

Velaṅgāvītṭhika,<sup>1</sup> Dubbalavāpitissaka and Dūratissakavāpi,<sup>2</sup> 9 and the Mātuvihāraka. He also built vihāras (from Anurādhapura) to Dīghavāpi, one for every yojana (of the way).

Moreover, he founded the Dīghavāpi-vihāra<sup>3</sup> together 10 with the cetiya; for this cetiya he had a covering of network<sup>4</sup> made set with gems, and in every mesh thereof was 11 hung a splendid flower of gold, large as a waggon-wheel, that he had commanded them to fashion. (In honour) of 12 the eighty-four thousand sections of the dhamma the ruler commanded also eighty-four thousand offerings. When the 13 king had thus accomplished many works of merit he was reborn, after his death, among the Tusita gods.

While the great king Saddhātissa lived yet in Dīghavāpi 14 his eldest son Lañjatissa<sup>5</sup> built the beautiful vihāra called Girikumbhila; and Thūlathana, a younger son of this same 15 (king), built the vihāra called Kandara. When his father 16 (Saddhātissa) went to his brother (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at Anurādhapura) Thūlathanaka went with him, to bestow land for the use of the brotherhood upon his vihāra.

When Saddhātissa died all the counsellors assembled, and 17 when they had summoned together the whole brotherhood of bhikkhus in the Thūpārāma, they, with the consent of the 18 brotherhood consecrated the prince THŪLATHANA as king, that he might take the kingdom under his protection. When LAÑJATIṢṢA heard this he came hither,<sup>6</sup> overpowered<sup>7</sup> him, 19 and took the government upon himself. Only for one month and ten days had Thūlathana been king.

During three years did Lañjatissa use the brotherhood 20 slightly and neglect them, with the thought: 'They did not decide according to age.' When, afterwards, he was 21

<sup>1</sup> See 37. 48.

<sup>2</sup> The tank Dūratissa is situated in Rohaṇa not far from Mahāgāma. PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 393 foll.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 1. 78.

<sup>4</sup> The Ṭikā explains nānāratanakacchannaṃ by sattaratanakha citajālaṃ.

<sup>5</sup> Lajjitissa or Lañjitissa are variants of this name.

<sup>6</sup> That is, to Anurādhapura.

<sup>7</sup> Gahe tvā is, without doubt, an euphemism for '(having) killed'.

reconciled with the brotherhood, the king built, in atonement,  
 22 spending three hundred thousand (pieces of money), three  
 stone terraces for offerings of flowers<sup>1</sup> to the Great Cetiya,  
 and then did the lord of the land, with (the expense of)  
 23 a hundred thousand, have the earth heaped up between the  
 Great Thūpa and the Thūpārāma<sup>2</sup> so that it was level. More-  
 over, he made a splendid stone mantling to the thūpa in the  
 24 Thūpārāma, and to the east of the Thūpārāma a little thūpa  
 built of stones,<sup>3</sup> and the Lañjakāsana hall for the brotherhood  
 25 of bhikkhus. Moreover, he had a mantling made of stone  
 for the Khandhakathūpa. When he had spent a hundred  
 26 thousand for the Cetiya-vihāra<sup>4</sup> he commanded that at the  
 (consecration) festival of the vihāra called Girikumbhila the  
 six garments<sup>5</sup> be distributed to sixty thousand bhikkhus.  
 27 He built the Ariṭṭha-vihāra<sup>6</sup> and the (vihāra) Kuñjarahī-  
 naka, and to the bhikkhus in the villages he distributed  
 28 medicines. To the bhikkhuṇīs he ordered to give rice as  
 much as they wanted. Nine years and one half-month did  
 he reign here.

29 When Lañjakatissa was dead his younger brother named  
 30 KHALLĀṬANĀGA reigned six years. Round about the Loha-

<sup>1</sup> See note to 30. 51.

<sup>2</sup> The Thūpārāma is situated 400 yards north of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba.

<sup>3</sup> PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 297, identifies the thūpa called Dīghathūpa in the Dīp., with the so-called Khujjatissārāma or Sela-dagaba. But this is not situated to the east (the Mah. has *purato* just as the Dīp. 20. 11 describes the position of the Dīghathūpa by Thūpārāma-purathato) but to the south-east of the Thūpārāma, and it is twice as far from this latter as from the Ruwanwæli-dagaba, so that orientation by the last-named, would be much more to the purpose. SMITHER (*Anurādhapura*, p. 55) is probably right in the conjecture that there is a reference in *silāthūpaka* to a little stone dagaba, a sort of model, similar to one that stands on the platform of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba.

<sup>4</sup> The monastery on the Cetiypabbata or Missaka-mountain. Cf. note to 20. 16.

<sup>5</sup> That is, to each one a pair of the three articles of clothing (*ticīvara*), the *antaravāsaka* 'under-garment, shirt', the *uttarāsāṅga* 'robe', and the *saṃghāṭī* 'mantle'.

<sup>6</sup> On the Ariṭṭhapabbata, now Riṭigala. See note to 10. 63.

pāsāda he built thirty-two exceedingly beautiful (other) pāsādās<sup>1</sup> to make the Lohapāsāda yet more splendid. Round 31 the Great Thūpa, the beautiful Hemamālī,<sup>2</sup> he made as a border a court<sup>3</sup> (strewn) with sand and a wall. Moreover, he 32 built the Kurundavāsoka-vihāra, and yet other works of merit did the king carry out.

A commander of troops named Kammahārattaka, over- 33 powered the ruler, king Khallāṭanāga, in the capital itself. But the king's younger brother named VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI killed 34 the villainous commander and took on himself the government. The little son of his brother, king Khallāṭanāga, 35 whose name was Mahācūlika, he took as his son; and the 36 (child's) mother, Anulādevī, he made his queen. Since he had thus taken the place of a father they called him Pitirāja.<sup>4</sup>

In the fifth month after he was thus anointed king, a young 37 brahman named Tissa, in Rohaṇa, in the city (that was the seat) of his clan,<sup>5</sup> hearkened, fool that he was, to the pro- 38 phesying of a brahman and became a rebel, and his following waxed great. Seven Damiḷas landed (at the same time) 39 with their troops in Mahātittha.<sup>6</sup> Then Tissa the brahman and the seven Damiḷas also sent the king a written message 40 concerning the (handing over of the) parasol.<sup>7</sup> The sagacious king sent a written message to Tissa the brahman: 'The 41 kingdom is now thine, conquer thou the Damiḷas.' He answered: 'So be it,' and fought a battle with the Damiḷas, but they conquered him.

Thereupon the Damiḷas made war upon the king; in 42

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps dwellings of smaller dimensions, for the bhikkhus.

<sup>2</sup> See 15. 167; 17. 51 and 27. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, a 'sandcourt-boundary'. The allusion is to the so-called elephant-path that runs all round the terrace of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba and is bounded on the outside by a wall. On the east, south, and north it is 97 feet wide, on the west, i.e. at the back, 88½ feet, SMITHER, *l. l.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 'King father.'

<sup>5</sup> I read kulanagare and understand by this Mahāgāma the town from which the dynasty of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 7. 58.

<sup>7</sup> As the symbol of kingly rank.

a battle near Kolambālaka<sup>1</sup> the king was vanquished. (Near the gate of the Titthārāma he mounted into his car and fled. But the Titthārāma was built by king Paṇḍukābhaya and it  
43 had been constantly inhabited under twenty-one kings.)<sup>2</sup> As a nigaṇṭha<sup>3</sup> named Giri saw him take flight he cried out  
44 loudly: 'The great black lion is fleeing.'<sup>4</sup> When the great king heard that he thought thus: 'If my wish be fulfilled I will build a vihāra here.'

45 He took Anulādevī with him, who was with child, thinking: 'She must be protected,' and Mahācūḷa also and (his son) the prince Mahānāga, also thinking: 'They must be  
46 protected.' But, to lighten the car the king gave to Somadevī<sup>5</sup> his splendid diadem-jewel and let her, with her own consent, descend from the car.

47 When going forth to battle he had set out, full of fears, taking his little son and his two queens with him. Being  
48 vanquished he took flight and, unable to take with him the almsbowl used by the Conqueror,<sup>6</sup> he hid in the Vessagiri-  
49 forest.<sup>7</sup> When the thera Mahātissa from Kupikkala (vihāra) saw him there, he gave him food, avoiding thereby the giving  
50 of an untouched alms.<sup>8</sup> Thereon the king, glad at heart,

<sup>1</sup> Evidently identical with the Kolambahālaka, mentioned in 25. 80. See the note thereon.

<sup>2</sup> The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of MSS. and is also referred to in the *Ṭikā*. I have omitted the three lines of verse from the edition, chiefly for reasons of form (see Introduction, p. xxi) as being a later gloss. The battle took place not far from the north gate of the city. See also 25. 80 foll. and the note to 33. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 10. 97. The name Titthārāma alone indicates that the monastery was inhabited by non-Buddhist monks (*tittha*=sect).

<sup>4</sup> Mahākālasīhala is a play on the word *sīha* 'lion' and the name *sīhala* (Mah. 7. 42).

<sup>5</sup> His second wife.

<sup>6</sup> According to Mah. 17. 12 foll. it had come to Ceylon as a relic in the time of king Devānampiyatissa.

<sup>7</sup> South of Anurādhapura. See note to 20. 15 on the Vessagiri-vihāra.

<sup>8</sup> The bhikkhu is not allowed to share with a layman before he himself has eaten of the food that he has received as alms. So Mahātissa first ate of the food and then offered some to the king. SUBHŪTI, communication in a letter of Feb. 27, 1903.

recording it upon a ketaka-leaf,<sup>1</sup> allotted lands to his vihāra for the use of the brotherhood. From thence, he went to 51 Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka<sup>2</sup> and sojourned there; then he went to Mātuvelaṅga near Sāmagalla and there met the thera (Kupik- 52 kalamahātissa) whom he had already seen before. The thera entrusted the king with due carefulness to Tanasīva, who was his attendant. Then in the house of this Tanasīva, his subject, 53 the king lived<sup>3</sup> fourteen years, maintained by him.

Of the seven Damiḷas one, fired with passion for the lovely 54 Somadevī, made her his own and forthwith returned again to the further coast.<sup>4</sup> Another took the almsbowl of the 55 (Master) endowed with the ten miraculous powers, that was in Anurādhapura, and returned straightway, well contented, to the other coast.

But the Damiḷa PUḶAHATTHA reigned three years, making 56 the Damiḷa named Bāhiya commander of his troops. BĀHIYA 57 slew<sup>5</sup> Puḷahattha and reigned two years; his commander-in-chief was Panayamāra. PANAYAMĀRAKA slew Bāhiya and was 58 king for seven years; his commander-in-chief was Piḷayamāra. PIḶAYAMĀRAKA slew Panayamāra and was king for seven 59 months; his commander-in-chief was Dāṭhika. And the 60 Damiḷa DĀṬHIKA slew Piḷayamāra and reigned two years in Anurādhapura. Thus the time of these five Damiḷa-kings 61 was fourteen years and seven months.

When one day, in Malaya, Anulādevī went to seek 62 her (daily) portion the wife of Tanasīva struck against her basket with her foot. And she was wroth and came weeping 63 to the king. When Tanasīva heard this he hastened forth (from the house) grasping his bow. When the king had 64 heard what the queen said, he, ere yet the other came, took

<sup>1</sup> *Pandanus odoratissimus*. As a rule royal donations were recorded on copper plates or might be on silver and gold plates. GEIGER, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to 33. 87; judging from the Ṭikā we should probably read °kaṇḍakamhi rather than °kaṭakamhi.

<sup>3</sup> Tahim = in Malaya, according to 33. 62.

<sup>4</sup> That is, he returned oversea to India.

<sup>5</sup> Gahetvā. Cf. note to 33. 19.

65 the two boys and his consort and hastened out also. Putting  
the arrow to his bow<sup>1</sup> the glorious (hero) transfixed Sīva<sup>2</sup> as he  
came on. The king proclaimed (then) his name and gathered  
66 followers around him. He obtained as ministers eight famous  
warriors, and great was the following of the king and his  
equipment (for war).

67 The famous (king) sought out the thera Mahātissa of  
Kupikkala and commanded that a festival in honour of the  
68 Buddha be held in the Acchagalla-vihāra.<sup>3</sup> At the very time  
when the minister Kapisīsa, having gone up to the courtyard  
of the Ākāsa-cetiya to sweep the building, had come down  
69 from thence, the king, who was going up with the queen,  
saw him sitting by the road, and being wroth with him that  
he had not flung himself down (before him) he slew Kapisīsa.

70 Then in anger against the king the other seven ministers  
withdrew themselves from him, and going whither it seemed  
71 good to them, they were stripped of their possessions by  
robbers on the way, and they took refuge in the vihāra  
Hambugallaka where they sought out the learned thera Tissa.  
72 The thera, who was versed in the four nikāyas,<sup>4</sup> gave them,  
as he had received it (as alms), clothing, sugar and oil, and  
rice, too, in sufficing measure.

73 When he had refreshed them the thera asked them:  
'Whither are you going?' They made themselves known  
74 to him, and told him this matter. But when they were asked  
afterwards: 'With whom will it be possible to further the  
doctrine of the Buddha? With the Damiḷas or with the  
75 king?' they answered: 'By the king will this be possible.'  
And when they had thus convinced them the two theras,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Skt. *dhanuḥ saṃdhā* in the same sense B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s. v. *dhā* with *saṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> A play on the words *Sīvaṃ* and *mahāsivo*.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 21. 6. If the *Ṭikā* is right in placing the *Acchagalla-vihāra* to the east of *Anurādhapura*, the *ākāsacetiya* mentioned in verse 68 cannot be identical with that mentioned in 22. 26 (see the note). The site of the latter is, no doubt, in *Rohaṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. in the four oldest collections of the *Sutta-piṭaka*: *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Samyutta-* and *Ānguttara-nikāya*.

Tissa and Mahātissa, took them forth from thence and brought 76 them to the king and reconciled them one to another. The king and the ministers besought the theras saying: 'If our 77 undertaking has prospered then must ye come to us, when a message is sent to you.' The theras agreed and returned each one to his place.

When the renowned king had come to Anurādhapura and 78 had slain the Damiḷa Dāṭhika he himself assumed the government. And forthwith the king destroyed the ārama of the 79 nigaṇṭhas and built there a vihāra with twelve cells. When 80 two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days had passed since the founding of the Mahāvihāra the king, 81 filled with pious zeal, built the Abhayagiri-vihāra.<sup>1</sup> He sent 82 for the (two) theras, and to the thera Mahātissa, who had first assisted him of the two, he gave the vihāra, to do him honour. Since the king Abhaya built it<sup>2</sup> on the place of the 83 ārama of (the nigaṇṭha) Giri, the vihāra received the name Abhayagiri.

When he had sent for Somadevī he raised her again to her 84 rank and built, in her honour, the Somārāma,<sup>3</sup> bearing her name. For this fair woman, who had alighted from the car 85 at this spot and had concealed herself in a thicket of flowering Kadambas, saw in that very place a sāmaṇera who was relieving 86

<sup>1</sup> According to 33. 42-44 the monastery of the nigaṇṭhas, the Titthārāma stood outside the north gate of Anurādhapura. Since, on its place the Abhayagiri-vihāra was built, it cannot be identical with the vihāra of the dagaba, which is now called the Abhayagiri-dagaba, but it must be that of the now so-called Jetavana-dagaba. On the other hand, as we will see below (cf. note to 37. 33), the site of the Jetavana-vihāra must be looked for south of the city where now the so-called Abhayagiri-dagaba stands. Tradition appears to have confounded one name with the other. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 299 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The king's full name was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.

<sup>3</sup> The Somārāma or Maṇisomārāma, as the monastery is called 36. 8, 106, 107 (in allusion to the story in 33. 46) after the cuḷāmaṇi entrusted to Somadevī, must be sought near the Abhayagiri-vihāra, perhaps in the place of the building described by SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 61, which is popularly designated the 'Queen's Pavilion'.

his need, using (decently) his hand for concealment. When the king heard her story he built a vihāra there.

87 To the north of the Mahāthūpa this same king founded upon a lofty spot the cetiya called Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka.<sup>1</sup>

88 One of the seven warriors (of the king), Uttiya, built, to  
89 the south of the city, the so-called Dakkhiṇa-vihāra.<sup>2</sup> In the  
same place the minister named Mūla built the Mūlavokāsa-  
90 vihāra, which was, therefore, called after him. The minister  
named Sāliya built the Sāliyārāma, and the minister named  
91 Pabbata built the Pabbatārāma; but the minister Tissa founded  
the Uttaratissārāma. When the beautiful vihāras were com-  
pleted they sought out the thera Tissa and gave them to him  
92 with these words: 'In gratitude for thy kindness we give  
thee these vihāras built by us.'

93 The thera established sundry bhikkhus everywhere (in these  
vihāras), according to their rank, and the ministers bestowed  
upon the brotherhood the different (things) useful to a samaṇa.  
94 The king provided those (bhikkhus) living in his vihāra with  
the (needful) things for use, so that nothing was lacking:  
therefore were they many in number.

