

shore and caused it to be set in a beautiful pavilion, the king 31
of Laṅkā worshipped it by (bestowing on it) the kingship
of Laṅkā. When he had then entrusted his own govern-
ment to the sixteen persons and he himself had taken the 32
duties of a doorkeeper, the lord of men forthwith com-
manded solemn ceremonies of many kinds to be carried out
for three days.

On the tenth day he placed the great Bodhi-tree upon 33
a beautiful car and he, the king of men, accompanying this,
the king of trees, he who had knowledge of the (right) places 34
caused it to be placed on the spot where the Eastern Monastery
(afterwards) was and commanded a morning meal for the
people together with the brotherhood. Here the great thera 35
Mahinda related fully to the king the subduing of the nāgas¹
which had been achieved by the (Buddha) gifted with the
ten powers.

When the monarch heard this from the thera he caused 36
monuments to be raised here and there in such places as had
been frequented by the Master by resting there or in other
ways. And, moreover, when he had caused the great Bodhi- 37
tree to be set down at the entrance to the village of the
brahman Tivakka and in this and that place besides, he,
(escorting it) on the road, sprinkled with white sand, bestrewn 38
with various flowers, and adorned with planted pennons and
festoons of blossoms, bringing thereto offerings unweariedly, 39
day and night, brought the great Bodhi-tree on the fourteenth
day to the neighbourhood of the city of Anurādhapura, and 40
after, at the time when the shadows increase, he had entered
the city worthily adorned by the north gate amid offerings,
and (when he then), leaving the city again by the south gate, 41
had entered the Mahāmeghavanārāma consecrated by four
Buddhas,² and here had brought (the tree) to the spot worthily 42
prepared by Sumana's command, to the lovely place where
the former Bodhi-trees had stood, he, with those sixteen noble 43

¹ The reference is to the second visit of the Buddha to Ceylon, and the events related in Mah. I. 44-70.

² The comma after pavesiya in Mah. ed. v. 41^b should be struck out and placed after catubuddhanisevitam.

persons, who were wearing royal ornaments, lifted down the great Bodhi-tree and loosed his hold to set it down.

44 Hardly had he let it leave his hands but it rose up eighty cubits into the air, and floating thus it sent forth glorious rays of six colours. Spreading over the island, reaching to 45 the Brahma-world, these lovely rays lasted till sunset. Ten thousand persons, who were filled with faith by reason of this miracle, gaining the spiritual insight and attaining to arahantship, received here the pabbajjā.

47 When the great Bodhi-tree at sunset was come down from (its place in the air) it stood firm on the earth under the 48 constellation Rohiṇī. Then did the earth quake. The roots growing over the brim of the vase struck down into the earth, 49 closing in the vase. When the great Bodhi-tree had taken its place all the people who had come together from (the country) round, worshipped it with offerings of perfumes, 50 flowers and so forth. A tremendous cloud poured forth rain, and cool and dense mists from the snow-region surrounded 51 the great Bodhi-tree on every side. Seven days did the great Bodhi-tree abide there, awaking faith among the people 52 invisible in the region of the snow. At the end of the week all the clouds vanished and the great Bodhi-tree became visible and the rays of six colours.

53 The great thera Mahinda and the bhikkhuṇī Saṅghamittā went thither with their following and the king also with his 54 following. The nobles of Kājaragāma¹ and the nobles of Candanagāma and the Brahman Tivakka and the people too 55 who dwelt in the island came thither also by the power of the gods, (with minds) eagerly set upon a festival of the great Bodhi-tree. Amid this great assembly, plunged into amaze- 56 ment by this miracle, there grew out of the east branch, even as they gazed, a faultless fruit.

This having fallen off the thera took it up and gave it 57 to the king to plant. In a golden vase filled with earth mingled with perfumes, placed on the spot where the

¹ Now Kataragama on the Menik-ganga, about ten miles north of Tissamahārāma in the province of Rohaṇa. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 114 foll.

Mahāāsana (afterwards) was, the ruler planted it. And while 58 they all yet gazed, there grew, springing from it, eight shoots; and they stood there, young Bodhi-trees four cubits high.

When the king saw the young Bodhi-trees he, with senses 59 all amazed, worshipped them by the gift of a white parasol¹ and bestowed royal consecration on them.

Of the eight Bodhi-saplings one was planted at the landing- 60 place Jambukola on the spot where the great Bodhi-tree had stood, after leaving the ship, one in the village of the 61 Brahman Tivakka, one moreover in the Thūpārāma, one in the Issarasamaṇārāma,² one in the Court of the First thūpa,³ one in the ārāma of the Cetiya-mountain, one in Kājara- 62 gāma and one in Candanagāma. But the other thirty-two 63 Bodhi-saplings which sprang⁴ from four (later) fruits (were planted) in a circle, at a distance of a yojana, here and there in the vihāras.

When thus, for the salvation of the people dwelling in the 64 island, by the majesty of the Sammāsaṃbuddha, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree was planted, Anulā with her 65 following having received the pabbajjā from the therī Saṃghamittā, attained to arahantship. The prince Ariṭṭha also, 66 with a retinue of five hundred men, having received the pabbajjā from the thera, attained to arahantship. The eight 67 (persons from the) merchant-guilds who had brought the great Bodhi-tree hither were named therefrom the 'Guild of the Bodhi-bearers'.

In the nunnery, which is known as the Upāsikāvihāra⁵ 68

¹ Setacchatta, as symbol of royal rank.

² According to the *Rasavāhinī* (ed. Saraṇatissatthera, Colombo, 1901, 1899), ii. 88³², situated on the dam of the Tissavāpi, now Issurumunagala, about a mile south of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura.

³ Paṭhamacetiya. See note to 14. 45.

⁴ This is to be taken as meaning that on four other branches of the tree the same miracle was accomplished as already described. Thus the *Ṭīkā* also says: *pācīnasākhato avasesāsu ca catūsu sākḥāsu gahitehi itarehi pakkaphalehi jātā, saṃbhūtā uppannā ti attho.*

⁵ Cf. 18. 12.

the great therī Saṃghamittā dwelt with her company (of 69 nuns). She caused twelve buildings to be erected there, of which three buildings were important before others; in one 70 of these great buildings she caused the mast of the ship that had come with the great Bodhi-tree to be set up, in one the rudder, and in one the helm,¹ from these they were named. 71 Also when other sects² arose these twelve buildings were always used by the Hatthāḷhaka-bhikkhuṇīs.

72 The king's state-elephant that was used to wander about at 73 will³ liked to stay on one side of the city in a cool grotto, on the border of a Kadamba-flower-thicket, when he went to feed. Since they knew that this place was pleasing to the elephant 74 they put up a post⁴ in the same spot. One day the elephant would not take the fodder (offered to him) and the king questioned the thera who had converted the island as to the 75 reason. 'The elephant would fain have a thūpa built in the 76 Kadamba-flower-thicket,' the great thera told the great king. Swiftly did the king, who was ever intent on the welfare of his people, build a thūpa, with a relic, in that very place and a house for the thūpa.⁵

77 The great therī Saṃghamittā, who longed for a quiet dwelling-place, because of the too great crowding of the 78 vihāra where she dwelt, she who was mindful for the progress of the doctrine and the good of the bhikkhuṇīs, the wise one 79 who desired another abode for the bhikkhuṇīs went (once) to the fair cetiya-house, pleasant by its remoteness, and there she

¹ Kūpayatṭhi, piya, aritta. According to the Ṭikā the three agārāni bore the names Cūlagaṇāgāra, Mahāgaṇāgāra and Sirivaḍḍhāgāra. They were afterwards designated Kupayatṭhiṭhapitaghara (Piyatṭhapitaghara, Arittatṭhapitaghara), 'House where the mast and so forth is set up.'

² The Ṭikā names as an example the sect of the Dhammarucikas. Cf. 5. 13.

³ The episode is to explain how the dwellers in the Upāsikāvihāra came by the name Hatthāḷhaka (i.e. 'elephant-post-nuns'), mentioned by the poet in v. 71.

⁴ Āḷhaka, to tether the elephant during the night.

⁵ Thūpassa gharaṃ, thūpagharaṃ, or cetiyagharaṃ, as in v. 79, 82. See Appendix, s.v. thūpa.

the skilled (in choice) of dwelling-places, the blameless, stayed the day through.

When the king came to the convent for bhikkhuṇīs to 80 salute the therī, he, hearing that she had gone thither, went also and when he had greeted her there and talked with her 81 and had heard the wish that was the cause of her going thither, then did he, who was skilled in (perceiving) the desires (of others), the wise, the great monarch Devānāmpiya- 82 tissa, order to be erected a pleasing convent for the bhikkhuṇīs round about the thūpa-house. Since the convent for 83 the bhikkhuṇīs was built near to the elephant-post therefore was it known by the name Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra.

The well-beloved, the great therī Saṃghamittā of lofty 84 wisdom now took up her abode in this pleasing convent for bhikkhuṇīs.

Bringing about in such wise the good of the dwellers in 85 Laṅkā, the progress of the doctrine, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree, lasted long time on the island of Laṅkā, in the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove, endowed with many wondrous powers.

