saw that occurrence, and when they had come back, they related it to the inhabitants of the city of Sudhamma. Accordingly it is also to be known that at that time the Elder Uttarājīva, accompanied by the novice named Chapada, who had completed his twentieth year,¹ went to the island of Sīhala. And the monks who lived in the island of Sīhala, said: "We belong to the line of the Venerable Elder Mahinda, and you belong to the line of the Elders Soṇa and Uttara. So, we are of one line, of the same school", and they held the (formal) act of ordination for the novice Chapada. After that, when the Elder Uttarājīva had finished his act of worshipping the shrine and the like, he returned to the town of Arimaddana accompanied by the Order of monks.

Chapada, however, thought thus: "If I go to the Jambudīpa with my teacher, there will be a hindrance to my study of the sacred texts owing to troubles with my many kinsmen. So I shall stay in the very island of Sīhala, study the sacred texts and return later." Then, having asked permission of his teacher, he stayed in the very island of Sīhala. He stayed in the island of Sīhala until he had thoroughly studied the sacred texts in the tradition adopted by the Elders when he became desirous of going back again to the Jambudīpa. Then he thought thus: "If I go alone, without my teacher, and if I do not wish to carry out the (formal) acts of the Vinaya with the Order of monks who live in the Jambudīpa, in that case it will not be possible for me to carry out a (formal) act separately. So it is well that I should go together with the four Elders who are expert in the Piṭakas."

When he had thought thus, he went back by boat with these four Elders: Thera Sīvali, a resident of the village of Tāmalitti, Thera Tāmalinda, the son of the king of Kamboja,² Thera Ānanda, a resident of Kāñcīpura,³ and Thera Rāhula.⁴

¹ He was therefore of the minimum age prescribed to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, *Vinaya*, IV, 130.

² For identification, see B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 2-3.

³ Modern Conjeeveram in South India. It is also called Satyavrata Kṣetra (*J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp. 541-42). *Satiyaputta* of R.E. II has also been identified with it. B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 66; B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, I, pp. 79-80.

⁴ The account is based on the inscription of king Dhamma Zedi.

[41] And these Elders who were expert in the Piṭakas were able and powerful, and among them the Elder Rāhula in particular was the most powerful. When they had reached the town of Kusima, the time for spending the rainy season was drawing near, and being unable to come to their teacher in the town of Arimaddana, they spent the rainy season in the town of Kusima itself. The site of the monastery with its surrounding wall, where they spent the rainy season, exists up to this day in the southern part of the town of Kusima. At the end of the rainy season, however, when they had "invited" at a great "Invitation" these five Elders went to the town of Arimaddana.

And when the Elder Uttarājīva separated himself from the monks living in the town of Arimaddana, he carried out (formal) acts of an Order. And here it should be shown that although the Elder Uttarājīva and others returned from the island of Sīhala, lived in the town of Arimaddana, and helped the religion, yet they are mentioned in this connection because they were born in the Rāmañña country and formerly lived there.

And at that time when an old novice named Sāriputta, born in the village of Padipajeyya near the town of Daḷa, had gone to the town of Arimaddana and had taken his ordination in the presence of the Elder Ānanda, he studied the sacred texts thoroughly. He was learned, able and powerful. On hearing that matter, King Narapati-cañ-sū thought: "If he is perfectly endowed with bodily limbs and organs, I will appoint him as my teacher and help him." When the king thought thus, he sent royal officers to investigate. And when the king's officers discovered that the tip of his great toe was lacking, they informed the king of this matter. On hearing it the king thought: "If he is imperfect in his bodily limbs and organs, he is not fit to be placed in the position of the chief teacher," and he did not make him his chief teacher. He only favoured him with mere honour and hospitality. And once when (the king) had bestowed (on him) the distinction of '*Dhammavilāsa*' (lit., one who delights in *Dhamma*), he sent him to the Rāmañña country (with these words): "Please cleanse the religion and make it pure in the Rāmañña country."

[42] And when he arrived in the Rāmañña country he instructed many monks of the town of Daḷa in doctrine and discipline and helped the religion. And there the people of Rāmañña knew the disciples of the Elder Dhammavilāsa and also the disciples of these disciples as the group of monks from Sīhala. Thus this is the account of how the religion came to the Rāmañña country from the island of Sīhala with the help of

Dhammavilāsa, the disciple of the Elder Ananda who belonged to the island of Sīhala.

This is the fourth establishment of the religion in the Rāmañña country

And at that time when the Elders, Buddhavaṃsa and Mahānāga, the teachers of the chief queen in the town of Muttima (Martaban), had gone to the island of Sīhala, had again received their training before the monks who belonged to the school of those who resided in the Great Monastery, and when they had returned to the town of Muttima, they separated themselves from the monks living in the town of Muttima and helped the religion, carrying out (formal) acts of an Order. And with the help of these Elders the religion arrived again in the Rāmañña country from the island of Sīhala.

This is the fifth establishment of the religion in the Rāmañña country

And after that when the Elder named Medhaṃkara, the teacher of king Setibhinda's mother¹ in the town of Muttima (Martaban), had gone to the island of Sīhala, and had again received his training before the great Elders living in the forests in the island of Sīhala and had thoroughly studied the sacred texts and had stayed at the monastery that king Setibhinda's mother had built with gold and silver, with its top covered with lead, he helped the religion. He also composed the book called the *Lokadīpakasāra*.²

And later, when the Elder named Sevasuvaṇṇasobhana of the town of Muttima had gone to the island of Sīhala and had again received his training before the Elders who belonged to the school of those who resided in the Great Monastery, he came back to the town of Muttima itself. However, that Elder was just a dweller in the forest, expert in the *dhutaṅga*, practices,³ of few wishes, contented, scrupulous, conscientious, anxious for training, able and powerful.

¹ named Bhaddā.

² *Gandhavaṃsa*, J.P.T.S., 1886, pp. 64, 74; Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 35 and 36. It is written by Medhaṃkara in Burma dealing with hells and other worlds enumerating the actions by which human beings are reborn in one of the five conditions of life (Cf. *Pañcagatidīpana*, J.P.T.S., 1884).

³ They are 13 in number, according to the Hinayanists and 12 in number according to the Mahayanists (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 75; cf. *Vinaya*, V, 131, 193; *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., pp. 59 ff.; *Milinda*, Chap. V.

At the water-boundary ¹ set up at the lake called Kalambu in the island of Sīhala he was ordained by a body of more than five ² monks, having appointed as his preceptor the head of the Order named Vanaratana and having appointed the Elder Rāhulabhadda, the teacher of king Vijayabāhu, as his official teacher by means of a resolution.³

And that Elder returning again and living in the town of Muttima itself, helped the religion, having increased the (number of the) group. And with the help of these two Elders the religion came to the Rāmañña country from the island of Sīhala.

[43] *This is the sixth founding of the religion in the Rāmañña country*

After that, in the year two hundred and two of the religion, in the year eighty-one of the Kali age, King Dhammacetiya who received the name of Siriparamamahādhammarājā, reigned in the town of Haṃsāvatī,⁴ and protected righteously and justly, as his own progeny, the inhabitants of the country within the circles of Kusima, Haṃsāvatī and Muttima.

And skilled in the three Piṭakas and the four Vedas, grammar, prosody, figures of speech, and the like, trained in various arts and devoted to various languages, and endowed with the virtues of faith, morality and the like, that king was also the lord of an elephant as white as lotuses, jasmine and the autumn moon and believed exceedingly in the religion.

At one time he thought : "The religion of the Blessed One is, in fact, connected with the life of initiation and ordination, and the life of ordination is connected with the attainment of sites for boundaries, assemblies, and with motions and resolutions." And when he had thought thus, and had examined again and again, according to the letter and meaning, the *Sīmāvinicchaya*, its commentary the *Vinayasamṅgaha*, and its commentary the *Sīmālaṅkāra* and the *Sīmāsamṅgaha*,⁵ and

¹ On *sīmā* (boundary), see *Vinaya*, I, 106, 111.

² Ordination allowed by a minimum of five monks expert in *Vinaya* in all bordering districts (*Vinaya*, I, 197). In the middle districts a group of five was too few to confer ordination (*Vinaya*, I, 319).

³ *Kammavācā* or the text or word of an official act. These texts form some of the oldest literature and are embodied in the *Vinaya*, I, 317 ff. ; III, 174, 176; IV, 153, etc. (*P.T.S. Dictionary*, p. 18). *Kammavācā* is a compendium of ecclesiastical acts (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 9).

⁴ Modern Hanthawaddy.

⁵ It is also known as *Sīmālaṅkārasamṅgaha* written by Vācissara of Ceylon, Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 18; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 62.

had compared one with the other, and had examined the first with the last, and had found : "Such was the intention of the Blessed One, such was the intention of the authors," (he reflected). "Although there are also many boundaries in our Rāmañña country attached to rivers, oceans, lakes and so on, it is difficult to determine : 'Whether this is pure'." This being so, it is evident : "It is difficult for a boundary and an assembly to be completely pure."

Thereafter he consulted the Elders in the Rāmañña country who were expert, experienced and competent in the three Piṭakas and the Elders decided : "As was evident to the king, it is difficult for a boundary and an assembly to be completely pure". Then the king also thought thus : "Verily indeed, even although it has been said in the books : 'The religion of the most supreme Buddha will stand firm for five thousand years', there has been stain in the religion even as little as two thousand and sixty-four years after the enlightenment (of the Buddha) when doubt has arisen as to the ordination ceremonies. So how will the religion stand firm for five thousand years?" Thus, [44] evincing a thrill of emotion for the doctrine, he again thought thus : "So when so much stain is visible in the religion, and when doubt is visible as to the ordination ceremonies, it is improper that a person like myself should live inactive and indifferent without making an attempt for complete purity. This being so, it should not be said concerning me : 'I am faithful and believing in the Blessed One.' So I will exert myself to make the religion stainless."

As he was reflecting : "Now from where should I bring the religion and found it firmly?", he thought thus : "In the year two hundred and thirty-six since (the attainment of) the *parinibbāna* of the Blessed One, they say, the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta-Tissa sent the Venerable Elder Mahinda and founded the religion in the island of Sīhala. Then king Devānampiya-Tissa had the Great Monastery built and dedicated it. And the excellent religion stood for two hundred and eighty-one years without a stain. Even the Order of monks stood unitedly under the influence of the school of the dwellers of the Great Monastery. After that, it divided and became twofold: under the dwellers of the Abhayagiri (Monastery) and under the dwellers of the Jetavana (Monastery). When, in the year one thousand and seventy-eight of the Conqueror's wheel, the great king Sirisamghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu had supported the school of those who dwelt in the Great Monastery headed by the Elder Mahākassapa who resided at the

Kuṭambhayagiri (Monastery), he purified the two schools as already mentioned and made the religion stainless. After that, in the time of the two kings, Vijayabāhu and Parakamabāhu, the religion having become stainless, it remained like that." He thought : "So, having requested experienced and competent monks, I will make them undergo training again after they have gone to the island of Sīhala. And from these through a succession of monks handing on the (teaching), the teaching, being stainless, will stand firm in our Rāmañña country." And when he had thought thus, he requested the Elder Moggallāna and Elder Soma to go to the island of Sīhala.

And the Elders considering, "This is an act of service to the religion," agreed. And when the king had arranged for the articles of gift and representation for the purpose of worshipping the Order of monks and for the purpose of making the presents to king Bhuvanekabāhu, and had appointed these two ministers, namely, Citradūta and Rāmadūta as pilots in two boats, he let Citradūta go with the monks, headed by the Elder Moggallāna, by one boat on Sunday, [45] on the eleventh day from the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven of the Kali age. On the eighth day of the fortnight of the month of Phagguṇa, (they) set out for Kalambutittha in the island of Sīhala. But (the king) let Rāmadūta go with the monks headed by the Elder Soma, by the other boat on Tuesday, on the twelfth day from the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in that same year. Not getting a favourable wind (they), however, set out for Valligāma¹ in the island of Sīhala on the ninth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Caitra. Yet, after that, these two ministers presented to king Bhuvanekabāhu and the Order of monks the articles of presentation that were to be given and those had been brought in the two boats, as well as the letters containing the message.

And when in accordance with the letters containing the message (brought) by the monks sent by the king, they established that they were at the stage of novices, they carried out again a (formal) act of ordination at the water-boundary set up on the river named Kalyāṇī.

When they were ordained and king Bhuvanekabāhu had bestowed on the monks various kinds of suitable requisites,

¹ A village in South Ceylon where a *viḥāra* was built (*Cūlavamsa*, LXXX, 38).

he considered thus : "This material gift however will be enjoyed only until the end of their lives, but the gift of name will not age and he gave the name Sirisaṃghabodhi to the Elder Soma for his exertions in Rāmadūta's boat. But to the remaining ten Elders he gave the names Kittisirimeghasāmī, Parakkama-bāhusāmī, Buddhaghosasāmī, Sīhaladīpavisuddhasāmī, Guṇaratanadharasāmī, Jinālaṃkārasāmī, Ratanamālisāmī, Sattamatejasāmī and Bhuvanekabāhusāmī. He gave the name Dhammakittilokagarusāmī to the Elder Moggallāna, for his exertions in Citradūta's boat. But to the rest he gave the names Sirivanaratanasāmī, Maṅgalatherasāmī, Kalyāṇatissasāmī, Candagirisāmī, Siridantadhātusāmī, Vanavāsītissasāmī, Ratanālaṃkārasāmī, Mahādevasāmī, Udumbaragirisāmī and Cūlābhayatissasāmī. But he gave no name to the twenty-two novices who came later. He, however, gave all of them fresh training. After that, when they had worshipped the shrines and the like and had finished many duties, they again came back. [46] King Bhuvanekabāhu spoke thus to Citradūta : "I wish to give the king who is the lord of Rāma a present and send an envoy in return; wait till then." But when he had spoken thus, while it was returning the boat came to the midst of the great ocean in danger from a violent wind.

When they had assembled and embarked on the boat sent by the king of Sīhala, and had passed three days on their return journey, again from the danger of a violent wind (the boat), knocking against and foundering on a rock in a shallow place, they unable to proceed, prepared a raft, they went on foot. And when the king of Sīhala's messenger had given them the present, he returned. But six of the monks were carried away by death on the way. Alas! transient are created things!

And in this connection there runs the following :

"The work begun by them was not completed before they were carried away, although they had no desire for death."

"Merciless it is indeed. Taking by violence (a man's life) it goes its way against the wishes of weeping relatives."

And after those monks had arrived, the king, who was the lord of Rāma, had gone again and again through the (canonical) texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and the like in a village-field used by his minister named Narasūra in the western direction of the town Hamsāvatī and had examined them, he had (formal) acts carried out for the removal of a boundary and for the agreement on (another) boundary. Because the Blessed One while in the island of Sīhala had

formerly bathed in the river named Kalyāṇī, and because the monks received ordination there in the presence of the monks residing at the Great Monastery and who had set it up as a water boundary, he gave it the name 'Kalyāṇī boundary'.

Thus the king who was the lord of Rāma made the religion well-established with the help of the monks of Laṅkā who had arrived there. Since the year [47] eight hundred and thirty-eight of the Kali age up to the year eight hundred and forty-one there were in the tradition of those monks as many as eighty Elders who were the leaders of schools. But their disciples were fourteen thousand two hundred and twenty-six in number. In this way, the religion of the Blessed One became prosperous, advanced and fully developed.

This is the seventh ¹ founding of the religion in the Rāmañña country

But when the king named Anuruddha in the town of Arimaddana had conquered the city of Sudhamma with its king and had brought them to ruin, then the Rāmañña country was without a king. In the town of Muttima in the Rāmañña country there existed six schools, separated from each other, and belonging to various communions and various groups. The line of Soṇa and Uttara was one school, and the remaining were the lines of Sivali, Tāmalinda, Ānanda, Buddha, and Mahānāga. The religion established by king Dhammacetiya remained undivided. It was of the same communion and formed one group. The three countries of Rāmañña comprising Haṃsāvati, Muttima and Suvannabhūmi, also remained united with the Maramma country under the name of Sunāparanta. In earlier times also, they were the places under the command of the chief rulers of the Maramma country. Therefore some monks from the Maramma country having gone to the Rāmañña country, took their training again at the Kalyāṇī boundary. The religion established by king Dhammacetiya was extended over the entire Maramma country, entering into the heart of it.

It should be understood that there were *arahants* from the time when the religion of the Elders, Soṇa and Uttara, had been founded in the Rāmañña country down to the time of the king of Mahohari in the city of Sudhamma. But thereafter in the

¹ Text (P.T.S.) reads *pañcamam* (fifth).

time of the Elders, Uttarājīva, Ariyavaṃsa, Mahākāla and Prāṇadassī, there were only those who were attainers of super-normal powers through ordinary meditation. But nowadays even in the three countries of Rāmañña, only the religion founded by king Dhammacetiya exists. And here, having examined, by means of wisdom, the history of the religion by way of the connection between cause and effect and between beginning and end, [48] one should learn it so that the tradition may be continued¹ by the three methods shown from the very beginning.

It should be seen that this history of the religion has been narrated only for those who are conscientious, well-behaved and anxious for training and not for the unconscientious.

And in the succession of the Elders, the Elder Medhamkara, a resident of the town of Muttima, composed a book entitled the *Lokadīpakasāra*. On the other hand, Thera Ānanda, a resident of the town of Haṃsāvati, made an exposition on the Abhidhamma commentary, called the *Madhurasāratthadīpanī*.² The Elder Dhammabuddha, a resident of the same town of Haṃsāvati, made an exposition on metres called the *Kavisāra*. The Elder Saddhammālamkāra, a resident of the same town of Haṃsāvati, composed a book called the *Paṭṭhānasāratthadīpanī*.³ At that very place a certain Elder composed a book called the *Aphergusāra*.⁴ Thus being the dwelling place of the great Elders who were the authors of many kinds of books, the country plunged into the religion and became prosperous.

Here ends the Third Chapter in the History of the Religion, called the narration of the history of the religion in Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

¹ *Paveṇī ghaṭṭiyati*; cf. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, I, 46.

² It is also called *Madhusāratthadīpanī* written by Mahānāma. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 47.

³ Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 47.

⁴ Written by an unknown scholar at Haṃsāvati (capital of the kingdom of Pegu) dealing with Abhidhamma topics (Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 36 and also p. 36, f.n. 2).

CHAPTER IV

The history of the religion in the Yonaka country

And now I will speak about the advent of the religion in the Yonaka country.

When the Blessed One, the bringer of welfare to those who were ready to receive his teaching, had observed : 'My religion will stand firm for a long time in the Yonaka country', he, while constantly touring through the country with an Order of monks, went to the town named Labhuñja. Once when he had eaten a yellow myrobalan fruit given him by a hunter, the seed of the yellow myrobalan on being thrown away did not fall down on the earth but stood firmly in the air itself. On seeing it he smiled. Seeing (him smiling) the Elder Ānanda questioned him on that matter. He answered : 'In the future, Ānanda, a shrine over a relic of mine will be built in this place, and the religion will come to expansion.'

Because of the fact that it was the place where the Blessed One ate yellow myrobalan fruit, that country came to be known as Haribhuñja.¹ Because of the perfumed water placed there by two hermits, it was named Labhuñja in the language of the Yonakas. At that time a headman of a reaper's family, who was sitting there near a water-course, named Mapinnā, dedicated [49] his own son, aged seven years, to the Blessed One and had him ordained. By applying himself (to meditation) on the *Kammaṭṭhānas* (the boy) very soon obtained arahantship. And because it was the place where a novice who was seven years old had realised arahantship, this place is called Ca-naḥ-ma in the language of the Yonakas. For a long time it has been called Ya-maḥ-ma. —

From that very time the religion was founded in the Yonaka country.

This is the first founding of the religion in the Yonaka country

In the year two hundred and thirty-five of the religion, when the Elder Mahārakkhita had gone to the Yonaka country, he founded the religion in Kamboja, Khemāvara, Haribhuñja, Ayuddhaya and in various other countries.

¹ *Hari* is 'yellow myrobalan', *bhuñja* is 'eating'.

The teachers on the commentaries who have explained by taking all these countries together, speak of the 'Yonaka world' as a general term expressing the visible world. For this is the (common) practice of authors, namely, to make clear the difference between meanings by every possible method.

And when the venerable Elder Rakkhita accompanied by five monks had come to the Yonaka world from Pāṭaliputta by an air route, he delighted the Yonakas by (preaching) the *Kālakārāma Sutta*,¹ and adorned one hundred and seventy thousand beings with the fruits of the Paths. And before him ten thousand took their ordination. Thus he founded the religion there.

And it is likewise said in the commentary :

"Then that sage Mahārakkhita came to the Yonaka country, and by means of the *Kālakārāma Sutta* delighted those Yonakas." ²

Thenceforward the successions of their disciples were many, beyond reckoning.

This second founding of the Religion in the Yonaka country was due to the Venerable Elder Rakkhita and others.

In the year five hundred of the Conqueror's wheel, when the god Vissakamman had made a jewelled image of the Buddha in the town of Lakunna in the Yonaka country, he offered it to the Elder Nāgasena. And the Elder Nāgasena resolved : "Let a relic come and be set up in that image." [50] It is stated in the *Rājavaṃsa* ³ that through the very resolve seven relics came, and being set up there they displayed a miracle.

And that statement agrees with what has been said in the *Milindapañhā* : "Five hundred years after my *parinibbāna* these (relics) will arise," and also with the time-limit. During the time of King Milinda, exactly in the year five hundred of the Conqueror's wheel, the Conqueror's wheel was established and advanced in the Yonaka country with the help of the Elder Nāgasena.

This third founding of the religion in the Yonaka country was due to Thera Nāgasena

¹ *Āṅguttara*, II, 24 f. This episode is also mentioned at *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 67; *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 39; *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 114; *Dīpav.*, VIII, 9; *Kālakārāmasuttantakathāya*.

² *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 67.

³ Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 57 and 90; *Sāsanavamsa* (Bode) Intro., p. 12. This work contains only abrupt mention of wars and sieges and allusions to kings of Burma, etc.

In the year sixty-five of the Kali age, in the time of the king named Byaññā-co-ma-ṇa-ra who had gone away from the town of Labhuṇja and had built the town of Kyu-naḥ-ra, the Elder Kassapa accompanied by five Elders came from the middle country. Then that king built a monastery and dedicated it to them and one Elder came bringing the relics from the island of Sīhala. When (the king) had witnessed the miracle of the relics and was pleased, he deposited them in the Labhuṇja shrine. And owing to those Elders the history of the religion came to the Yonaka country.

This is the fourth founding of the religion in the Yonaka country

In the year seven hundred and sixty-two of the Kali age, when the chief ruler of the Cīna country¹ had conquered even the entire Yonaka country, it became agitated. At that time two Elders, the Venerable Elder Dhammagambhīra and the Venerable Elder Medhamkara, with many monks, went to the island of Sīhala from the Yonaka country. Being overpowered at that time by the danger of famine in the island of Sīhala they from there again went to the town of Sokkata in the Siyāma country.

After that they went to the city of Lakunna and again received their training before the monks who were supporters of the religion, conscientious and well-behaved. And those Elders founded the religion everywhere in the Siyāma and Yonaka countries.

This is the fifth founding of the religion in the Yonaka country with the help of the two Elders of Laṅkā who arrived there.

In the year eight hundred and twenty-five of the Kali age, when the wheel-turning king Sirisaddhamma, lord of the world, had made the Labhuṇja shrine bigger still [51] and had four monasteries built near it, he dedicated them to the Venerable Elder Medhamkara and Elder Sāriputta. Then just these two Elders having made the religion quite pure, founded it.

This is the sixth founding of the religion in the Yonaka country due to the Venerable Elders, Medhamkara and Sāriputta

¹ Modern China, *Milinda*, 121, 327, 359; *Apadāna*, II, 359; cf. *Vibh. A.*, 159 (*Cīnapaṭa*).

In the year nine hundred (?) and forty-three of the Kali age, when a king named Anekasetibhinda in the town of Hamsāvati had conquered the Yonaka country and had brought it under his own control and had given it to his eldest son, a prince named Anuruddha, for the purpose of enjoying the royalty, he let him go there with many ministers and reign as viceroy, and in order to purify the religion he sent with him the Elder Saddhammacakkasāmi. At the time of his conquering the Yonaka country, it is said that King Anekasetibhinda thought: "This is the first place where the religion was founded" and he did not capture the inhabitants of that country as war prisoners. And as said in the *Thera* traditions, when an Elder who lived in a forest near the town of Lakunna had said to the householders: "There in the town a person has died to-day in such and such a place," and when it had happened as was said, he became well-known as "This (man) has acquired supernormal faculties."

And in that very town there was an Elder named Mahāmaṅgala. At the time when King Anekasetibhinda was coming to fight, he, even from the first time he was summoned, spoke thus: "King Anekasetibhinda will summon me, he will send me a messenger born in an equal family." And because he was summoned in the manner already told, he became famous as—

- "This man has acquired supernormal faculties."

In that town, the Elder Nāṇavilāsa composed a book called the *Saṅkhyā-pakāsaka*.¹ But its sub-commentary was written by an Elder named Sirimaṅgala, a resident in the monastery of an Elder who had reached Laṅkā. On the other hand, an Elder named Uttarārāma, known as a forest-dweller, composed the *Visuddhimaggadīpanī*, the Elder Sirimaṅgala, the *Maṅgala-dīpanī*,² and another Elder the *Uppātasanti*. They say that having studied the *Uppātasanti*, he conquered the army of the king of Cīna. Thus in the Yonaka country, the religion of the conqueror was made pure and founded through the greatness of the Elders who were authors and possessed of supernormal faculties.

¹ At Ayuddha (Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 47).

² It is a commentary on the *Maṅgala Sutta* written by Sirimaṅgala of Laos (Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 411; Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 47).

[52] Thus it should be taken by way of the connection between cause and effect and of that between beginning and end, having continued the succession of the Elders by the three methods as said before.

Here ends the Fourth Chapter in the History of the Religion called the narration of the history of the religion in the Yonaka country

CHAPTER V

The history of the religion in the Vanavāsī country

Here I will relate the history of the religion in the town of Sirikhetta¹ in the Vanavāsī country.

In the year one hundred of the Conqueror's wheel, Jaṭila, Sakka, Nāga, Garuḷa, Kumbhaṇḍa, Caṇḍi and Paramīsvara—these seven built a city named Sirikhetta. A king named Dvattapoṇga² reigned there. It is said that he had three eyes. At that time at least three thousand disciples of the Blessed One who were *arahants* lived there. The king supported those *arahants* daily with the four (kinds of) requisites.³

And he had six shrines built, depositing the six bodily remains (of the Buddha) one in each one. But having deposited the right arm in one of the shrines he had built, he brought the turban-relic from the town of Kamāran and built one more shrine. But that was not finished until after king Anuruddha had taken it and brought it to the city of Arimaddana, and had deposited it in a shrine called Cañ-Khum. So it should be understood that the religion was founded (there) even before the arrival of the Elder Rakkhita. After that, the religion remained weak.

• *This is the first founding of the religion in the Vanavāsī country*

• But when the Elder Rakkhita, sent by the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa, had gone to the Vanavāsī country and stood in the air, by preaching the *Anamatagga* Discourse,⁴ he delighted the *Vanavāsikas*. At the end of his discourse, however, sixty thousand were converted to *Dhamma*, seventy thousand were ordained, and five hundred monasteries were erected. In this way, he founded the religion there.

So in the commentary, it is said⁵:

“When the Elder Rakkhita of psychic power had gone to Vanavāsī, he, standing in the air, preached there the *Anamataggiya* (*Sutta*).”

¹ It is Prome in Burma.

² Contemporary of Kālāsoka. He was the king of Burma in the year 100 of the religion. He was also known as Dwottabaung (Bode, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 4 and f.n. 1).

³ Alms food, robes, lodging and medicine.

⁴ *Samyutta*, II, 178 ff.; cf. *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 31 ff.

⁵ *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 67.

[53] Thus before the religion entered deep into the Vanavāsī country it stood firm but it did not yet stand firm all over it.

Here ends the second founding of the religion in the town of Sirikhetta in the Vanavāsī country

In the year four hundred and thirty-three of the Conqueror's wheel, a king named Kukkuṭasīsa reigned. In the time of that king there were at least five disciples of the Blessed One who were *arahants*. These too the king supported daily with the four (kinds of) requisites. The stream-winners, the once-returners and the non-returners were, however, beyond reckoning.

Here ends the third founding of the religion as handed down in succession in the town of Sirikhetta in the Vanavāsī country

Thus in the Vanavāsī country, the religion became like the full-moon and shone forth very brilliantly by reason of the many hundreds of Elders who were *arahants*.

But the Venerable Elders who composed the books on the religion were not seen there.

The ancients say :

“But the Elders who were *arahants* composed one religious treatise at the behest of kings.”

Likewise, “And when those Elders of great wisdom had upheld the religion, they like the setting sun, came to death.”

“So indeed a wise man should always do meritorious deeds until he comes to death. Let him not be careless at any time.”

Here ends the Fifth Chapter in the History of the Religion called the narration of the history of the religion in the Vanavāsī country.

CHAPTER VI

The history of the religion in the Aparanta country

And now I will relate the history of the religion in the Aparanta country in the Maramma circle.

In our Maramma country, they say, the religion stood firm from a time when there still remained more than twenty years after the Blessed One's life-time. This was due to two brothers, Cūlapuṇṇa¹ and Mahāpuṇṇa, who lived in a village of traders at Suppādakatittha. But not yet did it stand firm extending all over. [54] So for the sake of founding the religion again the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa sent forth the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country. When the Blessed One, however, had accepted the Red-Sandal-Monastery and had stayed there for seven weeks, he offered the flavour of *Dhamma* to the gods and men assembled there. And there was one (assembly) in each week. Eighty-four thousand beings were converted to the *Dhamma*. And as he was coming with five hundred who had taken faith in him, on the way he preached the doctrine to a sage named Saccabandha who lived on the Saccabandha mountain, and made him attain arahantship together with the six supernormal faculties. And in the village of traders he let the banker Isidinna and others taste the flavour of *Dhamma*.

Thus, in our Maramma circle owing to Saccabandha, Isidinna, Mahāpuṇṇa and others, the religion was founded.

This is the first founding of the religion in the Aparanta country in the Maramma circle

In the year two hundred and thirty-five after the Blessed One's *parinibbāna* when the Venerable Elder Moggaliputta Tissa had recited in the Third Council, he sent his pupil the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country to the Aparanta country together with four monks. And in our Maramma circle the Aparanta country is simply the name of the Sunāparanta country. But we have spoken of that meaning above.

And when the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country had come to the country of Aparanta, he converted

¹ Cf. *Majjhima Commentary*, I, 1016; *Samyutta Commentary*, III, 16.

the inhabitants of the country by (preaching) the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta*.¹ He made seventy thousand beings taste the flavour of *Dhamma*. And many inhabitants of the country took their ordination in the religion. Even from the royal family as many as one thousand took their ordination, while more than sixty thousand of the womenfolk were ordained. And this is not said of the womenfolk who took ordination on hearing the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta*. Yes, from the beginning and for a long time, it can be understood as said of women taking ordination after they have been converted to the religion. If (one asks) "Why?" (the answer will be) "Because it is fit for women to take their ordination in the presence of nuns. But because no nuns came with the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country, and so a long time passed by in this way, [55] it must be understood as said of those who took their ordination in the presence of the nuns who came later.

The illustration here is (taken) from the summoning by the Venerable Mahinda of the 'Therī Saṅghamittā at the time of queen Anulā's ordination in the Island of Ceylon.²

Thus owing to the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country, beings in the Aparanta country were greatly benefited.