95 A thera known by the name Mahātissa, who had frequented  
the families of laymen, was expelled by the brotherhood from  
our monastery<sup>3</sup> for this fault, the frequenting of lay-families.  
96 His disciple, the thera who was known as Bahalamassutissa,  
went in anger to the Abhayagiri (vihāra) and abode there,  
97 forming a (separate) faction. And thenceforward these  
bhikkhus came no more to the Mahāvihāra: thus did the  
bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri (vihāra) secede from the Thera-

<sup>1</sup> The statement as to locality, given in our verse, points, as PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 311, rightly insists, to the Lankārāmadagaba, which is situated about a mile north of the Ruwanwældagaba. It received this name in remembrance of the place where Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had found refuge, according to 33. 51.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. 'South Monastery.' PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 312, identifies the remains of the thūpa belonging to this monastery with the building south of the Mahāvihāra, which is called by the people, 'Eḷāra's sepulchre.' See also note to 35. 5.

<sup>3</sup> I to 'from here' is from the standpoint of the author, 'out of the Mahāvihāra.'

vāda. From the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra those of the 98 Dakkhīṇa-vihāra separated (afterwards); in this wise those bhikkhus (who had seceded) from the adherents of the Theravāda were divided into two (groups).<sup>1</sup>

He (the king) built the cells of the vihāra so that a greater 99 number were joined together, for he reflected : ' In this way it will be possible to restore them.'

The text of the three piṭakas and the aṭṭhakathā thereon 100 did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from 101 religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.

Thus did the king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya reign twelve 102 years, and, at the beginning,<sup>2</sup> five months beside.

Thus does the wise man labour, when he comes to rule, for 103 the bliss of others and for his own bliss, but a man without understanding does not render the possessions which he has won,<sup>3</sup> however great they are, blissful for both, being greedy of (more) possessions.

Here ends the thirty-third chapter, called ' The Ten Kings ', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> After 98 a spurious verse is interpolated : ' To bring prosperity to the bhikkhus dwelling on the island, who belonged to the great Abhaya-(giri-community), the lord of the land, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, made over to them the so-called patti.' In 35. 48 patti simply means 'revenue'.

<sup>2</sup> That is, before the Daṃḍas dethroned him.

<sup>3</sup> Laddhabhogam, according to the Tīkā stands (*metri causā*) for laddhā (= labhitvā, Skt. labdhvā) bhogam. But, I think, this is not necessary. We have to take laddhabhogam=laddham bhogam and ubhayahitam as predicative object.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE ELEVEN KINGS

- 1 AFTER his death MAHĀCŪLĪ MAHĀTISSA reigned fourteen years with piety and justice.
- 2 Since he heard that a gift brought about by the work of a man's own hand is full of merit, the king, in the very first
- 3 year (of his reign), went in disguise and laboured in the rice-harvest, and with the wage that he received for this he gave
- 4 food as alms to the thera Mahāsumma. When the king had laboured also in Soṇṇagiri<sup>1</sup> three years in a sugar-mill, and
- 5 had received lumps of sugar as wage for this, he took the lumps of sugar, and being returned to the capital he, the ruler of the earth, appointed great almsgiving to the brotherhood of
- 6 bhikkhus. He bestowed clothing on thirty thousand bhikkhus and the same on twelve thousand bhikkhuṇīs.
- 7 When the protector of the earth had built a well-planned vihāra, he gave the six garments<sup>2</sup> to sixty thousand bhikkhus
- 8 and to bhikkhuṇīs likewise, in number thirty thousand. The same king built the Maṇḍavāpi-vihāra, the Abhayagallaka
- 9 (vihāra), the (vihāras) Vaṅkāvaṭṭakagalla and Dīghabāhugallaka and the Jālagāma-vihāra.
- 10 When the king (inspired) by faith had done works of merit in many ways he passed into heaven, at the end of the fourteen years.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'Gold mountain,' according to the Ṭīkā situated near Ambaṭṭhakola. On this see note to 23. 20. The rocky mountain that rises on the east of Ambaṭṭhakola bounding the valley of Nālanda-Dambul on the west is called Rangala. GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 155; ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 36. The Dambulla-caves are also called Suvāṇṇagiri-guhā in king Nissaṅka Malla's inscription, ED. MÜLLER, *l.l.*, pp. 92, 126.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 33. 26.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's son known as CORANĀGA lived as a rebel 11 under the rule of Mahācūḷa. When Mahācūḷa had departed 12 he came and reigned. Those places, where he had found no refuge during the time of his rebellion, eighteen vihāras, 13 did this fool destroy. Twelve years did Coranāga reign. And eating poisoned (food) that his consort gave him the 14 evildoer died and was reborn in the Lokantarika-hell.

After his death king Mahācūḷa's son ruled three years as 15 king, being known by name TISSA. But Coranāga's spouse, 16 the infamous Anulā, had done her infamous (consort) to death, giving him poison, because she was enamoured of one of the palace-guards. And for love of this same palace-guard Anulā 17 now killed Tissa also by poison and gave the government into the hands of that other.

When the palace-guard, whose name was SIVA, and who 18 (had been) the first of the gate-watchmen, had made Anulā his queen he reigned a year and two months in the city; but 19 Anulā, who was enamoured of the Damiḷa Vaṭuka, did him to death with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka. The 20 Damiḷa VAṬUKA, who had been a city-carpenter in the capital, made Anulā his queen and then reigned a year and two 21 months in the city.

But when Anulā (one day) saw a wood-carrier, who had come to the house, she fell in love with him, and when she had 22 killed Vaṭuka with poison she gave the government into his hands. TISSA, the wood-carrier, when he had made Anulā his queen, ruled one year and one month in the city. In haste 23 he had a bathing-tank made in the Mahāmeghavana. But 24 Anulā, enslaved by passion for a Damiḷa named Niliya, a brahman who was the palace-priest, and eager to be united with him, did Tissa the wood-carrier to death giving him 25 poison and gave the government into (Niliya's) hands. And the brahman NILIYA also made her his queen and reigned, 26 upheld constantly by her, six months here in Anurādhapura. When the princess Anulā (who desired to take her pleasure 27 even as she listed with thirty-two of the palace-guards) <sup>1</sup> had

<sup>1</sup> The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of MSS., but seems, as it interferes with the division of the ślokas,

put to death Niliya also with poison, the queen ANULĀ herself, reigned four months.

28 But king Mahācūlika's second son, named KUTAKAṆṆA-  
29 TISSA, who had fled from fear of Anulā and had taken the  
pabbajjā returned hither when, in time, he had gathered an  
30 army together, and when he had slain the wicked Anulā he,  
the ruler of men, reigned twenty-two years. He built upon  
the Cetiya-mountain a great building for the uposatha-  
31 festival and to the east of this building he raised a thūpa of  
stone, and in that same place on the Cetiya-mountain he  
planted a bodhi-tree.

32 In the region between the rivers he founded the Peḷagāma-  
vihāra and in the same place (he made) a great canal called  
33 Vaṇṇaka and the great Ambadugga-tank and the Bhayo-  
luppala,<sup>1</sup> and moreover (he made) around the city a wall seven  
34 cubits high and a trench. When he had burned the licen-  
tious Anulā in the palace (upon the funeral pyre), he, with-  
drawing a little (distance) from thence, built a new palace.  
35 In the city itself he laid out the Padumassara-park. His  
mother entered the order of the doctrine of the Conqueror  
36 when she had just cleansed her teeth. On a plot for building<sup>2</sup>  
belonging to his family he founded a nunnery for his mother :  
and this was therefore known by name Dantageha.<sup>3</sup>

37 After his death his son, the prince named BHĀTIKĀBHAYA,  
38 reigned twenty-eight years. Since he, the pious ruler of the  
earth, was the brother of king Mahādāṭhika he was known  
39 on the island by the name Bhātikarāja. Here<sup>4</sup> did he carry  
out the work of repairing the Lohapāsāda and built two

to be a later addition. (See Mah. ed., Introduction, p. xxi.) kattum  
in kattukāmā is a pregnant expression for saṃvāsaṃ kattum.

<sup>1</sup> We fail to establish the names here because we do not know  
what is meant by antaragaṅgāya. The expression hardly denotes  
the delta of a river, but perhaps rather the region between Amban-  
ganga and Mahaweliganga.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'place for a house.' I read kulasante. The Ṭikā, too,  
renders its kulāyatte by kulasantake.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'Tooth-house.'

<sup>4</sup> I.e. in Anurādhapura.

vedikās for the Mahāthūpa, and the (hall) called the Uposatha (-hall) in the (vihāra) named after the thūpa.<sup>1</sup>

And doing away with the tax appointed for himself he 40  
planted sumana and ujjuka-flowers<sup>2</sup> over a yojana of land  
round the city. And when the king had commanded that 41  
the Great Cetiya, from the vedikā at the foot to the parasol at  
the top, be plastered with (a paste of) sweet-smelling unguent 42  
four fingers thick and that flowers be carefully embedded  
therein by their stalks, he made the thūpa even as a globe of  
flowers. Another time he commanded them to plaster the 43  
cetiya with (a paste of) minium eight fingers thick, and thus  
he changed it into a heap of flowers. Yet another time 44  
he commanded that the cetiya be strewn with flowers from  
the steps<sup>3</sup> to the parasol on the top, and thus he covered it  
over with a mass of blossoms. Then when he had raised 45  
water by means of machines from the Abhaya-tank he, by  
pouring (masses of) water over the thūpa, carried out a water-  
offering. From a hundred waggon-loads of pearls, he, 46  
bidding that the mass of plaster be carefully kneaded together  
with oil, made a plaster-covering (for the Great Thūpa). He 47  
had a net of coral prepared and cast over the cetiya, and  
when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof  
lotus-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang 48  
clusters of pearls on these that reached to the lotus-flower  
beneath, he worshipped the Great Thūpa with this offering.

When he heard one day in the relic-chamber the sound of 49  
the arahants<sup>4</sup> chanting in chorus he made the resolve: 'I will  
not rise up till I have seen it,' and fasting he lay down at 50  
the foot of the stone-pillar on the east side.<sup>5</sup> The theras  
created a door for him and brought him into the relic-

<sup>1</sup> I. e. in the Thūpārāma.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭikā: mahāsumanāni ca ujjakasumanāni ca, namely two kinds of jasmine.

<sup>3</sup> The steps form the ascent from the 'elephant-path' (cf. note to 33. 31) to the great terrace, on which the cetiya stands.

<sup>4</sup> Tādī is a synonym of arahā.

<sup>5</sup> The Ṭikā paraphrases pācīnaddikamūlamhi with pācīnaad-dikassa samīpe, pācīnadisāya silāttthambhaussāpitaṭṭhāne.

- 51 chamber. When the ruler of the earth had beheld all the  
adornment of the relic-chamber he went forth and made an  
offering of figures modelled with clay in close likeness to  
those (within).
- 52 With honeycombs, with perfumes, with vases (filled with  
flowers), and with essences, with auri-pigment (prepared) as  
53 unguent and minium; with lotus-flowers arrayed in minium  
that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the cetiya, where they  
54 had poured it molten; with lotus-flowers that were fastened  
in the holes of mattings, spread on fragrant earth, wherewith  
55 the whole courtyard of the cetiya was filled; with many  
lighted lamps, prepared with wicks made of strips of stuff in  
clarified butter, which had likewise been poured (into the  
56 courtyard) when the ways for the outflow had been closed up;  
and in like manner with many lamps with stuff-wicks in  
57 madhuka-oil<sup>1</sup> and sesamum-oil besides; with these things, as  
they were named, the prince commanded severally with each  
seven times offerings for the Great Thūpa.
- 58 And moreover, urged by faith, he ordered year by year  
perpetually a great festival (for the renewing) of the plaster-  
work; and festivals also of the great Bodhi-tree (in honour)  
59 of the watering of the Bodhi-tree, and furthermore twenty-  
eight great Vesākha-festivals<sup>2</sup> and eighty-four thousand lesser  
60 festivals, and also divers mimic dances and concerts, with the  
playing of all kinds of instruments of music (in honour) of  
61 the Great Thūpa. Three times a day he went to do homage to  
the Buddha and he commanded (them to give) twice (a day)  
continually (the offering known as) the 'flower-drum'.<sup>3</sup>
- 62 And he continually gave alms at the preaching<sup>4</sup> and alms at  
the pavāraṇā-ceremony, and (distributed) also, in abundance,  
the things needed for the ascetic, such as oil, molasses,

<sup>1</sup> Oil pressed from the seeds of the *Bassia Latifolia*. The MSS. all have madhuka, and this should be the reading. In Skt. also the form madhuka exists beside madhūka.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 32. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Tikā: divasassa dvīsu vāresu niyatam pupphapūjam ca akārayi.

<sup>4</sup> Very doubtful. The MSS. support the reading chandadānam. Perhaps chanda is here a synonym of sajjhāya.

garments and so forth among the brotherhood. Moreover, 63  
the prince bestowed everywhere land for the cetiyas, to the end  
that the cetiyas might be kept in repair. And constantly the 64  
king bestowed food (as alms allotted) by tickets<sup>1</sup> to a thousand  
bhikkhus in the vihāra (of the) Cetiya-pabbata. At five spots, 65  
namely, the three receiving-places,<sup>2</sup> called Citta, Maṇi, and  
Mucala, as also in the Paduma-house and the beautiful Chatta-  
pāsāda, offering hospitality to the bhikkhus who were harnessed 66  
to the yoke of the sacred word he provided them always with  
all that was needful, being filled with reverence for the  
religion. Moreover, all those works of merit which had been 67  
ordered by the kings of old regarding the doctrine, all these  
did king Bhātika carry out.

After the death of Bhātikarāja his younger brother named 68  
MAHĀDĀṬHIKAMAHĀNĀGA reigned twelve years, intent on 69  
works of merit of many kinds. He had kiñcikkha-stones<sup>3</sup> laid  
as plaster on (the square of) the Great Thūpa and he turned 70  
the sand-pathway round (the thūpa)<sup>4</sup> into a wide court; in  
all the vihāras he had (raised) chairs put up for the preachers.  
The king built the great Ambatthala-thūpa;<sup>5</sup> since the 71  
building was not firm he lay down in that place, bethinking  
him of the merit of the Sage (Buddha), risking his own life.<sup>6</sup> 72  
When he had thus made the building firm and had completed  
the cetiya he set up at the four entrances four bejewelled 73  
arches that had been well planned by artists and shone with

<sup>1</sup> Salākavaṭṭabhadda, see note to 15. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Upaṭṭhāna is 'attendance, service'. Thus the allusion is to a place where people waited on the monks to offer gifts. The *Ṭīkā* calls the three places which are said to have been in the interior of the royal palace, Cittupaṭṭhānapāsāda, Maṇiupaṭṭhānapāsāda, and Mucalupaṭṭhānapāsāda.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skt. kiñjalka 'stamens of the lotus-blossom'. CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v. 'Kiñjalkhapāsāṇo appears to be some sort of marble or other ornamental stone'.

<sup>4</sup> On the vālikāmarīyādā see note to 33. 31.

<sup>5</sup> On the Cetiya-pabbata (Mihintale). See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 320-322. Cf. 13. 20.

<sup>6</sup> He ran a risk of being killed by falling stones during his meditation.

74 gems of every kind. To be fastened to the cetiya he spent a cover (for it) of red stuff and golden balls thereto and festoons of pearls.'

75 When he had made ready around the Cetiya-mountain a (tract of land measuring a) yojana, and had made four gateways  
76 and a beautiful road round about (the mountain), and when he had then set up (traders') shops on both sides of the road and had adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches,  
77 and triumphal gates, and had illuminated all with chains of  
78 lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs, and music. That the people might go with clean feet on the road from the Kadamba-river to the Cetiya-mountain he had it laid with  
79 carpets—the gods themselves might hold a festival assembly<sup>1</sup> there with dance and music—and he gave great largess at the  
80 four gates of the capital. Over the whole island he put up chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the  
81 ocean within a distance of a yojana around. At the festival of (consecrating of) the cetiya these beautiful offerings were appointed by him: the splendid feast is called here (in the country) the great Giribhaṇḍa-offering.

82 When the lord of the earth had commanded almsgiving in eight places to the bhikkhus who were come together in the  
83 festal assembly, he, with the beating of eight golden drums that were set up even there, allotted lavish gifts to twenty-four  
84 thousand (bhikkhus). He distributed the six garments, commanded the remission of the prison-penalties and he ordered the barbers to carry on their trade continually at the four  
85 gates. Moreover, all those works of merit that had been decreed by the kings of old and that had also been decreed by his brother, those did he carry out without neglecting any-  
86 thing. He gave himself and the queen, his two sons,<sup>2</sup> his state-elephant and his state horse to the brotherhood as their own, albeit the brotherhood forbade him.

87 To the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he gave gifts worth six hundred thousand, but to the company of bhikkhūṇīs  
88 (such gifts) worth a hundred thousand, and in giving them,

<sup>1</sup> On samajjā see HARDY in *Album Kern*, p. 61 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya and Tissa.

with knowledge of the custom, various possessions suited (to their needs) he redeemed (again) himself and the rest from the brotherhood. In Kālāyanakaṇṇika the ruler of men built 89 the (vihāra) called Maṇināgapabbata and the vihāra which was called Kalanda, furthermore on the bank of the Kubukanda- 90 river the Samudda-vihāra and in Huvācakaṇṇika<sup>1</sup> the vihāra that bore the name Cūlanāgapabbata. Delighted with 91 the service rendered him in the vihāra that he himself had built, called Pāsāṇadīpaka, by a sāmaṇera who had given him a draught of water, the king bestowed on that vihāra (a tract 92 of land) in measure half a yojana round about, for the use of the brotherhood. And rejoicing likewise at (the behaviour of) 93 a sāmaṇera in the Maṇḍavāpi-vihāra the prince gave land for the use of the brotherhood to this vihāra.