Here ends the nineteenth chapter, called 'The Coming of the Bodhi-tree', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

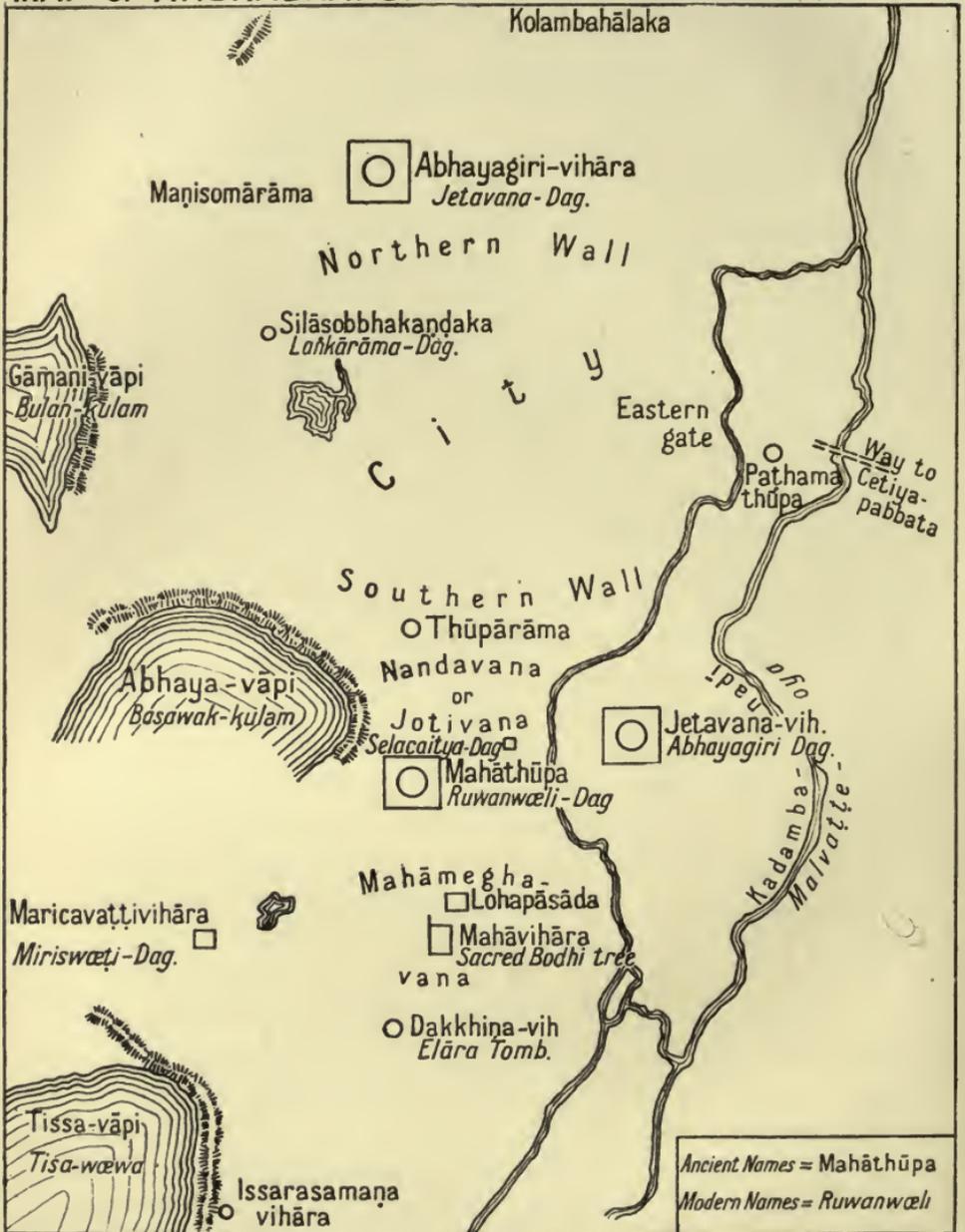
CHAPTER XX

THE NIBBĀNA OF THE THERA

- 1 IN the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Dhammāsoka, the great Bodhi-tree was planted in the Mahāmeghavanārāma.
- 2 In the twelfth year afterwards died the dear consort of the king, Asaṃdhimittā, the faithful (believer) in the Saṃbuddha.
- 3 In the fourth year after this the ruler of the earth Dhammāsoka raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen.
- 4 In the third year thereafter this fool, in the pride of her beauty, with the thought: 'Forsooth, the king worships
- 5 the great Bodhi-tree to my cost!' drawn into the power of hate and working her own harm, caused the great Bodhi-tree
- 6 to perish by means of a maṅḍu-thorn.¹ In the fourth year after did Dhammāsoka of high renown fall into the power of mortality. These make up thirty-seven years.
- 7 But when king Devānaṃpiyatissa, whose delight was in the blessing of the true doctrine, had brought to completion
- 8 in seemly wise his undertakings in the Mahāvihāra, on the Cetiya-mountain and also in the Thūpārāma, he asked this question of the therā who had converted the island, who was
- 9 skilled in (answering) questions: 'Sir, I would fain find many vihāras here; whence shall I get me the relics to place in the thūpas?'
- 10 'There are the relics brought hither by Sumana, with which he filled the bowl of the Saṃbuddha and which were placed
- 11 here on the Cetiya-mountain, O king. Have these relics placed on the back of an elephant and brought hither.' Thus addressed
- 12 by the therā he brought thus the relics hither. Founding vihāras a yojana distant from one another he caused the relics

¹ In the Dadhivāhana-jātaka (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka*, ii, p. 105¹) is related how the kernel of a mango-fruit is deprived of its germinating power by being pierced with a maṅḍu-thorn.

MAP OF ANURĀDHAPURA



to be placed there in the thūpas, in due order. But the bowl 13 that the Saṃbuddha had used the king kept in his beautiful palace and worshipped continually with manifold offerings.

The (vihāra that was built) in the place where the five 14 hundred nobles dwelt when they had received the pabbajjā from the great thera,¹ was (named) Issarasamaṇaka.² That 15 (vihāra that was built) where five hundred vessas³ dwelt, when they had received the pabbajjā from the great thera, was (called) in like manner Vessagiri. But as for the grotto 16 inhabited by the great thera Mahinda, in the vihāra built upon the mountain,⁴ it was called the 'Mahinda-grotto'.

First the Mahāvihāra,⁵ then the (monastery) named Cetiya- 17 vihāra, third the beautiful Thūpārāma,⁶ which the thūpa (itself) preceded, fourth the planting of the great Bodhi-tree, 18 then fifth the (setting up) in seemly wise (of the) beautiful stone pillar which was intended to point to the place of the thūpa, on the place where the Great cetiya (afterwards) was, 19 and also the enshrining of the Saṃbuddha's collar-bone relic,⁷ sixth the Issarasamaṇa(vihāra), seventh the Tissa- 20 tank, eighth the Paṭhamathūpa,⁸ ninth the (vihāra) called Vessa(giri), then that pleasant (nunnery) which was known 21 as the Upāsikā(vihāra) and the (vihāra) called the Hatthāḷhaka, those two convents as goodly dwellings for the bhikkhūnīs; and (furthermore) for the accepting of food by the 22

¹ Cf. for this, 19. 66.

² See note to 19. 61.

³ I. e. people of the third caste (Skt. vaśīśya). The Vessagiri-vihāra is situated near Anurādhapura, south of Issarasamaṇaka-vihāra, *Arch. Surv. of Ceylon*, Annual Rep. 1906 (xx. 1910), pp. 8-10; E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, pp. 32, 33; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 10 foll.

⁴ I. e. in Cetiyaṣabbata-vihāra on Mihintale. I would now prefer to take the words sapabbate vihāre ('in the monastery, which, or the name of which was connected with the mountain') as belonging to the relative clause yā yā &c., and to place the comma here instead of after guhā.

⁵ Cf. note to 15. 214.

⁶ See 17. 62-64.

⁷ On this passage cf. Mah. ed., pp. xxix, xxx. On the gīvadhātu see 1. 37 foll., on the silāyūpa 15. 173.

⁸ See note on 14. 45.

brotherhood of bhikkhus when they were visiting the dwell-
 23 ing of the bhikkhuīs (called) Hatthāḷhaka(vihāra),¹ the
 refectory called Mahāpāli, easy of approach, beautiful, stored
 24 with all provisions and provided with service; then lavish
 gifts, consisting of the needful utensils for a thousand
 bhikkhus, (which things he gave) on the pavāraṇā-day, every
 25 year; in Nāgadīpa the Jambukolavihāra at this landing
 26 place,² the Tissamahāvihāra³ and the Pācīnārāma⁴: these
 works, caring for the salvation of the people of Laṅkā,
 Devānaṃpiyatissa, king of Laṅkā, rich in merit and insight,
 27 caused to be carried out, even in his first year, as a friend to
 virtue, and his whole life through he heaped up works of
 28 merit. Our island flourished under the lordship of this king;
 forty years did he hold sway as king.