So, (it is said) in the commentary :

"When Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country had entered Aparanta, he converted many people there by the *Aggikkhandhopama (Sutta)*." ³

Here this specific sense should be understood. How? The *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta* has truly been spoken regarding the behaviour of monks. It should be preached to monks only. The Elder also preached it there. Therefore, with the help of Punṇa, Saccabandha, and others the religion was founded in the Aparanta country just at the time when twenty years remained of the Blessed One's life, and as the monks were in this or that place the Elder who made them gather together, preached the *Aggikkhandhopama Sutta* in order to instruct them and make known the rules of pure conduct also to the monks who came later.

And this being so, the presence of the sham ascetics in the town of Arimaddana agrees with the story that will be told.

¹ *Āṅguttara*, IV, pp. 128 ff.; *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), XII, 34.

² *Mhv.*, XV, 18-19; *Dpv.*, XV, 73 ff.; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 90 ff.

³ *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 67.

This is the second founding of the religion in the Aparanta country in the Maramma circle

But when the Buddha, the Blessed One, had come to the Aparanta country at the request of the Elder Punṇa and had stayed in the Sandal Wood Monastery built by the merchants, he at one time went on his rounds through the Tambadīpa country with Ānanda as his junior recluse. When he had gone on his rounds and reached a place near the town of Arimaddana, he stood on the top of a mountain and predicted : “In future, Ānanda, a king named Sammuti will build a town, Arimaddana by name in this land. And in that town my religion, having expanded, will stand firm.” This matter is spoken of in the books of ancient knowledge.

[56] And when the Elder Dhammarakkhita of the Yonaka country had come to Aparanta, he went on his rounds through the Tambadīpa country and gave its inhabitants the flavour of *Dhamma* to taste. This matter is known from the commentary where it has been said : “Even from the Khattiya family one thousand men took their ordination.” At that time there was no Khattiya in the Aparanta country. Only the lord of the Tambadīpa country lived (there) ruling it. And as there were no Khattiyas how could there be the Khattiya families ? For this reason, it should be known : ‘One thousand men took their ordination from the Tambadīpa country.’

So here it fits in to narrate also the history of the religion of Tambadīpa. Therefore I will now relate the history of the religion of Tambadīpa.

In the town of Arimaddana in the Tambadīpa country in our Maramma circle, there reigned a ruler, king Sammuti by name. From that time until King Anuruddha, the sham ascetics (*samaṇa-kuttakā*), numbering thirty thousand, who lived in a country named Somati, walked about instructing their disciples, sixty thousand in number. The view of these sham ascetics was this :

“If one who makes onslaught on creatures mutters such and such a spell,¹ he would be free from that evil act. If any one kills his parents and should be anxious to be free from an action leading to hell, he should mutter such and such a spell. If he should be anxious to get his sons and daughters married, he should first offer (a gift) to his teachers and then perform the marriage ceremony. He who transgresses this rule of conduct, will produce much demerit.”

¹ *paritta* is charm, rune or spell.

With these and similar wrong views they each gave instruction to those who visited them. When king Anuruddha, conversant with ¹ merit, heard that matter, he did not approve of their view. This was their wrong view.

And at that time an Elder named Arahanta came to the town of Arimaddana and reformed the religion. This explanation of the Elder Arahanta is threefold as handed down in the *Rājavaṃsa*, *Parittanidāna* and *Sāsanapaveṇī*.

Here this is the explanation as handed down in the *Rājavaṃsa*. In the Sunāparanta and Tambadipa countries, the religion as a whole did not always stand firm. So [57] when the Venerable Elders thought : "We will found the religion in the way predicted by the Blessed One," and went to Sakka, the king of the gods, they requested him : "Give us a person who is able to help the religion." And when Sakka, the king of the gods, had requested a god in the *Tāvatiṃsa* abode, he made him take on reinstatement in the womb of a certain Brahman lady. At the time of delivery, ten months later, an Elder named Sīlabuddhi protected him, and when he came of age, ordained him. Becoming very skilled in the three Piṭakas, he attained arahantship. He became well-known by the name of Arahanta.

And when the Elder had reached the town of Arimaddana to make the religion of the Conqueror shine in the Maramma circle, he sat down in a forest not far from the town. Then Sakka, the king of the gods, chatting to a hunter showed him the Elder. Thereupon it occurred to the hunter : "This must be a non-human Yakkha. But if he were a human being, he must belong to the Milakkha class." And when he had thought thus, he brought (the Elder) to the town to show him to the king. And the Elder took the eight requisites and followed. And when the hunter had brought the Elder he showed him to the king.

On seeing him, the king thought : "This man is peaceful, he does not belong to the Milakkha class, in this man, methinks, there is the essential thing" and his mind blossoming like a lotus reaching the sunshine, and wishing to examine the Elder he said to him : "Please find a seat befitting you and sit down." And the Elder ascended the royal couch and sat down. And when the king had thought : "This man is sitting down on the best seat, surely he must be the best person," he asked : "Of whom are you a relative and whose disciple are you?"

¹ *paricitta* means known, familiar with, constantly practised; and so, accumulated, increased, augmented.

Where have you come from ?” And the Elder answered thus: “Whoever in the world is Blessed One, the supreme Buddha, endowed with nine virtues, I am his relative; it is the Blessed One who is my teacher; I have come from the place where the Order of monks lives.” And when the king was satisfied he said: “Will you preach a portion of the doctrine taught by your teacher?”

Just as the Appamāda-doctrine¹ was preached to His Majesty the king Dhammāsoka by the novice Nigrodha, so did the Elder preach the same Appamāda-doctrine. [58] And the king again said: “Where does the Supreme Buddha now live, and of what length is the doctrine preached by him, and how many are his disciples? Are there others like you or not?” “Our teacher, the supreme Buddha, has now attained the *parinibbāna*, there are only his relics now, and the doctrine preached by him extends up to the eighty-four thousand constituent parts of the *Dhamma*. In the city of Sudhamma, the three Piṭakas taken together are of three kinds. Besides myself, there is also a twofold Order, according to their absolute or conventional (knowledge).” On hearing this the king became even more pleased and spoke again: “Reverend Sir, in my personal experience there is no saviour excepting you. Consider me as a layworshipper from this day forth until my life’s end. I will accept your instruction reverently.”

• After that when (the king) had a monastery built in a place fit for forest solitude, he dedicated it. Moreover, he destroyed the view of the sham ascetics. And just as one on getting a golden dish, a golden bowl (does away with) an earthen bowl, so did he cause the view of the sham ascetics to be abandoned in the whole country.

And at that time, the sham ascetics, getting poor (gifts) bore a grudge against the Elder. And when those sham ascetics were in the forest without a supporter, they were like well-bred dogs without an owner and incurred physical and mental suffering.

And when the king knew this matter, he set a guard so that the sham ascetics should not overcome (the Elder). And making those sham ascetics wear white garments, he engaged them as armed soldiers in the king’s service. And when the Elder had initiated and ordained the people who had faith in the religion, he made the religion purified. And the king repented thinking: “In this country former kings reigned accepting

¹ *Appamādavagga*, 2nd Chapter of the *Dhammapada*,

the view of the sham ascetics. But if I could make them accept again their useless kingship, I would cause them to turn it into a useful one after removing the useless."

But the explanation as handed down in the *Paritta-nidāna* is thus :

It is said that when a monk residing in the town of Vijjāvāsī in the island of Sīhala had gone to the town of Upadvārāvātī, he studied the sacred texts. [59] After that, when he had gone to the city of Sudhamma, he (again) studied the sacred texts. And at that time he heard : "There is a book in a pāṭali-tree¹ in the town of Sirikhetta," and went to the town of Sirikhetta from the city of Sudhamma. When a hunter had seen the Elder on the way and thought : "This is a *yakkha*", he took him and showed him to King Anuruddha. Then the king asked the Elder : "Who are you?" "O king, I am a disciple of Gotama." Again the King asked : "Of what kind are the Three Jewels?" The Elder replied : "O King, the Buddha should be regarded as Mahosadha the wise, his Doctrine as Ummagga, his Order as the Videhan army." As it was thus explained with illustrations, the king asked again : "Are these disciples of Gotama?" "O King, these are not disciples of Gotama; on the contrary, these are sham ascetics, different from us." When this had been said, he thenceforth abandoned those sham ascetics and did not take them into account (even) as grass. He also destroyed with fire their book, obtained from a hole in a pāṭali-tree, at the very place where it was found. That place is well-known up till now as Aggijhāpanatala (lit. the ground where the destruction with fire took place).

And the Elder preached the *Vinānavatthu*² to the king. And the king being pleased brought (the Elder with him) at the time when he returned to the town of Arimaddana from the town of Sirikhetta. —

But the origin of the book obtained from the hole in the pāṭali-tree, is this:

One of those sham ascetics who was clever and resourceful, composed a book adapted to their own view and introduced it into the hole of the pāṭali-tree which comprised thirty-two very fine trunks and was in the town of Sirikhetta; again and again

¹ Trumpet flower tree, *Bignonia Suaveolens*. Cf. *Jāt.*, I, 41; *Milinda*, 338; *Dīgha*, II, 4.

² It is the sixth book of the *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Suttapīṭaka*. It has been edited by E. R. Gooneratne for P.T.S., London; Vide also B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*.

he moistened it with water and plastered it with mud ; when it had made new bark, he praised it. Then they raised an uproar, saying : “ We have seen in a dream that there is one essential book full of sense and words in the pāṭali-tree.” Having heard this, the king went to the town of Sirikhetta and cut the pāṭali-tree, and while he was searching he found that book. But the principles mentioned in the book were : “ According to the Sakavāda, the company of sham ascetics is similar to the disciples of Gotama. Even their practice leads to the path to heaven, and the like.” [60] And the king, being pleased, gave the sham ascetics many things that could be given.

It should be understood that after he had heard the sham ascetics speaking thus : “ On hearing the Elder preaching the doctrine (the king) destroyed (the book) with fire,” he went to the town of Sirikhetta, and on returning to the town of Arimaddana, brought the Elder (with him).

When he reached the town of Arimaddana and had a monastery built, called Jetavana, he dedicated (it to the Order). And the Elder lived there purifying the religion. The king would fetch water daily, while the chief queen having brought almsfood also daily, offered it (to him). If any doubt arose in him he asked him about this or that occasion for doubt.

But the explanation as handed down in the *Sāsanapaveṇī* is this :

• In the city of Sudhamma, an Elder named Anomadassī, possessed of high attainments, lived with the five hundred monks preserving the tradition of the Elders Soṇa and Uttara. But his chief disciple was Adhisīla, whose chief disciple was Prāṇadassī, whose chief disciple was Kāḷa, whose chief disciple was Arahanta, and whose chief disciple was Ariyavaṃsa.

And (now comes) this expression : ‘ who was this Venerable Elder Uttarājīva ? ’ This Elder was a son of the Rāmañña country, and a disciple of the Elder Ariyavaṃsa, while the Elder Ariyavaṃsa was a resident in the town of Kappuṅga, and a disciple of the Elder Mahākāḷa. But that he was a disciple of the Venerable Elder Prāṇadassī, a resident in the town of Sudhamma, does not tally with the statement in the Kalyāṇī Stone inscription. It should be understood that even if this be so, the meaning of what is intended here is not destroyed.

Thus although there appear various views of various teachers, yet the fact that the Elder Arahanta came to Arimaddana and established the religion there is alone sufficient here. It should not be undervalued.

For even in the opinion of all teachers, the meaning truly intended is this: When the Elder Arahanta had come to the town of Arimaddana, he founded the religion. [61] But it should be understood that the Elder Arahanta was well-known by his original name, Dhammadassī, and that a resident of the city of Sudhamma, he was a disciple of the Elder Sīlabuddhi.

And that the Elder even before the time of his ordination, was trained in the four Vedas. But when he took his ordination and learnt the three Piṭakas together with the commentary and went to the other shore,¹ everywhere he became famous. The people brought him to the town of Sokkataya² and honoured him. When he had stayed there for ten years and had again come to the city of Sudhamma, he adopted the life of a forester.

After that, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-one of the Conqueror's wheel, in the year three hundred and seventy-one of the Kali age, King Anuruddha ascended the throne. At that time in the town of Arimaddana the sham ascetics declared: "We are the disciples of Gotama," and they lived in groups each consisting of thirty. They say that there were at least one thousand groups. And when king Anuruddha heard about the chastity befitting household life and the like from those sham ascetics, he took faith. As the same thing was also handed down by tradition he did not discard it. But after he met the Elder named Arahanta, he stopped the regular practices of those sham ascetics, and took faith in the religion.

This is the third founding of the religion in the town of Arimaddana in the Tambadīpa country³ in the Maramma circle, with the help of the Elder named Arahanta

And at that time the Elder Arahanta said to king Anuruddha: "Of the three kinds of teaching, as long as there exists the study of the canon so long there remains the teaching on the rule of conduct; as long as there exists the teaching on the rule of conduct, so long there exists method of understanding. Just as in the absence of a milch-cow the continuity of the line

¹ *Pāram gantvā*, literally "having gone beyond to the (metaphysical). Further shore. But the expression is not used in its metaphysical sense here.

² It is included into the Yonaka country along with *Kapunna*, *Haribhuñja*, *Kamboja*, etc.

³ *Tambadīpa* includes the districts of Pagan, Ava, Panyā and Myenzain. It is described as the upper portion of the Thayet district on the east bank of the Irrawaddy river (*British Burma Gazetteer*, II, p. 746).

or the breed is not possible even although there be one hundred, one thousand cows; so when the learning of the sacred texts disappears, there can be no understanding, even although there be one hundred, one thousand monks practising the *dhutaṅgas*.¹ On the other hand, just as so long as the letters last which have been inscribed on a stone-slab so as to show that they are treasure-pots; [62] the treasure-pots will not be destroyed; even so when the sacred texts are known by heart, the religion will not disappear. When the banks of a big lake are strong, it should not be said that water will not stay there, and one should not say that lotuses will not arise where there is water. In the same way, when there are the three Piṭakas, the sayings of the Buddha, which are like the strong embankment, one should not say that there will be no sons of respectable families practising it; they are likened to the water. When there are such persons, one should not say that there will be no attainment (of Paths and Fruits); this is likened to the lotuses and water-lilies.

Thus only the knowledge of the sacred texts is absolutely the test. So when the two *Pātimokkhas* also exist the religion does not even disappear; when the knowledge of the sacred texts disappears, there is no understanding of the truth even by one who has followed rightly the path. It is only when it does not disappear that there is the understanding of the truth. As we have now no complete teachings of the sacred texts, and no bodily remains (of the Blessed One), therefore they should be brought after we have sent an envoy with a present there where there are the teachings of the sacred texts and the bodily remains (of the Blessed One). This being so, the religion of the Conqueror will stand firm for a long time in our country." "But if it be so, where shall we ask?" "King, in the city of Sudhamma in the Suvannabhūmi country, the three Piṭakas have been written thrice and fixed and there are bodily remains (of the Blessed One)."

The king accepted saying "Yes, Reverend Sir," prepared many presents, wrote a king's letter, and sent as an envoy one of his ministers who was endowed with the eight qualities.

The king Manohari, the lord of the city of Sudhamma, with a selfish mind, said: "It is not proper to send the three Piṭakas and the bodily remains to a place of false views like yours.

¹ A set of practices generally mentioned as 13 leading to the state of a *dhuta* or one who shakes off either evil dispositions (*kilesas*) or obstacles (*nīvaranas*) to spiritual progress. See *Vinaya*, V, 131, 193; *Milinda*, Chap. V; *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 59 ff.; *Majjhima*, I, 282.

The religion of the Supreme Buddha, the best of the three worlds, will stand firm in the place of those who have right views, as a maned lion-king remains only in golden bowl, not in an earthen-ware vessel."

When the envoy had come back they informed king Anuruddha of this matter. On hearing it, king Anuruddha became angry and he made a sound like *taṭ-taṭ* (in fury) like sesamum thrown into a hot frying-pan.

[63] Thereupon when the king had amassed an army consisting of eighty hundred thousand sailors of boats and of eight crores of soldiers for the river-route, and had amassed (another) army consisting of four great warrior-generals, eighty thousand elephants, ninety hundred thousand horses and eighty crores of soldiers for the land-route, he himself went to the city of Sudhamma to give battle.

On hearing of it, king Manohari became afraid and terrified and when he had prepared many soldiers of his own, stayed in the city of Sudhamma, opposing (him). Now, (king Anuruddha) in spite of his repeated attempts according to the designs as handed down in the *Athabbana-Veda* (*Atharvaveda*) could not come near the foot¹ of the city. Then the king asked the experts in the *Veda*: "Why are we not able to go near the foot of the city?" The experts in the *Veda* replied: "King, there is, we suppose, a site in the *Athabbana-Veda*." Then the king lying down on the earth lifted up a dead body and threw it away in the great ocean.

They say that when he had made a man eat an insect called *Jogyi* of the class of vermilion and had killed him and taken away his hands and feet and the bodily limbs and organs and had them cut and broken into pieces, he kept them buried in the earth round the city. Then he was able to come near the city.

And when king Anuruddha entered the city, he took king Manohari alive. When he had taken possession of the three Piṭakas together with the relics kept in a jewelled basket and worshipped as handed down by the tradition of the ancient kings in the city of Sudhamma, he brought (them) placing (them) on the back of thirty-two elephants belonging to king Manohari. But when he had reached the town of Arimaddana and had placed the relics in the jewelled basket, he kept them near his head on the jewelled throne in the royal bed chamber. And having also placed the three Piṭakas in a jewelled palace, he

¹ It really means near.

dedicated (them) to the Order of monks for the purpose of study and remembrance and so on.

There were, they say, at least one thousand noble ones studying the three Piṭakas that had been brought from there. In the stone inscriptions it is stated that after conquering the town of Sudhamma and bringing an Order of monks together with the Piṭakas, the founding of the religion took place in the year one thousand six hundred and one of the Conqueror's wheel [64] and in the year four hundred and sixteen of the Kali age. In the time of King Anuruddha as the Three Jewels reached perfection through the power of merit (the country) became known as Puṇṇagāma (lit. the perfect village). After a long time, due to the omission of the letter *ṇṇa* and the *niggahīta* (checked) form of the letter *ma*, it is expressed in the Maramma language as Pūgam. So it is said in the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and in the *Rājavaṃsa*.

King Anuruddha also sent four great warriors to the island of Sīhala and brought the three Piṭakas from there.

When the Elder Arahanta set in order the three Piṭakas brought from the city of Sudhamma and compared them with the three Piṭakas brought from the island of Sīhala, one with the other, he caused them to be examined. They were then found neither deficient nor abundant like the water of the *Jammu* (i.e., *Yamunā*) when compared with that of the Gaṅgā (Ganges). When he had produced other books with the help of the three Piṭakas, placing (them) in the chamber of the three Piṭakas, he paid homage, and also established them in different places.

He also placed king Manohari with his personal attendants in the country called *Mram-ka-pā*. And they say that when the king would open his mouth to speak in a conversation, a shining lustre would come out of his mouth. Every now and then he would come to king Anuruddha and respectfully show him honour, and so on. Then king Anuruddha became excited, terrified and afraid. So in order to make the king's lustre powerless when he worshipped with rice a shrine of the Buddha's image, taking it away he made king Manohari eat it. Then his power disappeared. King Manohari got frightened and made this prayer: "While going through the existences, I will not remain under the control of others until I attain *nibbāna*".

When he had sold to a merchant his own magic stone brought from the city of Sudhamma, with the five cart-loads of silver received as its price, he had two images of the Buddha made, one was a great Buddha-image in the sitting cross-legged

posture, and the other was in the *parinibbāna* posture. These exist up to this day.

[65] In this way, when King Anuruddha had brought the religion from the city of Sudhamma and the island of Sīhala he founded it in the town of Arimaddana.

This is the fourth founding of the religion in the town of Arimaddana in the Tambadīpa country in our Maramma circle with the help of king Anuruddha

And when the Elder Uttarājīva had learnt the religion from the line of Soṇa and Uttara and had come to the town of Arimaddana from the city of Sudhamma, he founded the religion (there).

This is the fifth founding of the religion in the town of Arimaddana in the Tambadīpa country in our Maramma circle with the help of the Elder Uttarājīva

At the time when the Elder Uttarājīva went to the island of Sīhala a novice named Chapada went with him, and he was ordained by the (monks) belonging to the island of Sīhala in the island of Sīhala itself. And when, after taking his ordination, the novice Chapada had studied the sacred texts and had stayed there for ten years, he came back to the town of Arimaddana. He brought with him the Elder Sivali, the Elder Tāmalinda, the Elder Ānanda and the Elder Rāhula. These Elders, however, were experts in the three Piṭakas, experienced and able. And this matter is explained in detail below.

On their arrival at the town of Arimaddana they did not perform the (formal) acts of the Vinaya together with the monks residing at Arimaddana, but lived separately. And king Narapati had very much faith in those Elders. He had a raft tied together in the river Erāvatī and the upasampadā ceremony performed there. After a long time the school became prosperous. King Narapati invited those Elders together with the Order and bestowed (on them) a great gift. At that time, on seeing a well-dressed and beautiful female dancer at a festival, the Elder Rāhula, enamoured (of her), and becoming stuck to the lime and mire of sensual pleasures like the monkey stuck to the (bird) lime, and like an elephant stuck in the mire, abstained from practising the religion and began to pursue the low life (of a householder). When he became incurable as one overpowered by a fatal disease, he did not act according to advice, although given to him by the other Elders.

Then the remaining Elders spoke to him thus: [66] "You should not, just for your own sake, bring disgrace also on all of us. Don't pursue the low life (of a householder) here. Go to the island of Mallāru and do as you like," and they sent him there. And the Elder Rāhula, taking a boat from Kusimatittha, came to the island of Mallāru. On his arrival at the island of Mallāru, the king of Mallāru, anxious to know the Vinaya, having studied the book, the *Khuddasikkhā*,¹ with its commentary² in his presence, gave him a gem of the size of one bowl. And when he had received it, he pursued the low life (of a householder).

And in this connection, there runs the following:

"A monk should, indeed, be very far from womenfolk. Womenfolk are indeed the enemies of monks here.

Leave us aside who are weak in wisdom; even those ancient sages Haritaca and so on, have come to ruin.

Therefore a wise monk should place no trust even in womenfolk; it is difficult to satisfy passion in the world."

And among the remaining Elders, the Elder named Chapada died first. Only the three Elders Sīvali, Tāmalinda and Ānanda, lived in the town of Arimaddana, making the religion firm by way of studying and remembering the sacred texts. And at one time the king gave one elephant to each of these three Elders. When the Elders Sīvali and Tāmalinda, had accepted them, they had them to be set free in the forest. But Elder Ānanda went to Kusimatittha and put it on a boat, saying: "Send this to the town of Kāñcīpura³ and give it to my relatives." When the Elders, Sīvali and Tāmalinda, were informed of this matter, they spoke to him thus: "Friend, we are setting the elephants free in the forest for their happiness, but you are doing a wrong thing." "Reverend Sirs, is it not right to support one's relatives? Was it not spoken of by the Blessed One to support relatives?" When the Elders answered: "If you will not do our bidding [67] then do as you please. We will not, however, live in communion with you," they lived separately.

¹ A mediaeval compendium of the Vinaya written in Ceylon, edited by E. Muller (*J.P.T.S.*, 1883). It is mostly in verse, a few passages being given in prose. The language is more modern than that of the *Mahāvamsa*. Its date is uncertain (B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, I, p. 79).

² Bode refers to commentaries on this text written by Revata and Saṃgharakkhita of Ceylon (*Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 24, f.n. 1).

³ Conjeeveram, the capital of Drāviḍa or Coḷa on the river Palar, 43 miles south-west of Madras (N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 88).

Thereafter two schools split off. After that, as time passed on, the Elder Tāmalinda, in order to favour his learned and clever disciples, gave a verbal intimation to householders saying, "This one is learned, this one very intelligent." "If it is done so," he thought, "the sons of the noble families will easily be able to do good to the religion." On hearing this matter Elder Sīvali spoke thus: "Why do you, initiating a verbal intimation, do the thing condemned by the Buddha?" "Only a verbal intimation for one's own sake was objected by the Blessed One. I, however, made the verbal intimation merely for the sake of others, not for my own sake; it is indeed for the prosperity of the religion that I am making such a verbal intimation." Thera Sīvali also said: "If you do not do my bidding, do whatever you please; but I will not live in communion with you." Thus he separated himself and lived with his own faction. Thereafter three schools were split off.

Thus, in the town of Arimaddana, there were the four schools: one was the line of the Elder Arahanta, one of the Elder Sīvali, one of the Elder Tāmalinda and one of the Elder Ānanda.

Because the first of these to come from the city of Sudhamma was the school of the Elder Arahanta, it was called the first school; while the others, because they came later, were called the later schools.

The Elder Sīvali having supported the religion in the city of Arimaddana as long as he lived, died in the year five hundred and ninety of the Kali age.

But the Elder Ānanda, having supported the religion in the city of Arimaddana, died in the year five hundred and ninety-six (of the Kali age).

The Elder Tāmalinda also, having supported the religion as long as he lived, died in the year five hundred and ninety-eight (of the Kali age).

O, the nature of constructed things!

Just as a hare stuck to the nave-circle of a boa-constrictor moves in the direction of its mouth, [68] so all things stuck to the wheel of death but moving on throughout their lives reach death's mouth.

In this way, in the city of Arimaddana, the religion of the Conqueror shines forth, as does the moon in the sky, because of the *arahants*, authors, and ordinary people.

When king Anuruddha brought the religion from the city of Sudhamma, there came at least six hundred thousand *arahants*, while the stream-winners, once-returners and non-returners were beyond reckoning.

Even at the time of the king named Chattaguhinda, eight *arahants* came to the king's house for alms from the Gandhamādana mountain¹ in the Himalayas. And when the king had taken a bowl and had offered them almsfood, he asked: "Now whence do you come here?" "From the Gandhamādana mountain in the Himalayas, king." The king being very much pleased asked them saying; "Please spend here the rainy season for three months," and having had a monastery built, he dedicated it (to them). For three months he invited them to his inner apartment and offered them almsfood.

At one time he prayed them thus: "Please build a cave resembling the Nandamūla cave in the Gandhamādana mountain and show me." And those *arahants* by means of their psychic power built a cave resembling the Nandamūla cave and showed him. The king also had a cave built resembling that cave. Since it was built on the model of the Nandamūla cave he gave it the name of Nandā also. In this way, at the time of king Chattaguhinda, when the *arahants* had come from the Nandamūla cave in the Gandhamādana mountain, they founded the religion.

It is difficult for those who are not ordained to know the nature of arahantship as it really is, because, when arahantship has been attained, there is an objection to exhibiting states of further men² or there is even no renunciation of a (mental) tendency. Although one is an *arahant*, he should not say, "I am an *arahant*" in front of those who have not been ordained. Even after attaining arahantship there are some who are not able to renounce a (mental) tendency. And here the story of the Elder Pilindavaccha illustrates the point.

Thus it is difficult to know the nature of arahantship in this world. So a monk, who was an attendant of the Elder Mahākassapa, [69] did not know about the arahantship of his own preceptor the Elder Mahākassapa although he lived near him.

As the Elder Mahākassapa, accompanied by a pupil, was going for alms to the village from a monastery in the forest, on the way that pupil, who was just going behind him with the bowl and other requisites, spoke thus: "Reverend Sir, I have

¹ It is a part of the Rudra Himalaya but according to the Epic writers it forms a part of the Kailāsa range (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 41).

² See *Pārājika*, IV (Vinaya III. 87 ff.) and *Book of the Discipline*, I, pp. xxiv f.

just heard that there is the well-known expression in the world: '*Arahants, Arahants*,'¹ (but) never have I seen them before." On hearing this the Elder turning round, looked at him and said; "Friend, one does not know arahantship, although walking behind an *arahant* and carrying the requisites."

In the town of Arimaddana also there were such *arahants* as Sīlabuddhi, Polloṅka, Sumedha and other Elders. When king Narapati who had gone to the Khaṇitthipāda mountain, had seen at the time of his return the gleam of a water-course on the way, he wanting to do merit here, thought: "Sakka, methinks, is showing (me)," and resolving: "I will have a shrine built," he had the ground levelled by the inhabitants of the country there.

Thereupon an Elder named Sīlabuddhi spoke thus: "O king, you had this ground prepared, thinking: 'I will do merit.' In doing so, you have acquired only demerit, not merit." So saying, he thought: "Let not many beings suffer," and in order to threaten the king with punishment he did not eat the almsfood given by the king. And the king said: "If you are not willing to eat the almsfood given by me, yet you cannot but take my almsfood when you are living in my kingdom. Even the almsfood offered by the inhabitants of the country is verily my property, so do you not indeed eat my almsfood?"

The Elder Sīlabuddhi also thought: "If I am in this position, I shall go to the island of Sīhala and live there," and he lived in the forest.

Now when a *yakkha* who had been a guard at a town gateway knew this matter, he, while the king was coming, sat with a frightful appearance, turning his face towards him. But he was unable to remove (the *yakkha*) although trying to drive him out with various charms.

[70] Then the king sent for an expert in the reading of signs and asked: "For what reason is this *yakkha* seated here?" He replied: "You, king, spoke disrespectfully in the past to the Elder Sīlabuddhi. We heard before that even the *yakkhas* were very much pleased with the Elder. For this reason the *yakkha* must be sitting showing a frightful appearance." The king also ordered his ministers: "Send for the Elder." The Elder did not come. He started, saying: "I will only go to the island of Sīhala." When the king heard about this matter, he sent for a minister named Caturaṅgapaccaya. He deputed him, saying: "You go and summon the Elder." And when

¹ Cf. *Samyutta*, IV, 252 "arahantship, arahantship."

Caturaṅgapaccaya had placed, through his skill, a golden image of the Buddha in a boat, he came to a landing place (on the shore) of the great ocean. When he reached the Elder he sent a messenger saying: "The Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, has now come here. Let the Elder Sīlabuddhi come in order to see the Blessed One, the supreme Buddha." As the Elder out of his respect for the Buddha, did not venture to disobey his words, "Let him come in order to see the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha", he came.

"Here is found the respect of the ancient Elders towards the Buddha. A wise man with believing heart should show respect towards the Buddha."

When the Elder had embarked on the boat, he paid homage, respect, honour, reverence and so on to the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha. While the Elder was paying homage, respect, honour, reverence and the like in this way, the boat speedily sailed off. Then Caturaṅgapaccaya spoke thus: "Reverend Sir, now it is proper to support the religion of your teacher, the Supreme Buddha." Surrounded by his ministers the king also went out to meet him. On the boat he took the Elder by his hand and led him to the king's house. As they reached the gate, the *yakkha* who was sitting on the ground paid homage to the Elder.

When the king had reached the palace he offered the Elder various kinds of food. And he spoke thus: "Reverend Sir, henceforth you are my teacher. We shall respectfully receive the instruction of the Blessed One and follow it." He dedicated to the Elder his own five sons. Those five [71] princes followed together with the Elder. The Elder summoning them went to the monastery. On the way he showed those princes five circles which he had drawn on suitable ground, and made them go back. After returning the princes informed the king of that matter. And the king said: "He has shown (them) so that you may perform a meritorious deed." So saying, he procured gold equal in weight to those princes; laying a foundation with that gold, he had separate images (of the Buddha) like the sandal image which Pasenadi,¹ king of Kosala, had built during the lifetime of the Blessed One.

Sakka acting as architect set up five shrines to serve as places in which to deposit them. And in this connection it should

¹ *Buddhistic Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, pp. 208 ff; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 126 ff.; Cf. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I., p. xlv.

be understood that formerly the princes were dedicated to the Elder by the king who had taken faith in him, and that the Elder gave such a sign as he wished to make the princes free again after giving the price to the Three Jewels.

And the Elder Sīlabuddhi should be regarded as one who was in the line of the Arahanta school.

In the town of Arimaddana itself, in the time of king Nara-pati, an Elder named Kassapa, while walking on his rounds through the country, arrived in the district called Polloṅka. Then two old men of Polloṅka who were very much pleased with the Elder gave their two sons as his attendants.