Thus men of good understanding, who have conquered 94 pride and indolence, and have freed themselves from the attachment to lust, when they have attained to great power, without working harm to the people, delighting in deeds of merit, rejoicing in faith, do many and various pious works.

Here ends the thirty-fourth chapter, called 'The Eleven Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Ṭikā a district in Rohaṇa.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### THE TWELVE KINGS

1 AFTER Mahādāṭhika's death ĀMAṆḌAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA, his  
son, reigned nine years and eight months. On the splendid  
2 Great Thūpa he caused to be made a parasol above the parasol,<sup>1</sup>  
and he built even there a vedī at the base and at the top.  
3 And in like manner he made an inner courtyard and an inner  
verandah<sup>2</sup> to the Lohapāsāda and to the (building) called the  
4 Uposatha (house) of the Thūpārāma. Moreover, for both he  
built a beautiful pavilion adorned with precious stones; and  
5 the ruler of men also built the Rajatalena-vihāra.<sup>3</sup> When he  
had made the Mahāgāmeṇḍi-tank on the south side (of Anurā-  
dhapura), he, who was clever in works of merit, bestowed it  
6 on the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra.<sup>4</sup> On the whole island the ruler of  
men commanded not to kill. All kinds of vine-fruits did he  
7 plant in divers places, and the king Āmaṇḍiya, filling the  
almsbowls with the fruit called 'flesh-melons',<sup>5</sup> and bestowing  
8 garments as a support (for the bowls) he gave of these, with  
believing heart, to the whole brotherhood; because he had

<sup>1</sup> I. e. he heightened the cone crowning the thūpa at the top.

<sup>2</sup> For ājira cf. Abhidhānappadīpikā 218 (ājira=Skt. ajira 'court-yard'). Ālinda is the terrace before the house-door, as is evident from D. I. 89<sup>30</sup>, <sup>34</sup>. See also the passages M.V. VI. 36. 4, and C.V. VI. 3. 5 and 14. 1. (*Vin. Pit.*, ed. OLDENBERG, i. 248<sup>2</sup>, ii. 153<sup>3</sup>, 169<sup>25</sup>.)

<sup>3</sup> Now Ridi-vihāra, see note to 28. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note to 33. 88. The Mahāgāmeṇḍi-vāpi will probably be the smaller tank which is in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins of the monastery. Note the play on the words puñṇadakkhiṇo and dakkhiṇassa vihārassa.

<sup>5</sup> Kumbhaṇḍaka is, according to Abhidh. 1030, a creeping-plant which (according to SUBHŪTI) is now called in Sinh. puhul 'pumpkin gourd'. Evidently maṃsak<sup>o</sup> is a particular variety. Since our text connects the king's name with it, āmaṇḍa, which elsewhere means the ricinus plant, seems to be a synonym of the above-mentioned.

filled the almsbowls (with them) he received the name Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi.

His younger brother, the prince KAṆIRAJĀNUTIṢṢA, reigned 9 three years in the city, when he had slain his brother. He 10 decided the lawsuit concerning the uposatha-house in the (vihāra) named after the cetiya,<sup>1</sup> but sixty bhikkhus who were involved in the crime of high treason did the king order to be 11 taken captive, with all that was theirs,<sup>2</sup> upon the Cetiya-pabbata, and he commanded these evildoers to be flung into the caves called Kaṇira.

After Kaṇirajānu's death Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi's son, the prince 12 CŪLĀBHAYA, reigned a year. The king built the Cūlagallaka- 13 vihāra on the bank of the Goṇaka-river<sup>3</sup> to the south of the capital.

After the death of Cūlābhaya his younger sister SĪVALĪ, 14 the daughter of Āmaṇḍa, reigned four months. But Āmaṇḍa's 15 nephew named IĻANĀGA dethroned Sīvalī and raised the parasol (of sovereignty) in the capital. When, one day, in the 16 first year (of his reign), the king went to the Tissa-tank, many of the Lambakaṇṇas<sup>4</sup> deserted him and went back to the capital. When the king saw them not he was wroth and (in punishment) 17 he ordered that they, even they themselves, should make a road to the Mahāthūpa, commanding to stamp it down firmly, where it ran beside the tank, and he set caṇḍālas 18 to be their overseers. And full of anger because of this the Lambakaṇṇas came together, and when they had taken the 19 king captive and imprisoned him in his palace they themselves administered the government; but the king's consort put festal garments on her little son the prince Candamukhasiva, 20 gave him into the hands of the serving-women and sent him to the state-elephant, charging (the attendants) with a message. 21

<sup>1</sup> Judging from the expression used (cf. 34. 39) the Thūpārāma must be meant. Cetiya = thūpa.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 23. 11.

<sup>3</sup> This is, no doubt, the correct reading. The Goṇa-nadī is the river now called Kaḷu-oya. By banking it up king Dhātusena constructed the Kāla-vāpi (Kaḷuwāwa), Cūlavaṃsa 38. 42.

<sup>4</sup> An important clan in Laṅkā.

The serving-women conveyed him thither and gave the state-  
 22 elephant the queen's whole message: 'This is thy lord's son;  
 thy lord is in prison; better is it for this (boy) to meet his  
 23 death by thee than by the enemies; then slay thou him: that  
 is the queen's command.' With these words they laid him  
 24 down at the elephant's feet. And for grief the elephant  
 began to shed tears, and breaking to pieces the posts (to  
 which he was chained) he pressed forward into the palace and  
 25 dashed against the gate with fury, and when he had broken  
 down the door<sup>1</sup> in the room where the king sat, he made him  
 26 mount upon his back and went towards Mahātitha. There the  
 elephant made the king embark on a ship (that brought him)  
 to the western shore of the sea; he himself went toward Malaya.

27 When the king had stayed three years on the other coast he  
 28 raised an army and went by ship to Rohaṇa. Having landed  
 at the haven Sakkharasobbha the king assembled there in  
 29 Rohaṇa a mighty force. Then came the king's state-elephant  
 forthwith out of the southern Malaya to Rohaṇa to do him  
 30 service. As he had heard there the Kapi-jātaka<sup>2</sup> from the  
 great thera, the preacher of jātakas, named Mahāpaduma, who  
 31 dwelt in the (vihāra) called Tulādhāra, he, being won to faith  
 in the Bodhisatta, restored the Nāgamahāvihāra and gave it  
 32 the extension of a hundred unbent bows in length,<sup>3</sup> and he  
 enlarged the thūpa even to what it has been (since then);  
 moreover, he made the Tissa-tank<sup>4</sup> and the tank called Dūra.<sup>5</sup>

33 When the king had raised an army he marched to battle;  
 when the Lambakaṇṇas heard this they also prepared them-  
 34 selves for battle. Near the gate of Kapallakkhaṇḍa on the

<sup>1</sup> While dvāra means the principal gate of a building, kavā-  
 ṭāni are the doors of the separate rooms in the interior. See *S.B.E.*  
 xx. p. 160, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Two jātakas bear this title, in FAUSBÖLL'S edition, ii, pp. 268-270  
 and iii, pp. 355-358.

<sup>3</sup> Dhanu is a measure of length equal to about 8 feet. PARKER,  
*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> In the neighbourhood of Mahāgāma, PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 388 foll.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Dūratissa-vāpi, to which Saddhātissa, according to  
 Mah. 33. 8, built a monastery. Kāresi here means, I presume, 'to  
 restore' not 'to build'.

field of Hankārapitṭhi was waged the battle between the two (armies) that brought destruction to both.

Since their bodies were exhausted by the sea-journey, the 35 king's men yielded their ground, therefore the king proclaimed his name and pressed forward. Terrified thereat 36 the Lambakaṇṇas threw themselves down upon their belly, and they hewed off their heads and heaped them up high as the nave of the (king's) waggon-wheel, and when this had 37 come to pass three times the king, from pity, said: 'Slay them not, but take them captive living.'

When then the king had come into the capital as victor in 38 battle and had raised the parasol (of sovereignty) he went to a festival at the Tissa-tank.<sup>1</sup> And when he, fully arrayed in 39 his ornaments and armour, had withdrawn from the water-sports and reflected on the good-fortune that he had attained, and thought of the Lambakaṇṇas who had opposed his progress, 40 he was wroth and commanded that they be yoked two and two behind one another to his car, and thus did he enter the city in front of them. Halting on the threshold of the 41 palace the king gave the command: 'Here on this threshold, soldiers, strike off their heads.' 'These are but oxen yoked to 42 thy chariot, O lord of chariots; therefore let their horns and hoofs be struck off,' thus admonished by his mother the 43 king recalled (the order) to behead them and commanded that their nose and toes be cut off. The district where the elephant 44 had stayed the prince allotted to the elephant; and therefore the tract is called Hatthibhoga.<sup>2</sup>

So Iḷanāga, ruler of the earth, reigned full six years as king 45 in Anurādhapura.

After the death of Iḷanāga his son CANDAMUKHA SIVA 46 reigned eight years and seven months as king.

When the lord of the earth had constructed a tank near 47 Maṇikāragāmaka he gave it to the vihāra called Issarasamaṇa. This king's consort who was known by the name 48 Damiḷādevī, allotted her own revenues from that village to the same vihāra.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with this 26. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. 'the elephant's usufruct, the elephant's fief.'

49 Having slain Candamukha Siva in the festival-sports at  
the Tissa-tank his younger brother, known by the name  
50 YASALĀLAKATIṢṢA, reigned as king in delightful Anurādhapura,  
the fair face of Laṅkā, seven years and eight months.

51 Now a son of Datta the gate-watchman, named Subha,  
who was himself a gate-watchman, bore a close likeness to  
52 the king. And this palace-guard Subha did the king Yasalā-  
laka, in jest, bedeck with the royal ornaments and place upon  
53 the throne and binding the guard's turban about his own head,  
and taking himself his place, staff in hand, at the gate,  
54 he made merry over the ministers as they paid homage to  
(Subha) sitting on the throne. Thus was he wont to do,  
from time to time.

55 Now one day the guard cried out to the king, who was  
laughing: 'Why does this guard laugh in my presence?'  
56 And SUBHA the guard ordered to slay the king, and he him-  
self reigned here six years under the name Subharāja.

57 In both the great vihāras<sup>1</sup> Subharāja built a noble row of  
58 cells called Subharāja after him. Near Uruvelā (he built)  
the Vallī-vihāra, to the east the (vihāra) Ekadvāra and at the  
mouth of the Gaṅgā<sup>2</sup> the (vihāra) Nandigāmaka.

59 One sprung of the Lambakaṇṇa (clan), named Vasabha,  
whose home was in the northern province, served under his  
60 uncle, a commander of troops. Since it was declared:<sup>3</sup> 'One  
named Vasabha shall be king,' the king at that time com-  
manded that all in the island who bore the name of Vasabha  
61 should be slain. The commander, thinking: 'We must  
deliver up our Vasabha to the king,' and having taken  
counsel with his wife (upon the matter) set out early in the  
62 morning to go to the king's residence. And the wife, to  
guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put betel into  
his hand but without powdered chalk.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the Ṭikā Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra.

<sup>2</sup> Gangante, by Gaṅgā we should probably understand the Mahawæliganga. The Ṭikā has *Kacchakanadīṭire*. Kacchaka is the name of a ford in the Mahawæliganga (see note to 10. 58).

<sup>3</sup> According to the Ṭikā Yasalālaka was said to have uttered a similar prophecy publicly.

<sup>4</sup> Betel is chewed with powdered chalk (cuṇṇa, Sinh. huṇu).

Now when the commander, at the gate of the palace, saw 63  
 the betel without chalk, he sent him back for chalk. When 64  
 Vasabha came for the chalk the commander's wife spoke with  
 him secretly, gave him a thousand (pieces of money) and aided  
 him to take flight. Vasabha went to the Mahāvihāra and by 65  
 the theras there was provided with milk, food and clothes, and 66  
 when he had again heard from a leper the certain prophecy  
 that he would be king, rejoicing he resolved: 'I will be a  
 rebel.' And when he had found men suited (to his purpose) 67  
 he went, seizing in his further course village by village,  
 according to the instruction (in the story) of the cake,<sup>1</sup> to  
 Rohaṇa, and gradually winning the kingdom to himself he 68  
 advanced, after two years, with the needful army and train,  
 towards the capital. When the mighty VASABHA had con- 69  
 quered Subharāja in battle he raised the parasol (of sovereignty)  
 in the capital. His uncle had fallen in battle. But his 70  
 uncle's wife, named Potthā, who had first helped him, did  
 king Vasabha raise to be queen.

Once he questioned a soothsayer concerning the length of 71  
 his life, and he told him secretly (that he should live) just  
 twelve years. And when he had given him a thousand 72  
 (pieces of money) to keep the secret the king assembled the  
 brotherhood and greeted them reverently and asked them:  
 'Is there perchance, venerable sirs, a means to lengthen life?' 73  
 'There is,' so did the brotherhood teach him, 'a way to do  
 away with the hindrances (to long life); gifts of strainers<sup>2</sup> 74  
 must be given and gifts of dwellings and gifts for main-  
 tenance of the sick, O ruler of men, and in like manner the 75  
 restoring of ruined buildings must be carried out; one should  
 take the five precepts on himself and keep them carefully,

<sup>1</sup> The story of Candagutta and the kapallapūva is to be found in Mah. Īkā, p. 123<sup>4</sup> foll.: cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 39-40; RHYSDAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 269; JACOBI, *Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭa-parvan*, viii. 290-296; preface, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> The parissāvāna is among the requisites of the bhikkhu: its use is for straining water so that he who is drinking shall not swallow some living creature who may perhaps be in it.

76 and one should also keep the solemn fast on the uposatha-day.' The king said: 'It is well,' and went thence and carried out all these (duties).

77 Every three years that went by the king bestowed the  
78 three garments on the whole brotherhood in the island; and to those theras that lived far away he sent them. In thirty-two places he ordered milk-rice with honey to be distributed,  
79 but in sixty-four places a lavish gift of mixed alms.

He had a thousand lamps lighted in four places; that is,  
80 on the Cetiya-pabbata, about the cetiya in the Thūpārāma, about the Great Thūpa and in the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

81 In the Cittalakūṭa (vihāra) <sup>1</sup> he built ten beautiful thūpas  
82 and over the whole island he restored ruined buildings. From pious trust in a thera in the Valliyera-vihāra he built the vihāra  
83 called Mahāvalligotta. And (moreover) he built the Anurārāma (vihāra) near Mahāgāma and bestowed on it a thousand  
84 and eight karīsa <sup>2</sup> (of land) of (the village) Heḷigāma. When he had built the Mucela-vihāra <sup>3</sup> in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka <sup>4</sup> he allotted to the vihāra a share in the water of the (canal) Āḷisāra.  
85 To the thūpa in Galambatittha he added a mantling of bricks, and he built an uposatha-house too, and to provide oil for  
86 the lamps he constructed a pond (yielding water to) a thousand karīsa (of land) <sup>5</sup> and gave it to the (vihāra). In the Kumbhigallaka-vihāra he built an uposatha-house. In like manner the king built an uposatha-house in the Issarasamaṇaka  
87 (vihāra) <sup>6</sup> here and in the Thūpārāma a thūpa-temple. In the Mahāvihāra he built a row of cells facing the west, and  
89 he restored the ruined Catussālā (hall). In like manner the same king made four beautiful Buddha-images and a temple for the images in the fair courtyard of the great Bodhi-tree.  
90 The king's consort, named Potthā, built in that same

<sup>1</sup> The same as Cittalapabbata, see note to 22. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭikā: aṭṭhuttaraṃ karīsasaḥassakaṃ.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Ṭikā situated puratthimadisābhāge.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 37. 48.

<sup>5</sup> In TURNOUR'S view saḥassakarīsa is the name of the pond.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note to 19. 61.

place a splendid thūpa and a beautiful temple for the thūpa. When the king had completed the thūpa-temple in the 91 Thūpārāma he commanded lavish almsgiving for the festival of its completion. Among those bhikkhus who were busied 92 with (the learning of) the word of the Buddha he distributed the things needed (by bhikkhus), and among the bhikkhus who explained the doctrine butter and sugar-molasses. At 93 the four gates of the city he had food given away to the poor and, to such bhikkhus who were sick, food suited to the sick. The Cayantī<sup>1</sup> and the Rājuppala-tank, the Vaha and the 94 Kolambagāmaka, the Mahānikkhavaṭṭi-tank and the Mahārāmetti, the Kohāla<sup>2</sup> and the Kāli-tank,<sup>3</sup> the Cambuṭi, the 95 Cāthamaṅgaṇa and the Aggivaḍḍhamānaka:<sup>4</sup> these twelve tanks and twelve canals he constructed, to make (the land) 96 fruitful. For safety he built up the city wall even so high (as it now is)<sup>5</sup> and he built fortress-towers at the four gates 97 and a palace besides; in the garden he made a tank and put geese therein.<sup>6</sup>

When the king had constructed many bathing-tanks here 98 and there in the capital he brought water to them by subterranean canals. And in this way carrying out various works 99 of merit king Vasabha did away with the hindrances (to long life), and delighting perpetually in well doing he reigned 100 forty-four years in the capital. He appointed also forty-four Vesākha-festivals.<sup>7</sup>

Subharāja while he yet lived had anxiously, for fear of 101 Vasabha, entrusted his daughter to a brick-worker and had 102

<sup>1</sup> The names are extraordinarily erratic in the MSS. This adds greatly to the difficulty of identifying the separate tanks.