29 After his death, his younger brother since there was no
 son, the prince known by the name UTTIYA, held sway piously
 30 as king. But the great thera, Mahinda, who had taught the
 peerless doctrine of the Master, the sacred writings, the
 31 precepts of righteousness and the higher perfection,⁵ full

¹ The instrumental bhikkhusaṃghena belongs to the verbal noun gahaṇaṃ. Subordinate to this noun are the parallel gerunds osaritvā and gantvāna, the last being almost a pleonasm. On this subject the Ṭikā remarks that at that time the monks in order to receive food went in order of seniority to the Hatthāḷhaka-convent. The new hall was built by Devānaṃpiyatissa for this purpose, i.e. as refectory for the bhikkhus, separate from the nunnery.

² On Nāgadīpa (note to 1. 47) as the name of a district of Ceylon see 35. 124; 36. 9. On Jambukola, 11. 23, 38; 18. 7, &c.

³ In south Ceylon, situated NE. of Hambantoṭa.

⁴ I.e. 'East Monastery in Anurādhapura.' Cf. 19. 34.

⁵ Pariyattiṃ paṭipattiṃ paṭivedhaṃ ca. According to the Ṭikā pariyatti is a synonym of tipiṭaka, while paṭipatti represents the contents of the doctrines of the sacred scripture, namely, the way leading to deliverance as pointed out by the precepts of morality (Ṭikā: pariyattisāsanassa atthabhūto sīlādikhandhattayasahito nibbāṇagāmmimaggo). By paṭivedha (literally 'attainment') are meant the nine transcendental conditions (the lokuttaradhamma) which result from the observance of the paṭipatti (Ṭikā: paṭipattisāsanassa phalabhūto navavidhalokuttaradhammo). Those nine conditions of perfection are the

excellently in the island of Laṅkā, (Mahinda) the light of Laṅkā, the teacher of many disciples, he who, like unto the Master, had wrought great blessing for the people, did, in 32 the eighth year of king Uttiya, while he, being sixty years old,¹ was spending the rain season on the Cetiya-mountain, pass, victorious over his senses, into nibbāna, on the eighth 33 day of the bright half of the month Assayuja. Therefore this day received his name.

When king Uttiya heard this he went thither, stricken by 34 the dart of sorrow, and when he had paid homage to the thera and oft and greatly had lamented (over him) he caused the 35 dead body of the thera to be laid forthwith in a golden chest sprinkled with fragrant oil, and the well closed² chest to be 36 laid upon a golden, adorned bier; and when he had caused it then to be lifted upon the bier, commanding solemn ceremonies, he caused it to be escorted by a great multitude of 37 people,³ that had come together from this place and that, and by a great levy of troops; commanding due offerings (he 38 caused it to be escorted) on the adorned street to the variously adorned capital and brought through the city in procession by the royal highway to the Mahāvihāra. 39

When the monarch had caused the bier to be placed here for a week in the Pañhambamālaka—with triumphal arches, 40 pennons, and flowers, and with vases filled with perfumes the vihāra was adorned and a circle of three yojanas around, by 41 the king's decree, but the whole island was adorned in like manner by the decree of the devas—and when the monarch 42 had commanded divers offerings throughout the week he built

four maggā 'paths' or stages of holiness, with the corresponding four phalāni 'results, effects', besides nibbāna as the ninth. It is, therefore, said that Mahinda had proclaimed the Buddha's doctrine and the holiness resulting therefrom.

¹ Reckoned from upasampadā-ordination onwards. Notice the play on words in vassaṃ saṅghivasso vasaṃ vasī.

² Sādhu phussitaṃ. Cf. *Jāt.* vi. 510¹⁰: nivāse phussitaggaḷe 'in a safe-bolted dwelling'.

³ I refer janoghena and baloghena to ānayitvāna in 38 c, not to kārento pūjanāvidhiṃ. This should rather stand quite independently, as does kārento sādhuḷānaṃ in 36 d.

up, turned toward the east in the Therānaṃbandhamālaka,
 43 a funeral pyre of sweet smelling wood, leaving the (place of
 the later) Great thūpa on the right, and when he had brought
 44 the beautiful bier thither and caused it to be set upon the
 pyre he carried out the rites of the dead.¹

And here did he build a cetiya when he had caused the
 45 relics to be gathered together. Taking the half of the relics
 the monarch caused thūpas to be built on the Cetiya-mountain
 46 and in all the vihāras. The place where the burial of this
 sage's body had taken place is called, to do him honour,
 Isibhūmaṅgaṇa.²

47 From that time onwards they used to bring the dead
 bodies of holy men from three yojanas around to this spot
 and there to burn them.

48 When the great therī Saṃghamittā, gifted with the great
 supernormal powers and with great wisdom had fulfilled the
 duties of the doctrine and had brought much blessing to the
 49 people, she, being fifty-nine years old, in the ninth year of
 this same king Uttiya, while she dwelt in the peaceful
 50 Hatthāḷhaka-convent, passed into nibbāna. And for her also,
 as for the thera, the king commanded supreme honours of
 51 burial a week through, and the whole of Laṅkā was adorned
 as for the thera.

The body of the therī laid upon a bier did he cause to be
 52 brought when the week was gone by, out of the city; and to
 the east of the Thūpārāma, near the Cittasālā³ (of later
 53 times) in sight of the great Bodhi-tree, on the spot pointed
 out by the therī (herself), he caused the burning to take
 place. And the most wise Uttiya also had a thūpa built
 there.

54 The five great theras also,⁴ and those theras too of whom
 Ariṭṭha was the leader, and many thousand bhikkhus who
 55 were freed from the āsavas, and also the twelve therīs among
 whom Saṃghamittā stood highest, and many thousand bhik-

¹ Sakkāraṃ antimam 'the last honours'.

² I.e. 'Courtyard of the sage.'

³ I.e. 'Many-coloured hall.'

⁴ Those who had come to Ceylon with Mahinda. For the following
 cf. 19. 66 and 19. 5.

khuṇīs who were freed from the āsavas, who, endowed with 56 great learning and deep insight had expounded the holy scripture of the Conqueror, the vinaya and the rest, fell, in time, into the power of mortality.

Ten years did king Uttiya reign; thus is mortality the 57 destroyer of the whole world.

A man who, although he knows this overmastering, over- 58 whelming, irresistible mortality, yet is not discontented with the world of existence and does not feel, in this discontent, resentment at wrong nor joy in virtue—that is the strength of the fetters of his evil delusion!—such an one is knowingly fooled.¹

Here ends the twentieth chapter, called ‘The Nibbāna of the Thera’, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Wijesinha gives a wrong sense to the clause in taking it as a question. The verbs nibbindate and kurute belong to the relative sentence. The governing clause is jānaṃ pi (so) saṃmuyhati. The words tassesā atimohajālabalatā are only intelligible as a parenthesis.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIVE KINGS

- 1 UTTIYA's younger brother, MAHĀSIVA, reigned after his
2 death ten years, protecting the pious. Being devoted to the
thera Bhaddasāla, he built the noble vihāra, Nagaṅgaṇa, in
the eastern quarter (of the city).
- 3 Mahāsiva's younger brother, SŪRATIṢṢA, reigned after his
4 death ten years, zealously mindful of meritorious works. In
the southern quarter (of the city) he founded¹ the Nagaṅ-
gaṇa-vihāra, in the eastern quarter the vihāra (called) Hat-
5 thikkhandha and the Goṇṇagirika(vihāra); on the Vaṅgut-
tara-mountain the (vihāra) named Pācīnapabbata and near
6 Raheraka the (vihāra) Kolambahālaka;² at the foot of
the Aritṭha(mountain) the Makulaka(vihāra), to the east³
the Acchagallaka(vihāra), but the Girinelavāhanaka(vihāra)
7 to the north of Kaṇḍanagara; these and other pleasing
vihāras, in number five hundred, did the lord of the earth
build on this and the further bank of the river,⁴ here and
8 there in the island of Laṅkā, before and while he reigned,
during the period of sixty years, piously and justly,⁵ devoted
9 to the three gems.⁶ Suvanṇapiṇḍatissa was his name before
his reign, but he was named Sūratiṣṣa after the beginning
of the reign.
- 10 Two Damiḷas, SENA and GUTTAKA, sons of a freighter who

¹ The verb on which the accusatives in v. 4 foll. depend is *kāresi* in 8.

² See note to 25. 80.

³ According to the *Ṭikā* to the east of Anurādhapura near Dahegallaka.

⁴ I. e. the Mahawæliganga.

⁵ *Sādhukam*, i. e. according to pious aims, *dhammena* without oppressing the people.

⁶ See notes to 1. 62; 12. 28.

brought horses hither,¹ conquered the king Sūratissa, at the 11
head of a great army and reigned both (together) twenty-two²
years justly. But when ASELA had overpowered them, the
son of Muṭasiva, the ninth among his brothers, born of the 12
same mother,³ he ruled for ten years onward from that time
in Anurādhapura.

A Damiḷa of noble descent, named ELĀRA, who came hither 13
from the Coḷa-country⁴ to seize on the kingdom, ruled when
he had overpowered king Asela, forty-four years, with even 14
justice toward friend and foe, on occasions of disputes
at law.