On account of his great satisfaction with the Polloṅka people the Elder was also known as Polloṅka-thera. And when that Elder wished to go to the island of Sīhala, Sakka the king of gods, created the figure of a tiger on his back and brought him to the shore of the great ocean. But on reaching the shore of the great ocean he would embark on a boat and cross (the ocean) with merchants.

But when it reached the middle of the great ocean that boat did not proceed. It stood motionless. Thereupon the merchants thought: "We think there is in our boat an unfortunate evil person." Having thought thus they issued a ticket. When it was in the hands of the Elder himself, the ticket fell down three times as a result of an action done previously by him. And this was the Elder's former deed. In his seventh existence since that birth, when the Elder had been born as the son of a family in a certain village, in order to tease a dog he took it down to a river, [72] and tired it out in the water. He brought the dog, thus exhausted, to the shore by taking hold of it by its thigh.

As a result of such action done previously the ticket fell down in the hands of the Elder. The merchants then threw (him) out on to the surface of water. Then Sakka, the king of gods, created the figure of a crocodile and placed it on his back and brought him. When the Elder had reached the island of the *yakkhas*, he made the blind *yakkhas* get their sight back through the power of compassion. And when the *yakkhas* knew the virtue of the Elder, they gave him two *yakkhas* who were brothers. And after the Elder had reached the island of Sīhala, he returned bringing a model of the great shrine, a model of the brazen palace, a bodily relic (of the Buddha), and seeds of the great Bo-tree.

And Elder Sumedha lived in the monastery called Dinna, in the eastern corner of Mutti village, in the southern direction

of the town called Halamka. But on account of the name of the place the Elder also became named Dinnavihāra.

And that Elder was one who wore rags taken from a dust heap, who was modest, amiable, anxious for training, meditative and an *arahant*. He used to go daily a distance of eight or nine *yojanas* and worship the Foot-shrine, and render service at the open space round the shrine. Coming thence he would walk for almsfood in Mutti village. This was the Elder's constant habit.

There are also many other matters. But we shall not speak in detail of all that could be spoken of out of respect for the book. For in speaking of everything this commentary on the history of the religion would be too much prolonged.

Here the intention is to present the Elders in succession since the *parinibbāna* of the Supreme Buddha until now. The accounts as related, have been told with a view to excluding, as being irrelevant, the knowledge of events concerning those persons who have attained supernormal faculties quite recently, and also to show the reasons that many persons had attained supernormal faculties for living in the town of Arimaddana.

And it has been said in the commentary on the *Bhikkhunī-Khandhaka*:

[73] "The doctrine which has been realised will last for five thousand years, namely, one thousand years through those who have attained analytical knowledge,¹ one thousand years through those who have obtained subtle vision, one thousand years through those who are non-returners, one thousand years through those who are once-returners, and one thousand years through those who are stream-winners."²

In the commentary on the *Dīgha-Nikāya* as well as in the commentary on the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, it has been said:

One thousand years through those who have attained analytical knowledge, one thousand years through those who have attained the six supernormal faculties, one thousand years through those who have attained the three kinds of knowledge, one thousand years through those who are well-versed in the *Pātimokkha*.³

¹ *Paṭisambhidā*—see *Points of Controversy* (P.T.S. tr. series), 377–82.

² *Samantapāsādikā*, VI, p. 1291 (P.T.S. Edn.).

³ It is one of the books of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* containing a list of offences which require confession and expiation. It is a register of sins containing 227 articles. The number of the *Pātimokkha* rules varies in different countries. It is of two parts: *Bhikkhupātimokkha* and *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha*. It is a code of Buddhist monastic laws (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I,

In the commentary on the *Anguttara-Nikaya*¹ as well as in the commentary on the *Vibhaṅga*, it has been said:

For one thousand years after the attainment of the *parinibbāna* by the Buddhas those having analytical knowledge are able to come into existence, after that those having the six supernormal faculties, but after that those possessed of the three kinds of knowledge are not able to be reborn. With the lapse of time, although these are unable to come into existence, there appear those of subtle vision. Just in this way they are called non-returners,² once-returners³ and stream-winners.⁴

As the commentaries have come down in various ways it should not be said that there cannot be noble persons now in this world. The conclusion to be arrived at here is: As there is even now the possibility of the field for the noble persons, if anybody begins to practise insight, he will surely be able to become a noble person. It should be noted however that what has been said in the commentaries is in accordance with the different views of the different Elders who were "repeaters" (of the various divisions of the scriptural texts). But even when a statement differs by this much the main body of the religion is not divided. Here it illustrates that the main body of the religion is not divided.

Thus, in the town of Arimaddana in the Maramma circle the religion shone forth through many hundred *arahants*. But more than nine hundred and thirty years after the *parinibbāna* of the Blessed One, in the time of king Mahānāma who reigned in the island of Sīhala as a contemporary of a king named Sañ-Lañ-krom⁵ in the Maramma country, many great Elders beginning with the Elders Buddhaghosa and Buddhaddatta wrote many books.

pp. 48 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 85-88; S. Beal, *Pātimokkham from the Chinese* and D. J. Gogerly from the Pali (*J.R.A.S.*, 1862); Nagai, *Comparaison du Bhikkhupātimokkha en chinois et en Pali*.

¹ Cf. *Monorathapūraṇī*, IV, 137 (P.T.S. Edn.).

² Anāgāmin, it is the third stage of sanctification, *Dīgha*, I, 156; II, 92; III, 107; *Majjhima*, II, 146; *Ang.*, I, 290; *Puggalapaññatti* (P.T.S.), 16; B. C. Law, *Designation of Human Types*, p. 24.

³ Sakadāgāmin, it is the second stage of sanctification, *Vinaya*, I, 293; *Dīgha*, I, 156; *Majjhima*, I, 34; *Samyutta*, III, 168; *Ang.*, I, 120; IV, 38; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, IV, 66; *Puggalapaññatti* (P.T.S.), p. 16; B. C. Law, *Designation of Human Types* (P.T.S.), p. 24.

⁴ *Sotāpatti* (Stream-attainer) it is the first stage of sanctification, *Vin.*, II, 93; *Sam.*, V, 357; *Puggalapaññatti*, p. 17, etc. Vide also B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 35; B. C. Law, *Designation of Human Types*, pp. 24 ff.

⁵ Also known as Theug-Lay-Gyung about 345 A.D. He ruled for 43 years (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 279).

After that for the sake of bringing and increasing happiness they wrote the sub-commentaries according to their recollection, concentration, wisdom and simplicity. [74] In the year one thousand six hundred and seventy of the Conqueror's wheel, when in the town of Arimaddana an Elder named Aggavaṃsa, who like the great fish named Ānanda in the great ocean, had reviewed the three Piṭakas together with their commentaries on account of his proficiency among the hearers in the science of grammar forming the basis of the three Piṭakas, wrote the book *Saddanīti*.¹ Even before the Elder Uttarājīva and others went to the island of Sīhala, there were three great Elders well-versed in the canonical texts in the city of Arimaddana: Aggapaṇḍita the great, his pupil Aggapaṇḍita the second, and his nephew Aggapaṇḍita the third. Aggapaṇḍita the third, however, was also known as Aggavaṃsa.

And at that time the fame that the people of the city of Arimaddana, who were well-posted in grammar, were many, spread as far as the island of Laṅkā. So those belonging to the island of Sīhala who knew grammar well being anxious to examine (it), went to the city of Arimaddana. Then the monks who lived in the city of Arimaddana showed (them) the book *Saddanīti*.²

And when those who belonged to the island of Sīhala had seen it and thought thus: "In the subject of grammar there is no book like this in the island of Sīhala, even the detailed analysis as contained in this book we did not know," they spoke highly in various ways. The account has not been lost up to this day.

When the Elder Saddhammajotipāla, known as Chapada, had gone to the island of Sīhala in the town of Arimaddana he, on account of his skill in the science of grammar, wrote the *Suttaniddesa*.³ And on account of his skill in the highest truth he wrote an excellent exposition called the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā*,⁴ and on account of his skill in the *Vinaya* he also wrote the *Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī*⁵ and the *Sīmālaṃkāra*.⁶

¹ Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, p. 636. It is regarded as a classic in Burma. It is a book on Pali grammar written by Aggavaṃsa (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 16 ff.).

² Vide *Saddanīti La Grammaire Palie d' Aggavaṃsa Texte établi par Helmer Smith*.

³ It is a work on grammar written by Saddhammajotipāla at the request of his pupil (Cf. *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 64, 74).

⁴ *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 64.

⁵ It explains difficult passages of the books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.

⁶ Written by Vācissara of Ceylon on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 62).

At the conclusion of the books written by him he is called by his original name of Saddhammajotipāla. But as he was born in the village of Chapada in Kusimanagara, he was known as Chapada after the name of the place. But in the town of Kukhana, there was also an Elder commonly known as Chapada. He was shameless and immoral. But some, on the mere pretext of the common name spoke against the Elder Chapada as shameless and immoral, whereas having come to Laṅkā he was really virtuous, conscientious, and anxious for training, just as on the mere pretext of the common name the Venerable Dabba¹ the Malla, (was spoken against) as one of bad conduct. At the time of the king named Alom-cañ-ñu in the town of Arimaddana, [75] there were two Elders well-versed in the canonical texts, the Elder Vimalabuddhi the senior and the Elder Vimalabuddhi the junior. Of these, the Elder Vimalabuddhi the senior wrote the book *Nyāsa* in praise of Kaccāyana.

But some say: It was written by the Elder Vimalabuddhi, an inhabitant of the island of Sīhala. The Elder Vimalabuddhi the junior wrote an old sub-commentary on the *Vuttodaya*.

Thera Saddhammañāṇa wrote the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī*,² while the Elder Vepulla wrote the *Vacanattajoti*. In the time of king Narapati one of his ministers wrote an old sub-commentary on the *Nyāsa*. On seeing a daughter who had been born to a lady belonging to the royal harem, he became attached to her and enamoured like the monkey stuck to the mud. When the king knew of this matter he spoke thus: "If you so desire, write a book of thorough knowledge and subtle meaning. If you are able to write such a book, you will have her." Then he wrote the old sub-commentary in praise of the *Nyāsa*.

After that he returned to secular life, and when the king had given him his daughter (in marriage), he appointed him to the post of his minister in charge of land-survey, which in the dialect of Maramma is called Saṃbyañ (Saṃ-pyam). But as it was written by him, the book also bore that name. Its commentary and description were written by the Elder Dhammasenāpati during the time of the king named Chattaguhinda. It is said, he wrote them while staying at the Nanda monastery, near the Nanda cave built by him. And at that time the *ara-*

¹ *Vinaya*, II, 124 ff.

² A commentary on the *Vuttodaya* which is one of the Pali works on metres. (Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 26.)

hants of the Gandhamādana mountain would come from the Nandamūla cave and pass the rainy season in that monastery. And as those books were written in front of them they should be accepted in essence by the wise, so the teachers say. The novice named Dhammadassi wrote the *Vācavācaka*.¹ The Elder named Saddhammasiri who was residing at a village near the Khañitthipāda mountain close to the town of Arimadana, wrote the *Saddatthabhedacintā*.² The Elder also turned into the Maramma language a Vedic text (*vedasattham*) called the *Brīhajā*. [76] The Elder Saddhammakitti, on the other hand, wrote the *Ekakkharakosa*.³

In the year eight hundred eighty-seven of the Kali age, the glory of the religion faded away in the entire Tambadīpa country through fear of the families called the Jalumas who were of false views. And many books were destroyed through fear of fire. In the sub-commentary it is said: Then on observing what had happened, feeling anxious, he thought: "If the doctrine of the canonical texts is lost, the doctrine regarding conduct will also be lost; the doctrine regarding conduct being lost, whence could there be the doctrine of realisation?" He (then) wrote this book.

The Elder Sāgara wrote the *Mukhamattasāra*.⁴

In the year five hundred eighty-one of the Kali age, there reigned a king named Kyacvā (*variant* Kyocvā) the son of the king named Jeyyasimkha, who was longing for *Paccekabuddha-hood*, having fallen into deep emotion on account of the death of one of his young sons. He took also the title *Dhammarājā*. He was called Kyaccā in the common usage (of the language) of Maramma as he had true knowledge of the three Piṭakas. They say that the king, since he was very skilful in the texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other books, thought thus: "Truly, there is no one able to hold even a discussion on the three Piṭakas", and being learned in the three Piṭakas, he made the Orders of monks recite the book seven times daily.

¹ A grammatical treatise written by Dhammadassī of Pagan (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

² A grammatical work (*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 62, 72).

³ It is a small work on Pali lexicography, a vocabulary of words of one letter. (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, pp. 634, 637; Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 45.)

⁴ A Pali grammar written at the request of king Kyacvā's preceptor (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 63, 67, 73; B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 636).

When he had had a tank dug near the foot of the Khaṇitthipāda mountain and had a king's palace built there, he would make them recite the book there. All the duties of the king he, however, assigned to his son, who was the viceroy. For the use of those in his harem, who were learning the book, he wrote in an abridged form the book called the *Saddabindu*¹ as well as the book called the *Paramatthabindu*.¹ For his heart delighted in the canonical texts. He did not even wish to pay attention to other duties of a king. When king Anuruddha had resolved: "If I should be a king in future, then let these palm-seeds sprout"—he planted them. At the time of this king they sprouted. So the inhabitants of the country recognised: "This is verily king Anuruddha." They say: King Sammuti, King Anuruddha, and King Kyacvā—these are in the same line.

[77] As handed down in the *Rājavaṃsa*, the king also built one shrine (but) it was not completed because he was engaged solely in the study of the canonical texts. According to popular opinion, having had the bricks made, on the very day that they were hard he had the ground levelled and also had all other things done that same day. So in the common usage (of the language) of Maramma it is known until today as the *Pra-staḥ* shrine. A daughter of the king wrote a book called the *Vibhatyattha*.² Formerly, they say, in the town of Arimaddana, the religion became very much advanced by way of study and culture. In the town of Arimaddana itself, a monk who was initiated in his old age entered the king's house, wishing to write a book with an instrument for writing on stone. The king asked: "Why have you come?" (The monk replied): "I have come wishing to write a book with an instrument for writing on stone." The king said: "For an old man like you, mastering a book (can only be) a great effort, nor do I even see a chance for anyone who is skilled in books. For if a club could grow, pushing out a sprout—if this were so, you could attain skill in books." After that having gone to a monastery and learnt writing to at least the measure of one tooth-stick a day, he learnt in the presence of his teacher the

¹ A grammatical work written by Kyacvā's preceptor. Some hold that it was written by Thera Nārada (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 636; Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 25, f. n. 4). According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (J.P.T.S., 1886, pp. 64, 73) it was written by king Kyacvā. Both are grammatical works.

² A little work on Pali grammar dealing mainly with cases, written by Kyacvā's daughter (Bode, *Pali Lit. of Burma*, p. 25; B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, p. 636).

books beginning with the *Kaccāyana*¹ and the *Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha*.²

When he had soon attained skill in books, having fastened a sprout of a *Jambu* tree to a club and holding it up, he entered the palace. Then the king asked him: "Why have you come?" "Oh king! I have come to show that this club is growing having pushed out a sprout." This being said, the king knew: "This man may say, 'I have attained skill in books'." In order to test whether it was true or false he sent him to the great Elders. The great Elders asked him about the hidden portions. And he answered everything that was asked. Then the monk spoke thus to the great Elders: "Reverend Sirs, you have asked me many things. I also wish to question you; please give me permission." When he had thus requested then he asked: "As in the expression, (in referring here to the word 'other'—the starting point) 'like the other mental properties' ³ as it stands in relation to the ablative of the word 'other', [78] please show the word separated in the ablative". As the Venerable Elders had not even considered it before, they were not able to answer quickly. When the king heard of that matter, being pleased, he appointed him to the position of his teacher under the name of Disāpāṃokkha. Although the monk was not an author, yet, like an author, he grew up in the religion, doing good to later mankind through giving instruction.

And in this connection, there runs the following:—

One should neither underestimate one's ability nor remain inactive, thinking: 'I am old and devoid of wisdom, I shall not be able to understand the doctrine contained in the canonical texts, although with much energy I shall try to learn it.' A man anxious to be skilful in the true doctrine should make an effort.

¹ It is the first Pali grammar (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, pp. 633 ff.).

² It has served for many centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it. (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, pp. 598 ff.; J.P.T.S., 1883; Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S.) Its authorship is ascribed to Anuruddha.

³ *Aññasamānacetasika*, that is to say, they are neither *kusala* nor *akusala* until combined with *kusala* or *akusala* elements of thought. See *Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha*, Ch. II and *Compendium*, p. 95, n. 4.

Though a monk, initiated in old age, was old and ignorant, he acquired skill in the doctrine; let hearers consider this.

Formerly, they say, in the town of Arimaddana, even women learnt a book, and usually they supported the teaching of the canonical texts through learning and remembrance. When the women met each other they would ask: "How much of the book have you learnt, how much of the book do you recite?" A woman, they say, asked another woman: "How much of the book do you recite now?" "But now as I have to attend to my young sons, I am troubled and cannot recite much of the book. In the entire great *Paṭṭhāna*,¹ however, only the threefold classification of moral state do I recite," she added.

This too is a story about the learning of the canonical texts by women residing in the town of Arimaddana.

When a young girl, twelve years old, saw a monk walking for almsfood, she asked: "What is your name, reverend sir?" "My name is Khemā." "How is it, reverend sir, that although you are a man, you have a name in the feminine gender?" she enquired.

[79] Then when the mother had heard as she was sitting inside the house, she said to her daughter: "Don't you know the characteristic of the word *rājā* and the like?" "Yes, I know; but this word *Khema* does not belong to the class of *rājā* and the like." Then the mother said thus: "But this word *Khema* belongs partly to the class of *rājā* and the like."

Here the intention of the daughter, however, is this: The word *rājā*, etc., never occurs as *rājo* with the suffix through the accusative case. The expression "*vinā devarājo*", etc., is a compound word. But the word *Khema* through the change of gender occurs in different forms, sometimes as *Khemo* and sometimes as *Khemam*. Therefore it should be understood that the word *Khema* does not belong to the class of *rājā* and the like.

But the intention of the mother is this: The word *Khema* is threefold in respect of gender because of the characteristic of its name. But when on the authority of the word *saññā* it occurs as *Khemā* with the suffix *ā* through the accusative case, then the word *Khema* partly belongs to the class of *rājā*, etc.

¹ It is the last book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.. It is known as the book of causes. It is also known as the *Jñānaprasthāna* of the Sarvāstivāda school. Buddhaghosa offers three alternative meanings of the word *paṭṭhāna*—*paṭṭhāna* means *paccaya* (cause) or something analysed or an established procedure (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I, pp. 334-335).

Here runs a story. It is said that in the town of Arimaddana, a landlord had a son and two daughters. And at one time because he was perspiring badly, he bathed on the upper terrace of his house, and sat down there. Now a maid-servant who was doing some work standing on the lower floor of the house looked at the private parts of the landlord's body. When the landlord knew this, he composed a sentence, '*Sā kham olokesi*', and showing it to his son, he said: "Construe its meaning." Then the son construed the meaning thus: "*Sā kham* means the branch of a tree; *olokesi* means looked upwards". Afterwards he showed it to one of his daughters, and said: "Construe its meaning." She also construed the meaning thus: "*Sā* means a dog, *Kham* means at the sky; *olokesi* means looked upwards." Afterwards he showed it to his other daughter, and said: "Construe its meaning." She also construed the meaning thus: "*Sā* means a woman, *Kham* means at the male organ; *olokesi* means looked with her face turned upwards."

Here is another story. It is said that a novice who lived at Ratanapura,¹ heard: "In the town of Arimaddana even the women are very learned in the science of grammar," and thinking: "I will go there and find out," he went to the town of Arimaddana. Now, he saw on the way near the town of Arimaddana a young woman sitting and guarding the cotton stuff. Then the novice [80] went to her to ask about the way. The young woman then asked the novice: "Where do you come from?" The novice replied: "I am coming from Ratanapura." Being asked: "Where are you going?" he replied: "I am going to the town of Arimaddana." Then the young woman spoke thus: "Reverend Sir, you are speaking without considering the distinction of word-relation. You are speaking applying the word denoting the name in place of '*Amha*.' Should not the word of a learned man be full of sense, and as clear in the science of grammar as the full moon?" Then the novice thought: "Even the wretched young woman who guards the field and goods is also learned in the science of grammar. How much more would not be the aged women in possession of riches?" and feeling shy, he turned away from that place and returned.

¹ Identified with Ava, situated at the confluence of the Irawaddy and Myit-nge, built by the Burmese prince named Sativa (Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 63-64). According to some it was founded by Thadominbya in 1364.

This is the founding of the religion, through the succession of Elders, in the town of Arimaddana in the Tambadīpa country in the Maramma circle

Now I will narrate the history of the religion in the city of *Ketumatī* in the *Jeyyavaddhana*¹ (*Jayavaddhana*) country in the Maramma circle.

In the year eight hundred seventy-two of the Kali age, a king named *Mahāsiriyejyasūra* reigned in the town of *Ketumatī* in the *Jeyyavaddhana* country. He extended his kingdom with the help of a very clever elephant named *Devanāga*. Now, during the reign of that king, in the year eight hundred ninety-two of the Kali age, an Elder named *Mahāparakkama* came by boat from the island of *Sīhala* and reached the town called *Ketumatī*. And when the king had a great monastery built in the southern direction of the town of *Dvārāvati*,² he dedicated it to him and also a daily meal. And when he had determined boundary for that monastery, he had a bronze Buddha-image made of the same weight as himself on that boundary. And that Buddha-image became well-known everywhere as the Light of *Laṅkā*.

During the reign of that king there arose a quarrel on account of precept about (drinking) liquor and spirits.³ How? Some who through distortion had taken the sense of the expression: "From seed onward means from the time of pouring it into a vessel after the necessary ingredients are got ready, [81] the juice of a flower of a palmyra tree, a cocoanut tree, and the like should not be drunk from the time of its dripping down fresh from the flower" as said in the sub-commentary on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*⁴ and the like—these held (the view): "It is not proper to drink the juice of the palm, cocoanut and the like from the time of its dripping down fresh." Some however held thus: "It is proper to drink the juice of the palm, cocoanut and the like at the time of its dripping down fresh."

Here the intention of the teachers of the former side was this: From seed onward means here that it should not be drunk from the time of pouring it into a vessel after the neces-

¹ The Pali name for the Burmese city of Taungu (Bode, *Pali Lit. of Burma*, p. 45; *Indian Antiquary*, XXII, p. 4).

² It is known as Siam in Burmese (Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 32). Some identify it with Bangkok (Bode, *Sāsanav.*, p. 6).

³ *Pācittiya*, 51 (*Vinaya*, IV, 108 ff.); *Jātaka* No. 81.

⁴ It is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. (B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 409). The *Gandhavaṃsa* mentions a *ṭikā* on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* named *Vinayatthamañjūsā* written by *Buddhanāga* (p. 61).

sary ingredients are got ready nor should it be drunk from the time that the juice of a flower of a palmyra tree, cocoanut tree and the like is dripping down fresh.

But the intention of the teachers on the opposite side was this: From seed onward means here that it should not be drunk from the time of pouring it into a vessel after the necessary ingredients are got ready; nor should the juice of a flower of the palmyra tree, the cocoanut tree and the like, got ready with its requisite ingredients, be drunk from the time of its dripping down fresh from the flower.

Sitting in the midst of those who were thus quarrelling about whether or not it is proper to drink the juice of the palmyra, cocoanut and the like since the time it is dripping down fresh, the Elder Mahāparakkama who had arrived at Lankā, decided: "It is proper to drink it when it is in such a condition." He also wrote a book called the *Surāvinicchaya*.¹ Thus under the patronage of the king named Mahāsiriyejjasūra, who built the town of Ketumatī, the religion stood firmly in Ketumatī.

This is the founding of the religion in the town of Ketumatī in the Maramma circle

Now I will narrate the history of the religion in Khandhapura in the Tambadipa country in the Maramma circle.

In the year six hundred and sixty-four of the Kali age when three brothers had left the kingdom of a king named Kittitara, they reigned in the town of Khandhapura. Then the only son of the king named Kittitara having entreated the overlord of the Cīna country, stood surrounding the town of Khandhapura with a large number of troops. Now (the three brothers) sent for a great Elder well versed in the three Piṭakas, and consulted him. The Elder spoke thus: "It is not permissible for recluses to consider this action as it depends on (the law of) the land. I am a mere recluse, please consult the dancers." Then they sent for the dancers and consulted them. But dancers [82] sported in the water singing the song:

"If there is no cause, if this be so, there could be no result. If there is no dirt flies would not gather together."

And then on hearing it, those three brothers thought: "We shall take the king named Kittitara from prison and kill him

¹ Decisions concerning intoxicants. Another book bearing the same title was written by Nāṇavara (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 46 and 67).

and be placed on the throne;" they showed his head (saying): "You go away, this is his head, he has now gone to the other world." Then the armies of the Cīna country¹ turned back and went away with the words: "Now there is none belonging to the royal family, so we do not like to fight. The man whom we thought of placing on the throne, for whom we came, is now no more."

And because that Elder spoke only this much: "Take advice from the dancers," he was not free from monkhood—this should be understood.

And this has been said:

"The text and the injunction in the second and third instances as well as the injunction in the remaining cases—these two are not allowable."

In Khandhapura in the town of Arimaddana, there lived many Elders who belonged to Arahanta's line, Chapada's line and Ānanda's line. But there was no book written by them.

This is the founding of the religion in Khandhapura

Now, I will narrate the history of the religion in Vijayapura in the Tambadīpa country in the Maramma circle.

In the year six hundred seventy-four of the Kali age, a king named Sīhasūra built Vijayapura. Later on, after the lapse of two years when he had acquired a great white elephant in the Camuṃ river, his name became well-known as Ekasetibhinda.²

During the time of that king there were not many virtuous, modest and well-behaved monks in Vijayapura. There only remained sham ascetics who in the time of king Anuruddha, from fear of the king, had kept themselves hidden from the town of Arimaddana. Later just at the time of the arrival of the Elders, Cūḷa, Arahanta, and Dibbacakkhu, the modest and well-behaved monks became powerful and made their party prosper. And the king, taking the Elder Dibbacakkhu [83] into the interior of his palace, daily offered him almsfood. When he had received the seven relics worshipped by king Anuruddha, having placed them in a betel-casket, he deposited five of them in the Caṇaḥ-khum shrine, while the remaining two relics he presented to his minister named Puñña for the purpose of worship. And that minister deposited them in the Puñña

¹ Cf. *Milinda*, pp. 121, 327, 331, 359; *Apadāna*, p. 359.

² Lord of one white elephant.

shrine in Jeyyapura. And at that time, they say, the sham ascetics, like householders, waited upon the king and his ministers.

In the year six hundred eighty-four of the Kali age, a king named Ujana (1243 A.D.), the eldest son of king Sīhasūra, reigned. But he had seventy-seven monasteries built, made of Campaka-wood, in the country called Avapamkyoh. In the year seven hundred and two these monasteries reached completion. Of these monasteries the monastery of meditation,¹ known as Campaka, he dedicated to the Elder Sudhammamahāsāmī, the son of a minister. It should be understood that the Elder belonged to the line of the Elder Arahanta in the town of Arimaddana. To the Elder Guṇārāma who could recite the entire *Vinayaṭṭakā*, he dedicated the residential monastery known as Jetavana. But that Elder belonged to the line of the Elder Ānanda in the town of Arimaddana itself. He dedicated the residential monastery, called Kulavihāra, to the Elder named Ādiccaramsi. He also belonged to the line of the Elder Ānanda himself. The residential monastery,² known as the golden monastery, he dedicated to the Elder named Sudhammālankāra. He also belonged to the line of the Elder Ānanda. The residential monastery known as Nīcageha, he dedicated to the Elder named Varapatta. He was the pupil of the Elder Sudhammamahāsāmī. The residential monastery, known as Dakkhiṇakoṭi, he dedicated to the Elder named Siripuñṇavāsi. He too was the pupil of the Elder Sudhammamahāsāmī. The king having taken the great Bo-tree in his own hand, planted it near those monasteries. [84] For sustaining these monasteries he also gave many fields and lands with families who were caretakers of parks.

As those Elders were in the line of the monks of Sudhampura and Arimaddanapura, it is to be understood that they were modest and of good behaviour. For this reason the religion was to be regarded as exceedingly pure in Vijayapura.

The successions of their disciples also numbered many thousands. Thus among the monks who were indeed modest and well-behaved, there appeared some disciples, who, like Assaji and Punabbasuka of Kīṭāgiri, were shameless and of bad character, as does a bitter fruit on a sweet mango tree. Indeed they indulged in many wrong practices. This is to show their first origin.

¹ *Padhānavihāra* may mean the main building or a place to meditate in.

² *Parivāravihāra* is a smaller building or one under the supervision of another Elder.

The king then gave many fields and lands for support of those monasteries. In order to look after the taxes on those fields and lands the Thera Sudhammamahāsāmi placed some monks in charge of protection. The monks in charge of protection, however, had the cultivators instructed in conformity with the law of usage, and also made them accept the shares of the owners of the fields and lands. And at that time the monks quarrelled on account of the fields and lands. Then on hearing the quarrel, one Elder who was an upholder of the teaching and two Elders who were nobly exerting themselves, departed from there. Having departed, the Elder who was the upholder of the teaching, lived on the Khaṇitthipāda mountain. And the two Elders who were nobly exerting themselves, lived in a cave of the Ca-kri-naḥ mountain. Their dwelling place is well-known as the place of Parakkama up to this day. But those Elders were called those who walked alone. But the remaining monks were called village-dwellers who walked with many. From that time onwards there were separate groups (of monks): forest-dwellers and village-dwellers. There was also a class of the Order known as monks who were recipients of the taxes on the fields and lands dedicated to a monastery.

[85] In the year seven hundred and four of the Kali age, a prince named Kyocvā, the younger brother of king Ujana, who was still living, became king. This is the history of his rise. The king named Ujana charged him with these words: "You go to the village named Samuddamajjha, stay there and enjoy the revenue produced therein." But once when that prince, who found pleasure only in hunting, had gone out to hunt, he saw a dream on the night of his return. When Sakka, the king of the gods, had appeared and said: "You observe the *uposatha* day and the precepts; if this be so, you will very soon get white elephants," he went back again to the Tāvatisa heaven.

And the prince observed the *uposatha* day and the precepts thenceforth. And later he again saw a dream in which his own hands were wet with excrement. Soon after he got five white elephants. Now a minister went and reported the matter to the king. Being delighted, the king gave praise in the midst of his people: "My younger brother, they say, got five white elephants, sirs." Again the minister went to the prince and reported that matter. The prince intended to please the king with this remark: "My brother, the king, speaks an amiable speech which was not uttered before," and asked him (the minister) to go back and report the matter to the king. When the prince

heard that the king also had spoken similarly, he became more pleased. But why did the king Ujana not address the prince named Kittitara by the term younger brother? When the king Ekasetibhinda had brought the pregnant queen of another king, he made her his chief queen. Soon after she gave birth to Ujana. So Ujana was not the son of Ekasetibhinda; only the prince named Kittitara was the son of Ekasetibhinda. So for that reason he did not address him by the term younger brother. When the king had heard: "The younger brother has got five white elephants," he was afraid and gave the kingship to his younger brother. The king went out by the back gate of the palace. The younger brother entered by the front gate. [86] As he got the five white elephants he was well-known as Pañcasetibhinda.¹ It should be understood that his original name was Sīhasūra. During the reign of that king many shameless persons lived in the monastery in the neighbourhood of the village and followed various wrong practices. There was also many monks, scrupulous and anxious for training, who had come in succession from Sudhammapura and Arimaddana.