<sup>2</sup> The Ṭikā has Kehāla and places the tank near Tittapaṭṭana.

<sup>3</sup> The Ṭikā reads Keḷivāsaṃ ca instead of Kālivāpim ca.

<sup>4</sup> See WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> The Ṭikā gives the height of 18 cubits (aṭṭhārasaha tthappa-māṇaṃ) = about 25-27 feet.

<sup>6</sup> I do not believe that we need have recourse to the translation 'swan' or 'flamingo'. The goose is a sacred bird to the Buddhists and appears frequently on the monuments of Ceylon.

<sup>7</sup> See 1. 12 and 32. 35 with note.

at the same time given into his care his mantle and the royal insignia. When he was killed by Vasabha the brick-worker  
 103 took her with him, put her in the place of a daughter, and brought her up in his own house. When he was at work the girl used to bring him his food.

104 When (one day) in a thicket of flowering kadambas, she saw an (ascetic) who was in the seventh day of the state of  
 105 nirodha,<sup>1</sup> she the wise (maiden) gave him the food. When she had then prepared food afresh she carried the food to her father, and when she was asked the cause of the delay she  
 106 told her father this matter. And full of joy he bade (her) offer food repeatedly to the therā. When the therā had come out (of his trance) he said to the maiden, looking into  
 107 the future: 'When royal rank has fallen to thy lot then bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.' And forthwith the therā died.

108 Now did king Vasabha when his son Vaṅkanāsikatissa had  
 109 come to (full) age seek a fitting wife for him. When those people who understood the (auspicious) signs in women saw  
 110 the maiden in the brick-worker's village they told the king; the king thereon was about to send for her. And now the  
 111 brick-worker told him that she was a king's daughter, but that she was the daughter of Subharāja he showed by the mantle and so forth. Rejoiced the king gave her (in marriage) to his son when all had been duly provided.<sup>2</sup>

112 After Vasabha's death his son VAṅKANĀSIKATISSAKA reigned  
 113 three years in Anurādhapura. On the bank of the Goṇa-river the king Vaṅkanāsikatissaka built the vihāra called  
 114 Mahāmaṅgala. But his consort Mahāmattā collected money to build a vihāra, bethinking her of the therā's words.

115 After Vaṅkanāsikatissa's death his son GAJABĀHUKAGĀMAṆI

<sup>1</sup> Nirodha or saṃñāvedayitanirodha is a state of trance, cessation of consciousness. KERN, *Manual*, pp. 55, 57. If the state lasts over seven days it ends in death.

<sup>2</sup> Skt. kṛtamaṅgala (f. ā) means a person over whom prayers have been pronounced or who is arrayed with the auspicious things for some undertaking. B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s.v. maṅgala. The pāli katamaṅgala must be taken in the same sense.

reigned twenty-two years. Harkening to his mother's word 116  
 the king founded the Mātuvihāra on the place of the thicket  
 of flowering kadambas, in honour of his mother. His wise 117  
 mother gave to the great vihāra a hundred thousand (pieces  
 of money) for the plot of land and built the vihāra ;<sup>1</sup> he 118  
 himself built a thūpa of stone there and gave (land) for the  
 use of the brotherhood, when he had bought it from various  
 owners.

He erected the great Abhayuttara-thūpa, making it greater, 119  
 and to the four gates thereof he made vestibules. When the 120  
 king had made the Gāmaṇṭissa-tank he bestowed it on the  
 Abhayagiri-vihāra for maintenance in food. He made a mant- 121  
 ling to the Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa and gave (land) thereto for  
 the use of the brotherhood, having bought it for a hundred  
 thousand (pieces of money). In the last year he founded the 122  
 vihāra called Rāmuka and built in the city the Mahejāsana-  
 sālā (hall).

After Gajabāhu's death the king's father-in-law MAHAL- 123  
 LAKA NĀGA reigned six years. (The vihāras) Sejalaka in 124  
 the east, Goṭapabbata in the south, Dakapāsāna in the west,  
 in Nāgadīpa Sālipabbata, in Biḷagāma Tanaveli, in the 125  
 country of Rohaṇa Tobbalanāgapabbata, in the inland country  
 Giriḥālīka : these seven vihāras did the king Mahallanāga, 126  
 ruler of the earth, build in the time (of his reign), short  
 though it was.

In this way do the wise, doing many works of merit, gain 127  
 with worthless riches that which is precious, but fools in  
 their blindness, for the sake of pleasures, do much evil.

Here ends the thirty-fifth chapter, called 'The Twelve  
 Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and  
 emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning plainly is that the mother and son jointly founded  
 the vihāra. In 116 it is said, in a general way, that the king together  
 with his mother, founded the Mātuvihāra. How the undertaking  
 was shared is explained in 117 and 118. The mother buys the plot  
 of land and constructs the monastery buildings ; the son builds the  
 thūpa and presents the necessary lands for the maintenance of the  
 inmates of the monastery.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE THIRTEEN KINGS

1 AFTER the death of Mahallanāga his son BHĀTIKATISSAKA  
2 reigned twenty-four years in Laṅkā. He built a wall around  
3 the Mahāvihāra. When the king had built the Gavaratissa-  
4 vihāra he made the Mahāmaṇi-tank and gave it to the vihāra.  
5 Moreover, he built the vihāra called Bhātikatissa. He built  
6 an uposatha-house in the beautiful Thūpārāma; the king  
7 also made the Randhakaṇḍaka-tank. Filled with tenderness  
8 towards beings and zealous in reverencing the brotherhood  
9 the protector of the earth commanded lavish almsgiving to  
10 the community of both sexes.

11 After the death of Bhātikatissa (his younger brother)  
12 KANIṬṬHATISSAKA<sup>1</sup> reigned eighteen years in the island of  
13 Laṅkā. Since he was well pleased with the thera Mahānāga  
14 in the Bhūtārāma he built for him in splendid fashion the  
15 Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagiri. Moreover, he built in the  
16 Abhayagiri a wall and a great pariveṇa and a great pariveṇa  
17 besides in the (vihāra) called Maṇisoma.<sup>2</sup> In that place he  
18 built a temple for the cetiya and in like manner for the  
19 Ambatthala-thūpa; and (he ordered) the restoration of the  
20 temple in Nāgadīpa. Doing away with the boundary of the  
21 Mahāvihāra, the king built there the row of cells (called)  
22 Kukkuṭagiri with all things provided. In the Mahāvihāra  
23 the ruler of men built twelve great four-sided pāsādas,  
24 admirable to see and beautiful, and he added a mantling to  
25 the thūpa of the Dakkhiṇavihāra, and a refectory besides,  
26 doing away with the boundary of the Mahāmeghavana. And  
27 moving the wall of the Mahāvihāra to the side, he also made  
28 a road leading to the Dakkhiṇavihāra. He built the Bhūtā-

<sup>1</sup> The name means 'the younger brother Tissa'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to 33. 84.

rāmavihāra and the Rāmagonaka, and the ārama of Nandatissa besides.

In the east the king built the Anulatissapabbata (vihāra) 15 in Gaṅgarājī, the Niyelatissārāma and the Pilapitthivihāra as well as the Rājamahāvihāra. In like manner he built in 16 three places an uposatha-house, in the three following vihāras, 17 the Kalyāṇikavihāra,<sup>1</sup> the Maṇḍalagirika, also the (vihāra) called Dubbalavāpitissa.

After Kaniṭṭhatissa's death his son, who was known as 18 KHUJJANĀGA, reigned one year. The younger brother of 19 Khujjanāga KUÑCANĀGA, when he had slain the king his brother, reigned two years in Laṅkā. During the great 20 Ekanāḷika<sup>2</sup> famine the king maintained without interruption a great almsgiving<sup>3</sup> appointed for five hundred bhikkhus.

But the brother of Kuñcanāga's consort, the commander of 21 troops, SIRINĀGA, became a rebel against the king, and when 22 he was equipped with troops and horses he moved on to the capital and when he, in battle with the king's army, had put 23 king Kuñcanāga to flight, victorious he reigned over Laṅkā nineteen years in splendid Anurādhapura. When the king had 24 placed a parasol on the stately Great Thūpa, he had it gilded in admirable and splendid fashion. He built the Lohapāsāda, 25 keeping it within five stories (height), and he restored the steps to the four entrances leading to the great Bodhi-tree. When 26 he had completed the parasol and the pāsāda<sup>4</sup> he commanded offerings at the festival (of the consecration); great in compassion, he remitted the tribute of families<sup>5</sup> throughout the island.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 32. 51 and note to 1. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Nālī is a certain measure = 4 pasata 'handfuls'. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 17. To so small a quantity of food were the people reduced in that famine. Thence the designation.

<sup>3</sup> Mahāpeḷā, lit. 'great basket,' in contrast to ekanāḷikā.

<sup>4</sup> The reading is, I think, chattapāsādam. Still Chattapāsāda may also be understood as the name of a building. Thus TURNOUR, WIJESINHA and my edition.

<sup>5</sup> Kulambaṇa is obscure. Perhaps it means a certain tribute in kind (ambaṇa is a measure of capacity, used as a corn-measure), which was levied from single families (kula).

27 After the death of Sirināga his son TISSA reigned twenty-  
 two years, with knowledge of (the) law and (the) tradition.  
 28 Because he first in this country made a law that set aside  
 (bodily) injury (as penalty) he received the name king Vohārika-  
 29 tissa. When he had heard the (preaching of the) doctrine by  
 the thera Deva, who dwelt in Kappukagāma, he restored five  
 30 buildings. Moreover, contented with the thera Mahātissa, who  
 dwelt in Anurārāma,<sup>1</sup> he commanded almsgiving in Mucela-  
 31 paṭṭana.<sup>2</sup> When the king Tissa<sup>3</sup> had set up a pavilion in the  
 two great vihāras<sup>4</sup> and in the eastern temple of the great  
 32 Bodhi-tree two bronze images, and had built also the Satta-  
 paṇṇakapāsāda, goodly to dwell in, he appointed every month  
 33 a thousand (pieces of money)<sup>5</sup> for the Mahāvihāra. In the  
 Abhayagiri-vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Dakkhiṇamūla,  
 in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra and the (vihāra) called Kulālitissa,  
 34 in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra, in the (vihāra) called Mahāgā-  
 manāga, in the (vihāras) called Mahānāgatissa, and Kalyāṇika  
 35 he put parasols to their eight thūpas. In the Mūlanāgasenā-  
 36 pati-vihāra and in the Dakkhiṇa(vihāra), in the Maricavaṭṭi-  
 vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Puttabhāga, in the (vihāra)  
 called Issarasamaṇa and the (vihāra) named Tissa in Nāga-  
 37 dīpaka; in these six vihāras he put up a wall, and he also  
 built an uposatha-house in the (vihāra) called Anurārāma.  
 38 For the occasions when the Ariyavaṃsa<sup>6</sup> was read he decreed  
 over the whole island a regular giving of alms, from reverence  
 39 for the true doctrine. With the spending of three hundred

<sup>1</sup> According to 35. 83 near Mahāgāma in the province of Rohaṇa.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Ṭikā mucelapaṭṭana is the name of a 'ship' made of bronze in which offerings were placed. Such 'canoes' but of stone, which evidently served the same purpose, are, in fact, found in the ruins of Anurādhapura. (BURROWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 38, 43-44.)

<sup>3</sup> Following the reading Tissarājā maṇḍapaṃ. If we read Tissarājamaṇḍapaṃ we must translate 'a pavilion (called) Tissarāja (after him)'.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri-vihāra.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Ṭikā, articles of clothing.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'book of the holy ones,' probably the life-histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church, which were read aloud publicly for the edification of the people.

thousand (pieces of money) this king, who was a friend to the doctrine, freed from their indebtedness such bhikkhus as were in debt. When he had decreed a great Vesākha-festival,<sup>1</sup> 40 he bestowed the three garments on all the bhikkhus dwelling in the island. Suppressing the Vetulya-doctrine<sup>2</sup> and keeping 41 heretics in check by his minister Kapila, he made the true doctrine to shine forth in glory.

This king's younger brother, known as ABHAYANĀGA, who 42 was the queen's lover, being discovered (in his guilt) took flight for fear of his brother and went with his serving-men 43 to Bhallatittha and as if wroth with him, he had his uncle's hands and feet cut off. And that he might bring about 44 division in the kingdom, he left him behind here and took his most faithful followers with him, showing them the example of the dog,<sup>3</sup> and he himself took ship at the same place and 45 went to the other shore. But the uncle, Subhadeva, went to the king and making as if he were his friend he wrought 46 division in the kingdom. And that he might have knowledge of this, Abhaya sent a messenger thither. When Subhadeva 47 saw him he loosened (the earth) round about an areca-palm, with the shaft of his spear, as he walked round (the tree), and when he had made it thus (to hold) but feebly by the roots, he struck it down with his arm; then did he threaten the 48 (messenger), and drove him forth. The messenger went and told this matter to Abhaya. And when he knew this, Abhaya 49 took many *Damīlas* with him and marched from there against the city to do battle with his brother. On news of this the king 50

<sup>1</sup> See note to 32. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Vaipulya-sūtras*, sometimes also called *Vaitulya-sūtras*, which form part of the Northern Mahāyānist Canon. KERN, *Manual*, p. 5; idem, *Verlagen en Mededeelingen van de K. Ak. van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterk., 4<sup>e</sup> R., D. VIII, p. 312 foll., Amsterdam, 1907 (see L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *J.R.A.S.* 1907, p. 432 foll.; WINDISCH, *Abh. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. W.*, xxvii, p. 472; OLDENBERG, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii, 1910, p. 614).

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Ṭikā*, when he was about to embark on the ship, he had chided and punished a dog that he had with him. Nevertheless the animal followed him, wagging his tail. Then he said to his followers, 'Even as this dog, you must stand by me with unchangeable fidelity.'

took flight, and, with his consort, mounting a horse he came to  
51 Malaya. The younger brother pursued him, and when he  
had slain the king in Malaya, he returned with the queen and  
reigned eight years in the capital as king.

52 The king set up a vedī of stone round about the great  
Bodhi-tree, and a pavilion in the courtyard of the Lohapā-  
53 sāda. And obtaining garments of every kind for twice a  
hundred thousand (pieces of money), he distributed gifts of  
clothing among the brotherhood of bhikkhus on the island.

54 After Abhaya's death, SIRINĀGA, the son of his brother  
55 Tissa, reigned two years in Laṅkā. When he had restored the  
wall round about the great Bodhi-tree, then did this king also  
56 build in the sand-court<sup>1</sup> of the temple of the great Bodhi-  
tree, to the south of the Mucela-tree,<sup>2</sup> the beautiful Haṃ-  
savaṭṭa and a great pavilion besides.

57 Sirināga's son named VIJAYA-KUMĀRAKA reigned for one  
year after his father's death.

58 (At that time) three Lambakaṇṇas lived in friendship at  
Mahiyaṅgaṇa: Saṃghatissa and Saṃghabodhi, the third  
59 being Goṭhakābhaya. When they were coming (to Anurā-  
dhapura) to do service to the king, a blind man who had  
the gift of prophecy, being by the edge of the Tissa-tank,  
60 cried out at the sound of their footsteps: 'The ground bears  
here three rulers of the earth!' As Abhaya, who was walking  
last, heard this he asked (the meaning of the saying). The  
61 other uttered yet again (the prophecy). 'Whose race will  
endure?' then asked again the other, and he answered:  
'That of the last.' When he had heard that he went (on)  
62 with the two (others). When they were come into the capital  
the three, being the close and trusted (counsellors) of the  
king, remained in the royal service about the king.

63 When they together had slain king Vijaya in his royal  
palace the two (others) consecrated SAṂGHATIṢṢA, the com-  
64 mander of the troops, as king. Thus crowned did Saṃgha-

<sup>1</sup> Vālikātala is employed here in the same way as vāli-  
kaṅgaṇa in 33. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Parato is paraphrased in the Ṭikā by dakkhiṇadisābhāge,  
cf. Mah. 25. 50.

tissa reign four years in stately Anurādhapura. He set up 65  
 a parasol on the Great Thūpa and gilded it, and moreover the  
 king put four great gems, each worth a hundred thousand  
 (pieces of money), in the middle of the four suns,<sup>1</sup> and put 66  
 upon the spire of the thūpa a precious ring of crystal. At 67  
 the festival of (consecrating) the chatta the ruler of men dis-  
 tributed the six garments to the brotherhood (in number) forty  
 thousand. As he (one day) when listening to the khandhakas<sup>2</sup> 68  
 heard from the thera Mahādeva, dwelling in Dāmahālaka,  
 the sutta that sets forth the merit of (a gift of) rice-gruel,<sup>3</sup> 69  
 he, joyfully believing, distributed to the brotherhood at the  
 four gates of the city an abundant and well-prepared gift of  
 rice-gruel.