At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long 15
rope so that those who desired a judgement at law might
ring it. The king had only one son and one daughter. 16
When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the
Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on 17
the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its
neck. The cow came and dragged at the bell in bitterness 18
of heart;⁵ and the king caused his son's head to be severed
(from his body) with that same wheel.

A snake had devoured the young of a bird upon a palm- 19
tree. The hen-bird, mother of the young one, came and
rang the bell. The king caused the snake to be brought to 20
him, and when its body had been cut open and the young
bird taken out of it he caused it to be hung up upon the
tree.

¹ This is perhaps the meaning of *assanāvika* (lit. 'horse-seafarer').
The Sinh. *Thūpavaṃsa* has *as-næviyakuge putvū*; the *Pūjāvaliya*:
Lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā aśvācāri-de-bā-kenek; the *Rājāvaliya*:
Lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā asuru-de-bā-kenek.

² Following the reading *duve dvāvīsavassāni*. See the Intro-
duction, § 8.

³ Asela's eight brothers are enumerated in the *Ṭikā*. They are
named *Abhaya*, *Devānaṃpiyatissa*, *Uttiya*, *Mahāsiva*, *Mahānāga*,
Mattābhaya, *Sūratissa*, and *Kīra*.

⁴ Southern India.

⁵ Lit. 'With embittered heart.' Note the play on words in
ghaṭṭesi ghaṭṭitāsayā. The *Ṭikā* paraphrases the last word:
puttasokena kupitacittā.

21 When the king, who was a protector of tradition, albeit
 he knew not the peerless virtues of the most precious of the
 22 three gems,¹ was going (once) to the Cetiya-mountain to
 invite the brotherhood of bhikkhus, he caused, as he arrived
 23 upon a car, with the point of the yoke on the waggon, an
 injury to the thūpa of the Conqueror at a (certain) spot. The
 ministers said to him: 'King, the thūpa has been injured by
 24 thee.' Though this had come to pass without his intending
 it, yet the king leaped from his car and flung himself down
 upon the road with the words: 'Sever my head also (from
 25 the trunk) with the wheel.' They answered him: 'Injury to
 another does our Master in no wise allow; make thy peace
 26 (with the bhikkhus) by restoring the thūpa'; and in order to
 place (anew) the fifteen stones that had been broken off he
 spent just fifteen thousand kahāpaṇas.²

27 An old woman had spread out some rice to dry it in the
 sun. The heavens, pouring down rain at an unwonted season,
 28 made her rice damp. She took the rice and went and dragged
 at the bell. When he heard about the rain at an unwonted
 29 season he dismissed the woman, and in order to decide her
 cause he underwent a fast, thinking: 'A king who observes
 30 justice surely obtains rain in due season.' The guardian
 genius who received offerings from him, overpowered by the
 fiery heat of (the penances of) the king, went and told the
 31 four great kings³ of this (matter). They took him with
 them and went and told Sakka. Sakka summoned Pajjunna⁴
 32 and charged him (to send) rain in due season. The guardian
 genius who received his offerings told the king. From thence-
 forth the heavens rained no more during the day throughout
 33 his realm; only by night did the heavens give rain once every

¹ Cf. the note to 21. 8. By ratanaggassa is meant the Buddha, with whom the doctrine of the ratanattaya originates.

² Cf. note to 4. 13.

³ These are the four guardians of the world, the lokapālā who usually appear near Indra in the brahmanic pantheon: Dhatarat̥ṭha, Virūlhaka, Virūpakkha, and Vessavaṇa, rulers, in the above order, of the east, south, west, and north.

⁴ Skt. Parjanya, the god of rain.

week, in the middle watch of the night; and even the little cisterns everywhere were full (of water).

Only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking ³⁴ in the path of evil did this (monarch), though he had not put aside false beliefs, gain such miraculous power; how should not then an understanding man, established in pure belief, renounce here the guilt of walking in the path of evil?

Here ends the twenty-first chapter, called 'The Five Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE GĀMAṆI

- 1 WHEN he had slain Eḷāra, DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI became king.
To show clearly how this came to pass the story in due order
(of events) is this ¹ :
- 2 King Devānaṃpiyatissa's second brother, the vice-regent
3 named Mahānāga, was dear to his brother. The king's consort,
that foolish woman, coveted the kingship for her own son and
4 ever nursed the wish to slay the vice-regent, and while he
was making the tank called Taraccha she sent him a mango-
fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among
5 (other) mango-fruits. Her little son who had gone with the
vice-regent, ate the mango-fruit, when the dish was un-
6 covered, and died therefrom. Upon this the vice-regent, with
his wives, men and horses, went, to save his life, to Rohaṇa.²
- 7 In the Yaṭṭhālaya-vihāra³ his wife, who was with child,
8 bore a son. He gave him his brother's name.⁴ Afterwards
he came to Rohaṇa and as ruler over the whole of Rohaṇa the
9 wealthy prince reigned in Mahāgāma.⁵ He founded the

¹ On the insertion of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi epic see *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 20 (English ed.). In the Nidānakathā (*Jāt.* i. 50³) the story of the dream of Māyā before the birth of the Buddha is inserted with almost the same introducing words. See WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, p. 156.

² The south and south-east part of the island.

³ There is certainly better authority for the form Yaṭṭhālāya. However Yaṭṭhālaya gives an appropriate meaning to the name: 'dwelling or temple of the sacrificer'. (Skt. yaṣṭar, p. yaṣṭhar and Skt. P. ālaya.) Tradition seems to identify the monastery with the Yaṭagala-vihāra to the NE. of Point de Galle. *The Ceylon National Review*, iii, p. 110.

⁴ He was named (after his birthplace and Devānaṃpiyatissa) Yaṭṭhālayakatissa.

⁵ NE. of Hambantōṭa near the place where the ruins of the

Nāgamahāvihāra¹ that bore his name; he founded also many (other) vihāras, as the Uddhakandaraka (vihāra) and so forth.

His son Yaṭṭhālayakatissa reigned after his death in that 10 same place, and in like manner also Abhaya, son of this (last).

Goṭṭābhaya's son, known by the name Kākavaṇṇatissa, 11 the prince, reigned there after his death. Vihāradevī was 12 the consort of this believing king, firm in the faith (was she), the daughter of the king of Kalyāṇī.²

Now in Kalyāṇī the ruler was the king named Tissa. His 13 younger brother named Ayya-Uttika, who had roused the wrath (of Tissa) in that he was the guilty lover of the queen, fled thence from fear and took up his abode elsewhere. The 14 district was named after him. He sent a man wearing the 15 disguise of a bhikkhu, with a secret letter to the queen. This man went thither, took his stand at the king's door and 16 entered the king's house with an arahant who always used to take his meal at the palace, unnoticed by that thera. When 17 he had eaten in company with the thera, as the king was going forth,³ he let the letter fall to the ground when the queen was looking.

The king turned at the (rustling) sound, and when he 18 looked down and discovered the written message he raged, unthinking, against the thera, and in his fury he caused the 19 thera and the man to be slain and thrown into the sea. Wroth at this the sea-gods made the sea overflow the land; 20 but the king with all speed caused his pious and beautiful daughter named Devī to be placed in a golden vessel, whereon 21 was written 'a king's daughter', and to be launched upon that same sea. When she had landed near to (the) Laṅkā 22

Tissamahārāma lie on the left bank of the Māgama-river. The village at the mouth of the river still bears the name Māgama.

¹ The Mahānāga-dāgaba still exists in the ruins of Mahāgāma. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 324.

² See note to i. 63.

³ Or 'as she (i.e. the queen) was going forth with the king', according to the reading raññā saha viniggame of the Burmese MSS.; the Ṭikā seems also to agree with this.

(vihāra) the king Kākavaṇṇa consecrated her as queen. Therefore she received the epithet Vihāra.

23 When he had founded the Tissamahāvihāra¹ and the Cittalappabata (vihāra)² and also the Gamitṭhavāli and Kūṭāli
24 (vihāra) and so forth, devoutly believing in the three gems, he provided the brotherhood continually with the four needful things.³

25 In the monastery named Koṭapabbata there lived at that time a sāmaṇera, pious in his way of life, who was ever busied with various works of merit.

26 To mount the more easily to the courtyard of the Ākāsa-
27 cetiya⁴ he fixed three slabs of stone as steps. He gave (the bhikkhus) to drink and did services to the brotherhood. Since his body was continually wearied a grievous sickness came
28 upon him. The grateful bhikkhus, who brought him in a litter, tended him at the Tissārāma, in the Silāpassaya-pariveṇa.

29 Always when the self-controlled Vihāradevī had given lavish gifts to the brotherhood in the beautifully prepared
30 royal palace, before the mid-day meal, she was used to take, after the meal, sweet perfumes, flowers, medicines and clothing and go to the ārāma and offer these (to the bhikkhus) according to their dignity.

31 Now doing thus, at that time, she took her seat near the chief thera of the community (in the vihāra) and when ex-
32 pounding the true doctrine the thera spoke thus to her: 'Thy

¹ Cf. above the note to v. 8.