Now, while that king was taking his meal, a sham ascetic came with the eight requisites and stood before him. When he was asked: "Why do you come?" he replied: "I have come for alms." Then the king who started, saying: "I will eat myself," with much pleasure gave him all the food arranged in the golden vessel. Then the king thought thus: "This monk came close on midday² for alms and stood. He is not an ordinary monk; he must be an *arahant* who has obtained the supernormal faculties, he must have come for the sake of my merit, out of compassion for me."

When he had thought thus he commanded a man in the king's service to follow him and watch. But shameless as that sham ascetic himself was, his own wife went out to meet him and received the bowl. When the man in the king's service saw this, having gone to the king, he first thought thus: "If the truth were told, the king's faith might be lost; but, not telling it in that way, I will tell it in such a manner that the king's faith may increase, there may also be gain for me, and the sham ascetic also may be freed from the offence committed against the king." When he had thought thus, he said: "O king, I followed him and watched; even while I was watching, he

¹ Lord of the five white elephants.

² Monks may not eat after midday, *Vin.*, iv, 85-86.

disappeared." The king was more pleased and stretching forth his hands, thrice uttered the words: "This is just in harmony with what I think." He also gave the king's man what was to be given.

That same day a minister gave the king a horse named Velohaka (Valāhaka) as a present. The king was pleased, thinking "This has been obtained by the force of my merit."

[87] When he had mounted on that horse he made an elephant-driver drive it. Now, the very sight of the head-dress on the head of the elephant-driver as seen by the multitude appeared like a crane moving in the sky. But the horse, which started very early in the morning from Vijayapura, reached the city of Pabbatabbhantara in the evening. It was also called the 'cloud-energy-horse'.

In this way, sham ascetics also supported their wives, not to speak of other wrong conduct. So those sham ascetics also entered the king's arena and contested in wrestling. But among them, a sham ascetic named Do-nā-ca-ñah-dhum-saṃghaja was excellent, very skilful in wrestling. Every year he would win, they say, in the king's arena and obtain fifteen or twenty horses.

In the city of Ratanapura there was one member of a Kambhoja (Kamboja)¹ family, who was excellent, very skilful in wrestling. When he did not find a wrestler equal to his own strength in the city of Ratanapur nor in the city of Jeyyapura, having come to Vijayapura and entered the wrestling theatre near the gate of the Campaka monastery, he informed the king: "I wish to contest in wrestling." Then the king addressing that Saṃghaja spoke thus: "Will you be able to contest now in wrestling with this man, good sir?" "Yes, O king! Formerly while I was young I practised wrestling even for play. But now I am sixty-nine years old, I do not know whether or not I shall be able to wrestle henceforth. I will now kill a hostile wrestler by wrestling"—said he.

Then the king made them contest in wrestling with each other, saying: "The wrestling of the kings is indeed only for the sake of play, do not endeavour to kill." Just as the king together with the assembly was witnessing it, [88] they came near each other dancing in the manner of wrestlers. Then the wrestler Saṃghaja, having made a pretence of kicking the wrestler of Kambhoja (Kamboja), gave him a blow on the forehead with

¹ It was a country in the extreme north-west of India. For different views regarding its location, vide B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 2-3. It includes Moné, Nyangwe, Thibo & Alomeik. (*Sāsanaṇu., Intr*, p. 6.)

his right fist. The face of the wrestler of Kambhoja (Kamboja) was turned back. Then the king together with the assembly said: "It is better to die than such turning away of the face. I dare not see this now." Again Samghaja gave a blow with his left fist. Then, having turned round the face of the wrestler of Kambhoja (Kamboja), he placed it as before. And at that time when the Khattiya together with the assembly had seen that wonder, he presented him with two horses, thirty garments, and one hundred *kahāpanas*.¹

And thus it has been told because it has come down in the ancient books and also because it is apt to cause elation among the good people. Except to obtain elation there is indeed no other need.

In the year seven hundred and thirteen of the Kali age, there his son, a king named Kitti reigned in Vijayapura. Verily as he had the same name as his father he took the name Sīhasūra. Because there remained only four out of five white elephants that had been obtained during his father's reign, he became well-known as Catusetibhinda.² So in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā-tīkā*³ he is called Catusetibhinda. In the time of that king a chief minister named Caturaṅgabala, who was learned in books, wrote the *Abhidhānappadīpikāsamvaṇṇanā*. He was however one who treated properly with knowledge the things pertaining to the forest of the entire grammar. And at one time when the king had a great monastery built, he gave rise to an uproar saying: "Let only those of moral habit stay in this monastery that has been built." Then an Elder who was an inhabitant of the village named Sā-ca-ū, came and stayed there.

The history of the rise of that Elder, however, is this: In the village of Sā-ca-ū, they say, a householder assigned his own son to the care of a monk in the monastery for learning. But as the son was unwilling to go to the monastery, he threw him into a thorny shrub to punish him. And that lad, going away and not coming home, stayed in that very monastery. Not coming back to his parents, but going gradually to a distant

¹ It is a coin of silver or copper but not of gold. For details, vide C. D. Chatterjee, *Numismatic data in Pali Lit.*, published in the *Buddhist studies* (Ed. B. C. Law) pp. 419 ff.; *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 877 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, Lecture III, pp. 76 ff.

² Lord of the four white Elephants.

³ A commentary on the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* which is the earliest known Pali lexicography. Its plan seems to have been conceived on the model of *Amarakoṣa* by Amarasimha, having no alphabetical arrangement of words. (B. C. Law, *His. of Pali Lit.*, pp. 634-637; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 62 ff; Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 67.)

place and [89] reaching the stage of ordination from the stage of a novice, he went to the town of Arimaddana. But as he was very intelligent, he was treated kindly by the great Elders wherever he went. So this man became well-known in the whole of Maramma country (Burma). Then his parents lived waiting for the return of their son.

But when they had heard of that matter the father became anxious to determine: "Whether or not this will be our son," and went after him. When he had met him in the town of Arimaddana, he waited upon him and sat down. That monk also, being satisfied with that very service rendered him, learnt a book. Later on, however, that monk would say again and again "Today the soup is without salt," and the like. Then the father spoke thus: "Dear child, you did not speak such words before; but now you constantly speak such words. What is the reason?" he asked. "Formerly I had not proficiency in the books, and as my mind was bent on obtaining proficiency in the books, I did not speak thus. But now my desired object has reached its end. Therefore I speak such words for acquiring the bodily strength," replied he. When he had heard those words, he begged permission to go to his parents, and as he was coming with his father to his own place he entered Vijayapura for worshipping at the shrine. He then heard the words spoken by the king and ascending that monastery he stayed (there). And when the guard saw that monk staying in the monastery, he reported that matter to the king. And the king commanded his minister named Caturāṅgabala: "You go and ascertain that monk's power of knowledge." And when Caturāṅgabala had gone, he asked the monk about many hidden things. He answered as soon as they were asked. And Caturāṅgabala reported that matter to the king. Being pleased, the king dedicated that monastery to the monk. The monk, however, was known as Khaṇṭakakhipathera on account of his having been thrown by his parents to a thorny shrub in his younger days. But his original name was Nāgita. Residing at that monastery he wrote the book entitled *Saddasā-ratthajālīnī*.¹ [90] At the time of that Elder, they say, there were in that city one thousand venerable monks who followed the path of contemplation. The young monks, who began the study of the books, were however beyond reckoning.

He also placed his father in a banker's position. So that village became known as the Banker's village.

¹ A Pali grammar (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 24; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 74).

But an Elder named Mahāvijitāvī who was residing at the Abhayagiri mountain in Vijayapura, wrote the *Kaccayānavañṇanā*. It was he who also wrote the *Vācakopadesa*.¹ The *Saddavutti* was however written by Saddhammaguruthera. Thus the religion in Vijayapura became widespread through many authors.

In the year six hundred and eighty-five of the Kali age, the king named Saṃkhaṇḍa-Coyon built the city of Jeyyapura and reigned there. But during the reigns of these kings, no book was written by the Elders.

In the year seven hundred and twenty-six of the Kali age, in the month of Vesākha, the city of Jeyyapura was destroyed. In that year, in the month of *Jeṭṭha*, Vijayapura was destroyed. In that year, in the month of *Phagguṇa*, king Sativa built a city called Ratanapura and reigned there.

This is the founding of the religion in Vijayapura and Jeyyapura

Now, I will narrate the history of the religion in the city of Ratanapura in the Tambadīpa country in the Maramma circle.

In the year seven hundred and eighty-eight of the Kali age, when king Ālonah-cañ-sū's son, named Ānandasuriya, had made acquaintance with the daughter of king Narapati, a son named Ānandasuriya was born (to them). When he came of age he attained kingship. From that time on he reigned in the city of Arimaddana till the time of king Mreṇ-co-rā. After that, king Sativa who took the name of Sirisudhammarājādhipati, reigned in the city of Ratanapura. During the time of that king in the year seven hundred and ninety-one, when these two Elders, Sirisaddhammālaṅkārathera and Sīhalamahāsāmīthera, having brought the five bodily relics from the island of Laṅkā, had reached the landing place at Kusima by a boat [91], they were forbidden by the king named Byañṇāran in the Rāmañña country to stay there; but that very king sent the Elders from that place to the city of Sirikhetta. When the king of Ratanapura came to know about that matter, he sent forty boats to fetch them (the Elders) from the city of Sirikhetta. And when they were being brought, and were about to reach the village named Mahānava, the king himself together with the ladies

¹ According to Oldenberg it treats of the grammatical categories from a logical standpoint (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 46; Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 636).

of his harem and ministers went out to receive them. But when they reached Ratanapura, the great earth shook and resounded. At that time the king, thinking, "I will accept the religion of the Supreme Buddha, the best in the three worlds", had the relics brought. At the time of their arrival here the great earth shook and resounded. He himself interpreted the sign saying, "this is the omen for the establishment of the religion of the conqueror in our country for ever. Let the mighty presence of the Supreme Buddha stand alone."

In this connection there runs the following:—

"How great and wonderful are the bodily relics, what to speak of the great living Buddha? Thus reflecting many citizens came to have faith in and respect for the many virtues of the Buddha."

In the year seven hundred and ninety-two of the Kali age, when (king Sativa) had deposited those five relics, he erected a shrine on level ground in the western direction from the city of Jeyyapura. And that shrine he made known as the jewelled shrine, but on account of its having an abundance of elephant-figures, it became well-known as Anekibhinda. When he had a great monastery built, called Ummāga, adorned with three bed-rooms and seven doors, he dedicated it to two Elders belonging to the island of Sīhala. Thereafter among them, the Elder Mahanta [92] together with three Elders who were scrupulous, conscientious, greatly learned and anxious for training, agreed on the boundary being on the mountain-top near his own monastery, but without applying to his own pupils. In this way he founded the religion and made it widespread in the Maramma country by the fixing of the boundary, the recitation of the canonical texts, and other deeds.

This is the first founding of the religion in the city of Ratanapura in the Maramma circle by the two Elders belonging to the island of Sīhala

In the year seven hundred and twenty-six of the Kali age, in the month of *Phagguna*, king Sativa built the city of Ratanapura. In the time of that king a female cake-seller in the city of Jeyyapura deposited her money with a shameless monk. Later on, she asked for that money. The monk spoke falsehood: "I have not received your money." After having quarrelled thus she reported that matter to the king. When the king had summoned the monk, he himself asked him:

‘Reverend sir, is it true or not that you received the money of that woman?’ “O king, I am a novice, I should not tell a lie. I did not receive it,” said he. And when the king who was examining him by repeatedly asking him, knew the hypocritical nature of the monk, he became angry and said: “Being a novice you speak falsehood transgressing the precept ordained by the Blessed One,” and having himself cut off his head, in accordance with the offence, he threw it under the king’s house. And the matter became so well-known in the entire Maramma country that even other shameless monks did not venture to do an evil deed. They did not transgress the precepts simply for the fear of the king.

In the year seven hundred and thirty of the Kali age, there reigned a king named Ma-ñah-kṛī-cvā-cok.¹ But that king, making the happiness of his countrymen the object of his thought, taking a fan, accepted a palace. And in the year seven hundred and forty-five *sakkarāja* (Burmese era) that king had a shrine established, called Ca-ñah-khum. An old shrine near a rocky mountain called Yañ-āh-ra was destroyed by the water of the river. [93] Then after an elephant named Erāvaṇa had pulled out the five relics that had sunk down into the water together with the casket, he thought: “I will have a shrine, called Ca-ñah-khum established.” And just at the time it was begun by the king he presented the five relics together with the casket to the Elder named Dāṭhānāga. But that Elder gave them (back) to the king. That the king deposited two relics in the Mu-ṭho shrine, and three in the Ca-ñah-khum shrine, has been described in ancient books.

When the king had bestowed a white umbrella on the teacher who had taught him during his princehood, he assigned to him the post of the head of the Order. An Elder named Khemācāra struck many times in the mid-night the drum that was kept hanging in the open space round the shrine. When the king heard it even from the palace on account of the manner in which it was kept he thought: “Some monks may have died in the monastery,” he sent a messenger, bidding him: “Go to the monastery and enquire.” The messenger went to the monastery and asked the reason. And the monks spoke thus: “No monk among us has died. Sakka the king of the gods is now dead, and to make it known to many people we struck the drum.” When the king had

¹ He ruled Burma in 1368 A.D. (Bode, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 29; Yune, *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 269.)

again sent for the monks, he asked; "How do you, reverend sirs, know that Sakka the king of the gods is dead?"

The monks replied thus: "Although Sakka the king of the gods had made the promise at the time of the demise of the Blessed One: 'I will protect the religion,' he did not do anything to protect us who now follow the religion. But had Sakka the king of the gods been alive, he would not have been careless now, after making his promise boldly before the Supremely Enlightened Buddha. But now there is nothing visible as to the work of protection by Sakka the king of the gods. So we knew that Sakka the king of the gods was now dead."

When the king heard this and was satisfied with the Elder Khemācāra, he had a monastery built and dedicated (it to him). And the Elder, who was of the line of the great Elders, who belonged to Sihala, and who were the dwellers of Sudhammapura, was scrupulous and conscientious. [94] He had a great bridge built in the southern direction of the city of Ratanapura in the time of king Adhika in the city of Ratanapura. But his teacher, a leader of the Order, did not take the side of the scrupulous. So this man should not be included in the succession of Elders.

At the time of that king, in the year seven hundred and sixty-six of the Kali age, the king of the Rāmañña country named Rājādhirājā accompanied by sixty hundred thousand fighters in three thousand boats, came to Ratanapura by the river-route, for fighting. Then king Adhika, having had many ministers and monks gathered together, considered: "Now a king, the lord of the Rāmañña country,¹ is coming here for fighting. How shall we be able to make him return without fighting?" All sat down quite silently without saying anything. Now, a monk who was thirty-one years old according to his birth but eleven years old according to his ordination, spoke thus: "Not to speak of one king of the Rāmañña country, even if all the kings in the entire Jambudīpa should come, I am able to make them return without fighting simply by such conversation." King Adhika being delighted, said: "Revered sir, act so that you are able to make king Rājādhirājā return by conversation."

The monk sent a letter containing a message of love and asked for permission as he wished to enter the presence of that king. And when king Rājādhirājā saw that monk's letter containing the message of love, he sent a messenger, saying:

¹ Pali name for Burma, especially the maritime provinces.

“Bring that monk soon.” The messenger brought him and showed him to the king. Then the monk having given the king advice in the course of preaching the doctrine, made him return to his own place. And this monk belonged to the line of the section of Arahanta among the four sections in the city of Arimaddana,¹ and was anxious for training, scrupulous and well-behaved. But as he was born in the city of Arimaddana in a country named Cāgamo, he was called Cāgroṇ-ha monk.

In the year seven hundred and eighty-eight of the Kali age, the righteous king Mriḥ-ñāṇaḥ² acquired the kingdom of Ratanapura. [95] In the time of that king, when two great Elders came to Ratanapura from the island of Sīhala, they resided there helping the religion.

At the time when the Kali age was completing eight hundred years an opportunity came to establish a new age by abandoning the old Kali age.

Now the Elder Cāgroṇ-ha and the Elder who resided at the king’s monastery said thus: “As the time to abandon it has been reached, O king, it is improper not to abandon it.” Again the king spoke thus: “When the time for abandonment is reached, what is the harm in living indifferently without abandoning it?” “It has been handed down in the Vedic texts that if a king lives indifferently without abandoning that which is to be abandoned, when the time is reached, there will be suffering for the dwellers in the kingdom. While abandoning the Burmese era the king would go to the deva (world) in that very year,” said they.

The king thought: “It is not fit for a person like me to live without abandoning what is to be abandoned, looking at his own fear, when he knows verily how the happiness of beings can be obtained. Even though an era comes to an end, my worthlessness will remain, having spread throughout the world,” and when eight hundred years of the Burmese era were completed he abandoned the *Pasyu-chidra-muni* reckoning and established the *cammāvasesa*. Then having had a great hall erected and having held a great festival, he also bestowed a great gift.

The Elder Cāgroṇ-ha and the Elder who resided at the king’s monastery belonged to the line of Arahanta in the city of Arimaddana, and they were scrupulous, well-behaved and anxious for training. The account has been told in this way, however,

¹ Pali name for Pagan in Burma (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 14).

² Flourished in 1426 A.D. He was known as Mriḥ-ñā-ñāḥ (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, Intro., p. 30).

in conformity with the doctrine because they got the religion ready and also because they lived in the country.

In the year eight hundred and four of the Kali age, king Mahānarapati reigned in the city of Ratanapura. And the king had the Thūpārāma shrine built. And his teacher was named Mahāsāmīthera. But the Elder who went to the island of Sihalā and took his training under the Elder Sāriputta, the teacher of the king of Sihala, should be regarded as one who belonged to the line of the Elders that came later. In the time of that king there was an Elder named the venerable Ariyavaṃsa in the city of Ratanapura. He was versed in the canonical texts, and belonged to the line that started from Chapada in the city of Arimaddana.

[96] At one time he went to the city of Jeyyapura and stayed there, studying the science of grammar under a great Elder, who was well-known as Re-taṃ. But as they say that that great Elder did not wish to talk on this or that topic with others, he lived practically pouring water into his mouth. So he was well-known as Re-taṃ according to the Maramma usage.

Although they say that the Elder Ariyavaṃsa went to the Elder Re-taṃ, thinking: "I will beg his permission to teach me a book," he did not even talk with him, and returned after just fulfilling his duty for two days. But on the third day, having heard a sound due to beating on a rug-skin, having thrown out water from his mouth, he asked the reason. He announced that the fact of his coming was for learning a book. Then the Elder spoke thus: "Friend, I teach the book thrice every day, and also in the afternoon I go to the Puñña shrine and do the work of sweeping in the open space round the shrine; I do not give permission. Yet, having thus learnt many books, without receiving instruction given by the teachers you come again to me. So I will give you a chance to learn the books, not performing for the time being my duty of sweeping the open space round the shrine." So saying he caused him to learn the sub-commentary dealing with the essential features called the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*.¹ He taught him giving instruction according to different methods. And being taught, he did not go to his teacher on the third day. The venerable Elder who was unable to know the reason, thought: "Perhaps he would not come," and sent monks to inquire.

¹ It is one of the commentaries on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* written by Sumaṅgala of Ceylon (B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit*, p. 599; Bode, *Pali Lit. of Burma*, p. 41; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 62).

And when the Elder Ariyavaṃsa, thinking: "I will go to my teacher," saw the messenger-monks actually on the way, he went together with them to the venerable Elder.

When the Elder Ariyavaṃsa came to his teacher, the teacher asked him: "Why do you not come for study?" "Reverend sir, through the instruction given by you all the sense is now known to me." The teacher said: [97] "Help by writing an exegesis on whatever book it is through which you have attained skill." When the Elder Ariyavaṃsa had solemnly accepted his teacher's bidding, he wrote a sub-commentary on the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* called the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*.¹ On every uposatha day, he had the Order of monks convened in the open space round the Puñña shrine and when every reading was finished, he announced in the midst of the Order of monks: "If there is any defect, please tell me."

Now, when a monk came from the city of Arimaddana for worshipping the shrine, he sat down listening at the end of the assembly. This monk twice made the sound *e, e*. He kept that portion marked out and asked about the dwelling place (of the Elder). As the Elder Ariyavaṃsa after coming to his own monastery was examining that portion, he noticed that at one place there was found the fault of repetition because one matter had been said twice, and at another place where the expression '*imam gandham*' (this book) should be put in the masculine gender, there appeared the fault of improper use of gender because it was in the neuter gender.

When he called that person, he spoke thus: "Friend, with much endeavour am I composing this book. And I am writing it by spreading out the book only at night in seclusion. Even though I am composing it with so much endeavour you made a sound in the manner of dislike." He further enquired: "What sort of fault did you hear that you did so?" The monk replied thus: "Reverend sir, there are not many points to be spoken about concerning the defect in the book composed by you with much endeavour. Both in words and in sense indeed, complete is this book. But at one place there was found the fault of repetition because one matter had been said twice, while at another place where the expression '*imam gandham*' (this book) should be put in the masculine gender, there appeared the fault of improper use of gender because it was in the neuter gender. Thus when I found only this much defect I showed such a mode of dislike." The Elder Ariyavaṃsa, being

¹ Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 42.

delighted, bestowed on him the double yellow robe that covered his own body, saying: "Let me honour your knowledge with this." Later on, when king Adhika heard about that matter he presented him with a title.

[98] And the Elder Ariyavaṃsa wrote in the Pali language the book called the *Maṇidīpa*,¹ as well as the *Gandhābharāṇa*² and the *Jātakavisodhana*³; of the minor commentary he wrote a paraphrase in the Maramma language.

At one time king Adhika went to the monastery and listened to (the preaching of) the doctrine. After preaching the doctrine, the Elder, at its conclusion, asked for the gift of a vehicle for the sake of his happiness. The king embarked on a boat without giving it and went back. On the way a crocodile caught hold of an oar of the boat with its mouth and made it motionless. The king shouted loudly and uttered thrice before his men: "I will give the gift of a vehicle that the Elder asked for." The crocodile then set the boat free and went away.

And at one time the king set out for the monastery. He kept a she-elephant tied up near the monastery. She broke a branch of the Bo-tree and ate it. Then and there she fell down on the ground. When the Elder had made an act of truth and cultivated the thought of love, he besprinkled her with the water of love. That very moment she got up. And when the king saw that wonder he gave her equal in value, and by collecting stone-slabs, he built a bridge over the path from the monastery to the landing place in the river.

The Elder Saddhammakitti was however the pupil of the Elder Ariyavaṃsa and was a resident of the Jetavana monastery; these Elders should however be regarded as belonging to the line of Chapada.

In the year eight hundred and forty-two of the Kali age, king Adhika II under the name of Sirisudhammarājādhipati reigned in the city of Ratanapura.— And at that time when in the year eight hundred and forty-five (of the Kali age), the Elder named the venerable Sīlavaṃsa composed a beautiful poetical version of the *Sumedhakathā*⁴ known as the *Buddhālaṅkāra*, and the poem called the *Pabbatabbhantaraṇaṭṭisaṃyutta*, he brought them

¹ Sub-commentary on the *Atthasālinī* (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 42; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 65, 75).

² Grammatical treatise, *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 65, 75; Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 43. Otherwise known as the *Ganthābharāṇa* or *Gaṇḍābharāṇa*; it was studied closely by the scholars of Burma.

³ A study of the *Jātaka* (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 43; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 65, 75).

⁴ A poetical version of the story of the brahmin Sumedha (*Jāt.*, I, pp. 2 ff.; Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 43).

when he came to the city of Ratanapura from the city of Pabbattabbhantara.

The king made him dwell in the Ratanavimāna monastery near the *Thūpārāma* shrine. [99] And the Elder dwelt there teaching the canonical text to the hearers. The Elder was the eighth among the Elders residing there. It has been recorded in the ancient books that the venerable Elder Sīlavamsa was born in the year eight hundred and fifteen of the Kali age, and that he came to the city of Ratanapura at the age of thirty.

And the Elder also wrote a paraphrase of the *Netti* text¹ in the Maramma language, and the *Pārāyaṇavatthu*.

In the city of Ratanapura there was an Elder named Raṭṭhaśsāra, who was equal in intelligence and power with the venerable Elder Sīlavamsa. He was however born in the city of Ratanapura in the year eight hundred and thirty of the Kali age. He composed metrical versions of the *Bhuridatta-Jātaka*,² *Haṭṭhipāla-Jātaka*³ and *Samvara-Jātaka*⁴ and also various other beautiful poems. But these two Elders are not reckoned as poets by the ancients by including them in the succession of Elders. And here although the novices and those observing the *uposatha* days had permission to compose or teach poems or pronounce their judgment as to what is a poem and what is not, yet the remaining portion is too long for the space in which to relate the history of the religion; so without telling it we shall omit it. In the *Uposathavinicchaya*,⁵ however, we have discussed in detail the subject of the precept about dance, song and the like.⁶

After the lapse of eight hundred and sixty years of the Kali age king Mahādhammarājādhipati who was graceful, the sun of the three worlds, and an excellent king, reigned in the city of Ratanapura. In the time of that king a monk named Tisāsanadhaja studied a book with the Elder Saddhammakitti. Then a great Elder from the city of Arimaddana, having taught listeners, thought: "I will dwell in the city of Ratanapura," and came there. Having sat down below the monastery while the Elder Saddhammakitti was just teaching the book, that great Elder heard the sound and thought thus: "Taking my place as a newly ordained monk I will learn the book by coming into the presence of this man." [100] When that great Elder came to the Elder Saddhammakitti, he asked for permission to

¹ B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, p. 351.

² *Jāt.* No. 543.

³ *Jāt.* No. 509.

⁴ *Jāt.* No. 462.

⁵ A Vinaya treatise written in Burma (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 44).

⁶ *Vinaya*, II., 108 (monks); IV, 267 (nuns).

have the book taught him. When the Elder Saddhammakitti had asked him about his age,¹ he said: "Reverend sir, you are older than myself." He replied: "Though I am older than you I will learn the book taking my place as a newly ordained monk." The Elder Saddhammakitti taught him the book. But when he was satisfied, he called the great Elder by the name *Mahā-Sādhujjana*.

Later on, beginning from the year eight hundred and eighty-five of the Kali age up to the year eight hundred and eighty-eight, the Maramma country was disturbed by many kinds of fear. At that time a king named Sirīhaṃsvā, born in a different family, came from the Kamboja country, and took up the reign in the city of Ratanapura. He thought thus: "Though the monks have got no wife and children, they again maintain pupils and seek followers. If, when the monks have chosen followers, they might seize the kingship, and this being so, they will be able to capture the throne. It is fit to capture and kill the monks just now." When he had thought thus, he had many halls erected in a woodland called Toṇ-bhī-luḥ and had cows killed, buffaloes, cocks, pigs and the like, declaring: "I will feed the monks". He then had all the great Elders in the cities of Jeyyapura (Jayapura), Vijayapura, and Ratanapura summoned together with their many pupils, and having made them sit down in those halls, he surrounded them with his troops consisting of the elephant riders, the cavalry and the like, and killed them. At that time, they say, three thousand monks died. And when he had killed the monks he also had many books burnt in a fire and had the shrines destroyed.

Oh! the sinful action of the sinful man!

And in this connection there runs the following:—

"The religion, indeed, endures in this world under the patronage of the king. The wrong views of the king ruin the religion of the Master, but the right views of the king raise up the religion. And if it be so, it shines forth like the moon in the sky."

[101] It has been recorded in the *Rājavaṃsa* that in the year nine hundred and one of the Kali age, smoke issued forth from many stars in the sky; in the Ca-ṇaḥ-khum shrine also, streams of water like tears issued forth from the sockets of the eyes of the Buddha-image.

¹ *Vassapamāṇa*, the number of years since he was ordained a monk.

The Elder Saddhammakitti together with the venerable Elder Sādhujjana and the Elder Tisāsanadhaja came to the city of Ketumatī. In the ancient books, it has been told: "The Elder Raṭṭhassāra himself also came to the city of Sirikhetta." But that does not correspond with the statement in the *Rājavaṃsa*: "King Sativa, the lord of the city of Sirikhetta, brought him." The Elder Saddhammakitti also died in the city of Ketumatī. Shortly after that the venerable Elder Sādhujjana died at that same place. .

But in the year nine hundred and twelve of the Kali age, the Elder Tisāsanadhaja came to the city of Hamsāvati from the city of Ketumatī at the time of king Anekasetibhinda of the city of Hamsāvati. Thereafter in the year nine hundred and thirteen of the Kali age, at the time of king Moḥ-ghāḥ-bya-narapati, when he, at the age of forty-three years, came again to the city of Jeyyapura, he dwelt in a cave near the Jetavana monastery. He came into the presence of the Elder of the Jetavana, who belonged to the line of the venerable Ariyavaṃsa.

But at that time the Elder of Jetavana being sick thought: "If I die, the Elder named Tisāsanadhaja who has come recently from the city of Hamsāvati, will be able to take charge of my place, so I will hand it over to him." At that moment the Elder Tisāsanadhaja saw a dream in the first watch of the night that a dead body was coming near him, but in the middle watch of the night (he saw) that the dead body was entering the cave, and in the last watch of the night (he saw that) he was cutting the flesh of the dead body with a weapon. He informed a novice who slept near him about the dream he had dreamt. As he sat down after telling him and was reciting the *Paritta*,¹ the Elder of Jetavana called him and gave the Jetavana monastery into his charge. And the Elder Tisāsanadhaja dwelt in the Jetavana monastery by teaching the book; king Moḥ-ghāḥ-bya-narapati also helped him.

[102] Later on, in the year nine hundred and sixteen of the Kali age, the king named Anekasetibhinda, the lord of the city of Hamsāvati, conquered the city of Ratanapura, and built a monastery which he dedicated to him.

¹ The *Paritta* or the *Mahāparitta* is a small collection of texts gathered from the *Suttapīṭaka*. It is widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes. It is learnt by heart and recited on appropriate occasions. It is to conjure many evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts are of purely religious and ethical character. (Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 608; Bode, *P.L.B.*, pp. 3-4).

And this Elder Tisāsanadhaja should be regarded as one who belonged to the line of Arahanta in the city of Arimaddana. His disciples, many hundreds in number, were scrupulous. But among those disciples these five Elders, the Elder Varabāhu, the Elder who was a resident of the city of Bhūminikhāṇa, and the three great Elders who were residents of the village of Mahāraṭṭha, were particularly learned in the canonical texts.

And when the Elder Tisāsanadhaja, in his old age, had entered a forest, taking concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing as the subject of his mental exercise, he resorted to a secluded place. At that time those who were of the line of Arahanta, the sects of Jetavana and others, and also subsequently some monks who were in the succession of their disciples and the disciples of those disciples, used sunshades¹ (umbrellas) and fans decorated with various colours and indulged in a reversal of good conduct.

In the year one thousand and one of the Kali age, when the king named Ukkamsika² built a monastery, he dedicated it to the Elder named the venerable Ratanākara who was a disciple of the Elder Varabāhu, who was the disciple of the Elder Tisāsanadhaja. And when the venerable Elder Ratanākara displayed the title of Sirisudhammarājā-Mahādhipati of king Ukkamsika by adorning it with the ornament of metre according to the rules of the science of grammar, he wrote a book called the *Rājindarājābhidheyadīpanī*.³ And he gave the book to a great Elder known as Pabbatantara for correction. Of the three brother-Elders who resided in the village of Mahāraṭṭha and who were the disciples of the Elder Tisāsanadhaja, the eldest brother who lived in caves at night, dwelt there by teaching the canonical texts. And king Sativa was very much pleased with that Elder. And at the time of the king named Ño-ṇa-ra-māḥ, his uncle had a monastery built and dedicated it to him.

[103] At the time of king Ukkamsika, having had a monastery built on a mountain called the Mamvaṇṇa, he dedicated it to him. Of those Elders who resided in the village of Mahāraṭṭha, the middle Elder also dwelt by teaching the book in the Jetavana monastery itself, which was the dwelling place of the Elder

¹ Cf. *Vinaya*, IV, 338.