From time to time the king, with the women of the royal 70  
 household and the ministers, used to go to Pācīnadīpaka<sup>4</sup> to eat  
 jambu-fruits. Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in 71  
 Pācīnadīpa poisoned the fruit of the jambu-tree from which  
 the king was to eat. When he had eaten the jambu-fruits he 72  
 died forthwith even there. And Abhaya consecrated as king  
 Saṃghabodhi who was charged with the (command of) the  
 army.

The king, who was known by the name SIRISAMGHABODHI, 73  
 reigned two years in Anurādhapura, keeping the five precepts.<sup>5</sup>

In the Mahāvihāra he set up a beautiful salākā-house.<sup>6</sup> 74  
 When the king heard that the people of the island were  
 come to want by reason of a drought he himself, his heart 75  
 shaken with pity, lay down on the ground in the courtyard  
 of the Great Thūpa, forming the resolve: 'Unless I be raised 76

<sup>1</sup> Which were placed on the four sides of the 'Tee'.

<sup>2</sup> The sections of the M.V. and C.V. in the Vinaya-piṭaka.

<sup>3</sup> See M.V. VI. 24. Cf. particularly 5 and 6. The scene of the  
 exhortation is Andhakavinda.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 'East-Island.' The Tīkā says: Mahātitthapaṭṭane pa-  
 rato samuddamajjhe saṃbhūtaṃ Pācīnadīpaṃ agamāsi.  
 According to this Pācīnadīpa is one of the islands between the north  
 point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

<sup>5</sup> See note to I. 62.

<sup>6</sup> On salākagga see note to 15. 205.

up by the water that the god shall rain down I will nevermore  
 77 rise up from hence, even though I die here.' As the ruler of  
 the earth lay there thus the god poured down rain forthwith on  
 78 the whole island of Laṅkā, reviving the wide earth. And even  
 then he did not yet rise up because he was not swimming  
 in the water. Then his counsellors closed up the pipes by  
 79 which the water flowed away. And as he now swam in the  
 water the pious king rose up. By his compassion did he in  
 this way avert the fear of a famine in the island.

80 At the news: 'Rebels are risen here and there,' the king  
 had the rebels brought before him, but he released them again  
 81 secretly; then did he send secretly for bodies of dead men, and  
 causing terror to the people by the burning<sup>1</sup> of these he did  
 away with the fear from rebels.

82 A yakkha known as Ratakkhi,<sup>2</sup> who had come hither, made  
 83 red the eyes of the people here and there. If the people did  
 but see one another and did but speak of the redness of the  
 eyes they died forthwith, and the yakkha devoured them  
 without fear.

84 When the king heard of their distress he lay down with  
 sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the  
 85 eight uposatha vows,<sup>3</sup> (and said): 'Till I have seen the  
 yakkha I will not rise up.' By the (magic) power of his  
 86 piety the yakkha came to him. To the king's (question):  
 'Who art thou?' he answered: 'It is I, (the yakkha).' 'Why  
 87 dost thou devour my subjects? Swallow them not!' 'Give  
 up to me then only the people of one region,' said the other.  
 And being answered: 'That is impossible,' he came gradually  
 88 (demanding ever less and less) to one (man) only. The (king)  
 spoke: 'No other can I give up to thee; take thou me and  
 devour me.' With the words: 'That is impossible,' the other

<sup>1</sup> He had the corpses burnt in place of the rebels and thus inspired the belief that he had condemned them to death by fire. Cf. also *sūle uttāseti* 'to impale'. *Jāt.* I. 500<sup>11</sup> and frequently.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'Red-eye.' Perhaps scarlatina? The *Attanagaluvamsa* which relates this episode in chap. VI (ed. Alwis, p. 16 foll.), speaks of a fever (*jararoga*) beginning with inflammation of the eyes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. with this SPENCE HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 237.

prayed him (at last) to give him an offering in every village. 'It is well,' said the king, and over the whole island he 89 decreed that offerings<sup>1</sup> be brought to the entrance of the villages, and these he gave up to him. Thus by the great 90 man,<sup>2</sup> compassionate to all beings, by the torch of the island was the fear pestilence brought to an end.

The king's treasurer, the minister Goṭhakābhaya, who had 91 become a rebel, marched from the north against the capital. Taking his water-strainer with him the king fled alone by 92 the south gate, since he would not bring harm to others.

A man who came, bearing his food in a basket, along that 93 road entreated the king again and again to eat of his food. When he, rich in compassion, had strained the water and had 94 eaten he spoke these words, to show kindness to the other: 'I am the king Saṃghabodhi; take thou my head and show 95 it to Goṭhābhaya, he will give thee much gold.' This he 96 would not do, and the king to render him service gave up the ghost even as he sat. And the other took the head and 97 showed it to Goṭhābhaya and he, in amazement of spirit, gave him gold and carried out the funeral rites of the king with due care.

Thus GOṬHĀBHAYA, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya, ruled 98 thirteen years over Laṅkā.

He built a palace, and when he had built a pavilion at the 99 entrance to the palace and had adorned it, even there did he daily invite a thousand and eight bhikkhus of the brother- 100 hood to be seated, and rejoicing them with rice-gruel and with foods excellent and of many kinds, both hard and soft, together with garments, he bestowed alms lavishly upon them. 101 Twenty-one days did he continue (to give) thus.

In the Mahāvihāra he built a splendid pavilion of stone; 102 he renewed<sup>3</sup> the pillars of the Lohapāsāda. He set up a vedī 103

<sup>1</sup> By bali are understood particularly the offerings brought to the subordinate divinities, devatās, tutelary genii, local sprites, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāsatta is used elsewhere as designation of a Bodhisatta.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'He set them up when he had changed them.' In Skt. parivartayati (B.R. s. v. vart with pari) has the same meaning.

of stone for the great Bodhi-tree and an arched gateway at the northern entrance, and likewise at the four corners (of the courtyard) pillars with wheel-symbols.<sup>1</sup>

104 At three entrances he made three statues of stone and at  
105 the south gate he set up a throne of stone. To the west  
of the Mahāvihāra he laid out a tract of land for exercises  
of meditation,<sup>2</sup> and over the island he restored all ruined  
106 buildings. In the Thūpārāma he ordered the thūpa-temple to  
be restored and also in the Ambatthala-monastery of the thera  
107 (Mahinda);<sup>3</sup> and in the ārāma called Maṇisoma, and in the  
Thūpārāma, in the Maṇisomārāma and in the Maricavaṭṭi  
(vihāra), and moreover in the vihāra called Dakkhiṇa (he  
108 restored) the uposatha-houses. And he founded also a new  
vihāra called Meghavaṇṇābhaya and at the (time of) festal  
109 offerings at the consecration of the vihāra he distributed the  
six garments to thirty thousand bhikkhus dwelling on the  
island, whom he had assembled.

In like manner he appointed then a great Vesākha-festival,<sup>4</sup>  
110 and yearly did he distribute the six garments to the brother-  
111 hood. Purifying the doctrine by suppression of heresy he  
seized bhikkhus dwelling in the Abhayagiri (vihāra), sixty in  
number, who had turned to the Vetulya-doctrine<sup>5</sup> and were  
112 like a thorn in the doctrine of the Buddha, and when he had  
excommunicated them,<sup>6</sup> he banished them to the further  
coast. A bhikkhu from the Coḷa people, named Saṃghamitta,  
113 who was versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of  
spirits, and so forth, had attached himself<sup>7</sup> to a thera banished

<sup>1</sup> See note to 30. 92.

<sup>2</sup> CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. v. padhānam, says: 'padhānabhūmi, a cloister in a monastery for monks to walk in who are striving to attain arhatship.'

<sup>3</sup> The Therambatthalaka is without doubt the Ambatthala-thūpa built in memory of Mahinda on the Cetiya-mountain. See note to 34. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note to 32. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note to 36. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Katvāna niggahaṃ tesam, lit. 'having suppressed them.' See pāpakānam niggahena in v. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Nissito, the term for one who stands to an older monk in the relation of pupil to teacher (nissaya).

thither, and he came hither embittered against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra.

When this lawless (bhikkhu) had thrust himself into an 114 assembly in the Thūpārāma and had refuted there the words of the thera living in the pariveṇa of Saṃghapāla, namely the 115 thera Goṭhābhaya, uncle of the king on the mother's side, who had addressed the king with his (old) name, he became a 116 constant guest in the king's house.<sup>1</sup> The king who was well pleased with him entrusted his eldest son Jeṭṭhatissa and his younger son Mahāsenā, to the bhikkhu. And he made the 117 second his favourite, therefore prince Jeṭṭhatissa bore ill-will to the bhikkhu.

After his father's death JEṬṬHATISSA became king. To 118 punish the hostile ministers who would not go in procession with him, at the performing of the king's funeral rites, the 119 king himself proceeded forth, and placing his younger brother at the head and then the body following close behind, and 120 then the ministers whilst he himself was at the end (of the procession), he, when his younger brother and the body were gone forth, had the gate closed immediately behind them, and 121 he commanded that the treasonous ministers be slain and (their bodies) impaled on stakes round about his father's pyre.

Because of this deed he came by the surname 'the Cruel'. 122 But the bhikkhu Saṃghamitta, for fear of the king, went hence 123

<sup>1</sup> The passage is very obscure as the course of events in the Thūpārāma is too briefly described. I believe that we must supply the object rājānaṃ to rañño nāmenālapato, and that we have to understand the passage in the following way. A solemn assembly of the brotherhood was held in the Thūpārāma to settle the dissensions between the various parties. The king himself was present. In this assembly Saṃghamitta exposed his heretical doctrine, speaking against the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and he succeeded in convincing the king. The thera Goṭhābhaya, the king's uncle, after whom the king himself was named, tried to bring the king round to the orthodox party. But although he spoke urgently to him, even addressing him tenderly, not with his royal title Meghavaṇṇābhaya, but with his familiar name Goṭhābhaya (Ṭikā: tāta Goṭhābhaya Goṭhābhayā ti . . .), he did not succeed, and Saṃghamitta even became the king's kulūpaka. On this see note to 30. 40.

at the time of his coronation, when he had taken counsel with Mahāsenā, to the further coast awaiting the time of (Mahāsenā's) consecrating.

124 He (Jeṭṭhatissa) built up to seven stories the splendid Lohapāsāda, that had been left unfinished<sup>1</sup> by his father, so  
125 that it was now worth a koṭi (pieces) of money. When he had offered there a jewel worth sixty thousand, Jeṭṭhatissa named it the Maṇipāsāda.

126 He offered two precious gems to the Great Thūpa, and he built three gateways to the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.  
127 When he had built the vihāra Pācīnatissapabbata the ruler gave it to the brotherhood in the five settlements.

128 The great and beautiful stone image that was placed of old  
129 by Devānaṃpiyatissa in the Thūpārāma did king Jeṭṭhatissa take away from the Thūpārāma, and set up in the ārāma  
130 Pācīnatissapabbata. He bestowed the Kālamattika-tank on the Cetiya-pabbata (vihāra), and when he celebrated the consecrating festival of the vihāra and the pāsāda and (held)  
131 a great Vesākha-ceremony he distributed the six garments among the brotherhood, in number thirty thousand. Jeṭṭha-  
132 tissa also made the Ālambagāma-tank. Accomplishing thus many works of merit, beginning with the building of the pāsāda, the king reigned ten years.

133 Thus, reflecting that sovereignty, being the source of manifold works of merit, is at the same time the source of many an injustice, a man of pious heart will never enjoy it as if it were sweet food mixed with poison.

Here ends the thirty-sixth chapter, called 'The Thirteen Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Vippakata is used (e.g. D.I. 2<sup>26</sup>) of an interrupted discourse. Here we have the interrupting of building (cf. 36. 102 cd.). The Ṭikā renders the word correctly *niṭṭhānaṃ agataṃ apariniṭṭhāpitaṃ*.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

### KING MAHĀSENA<sup>1</sup>

AFTER king Jeṭṭhatissa's death, his younger brother MAHĀ- 1  
SENA ruled twenty-seven years as king. And to consecrate him 2  
as king, the thera Saṃghamitta came thither from the further  
coast, when he heard the time (of Jeṭṭhatissa's death).<sup>2</sup>  
When he had carried out the consecration and the other 3  
ceremonies of various kind, the lawless (bhikkhu) who would  
fain bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra won the 4  
king to himself with the words:—'The dwellers in the  
Mahāvihāra do not teach the (true) vinaya, we are those who  
teach the (true) vinaya, O king', and he established a royal 5  
penalty: 'Whosoever gives food to a bhikkhu dwelling in  
the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred (pieces of  
money).'

The bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, who thereby 6  
fell into want, abandoned the Mahāvihāra, and went to  
Malaya and Rohaṇa. Thus was our Mahāvihāra desolate for 7  
nine years and empty of those bhikkhus who (else) had dwelt  
in the Mahāvihāra. And the unwise thera persuaded the 8

<sup>1</sup> After verse 50 in chapter 37 the old Mahāvamsa breaks off. But the later author, who continued the work, carried on this chapter and added 198 verses, giving to the whole the subscription *Sattarājako* = 'the Seven Kings'. (However, there are in reality six:—Mahāseṇa, Kittisiri-Meghavaṇṇa, Jeṭṭhatissa II, Buddhadāsa, Upatissa II, and Mahānāma.) Our section (verses 1-50) has thus no conclusion, neither the usual memorial verse, nor a subscription. The substance of the former ought to have corresponded to that of the closing verses of the *Dīp.*, but was clothed in a more artistic form. The writer who continued the Mah. put the last two verses of the *Dīp.* at the head of his own work and thus connected the new part of the poem with the old one. On the whole process, cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṭīkā*: *kālam* ṇatvā, Jeṭṭhatissassa matakālam jānitvā.

- 9 unwise king :—‘ Ownerless land belongs to the king,’<sup>1</sup> and when he had gained leave from the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra, this (bhikkhu), in the enmity of his heart, set on people to do so.
- 10 An adherent of the thera Saṃghamitta, the ruthless minister Soṇa, a favourite servant of the king, and (with  
11 him) shameless bhikkhus, destroyed the splendid Lohapāsāda seven stories high, and carried away the (material of the)  
12 various buildings from hence to the Abhayagiri (vihāra), and by means of the many buildings<sup>2</sup> that were borne away from the Mahāvihāra the Abhayagiri-vihāra became rich in build-  
13 ings. Holding fast to his evil friend, the thera Saṃghamitta, and to his servant Soṇa, the king wrought many a deed of wrong.  
14 The king sent for the great stone image from the Pācīnā-tissapabbata (vihāra) and set it up in the Abhayagiri (vihāra).  
15 He set up a building for the image, a temple for the Bodhi-tree, a beautiful relic-hall and a four-sided hall,<sup>3</sup> and he  
16 restored the (pariveṇa) called Kukkuṭa.<sup>4</sup> Then by the ruthless thera Saṃghamitta was the Abhayagiri-vihāra made stately to see.
- 17 The minister named Meghavaṇṇābhaya, the friend of the king, who was busied with all his affairs, was wroth with him  
18 for destroying the Mahāvihāra ; he became a rebel, and when he had gone to Malaya and had raised a great force, he pitched a camp by the Dūratissaka-tank.<sup>5</sup>
- 19 When the king heard that his friend was come thither, he

<sup>1</sup> A play on the words *assāmiko* and *pathavīsāmī* ‘owner (ruler) of the earth’.

<sup>2</sup> *Pāsāda* means here, in quite a general sense, the habitations of the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra, which were demolished here and the material of which was conveyed to the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

<sup>3</sup> *Catu(s)sālā*. A certain building of this name in Anurādhapura is mentioned, Mah. 15. 47, 50 ; and 35. 88. In our passage the word is evidently an *appellativum*.

<sup>4</sup> By this is probably meant the Kukkuṭagiri-pariveṇa erected by Kaniṭṭhatissa. See 36. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See note to 33. 9. Meghavaṇṇābhaya evidently marches from the central mountain-district of Malaya to secure the province of Rohaṇa.

marched forth to do battle with him, and he also pitched a camp.

The other had good drink and meat, that he had brought 20 with him from Malaya and thinking: 'I will not enjoy it without my friend the king,' he took some, and he himself 21 went forth alone by night, and coming to the king he told him this thing. When the king had eaten with him, in perfect 22 trust, that which he had brought, he asked him: 'Why hast thou become a rebel?' 'Because the Mahāvihāra has been 23 destroyed by thee' he answered. 'I will make the vihāra to be dwelt in yet again; forgive me my fault,' thus spoke 24 the king, and the other was reconciled with the king. Following his counsel the king returned to the capital. But 25 Meghavaṇṇābhaya, who persuaded the king (that it was fitting to do this), did not go with the king that he might collect in the meantime the wherewithal to build.