² The ruins of the Cittalappabata, or, in the later form, Situlpawvihāra lie 15 miles NE. of the Tissamahārāma near Katagamuwa. See A. JAYAWARDANA in *The Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 23; ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 29. The monastery is mentioned once again in 35. 81, and in the Cūlavamsa 45. 59 under king Dāṭhopatissa II, the first half of the seventh century A.D.

³ See note to 3. 14.

⁴ I.e. the 'Air-cetiya', which is still shown, not far from the Cittalappabata-monastery. It is so named because it is situated on the summit of a rock. Cf. *Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 24. See also note to 33. 68.

great happiness thou hast attained by works of merit ; even now must thou not grow weary of performing works of merit.' But she, being thus exhorted, replied : ' What is our 33 happiness here, since we have no children ? Lo, our happiness is therefore barren !'

The thera, who, being gifted with the six (supernormal) 34 powers, foresaw that she would have children, said : ' Seek out the sick sāmaṇera, O queen.' She went thence and said 35 to the sāmaṇera, who was near unto death : ' Utter the wish to become my son ; for that would be great happiness for us.' And when she perceived that he would not the keen-witted 36 woman commanded, to this end, great and beautiful offerings of flowers, and renewed her pleading.

When he was yet unwilling, she, knowing the right means, 37 gave to the brotherhood for his sake all manner of medicines and garments and again pleaded with him. Then did he 38 desire (rebirth for himself in) the king's family, and she caused the place to be richly adorned and taking her leave she mounted the car and went her way. Hereupon the 39 sāmaṇera passed away, and he returned to a new life in the womb of the queen while she was yet upon her journey ; when she perceived this she halted. She sent that message 40 to the king and returned with the king. When they two had both fulfilled the funeral rites for the sāmaṇera they, 41 dwelling with collected minds in that very pariveṇa, appointed continually lavish gifts for the brotherhood of bhikkhus.

And there came on the virtuous queen these longings of 42 a woman with child. (This) did she crave : that while making a pillow for her head of a honeycomb one usabha long¹ and 43 resting on her left side in her beautiful bed, she should eat the honey that remained when she had given twelve thousand bhikkhus to eat of it ; and then she longed to drink (the 44 water) that had served to cleanse the sword with which the

¹ A certain measure. According to *Abhidhānappadīpikā* = 20 yaṭṭhi ('staves') each 7 ratana ('cubits'). RHYSDAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15.

head of the first warrior among king Eḷāra's warriors had
45 been struck off, (and she longed to drink it) standing on this
very head, and moreover (she longed) to adorn herself with
46 garlands of unfaded lotus-blossoms brought from the lotus-
marshes of Anurādhapura.

The queen told this to the king, and the king asked the
47 soothsayers. When the soothsayers heard it they said: 'The
queen's son, when he has vanquished the Damiḷas and built
up a united kingdom, will make the doctrine to shine forth
brightly.'

48 'Whosoever shall point out such a honeycomb, on him the
king will bestow a grace in accordance (with this service),'
49 thus did the king proclaim. A countryman who found,¹ on
the shore of the Goṭha-sea² a boat, which was turned upside
50 down, filled with honey, showed this to the king. The king
brought the queen thither and, in a beautifully prepared
pavilion, caused her to eat the honey as she had wished.

51 And that her other longings might also be satisfied the
king entrusted his warrior named Veḷusumana with the
52 matter. He went to Anurādhapura and became the friend
of the keeper of the king's state-horse and continually did
53 him services. When he saw that this man trusted him he,
the fearless one, laid lotus-flowers and his sword down on the
54 shore of the Kadamba-river early in the morning;³ and
when he had led the horse out and had mounted it and had

¹ The Ṭikā here contains a narrative, taken from the Aṭṭhakathā, of the finding of the boat; cf. *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 37. The author of the Kamb. Mah. has versified and adopted it in his text.

² Goṭhasamudda (cf. 22. 85) is a designation of the sea near Ceylon. In Sinhalese the corresponding word is goḷumuhudu 'the sea not far from the land, the shallow sea' (CLOUGH, *Sinh.-Engl. Dict.*, s. v.).

³ The Ṭikā explains the passage thus: Anurādhapurassa uppala-kkhattato gahitaṃ uppalamālaṃ ca attano khagga-ratanam ca gahetvā pāto va Kadambanadiyā tīraṃ netvā kassaci asaṅkito tattha ṭhapesi 'When he had taken lotus-flowers gathered from the lotus-marshes of Anurādhapura, and his own precious sword, he brought it early in the morning to the shore of the Kadamba-river and laid it there down, without being afraid of anybody'.

grasped the lotus-blossoms and the sword, he made himself known¹ and rode thence as swiftly as the horse could (go).²

When the king heard that he sent forth his first warrior 55 to catch him. This man mounted the horse that came second (to the state-horse) and pursued the other.³ He (Velusu- 56 mana), sitting on the horse's back, hid himself in the jungle, drew the sword and stretched it toward his pursuer.⁴ Thereby 57 was his head, as he came on, so swiftly as the horse could, severed (from the trunk). The other took both beasts and the head (of Eḷāra's warrior) and reached Mahāgāma in the evening. And the queen satisfied her longings even as she would. 58 But the king conferred on his warrior such honours as were in accordance (with this service).

In time the queen bore a noble son, endowed with all 59 auspicious signs,⁵ and great was the rejoicing in the house of the great monarch. By the effect of his merit there arrived 60 that very day, from this place and that, seven ships laden with manifold gems. And in like manner, by the power of 61 his merit, an elephant of the six-tusked race⁶ brought his young one thither and left him here and went his way. When a fisherman named Kaṇḍula saw it standing in the 62 jungle on the shore opposite the watering-place, he straightway told the king. The king sent his (elephant)-trainers to 63 bring the young elephant and he reared him. He was named Kaṇḍula as he had been found by Kaṇḍula.

¹ Attānaṃ nivedayitvā as elsewhere nāmaṃ sāvayitvāna (10. 26; 33. 65).

² Lit. 'with the swiftness of the horse.'

³ According to the Ṭikā Eḷāra's man-at-arms was named Nandasārathi, his horse was called Sirigutta, the horse stolen by Velusumana is called Vāha.

⁴ Lit. 'To him who was coming at his back or after him.'

⁵ The Ṭikā explains dhaññaṃ by paripāke gabbhe mahāpuññasampannaṃ puññatejussadaṃ ti vā attho.

⁶ The chaddantā are supposed to be a particularly noble breed of elephants. Chaddanta is also a sacred lake in the Himalaya named after these elephants. Mah. 5. 27, 29. SUBHŪTI, *Abhidhānappadīpikā-Sūci*, p. 130: Chaddanto, nāgarājā, tassa nivāsaṭṭhānasamīpattā Chaddanto saro.

- 64 'A ship filled with vessels of gold and so forth has arrived.'
This they announced to the king. And he bade them bring
(the precious things) to him.
- 65 As the king had invited the brotherhood of the bhikkhus,
numbering twelve thousand, for the name-giving festival of his
66 son, he thought thus: 'If my son, when he has won the king-
ship over the whole realm of Laṅkā, shall make the doctrine of
67 the Saṃbuddha to shine forth (in clear brightness) then shall
just one thousand and eight bhikkhus come hither and they
shall wear the robe in such wise that the alms-bowl shall
68 be uppermost.¹ They shall put the right foot first inside the
threshold² and they shall lay aside the prescribed waterpot
69 together with the umbrella (made of) one (piece).³ A thera
named Gotama shall receive my son and impart to him the
confession of faith and the precepts of morality.'⁴ All fell
out in this manner.

¹ I.e. the alms-bowl shall not be covered by the folds of the garment. The twice repeated ca is striking. The author of the Kamb. Mahāvamsa also feels this; he alters ca to sa.

² The contrary would be an unlucky omen. This superstition still prevails among the modern Sinhalese. PARKER, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, p. 14.

³ Ekacchattayutaṃ dhammakarakaṃ nīharantu ca. My translation is based on SUBHŪTI's interpretation (letter dated Colombo 2. I. 1911). The dhammakaraka is a pot into which the water is strained before drinking; the strainer being called parisāvāna. See C.V. V. 13. 1; VI. 21. 3). 'The waterpot and the umbrella (chatta) are two principal articles used by the monks when going out.' Ekacchatta or 'single umbrella' is 'an umbrella made of leaf, having its own handle'. According to SĪLĀNANDA (letter received from H. T. de Silva, Colombo 21. I. 1911) ekacchattayutaṃ must be taken as 'provided with one handle' as an adjective belonging to dhammakarakaṃ. The waterpots are made without or with a handle or neck. In this case the neck of the waterpot would be compared to a chatta on the top of a building.

⁴ WIJESINHA, *Mah.*, p. 87, n. 1, refers the words not to the boy but to the assembly present. He says: 'It must here be borne in mind that it is customary with the priesthood to administer the confession of faith (saraṇa) and the five precepts (pañca sīla) TO THE ASSEMBLY before the commencement of any ceremony.' But Mah. 24. 24 Gotama (cf. v. 28) is expressly designated rañño (i.e. of Duṭṭha-

When he saw all these omens the king, glad at heart, 70 bestowed rice-milk on the brotherhood; and to his son, bringing together in one both the lordship over Mahāgāma 71 and the name of his father, he gave the name Gāmaṇi-Abhaya.