² Also known as Thadodhammarājā (1629 A.D.), a famous patron of learning (Bode, *Sāsanav.*, Intro., pp. 33 ff.; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 134, 286).

³ It was written to commemorate the ceremony when Ukkamsika was consecrated and took the title of Sirisudhammarājāmahādhipati (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 52).

Tisāsanadhaja, and of the Elder who was his elder brother. The youngest Elder also dwelt by teaching the book in the monasteries which were their dwelling places.

And here there were two persons of the name of Tisāsana-dhaja, one scrupulous and the other shameless. But the Elder as said before, should be regarded as truly scrupulous.

In showing this succession of Elders, the shameless ones are not to be expected. And not telling here the story of the Elder Tisāsanadhaja, who became shameless, we shall leave it aside because it is unnecessary and it goes to increase the bulk of the book.

At the time of the king named Ño-ña-ra-māḥ,¹ in Jeyyapura, the great Elder residing at the golden cave (suvanṇaguḥā), the great Elder residing at the monastery of Dakkhiṇārāma, the great Elder residing in the four-storied monastery, and the great Elder residing at the Toṇ-bhī-luḥ monastery, were indeed the pupils of the Elder Tisāsanadhaja. And we do not tell even their story lest there is expansion of the book. Here our limit is only to know that these belonged to the line of the scrupulous ones.

In the year nine hundred and sixty-one of the Kali age, on Friday, the second day of the bright half of the month of Phagguna (February-March), when the king named Ño-ña-ra-māḥ had built the city of Ratanapura for the second time, he reigned there. He also took up the title of Sīhasūradhammarājā. He built a four-storied monastery meant for the great Elder, who was a resident of the Toṇ-bhī-luḥ monastery, and also built four shrines for the great sage. While the monastery and the shrines were still unfinished, he set out for the city of Sinni, and when he came back after subduing hostilities there, because he had not transcended the causal effects of compounded things, he went to heaven.

Oh! the nature of compounded things!

[104] And in this connection, there runs the following:

“Just as the figure of a house lizard of the merchants after moving about in this or that direction, keeps its head towards the north, so the beings too in this world wander thus between death and rebirth, before they cast aside their own body.”²

¹ Also known as Sīhasūradhammarājā, who flourished in 1599 A.D. (*Sāsana-vaṇisa*, Intro., p. 32).

² *Santana* is a “continuum” rather than a series, composed of the five *khandhas*.

In the year nine hundred and sixty-seven of the Kali age, on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Phagguṇa (February-March), his eldest son got the throne which was the paternal property. He also took the title of Mahādhamma-rājā. He again had the shrines built that had been unfinished in his father's time. When he had the four-storied monastery completed, he had the great Elder summoned to his place, who was a resident of the four-storied monastery, thinking: "In the absence of the great Elder Toṇ-bhī-luḥ who has gone to another world, I will dedicate it to him." Even though he was summoned twice, the Elder did not go. But at the third time many of his co-residents said to him: "You go and enter the palace, it is not possible to refuse when summoned by the king." Then the Elder spoke thus: "Friends, I do not like to take alms received by oppressing the country. And yet if you want (me) to go to the king, in that case I will go now to the king", and he entered the palace. When he entered and had held a conversation with the king, he refused it, saying: "This monastery is unfit for the monks who dwell in the forest." "If it be so, reverend sir, you find an Elder who can dwell in that monastery." "That Elder residing at the Khaṇitthipāda monastery, O king, is well versed in the canon and anxious for training, it is proper to give it to him."

And the king dedicated that monastery to him. He also conferred on him the title of Mahāsaṃghanātha. He dwelt there teaching the canon. Of forty monasteries that stood surrounding that monastery, [105] there was one monastery in the north-eastern direction, where there lived an Elder named Varābhisamghanātha,¹ who composed the *Maṇikuṇḍalavattu* in the Maramma language. An Elder who lived in a monastery in the north-western direction, composed the *Sattarājadharmavattu* in the Maramma language.

At that time (the king) having built two monasteries, dedicated them to the two monks, Bāḥ-maṃ-akya and Acāra-akya, on account of their skill in worldly conditions. Those two Elders were learned in the Vedic texts but deficient in the study of the canon and in conduct, and came from the Rāmañña country. The ancients do not count them in the succession of Elders.

In the year nine hundred and seventy-three of the Kali age, (the king) having had four monasteries built in the eastern

¹ According to Bode, he was Varabhisamghanātha and not Varābhisamghanātha (*P.L.B.*, p. 52)

direction of the shrine of the great sage, dedicated them to the four Elders. And those Elders, dwelling there, helped the religion.

At this time there was also an Elder named Badaravanavāsi. He was well versed in the canon and belonged to the line of Chapada. And this Elder having helped the religion according to his power during his life-time, in the next existence, took rebirth in the womb of a woman in the city of Calāṅga. Ten months after, in the year nine hundred and forty of the Kali age, on Wednesday, she gave birth to him, and when he, at the age of thirteen, received ordination¹ in the religion, he learnt the canon. When the king of the city of Sirikhetta brought him to the city of Sirikhetta, he became well-known as a novice in this city, and in the year nine hundred and fifty-four of the Kali age, he, at the age of fifteen, composed a beautiful poetical version of the *Vessantara-Jātaka*.² When he was full twenty years old, having helped by the king named Veravijaya, the lord of the city of Sirikhetta, in the city of Sirikhetta, he stood firm in the *upasampadā* stage.³ And the king named Pacchimapakkhādhika brought under his own control the city of Sirikhetta. At that time he brought the Elder and made him dwell in the city of Ratanapura. When the younger brother of the king named Sūrakitti built a four-storied monastery, on the bank of the Erāvatī river, he dedicated it to the Elder. And the king conferred on him the title of *Tipiṭakālaṃkāra*.

[106] In the year one thousand of the Kali age, on the full moon day of the month of Phagguna (February-March), becoming sixty years old, he went to the Tiriya mountain and lived a forest-life. In the year one thousand and two of the Kali age, when the king built a monastery there, he dedicated it to that same Elder. This *Tipiṭakālaṃkāra* thera, however, belonged to the line of the Elder Atulavaṃsa, who went to Laṅkā and had been in the Navaṅga cave in the city of Sirikhetta. While he was residing at the golden monastery (*suvanna-vihāra*), in the Navaṅga cave in the city of Sirikhetta, the fame of the Elder spread everywhere. During the time of his stay in the four-storied monastery, on the bank of the Erāvatī river in Jeyyapura, he wrote an exegesis of the first twenty verses in

¹ *Pabbajjā*, the preliminary ordination.

² Cf. Fausboll, *Jātaka* VI, pp. 479ff; *Cariyāpitaka* (P.T.S.), pp. 78-81.

³ The *upasampadā*, full ordination, must not be given to a man before he is fully twenty years old., *Vin.* iv, 130.

the *Atthasālinī*.¹ He also wrote the *Yasavaddhanavatthu* ² at the request of the king's younger brother named Sūrakitti. During his stay on the Tiriya mountain he wrote a sub-commentary, the *Vinayālaṃkāra*. At the time of king Pacchimapakkhādhika (the king) placed Mahāsaṃghanāthathera at the head of the Order. And the head of the Order was very well versed in the canon.

At that time, in the city of Ratanapura, there was one named the Elder Ariyālaṃkāra. He was however equal to Tipiṭakālaṃkārathera in knowledge and power and of the same age.

It should be understood that Tipiṭakālaṃkārathera was superior in respect of learning, while the Elder Ariyālaṃkāra was superior in respect of the classification of the elements and the causal relations.

And later, in the time of king Ukkamsika, those two Elders also became the teachers of the king and helped the religion. Of them, the Elder Ariyālaṃkāra subsequently died, and when (the king) built a monastery called Dakkhiṇavanārāma near the Rājamaṇicūla shrine, he dedicated it to the Elder Ariyālaṃkāra the second, who was the pupil of that Elder. And the king named Ukkamsika was of much help to the religion of the conqueror. And he ascended the throne in the year nine hundred and ninety-six of the Kali age. And having obtained the throne, like His Majesty the king Dhammāsoka after the lapse of four years, he received the consecration, and further took the title of Sirisudhammarājā-Mahādhipati.

At one time he went to the city of Hamsāvati and lived there. The inhabitants of the Rāmañña country spoke thus: "There are indeed no monks of the Maramma country who are well versed in the canon and learned in the Vedic texts." When the king heard this, [107] he sent a message to the Elder who was residing at the four-storied monastery: "Send to me in the Rāmañña country monks who are of thirty or forty years' standing, well versed in the canon and learned in the Vedic texts." The Elder who was residing in the four-storied monastery sent the Elders Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, Tilokālaṃkāra and

¹ This is a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani*. It contains some historical and geographical information besides some explanations of certain technical terms of Buddhist psychology. This text has been edited by E. Muller for P.T.S. An English translation of this text has been brought out by Pe Maung Tin and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids. (B. C. Law, *His. of Pali Lit.*, pp. 473ff.).

² A lighter work than the *Atthasālinī* written at the request of Nyaung Ram Min (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 53).

Tisāsanālamkāra, together with at least thirty monks. When (the king) reached the city of Hamsāvatī, he had monasteries built in the northern direction of the Mo-dho shrine and dedicated them to them. On the *uposatha* days, when he had called together in the hall of justice¹ the inhabitants of the Rāmañña country, who were well-versed in the canon and learned in the Vedic texts, he made them hold a conversation with those three Elders. And the monks, who were residents of the Rāmañña country, spoke thus: "Formerly we thought that in the Maramma country there was none well-versed in the canon or learned in the Vedic texts. The inhabitants of the Maramma country are now greatly versed in the canon and learned in the Vedic texts."

Later on, in the year nine hundred and ninety-six of the Kali age the king returned to the city of Ratanapura. Those Elders being anxious to go back, also went to the great Elder named Tilokaguru, the chief in the Rāmañña country, in order to pay their homage.

At that time when the Elder Tilokaguru had also held conversation with them, he spoke thus: "Tipiṭakālamkārathera amongst you will first obtain a monastery for residence." Being asked: "Why do you, reverend sir, speak so?" he replied: "Even while this man was going on his rounds for alms, he found on the way bamboo, cane, and the like, and with them he repaired the monastery. So I speak thus. Monks who observe the practice of repairing a monastery in this world obtain very soon a monastery for residence, so said the ancient Elders." And they, too, returned to the city of Ratanapura. Tipiṭakālamkārathera first obtained a monastery for residence even according to the words of the Elder Tilokaguru.

In the year one thousand and nine of the Kali age, the king's younger brother died. Then the prince, who was the supreme head of a city, formed an acquaintance with ignorant people [108] and accepted their word; being desirous to kill his father suddenly entered the palace early in the morning. But the king having taken a priceless finger-ring, came out from the city together with his ministers named Nandajeyya and Rājayodha, and reached the Rajatavālukā river.

And at that time a novice came along the river in a small boat, thinking: "I will take alms from my parents' house." On seeing that novice, the king spoke thus: "Reverend sir,

¹ *Sudhammasālā*—some have translated it as Preaching Hall and also as Religious Hall.

take us to the other shore in the boat." But the novice said: "If I take you to the other shore, I would pass the time for my meal, O lay devotee." The king assured him, saying: "Quickly take us and I will give you this ring," and asked for permission to be taken over. On hearing his pitiful words the novice took him to the other shore.

(The king) having reached the four-storied monastery and having reported all the matter to the Elder who was a resident of that monastery, spoke thus: "Reverend sir, if they come to take us, forbid them." But the Elder said: "O king, we are novices, we cannot prevent in this way; but there is just one means. For the Elder residing at the Nisinna monastery is very skilful in worldly affairs. It is proper to think over the matter after sending for him." Then the king sent for him and having informed him of that matter, spoke thus: "Reverend sir, if they come to take us, prevent them by some means or other." That Elder spoke thus: "Well then, king, do not lament for anything, do not fear; enter the bed chamber in the middle of the monastery and stay there." When he had thus spoken and called together the monks and novices who had gone on their rounds for alms, he told them individually: "Be armed and do not give a chance even to a single person to enter the monastery" and he ordered them like an army. He also summoned the monks and novices who resided in the neighbouring monasteries. When they had come it is said that the number of monks and novices who were assembled together was more than one thousand. When each one was armed, the Elder placed them in the porches and on the approach to the monastery for the sake of protection, just as an architect would place the (figures of) boars by arranging them separately so as to ward off tigers from the boars. [109] Then the son's soldiers were not able to capture the king. They did not venture to enter by killing the monks and novices by force out of respect for them, and also because of the large number of the monks and novices. The king lay by hiding himself in the very monastery from the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Assayuja (September-October) up to the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Kattika (October-November) in that same year. When the ministers who had been residing in the palace removed the son and brought back the king, they placed him on the throne. And when the king had again obtained the throne and built a monastery near the Ca-ñah-khum shrine, he dedicated it to the monk familiar with the Vedic texts,

who told the king during his stay in the monastery: "Do not fear, O king, you will win." He also bestowed on him the title of Dhammānandarājaguru. But because of the village which was his birth-place he became known as Ren-nat-ka-ka-ro-ḍa in the Maramma language.

And when the king had again obtained the throne and had invited all the great Elders on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Kattika in that same year, and had made them enter the king's house, he offered them alms. Then the king spoke thus: "The Elder who resides in the four-storied monastery is a teacher who brings advantage in the next world, while the Elder who resides in the Nisinna monastery is one who brings advantage in this world." It has been said so in the *Rājavaṃsa*. On the other hand, in the ancient books it has been said: "The Elder who resides in the four-storied monastery is exclusively a novice and a teacher, while the Elder who resides in the Nisinna monastery is a worthy fighter, skilled in fighting—so said the king." As the king, they say, was not indifferent to advantage in the next world, while making gifts he did not offer them to the Elder who resided in the Nisinna monastery. But sometimes not disregarding advantage in this world he gave him separately.

In this matter because the Elder who resided in the Nisinna monastery provided protection for the king in order to prevent him from being afraid, not for the sake of hurting others, and because no commitment of an offence [110] was to be seen, therefore there was no blemish of offence. This should be regarded like the action done by the Elders, who were *arahants* for protecting king Saddhātissa¹ from fears.

The Elder who resided in the four-storied monastery, however, was born in the village of Khaṇitthipāda, and he belonged to the line of the Elder Arahanta in the city of Arimaddana. Wherever he went knowing the habits of other monks as they really were, he did not enjoy the four requisites before nor even drink water before. Wherever he went he was in the habit of taking a rug of skin.

King Ukkamsika, however, built a shrine named Rājamaṇi-cūlā on the model of the shrine built by King Dvattaponka in the city of Sirikhetta. This shrine, however, was three hundred cubits in circumference, and its height was also the same.

¹ He was the younger brother and successor of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B. C. Law, *On the Chronicles of Ceylon*, pp. 65-66).

And on the four sides of that shrine he built four monasteries: on the eastern side one named Pabbavanārāma, on the southern side one named Dakkhiṇavanārāma, on the western side one named Pacchimavanārāma and on the northern side one named Uttaravanārāma. Of these four monasteries, the monastery named Uttaravanārāma, being burnt by fire caused by the falling of a thunderbolt, was destroyed. But he dedicated the remaining three monasteries to three great Elders, who were well-versed in the canonical texts. He also bestowed on them titles. It was at the time of King Pacchima that he rebuilt the monastery on the northern side. But that king died before he could get ready the parasol over the shrine. And among the Elders who dwelt in these four monasteries, the great Elder who was a resident in the Dakkhiṇavanārāma monastery explained in the Maramma language the meaning of the book *Kaccāyana*¹ by adorning it with the six-fold method of explanation, while the Elder who resided in the Pacchimavanārāma monastery wrote an exegesis of the *Nyāsa*² by adorning it with the six methods.

In the year one thousand and ten of the Kali age the king's son named His Majesty the King Pavarādhipati, the beloved and righteous king, became king. Having demolished his father's palace and having had a monastery built there, he dedicated it to a great Elder named Tilokālamkāra. [111] And the Elder Tilokālamkāra should be regarded as the pupil of the Elder Ariyālamkāra who was equal to Tipitakālamkāra-thera in knowledge and power. And this matter has been pointed out before.

When (the king) had an incomparable four-storied monastery built in Jeyyapura, he dedicated it to the Elder who was the teacher of King Dāṭhānāga. And that Elder wrote an exegesis of the *Nyāsa*, called the *Niruttisāramañjūsā*.³

In the year one thousand and twelve of the Kali age, in the month of Phagguna (February-March), when the citizens had seen a dream in which the guardian deities called *sotāpannas* said: "We shall go elsewhere," they assembled in a large number and worshipped the deities. The deities, however, have no movement; this should be regarded as only a previous sign.

¹ B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 635 and f.n. 1.

² A grammar of some importance is the commentary known as the *Nyāsa*. The authorship is ascribed to Vimalabuddhi (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 21).

³ Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 55.

And at that time the soldiers of the king of Cīna came and plundered the Maramma country. The religion became weak like the moon covered by cloud.

In the year one thousand and thirteen of the Kali age there reigned that king's younger brother, King Lokādhpati by name, the most excellent and righteous king. And at that time when he, who had been told by the knowers of the Vedic texts: "There will be a decay of merit on account of common disturbance," had built a camp-house for producing fresh merit against that common disturbance, he moved himself for the time being and dwelt there. Thereafter when he had demolished the northern house (*uttarageha*) and had built a monastery at that very place, he dedicated it to a great Elder. But the southern house (*dakkhiṇageha*) was situated in the eastern direction of the city, and when he built a monastery (in its place), he dedicated it to the Elder Aggadhammālamkāra. And that Elder interpreted in the Maramma language the meaning of the book *Kaccāyana* and also the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*, the *Mātikā*,¹ the *Dhātukathā*,² the *Yamaka*³ and the *Paṭṭhāna*.⁴

And when the viceroy had a golden monastery built facing a great bridge, he dedicated it to the Elder Jinārāma, a pupil of the Elder who dwelt in the Uttarageha monastery. At that very place, after he had a monastery built decorated with various jewels, he dedicated it to the Elder Guṇagandha, a pupil of that same Elder.

The Elder, however, was born in the Khya-ṇaḥ-tvaṃ village. And when he came of age, he went to the city of Ratanapura and learnt the canonical texts. [112] When he again came back from there and had dwelt in the Badara village in the city of Paduma, he later lived in the Khya-ṇaḥ-tvaṃ village, and was lacking the four requisites. And at that time when the king had obtained a priceless gem from a man named Mokka in that village, he loved it very much. (The village of) Khya-ṇaḥ-tvaṃ became well-known as Mokkaṃ. Now the Elder who

¹ It refers to the *Mātikā* (table of contents) of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* which is one of the most important books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (Bode, *Pali Lit. of Burma*, p. 57; B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, pp. 304ff.).

² It is the fifth book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. It is also known as the *Dhātukāyapada* of the Sarvāstivāda School (B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, p. 332; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 28).

³ It is the sixth book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, also known as the *Prakaranapada* of the Sarvāstivāda School (B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, pp. 333-334).

⁴ It is the seventh or the last book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* also known as the *Jñānaprasthāna* of the Sarvāstivāda School (B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, pp. 334-335).

dwelt in the Uttarageha monastery said: "In the Khya-ñah-tvaṃ village the gem is certainly not priceless, there is but one Elder named Guṇagandha, well-versed in the canonical texts, who is indeed priceless." When the king heard about it he sent for that (Elder) and honoured him by helping him with the four requisites.

The Elder named Guṇasāra in the Sahassorodha village and the Elder named Sujāta in the Paliṇa village were the pupils of the Elder Guṇagandha.

And at one time, in the midst of the Order of monks, the great Elder who lived in the Tiriyapabbata monastery, jokingly remarked to the Elder Aggadhammālaṃkāra: "Friend, when we pass away, methinks, you will be the only Elder in the world well-versed in the canonical books." The Elder Aggadhammālaṃkāra spoke thus: "Reverend sir, when you pass away, we would not be well-versed in the canonical books. What person in the world will be well-versed in them?" In the ancient books, however, it has been written: "The Elder Ariyālaṃkāra spoke thus: 'Is it not that we are not yet well-versed in the canonical texts?'"

The Elder Aggadhammālaṃkāra, requested by the king himself, also wrote the *Rājavaṃsasamkhepa*.¹ The Elder was the son of a minister.

And at one time a chief minister, who had returned to the worldly life, having taken all his own property received from the king, went to the monastery and held a conversation with the Elder Aggadhammālaṃkāra. At the end of the conversation, having shown the Elder all the property, he said: "Reverend sir, if you were to become a householder, you would get this property." The Elder also spoke thus: "But this amount of property of yours [113] is not worth the sixteenth part of the merit of our novices who enter a privy contemplating the thought of impurity (of the body)."

And is it that this word is an instruction in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*? This is, however said by reflecting that the word spoken by the former lion-like teachers should certainly be remembered by one till the end of his life.

In the year one thousand and thirty-four of the Kali age his son, king Naravara by name, was ruling. He took the title of Mahāsīhasūradhammarājā. And in the time of that king a young monk who had been studying a book in the Jetavana

¹ It is the summary of the official *Rājavaṃsa* or a short chronicle of the kings (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 57).

monastery near the Ca-naḥ-khum shrine, although versed in the book, was bewildered by his ignorant mind in a time of ignorance; as a bad smell stirred up by a stick is concealed in a cess-pool through the wind and heat making it dry outside, so his mental continuum, stirred up by meditation on form, was concealed by the wind and heat of the canonical texts, making it dry outside and he thought: "The bad smell is called the stick of corruptions; having exerted myself, I will return to the low life of the world." Together with his fellow-monks he went to the landing place of a river taking with him the householder's dress. And on the way he thought: "I will worship the shrine, so long as I am in the state of a monk," and he placed the householder's dress in the hands of his friends and entered the cave facing the shrine, worshipped it and sat down. Then a young woman came to the open space round the shrine and took her seat outside the cave and sprinkled water, she made the prayer; "Let me be free from all kinds of suffering in hell by this meritorious deed and let me not in any existence be the wife of a man who returns to the worldly life."

When the young monk heard it, he thought thus: "I have now come (here), thinking: 'I will return to the worldly life'. This young woman also made the prayer; 'Let me not be the wife of a man who returns to the worldly life.' I will now ask that young woman the reason." And when he had thought thus and came outside the cave, he asked that young woman the reason: [114] "Why do you pray: Let me not be the wife of a man who returns to the worldly life?"

"Reverend sir", replied she, "between the expressions: 'Let me not be the wife of a man who returns to the worldly life,' and 'Let me not be the wife of a man who is a fool', there is no difference: they are but identical. Is he not, in truth, a fool who returns to the worldly life? If however, Reverend Sir, one who returns to the worldly life should not be just a fool, who then in this world would be a fool? A monk indeed lives happily by enjoying the robes, alms and dwelling place given by others. If he is anxious to learn the books, he gets a chance to learn them according to his wish. But if this is not so, and he, on the other hand, wishes to dwell only by eating and lying down as an idle man, just in the same way he too gets a chance to eat and lie down according to his wish. This being so, if he returns to the worldly life, though without saying, 'I am a servant of another, I am obedient to my wife,' I consider him to be a greater fool than others in the world. But if I should become the wife of one who is a greater fool, I should become also more

foolish." As she said this, the young monk became agitated, went outside the city-gate, and sat down meditating like a monkey thinking without a group of monkeys.

Then his friends came and called him, saying: "Take the householder's dress." At that time the young monk saying: "Come here, sirs," reported everything to them and said: "Sirs, if anyone should come now and strike my head with a club saying: 'Go back to the worldly life', even then I do not want to return to the worldly life. I will not think of returning to the worldly life from now till the end of my life." When he said this, having crossed the Erāvati river he went to Jeyyapura. At that time, they say, the wise told him: "The young woman might have been a deity, not a human being."

When he reached Jeyyapura and learnt the method in the presence of the great Elders, well-versed in the canonical texts, he dwelt in a monastery in the southern direction of the Puñña shrine. Having taught the canonical texts, [115] in due course monks and novices came from different directions and learnt the canonical texts in his presence.

Not obtaining a dwelling place some monks and novices lived there putting up sun-shades. At one time the king, having issued forth, thought: "I will worship the Puñña shrine," and entered the open space round the shrine. When he saw the monks dwelling there by putting up sun-shades, he had a monastery built together with a cave and dedicated it to that monk whom he gave the title of Tilokagaru. But for the sake of an easy mode of speech they called him Tilogagaru, dropping the letter *Ka*. A monk of seven years' standing named Tejodīpa, who was his pupil, wrote a sub-commentary on the *Parittas*.

Later on, (the king) bestowed on him the title of Tilokālamkāra. Thus it should be understood that the monk named Tejodīpa wrote a sub-commentary on the *Parittas* at the time of king Naravara. But some say: "At the time of king Pacchimapakkhādhika."

And at one time the great Elder who was a resident in the Tiriyapabbata monastery went to worship at the Pāda shrine, and at the time of his return, he entered the presence of the Elder Jambudhaja in the golden cave in the city of Kukhana and talked with him. And when these great Elders having met each other and talked, enjoyed themselves very much.

For in this world a fool enjoys himself very much with a fool, a wise man with a wise man.

And these two Elders were of the same standing. The great Elder who was residing in the Tiriyapabbata monastery having talked with him, went away afterwards. The Elder Jambudhaja followed him to show him the path. Then the great Elder who was a resident of the Tiriyapabbata monastery said to the Elder Jambudhaja: "Reverend sir, I am the king's favourite, the teacher of the king; it is you who should go before me." Then the Elder Jambudhaja said to the Elder who was a resident of the Tiriyapabbata monastery: "Reverend sir, you are the king's favourite, the teacher of the king. In the world, the teacher of the king indeed dwells in the state of striving, therefore, it is you who should go ahead of me." And in this connection it should be understood that both the great Elders spoke thus in regard to the common custom out of respect for each other. And the great Elder who was residing in the Tiriyapabbata monastery, having reached the city of Ratanapura, went to the Rājavamsa mountain, and lived a forest-life.

Now, king Ukkamsika consulted his younger brother named Sūrakitti: [116] "If you see the Elder in the forest first, you have a monastery built, and dedicate it to the Elder; if, however, I should see him first, I, building the monastery, dedicate it." When the younger brother, having seen him first, built a monastery named Jetavana in a glen of the Tiriya mountain, he dedicated it to him.

And this speech has been said for the sake of acquiring special merit after remembering the virtue of good people; as it has been said: "By remembering once the virtue of the good people there arose joy and satisfaction (in him); by that meritorious deed, by that joy and satisfaction, he obtained seven times the bliss of kingship among gods, and seven times the bliss of kingship among men."

And the great Elder who resided in the Tiriyapabbata monastery informed king Ukkamsika of the virtue of the Elder Jambudhaja. Then the king was very much pleased and adding the word *dīpa* to the original name Jambudhaja, bestowed on him the title of *Jambudīpadhaja*.

And the Elder Jambudhaja, indeed, was the pupil of the Elder Dhammānanda, and the Elder Dhammānanda was the pupil of the Elder Jotipuñña. And these Elders belonged to the line of Arahanta.

The Elder Jambudhaja, however, wrote in the Maramma language an exegesis of the Vinaya text and its commentary. On the other hand, the Elder Maṇiratana interpreted

in the Maramma language meaning of the commentaries: the *Atthasālinī*, the *Sammohavinodanī*¹ and the *Kaṅkhā-vitaranī*,² and of the sub-commentaries: the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* and the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā*.³ And the Elder, who resided in the Pubbārāma monastery in the Mūlāvāsa village, wrote a book called the *Gulhatthadīpanī*⁴ and also an exegesis of the knotty words of the *Visuddhimagga*⁵ in the language of the original texts. He also interpreted the meaning of the *Netti* text in the Maramma language.

The Elder, who had formerly lived in a village, used palm-leaves for his head-dress and according to the tradition of his teacher conducted himself against the Vinaya. But later he gave up that practice and lived a forest-life. The Elder also had deep knowledge and was very much skilled in the mode of interpretation of words.

In the year one thousand and thirty-five of the Kali age, there reigned a king named Siripavaramahārājā, who was the younger brother (of that king). [117] But as he built a house near the Dabbimukha lake and dwelt there, he became well-known by the name of Dabbimukhajātassara. When he had a monastery called Jeyyabhūmikitti built near that lake, he dedicated it to the Elder Sirisaddhana. He supported many monks who lived in villages and in forests. The last five kings in (each of) the ten lines of King Nō-ṇa-ra-māh patronized the religion even without discrimination because the shameless and scrupulous (monks) mixed together.

At that time the conqueror's religion was not very pure, like the moon between clouds. As the scrupulous ones were not forbidden to fulfil the doctrine by preserving their own tradition, the tradition of the company of scrupulous ones was not broken. Similarly the shameless ones also lived according to the tradition of their own teachers. So it should be understood that the tradition of the company of the shameless ones also was not broken. At the time of that king there was an

¹ It is a commentary on the Vibhaṅga written by Buddhaghosa (Law, *History of Pali Literature*, pp. 476-477).

² It is a commentary on the Pātimokkha written by Buddhaghosa (Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 409).

³ It is a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* (J.P.T.S., 1886, pp. 64, 74).

⁴ Cf. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 56; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 781.

⁵ This text has been edited by the Pali Text Society in two volumes. Pe Maung Tin has translated it into English in the P.T.S. Translation series under the title of *The Path of Purity*. H. C. Warren's *Table of Contents of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga* (J.P.T.S., 1891-93) is very useful.

Elder named Devacakkobhāsa who was familiar with the Vedic texts but weak in the Piṭakas.

In the year one thousand and thirty-eight of the Kali age, in order to remove a fear that arose through common disturbance, the monks of the Maramma country first recited, according to the manner spoken by that Elder Devacakkobhāsa, the *Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa* in the Nava cave beginning from the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Vesākha. Thereafter the monks of the Rāmañña country recited the *Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa* beginning from the first day of the bright half of the month of Jeṭṭha. He caused a great festival to be held. He also caused the inhabitants of the country to be much honoured and respected. At the time of that king, they say, when he had polished a book with bones and the juice of the Bhallika tree and had written on it with red arsenic and smeared it with gold, he established the Piṭaka. From that time up to the present day they adopted this method for the preparation of books in the Maramma country.

In the year one thousand and sixty of the Kali age, on Sunday, the sixteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Assayuja* (September-October), his son became king. He also took the title of *Sirimahāsīhasūra-sudhammarājā*. He had a shrine on the site of his father's palace. He was however called Mārajey-yaratana. [118] At the time of that king, however, when an Elder named Guṇābhilamkāra in the village named Tunna on the western side of the river called the Sallāvatī, had caused the novices to arrange their upper robes over one (i.e., the left) shoulder at the time of entering the village, he made them take only fans but did not make them take palm-leaves for head-dress. Being one company he dwelt in the Tunna village with his followers. Its name was the Tunna company.

The Elder, however, did not know truly the meaning of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books. He dwelt there teaching his disciples only the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. And at that time when these four Elders, the Elder Buddhāṅkura and the Elder Citta who had been dwelling in the city of Ketumatī, the Elder Sunanta who had been dwelling at the Ulu village, in the city of Dīpaṅga, and the Elder Kalyāṇa in the Jaya-bahu-andha village in the city of Tāluppa, had not made the novices arrange their upper robes on one shoulder at the time of entering the village and had not made them take palm-leaves for head-dress but had made them clothe themselves with the robes and take fans, they dwelt there giving advice, each to his own company. These Elders,

however, knew truly the meaning of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other books, and were well-versed in the three Piṭakas. Thus, at the time of king Sirimāhāsīhasūra-Sudhamma, the company known as 'one shoulder', differing from the monks who covered¹ (both shoulders), being divergent from them, split off separately. Just as an iron-stain produced from iron gets discoloured and becomes unnoticeable, so the leaders of the companies, even though they were divided, being earnest and free from greed, dwelt acting according to their likings.