One of the king's wives, who was exceedingly dear to him, 26 the daughter of a scribe, grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, and when she, in bitterness of heart, had won over 27 a labourer to kill the therā who had destroyed it, she caused the violent therā Saṃghamitta to be done to death as he came to 28 the Thūpārāma to destroy it. And they slew likewise the violent and lawless minister Soṇa. But when Meghavaṇṇā- 29 bhaya had brought the building-materials (that he had collected), he built several pariveṇas in the Mahāvihāra. When 30 this fear had (thus) been calmed by Abhaya the bhikkhus coming from here and there again inhabited the Mahāvihāra. But the king made two bronze images and set them up on 31 the west side of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

Being well-pleased with the hypocrite, the plotter, the 32 lawless therā Tissa, his evil friend, who dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma, he, although he was warned, built within the 33 boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana-vihāra.<sup>1</sup> Then he called upon the brotherhood 34

<sup>1</sup> According to 15. 202, Jotivana is a name for the Nandana park which, according to 15. 1, 7-8, was situated immediately before the south gate of Anurādhapura. From this and from our passage it appears quite certain that the Jetavana-vihāra must be the monastery

- of monks to do away with their boundaries, and since the bhikkhus would not do this, they abandoned the vihāra.
- 35 But now, to make the shifting of the boundary void of effect, if others should seek to do this, certain bhikkhus hid themselves in various places.<sup>1</sup>
- 36 Thus was the Mahāvihāra abandoned for nine months by the bhikkhus, and the other bhikkhus thought: 'We will  
37 begin to shift (the boundaries).' Then, when this attempt to shift the boundary was given up,<sup>2</sup> the bhikkhus  
38 came back hither and dwelt again in the Mahāvihāra. But within the brotherhood of bhikkhus a complaint touching an offence of the gravest kind<sup>3</sup> was raised against the thera  
39 Tissa, who had received the (Jetavana) vihāra. The high minister, known to be just, who decided (the matter) excluded him, according to right and law, from the order, albeit against the king's wishes.
- 40 The king built also the Maṇihīra-vihāra<sup>4</sup> and founded three  
41 vihāras, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods:—the Gokaṇṇa (vihāra), (and another vihāra) in Erakāvilla, (and a third) in the village of the Brahman Kalanda;<sup>5</sup> (moreover

the thūpa of which was mistakenly (called) the Abhayagiri Dagaba. On the other hand the present Jetavana Dagaba to the north of the city belonged to the Abhayagiri. Cf. note 33. 81.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, within the old boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, possession of which was thus formally maintained. *Ṭīkā*: antosimāya eva aññattha agantvā tasmim tasmim ṭhāne paticchannā hutvā nilīyimsu.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently since the bhikkhus remaining behind raised a protest.

<sup>3</sup> Antimavatthu is a matter that involves expulsion from the order. Cf. M.V. II. 22. 3; 36. 1; *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 276, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Now Minneriya, the name of a tank (see below, v. 47) not far from Poḷonnaruwa.

<sup>5</sup> According to the *Ṭīkā* the Gokaṇṇa-vihāra is situated on the coast of the 'Eastern Sea', the two other vihāras in Rohaṇa. The *Ṭīkā* then adds: evaṃ sabbattha Laṅkadīpamhi kudiṭṭhikānaṃ ālayaṃ viddhamsetvā, Sivaliṅgādayo nāsetvā buddha-sāsanam eva patiṭṭhapesi 'everywhere in the island of Lankā he established the doctrine of the Buddha, having destroyed the temples of the unbelievers, i. e. having abolished the phallic symbols of Siva and so forth'.

he built) the Migagāma-vihāra and the Gaṅgāsenakapabbata (vihāra). To the west, he built the Dhātūsenapabbata 42 (vihāra); the king founded also the great vihāra in Kokavāta. He built the Thūpārāma-vihāra and the Huḷapiṭṭhi (vihāra) 43 and the two nunneries, called Uttara and Abhaya. At the place 44 of the yakkha Kāvela<sup>1</sup> he built a thūpa, and on the island he restored many ruined buildings. To one thousand saṃ- 45 ghattheras<sup>2</sup> he distributed alms for theras, at a cost of a thousand (pieces of money), and to all (the bhikkhus he distributed) yearly a garment. There is no record of his gifts 46 of food and drink.

To make (the land) more fertile, he made sixteen tanks, the 47 Maṇihīra,<sup>3</sup> the Mahāgāma, the Challūra, and the (tank) named Khānu,<sup>4</sup> the Mahāmaṇi,<sup>5</sup> the Kokavāta<sup>6</sup> and the Dhamma- 48 ramma-tank, the Kumbālaka and the Vāhana, besides the Rattamālakaṇḍaka,<sup>7</sup> the tank Tissavaḍḍhamānaka,<sup>8</sup> that of Velaṅgaviṭṭhi,<sup>9</sup> that of Mahāgallaka, the Cīra-tank and the 49 Mahādāragallaka and the Kālapāsāṇa-tank. These are the sixteen tanks. On the Gaṅgā he built the great canal named 50 Pabbatanta.

Thus did he gather to himself much merit and much guilt.

The Mahāvamsa is ended.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 10. 84.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. superiors of the communities of bhikkhus. Cf. 3. 4; 4. 56.

<sup>3</sup> See above note to 37. 40.

<sup>4</sup> A Khānugāma is mentioned 25. 14.

<sup>5</sup> In 36. 3 the construction of a Mahāmaṇi-tank is ascribed to Bhātikatissa.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Kokavāta-vihāra in 37. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Maharatmala is the older name of the great Padaviya-lake in the North Central Province, 25 miles north of Anurādhapura. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, XIII, 1896, p. 40. There is, however, also a Ratmala-tank 2½ miles south of Anurādhapura. ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> A village or district of this name is mentioned in 35. 84.

<sup>9</sup> A vihāra of the same name, see 33. 8.



## APPENDIX A

### THE DYNASTY OF MAHĀSAMMATA

ON Mah. 2 = Dīp. 3 = Sum. T. p. 258 = Rājāv. p. 4 foll. (Engl. transl. by B. GUÑASEKARA) I should like to give a reference to two parallel passages in northern Buddhist literature, the *Mahāvastu*<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṃghikas and, moreover, of the Lokottaravāda-school, and to the *Dulva*,<sup>2</sup> the Tibetan translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins.

The names handed down in both these sources may be compared with those of the D. and M. in the following list:—

Dīp. Mah.	Mahāvastu	Dulva
Mahāsaṃmata	Mahāsaṃmata	Mahāsaṃmata
Roja	—	Rōkha
Vararoja	—	—
Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa
Varakalyāṇa	Rava ?	Varakalyāṇa
Uposatha	Uposadha	Utposadha
Mandhātar	Māndhātā	Māndhātā
Caraka	—	Kāru
Upacara	—	Upakāru
&c.	&c.	Kārumat, &c.
Okkāka	Ikṣvāku	Ikṣvāku
(Dīp. : surnamed Sujāta)	(surnamed Sujāta)	(Gotama)
Okkāmkha, Nipura and three other sons	Ulkāmukha, <sup>3</sup> Nipura and three other sons	Ulkāmukha, Nūpura and two other sons

<sup>1</sup> Ed. SENART, i, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 11 foll.

<sup>3</sup> In the Mahāvastu tradition not Ulkāmukha but Opura is said to be the eldest son ; but in the Dulva again the former is so.

In the Mahāvastu I. 348<sup>s</sup>–352<sup>s</sup> and in the Dulva (ROCKHILL, p. 11 foll.) there follows a story about the rise of the Śākya and the founding of Kapilavastu. Ikṣvāku banishes his legitimate sons from the country as he wishes to hand on the throne to Jenta the son of a concubine. He is thus fulfilling a promise into which the mother of Jenta has beguiled him. Ikṣvāku's sons withdraw into the wilderness and there take to wife their sisters who have accompanied them. Afterwards Kapilavastu is built by them. Their descendants are the Śākyas.

This story was also known to the Theravādins. It occurs in Sum. T. p. 258 foll. and in the Ṭikā to the Mahāvamsa, p. 84.<sup>1</sup> In agreement with the Dulva the M. Ṭ. mentions only four sons of Okkāka who were banished from the country; the fifth is Jantu to whom the brothers have to give way.

Further on (I. p. 352<sup>15</sup> foll.) the Mahāvastu relates the story of a Śākya king's daughter who is a leper and therefore banished to the forest. Here she is cured and is found by a hermit named Kola. Kola had formerly been king of Benares and had withdrawn into the forest because he too suffered from leprosy. He married the Śākya princess and from these two sprang the Koliya clan.

This legend too was known in Ceylon, we come across it in Sum. T. p. 260 foll. and in the (Sinhalese) Rājāvali immediately following on the story of the sons of Ikṣvāku.<sup>2</sup>

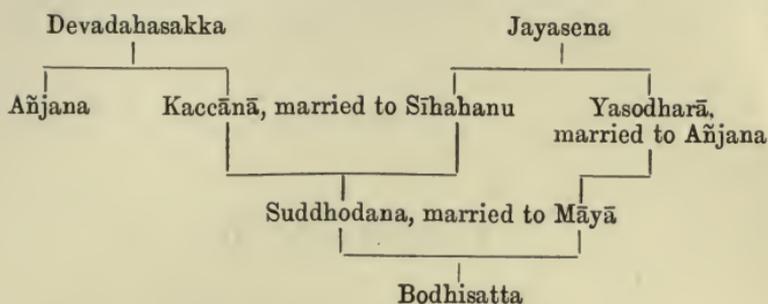
The Mahāvastu and Dulva speak of Siṃhahanu (= Sīhahanu in Dīp. Mah.) as the Buddha's grandfather. He has four sons: (1) Suddhodana the Buddha's father, (2) Dhautodana, (3) Śuklodana and (4) Amṛtodana. These are the Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sukkodana and Amitodana of the Dīp. and Mah., which add yet another, Sakkodana.

According to the Dīp. Mah. the Buddha's genealogical tree<sup>3</sup> is this:—

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā*, ed. BAṬUWANTUPÁWE and ÑĀNISSARA BHIKSHU, Colombo, 1895. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *The Rājāvaliya*, ed. (in English) by B. GUÑASEKARA, Colombo, 1900, pp. 11–13. GEIGER, *l.l.*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> See also RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism* (1910), p. 52.



The Mahāvastu I. 355<sup>15</sup> foll. names as Māyā's father Subhūti who was married to a Koliya princess and lived in Devadaha. Plainly this is the Añjana of the Mah., and the Suprabuddha of the Dulva (p. 14), while the Mah. (2. 18-19) takes Suprabuddha to be the son of Añjana and brother of Māyā. Perhaps Suprabuddha was a surname borne by the father and son.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the whole subject cf. also SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 125 foll.

## APPENDIX B

### THE BUDDHIST SECTS

(On Mah. 5. 1-13)

RHYS DAVIDS. 'The Sects of the Buddhists,' *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 409 foll.; the same, 'Schools of Buddhist Belief,' *J.R.A.S.* 1892, p. 1 foll.; MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 187 foll.

SOUTHERN BUDDHIST LISTS (SB.) occur besides *Mah.* 5 in the *Dīp.* 5. 39 foll.; also in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (ed. STRONG, *P.T.S.* 1891), pp. 96-97, in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (ed. M. BODE, *P.T.S.* 1897), p. 14, 24-25; in the Sinhalese *Nikāya-Saṃgraha* (ed. WICKREMASINGHE), pp. 6-9. Special mention should be made of the Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Kathāvattuppakaraṇa-Atthakathā* (ed. MINAYEFF, *J.P.T.S.* 1889, pp. 2-3, 5 and *passim*). The *Kathāvattuppakaraṇa* is ascribed to Tissa Moggaliputta,<sup>1</sup> who is said to have composed it after the holding of the Third Council in order to refute the views held by sectaries. The names of the sects are not mentioned in the *Kathāvatthu* but are in the commentary thereon, mentioned above, which was composed by Buddha-ghosa.<sup>2</sup>

All the Southern Buddhist lists are in complete agreement with one another.

<sup>1</sup> I adhere to this assertion (*Mah.* 5. 278) as a statement of fact. That the objection raised by MINAYEFF (*Recherches*, p. 200) to the age of the work is based upon an error has been already demonstrated by OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.*, 52, p. 633, and RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by me as Kvu. Co.

I will mention, when occasion arises, certain trifling variations in the *Nik. Saṃgr.* The ground for the agreement is that all the southern sources are based, in the last resort, upon the old-sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā.

NORTHERN BUDDHIST LISTS (NB.) occur in the Dulva, the Tibetan Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins according to a work of Bhavya, see ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 182 foll. (R.), and according to a work of Vasumitra, see WASSILJEV, *Der Buddhismus* (1860), i, p. 224 foll. (W.), also BEAL, 'The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism' (*Ind. Ant.*, ix, p. 299 foll.) (VB).<sup>1</sup>

Besides we have lists in Tāranātha. See SCHIEFNER, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (1869), pp. 270–274 (Tār.).

ST. JULIEN gives five Chinese lists based, for the most part, upon Vasumitra: 'Listes diverses des noms de dix-huit écoles schismatiques qui sont sorties du Bouddhisme,' *Journ. As.*, v. série, t. xiv (1859), p. 327 foll. (St. J.). To these may be added the statements of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian, Hiuen-thsang<sup>2</sup> and I-tsing.<sup>3</sup>

The number of the sects is unanimously given as 18. Evidently we again have to do with one of those established numbers which form the backbone of tradition.

The individual names vary and the dividing-up of the sects also shows certain variations. This is shown by the following survey:—

1. SB. THERAVĀDA = NB. STHAVIRAVĀDA is one of the two original schools into which the united church was divided at the first schism. It was so according to Mah. Dīp., &c., also according to St. J., p. 343 (list V), 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. On the other hand the number is 116 in St. J. 333 (list II); and 160 in R. 182, St. J. 336 (list V).

<sup>1</sup> BEAL gives two lists following Vasumitra, as ROCKHILL gives two following Bhavya.

<sup>2</sup> I call them Ch. 1, 2, and quote Fa-hian and Hiuen-thsang according to BEAL (B.), *Buddhist Records of the Western Worlds.*

<sup>3</sup> *A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing*, transl. by TAKAKUSU, Ch. 3.

We may consider as a synonymous designation :—

1<sup>a</sup>. SB. HEMAVATA = NB. HAIMAVATA in W. 253, VB. 300, R. 184. Still in R. 190 distinctions are made between the Sthaviras and the Haimavatas. In Dīp. and Mah., &c., they are considered as separate sects. Probably the Haimavatas were a local school of the Sthaviras of continental India.

2. SB. MAHĀSAMGHIKA = NB. MAHĀSAMGHIKA.<sup>1</sup> For their particular doctrine see W. 258 foll. They are the second school of the first great schism.

3. SB. GOKULIKA = NB. GOKULIKA (R. 186, 187; Tār. 271; VB. 301; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341 = lists I–IV). The name is missing in Ch. 1, 2, 3 as also in W. In its place here appears :—

3<sup>a</sup>. KUKKUṬIKA (W. 252, 258) or KUKKULIKA (W. 249; VB. 300). Similarly in St. J. 344 (list V), the Kaukuṭikas are put in instead of the Gokulikas and the two are expressly said 341 (list IV) to be identical.

Very closely related to the Gokulikas are :—

3<sup>b</sup>. LOKOTTARAVĀDIN who do not appear in the tradition of the Southern Buddhists. They are mentioned immediately beside the Gokulikas (or Kukkuṭikas). (W. 249, 252, 258; VB. 301; St. J. 334, 337, 341, 343 = lists II–V.) In R. 182 they are to be found just in the place where we should expect the Gokulikas. Cf. St. J. 330 = list I and Tār. 271, where the Gokulikas appear in the list, whilst, on the other hand, the Lokottaravādins are missing. Lastly, Tār. says, 273, that Lokottaravādins and Kaukuṭapādas are the same. Ch. 2 mentions the L. in Bāmiān (BEAL, i. 50).

4. SB. EKAVYOHĀRIKA = NB. EKAVYAVAHĀRIKA (W. 249, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 187; Tār. 271; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341, 344 = lists I–V). According to Tār. 273 the name is employed as a general designation of the Mahāsamghikas. Their doctrines according to W. 258 are the same as those of 2, 3<sup>a</sup> and 3<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In St. J. 340 (list II) the Kārmikas, besides the Yogācāras and Aśvarikas, are reckoned as belonging to the Mahāsamghikas.

5. SB. PAṆṆATTIVĀDIN = NB. PRAJÑAPTIVĀDIN (W. 251; R. 182; Tār. 271; St. J. 341 = list IV; missing in VB. 300; St. J. lists I-III, V, also in R. 185). They are the Si-chi in VB. 301. For their particular doctrines see W. 268, R. 189.

6. SB. BAHULIKA = NB. BAHUŚRUTĪYA (W. 250; VB. 300, 301; R. 182; Tār. 250, 252; St. J. 330, 334, 338, 341, 345 = lists I-V). For their doctrines see W. 268; R. 189.

7. SB. CETIYAVĀDA = NB. CAITIKA or CAITYIKA (W. 251, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186). They are said to be a branch of the Gokulikas, R. 189; Tār. 252. In Tār. 273 they are said to be identical with the Pūrvaśailas. Corresponding to them in the lists I-III, V = St. J. 330, 334, 338, 345 are the Jetikas or Jetavaniyās or Jetaśailas.

8. SB. MAHIṂSĀSAKA = NB. MAHĪŚĀSAKA. They are, according to R. 186; Tār. 271, to be reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajyavādins (cf. 14<sup>a</sup>) and are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V. For their doctrines see R. 185, 191; W. 280 foll. Ch. 2 mentions them in Swāt (BEAL, i, p. 121). According to the same authority (BEAL, i, p. 226) the Bodhisattva Aśaṅga professed himself to be of the school of the M., but went over to the Mahāyāna.