When, on the ninth day after this, he had entered Mahā- 72 gāma, he had intercourse with the queen. She became thereby with child. The son born in due time did the king 73 name Tissa. And both boys grew up in the midst of a great body of retainers.

When, at the festival time of the presenting of the (first) 74 rice-foods to both (children), the king, full of pious zeal, set rice-milk before five hundred bhikkhus, he, when the half 75 had been eaten by them, did, together with the queen, take a little in a golden spoon and give it to them with the 76 words: 'If you, my sons, abandon the doctrine of the Saṃbuddha then shall this not be digested in your belly.' Both 77 princes, who understood the meaning of these words, ate the rice-milk rejoicing as if it were ambrosia.

When they were ten and twelve years old the king, who 78 would fain put them to the test, offered hospitality in the same way to the bhikkhus, and when he had the rice that 79 was left by them taken and placed in a dish and set before the boys he divided it into three portions and spoke thus: 'Never, 80 dear ones, will we turn away from the bhikkhus, the guardian-spirits of our house: with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And furthermore: 'We two brothers will for 81 ever be without enmity one toward the other; with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And as if it 82 were ambrosia they both ate the two portions. But when it was said to them: 'Never will we fight with the Damiḷas; with such thoughts eat ye this portion here,' Tissa dashed 83 the food away with his hand, but Gāmaṇi who had (in like manner) flung away the morsel of rice, went to his bed, and 84

gāmaṇi) *sikkhāya dāyako*, with distinct reference to 22. 69. We take it then to mean that Gotama, from the very fact that he 'receives' the boy (*paṭigaṇhāti*), expresses his willingness to become his teacher in the future.

drawing in his hands and feet he lay upon his bed. The
 85 queen came, and caressing Gāmaṇi spoke thus: 'Why dost
 thou not lie easily upon thy bed with limbs stretched out, my
 son?' 'Over there beyond the Gaṅgā¹ are the Damiḷas,
 86 here on this side is the Goṭha-ocean,² how can I lie with out-
 stretched limbs?' he answered. When the king heard his
 thoughts he remained silent.

87 Growing duly Gāmaṇi came to sixteen years, vigorous,
 renowned, intelligent and a hero in majesty and might.

88 In this changing existence do beings indeed (only) by
 works of merit come to such rebirth as they desire; pondering
 thus the wise man will be ever filled with zeal in the heaping
 up of meritorious works.

Here ends the twenty-second chapter, called 'The Birth of
 Prince Gāmaṇi', in the Mahāvam̐sa, compiled for the serene
 joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See note to 10. 44.

² See note to 22. 49.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LEVYING OF THE WARRIORS

FOREMOST in strength, beauty, shape and the qualities of 1
courage and swiftness and of mighty size of body was the
elephant Kaṇḍula. Nandhimitta, Sūranimila, Mahāsoṇa, 2
Goṭhaimbara, Theraputtābhaya, Bharāṇa, and also Veḷusu-
mana, Khañjadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabha: these 3
ten were his mighty and great warriors.¹

King Eḷāra had a general named Mitta; and he had, in 4
the village that he governed,² in the eastern district³ near 5
the Citta-mountain, a (nephew, his) sister's son, named after
his uncle, whose secret parts were hidden (in his body). In 6
the years of his childhood, since he loved to creep far, they⁴
were used to bind the boy fast with a rope slung about his
body, to a great mill-stone. And since, creeping about on 7
the ground, he dragged the stone after him and in crossing
over the threshold the rope broke asunder, they called him 8
Nandhimitta. He had the strength of ten elephants. When
he was grown up he went into the city and served his uncle.
Damiḷas, who desecrated at that time thūpas and other 9
(sacred memorials), this strong man used to tear asunder,
treading one leg down with his foot while he grasped the 10
other with his hand, and then (he would) cast them out (over

¹ The story of the ten paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is treated also in the *Rasavāhinī* II, p. 78 foll. (Ed. by SARAṆATIṢṢATHERA, Colombo, 1901 and 1899.)

² *Kammantagāma*, i.e. 'Village of labour' or 'activity'. 'I think the word is equivalent to the *nindagama* of the present day. It is a village the tenants of which are liable to render services to the landlords.' WIJESINHA, *Mah.*, p. 88, no. 4.

³ Possibly the name of the village is *Khaṇḍarāji*. *Rasav.* II. 80²⁸ seems to bear this out.

⁴ That is the boy's parents.

the walls). But the devas caused those dead bodies that he cast out to vanish.

11 When they observed the diminution of the *Damīlas* they
told the king; but the command 'Take him with his prey!' ¹
12 they could not carry out.² *Nandhimitta* thought: 'And if
I do thus, it is but the destruction of men and brings not the
13 glory to the doctrine. In *Rohaṇa* ³ there are still princes
who have faith in the three gems. There will I serve the
14 king, and when I have overcome all the *Damīlas* and have
conferred the overlordship on the princes, I shall make the
doctrine of the Buddha to shine forth brightly.' Then he
15 went and told this to prince *Gāmaṇi*. When this latter had
taken counsel with his mother he received him with honour,
and with high honours the warrior *Nandhimitta* continued to
dwell with him.

16 King *Kākavaṇṇatissa* caused a guard to hold the *Damīlas*
in check to be kept continually at all the fords of the *Mahā-*
17 *gaṅgā*. Now the king had, by another wife, a son named
Dīghābhaya; and he gave the guard near the *Kacchaka-*
18 *ford* ⁴ into his charge. And to form the guard this (prince)
commanded each noble family within a distance of two
19 *yojanas* round (to send) one son thither. Within the district
of *Koṭṭhivāla*, in the village of *Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika*, lived the
chief of a clan the headman named *Samgha* who had seven
20 sons. To him, too, the prince sent a messenger demanding
a son. His seventh son named *Nimila* ⁵ had the strength of
21 ten elephants. His six brothers who were angered at his

¹ The reading should be, without doubt, *sahoḍhaṃ gaṇhathenaṃ*, cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 860; *J.P.T.S.* 1910, p. 137. *Skt. sahoḍha*. The *Ṭikā* has hit the meaning with the paraphrase *sabhaṇḍakaṃ*. The *Rasavāh.* II, p. 80¹⁵ makes the characteristic alteration to *sahasā gaṇhathenaṃ*, a proof that the phrase was no longer understood in its original sense but had fallen into a stereotyped use. Cf. also *Jāt.* iii. 59¹⁰.

² Since they did not succeed in finding out the doer of the deed.

³ See note to 22. 6.

⁴ See note to 10. 58.

⁵ *Rasavāhinī*: *Nimmala* or *Surānimmala*. The first part of the latter name is derived from *surā* 'spirituous liquor', and must (according to II, p. 84¹⁻²) refer to the drinking prowess of the hero.

bent toward idleness, wished that he might go, but not so his mother and his father. Wroth with his other brothers he 22 went, in the early morning, a distance of three yojanas, and sought out the prince even at sunrise. And he, to put him 23 to the test, entrusted him with a far errand: 'Near the Cetiya-mountain in the village of Dvāramaṇḍala is a brahman 24 named Kuṇḍalī, my friend. In his possession is merchandise from over-seas.¹ Go thou to him and bring hither the 25 merchandise that he gives thee.' When he had thus spoken to him and had offered him a meal he sent him forth with a letter. He travelled, yet in the forenoon, nine yojanas from 26 that place hither² toward Anurādhapura and sought out the brahman. 'When thou hast bathed in the tank, my dear, 27 come to me,' said the brahman. As he had never yet come to this place³ he bathed in the Tissa-tank, and when he had 28 done reverence to the great Bodhi-tree and the cetiya in the Thūpārāma he went into the city; when he had (then) seen the whole city and had bought perfumes in the bazaar, 29 had gone forth again by the north gate and had brought lotus-blossoms from the lotus-field he sought out the brahman, 30 and questioned by him he told him of his wayfaring. When the brahman heard of his first march⁴ and of his march hither⁵ he thought, full of amazement: 'This is a man of 31 noble race; if Eḷāra hears of him he will get him into his power. Therefore must he not dwell near the Damiḷas, he must 32 rather take up his abode with the prince's father.' When 33 he had written in the same sense he gave the written message into his hands, and giving him Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments⁶

¹ The reading *samuddapārabhaṇḍāni*, in a Sinhalese MS., is only a conjecture, but is probably the correct reading.

² Here, as frequently, taking the standpoint of the author, who lives in Anurādhapura.

³ I. e. to Anurādhapura.

⁴ I. e. the distance covered in the morning from Kacchakatittha to Dvāramaṇḍala.

⁵ That is, to Anurādhapura and from there back to Dvāramaṇḍala.

⁶ *Ṭikā*: *anagghāni evaṃnāmikāni vatthayugānīti* 'precious pairs of garments bearing that name'.