And of these two companies, the Elders of the 'covering company'² dwelt faultless and free from doubt, because of the utterance spoken, by way of literal meaning, in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other books. [119] But the Elders of the 'one-shoulder' company did not know that their own view was found neither in the original texts nor in the commentaries nor even in the sub-commentaries nor in other books. Not knowing this matter, some (of them) gave instruction to their own pupils saying: "This is true and everything else is false." And in this way the pupils received instruction.

But some simply knowing that their own view had not been handed down in the original texts and the like, being lacking in mental clarity, had not thought of the words of the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, but had simply remembered the virtue of the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, and although knowing that their view had no basis, like hands stretched out in the sky, they took their stand even on what was baseless, saying: "Our view originates from the tradition of the Elder Saddhammacārī who went to Laṅkā."

They falsely accused the great and virtuous Elders. When, in the village called Byāsi, they had given a bribe to a lay devotee of bad character, who had returned to the worldly life, without considering his welfare in the present or future life, and had instigated him, saying: "You compose a book according to our views", and not fearing the suffering to be undergone in the future, they sought to take their stand.

And at that time an Elder who had been a resident of the Nigrodhapāḷi-suvanna monastery, having organized a committee of the company of the monks, who had been village-dwellers, and having become its leader, destroyed the book of the monks

¹ *pārupati* refers to putting on the upper robe and outer cloak, while *nivāseti* refers to dressing in the inner robe.

² Cf. *Sekhiyas* I, 2 (*Vinaya* IV, 185).

who had been forest dwellers; and saying: "Let there be no inauspicious monks in the religion, who do not put on the head-dress," he turned them out from those places.

Then the monks who had been village-dwellers, thought: "We shall also drive out more than fifty monks, who are dwelling in the monastery in the south-east direction of Setṭhitala, that lies in the north-east direction of the Hatthisāla village," they armed themselves and went forth.

When the king heard of that matter he sent a royal writ thus: "The company of village-dwellers is one and the company of forest-dwellers is different. The monks who are village-dwellers [120] cannot harass the monks who are forest-dwellers. They should dwell in their own places according to their own views." And then the monks who were forest-dwellers got a chance to live happily.

In the year one thousand and seventy-six of the Kali age there reigned that king's son, named Mahāsīhasūradhammarājādhirājā. He was also called Surammarājā and Setibhinda.

At the time of that king when a minister, who had been the general of internal fighting, brought an Elder named Ukkamsamāla, a resident of the Suvannayānalokana village, and reached the city of Ratanapura, having had a monastery built at Suvannakukkuṭācala, he made him settle there.

The (Elder) was well-versed in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other books. He also wrote (a book on) the principle of writing called the Vaṇṇabodhana. But as he belonged to the family engaged in the work of supervising the shrine, as assigned by the kings to that village, the king did not place him in the position of the king's teacher, but gave him back to the general of internal fighting in order to take care of him. Even at the time of that king some held: "The novices, at the time of entering a village, should enter by covering themselves." Some, however, held: "They should enter by arranging their upper robes on one shoulder." Thus they quarrelled among themselves.

There when the Elder named Ukkamsamāla became the chief of the 'covering' company, he declared: "The very custom of covering has been handed down in different books." But when the great Elder, a resident of the Tiriyapabbata monastery, (had become the chief) of the 'one-shoulder' company, he rejected the view of covering, by way of showing the tradition of the teachers.

And when the king engaged these four Elders as the judges of the *Vinaya*: the Elder residing in the Phalikakhacita

monastery, the Elder residing in the Mesucca monastery, the Elder Suhattha, and the Elder Buddhāṅkura, he said: "Let both the parties express ¹ their own views."

[121] But these four Elders were ignorant of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books. There was none else, excepting them, who was eminent in virtue and favourite to the king. Just as tigers are not able to catch beasts of little strength which, because of their small size, dwell in places covered by the trees, bushes, creepers and the like, where it is difficult to go, even so these, the Elders of the 'one-shoulders', with the patronage of the king as they had become the king's teachers, were not able to overthrow by argument, being of little strength because their views were not handed down in the books.

So, like an intelligent fighter, who, knowing the strength of his adversary, shows submissiveness, and dwells by pacifying the enemy, did the 'covering' company remain without reaching a conclusion of the controversy.

But in the year one thousand and ninety-five of the Kali age his son named Mahārājādhipati reigned. Later on, however, in the year one thousand and one hundred and thirteen, as the king of the Rāmañña country had defeated and brought him back, he became well-known as 'one who arrived at Hamsāvati'.

At the time of that king, when he had brought an Elder named Nāṇavara from the Jālasutta village in the city of Kukhana, he made him his teacher. The Elder was well-versed in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books. He first wrote an exegesis of the knotty words of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* for the hearers of the reciters of the canonical texts in the hall of justice. Thereafter he wrote the *Surāvinicchaya*, an exegesis of the knotty words of the *Atthasālinī*. After that he, requested by the king, interpreted in the Maramma language the meaning of the *Abhidhānapadīpikā*. He wrote a book called the *Rājādhirājanāmattapakāsinī* ² in which the king's title was shown by adorning it with the beautiful verses, the rules of grammar, the *Vidaggaṇḍī* metre and the science of words.

[122] When the king destroyed the house built in the country called Hatthisāla and built one hundred big monasteries and made all the monasteries known by the name of 'the founding of residences of fame and victory', he dedicated them to that

¹ *dassentu* (show).

² It was written to please a royal patron (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 67).

same Elder. And the name of the Elder was the same as that of the monasteries.

And at that time he made both these (parties) express their own views for the sake of again subduing the quarrel relating to what had been said as final in the quarrel of the two companies at the time of his grandfather and father, who were kings. The Elder as the chief of the 'covering' company and the Elder Pāsamsa as the chief of the 'one-shoulder' company held the debate. And the king placed the Elder, who had been a resident of the Jeyyabhūmisuvanna monastery and a great favourite of the king, in the position of an expert in the *Vinaya* for settling their quarrel.

But as the Elder had only a little knowledge of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books, he was insignificant among those well-versed in the canonical texts. But owing to his favouritism the king, not knowing the truth, placed him in the position of an expert on the *Vinaya*. Just as the king appoints a person, who subsists on ploughing and who is able to ascertain merely the directions: "This is the eastern direction, this is the western direction" and so forth, as a minister in charge of law and justice in the king's house, even so the Elder, who had been a resident of the Jeyyabhūmisuvanna monastery, was placed by the king in the position of an expert on the *Vinaya*, though he did not know: "This is such and that is such." He was not able to say: "Of the two views of the two parties, this is true and that is false." It appeared to him as if he had entered a room having no opening. Just as a buffalo does not know any difference between the sounds of the gods and *gandhabbas*, standing in its presence, playing a divine lute, singing a divine song, and those of [123] a village-lad striking bamboo-sticks, so should this performance be noted.

Now, the king issued a royal writ thus: "In my kingdom, whatever the monks wish, let them dwell by practising it accordingly." Their quarrel did not subside then.

Later on, in the year one thousand and one hundred and thirteen, the city of Ratanapura was destroyed.

In the second year after that, when the king, who had built the city of Ratanasikhā, had driven out from the Maramma country by the force of his own merit the army of the king of the Rāmañña country, like a hungry bird from a corn-field, and brought even the whole of the Rāmañña country into his own possession, he reigned there. And at that time he satisfied all the inhabitants of the Maramma country. As a man

brought to freshness the lotuses, withered by the heat of the sun, by sprinkling water from the Anotatta lake, so also did he produce the twofold happiness, bodily and mental, by sprinkling water from his own Anotatta-like merit, for the inhabitants of the Maramma country, householders as well as monks, who had been suffering from the heat of the strength of the army of the king of the Rāmañña country. And all the inhabitants of the Maramma country acclaimed him as: "This king of ours is a *Bodhisatta*."¹

Now, when (the king) had invited the Order of monks on each of the four *uposatha* days every month and had made them enter the palace, he offered them alms. He observed the *uposatha* ceremony with his harem ladies and ministers. He had a text made together with the interpretation of its meaning to be recited with proper accent for the advantage of all the harem ladies and ministers.

And when he had brought the Elder Yasa, a resident of the Beluva village, he appointed him as his own teacher. He also bestowed on him the title of Mahā-Atula-Yasadhamma-rājaguru. [124] And thenceforward he became well-known by the name of the Elder Atula.

And at that time when the Elder Sujāta, a resident of the Palena village, and others, who had been the adherents of the 'covering' company, had written an inscription thus: "At the time of entering a village the novices should enter by clothing themselves in the robe," they sent a letter with a message to the king. Now, when the Elder Atula and others, who had been the adherents of the 'one-shoulder' company, had also written an inscription thus: "The question was settled at the time of the former kings. Now the settling of the question should not be raised again," they sent it to the king. Though both the parties were anxious to express their own views, the king issued a royal writ thus:—"There is now plenty of work connected with the state, please give up the work connected with the religion. I will start first with the work connected only with the state. I will do the work connected with the religion afterwards."

Later on, however, the king issued an order thus: "In my kingdom, let all the monks now live following the wish of my teacher." And the monks of the 'covering' company also followed the 'one-shoulder' company, according to the king's command. In the Sahassorodha village, however, there dwelt

¹ One who is destined to be a Buddha.

two great Elders who instructed their own groups: "The custom of entering a village should be carried on by covering (the shoulders with the robe)."

At that time when the Elder Atula, the king's teacher, heard about that matter, he sent for them. And when they had come and reached the city, a lay devotee who was pleased with them, served those Elders with alms. Then the Elder Atula having brought sand from a distant place, had it sprinkled over those Elders near that lay devotee's house. He also created an uproar, saying: "This is an act of punishment for those who live not in conformity with the *Vinaya* rule."

Now, [125] those who were bringing the sand, spoke to each other: "Reverend sirs, now this action of ours, who live in conformity with the *Vinaya* rule, is improper." "O, this is a wonderful thing in the world," said an Elder. But another Elder spoke thus: "Friend, the guardian deities of the world having seen such an evil deed, if they are indifferent (to it), cannot live at ease; the guardian deities of the world are not now earnest, methinks."

Just at that moment a cloud speedily rose up and thunderbolts fell down instantly on the Elder Atula's monastery and on the king's house. This being so the Elder did not attain mindfulness on account of his pride and selfishness.

Again the king asked his ministers: "In my kingdom, do all the monks now follow the wish of my teacher or not?" and the minister informed the king thus: "O king, there is a great Elder named Munindaghosa, who now dwells in the Nipa village in the city of Kukhana. He instructs his own group according to the (view of) 'covering', and dwells having formed a large company. Then the king spoke thus: "Send for him and have the great Elders to assemble in the hall of justice and let them instruct the Elder, who has really no idea of the *Vinaya*, by pointing out (to him) its true nature." And the ministers did so.

And when the great Elders had met together in the hall of justice, they sent for him and admonished him. One of the great Elders having regarded the word of the king and that of the lord of the Order but not that of the Blessed One, the supreme Buddha, told the Elder Munindaghosa: "Friend, now all the monks in this Maramma country having followed the command of the king and the lord of the Order, belong to the 'one shoulder'. You are quite alone, who together with your retinue dwell observing the practice of covering. But why [126] are you proud and selfish and why do you remain without

giving up such wrong conduct?" And when the Elder Munindaghosa looked straight at the face of that Elder he spoke thus: "Formerly I heard: 'You are scrupulous, well-behaved and anxious for training.' But it is not fit for such a person to speak such a word; such a word certainly does not befit such a person. If you consider me thus: 'This man has no merit, no energy, no help,' and should wish to speak out of disregard, if this be so, you ought not, looking at the face of my teacher, knowing the virtue of my teacher, and bearing in mind: 'This is his pupil', to speak an unjust word such as this."

Then the Elder asked him: "Who then is your teacher?" When he had adored the Buddha image placed in the hall of justice, he replied: "'This is my teacher.'" When he had said: "My teacher," he then stood up in the midst of the Order of monks, and arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, took his seat in a squatting posture, raised his folded hands, and announced: "Reverend sirs, I will sacrifice even my life, but as long as my life lasts, I will not give up the precept of the Blessed One, the best of the three worlds."

And when the king heard of this matter he sent him to a different kingdom by the king's command, thinking "This proud and selfish man ought not to dwell in my territory; he should be banished to a different kingdom."

And the king's officers, having summoned him, led him to a different kingdom. When they had come to a region called Mahaṅga the man who was the lord of Mahaṅga gave the royal officers a bribe and spoke thus: "Sirs, this is but a frontier province of the Maramma country; please go back leaving him just here." The royal officers, taking the bribe, leaving him there, returned and the Elder dwelt there giving admonition in accordance with the rule of 'covering' to the monks and novices, who came from the four quarters and by teaching them the canonical texts. He wrote in the Maramma language an exegesis of the book called the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*.

[127] Later on, when the king heard about this matter, he said: "That Elder now dwells on the very border of my kingdom and does an act disliked and forbidden by us. Summon him." And when the royal messengers had arrived there, they summoned him. And the Elder thought: "The king now wants to kill me," and having abandoned the precepts and put on the householder's dress, he came with them. When they came to the city and reached it, they brought him before the king.

And the king spoke thus: "I have heard that you dwell as a monk increasing your company. But why do you now become a householder?" "As I thought: You, O king! might call me with a desire to kill me; if so, if you were to kill me, who remained without abandoning the precepts, there would have been a grave deed on your part, I came abandoning the precepts so that your deed might not be grave. If you desire to kill me you do so." And the king having put him in prison went to the Siyāma country for the sake of fighting. But having gone there to fight, he died on his way back.

In the year one thousand and one hundred and twenty-two of the Kali age, his eldest son, named Siripavara-mahādhamma-rājā, reigned. As he moved from the city of Ratanasikha and built Jeyyapura for the second time, he was also called the founder-king of Jeyyapura. And at that time, having brought the Elder Ñāṇa, a resident of a city in the heart of the Mahāpabbata, he placed him in the position of his teacher. The Elder, they say, had profound wisdom. He was able to recite nine or ten chapters each day. Even at the time when he was newly ordained, he wrote in the Maramma language the book *Padavibhāga*¹ and also an exposition of the Nyāsa, an exposition of the *Yamaka* and that of the *Mahāpaṭṭhāna*. When the king had a monastery built called Mahābhūmiramaṇīya, he dedicated it to him. He bestowed on him the title of *Ñāṇalamkāramahādhammarājā*.

And at that time the Elders in the 'covering' company thought thus: "And now the Elder belonging to our party has been the king's teacher. Let us now have a footing," and when [128] they thought thus, they sent a letter to the king with the message: "At the time of entering a village the novices should enter covering themselves with the robe." The Elder Atula, too, sent a letter to the king with the message: "This matter was settled in the manner stated before." So they had no chance to explain to each other through a rejoinder.

Thereafter in the year one thousand and two hundred and five of the Kali age the king named Siripavara-sudhamma-mahārājindādhpati (the son) of that king, reigned. As he built Ratanapura for the third time, he became known as the founder of Ratanapura. And as he was the lord of an elephant-king having six tusks, he was called Setibhinda.

When he brought the Elder named Candovara, a resident of a Maramma village, he placed him in the position of his own

¹ A grammatical work (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 71).

teacher. When he built a monastery called Bhūmikitti-atula, he dedicated it to him. He bestowed on him the title of Jambudīpa-anantadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru. At the time of that king some people had perverted views. When he had summoned them, he made them accept the right view. But at the time of that king they had no chance to win over the 'one-shoulder' company.

Thereafter in the year one thousand and one hundred and thirty-eight of the Kali age, the king's son, named Mahādhammarājādhirājā, reigned. When he had a five-storied monastery built in the southern quarter of the city, and had made it known by the name of Jeyyabhūmivāsātula, he dedicated it to the Elder named Māyavaṭṭaka. He bestowed on him the title of Guṇamunindābhisāsanadhammarājādhirājaguru.

And at that time the Elder named Nandamāla, who resided in the monastery in the eastern quarter of the city of Calaṅga, taught many monks and novices a book. He continuously admonished them: "At the time of entering a village the novices should enter after having fulfilled the very practice of covering. The practice of the 'one-shoulder' is found neither in the original texts nor in the commentaries nor in the sub-commentaries nor in other books, [129] and it is not in accordance with the doctrine." He also wrote a book pointing out the decision as found in the original texts, commentaries and the like.

Now the monks who belonged to the 'one-shoulder' company, sent the book to the king in order to show its defects. And at that time the king saw a dream thus: "When Sakka, the king of the gods, put on a white garment and adorned himself with white ornaments and white flowers, he came before the king and spoke thus: 'O king, at the foot-shrine on the bank of the Narmadā river, in the Aparanta country, there have grown up many grasses intertwined root with root, stem with stem and leaf with leaf, and they cover (the shrine).' These were not cleared away by the former kings, who really had no knowledge of them. But now these should be cleared away by you, as you really know and are anxious to make them clean. And there came a monk who explained the meaning of the advice."

When he saw such a dream and had sent for the Elder named Nandamāla, he made him stay in the royal house, built for the sake of sporting in water, in a place near the city of Ratanapura.

Now the Elder explained to the king, with the help of the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books

that the novices, at the time of entering a village, should enter in accordance with the rule of 'covering', just as the venerable Elder Tissa, Moggali's son, spoke in the right way to His Majesty King Dhammāsoka. The king who had been constantly practising the *pāramīs*¹ (perfectionary virtues) and had accumulated merits and was in possession of great knowledge, understood: "The view of 'covering' indeed has been written in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other books, but the view of 'one-shoulder' has not been written anywhere in them." When he thus understood and caused the Elders of the two parties to assemble in the king's house, he made them to express their own views.

The Elders who belonged to the 'one-shoulder' spoke thus: "Where is your view of 'covering' written?" Then the Elders holding the view of 'covering' replied: "The view of covering has been written in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books, as shown beginning with the expression: 'I will dress myself all round'."² After that, the Elders holding the view of covering, spoke thus: "But where is your view of the 'one-shoulder' written? [130] Then those Elders in favour of the 'one-shoulder' were not able to say anything, as if they had entered at that time a room having no opening, and as if they were going at that time along a path in a great forest during the night; because it has been said: "The mouth is just meant for speaking-and eating," therefore even though they were saying this and that, they were not able to convince the king.

And when the king through his proficiency in the *Vinaya* owing to the Elder's help, said: "Only such a thing has been handed down in the original texts, only such a thing in the commentaries and the like," he asked: "Your view of the 'one-shoulder' is not found in the original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books, and this being so, why did you follow such a practice?" And those Elders in favour of the 'one-shoulder', like thieves caught with goods in a cavity four cubits deep, and like crows caught by people, because they were unable to say anything, merely looked towards all the quarters and said: "Our behaviour was not formerly shown in the original texts and the like, and yet we behaved according to the tradition of our teachers." Being defeated they went over to the party of 'covering'. And the king issued

¹ B. C. Law, *Cariyāpitaka*, 2nd Ed., pp. 11 ff.

² *Sekhiya* 2 (*Vinaya*, IV, 185).

a royal order: "Henceforth let the monks so instruct the novices as to make them follow the practice of covering." Thence-forward the Elders belonging to the 'one-shoulder' company were not able to raise their heads, like owls at the time of the sun-rise.

When (the king) built a four-storied monastery called Bhūmikkitti, adorned with two palaces in the eastern direction of the great shrine of Lokasarabhū, he dedicated it to the Elder Nandamāla. He bestowed on him the title of Narindābhidhajamahādhammarājādhirājaguru.

The Elder should, however, be regarded as one who belonged to the tradition of Chapada. Just at the time when he was newly ordained he wrote in the Maramma language expositions of the *Vinayavinicchaya*,¹ the *Suttasamgaha*,² and the *Mahāvagga*-commentary.³ He also wrote a book called the *Sāsana-suddhidīpikā*.⁴

After that, in the year one thousand and one hundred and forty-three of the Kali age, on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Phagguna (February-March), the king's second son who built Ratanasikha, became the king.

[131] The king then thought thus: "The quarrel that arose on account of those who held the views of the 'one-shoulder' and of 'covering' could not be allayed in the time of former kings. Even at the time of Siripavara-sudhamma-mahārājindāhipati, when they were made to assemble in the king's house, because they had no chance to hold a freindly conversation, because they had to speak in the presence of the king, and because they were unable to say what they wished, there might have been an occasion to lay a snare saying: 'There was a defeat.' In my time, however, not acting in such a way I will send an envoy to the monastery of each of those Elders and make each of them to express his own view. If it be so, those Elders will hold friendly conversation."

When he had thought thus, he made his minister who was a general of internal affairs the chief (of the envoy), and caused him to approach and tell those Elders: "Be friendly and each of you express your own view." Now the Elders who belonged to the 'one-shoulder' company, declared: "The word spoken by us is not found in the original texts and the like,

¹ It contains a summary of the *Vinayapīṭaka* written by Buddhaddatta (Law, *History of Pali Literature*, pp. 397ff.).

² It is an anthology from the *Suttas* and *Vimānavatthus* (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 73).

³ Cf. Bode, *P.L.B.*, pp. 73 and 102.

⁴ It expounds the purity of religion (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

and yet we lived only in accordance with the tradition of our teachers." And the king sent to those places a royal letter: "As the Elders declare thus, there is nothing to be done. Let the novices now enter a village, without disturbing the precepts concerning the proper covering of oneself all round."

Later on, however, when he brought from the Sahassorodha village, a monk named Ñāṇa, who was seven years old according to his ordination, and had built a monastery called Antoyudha, he dedicated it to him. He bestowed on him the little of Ñāṇābhi-sāsanadhaja-mahādhamma-rājaguru. Requested by the king (the Elder) corrected the book *Rājābhiseka*¹ and interpreted its meaning in the Maramma language.

Formerly, when the Blessed One was still alive, he came and subdued four *yakkhas*. And when he accepted the rice with meat offered by them and went to the bordering place of a mountain, he ate it, looked at that place, and smiled. [132] The Elder Ānanda asked the reason. (The Blessed One) predicted: "In future, O Ānanda, there will be a great city in this place, and these four *yakkhas* will be the kings in that city."

Just as predicted, in the year one thousand and one hundred and forty-four of the Kali age, on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark half of the the month of Māgha (January-February), in the constellation of Uttaraphagguṇī, (that king) built a capital city called Amarapura. He took the title of Siripavaravijayānanta-yasatribhavanādityādhipati-pañḍita-mahādhammarājā.

He dedicated to the Elder Guṇābhilaṃkārasaddhamma-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru a monastery called Jeyyabhūmivihārakitti built by his chief queen. This was called La-khaṃ-khum-kha-rāṃ-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Guṇamunindādhipati-mahādhammarājātirājaguru a monastery called Ramaṇiyavirāma built by the princess, who was the owner of the Kanni village. This was called Mārilaṃ-ka-khā-rā-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Tipiṭaka-sadhammasāmī-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru a monastery called Maṅgalādhirāma built by the consort of the viceroy. This was called Khum-tā-kha-rā-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Ñāṇajambudipa-anantadhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru a monastery called Maṅgalāvāsā-

¹ It is a book on the subject of the consecration ceremony. Ñāṇa translated it into Burmese. (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 74.)

tula built by the queen who lived in the middle house. This was called Mam-gaṃ-kha-rā-to.

He placed these four great Elders in the position of the lords of the Order.

He dedicated to the Elder Kavindābhisaddhammavaradhaja-mahādhammarājaguru a monastery called Maṅgalabhūmikitti built by the queen who lived in the northern house. This was called Ño-ñā-kha-naṃ-kha-rā-to.

[133] He dedicated to the Elder Kavindābhisaddhammapavara-mahādhammarājaguru a monastery called Atulabhūmivāsa built by the prince, who was the lord of the city of Sirikhetta. This was called Ne-ño-khe-rāṃ-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Ñāṇalamkāra-saddhammadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru a monastery built by a certain minister in charge of internal affairs. This was called Kham-ga-taṃ-khā-raṃ-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Paramasirivaṃsadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru a monastery built by his minister who was the general of an excellent army. This was called Ma-tiḥ-kha-rāṃ-to.

He dedicated to the Elder Kavindasāradhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru a monastery built by a certain minister in charge of law and justice. This was called Lo-kaṃ-pa-naṃ-rāṃ-to.

Thus, indeed, he patronised many great Elders, well-versed in the canonical texts, by giving them the monasteries together with the titles. If the names of all the Elders are taken up and told separately, the account of the Sāsanavaṃsapadīpikā will be much prolonged. Therefore I will overlook them here and tell only what needs to be told.

Subsequently, when (the king) thought: "The four great Elders on account of old age and weakness, will not be able to purify the religion according to their wish," he placed as the lords of the Order the eight Elders together with these four great Elders in order to purify the religion, namely, (1) Thera Kavindābhisaddhammapavara-mahādhammarājaguru, (2) the Elder Tipitakālamkāradhaja-mahādhammarājaguru, (3) the Elder Cakkindābhīdhaja-[134]-mahādhammarājaguru, (4) the Elder Paramasirivaṃsadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru, (5) the Elder Janindābhipavara-mahādhammarājaguru, (6) the Elder Mahāñāṇābhīdhaja-mahādhammarājaguru, (7) the Elder Ñāṇalamkārasaddhammadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru, and (8) the Elder Ñāṇābhisāsanadhaja-mahādhammarājaguru.

When he understood: "Deprived of the conditions of help and freedom, one should not live, though he is capable, without a teacher for guidance,"¹ and had fulfilled the conditions of help for the Elders, fit to be teachers for guidance, and also the conditions of help and freedom for those worthy of help and freedom, he made them dwell simply receiving the assistance of their pupils.

Thereafter, in the year one thousand and one hundred and fifty of the Kali age, he placed the Elder Ñāṇābhisāsanadhajamahādhammarājaguru in the position of the lord of the Order. Thenceforward he became the lord of the Order and purified the religion.

After that, in the year one thousand and one hundred and fifty-one, in the month of Phagguna (February-March), when he had built a very magnificent five-storied monastery called Ratanabhūmikitti in Asokārāma, surrounded by the two brick-built walls, in the southern direction of the Mahāmuni shrine, he dedicated it to the Elder Ñāṇābhisāsanadhajamahādhammarājaguru. Again he bestowed on him the title of Ñāṇābhivamsadhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru. Thereafter he dedicated to him Jeyyabhūmivihārakittimaṅgalavirāma and also many other monasteries. But he lived in those monasteries in turn and taught the canonical texts. He recited also both the *Vibhaṅgas*, and always undertook the *dhutaṅga* practices sitting alone.

The Elder, however, when five years old according to his ordination, wrote, as he had been the leader of the Order even before, a new sub-commentary called the *Peṭakālamkāra*,² an exposition of the *Netti*. When he was eight years old (since the time of his ordination) he became the lord of the Order. When he became the lord of the Order, he wrote a sub-commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, called the *Sādhujjanavilāsinī*.³ [135] He also wrote a book called the *Ariyavaṃsālamkāra*. Requested by king Mahādhammarājā he wrote an exegesis of the Jātaka-commentary and also wrote the *Catusāmaṇeravatthu*, the *Rājovādavatthu*, the *Tigumbathomana*, the *Chaddantanāgarājup্পattikathā*⁴ and the *Rājādhirājavilāsinī*⁵ and so on.

¹ Cf. *Vinaya*, i, 92.

² Variant *Peṭālamkāra* (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 78).

³ Cf. Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 78.

⁴ Short Pali Work of the Jataka type dealing with religious and moral teachings, (*Ibid.*, p. 78).

⁵ A little Pali work (Bode, *Ibid.*, p. 79).

In the year one thousand and one hundred and sixty-two of the Kali age, these six novices, Ambagahapatissa, Mahādhampa, Kocchagodha, Brāhmaṇavattha, Bogahavattha, and Vātura-gamma, brought ten relics for religious gift from the island of Sīhala and came to a great capital city called Amarapura together with a lay devotee. And (the king) caused them to be ordained on the Hatthirajjasuvaṇṇaguhā boundary by the Elders, who were the king's teachers and the teachers of the *Kammavācā*,¹ such as Ñāṇābhivaṃsadhammasenāpati-mahā-dhammarājādhirājaguru, the lord of the Order, Kavindābhisaddhammadharadhaja-mahādhhammarājaguru, who was their preceptor, the Elder Janindābhidhajamahādhhammarājaguru, the Elder Munindaghosa-mahādhhammarājaguru and others. And he established the lay devotee in the stage of a novice. And thereafter, on many occasions, he caused the monks who came there to be trained, the novices to be ordained and the lay devotees to be initiated.

Later on, however, in the year one thousand and one hundred and forty-six of the Kali age, when an Elder named Atula, formerly a teacher of his father, the king, made this view firm: "At the time of entering a village the novices should enter by putting on and arranging the upper robe over one shoulder, and by fixing the dress meant for binding the chest," on this authoritative statement in the *Cūḷaganṭhipada*: "The covering-robe, the upper robe, and the garment meant for binding the chest should be put on," he sent a letter to the king.

[136] And when the king heard of it he had the great Elders assembled in the hall of justice and made them hold a discussion with the Elder Atula. And when the Elder Atula showed him the text written in the *Cūḷaganṭhipada*: "The covering-robe, the upper robe and the garment meant for binding the chest should be put on," he said: "At the time of entering a village the novices should enter putting on and arranging the upper robe over one shoulder and fixing the dress meant for binding the chest."

Thereupon the great Elders asked him: "Has such an intention been shown elsewhere or not?" The Elder Atula replied thus: "Such an intention has not been shown elsewhere."

¹ This is a convenient title for the collection of certain set forms of speech followed or to be followed in conducting the business of the *Samgha* either at the time of conferring ordination or at the time of holding a council. These set forms are but excerpts from the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*. This text has a purely ecclesiastical use (Law, *H.P.L.*, pp. 608-09; *J.R.A.S.*, 1875, and 1892).

If it be so, by whom was this book written?" "By the Elder Moggallāna, an *arahant*, at the Pokkanti village in the southern quarter of Anurādhapura in the island of Sīhala." "How can this thing be known?" "Because this has been said in the *Piṭakattayalakkhaṇagandha*." "And where was this *Piṭakattayalakkhaṇagandha* obtained from?" "Since it was brought by the Elder Buddhaghosa, they say, from the island of Sīhala, it was obtained thence. This book was written by the Elder Buddhaghosa for the sake of teaching that among the books brought by him from the island of Sīhala, such and such book was written by such and such Elder. This book is now in our hands." "If this book is now in your hands, show us." (The Elder Atula) showed it, saying "Look here, friend, this is the book in our hands." Even though the book was seen by the great Elders headed by the lord of the Order, they thought, "It has come down that the Elder Moggallāna wrote the *Vinayaṅgaṭhipada*¹ at the time of king Parakkamabāhu in the island of Sīhala, and that the Elder Moggallāna, an *arahant*, did not write the *Cūḷaṅgaṭhipada*² at the Pokkanti village in the southern quarter of Anurādhapura in the island of Sīhala." Moreover, the Elder spoke thus: "But why do you take it as handed down, even though not handed down in the *Piṭakattayalakkhaṇagandha*, and tell a lie? Is there none among the monks holding the view of the 'one-shoulder', the precept concerning falsehood?" And as the Elder Atula was unable to speak further he remained tied like a deer caught in a hunter's snare; [137] like a thief caught with the booty, the Elder was detected in an act of falsehood. Here runs the following story for making this matter clear.

(a) In this kingdom, they say, a certain man who lived in the country came on some business or other to the capital city called Amarapura.³ And when he had come, the provisions for his journey were exhausted on the way at the time of his return. Now this man thought thus: "Now my provisions for the journey are exhausted. In this kingdom, at the Sahaṣsorodha village, they say, there is a great banker named Laddhavara who is widely known everywhere in the world. I will play a trick, and say: 'I am his relative.' This being so, the villagers will show me much generosity in order to gain friendship and intimacy with that great banker. Then I shall

¹ Cf. Bode, *P.L.B.*, pp. 75, 102.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

³ Situated about six miles north-east from Ava (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 211).

have no difficulty as regards the provisions for my journey." And when he had thought thus, having sought out the houses of the rich in the different villages where he arrived on the way, having entered the presence of rich men, he held conversation (with them).