9. SB. VAJJIPUTTAKA = NB. VATSĪPUTRĪYA or VĀSAPUTRĪYA (W. 253, 256; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 184, 186, 193; Tār. 271, 272, 273; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342 = lists I-IV). They are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 335 (list II), while according to the southern Buddhist tradition the relation is reversed; and they are said, R. 186, to be a principal branch of the Sthaviras beside the Sarvāstivādins. The Kvu. Co., however, mentions them very slightly. The Pāli form of the name must be understood as an assimilation to the name of the Vajjiputtaka monks, the sectaries of Vesālī.

10. SB. DHAMMUTTARIYA = NB. DHARMOTTARĪYA the Dharmakārikas of the Nik. S., are said, as also in the southern

tradition, to be a branch of the Vatsīputrīya (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I-V).

11. SB. BHADRĀYĀNIKA = BHADRĀYANĪYA are also a branch of the Vatsīputrīyas (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 186; Tār. 271, 273; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V), and stand in especially close relation (R. 194) to the Dharmottariyas from whom, according to St. J. 331 (list I), they had taken their rise.<sup>1</sup> For 10 and 11, R. gives the common designation Mahāgiriya.

12. SB. CHANDĀGĀRIKA = NB. ṢAṆṆAGARIKA 'those from the 6 cities', also a branch of the Vatsīputrīyas (W. 254; VB. 300; R. 186, cf. 194; Tār. 271; St. J. 335, 342 = lists II, IV) and are but slightly distinguished from 11 (W. 279). In the lists I, III, V in St. J. 337, 339, 345 there appear, instead of them, the Abhayagirivāsins.

13. SB. SAṂMITĪYA = NB. SAṂMATĪYA, taking their rise like 10-12, from 9 (W. 254; R. 186; Tār. 271, 272; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I-V). According to R. 182 they are also called (13<sup>a</sup>) AVANTAKA or (13<sup>b</sup>) KURUKULLAKA, and Tār. 272 relates that according to the view of the Sarvāstivādins, the Kaurukullakas, the Avantakas, and the Vatsīputrīyas are the three kinds of the Saṁmatīyas. They are the Mi-li in VB. 301. They must have been a widely spread sect; Ch. 2 mentions them repeatedly as a school of the Hīnayāna (see BEAL, ii. 14, 44, 45, 186, &c.); according to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) they fall into four subdivisions and are spread over Western India and in Campā (Cochin-China) especially. The Kvu. Co. in a whole series of passages is occupied with their doctrines. On those see R. 194.

14. SB. SABBATTHAVĀDIN = NB. SARVĀSTIVĀDIN. According to W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 339 (list III) and 342 (list IV), they are also called (14<sup>a</sup>) HETUVĀDA or HETUVIDYA, and according to R. 182, also Muruntaka, and they are said (W. 253, R. 182, Tār. 271) to be, beside the Vatsīputrīyas,

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed, however, that in the list I, in St. J., each school is made to take its rise from the one mentioned before it.

one of the principal schools of the Sthaviras. The statements of the Chinese pilgrims agree with this.

Ch. 1 (BEAL, i, p. lxx) states that the Vinaya of the S. is held to be particularly correct and agrees in essentials with that which is observed in China. Ch. 2 (BEAL, i, pp. 18, 19, 49, &c., ii, pp. 182, 270, &c.) mentions them frequently as a branch of the Hīnayāna; the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu (BEAL, i. 226) professed himself of this school. According to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) the S. were (beside the Sthaviras, Mahāsaṃghikas and Saṃmatīyas) one of the four principal Buddhist schools; they themselves fell into four groups (Mūlasarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptas, Mahīśāsakas and Kāśyapīyas), and had spread mostly in Magadha and Eastern India. On their doctrines see W. 270 foll.; R. 184, 185, 190. See also TAKAKUSU, *J.P.T.S.* 1904–1905, pp. 67 foll.

Here I will mention :—

14<sup>b</sup>. SB. VIBHAJJAVĀDIN = NB. VIBHAJJAVĀDIN. These are mentioned Mah. 5. 271. It is said here that the Buddha professed himself belonging to the V. From this as from the relation of the list in Tār. 271, 272 to the Ceylonese list (Dīp. 5. 45 foll.; Mah. 5. 6–9), OLDENBERG<sup>1</sup> has concluded that V. is another name for the Theravādins. In the Mahābodhivaṃsa, besides, this is said in plain terms.<sup>2</sup> However, according to Tār. 272, the V. are reckoned as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, beside which they appear in R. 182 as a Sthavira school. According to R. 186, 191, Tār. 271 they embrace the sects of the Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, Dharmaguptakas and (14<sup>c</sup>) TĀMRAŚĀṬĪYAS. The last named are in Tār. 272, 274 counted as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins and identified with the Saṃkrāntikas and (14<sup>d</sup>) the UTTARĪYAS.

If we resume these data it appears that Vibhajjavādin denotes not so much a particular sect but rather a philosophical tendency, which, for the Theravādins, was bound up

<sup>1</sup> *Vin. Piṭ.*, i, p. xli foll.

<sup>2</sup> P. 95<sup>17</sup>: *therānaṃ saṃbandhavacanattā theravādo ti, vibhajjavādinā munindena desitattā vibhajjavādo ti ruccati*. The same conclusion may be drawn from *Mah. Ṭīkā*, 94<sup>3</sup>, 99<sup>2</sup>.

with their conception of orthodoxy<sup>1</sup> and to which their different schools thenceforward laid claim.<sup>2</sup>

15. SB. DHAMMAGUTTIKA = NB. DHARMAGUPTAKA. They are, as we have just seen, reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajjavādins and are said (W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V) to be a branch of the Mahāsāsaka. On their doctrines see W. 283, R. 192.

16. SB. KASSAPIYA = NB. KĀŚYAPĪYA, belonging also to the Vibhajjavādins. They took their rise in the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 340, 342, 346 = lists II-V) and are also called (16<sup>a</sup>) SUVARṢAKA (W. and St. J. as above; cf. Tār. 271). For their doctrines see W. 283-284, R. 193.

17. SB. SAṂKANTIKA = NB. SAṂKRĀNTIVĀDIN, a branch of the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; BV. 300, 301; Tār. 271, 272; R. 193; St. J. 336, 340, 342 = lists II-IV). Their other name is said to be Uttarīya (R. 183; Tar. 273), also Tāmraśāṭīya (see under 14<sup>b</sup>). In W. 256, St. J. 336, 342 = lists II-IV they are identified with the Sautrāntika.

18. SB. SUTTAVĀDA = NB. SAUTRĀNTIKA. The accounts of this school are far from clear. In the SB. sources no further mention is made of it. Its identity with 17 seems also to be evident from R. 186 where in the list the Sautrāntikas are introduced as a branch of the Sarvāstivādins, but the Saṃkrāntivādins are missing.

In Ch. 2 also the former (see BEAL, i, pp. 139, 226; ii, p. 302) are mentioned, but not the latter. Besides, in list I, St. J. 332 the Sautrāntika evidently appear in the place of 17, being a branch of the Kāśyapiya. On the other hand, according to St. J. 340, 346 (lists III, V) the Sautrāntika would seem to be identical with the Prajñaptivādins (5), thus would belong not to the Sthaviras at all but to the Mahāsaṃghikas.

<sup>1</sup> Only thus can we understand how the Buddha himself can be called a Vibhajjavādī. He could never be called a Theravādī.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kathāvatthu (ed. TAYLOR), ii, p. 578, with the Co., pp. 177-178.

It seems that this last conclusion may also be drawn from R. 186 (n. 1) and Tār. 271.

Besides these eighteen schools the SB. sources mention the following branches:—

19. SB. HEMAVATA = NB. HAIMAVATA. See above 1<sup>a</sup>.

20. SB. RĀJAGIRIYA = NB. RĀJAGIRIYA. They are counted (R. 186) as belonging to the Mahāsaṃghikas, but are missing entirely from the other list, R. 182. In Tār. 271, too, they only appear in the list belonging to the Mahāsaṃghikas. In the Chinese lists in St. J. they appear just as little as in Ch. 1, 2, 3.

21. SB. SIDDHATTHIKA. They are not mentioned in the NB. lists.

22. SB. PUBBASELIYA = NB. PŪRVAŚAILA. It is clear and beyond doubt, from all the data, that these are most closely related to the Caityika. They are mentioned beside them (R. 182, 186; Tār. 271) or positively in place of them (W. 251, 252). In Ch. 2 they are mentioned only once as the Avaraśaila (BEAL, ii, p. 221); Ch. 1 and 3 do not mention them. In St. J. 331, 334, 338, 342, 345 (lists I–V) the (22<sup>a</sup>) UTTARAŚAILA are also mentioned, always beside the Jetikas; in list I, VB. 300, also beside the Pūrvaśailas; and in list V, VB. 301 beside the Aparāśailas.

23. SB. APARASELIYA = NB. APARAŚAILA or AVARAŚAILA, introduced as a school of the Mahāsaṃghikas in W. 254, 255; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271.

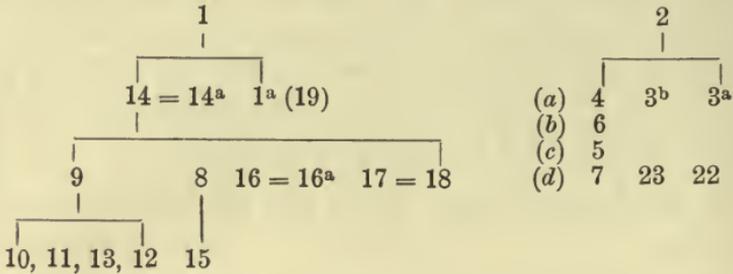
24. SB. VĀJIRIYA (Dīp. 5. 54 = Apararājagiriya). They are not mentioned in the northern sources, and the same may be said of the 23. DHAMMARUCI and 24. SĀGALIYA which are expressly called (Mah. 5. 13) Ceylonese sects.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, we may refer to the 25. VETULYA mentioned Mah. 36. 41, 111, also KERN's ingenious combination by which they are brought into relation with the Mahāyāna.

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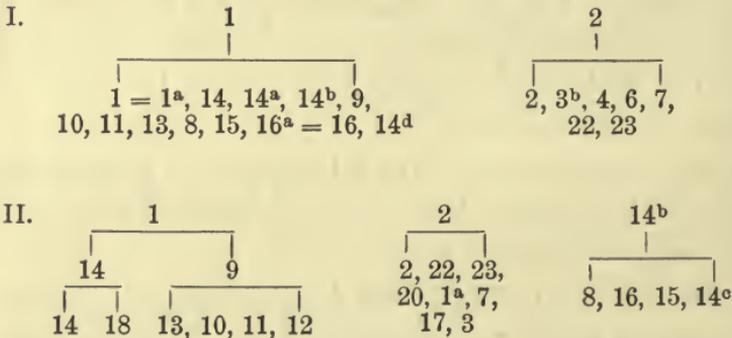
<sup>1</sup> On their origin see the interesting passage in the *Mah. Tīkā*, p. 115, l. 31 foll., translated by TURNOUR, *Mah.*, p. liii.

The different opinions as to the relation of the different sects to one another and their rise of one from another may be given in the form of a genealogical tree.

1. VASUMITRA (W. 249; VB. 301) divides them after the separation of 1 and 2 thus—



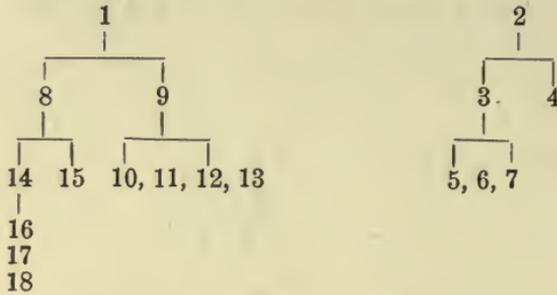
2. BHAVYA (R. 182, 186) represents two views of which the one is based on the same division as in Vasumitra's list, but the second on an original division into three, where the Vibhajyavādins form the third group.



3. TĀRANĀTHA (270-271) gives four different lists: I, according to the Sthaviras; II, according to the Mahāsaṃghikas; III, according to the Saṃmatīyas; and IV, according to the Sarvāstivādins. The first is based on a division into two principal groups, the second on a similar division into three, the third and fourth on a division into four. The first two lists coincide with those of Bhavya.



6. According to Dīp. and Mah. the relation of the schools takes this shape (cf. list I of Tār.) :—



As regards the time at which the separate schools arose, according to the Ceylonese sources the first schism took place 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. The remaining sects must have arisen in the time between the Second and Third Council, i.e. between 100 A.B. and 247 A.B., the most of them in the second century after the Nirvāṇa, but the last six (19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) in the third century, the Dhammarucis, according to the Mah. Tīkā at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the Sāgaliyas at that of Mahāsenā.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Northern Buddhists we find quite similar traditions.

According to VASUMITRA (W. 249 foll., VB. 301) the sects 4, 3<sup>b</sup>, and 3<sup>a</sup>, as also 6 and 5, were formed in the course of the second century A.B., that is, after the first schism. By the end of the second century 7, 22, and 22<sup>a</sup> had arisen. In the third century arose 14 (14<sup>a</sup>), and 1<sup>a</sup>, later 9, and then 10, 11, 13, 12, also 8, and from this last 15. Only the rise of 17 (=18) is placed in the fourth century. These dates are transferred from Vasumitra into the Chinese lists (ST. JULIEN).

The information given by I-TSING on the spread of the schools at his time, i.e. towards the end of the seventh century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> is of great interest. At that time the Sarvāstivādins prevailed in Magadha, the Saṃmitīyas in North-west India, the Sarvāstivādins in the North, and in the South the Sthaviras. In the East the four great groups, i.e. the three above mentioned and the Mahāsaṃghikas, were mixed.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 283, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> TAKAKUSU, *I-tsing*, pp. 8-9.

In the polemics of the Kathāvatthu<sup>1</sup> the most prominent schools, according to the commentator Buddhaghosa, are the Theravādins, the Saṃmitīyas, the Mahiṃsāsakas, the Sabbatthavādins, and the Mahāsaṃghikas. But more frequently than these the names ANDHAKA and UTTARAPATHAKA are employed, in which Buddhaghosa evidently comprises the South Indian and North Indian sects.

<sup>1</sup> See RHYS DAVIDS, *J.R.A.S.* 1891, p. 413.

## APPENDIX C

### CAMPAIGNS OF PAṆDUKĀBHAYA (Mah. 10. 27 foll.) AND DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI (Mah. 25. 1 foll.)

PAṆDUKĀBHAYA takes refuge from the persecution of his uncles in Paṇḍulagāma.

The place is unknown. In our inquiry, therefore, we must take as starting-point Paṇa, where he gathers together his first followers, to engage in battle with his uncles.

Paṇa is situated near Kāsapabbata. This name has been, I believe, preserved in the modern Kahagala-gama,<sup>1</sup> the name of a village situated about ten miles to the north of Kaḷu-wæwa and fifteen miles to the south-west of Anurādhapura.

From Paṇa he does not direct his march northward on the then capital of the country Upatissagāma.<sup>2</sup> He is not strong enough for this. Rather he is obliged to follow the tactics of all rebels, to bring first the border-districts, the *paccantagāmā*, into his power.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he marches first towards the south-east, more or less along the line which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi followed, in the opposite direction in his march against Anurādhapura. Probably the old military road ran along here. So he comes first into the district of Girikaṇḍasiva. This name is, we may conjecture, connected with that of Girilaka, which is mentioned Mah. 25. 47 with reference to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's campaign. We must look for this district between the Kaḷu-wæwa and the Riṭigala.

<sup>1</sup> On the map of Ceylon, four miles to an inch.

<sup>2</sup> Upatissagāma is situated on the Gambhīranadī (Mah. 7. 44) to the north of Anurādhapura. From here to the Gambhīranadī (Mah. 28. 7) is a distance of a yojana = 7-8 miles. By this we arrive at a general notion of the position of Upatissagāma.

<sup>3</sup> GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 39-40.

P. now marches on southward of Riṭigala to the spot where the Ambanganga and Mahawæliganga unite. To the south of the Mineri-tank the people of Girikaṇḍasiva come up with him. The result is the battle of Kalaha-nagara. This is the Kalahagala<sup>1</sup> of the present day, situated 7-8 miles distant from the lake mentioned. Not far from here we must look for the scene of the second battle of Lohitavāhakhanda (Mah. 10. 43).

Although the victory in both battles is attributed to P., he does not yet venture to attack Upatissagāma directly. On the contrary, he continues his march in the direction followed hitherto, and crosses the Mahawæliganga (*pāraṅgaṃ*, Mah. 10. 44).

The place where he crossed over must have been the Kacchaka-ford, which I take to be the Mahagantota<sup>2</sup> below the spot where the Ambanganga flows into the Mahawæliganga.

As the base of further operations P. chooses a region on the right bank of the Mahāgaṅgā (Mahawæliganga), the Doḷa-mountain. This name survives in that of the village Dola-galawela<sup>3</sup> in the Bintenne district, twenty miles to the north of the place so named, which is now called Alutnuwara.

During the four years that P. spends near the Doḷa-mountain he is said to have been making preparations for the really decisive battle. This is made possible for him by the fact that he has now the whole province of Rohaṇa, with all its resources, behind him. By his position he has also the key to the most important or the only ford of the Mahawæliganga.