34 and many gifts (to take with him), and having fed him he sent
 him (back) to his friend. He came to the prince at the time
 35 that the shadows grow longer and delivered up to the king's
 son the letter and the gifts. Then rejoicing (the prince)
 said: 'Honour this man with a thousand (pieces of money).'
 36 The other servitors of the prince grew envious, then ordered
 37 he to honour the youth with ten thousand (pieces). And
 when (according to his charge) they had cut his hair and
 bathed him in the river, and had put on him a pair of
 Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments and a beautiful fragrant wreath,
 38 and had wound a silken turban about his head, they brought
 him to the prince,¹ and the latter commanded that food from
 39 his own stores be given him. Moreover, the prince bade them
 give his own bed worth ten thousand (pieces of money) to the
 40 warrior as a couch. He gathered all these together and took
 them to his mother and father and gave the ten thousand
 (pieces of money) to his mother and the bed to his father.
 41 The same night he came and appeared at the place of the
 guard. When the prince heard this in the morning he was
 42 glad at heart. When he had given him provision for the
 journey and an escort and had bestowed on him (as a gift) ten
 43 thousand (pieces of money) he sent him to his father. The
 warrior brought the ten thousand to his mother and father,
 gave it to them and went into the presence of king
 44 Kākavaṇṇatissa. The king gave him (into the service of) the
 prince Gāmaṇi, and with high honours the warrior Sūranimila
 took up his abode with him.

45 In the Kuḷumbari-district² in the village Hunderīvāpi
 46 lived Tissa's eighth son named Soṇa. At the time when he
 was seven years old he tore up young palms; at the time
 when he was ten years old the strong (boy) tore up great

¹ Veṭṭhayitvā, a verb common to both and governing the
 accusative, must be supplied to puṇṇavaḍḍhanayugaṃ and
 gandhamālaṃ.

² Kuḷumbarikaṇṇikāya; cf. Nakulanagakaṇṇikāyaṃ,
 Mah. 23. 77; Kālāyanakaṇṇikamhi, Mah. 34. 89; and Huvā-
 cakaṇṇike, Mah. 34. 90. Rasav. II. 86¹⁹ reads Kadaḷumbari-
 kannikāya.

palm-trees. In time Mahāsoṇa became as strong as ten 47 elephants. When the king heard that he was such a man he took him from his father and gave him into the service of 48 the prince Gāmaṇi that he might maintain him. Receiving honourable guerdon from him, the warrior took up his abode with him.

In the region named Giri, in the village Niṭṭhulaviṭṭhika, 49 there lived a son of Mahānāga strong as ten elephants. By 50 reason of his dwarfish stature he was named Goṭhaka ; his six elder brothers made a merry jest of him. Once when they 51 had gone forth and were clearing the forest to lay out a bean-field they left his share and came back and told him. Then 52 forthwith he started out, and when he had torn up the trees called imbara and had levelled the ground he came and told (them). His brothers went and when they had seen his 53 amazing work they returned to him praising his work.¹ Because of this he bore the name Goṭhaimbara, and him 54 too, in like manner, the king commanded to stay with Gāmaṇi.

A householder named Rohaṇa, who was headman in the 55 village of Kitti near the Koṭa-mountain, gave to the son who was born to him the name of the king Goṭhābhaya.² At the 56 age of ten to twelve years the boy was so strong that in his 57 play he threw like balls for playing stones that could not be lifted by four or five men. When he was sixteen years old 58 his father made him a club thirty-eight inches round and sixteen cubits long. When, with this, he smote the stems 59 of palmyra or coco-palms, he felled them. Therefore was he known as a warrior. And him, too, did the king in like 60 manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi. But his father was a supporter of the thera Mahāsumma. Once when this house- 61 holder was hearing a discourse of Mahāsumma in the Koṭa-pabbata-vihāra he attained to the fruition of (the first stage of

¹ The Rasav. II. 88 foll. tells yet another story of Goṭhaimbara, that he subdued a yakkha named Jayasena and then went among the monks. The 'dwellers in the Uttaravihāra' are mentioned as the source of this story.

² Samānanāmaṃ kāresi, lit. 'made of him of like name with . . .

62 salvation called) sotāpatti. With heart strongly moved¹ he told this to the king, and when he had given over (the headship of) his house to his son he received the pabbajjā from the
63 thera. Given up to the practice of meditation he attained to the state of an arahant. Therefore his son was called Theraputtābhaya.²

64 In the village of Kappakandara³ a son of Kumāra⁴ lived named Bharāṇa. In time, when he was ten to twelve years
65 old, he went with the boys into the forest and chased many hares; he struck at them with his foot and dashed them,
66 (smitten) in twain, to the ground. Then when he, at the age of sixteen years, went with the village-folk into the forest
67 he killed antelopes, elks, and boars in like manner. Therefore was Bharāṇa known as a great warrior. And him did the king in like manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi.

68 In the district called Giri, in the village of Kuṭumbiyaṅgaṇa there dwelt, held in honour (by the people) there, a house-
69 holder named Vasabha. His fellow-countrymen Veḷa and Sumana, governor of Giri, came when a son was born to their
70 friend, bringing gifts, and both gave their name to the boy. When he was grown up the governor of Giri had him to dwell
71 in his house. He had a Sindhu-horse⁵ that would let no man mount him. When he saw Veḷusumana he thought: 'Here
72 is a rider worthy of me,' and he neighed joyfully. When the governor perceived this he said to him: 'Mount the horse.'
73 Then he mounted the horse and made him gallop in a circle; and the animal appeared even as one single horse around the
74 whole circle, and he sat on the back of the courser seeming

¹ Jātasamvego, the conception of samvega is the negative side to the positive pasāda. See note to 1. 4.

² I.e. Abhaya, the son of the thera. The Rasav. II. 94⁷ foll. states that the son was already a sāmaṇera, then relates a story from which it appears that in strength he was even superior to Goṭhaimbara.

³ A river of this name in Rohaṇa is also mentioned, Mah. 24. 22, besides a monastery, Rasav. II. 88¹¹, 94¹².

⁴ Thus Rasav. II. 96²⁸: Kumāro nāmeko kuṭumbiko.

⁵ Skt. saindhava 'horse from the Indus country', an excellent breed much prized in Indian literature.

to be a chain of men¹ and he loosed his mantle and girt it about him again and again fearlessly. When the bystanders 75 saw this they broke into applauding shouts. The governor of Giri gave him ten thousand (pieces of money) and thinking: 'he is fit for the king,' he gave him joyfully into the king's 76 service. The king made Veḷusumana dwell near him, giving 77 him honourable guerdon and favouring him greatly.

In the district of Nakulanaga in the village of Mahisa-
doṇika there lived Abhaya's last son, named Deva, endowed 78
with great strength. Since he limped a little they called him
Khañjadeva. When he went a-hunting with the village-folk, 79
he chased at those times great buffaloes, as many as rose up,
and grasped them by the leg with his hand, and when he had 80
whirled them round his head the young man dashed them to
the ground breaking their bones. When the king heard this 81
matter, having sent for Khañjadeva, he commanded him to
stay with Gāmaṇi.

Near the Cittalapabbata (vihāra)² in the village named 82
Gaviṭa there lived Uppala's son named Phussadeva. When 83
he went once as a boy to the vihāra with the (other) boys
he took one of the shells offered to the bodhi-tree and blew it
mightily. Powerful even as the roar at the bursting asunder 84
of a thunderbolt was his tone, and all the other boys, terrified,
were as if stunned. Therefore he was known by the name 85
Ummādaphussadeva. His father made him learn the archer's
art handed down in the family, and he was one of those who 86
hit their mark (guided) by sound, who hit by (the light of
the) lightning, and who hit a hair. A waggon laden with
sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, a slab of 87
asana or udumbara-wood³ eight or sixteen inches thick, or

¹ The Ṭikā (see Mah. ed. note on this passage) explains vassa-hāraṃ va by 'like an unbroken row of men holding together'. Vassa presupposes a Skt. varṣan related to Skt. vṛṣan. The neuter gender in hāra 'string of pearls', is striking. Cf. the Greek legend of Alexander's horse Bukephalos.

² See Mah. 22. 23 (with note); Rasav. II. 101².

³ Skt. asana, *Terminalia tomentosa* and udumbara, *Ficus glomerata*.

88 one of iron or copper two or four inches thick he shot
 through with the arrow; an arrow shot forth by him flew
 89 eight usabhas¹ over the land but one usabha through the
 water. When the great king heard this thing he had him
 taken away from his father and commanded him to stay
 with Gāmaṇi.

90 Near the Tulādhāra-mountain in the village of Vihāravāpi
 91 lived a son of the householder Matta, named Vasabha. Since
 his body was nobly formed they called him Labhiyavasabha.
 At the age of twenty years he was gifted with great bodily
 92 strength. Taking some men with him he began, since he
 would fain have some fields, (to make) a tank. Making it he,
 93 being endowed with great strength, flung away masses of earth
 such as only ten or twelve men had moved else, and thus in
 94 a short time he finished the tank. And thereby he gained
 renown, and him too did the king summon and, allotting him
 honourable guerdon, he appointed him to (the service of)
 95 Gāmaṇi. That field was known as Vasabha's Dam.² So
 Labhiyavasabha abode near Gāmaṇi.