Now, those villagers asked him: "Wherefrom do you come? Where will you go? Whose relative are you, or who are you?" "I have come from Amarapura, the great capital city. I will go to the Sahassorodha village. I am the son-in-law of a great banker named Laddhavana in the Sahassorodha village. My name is Dhanavaddhaka," replied he.

In order to gain friendship and intimacy with the great banker Laddhavana, those villagers invited him to various meals. They showed him friendliness with many other presents. In this way, when he had deceived (persons) in the different villages where he arrived and had told them about his own merit, he traversed a long road of his journey. At last, he reached the Sahassorodha village, but as he had not previously come to the Sahassorodha village, he could not previously have met the great banker, Laddhavana. Immediately on reaching the Sahassorodha village, not even asking: "What is the name of this village?" seeking the large house of the richest person in that village and seeing the large house of that very banker, Laddhavana, having entered into the presence of the banker Laddhavana, he held conversation with him.

[138] The great banker asked him: "Where do you come from? Where will you go? Whose relative are you, or who are you?" "Sir, I come from Amarapura, the great capital city. I will go to the Sahassorodha village. I am the son-in-law of a great banker named Laddhavana in the Sahassorodha village. My name is Dhanavaddhaka," replied he.

Then the great banker looked straight at his face and asked: "O young man, this is the Sahassorodha village itself and I am the great banker named Laddhavana. I have two daughters. They are just married. They are now living with their own husbands. I have never seen you before. Why and wherefrom do you come and become my son-in-law?"

Then he having made his whole body throb like a deer that was being pursued by men, did not find out any word to utter, and as he received no help, he said: "If it be so, now I do not know: where I have come from, where I will go, whose relative I am, or who I am. I am puzzled in all quarters. Forgive my fault. From now up to the end of my life I will not deceive, I do not venture to deceive. Now I am very much afraid,

do not inflict any punishment.” So saying, he stood up hurriedly and ran away.

Thus, indeed, when the Elder Atula had become sad and had lamented muttering this and that, he sat down in the midst of the Order.

This is the first defeat of the Elder Atula.

Thereafter the great Elders who as though lifting up again a person who had stumbled and fallen in the mud, asked again thus: “Reverend sir, is the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* intended to complete the three great commentaries on the *Vinaya*, or is the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* something different?”

“Among the three great commentaries on the *Vinaya*, this very *Cūḷaganṭhipada* is intended to complete (them).” “If this be so, why then is it stated in the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* only? This has been said in the *Vajirabuddhi-commentary* and similarly in the *Sāratthadīpanī-commentary*,¹ and the *Vimativinodanī-commentary*.²” Do these three great commentaries on the *Vinaya*, composed later, complete the great commentaries on the *Vinaya*? As [139] he was asking thus, he however, spoke again and again in order to control his speech saying: “As I have already said, the expression that this very *Cūḷaganṭhipada* is intended to complete the three great commentaries on the *Vinaya*, is certainly true.” And here runs the following story to make this matter clear.

(b) They say that when a certain man received from the king a fee for the maintenance of his sons and wife, he together with one of his friends went to fight in a battle. After they had fought with enemies and overcome them, all the people fled away, each towards his own place. And he together with his friend also fled away towards his own place. When he had fled away a little distance, he fainted on being struck with a stick by the enemies on the way, he could neither go on nor could even sit down.

And this occurred to his friend: “Now this man is very ill, about to die. If I attend on him and stay here, the enemies will come and capture me.” When he had thought thus and had taken *kahāpanas*, clothes and other belongings of the sick man, he went away leaving him there. When he reached his own place, this occurred to him: “If I say: ‘I have come leaving

¹ It is a commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*. It gives an account of the 18 sects into which the Order was divided at the time of the 3rd Council (Malalasekera, *Ibid.*, II, p. 1106; *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 61, 65).

² Cf. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 38, f.n. 2.

him behind on the way', his kinsmen will find fault with me. I will now say: 'As he is dead, I have come alone.' " When he reached his own place, the wife of that man came to him and asked: "Where is my husband? Where have you left him that you come alone?" "Madam, your husband, being struck by a weapon of others, has died. These are your husband's belongings." When he said this he gave her the *kahāpaṇas*, clothes, and other things, and consoled her saying: "Do not grieve, do not lament, now give food for the dead man and distribute the share of merit." And then she took them and cried and offered food for the dead man and distributed the share of merit.

[140] But a short time afterwards, when the sick man had recovered, he came to his own house. Even his wife did not believe him. He said: "I am not dead. That man left me when I was ill and went away with my belongings. If you cannot believe me, I will sit down hiding myself inside a room. You send for him and ask."

And then she sent for him and sitting down outside the room, she asked: "Sir, is it true or false that my husband is dead?" "Certainly true it is that your husband is dead."

Then that man came out of the room, and said, stretching forth his finger: "Friend, even though I was just like the dead, I am not dead now. But why although I am not dead do you say of me: 'This man is dead'?" As he did not find anything to say, he stretched forth his finger, being speechless, and looked straight at him and said: "Though you have been able to come here, now you are dead. The truth was spoken by me when I said, 'He is dead.' Nothing false have I said." Although he was saying this again and again, none could believe his words because there was existing and standing before them a living man. He received a defeat.

Thus, even though the Elder Atula was speaking, in order to control his speech, none believed him. He received a defeat.

This is the second defeat of the Elder Atula.

And again, just as a hunter who has seen an elephant, and has shot it once with an arrow, shoots that great elephant a number of times with his arrows, so that it cannot get up again, even so, (their opponents) being defeated once, in order to defeat them a number of times, so that they cannot uphold their view again, the great Elders who held the view of covering, spoke thus:

"In your *Cūḷaganṭhipada*, indeed, it has first been said: The novices should enter a village even without violating (the

rules of putting on) the dresses, well-covered all round, and the like,' [141] and again it has been said: 'they should use the outer covering robe as their upper garment, and bind on the cloth meant for binding the chest.' But why has this been said without connecting the last with the first? As in your opinion there are no original texts, commentaries, sub-commentaries and other books for your defence, you say: 'Here is this *Cūḷaganṭhipada* for our defence.' 'Fear arises even from the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* which is your defence.' So saying, they caught them who told a lie for their defence, as a thief is caught in his hiding place.

Here runs the following story to make this matter clear.

(c) In the past, they say, there lived a pantomimic actor named Pāṭali in a village on the bank of a river, not far from Benares. On a festival day, when he entered Benares with his wife and danced and played on the lute and sang, and obtained wealth, he caused plenty of food and liquor to be taken at the end of the festival. And as he was going to his own village, he came to the bank of the river, and when he saw the fresh water coming, he sat down taking the food and drinking the liquor. Being intoxicated, not knowing his own strength and fastening the great lute to his neck, he thought thus: "I will go on having plunged into the river." He took his wife by the hand and plunged into the river. The water entered through the holes of the lute. And that lute made him sink down in the water. When his wife knew that he was sinking down, she left him and crossed the river and stood on its bank. The actor Pāṭali sometimes emerged and sometimes submerged and his belly swelled as the water entered it.

And his wife thought: "My husband will now die. I will ask for a song, and as I shall be singing it in the midst of an assembly, I shall earn my livelihood." When she had thought thus, she said: "My lord! you are sinking down in the water, you give me a song, with it I shall earn my livelihood." And she said, "The Ganges carries away Pāṭali, a learned orator. Oh drowning sir!¹ give me a verse."

[142] The actor Pāṭali replied: "My good lady, how shall I give you a song? The water that gives protection to the multitude is now killing me." And he said:

¹ *Vuyhamānaka*-one who is getting drowned. *Jāt.*, III, 507. *Vuyhati* means being carried away by the current of a river in danger of drowning (*Suttanipāṭa*, 319).

“That with which people besprinkle one who is suffering, who is sick, in the midst of that I will die; fear arises from protection.”

And when fear had arisen from the *Cūḷagaṇṭhipada*, his own defence, the Elder Atula did not find anything to say and with his face downcast he received a defeat.

This is the third defeat of the Elder Atula.

When the king heard the words of those two parties and understood that the *Cūḷagaṇṭhipada* was surpassed, as it was very weak, like a house that had stood for more than one hundred years, due to the incorrectness of its text, inasmuch as there was a confusion through the defects of contradiction between what was said before and what was said afterwards, and, inasmuch as this had not been included in the Suttas and those conforming to the Suttas. And when he was pleased with the thought: “The religion will now be pure”, he issued the order: “Let all the monks in my kingdom hold the same view on the matter of covering.”

This is told here in brief. If the account of the dispute, the questions and answers of those two parties which met together, were told in detail, it could not be finished in five or six chapters; and inasmuch as this *Sāsanavaṃsapadīpikā* would be too much prolonged, if all were narrated fully, therefore, let us overlook it, showing only what is intended here.

Ñāṇābhivamsadhammasenāpatimahādhammarājādhirāja-guru, however, was the lord of the Order, a venerable Elder, the first among the monks of the Amarapura sect in the island of Sīhala, a very helpful teacher. The Amarapura sect means that which originated from the Elders of that place.

In the year one thousand and one hundred and eighty-one of the Kali age, that king's grandson, named Siritribhavanāditya-pavarapaṇḍita-mahādhammarājādhirāja, reigned. But when [143] he moved from Amarapura, he built Ratanapura for the fourth time. In the time of that king, he placed, as the foremost among the monks, who were forest-dwellers, an Elder named Sīlācāra, a resident of the Saciva village, and a disciple of the Elder Guṇamunindāhipati-mahādhammarājādhirāja-guru. When he had a monastery built in a country named Rājāgāra, he dedicated it to him.

In the year one thousand and one hundred and eighty-one of the Kali age, when he had brought an Elder named Paññāsīha from Calaṅgapura he had him established in the Ratanabhūmikkitti monastery in Asokārāma. When he had bestowed on him

the title of Munindābhisirisadhammadhaja-mahādhammarājā-dhirājaguru, and had dedicated to him a monastery called Ramanīyā in the Mahājeyyabhūmivihāra, he placed that great Elder as the lord of the Order.

And at one time the king asked the Elders: "Are the four teeth included among the forty teeth, or are these separate from them?"

Now, some Elders replied thus: "The four teeth are certainly included among the forty teeth." Some, however, replied: "The four teeth are but separate from the forty teeth." Thereupon the king said: "Bring the book." The Elders, who held these to be included, brought the book.

And further, others, who possess a complete set of teeth, have got thirty-two teeth, but this man must have forty. He, who has a complete set of teeth, has thirty-two tooth-bones; these are also white in colour and varied in size. Of these, just in the middle of the lower gum, there are four teeth resembling the gourd-seeds placed in a row in a lump of clay. On both sides of them, each tooth has one root and one tip like the opening bud of a jasmine flower; after that each tooth has got two roots and two tips like the support of a cart; [144] thereafter every two teeth have three roots and three tips, after that every two teeth have four roots and four tips. And in the upper gum also, the order is the same.

Because his upper lip is short, they say, it appeared as if one half of it was cut horizontally, and removed; it did not cover the four teeth and the two bones. So they called him "a half-lip" man.

Here "his" signifies "of the prince Licchavi." "Because his upper lip was short" means on account of the shortness of his upper lip. "As if one half of it was removed" means it appeared as if the upper half portion of the upper lip was taken out. "Did not cover" means it did not conceal the upper half portion of the upper lip. So it means because it did not cover the four teeth and the two bones, therefore they called him, the prince Licchavi, "a half-lip man."

Thus, when the Elders, who held the view that the four teeth were included, brought and showed the book; all of them supported this view.

And at one time the king asked his advising minister, "Do lands and goods and the like, dedicated to a monastery or a shrine by the former kings, stand firmly as those dedicated at the time of the later kings, or not?"

Thereupon the advising minister spoke thus: "In a field belonging to the Order seeds are sown belonging to individuals. They think: 'Having given a portion (the rest) may be made use of,'¹ and further they think: 'These should be divided into ten parts and one part should be given to the owners of the fields.'"²

Although it has been said in the texts and commentaries on the *Vinaya* that lands and goods and the like formerly dedicated by a certain king, stood firmly as those dedicated by a certain king at a later time; here by the expression, "In a field belonging to the Order", it is understood that, according to the custom, the field belongs to the Order because, without giving as revenue profits from the boundary, it is given along with the land. And when the recipients die, [145] then another body, the order of the four quarters and the future order, becomes its lord, so it should be considered as its property. A monastery which has been dedicated should be cared for the sake of lighting or repairing the shrine; it should be caused to be cared for by giving wages. And because it has been said in the commentary that while repairing the parasol or railing or a broken part of the shrine or while whitewashing and the like, the thing deposited should be made near the shrine, it should be understood that the lands and goods and the like dedicated to the shrine by former kings, verily remained as the property of the shrine even at the time of the later kings.

Thereafter he asked: "When, from whose reign have the lands and goods and the like been dedicated to the monastery or the shrine?" And the advising minister spoke thus: "It should be understood that they had been dedicated to the monastery or the shrine from the time of former kings in past cycles." Likewise our *Bodhisatta*, a sovereign king, dedicated two thousand small islands and four great islands together with seven kinds of jewels to the Blessed One named Sujāta. It has been recorded in the books that he made the inhabitants of his kingdom also do the work of guarding the monasteries. Hence it should be understood that the lands and goods and the like had been dedicated by the former kings a very long time ago.

In the *Rājavaṃsa* also, (it has been recorded that) more than one hundred years since the *parinibbāna* of the Blessed One,

¹ See *Vinaya*, I, 250.

² *Vinaya* Commentary, p. 1103.

a field measuring five *karīsas*¹ was dedicated to a certain Elder by a certain female cake-seller in the city of Sirikhetta. That was plundered and seized by a king named Dvattaponka.

Then the bells and drums that were struck made no sound nor did the host of the king's Kunta-birds² visit the place as before, though they were sent there.

And when (the king) came to know this matter, he gave (land) to the Elder as was done by the female cake-seller.

[146] In the year one thousand and one hundred and ninety-nine of the Kali age, his younger brother Siripavarāditya-lokādhīpativijaya-mahādhammarājādhīrājā reigned. When that king moved from Ratanapura, he built Amarapura for the second time. In the very year of the king's accession to the throne, on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Jetṭha (May-June), he assigned to an Elder named Suriyavaṃsa, the lordship of the Order, after he had made him read out the king's letter in the midst of an assembly, in that hall of the Piṭakas, called Māravijayaratanasudhammā, in the city of Ratanapura. He bestowed on him the title of Suriyavaṃsābhisiripavarālaṃkāradhammasenāpatimahādhammarājādhīrājaguru.

In the year one thousand and one hundred and twenty-five of the Kali age, on Friday, the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Migasira (November-December), that Elder had been born in the Vālukavāpi village. On attaining the age of seventy (*sattativayam*) he obtained the lordship of the Order. He was controlled in his senses, had the virtue of forbearance, was anxious to have training, and was well versed in the canonical texts. He was a disciple of Thera Piṭakālaṃkāramahādhammarājaguru. He died at the time of that king, in the year one thousand and two hundred and fifteen of the Kali age. And the king made his cremation with many thousands of platforms and wonderful deeds, not done before.

And further, in the year one thousand and one hundred and sixteen of the Kali age, he again placed as the lord of the Order the Elder named Ñeyyadhamma, a disciple of that great Elder. He first bestowed on him the title of Ñeyyadhammālaṃkāradhammasenāpatimahādhammarājādhīrājaguru. After that he bestowed on him the second title of Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa-siripavarālaṃkāra-dhammasenāpatimahādhammarājādhīrājaguru.

¹ *Karīsa*, or Sanskrit *karṣa*, is quarter of a *pala* (560 grains) and is equal to 80 *kṛṣṇalas* (140 grains). For further details, vide *Buddhist Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, pp. 425 ff.

² A kind of bird, otherwise called *adāsa*, cf. *Jāt.*, IV, 466.

The Elder, however, being born in the Devasūra village, in the year one thousand and one hundred and sixty-one of the Kali age, first attained the stage of ordination on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of *Āsāḥi* (June-July), in the year one thousand and one hundred and eighty. At the time of that king, in the year one thousand and one hundred and ninety-nine of the Kali age, he together with an Elder named Paññātissa, a monk named Sunanda, [147] a novice named Indasāra, a lay devotee, and one boy, reached the city called Amarapura from the island of Sīhala. The lord of the Order then favoured them with the benefit of the requisites and that of the doctrine.

Of them later in the year one thousand and two hundred and two of the Kali age, the Elder Paññātissa died because he was overcome by old age and disease and could not transcend nature of compounded things. His thought: "I will undergo a training again" was lost, being unaccomplished.

So said the Blessed One:

"What is thought over is lost, what is not thought over is also lost. A man or a woman has certainly no enjoyment made up of thought."

In this world, however, a wise man, anxious to do a meritorious deed, should do (it) in haste. Who knows whether death will take place today or tomorrow or the day after?

So said the Blessed One:

"Make haste in doing good deeds, restrain an evil thought. The mind, which tarries in doing merit, delights in evil."¹

And the great king made the cremation with many things suitable to the sacred festivity. Thereafter he gave the monk named Sunanda a training again, while he established the novice in the stage of ordination and the boy in the stage of a novice.

And in the year one thousand and two hundred and three of the Kali age, in the month of *Māgha* (January-February), when the great king had provided them with many requisites, and had himself performed all the duties, and had placed them in the charge of a minister, who was the first citizen of Kusima, and had assigned to him all duties, he sent them to the island of Sīhala.

[148] The great Elder, the lord of the Order, wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the *Mahāniddeśa* com-

¹ *Dhammapada*, 116.

mentary, called the *Saddhammapajjotikā*,¹ after correcting its reading from various books so that the religion might last long and the hearers might understand easily. He helped the religion of the conqueror by teaching the canonical texts to many disciples.

Later on, in the year one thousand and two hundred and eight of the Kali age, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of *Migasira* (November-December), his son named Siripavarādityavijayānantayasa-mahādhammarājādhirājā, reigned. At that time he placed as the lord of the Order Thera Paññājotābhidhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, a disciple of the great Elder Suriyavaṃsābhisiripavarālaṃkāradhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru. He, too, was virtuous, well-versed in the canonical texts, anxious for training, scrupulous and well-behaved. He wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the text of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* and its commentary.

At the time of that king, the Elder Ñeyyadhammābhivāṃsa-siripavarālaṃkāra-dhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga* commentary called the *Saddhammavilāsinī*. The Elder Mañijotasaddhammālaṃkāra-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the text of the *Samyutta-Nikāya* and its commentary. The Elder Medhābhivāṃsa-saddhammadhajamahādhammarājādhirājaguru wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the text of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* and its commentary.

When I, Paññāsāmī by name, a disciple of the Elder Ñeyyadhammābhivāṃsa-siripavarālaṃkāra-dhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru was five years old according to my ordination, I wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the knotty words of a book called the *Saddatthabhedacintā*. And when I was of ten years standing I wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikāsaṃvaṇṇā*. I corrected also its reading after comparing it with many books.

[149] Later on, in the year one thousand and two hundred and fourteen of Sakkarāja, this righteous king of ours, through the power of merit accumulated in many hundred births, obtained the wealth of kingship, as if he was inspired equally by the gods and the guardians of the world for the sake of patronising the religion of the conqueror. The desired object of the right-

¹ It was written at the request of a thera named Deva (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886, p. 70).

eous king who wished to patronise the religion of Him who was endowed with the ten powers,¹ was fulfilled. Having broken the embankment, the great flood of faith, like a given narrative, stood still, having overflowed the channel that received it. And after the lapse of four years he, surrounded by the five kinds of ensign of royalty, and many other royal possessions, received the consecration with his queen in the month of *Vesākha* (April-May) on the sacred spot of Udumbara.

So we narrated in the account of the origin of the serpent-king:

“Highly meritorious, indeed, was this king. When he had obtained wealth equal to that of king Sakka, he was careful in charity.”

Then at the lapse of four years, in the month of *Vesākha* (April-May), when he together with his queen was besprinkled on a great flat roof of a palace “he illuminated also the Wheel of the Conqueror, as did Asoka the great and others. Having held back the shameless and supported the scrupulous in his country, he applied himself to gifts and moral precepts and meditation as did king Nimi² and others.”

At that time, inasmuch as he censured the shameless persons who were to be censured, as if he was throwing them in the Avīci hell,³ therefore they without getting a chance kept themselves hidden, like owls at the time of sunrise.

So we narrated in the account of the origin of the serpent-king:

“And then the Wheel of the Conqueror was manifested like the moon in the sky; the shameless kept themselves hidden like owls at sunrise.”

And inasmuch as he supported the modest persons, who were to be supported, as if he was raising them up to the highest

¹ The ten powers or potentialities belonging to a Buddha are ten kinds of knowledge which are as follows: (1) Knowledge of the cause and the non-cause, (2) Knowledge of the past, present and future *kammas*, (3) Knowledge of the way leading to all directions, (4) Knowledge of the diverse nature of persons, (5) Knowledge of the inclination of other beings, (6) Knowledge of the senses of other beings, (7) Knowledge of meditation, concentration, emancipation, attainments and freedom from impurities, (8) Knowledge of remembering previous births, (9) Knowledge of the birth and death of beings, (10) Knowledge of the extinction of sins (Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 38; *Jāt.*, I, 84; *Sam.*, II, 27; *Visuddhimagga*, 193, 391; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 14, etc.; *Dāṭhāvamsa* (Ed. B. C. Law) Tr., p. 21; *Vibhaṅga*, 317; *Buddhavaṃsa*, XII, verse 6; S.B.B.; *The Minor anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Pt. III, p. 49, f. n. 1; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62).

² Cf. *Nimi Jātaka* (No. 541); *Jātaka*, III, 378 ff.

³ One of the eight great purgatories (*mahāniraya*), *Jātaka*, Fausboll, V, 266; B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 98-99.

stage of existence, therefore they who got a chance stood with their heads raised up and were fearless, [150] like the sun and the moon, the beginners at the time when the worlds came into existence.

So we said:

“Then the Wheel of the Conqueror was manifested like the sun in the sky; the modest also arose like men in the world-cycle on getting the light.”

When the king, anxious to make long enduring the Buddha's word, consisting of the three *Piṭakas* and ninefold division,¹ he had it purified by the great Elders who were well-versed in the canonical texts, and he gave wages to the scribes, and examined again and again the two kinds of letters, guttural and cerebral, and those that were loose and sounded and of various sorts, and he did not miss even the writing of the definitions and made it enter the palace. He had it written in books, made of gold and iron. And when he had selected monks who were possessed of knowledge and power, he made each of them bear in mind the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, each according to his own power, and had it recited. He made all his harem-ladies, beginning with the chief queen, many royal servants, ministers and others, and also the citizens, each to bear in mind the *Suttanta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* each according to his or her own power by classifying them each into the *sutta*, summary and division of words and also according to the chapter on *citta* and the like, and had them recited. And he himself used to study daily many kinds of *suttas* beginning with the characteristics of non-soul and the like. And he gave safety to all beings living on land and in water in the region measuring five hundred arrows, around the hermitage of the monks dwelling in the forest, so that the religion of the Conqueror might endure long in the whole kingdom. And when he had the senior and junior Elders who were well-versed in the canonical texts, his parents and other kinsmen freed from all royal duties and religious offerings, he made them live at ease. When he had also caused a thousand young men of respectable families to be established in the stages of initiation and ordination just in one day, he patronised the religion. He did many other meritorious deeds. Having done these he longed only for the absence of rolling on,

¹ *Navangam satthusāsanam*—*Suttam, geyyam, vyākaraṇam, gāthā, udānam, Itivuttakam, Jātakam, abbhutadhammam, vedallam*; cf. *Majjhima*, I, 133; *Ang.*, II, 103; III, 86 ff.; *Puggalapaññatti*, 43; *Milinda*, p. 344, etc.

not for rolling on.¹ [151] And to others such as the harem ladies and the like he would give instruction repeatedly: "Whatsoever meritorious deeds you do, long only for the absence of rolling on, not for rolling on." He would always give instruction with a religious discourse connected with the characteristics of impermanence and the like. He himself also always made an effort towards calmness and intuition. But as the kings who are the lords of countries, have many legitimate duties, sometimes they do not get a chance to give themselves up to meditation. As such, he would just give himself up to meditation even at the time of letting out the excrement from his body. He would not spend time in vain. He would also bring from the cemetery the bones of human heads, skulls and the like that were called auspicious in the world, and having had them turned into tooth-picks or other similar things he would place them near him and accumulate the merit produced by the meditation on the bones and the like.

At that time, as the emperor Asoka supported the Elder Tissa, Moggali's son, so did he support the foremost of the Orders of monks and all the inhabitants of the country, our excellent teacher, well-versed in the canonical texts, endowed with knowledge, sharp, swift, deep, etc., an exponent of beautiful religious sermons, holding a position respected² by all the monks of the Maramma country, who had veneration for the aged, had won beauty and fortune, held a reasonable view and was a recipient for the third time of the title of Ñeyyadhammābhimunivarañānakitti-siridhajadhammasenā-pati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru.

So we narrated in the account of the origin of the serpent-king:

"And at that time he supported the good Elder, who received the title of Ñeyya and so forth, as the foremost of the Orders of monks."

And at that time, in the year one thousand and two hundred and nineteen of Sakkarāja as Mandhātu built Rājagaha and as Sudassana the city of Kusāvati,³ so did our righteous emperor

¹ "Rolling on" is *Samsāra*, the round of births; *vivatta*, the absence of rolling on, its opposite is *nibbāna*.

² *Onamita* meaning bowed down.

³ Ancient name of Kusinārā or Kusinagara where Buddha died. It was a rich and prosperous city. (N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dict.*, p. 111; Cunningham, *A.G.I.*, pp. 493 ff, 712-714, *Dīgha*, II—Mahāsuddassana Suttanta. It is Kasia in the Gorakhpur District. Kasia is situated exactly 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur. For further details, B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 14-16, 28, 37.)

build near Mantalākhyātacala a great capital city called Ratanāpunṇa, respected for its marks of a good land, [152] overlaid with all kinds of decoration of a city for catching the sight of many people like a ford with one descent, attracting the sight of the people, filled with various kinds of jewel, and a centre for interchange of all kinds of wares of merchants living in different countries.

So we narrated in the account of the origin of the serpent-king:

“At that time when he had the wealth worth a share, he built a beautiful and very charming city called Ratanāpunṇa, having the marks of a good land, near Mantalākhyātacala and (the river) called Erāvatī, as Mandhātu did Rājagaha.”

Just as the sun having one thousand rays rises up from the Udaya mountain, producing joy and happiness in beings, who are in need of light in the world and doing good to them, even so this righteous king was born in this Maramma country producing joy and happiness in the monks who were modest, well-behaved, and anxious for training, as well as in the householders belonging to the Maramma country.

And under the patronage of the righteous kings this religion of the supreme Buddha in the Maramma country was made to shine greatly, and it came to growth, prosperity and full development.

And the religion as it is called endures under the patronage of kings. Not only this righteous king was the helper of the religion, virtuous, and proud of the religion, but also all the inhabitants of the kingdom, who were obedient to their kings, and supported by the righteous kings, were the helpers of the religion, virtuous, and proud of the religion.

So it has been said in the Mahābodhi Jātaka¹ and the like:

“A bull goes straight if it is in a hurry. All the cows go straight, if the guide goes straight.

[153] Likewise if he who is called the best among men, practises virtue, how much more will the other people do? If the king is righteous the whole country lives happily.”

Particularly the daughter of the chief queen of the most righteous king who built Amarapura for the second time, was endowed with the noble qualities, such as uprightness, gentleness, meekness, and the like. She became the chief queen of our king, was of right conduct, and a devoted wife. Although she obtained the highest position among all women, she,

¹ *Jātaka* No. 528.

without being slothful through the intoxication called sensual pleasures, was always energetic on account of her earnestness in doing meritorious deeds. She constantly learnt the canonical texts. She was also versed in the *Vedas*. She had great faith in the religion of the supreme Buddha. Abiding by the advice of the most righteous king, others too, such as the harem-ladies, also practised virtue, and had faith in the religion.

Even the viceroy, born of the same parents as the most righteous king, brought welfare to all the inhabitants of the kingdom, the monks and the householders, even without going against the wishes of the most righteous king. Just as the eldest son of a sovereign-king, who was strong, swift, very brave and energetic, did the same thing in his presence, so other ministers, numbering many thousands, established in different posts obtained from the most righteous king, would perform this and that duty for the most righteous king, and find pleasure in meritorious deeds. And the inhabitants of the kingdom would fix their mind on liberality, morality, and meditation. And the monks, senior, middle, and junior, headed by the lord of the Order, among their charges, would make themselves responsible for the texts and intuition.

In this way, when one speaks with great zeal about the merit of a virtuous man, it can hardly be finished. But who is that person who will be able to tell fully the merits of the Blessed One, the best in the three worlds, which were due to greatness of many thousands of perfectionary virtues? Thus if the merits of the most righteous king and his chief queen as well as those of the viceroy and others were to be told faithfully and in detail, the end of this *Sāsanavaṃsapadīpikā* could not be made known, although it would reach many hundred chapters. [154] Because it might be too much prolonged, this has been told just in brief for the sake of giving joy to good people, consisting in great virtue. This should be approved by the good people who listen to it thus: At such and such a time, in such and such a kingdom, when such and such a king had supported the religion, it came to growth, prosperity and full development, like a tree which depending on earth and water comes to growth, prosperity and full development.

At the time of this king, the great Elder, the leader of the Order, named Ñeyyadhammābhivaraṇānakittisiridhaja-dhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, entreated by the king, wrote a book called the *Surājamaggadīpanī*. When he had taught his disciples the meaning of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*

commentary, he had the manner of its interpretation as taught by him recorded in a book. The great Elder named Medhābhivamsa-saddhammadhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru wrote in the Maramma language an exposition of the *Jātaka* text.

Paññāsāmīsirikavidhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, who was a disciple of the lord of the Order and recipient of the title from the king, and I myself, entreated by the king and his chief queen, wrote a book called the *Sīlakathā*¹ and also a book called the *Upāyakathā*.² Entreated by a lay devotee named Disāpāmokkha, who was the king's teacher, I wrote a book called the *Akkharavisodhanī*³ and also a book called the *Āpattivinicchaya*.⁴ Similarly, urged by the Order I wrote the *Nāgarājuppatthikathā*,⁵ the *Vohāratthabheda*⁶ and the *Vivāda-vinicchaya*.⁷ Likewise, entreated by the king's ministerial secretary who was the headman of the Pañcajambu village, and two ministerial secretaries for information, I wrote a book called the *Rājasevakadīpanī*.⁸ Likewise entreated by a chief minister who was the head of the Dīghanāvā city, I wrote a book called the *Nirayakathādīpaka*.⁹ Likewise, entreated by a lay devotee named Sīlāleḍḍhuka, I wrote a book called the *Uposathavinicchaya*.¹⁰ Likewise, I, requested by many hearers, wrote in the Pali language an explanation of the *Saddanīti*.

And at one time, in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty of the Kali age, this occurred to the king: "Now in the religion of the Buddha, the Blessed One, [155] who are the monks and novices, who have the four requisites in abundance, obtained by improper means such as despoiling a family,¹¹ and the like? And who are the shameless persons who enjoy for themselves things that ought to be abandoned, such as gold and the like?¹² And who are they who take betel¹³ unnecessarily

¹ & ² Evidently of an ethical character (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 93).

³ A treatise on Pali orthography (*Ibid.*).

⁴ A treatise on morality (*Ibid.*).

⁵ Written to commemorate the founding of the new capital, Mandalay (Pali Ratanapūṇṇa). It is composed in couplets (śloka) throughout (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 92).