In the meantime P.'s uncles have also completed their preparations. They march against the rebels and entrench themselves on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain. Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10. 53, 57, 58. We must look for it

<sup>1</sup> See *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, iv, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerary of Roads in Ceylon*, i (1909), p. 39, no. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 262. The Doḷukaṇḍa which PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 192) mentions cannot be the Doḷa-pabbata of the Mah., since it is situated (PARKER, in a letter dated July 17, 1910) about ten miles to the north of Kurunāgala.

on the left bank of the Mahawæliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. The chief object of the uncles was evidently to prevent P. from crossing the river.

However, to be beforehand with them, P. risks the crossing. He defeats the enemy in flight, and takes possession of their camp. He then proceeds on the direct road to the capital.

On the Ariṭṭha-pabbata (Riṭigala) he pitches an entrenched camp which is to serve as a base for his final operations. The uncles once more march against him with fresh troops. The decisive battle takes place near Lābu-gāmaka (Mah. 10. 72), the Labunoruwa<sup>1</sup> of the present day, on the north-west slope of the Riṭigala. P. carries off the victory.

The road to the capital now lies open to him. He takes possession of it and afterwards, having assumed sole sovereignty, he removes the royal residence to Anurādhapura.

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We see that the information given by the Mahāvamsa on Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, if rightly understood, is quite adequate. The military measures taken seem thoroughly methodical; their aim can be clearly understood.

On quite similar lines is the advance of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on Anurādhapura, a proof that we have to do in both cases with old connecting roads between the regions left and right of the Mahawæliganga. P. was obliged to secure these in order to carry out successfully his operations against Upatissagāma. D. used them for bringing up his troops.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi starts (Mah. 25. 5) from Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa, the site of which is indicated by the ruins of Tissa-Mahārāma in the South Province, sixteen miles north-east of Hambantōṭa. Taking a northerly direction, he marches through Guttahālaka,<sup>2</sup> now Buttala, towards Mahiyaṅgaṇa. This, according to the local tradition, is the modern Bintenne or Alutnuwara.

<sup>1</sup> *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 464.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence for this site is chiefly Mah. 24. 17. D. stations outposts in G. on the look-out for his brother Tissa, whose advance from Dīghavāpi is expected here.

D. is here on the bank of the Mahawæliganga. Now follows the enumeration of a whole series of forts which were occupied by Damiḷas and taken by D.

Among these, too, appears Kaccha-tittha (now Mahagan-toṭa), to take which required a four months' siege (Mah. 25. 12). I think, therefore, that the places mentioned are mere frontier-outposts or forts which had been placed along the Mahawæliganga<sup>1</sup> from the bend of the river above Bintenne to the neighbourhood of the mouth. The individual names cannot now be settled.

The remains of the vanquished Damiḷa-divisions retreat towards Vijita-nagara. It still seems to me most probable that we should look for this city in the neighbourhood of Kaḷuwæwa, where the Vijitapura-vihāra is now situated, and ruins in the jungle testify to the former existence of a larger settlement.<sup>2</sup>

In all probability D. will have crossed the Mahāgaṅgā near Kacchaka-tittha. On the advance against Vijita he first followed the same road that Paṇḍukābhaya used when he marched from the Kāsa-pabbata to the Doḷa-pabbata. It must have run somewhere between Sīgiri and the Mineritank.

The siege and storming of Vijita are described with great clearness and vivacity. The further stations, Girilaka, Mahela-nagara, and Kāsa-pabbata lay far along the road which leads from Dambul to Anurādhapura. On the Kāsa-pabbata D. entrenched himself, evidently in order to await in a favourable position his adversary Eḷāra. Here again in fact it comes to a decisive battle, the fortunate issue of which opens to D. the road to the capital. The conquered foe was pursued up to the immediate vicinity of Anurādhapura. In a last attempt to bring the fleeing troops to a halt beneath the walls of the city Eḷāra falls by the hand of D. in heroic single combat.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mah. 25. 19, where this seems to be plainly said.

<sup>2</sup> BURROWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, p. 75. PARKER certainly (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 237 foll.) looks for Vijita in the region of the later Poḷonnaruwa.

## APPENDIX D

### LIST OF PĀLI TERMS OCCURRING IN THE TRANSLATION

1. ĀCARIYA, 'teacher, master.' See p. 31, n. 4.
2. ARAHANT. Literally 'able, worthy', a person who has reached the ideal. In an Arahant the *āsavā*, the deadly drugs of delusion, are brought to an end; he is no longer subject to re-birth, but lives in Nirvāṇa, the final liberation. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism*, 110; *Early Buddhism*, 72-74.
3. ĀRĀMA, 'park, garden.' Designation of a Buddhist convent = *vihāra*, CHILDERS, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v.
4. ĀSAVA. The term is hardly translatable. It has been first explained by RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. 92, ii, p. 28 (= SBB. ii, iii). According to Buddhaghosa, Asl. 48<sup>15</sup>, well-matured spirituous liquors are called *āsavā*. Jāt. IV. 222<sup>19</sup> we read: *āsavo tāta lokasmim surā nāma pavuccati*. The underlying idea is, therefore, that of 'overwhelming intoxication', not that of a deadly flood. There are four *āsavā*: (1) *kāma* 'lust, desire', (2) *bhava* '(desire of a future) existence', (3) *avijjā* 'ignorance (of the four holy truths)', and (4) *diṭṭhi* 'false belief'. D. I. 84; II. 81; M. I. 7, &c., *khīṇāsava* 'one who has overcome the āsavas', and *anāsava* 'one who is free from the āsavas', are epithets of the *arahant*.
5. BHIKKHU, BHIKKHUṆĪ, mendicant monk, nun. Member of the Buddhist order.
6. BUDDHA (*Samḃuddha*, *Sammā-Samḃuddha* convey the same notion in a heightened degree) denotes a being who by his own force has attained to possession of the highest knowledge. He is neither man nor god. He is able to perform certain wonders in accord with the laws of nature. In an endless

series of existences the Buddha prepares himself for his state of Buddhahood. During the whole of this time he is called a *bodhisatta* (Skt. *bodhisattva*) till in his last existence as a man—the last but one he generally spends in a heaven of the gods—he attains to knowledge (*bodhi*, *saṃbodhi*, *abhisambodhi*). In the ancient texts *saṃbodhi* is always the insight of an Arahant.<sup>1</sup> Since this event comes to pass for the historical Buddha under an *assattha* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), this is the sacred tree of the Buddhists, and the ‘Bodhi-tree’ (Sinh. *bōgaha*) is not lacking in any Buddhist sanctuary in Ceylon.

A Paccakabuddha has also reached Nirvāṇa (see below) by his own force, but does not come forward as a teacher. The historical Buddha is called, after his family, Gotama Buddha or Sakyamuni, ‘the sage of the house of the Sakyas.’ See KERN, p. 62 foll.

7. CETIYA. See under THŪPA.

8. DEVATĀ, divinity, genius, particularly applied to the spirits which, according to popular belief, inhabit trees, wells, hills, and in fact every place. In Mah. 28. 6 a *devatā* of the royal parasol is mentioned.

9. DHAMMA, truth, religion, the sum-total of Buddhist doctrine. Opposed to *vinaya*, ‘Discipline, the monastic rule,’ Dhamma in the more restricted sense denotes the second part of the tipitaka (which see).

10. KARĪSA, first a measure of capacity; in another sense an area of about 4 acres, i.e. as much ground as can be sown with a *karīsa* of seed-corn. See RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18.

11. KHATTIYA (Skt. *kṣatriya*), the class of nobles or warriors. This was one of the four ancient *vaṇṇā*, or social grades. The Buddhists and Jainas put them first in the list, the Brahmans put themselves first. The Khattiyas have been sometimes called a caste; but they never formed an organized community, like the modern castes, with connubium and commensality between all Khattiyas. See RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i. 96–107; *Buddhist India*, 52 ff.

<sup>1</sup> RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, pp. 190–192.

12. MANTA, formula, sacred formula, charm, spell, designation of the Vedic hymns. Cf. Mah. 5. 109.

13. NĀGA, designation of supernatural beings, snake-demons, sometimes represented in human form with a snake's hood in the neck, sometimes as mixed forms, half man half snake. They are distinguished by devout reverence toward the Buddha. Their sworn enemies are the Garuḍa, winged beings resembling the griffin (cf. p. 129, n. 4). See GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst*, p. 42 foll.

14. NIBBĀNA (Skt. *nirvāṇa*). One of the terms for Arahantship. At Saṃyutta IV. 251, 261 it is defined as the destruction (in the heart) of *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha* (lust, illwill, and stupidity); and is stated to be attainable by the eightfold Path. See also DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bouddhisme*, p. 57 ff.

15. PABBAJĀ. Literally 'going forth'; the technical term for giving up the household life and becoming a *religieux*, entering an order. The rules for the reception of candidates for membership varied in the various orders. The Buddhist rules are now translated by RHYS DAVIDS and H. OLDENBERG, *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i. When a candidate is first admitted he is called a *Sāmaṇera*, novice.

16. PACCEKABUDDHA. See under BUDDHA.

17. PARIVEṆA, monk's cell, the private dwelling of a bhikkhu within the monastery.

18. PAVĀRAṆĀ, 'invitation,' name of a festival held by the bhikkhus at the close of the *vassa*, i.e. the rainy season, spent in the monastery. See *Vinaya Texts*, i, pp. 335-353.

19. SAMANA, 'ascetic,' designation of the Buddhist priests as opposed to the Brāhmaṇa.

20. SĀMAṆERA. See under PABBAJĀ.

21. SAṂGHATTHERA. See under THERA.

22. SUDDA (Skt. *Śūdra*), a man of the fourth, non-Aryan caste.

23. TĀLA. Lit. 'palm,' a measure of length. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins, &c.*, p. 18.

24. TATHĀGATA, one of the terms of veneration applied to the Buddhas. The Buddha usually speaks of himself thus. The meaning is a matter of controversy. The native commentators explain the word in quite different ways. See BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 75.

25. THERA, THERĪ (Skt. *sthavira*, °rā), term of respect applied to monks and nuns, especially to those of venerable age. *Samghatthera* is the denotation of the senior priest in any assembly of bhikkhus, or in the whole community. See *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 19.

26. THŪPA (Skt. *stūpa*, tope), name of edifices which serve as receptacle for a relic or as monument. They are hemispherical or bell-shaped, and rest upon a base of three concentric stories which form ambulatories round the tope; they sustain a cubical erection, the so-called *tee* from which rises the spire (*chatta*) which crowns the whole. The relic-chamber (*dhātugabbha*, whence the name 'Dagaba', used in Ceylon for the whole edifice) is in the interior, below the *tee*.

The expression *cetiya* (Skt. *cāitya*), originally the most general term for 'sanctuary'—a tree, too, can be a *cetiya*—is used in the Mah. mostly as a synonym for *thūpa*. Cf., for instance, *Mahācetiya* or *Mahāthūpa* as the name of the Ruwanwæli-Dagaba in Anurādhapura.

There is frequent mention in the Mah. of a *thūpaghara* or *cetiya ghara*, 'house of the thūpa or cetiya.'

There can be no doubt, from Mah. 31. 29, that sometimes a sort of roof or temple was built over the tope. In Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma-Dagaba is surrounded by four concentric rows of pillars. It appears as if the two inner rows, where the capitals of the pillars have tenons, were intended to bear the roof of a thūpaghara. PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 270) considers it altogether possible, differing in this from SMITHER (*Anurādhapura*, p. 7). Of course such temples could only be

constructed over the smaller thūpas, and, as far as I can see, are only mentioned in this case. If mention is made of a *bodhighara*, i.e. of a temple for the bodhi-tree, then it is naturally only a question of building round and not over the sacred tree.

27. TĪPĪṬAKA (Skt. *tripiṭaka*). Lit. 'three baskets,' collective name for the canonical scriptures of the Buddhists. They fall into three main divisions, Vinaya-piṭaka, Sutta-p. (or Dhamma), and Abhidhamma-p. See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 1 foll.

28. UPASAMPADĀ, the solemn ordination of the monk who is a novice until that time, by a chapter of the order; the higher consecration of the priesthood. See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 77 foll.; SP. HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 44 foll.

29. UPOSATHA (Skt. *upavasatha*). The Buddhist sabbath which is considered a holy day both for priests and laymen. It occurs four times in the month: on the full- and new-moon day, and on the eighth day following full- and new-moon. On two of these four days the recitation of the Pātimokkha-precepts (*pātimokkhuḍdesa*) takes place, i.e. the priestly ceremony of confession, in which every member of the order is to acknowledge the faults he has committed. CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 99.

*Uposathāgāra*, or *uposathaghara*, is a building belonging to the monastery used for the performance of the uposatha ceremonies.

30. VEDĪ or VEDIKĀ (Skt. the same), means first 'terrace, altar'. When in Mah. 36. 52 a *pāsāṇavedī* around the bodhi-tree is mentioned, it means a stone terrace, on which such sacred trees usually stand. Cf. in the same sense *silāvedī*, Mah. 36. 103.

Further, this word has the sense of 'terrace with balustrade'. It is to be understood thus in D. II. pp. 182–183 in the description of Sudassana's palace. Exactly in the same manner, D. II. pp. 181–182, by *sopāna* a 'staircase with balustrade' is meant, and in both passages an accurate description follows,

not of the terrace or of the staircase, but especially of the rail.

When a *muddhavedī* and *pādavedī* of a thūpa are mentioned (Mah. 35. 2) the former is the so-called *tee*, the latter the storied base (see no. 26). Railings in relief are frequently added to both. SMITHER, p. 52, 27. Finally the meaning 'balustrade, railing' supersedes the others. Thus by the coral-vedikās to the *kūṭāgāra*, the 'window-chambers' of the Lohapāsāda, the parapet-balustrade to the windows is evidently meant. Cf. *vedikā-vātapāna*, C.V. VI. 2. 2. Plainly in the same way *vedikā*, C.V. V. 14. 2, means a balustrade. See *S.B.E.* xx, p. 104, n. 3; p. 162, n. 4.

31. VESSA (Skt. *vaiśya*), a man of the third social grade.

32. VIHĀRA, dwelling, habitation for gods as also for monks, therefore temple or convent (FERGUSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 170). In the Mah. the latter meaning prevails.

33. YAKKHA (f. *yakkhiṇī*; Skt. *yakṣa*, *yakṣiṇī*), designation of certain supernatural beings who are under the rule of Vessavaṇa (Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*, name of the god Kubera). In the Mah. the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are frequently called Yakkha.

34. YOJANA, a measure of length. According to the system of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* 196, 1 *yojana* is = 4 *gāvuta* = 80 *usabha* = 20 *yatthi* = 7 *ratana* (or *hattha* 'ell') = 2 *vidatthi* (span) = 12 *aṅgula*. According to RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins &c.*, p. 15 foll., the native tables of linear measures make the *yojana* between 12 and 12½ miles, but in actual practice it must have been reckoned as 7-8 miles.

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## ADDENDA

v. 132. The meaning is as follows: The words *gacchāti* are a polite form of refusing a mendicant friar: 'go on (to the next house).' Therefore Siggava could say that he had received something (i. e. a polite answer), without telling a lie. Formerly he had received nothing at all, no alms, nor even an answer, but had been entirely disregarded. See *Milinda-pañha* 8; RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xxxv, p. 15, and note.

xxix. 40. Translate: From his dwelling-place, the Vattaniya (ārāma) in the Viñjhā forest hills came the thera Uttara &c.

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2. **Compendium of Philosophy**, being a translation of the *Abhidhammatthā-saṅgaha*. By Shwe Zan Aung, B.A., revised and edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Price 5s. net.

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'Ein entscheidender Grund für die Unzulänglichkeit unserer bezüglichen Kenntnisse ist aber wohl darin zu suchen, dass die Gedankenkreise, in denen die buddhistische Weltanschauung sich bewegt, so wenig mit okzidentalischen Begriffen in Einklang zu bringen sind, dass eine wesentliche Förderung in der angedeuteten Richtung vielleicht nur dann zu erhoffen ist, wenn es gelingen sollte, die berufenen Vertreter der buddhistischen Gelehrsamkeit in den in Frage kommenden Ländern—vor allem Japan, Birma, Ceylon—für die Übersetzung und Bearbeitung der massgebenden Werke zu interessieren. Dass eine derartige Teilnahme an der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Buddhismus, namentlich soweit dessen jüngere Entwicklungszustände in Betracht kommen, nur von dem vorteilhaftesten Einfluss sein könnte, wird vor allem auch durch die hier vorliegende Übersetzung eines der wichtigsten neu-buddhistischen Texte der "südlichen" Schule, der "Zusammenfassung des Sinnes des Abhidhamma", durch den Birmesen Shwe Zan Aung nahegelegt. Der Name des Mitherausgebers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, bietet für die Zuverlässigkeit der Übersetzung sowohl wie für die in Anhängen und Bemerkungen gebotene Bearbeitung der verschiedenartigen Probleme, vor allem auch philosophiegeschichtlichen Inhalts, die beste Gewähr.'—*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.

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rendered, if possible, of still greater value, by the revision and collaboration of one who may justly be admitted to be the foremost living occidental authority on the subject. . . . The editor has, with characteristic acumen and appreciation of their high value, considerably augmented the usefulness of the work before us by the inclusion, in an appendix of some 60 pp., of a number of notes written by the author in the course of the correspondence which the work involved. Here, once more, we have Buddhist psychology as the born and instructed Buddhist student sees it, and many an occidental Buddhist student will find in these important notes much matter for deep study as well as great enlightenment.'—*The Rangoon Gazette*.



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