⁶ & ⁷ Deal with monastic discipline (Bode, *P.L.B.*, p. 93).

⁸ A treatise on serving the king (*Ibid.*). It was written for the edification of certain ministers.

⁹ Edifying stories of punishments in hell. It was written to please a high official (*Ibid.*).

¹⁰ A treatise on the *Uposatha* rules (*Ibid.*).

¹¹ *Kuladūsana*; Cf. *Kūladūsaka* at *Vin.*, III, 184 ff. (Saṅghādisesa, xiii).

¹² Cf. *Vin.*, III, 237 (Nissaggiya, XVIII).

¹³ *tambūla*; Cf. *taṇḍula*, rice-grain, husked rice, allowed, if there was need for it, to be taken among provisions for a journey, at *Vin.*, I, 244.

at the improper time, and store up,¹ and smoke unless they are ill,² enter a village with sandals on and hold up an umbrella,³ and indulge in other habits that do not conform to the Vinaya? It is now proper to make the precepts of the Blessed One observed by asking the monks and novices to call upon the Buddha as a witness and promise in his presence saying: 'We will not indulge in these bad habits.' And if it be so, the monks and novices will think: 'We have made such a promise in the presence of the Buddha. And if we act otherwise after making the promise, there may arise some fear for us in this very existence, in this present life.' And they will observe the precepts after having considered the fear of the present life." Thinking thus he⁴ again thought: "We do not know whether it is proper or not to ask the monks and novices to promise in this way. Now we will cause the great Elders, the lord of the Order and the like, to assemble and ask them."

And then he commanded his ministers: "Bring together all the great Elders in the monastery of the lord of the Order and ask this matter." And when the ministers had caused the great Elders to assemble, they asked: "Reverend'sirs, having now found in the monks and novices of the religion habits that do not conform to the Vinaya, the king wishes to cause the precepts of the Blessed One to be observed by letting these persons call upon the Buddha as a witness and making a promise in his presence saying: 'We will not indulge in a bad habit.' Is it proper or not to make them do so?" And then the great Elders, headed by the lord of the Order and others, replied thus: "Inasmuch as wishing purification of the religion, he acts thus, so it is proper to have it done in this way."

Some Elders, such as, Thera Paṇḍitābhīdhamunindaghoṣa-mahādhammarājaguru and others replied thus: "Nowadays after the monks [156] on account of the insufficiency of their faith, strength, and the like, have committed what is called an offence, intentional and unintentional, according to the authority of the Blessed One, they make amends for it by the acts of instruction and ordination, as declared by the Blessed One, and having purified the precepts, they show modesty and good behaviour. Therefore if they have never committed an offence, their promise in the presence of the Buddha, saying:

¹ See *Vin.*, I, 209; III, 251.

² *Vin.*, I, 204.

³ Cf. *Vin.*, II, 130 f. 207 (in regard to entering an *āṛāma* in this way). Cf. *Vin.*, IV, 200, 201, 337-8.

⁴ i.e., the king.

‘We will not purposely violate an act objected to by the Blessed One,’ becomes too serious. Even if one makes a promise beforehand and deceives afterwards, this being so, then according to the expression: ‘When one with a pure mind does not keep his promise, he commits a *dukkata* offence,¹ while the other (with an impure mind) makes a *Pācittiya* offence² at the very moment of his promise,’ through the *dukkata* offence of promising and deceiving he may commit this or that (other) offence with it. Moreover, from the very act of promise there may arise an abundance of offences. Just as a person in order to cure his disease takes a medicine which is not beneficial, and then his disease without being cured may get beyond control, so when one, unwilling to commit an offence, promises before the Buddha, then he may come to have an abundance of offences. Moreover the monks who do not see fear, will certainly venture to violate the precept, after they have made promises many hundred times before many hundred Buddhas.”

Thereupon the great Elder, the lord of the Order, urged me, his own disciple named Paññāsāmisirīkavidhaja-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, to give a rejoinder to that Elder’s word. So I speak thus:

It has been said in the *Parivāra* text: “There are two classes of persons that are unable to commit an offence deliberately: the monks and nuns, who are noble, and there are two classes of persons that are unable to commit an offence deliberately: the monks and nuns, who are ordinary.” If one considers that like the noble persons, the ordinary persons ought not to promise faithfully, he may say that the act of promise is too serious on the part of the ordinary monks. “The four things that are not to be done should be pointed out to monks, noble and ordinary, from the very beginning in the consecrated enclosure for ordination.” Whatever a monk accepts, taking as it were by theft what has not been given: a *pāda*³ or a thing worth a *pāda*, [157] or more than a *pāda*, even down to a blade of grass, he is not a novice, not a Śākya-son.⁴ Whatever a monk, even down to an ant, deliberately kills a human being, or even down to causing abortion,⁵ is not a *samaṇa*, not a

¹ There is a class of priestly offences called *dukkata* requiring confession and absolution (*Anguttara*, I, 102). Many minor offences are described as *dukkata* in Buddhist *Vinaya* (Nagai, *Buddhist Vinaya discipline* published in *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 377 ff.).

² There are 92 *pācittiya dhammā* or priestly offences requiring confession and absolution (vide Law, *H.P.L.*, pp. 54 ff.).

³ A *pada* = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kahāpaṇa* and double the value of *māsaka*.

⁴ *Pārājika*, II (*Vin.*, III, 41 ff.).

⁵ Cf. *Vin.*, III, 83.

Śākya-son.¹ And having bad intention and being covetous by nature, a monk who even thinks: "I am finding pleasure in solitude,"² and lays claim to an order of transcendental character, untrue and unreal, is not a novice, not a Śākya-son.³

Those who are newly ordained on being admonished by their preceptors and teachers certainly promise, saying: "Yes, revered sir." The novices at the moment of their initiation also promise before a preceptor beginning with the first (*sīla*), saying: "abstaining from life-taking, I undertake the precept"⁴ and so forth. Likewise, when the monks have committed this or that offence, they repeatedly promise at the time of acknowledgment through confession, saying "all right, I will restrain myself well, reverend sir." At the time of receiving training before a preceptor and a teacher, the novices also repeatedly promise: "I undertake the precept of abstaining from life-taking," and so forth. But it appears like a wonder when they without being afraid of those promises, say: "Let us be afraid from now." This promise is not different from those promises. But this is the sense in brief: What is called a *dukkata* offence concerning a promise was laid down with reference to a monk named Upananda⁵ through his non-fulfilment of a promise, in Sāvattthī, where he, being thus requested by king Pasenadi of Kosala: "Please spend the rainy season in this monastery," agreed, saying: "Very well," but spent the rainy season in another monastery on the way on account of his abundant gain. And in the *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary on the Vinaya, in the explanation of the section dealing with the approach of the rainy season the expression "and in a promise there is an offence of *dukkata*"⁶ has been explained thus: "Here is an offence not only concerning a promise for the one who says 'Spend this rainy season of three months here'," but also concerning that for the other who says "Accept almsfood for three months, both of us will spend the rainy season here and will recite together," [158] and so on, there is a *dukkata* (offence) concerning a promise for each of them, and that is on account of breaking his word later by one whose mind was

¹ *Pārājika*, III (*Vin.*, III, 68 ff.).

² *Vin.*, III, 92 f. Sunnāgāra, solitude or empty place, refers here to the four meditations, *Jhāna*.

³ *Pārājika*, IV (*Vin.*, III, 87 ff.).

⁴ *Pārājika*, I (for depriving human beings of life); *Pācittiya*, LXI (for depriving living things, creatures of life).

⁵ *Vin.*, I, 153 ff.

⁶ *Vinaya*, V, p. 1072.

at first pure, as there is a *pācittiya* offence concerning a promise for one whose mind was at first pure.¹

Thus it is called a *dukkata* offence, when after the monks have agreed with one another and with their lay supporters, they do away with the good and welfare of others through deception. "I will not eat or lie down according to my own wishes"—having said this to begin with, not acting in accordance with their words, they break their promise. But if a monk who has just made an agreement with the novices saying: "Yes, revered sirs", afterwards falling into this or that offence for some reason or other, may fall into *dukkata* offences of breaking his word together with making a promise, this being so, two separate offences may be laid down for this or that rule of training. But these have not been laid down as such. For this very reason it should be understood that the *dukkata* offence concerning a promise is laid down in place of breaking his word when he knows the thought of others and has agreed in their presence.

Now as the king wished the purity of religion he thought thus: "If the monks and novices are made to observe the precept in this way, they should show restraint without considering the fear of the present and future existences. There is nothing wrong if they are made to promise before the Buddha. Observing the precepts there would be abundance of moral purity for the monks and novices."

And then the king caused morality to be observed having made all the monks and novices promise before the Buddha. In this way, at the time of this king, they became almost modest who were shameless before, not considering the fear.

In the year one thousand and three hundred and ninety since the attainment of the *parinibbāna* by the Buddha, the Blessed One, they united the boundary at the place, meant for throwing water, with the boundary at the Gahaṭṭhā village, and built a bridge, so that the monks who were doing their work might walk at ease, starting from the village-boundary on the bank of a river outside up to the place meant for throwing water inside.

And then an Elder named Nāṇālaṃkārasumana-mahādhammarājaguru-gaṇācariya performed there the acts prescribed by the Vinaya, such as ordination and the like in course of a few years.

¹ The reading at *Samantapāsādikā*, V, 1073 differs.

[159] But the Elder Dhīrānanda thought: "There is a defect of confusion," and did not wish to carry out any legal act. Thenceforward those who approved of the opinion of Nāṇālaṃkārasumana-mahādhammarājagurugaṇācariya, belonged to his side, while those who approved of the opinion of the Elder Dhīrānanda, were his partisans. Thus the monks belonging to the Amarapura group in the island of Laṅkā, remained divided into two (groups).

And then the monks, who were on the side of Dhīrānanda, sent the monks Dhammakkhandha and Vanaratana, the disciples of the Elder Sīlakkhandha belonging to that party, to the city of Ratanapūra in our *Jambudīpa* in order to receive an instruction from the great Elder, the lord of the Order. And in the year one thousand and two hundred and eighteen of the Kali age, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of *Kattika* (October-November), they started from the island of Sihala, and coming along reached the city of Ratanapūra on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Phagguna (February-March) in the year one thousand and two hundred and nineteen.

And when the righteous king had a four-storied monastery built in the park of the lord of the Order, he made them live there and helped them with the four requisites. And when the lord of the Order had heard the words of these two parties and had concluded with the help of many books, he settled the dispute. He declared the existence of the defect of confusion in this place and gave them also a letter containing a message.

And when the most righteous king caused them to receive training again before the lord of the Order and presented them with many things worth giving such as the three Piṭakas, books and the like, he sent them away by a boat on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Āsāhi (June-July) in the first part of that same year.

And thereafter the monks, who were on the side of Nāṇālaṃkārasumana-mahādhammarājagurugaṇācariya, sent the monks, Vimalajoti and Dhammānanda, the disciples of the Elder Paññāmolī belonging to that party, together with a novice named Ariyālaṃkāra and four lay devotees. And they arrived on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Kattika* (October-November) in the year one thousand and two hundred and twenty of the Kali age.

[160] Then (the king) had a monastery built in the same park of the lord of the Order and made them live there and helped them with the four requisites. The lord of the Order again gave

his judgment in the aforesaid manner. When the righteous king had caused those monks to receive training before the lord of the Order, and had caused the novice to be ordained and had helped them with the four requisites, he sent them away.

And after that, in the year one thousand and two hundred and twenty-two of the Kali age, on the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (January-February), two monks, three novices, and four lay devotees from the island of Sīhala, arrived at the capital city called Ratanapunnā,¹ taking with them as a religious gift, a casket of silver and gold, a shrine of silver and gold with a relic, a Buddha image made of ivory, leaves of the great Bo-tree, bark of the great Bo-tree, earth from the resting place of the great Bo-tree, leaves of the southern branch of the Bo-tree in Sīhala, and the earth from the place of waking in the second week. When the righteous king helped them with the four requisites, he made them live in the monastery of the lord of the Order. And he caused the monks to receive training. He caused the novices and householders to be ordained and initiated respectively.

In this way, the founding of the religion through the succession of the Elders in the Maramma country, from the attainment of the *parinibbāna* by the Blessed One up to this day, should be understood. In this way, there were five groups in the city of Arimaddana in the Maramma circle; the group of the Elder Arahanta, the group of the Elder Uttarājīva and the Elder Chapada, the group of the Elder Sīvali, the group of the Elder Ānanda, and the group of the Elder Tāmalinda.

Now I will show how the religion has gradually come down through the succession of the Elders from the five groups in the city of Arimaddana to Vijayapura, Jeyyapura, and Ratanapura. In the city of Sirikhetta, indeed, the king named Co-ra-nā-no-nā placed as his own teacher the Elder Saddhammatthiti, a disciple of the Elder Sāradassi belonging to the tradition of Parakkama, and honoured him.

When he had come from the city of Sirikhetta in the year eight hundred and four of the Kali age, he reigned in Ratanapura. And then [161] he caused his own son, who was a prince named Anekibha, to enjoy the city of Sirikhetta under the title of overlord. He gave it to him thus: "The city of Kū-tvā-ñkā-ta-ru-pā-mo lies in the southern direction, the place called Phiḥ-kho-nā in the western direction, the city of Malvanā in the northern direction, and the place called Kuḥ-kho-nā

¹ Mandalay founded in 1857 (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 92).

in the eastern direction, and let the command of my son be issued to the householders dwelling between these places, and to the monks let the command of my teacher, the Elder Saddhammatthiti, be issued."

And the Elder Saddhammatthiti had two disciples, the Elder Ariyavaṃsa and the Elder Mahāsāmī. Of them, when the Elder Mahāsāmī went, as said before, to the island of Sīhala thinking: "I will bring back the history of the religion," and having brought back an Elder named Saddhammacārī together with five monks from the island of Sīhala and having received fresh training and caused the religion belonging to the tradition of the island of Sīhala to prosper in the city of Sirikhetta, he dwelt there. When an Elder named Atulavaṃsa, the disciple of the Elder Mahāsāmī, wandered about in the four quarters and learnt the canonical texts and supported the religion near Tambūlabhuñjamātikā in the city of Sirikhetta, he dwelt there. When an Elder named Ratanaraṃsī, the disciple of the Elder Atulavaṃsa, gained mastery over the canonical texts and supported the religion in the city of Sirikhetta, he dwelt there. And when an Elder named Abhisanketa, the disciple of the Elder Ratanaraṃsī and teacher of the righteous king Sativa,¹ gained mastery over the canonical texts and supported the religion in the city of Sirikhetta, he dwelt there. He, however, had a disciple, who was an Elder named Munindaghosa.

In the year nine hundred and seventy of the Kali age, when king Pacchimapakkhādhika conquered the city of Sirikhetta and brought back the Elder Munindaghosa together with a minister named Nandayodha, he established them in Ratana-pura. The king Pacchimapakkhādhika, they say, spoke thus: "Having acquired the city of Sirikhetta I have obtained only one monk and only one householder."

[162] The Elder was known as Munindaghosa by his novice-name. But when he was ordained he was named Upāli, according to the name of the Elder who was his maternal uncle. But he was known as Tipiṭakālaṃkāra in accordance with the name given him by the king. Moreover, he was known as Tiriyapabbatathera by the name of his residence in the Tiriyapabbata monastery.

He dwelt at first, they say, in a four-storied monastery on the bank of the Erāvatī river, and later on, in the year one thousand of the Kali age, when he became sixty years old, he

¹ Also called Thado-min-byā. He is believed to be of Burmese royal race and made himself master of Upper Burma and founded Ava in 1364.

dwelt in the Tiriyapabbata monastery. When he was a novice he left Ratanapura out of fear of the Jalumas and the Siyāmas, and when he arrived at the city of Ketumatī, he learnt the book there in the presence of the Elder, who was a teacher of the righteous king, and a disciple of the Elder Tisāsanadhaja.

On account of his great proficiency in the original texts, the commentaries and the sub-commentaries, he, in his youth, composed the Vessantara-Jātaka in excellent verses and became very famous by telling it. But the disciple of that Elder was the venerable Elder Tissa, a resident of Uccanagara, who lived a forest-life in the Bham-giri country, and taught the canonical texts, and helped the religion. But his desciple was an Elder named Canda, a resident of the Repina village. His disciple was an Elder named Guṇasiri, a resident of that village. His disciple was an Elder named Kalyāṇadhaja, a resident of that village. The Elder, however, taught the canonical texts in the villages of Sahassorodha and Bodhodadhi in the city of Paduma, and dwelt there. His disciples were the Elders Indo-bhāsa, Kalyāṇacakka, and Vimalācāra, the residents of the Bodhodadhi village, the Elders Guṇasāra and Candasāra, the residents of the Sahassorodha village, the Elder Varaphasi, a resident of the Vantuma village, and the Elder Guṇasiri, a resident of the Jarādha village in the city of Kanti. When these Elders again received their training before the Elder Kalyāṇadhaja and studied the canonical texts, they became learned. The disciple of the Elder Kalyāṇadhaja was a great Elder named Dhammadhara, who dwelt at the Samivana village in the Bham-giri country, [163] and when he dwelt in the Kusumamūla village in the city of Paduma in his old age, he taught the book and helped the religion.

Among them, when the Elder Guṇasiri received the title of Guṇābhilaṃkārasaddhamma-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru at the time of the king who built Amarapura, he lived in the Jeyyabhūmivāsakitti monastery. But the disciple of the Elder was a great Elder named Nāṇābhivaṃsadhamma-senāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, who became the lord of the Order, at the time of that king. The Elder, however, was the originator of those belonging to the Amarapura group in the island of Sīhala. The disciple of the Elder Guṇābhilaṃkārasaddhamma-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru was an Elder named Tipiṭakālaṃkāra-mahādhammarājaguru. His disciple was an Elder named Suriyavaṃsābhisiripavarālaṃkāra-dham-masenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru who became the lord of the Order at the time of the king who built Amarapura for

the second time. His disciple was a great Elder, Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsamunivarañānakittisiripavarālamkāradhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, who became the lord of the Order at the time of the king who built Amarapura for the second time and also Ratanapūṇṇa. He was a disciple of the Elder Ñāṇābhivaṃsadhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru, the lord of the Order, and also a disciple of the Elder Sāravamṣi.

This is an account showing the succession of the Elders down to our teachers from the Elders Saddhammācārī and Mahāsāmī, who came last of all from the island of Sīhala.

Another succession of the Elders should be understood thus:

When an Elder named Saddhammakitti belonging to the tradition of the Elder Chapada came to Jeyyapura (Jayapura), dwelt in the place where Catudīpabhūmi lay, learnt the canonical texts before the venerable Elder Ariyavaṃsa, and proceeded thereafter to the Jetavana monastery and dwelt there, he taught the canonical texts and helped the religion. The disciple of the Elder Saddhammakitti was named Tisāsanadhaja. His disciple was named Dhammarājaguru. His disciple was named Munindaghosa. His disciple was named Mahātissa. His disciple was named Candapañha. His disciple was named Guṇasiri. His disciple was named Ñāṇadhaja. [164] His disciple was named Dhamnadhaja. His disciple was named Indobhāsa. Thenceforward the history of the religion should be understood on account of the Elders Kalyāṇacakka, Vimalācāra, Guṇasāra, Candasāra, Varaphasi, Guṇasiri, Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, and Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa.

This is an account showing, from the time of the Elder Saddhammakitti, the succession of the Elders, who were the disciples of the Elder Chapada who arrived at Laṅkā.

This is the founding of the religion in the city of Ratanapūṇṇa.

Thus the history of the religion should be understood by assuming that the whole of the Maramma country is what is called Aparanta. It is said that the Blessed One lived in the Candana monastery in the Aparanta country, and wandered about by his miraculous power in this region and that in the Tambadīpa country, and preached the doctrine to beings.

Here ends the sixth chapter of the Sāsanavaṃsa, called the narration of the history of the religion in the Aparanta country.

CHAPTER VII

The history of the religion in the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country

Now comes the opportunity to narrate the history of the religion in the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country according to the table of contents as laid down. So I will relate it.

Now at the end of the Third Council, the venerable Elder Tissa, son of Moggali, sent the Elder Majjhantika to the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country, saying: "You go to this country and establish the religion there."

And here the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country lies near the Cīna country. For this reason, the people, who are at present the inhabitants of the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country, and the inhabitants of the Cīna country, having made the figure of a serpent, have respected, worshipped and honoured it, from the time of the rise of a serpent-king named Aravāla till this day. They have been making the serpent-figure mostly in dresses, vessels, etc.¹

And when the Elder Majjhantika, together with four monks, himself as the fifth, rose up in the sky from Pāṭaliputta, he descended on the Aravāla lake in the Himalayas. And at that time² when the crops were ripening in the Kasmīra-Gandhāra country, the serpent-king named Aravāla, living in the Aravāla lake, caused a hail-storm [165] to occur, and having ruined the crops he made (the country) reach the great ocean. And when the Elder descended above the Aravāla lake, he walked up and down, stood, sat down, and lay down on the surface of the Aravāla lake. When the young serpents saw him, they reported to Aravāla, the serpent-king, thus: "O king, a person wearing a torn garment, a yellow dress, and who is close shaven is spoiling our water." But then the Elder showed himself to the serpents. Instantly, the serpent-king, overcome by anger, issued forth and on seeing the Elder he, unable to tolerate him, caused many dreadful terrors to appear in the air. So mighty winds blew, trees were broken, mountain-peaks fell down, clouds roared, thunders came out, thunderbolts burst, (rain) water rolled down as if the sky were split, and young serpents of dreadful appearance met together. And he himself

¹ *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Chap. 12, vs. 9 ff.; *Samantapāsādikā* (P.T.S.) I, p. 64; *Vism.*, 207.

² Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, i, 64 ff.

also blew forth smoke, blazed and sent forth the beating rains. He frightened the Elder with such harsh words as: "Who is this who is shaven-headed and wearing a torn garment?" He commanded his serpent force: "Come forward, seize, kill and destroy this recluse."

The Elder held back with his own miraculous power all the dreadful terrors and said to the serpent-king:

"Even if this world, together with the world of gods, were to make me tremble,¹ it would not be able to produce fear and dismay in me. If you, O great serpent! lift up the whole earth together with oceans and mountains, and throw me, you would not be capable of producing fear and dismay in me. Surely this would be for your destruction, O lord of serpents!"

This being said, the serpent-king became powerless, fruitless in his endeavour, sorrowful and dejected. When the Elder had instructed, roused, incited and pleased him with a religious discourse suitable to that occasion, [166] he established him together with the eighty-four thousand serpents and many others in the three refuges and the five precepts.² On hearing the religious discourse of the Elder, many *yakkhas*, *gandhabbas* and *kumbhāṇḍas*,³ who were the inhabitants of the Himalayas, established themselves in the refuges and precepts. The group of the five *yakkhas*, together with their five wives and one hundred sons, was also established in the first fruition. And then the venerable Elder Majjhantika addressed all the *nāgas*, *yakkhas* and *rākkhasas* thus:

"Do not beget anger now; formerly you were above this. And do not destroy the crops; beings are, indeed, anxious for happiness. Be friendly towards beings; let men live happily." All of them consented to the Elder's word, saying: "Yes, reverend sir," and regulated their lives as instructed. That very day was the occasion of showing honour to the serpent-king. Then the serpent-king, having had his own jewelled divan brought, he laid it down for the Elder. The Elder sat down on the divan. The serpent-king stood nearby, fanning the Elder. At that moment the inhabitants of the Kasmira-Gandhāra country came and saw the Elder, and when they thought: "The Elder has greater miraculous power than our serpent-king," and had paid the Elder their homage, they sat

¹ *Tāsayeyya* - the variant *nāseyya* seems preferable.

² There are ten precepts, the first five of which are meant for the laymen, and all the ten are meant for the monks. (Law, *H. P. L.*, 194).

³ A class of fairies grouped with *yakkhas* and *gandhabbas* (heavenly musicians) - *Sam.*, II, 258; *Jāt.*, I, 204; *Milinda*, 267, etc.

down. The Elder preached the *Āsivisopamasutta*¹ to them. At the conclusion of the sutta, eighty thousand beings were converted to the religion, and from the time when one hundred thousand clansmen were initiated till this day, Kasmīra-Gandhāra has been, indeed, lustrous with the yellow robes and stirred by the wind of the saints.

“The saint Majjhantika then went to Kasmīra-Gandhāra and when he pacified the wicked serpent, he freed many from bondage.”

But now the radiance of the religion of Kasmīra-Gandhāra is not visible like the sun that has set. Therefore, there is nothing to be said in detail about the founding of the religion there.

Here ends the seventh chapter of the Sāsanavaṃsa, called the narration of the history of the religion in Kasmīra-Gandhāra

¹ It may refer either to *Sam.*, IV, 172-5 or to *Aṅg.*, II, 110-111. See also *Thūpavaṃsa*, (P.T.S.), p. 47.

CHAPTER VIII

The history of the religion in the Mahimsaka country

Now comes the opportunity to narrate the history of the religion in the Mahimsaka country according to the table of contents as laid down. So I will relate it.

[167] At the end of the Third Council, the venerable Elder Tissa, son of Moggali, sent the venerable Elder Revata to the Mahimsaka circle, saying: "You go to this country and establish the religion there."

And he, himself being the fifth, went to the Mahimsaka circle. The Elder who considered: "In the bordering countries a group of five monks is enough for the formal act of ordination,"¹ went to the Mahimsaka circle and preached the *Devadūtasutta*.²

At the conclusion of the sutta, forty thousand beings obtained the eye of wisdom, and just forty thousand beings were initiated.

"When the great Elder of great miraculous power had gone to the Mahimsaka country he freed many from bondage by preaching the *Devadūtasutta*."

But nowadays the radiance of the religion there appears to be weak like that of the sun covered by the cloud.

Here ends the eighth chapter of the Sāsanavaṃsa, called the narration of the history of the religion in the Mahimsaka country

¹ *Vin.*, I, 197.

² *Ang.*, I, pp. 138 ff. It deals with three kinds of *devadūtas*. Cf. *Devadūta Sutta* of the *Majjhima*, III, pp. 178 ff. Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 66.

CHAPTER IX

The history of the religion in Mahāratṭha

After this, I will narrate the history of the religion in Mahāratṭha according to the table of contents as laid down.

At the conclusion of the Third Council, indeed, the venerable Elder Tissa, son of Moggali, sent the venerable Elder Dhammarakkhita to Mahāratṭha, saying: “You go to this country and establish the religion there.”

And when the venerable Elder Dhammarakkhita, himself being the fifth, went to Mahāratṭha and delighted those belonging to Mahāratṭha with the discourse based on the *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*,¹ he established eighty-four thousand beings in the fruition of the path. Thirteen thousand (beings) were initiated. Thus he established the religion there.²

“When the venerable Dhammarakkhita the saint went to Mahāratṭha and preached the *Jātaka*, he delighted the multitude.”

Formerly the people there, they say, did mostly wrong actions, such as making oblations to fire. For this very reason the Elder preached the discourse based on the *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*. Thenceforward the people there wished very much to listen mostly to the *Jātaka* discourse. And the monks mostly preached the *Jātaka* discourse itself to the householders. [168] Those people, however, listened particularly to the discourse based on the *Vessantara-Jātaka*, honouring it with many gifts.

And this Mahāratṭha lies near the Siyāma country. For this reason, they say, the inhabitants of the Siyāma country, the monks and the householders, almost all wished to hear. The venerable Elder Dhammarakkhita preached the doctrine to all the inhabitants of the Siyāma country, together with the inhabitants of Mahāratṭha, and made them drink the essence of deathlessness, as the Elders Yonaka Dhammarakkhita, going to the Aparanta country, made all the inhabitants of the Maramma country do the same.

But what has been said in the narration of the history of the religion in the Yonaka country, all that should also be noted

¹ *Jātaka* No. 544.

² Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 12, vs. 37 ff.; *Dīpavamsa*, Chap. 8, v. 8; *Samantapāsādikā* (P.T.S.), I, pp. 64 and 67.

in this connection, because it is one and the same with it. Likewise did the Elder Nāgasena also live in the Yonaka country, and establish the religion also in the Siyāma country, and so on. When the venerable Elder Dhammagambhīra and the venerable Elder Medhamkara, residents of the Yonaka country, together with many monks went to the island of Sīhala, and, going back again from there, arrived at the city of Sokkataya in the Siyāma country, they dwelt there and helped the religion. Later on, they lived in the city of Lakunna and helped the religion. Thus it should be noted that when the religion was established in the Yonaka country, it was established also in Siyāma and other countries.

In the year two thousand two hundred and ninety after the attainment of the *parinibbāna* by the Buddha, the Blessed One, in the third year after the consecration of the great king Kittisiri-rājasīha,¹ who became a king in the island of Sīhala, the Elder Upāli and others, in response to the message sent by that great king Kittisirirājasīha through a letter, came to the island of Laṅkā on the orders of Sarāmādhīpatidhammika-mahārājādhirāja, and the line established by them became famous as the line of Upāli. And that line had two divisions: those residing at the Pubbārāma monastery, and those residing at the Abhayagiri monastery. Thus, it should be understood that the religion stood firmly in the Mahānagara, Yonaka, and Siyāma countries.

Here ends the ninth chapter of the Sāsanavaṃsa, called the narration of the history of the religion in Mahāratṭha

¹ He was the last independent king of Ceylon in A.D. 1767-1782. (B. C. Law, *On the Chronicles of Ceylon*, p. 17; *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Geiger), Chap. 99, v. 11 and Chap. 101, v. 8.)

CHAPTER X

The history of the religion in the Cīna country

After that I will relate the history of the religion in the Cīna country according to the table of contents as laid down.

[169] At the conclusion of the Third Council, the venerable Elder Tissa, son of Moggali, sent the Elder Majjhima to the Cīna country, saying: "You go to this country and establish the religion there."

And when¹ the Elder Majjhima together with the Elder Kassapagotta, the Elder Alakadeva, the Elder Duddabhiya, and the venerable Elder Revata, went to the five Cīna countries in the Himalayan region and converted that region by the discourse called the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta*,² he made eighty crores of beings attain the treasures of the path and its fruition. And those five Elders also converted the five countries. Before each of them one thousand (beings) were initiated. Thus they established the religion there.

"When the Elder Majjhima had gone to the Himalayas, he converted the hordes of *yakkhas* by the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta*."

There the people, they say, mostly used to worship the violent and most powerful *yakkhas*. For this reason those five Elders preached the doctrine by explaining it to the *yakkha* hordes. The Kasmīra-Gandhāra country was sometimes conquered by the king of the Cīna country, but sometimes it became independent. It should be noted that it was then independent.

But the religion of the Blessed One remained weak, not firm, in the Cīna country. For this reason, wherever the religion now appears shadowy, it remains there like a cloud scattered about by the force of the wind.

Here ends the tenth chapter of the Sāsanavamsa, called the narration of the history of the religion in the Cīna country

.....

¹ Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 68.

² *Vinaya*, I, pp. 10 ff.; *Samyutta*, V, pp. 420 ff. This title is found only in the commentaries. Cf. *Jātaka*, *Nidānakathā*, p. 82.

Thus the narration of the history of the religion is finished in all respects.

And to that extent:

Entreated by Citrañña, a peaceful monk, who came to Laṅkā, one named Saraṇaṃkara who wished the lasting of the Good Faith, Sumaṅgala the light from the very distant island, the monk Visuddhasīli who stayed in the island, and others, [170] I, named Paññasāmi, wrote well the book *Sāsanavaṃsappā-dīpikā*, which was completed in every respect precisely on the full moon day of (the month of) *Migasira* (November-December) in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-three (of the Kali age). If any defect is found here, let those of good hearts excuse it, and let those who are well-considerate accept what may be reasonable.

Here ends the light of the history of the religion

(Each of the letters should be like a Buddha-image. Therefore a wise man should write the three *Piṭakas*.)

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