96 On these ten great warriors did the king henceforth confer
 97 honours like to the honours conferred on his own son. Then
 summoning the ten great warriors the king charged them :
 98 'Each one find ten warriors.' They brought thither warriors
 in this way and again the king commanded these hundred
 99 warriors to levy (others) in like manner. They too brought
 thither warriors in this way and these thousand warriors did
 the king again command to levy (others) in like manner.
 100 They also brought warriors thither. And they, reckoned
 altogether, were then eleven thousand one hundred and ten
 warriors.

101 They all continually received honourable guerdon from the
 ruler of the land and abode surrounding the prince Gāmaṇi.

102 Thus when a wise man, mindful of his salvation, hears of

¹ See note to 22. 42.

² The Rasav. 11. 103 135 says: Kākavaṇṇatissamahārājā taṃ
 ānāpetva mahantaṃ sakkāraṃ katvā udakavāragāmaṃ
 tass' eva dāpesi; tato paṭṭhāya so Vasabhadakavāro ti
 pākaṭo ahoṣi.

the marvels wrought by the pious life, he should surely, turning aside from the evil path, evermore find pleasure in the path of piety.

Here ends the twenty-third chapter, called 'The Levying of the Warriors', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF THE TWO BROTHERS

- 1 SKILLED in (guiding) elephants and horses, and in (bearing)
the sword and versed in archery¹ did the prince Gāmaṇi dwell
2 thenceforth in Mahāgāma. The prince Tissa, equipped with
troops and chariots did the king cause to be stationed in
3 Dīghavāpi² in order to guard the open country. Afterwards
prince Gāmaṇi, reviewing his host, sent to announce to his
4 father the king: 'I will make war upon the Damiḷas.' The
king, to protect him, forbade him, saying: 'The region on
this side of the river³ is enough.' Even to three times he
5 sent to announce the same (reply). 'If my father were a man
he would not speak thus: therefore shall he put this on.'
6 And therewith Gāmaṇi sent him a woman's ornament. And
enraged at him the king said: 'Make a golden chain! with
that will I bind him, for else he cannot be protected.'
7 Then the other fled and went, angered at his father, to
Malaya,⁴ and because he was wroth with his father they
named him Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.⁵
8 Then the king began to build the Mahānuggala-cetiya.
When the cetiya was finished the monarch summoned the
9 brotherhood. Twelve thousand bhikkhus from the Cittalapab-

¹ I believe that upāsana in katupāsana must be taken in the sense of 'archery', which is borne out by Abhidh. 390. The Tīkā, it is true, explains katupāsano, in a general way, by katasikkho, dassitasippo.

² See note to 1. 78.

³ Cf. the note to 10. 44. The Mahāgaṅgā is considered the border between the region occupied by the Damiḷas and the provinces ruled over by the Mahāgāma dynasty.

⁴ Cf. note to 7. 68.

⁵ I. e. the angry Gāmaṇi. Cf. *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 21, n. 1.

bata (vihāra) gathered together here, and from divers (other) places twelve thousand also.

When the king had celebrated the solemn festival of the 10 cetiya he brought all the (ten) warriors together and made them take an oath in the presence of the brotherhood. They 11 all took the oath : ' We will not go to (thy) sons' battlefield ' ; therefore did they also not come to the war (afterwards).

When the king had built sixty-four vihāras and had lived 12 just as many years he died then in that same place.¹ The 13 queen took the king's body, brought it to the Tissamahārāma² in a covered car and told this to the brotherhood. When the 14 prince Tissa heard this he came from Dīghavāpi, and when he himself had carried out with (due) care the funeral rites for his father, the powerful (prince) took his mother and the 15 elephant Kaṇḍula with him and for fear of his brother went thence with all speed back to Dīghavāpi. To acquaint him 16 with these matters the whole of the ministers, who had met together, sent a letter to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He repaired to 17 Guttahāla³ and when he had placed outposts there he came to Mahāgāma and caused himself to be consecrated king. He 18 sent a letter to his brother (asking) for his mother and the elephant. But when after the third time he did not receive them he set forth to make war upon him. And between 19 those two there came to pass a great battle in Cūlaṅgaṇiya-piṭṭhi : and there fell many thousands of the king's men.⁴ The king and his minister Tissa and the mare Dīghathūṇikā, 20 those three, took flight ; the prince (Tissa) pursued them. The bhikkhus created a mountain between the two (brothers). 21 When he (Tissa) saw it he turned about, thinking : ' This is the work of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus.'

When he came to the Javamāla ford⁵ of the river Kappa- 22

¹ In Mahāgāma.

² Cf. note to 22. 8.

³ Now Buttala, situated thirty to thirty-five miles to the north of Mahāgāma, where the high-road crosses the Menik-ganga. The road from Mahāgāma to Mahiyaṅgaṇa led through Guttahālaka (cf. 25. 6). The outposts were stationed there by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as a security against a surprise from Tissa, residing at Dīghavāpi.

⁴ I. e. of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

⁵ I think that the battle took place at some distance from Gutta-

kandara the king said to his minister Tissa : ' I am spent¹
 23 with hunger.' He offered him food that was placed in a
 golden vessel. When he had set aside of the food for the
 24 brotherhood and had divided it into four portions he said :
 ' Proclaim the meal-time.' Tissa proclaimed the time. When,
 by means of his heavenly ear,² he who had taught the king
 25 the holy precepts,³ the thera (Gotama), dwelling in Piyañ-
 gudīpa,⁴ heard this he sent the thera Tissa the son of a house-
 26 holder, thither, and he went there through the air. Tissa (the
 minister) took his almsbowl from his hand and offered it to the
 king. The king commanded the portion for the brotherhood
 27 and his own portion to be poured into the bowl. And Tissa
 poured his portion in likewise, and the mare also would not
 have her portion. Therefore did Tissa pour her share too into
 the bowl.

28 The king handed to the thera the bowl filled with food ;
 and hastening away through the air he brought it to the thera
 29 Gotama. When the thera had offered their share in mor-
 sels⁵ to five hundred bhikkhus, who partook of the food,
 30 and had (again) filled the bowl with the fragments that he
 received from them, he caused it to fly through the air to the
 king. (The minister) Tissa who saw it coming received it
 31 and served the king. When he himself then had eaten he fed
 the mare also ; then the king sent the almsbowl away, making
 of his own field-cloak a cushion to bear it upon.⁶

hālaka in the direction of Dīghavāpi. The site of Cūḷaṅgaṇiyapiṭṭhī may, therefore, be near Muppana, about ten miles to the north-east from Guttahālaka. On his flight the king had to cross the Kumbukan-oya. This may be the Kappukandara-nadī. Then the Javamāla ford was near the village Kumbukkan.

¹ Chātajjhatta, in this sense also *Jāt.* i. 345²⁹.

² See note to 4. 12.

³ See note to 22. 69 and below, v. 28.

⁴ I.e. 'Panicum, or Saffron Island.' The monks living there enjoyed a reputation for particular holiness. Cf. Mah. 25. 104 foll.

⁵ On ālopa see CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v. ; literally translated it would be: 'when he had given (of it) in morsel-portions.'

⁶ By cumbaṭa is meant a cloth rolled into a circular shape which serves as the support for a vessel when carried upon the head.

Arrived in Mahāgāma he assembled again a host of sixty 32
thousand men and marching into the field began the war with
his brother. The king riding on his mare and Tissa on the 33
elephant Kaṇḍala, thus did the two brothers now come at
once together, opposing each other in battle. Taking the 34
elephant in the middle the king made the mare circle round
him. When he, notwithstanding, found no unguarded place
he resolved to leap over him.¹ Leaping with the mare over 35
the elephant he shot his dart over his brother, so that he
wounded only the skin on the back (of the elephant).²

Many thousands of the prince's men fell there, fighting in 36
battle, and his great host was scattered. 'By reason of the 37
weakness of my rider one of the female sex has used me con-
temptuously';³ so thought the elephant, and in wrath he
rushed upon a tree in order to throw him (Tissa). The prince 38
climbed upon the tree; the elephant went to his master
(Duṭṭhagāmaṇi). And he mounted him and pursued the
fleeing prince. The prince came to a vihāra and fleeing to the 39
cell of the chief thera, he lay down, in fear of his brother,
under the bed. The chief thera spread a cloak over the bed, 40
and the king, who followed immediately, asked: 'Where is
Tissa?' 'He is not in the bed, great king'; answered the 41
thera. Then the king perceived that he was under the bed,
and when he had gone forth he placed sentinels round about 42
the vihāra; but they laid the prince upon the bed and covered
him over with a garment and four young ascetics, grasping 43
the bed-posts, bore him out as if (they were carrying) a dead
bhikkhu. But the king, who perceived that he was being 44
carried forth, said: 'Tissa, upon the head of the guardian genii
of our house art thou carried forth; to tear away anything 45
with violence from the guardian genii of our house is not my

¹ To see whether he could perhaps attack him from above.

² This passage was corrupt at an early period. The Ṭikā, too, mentions varying readings. The sense appears to me to be that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi only wishes to show his superiority without wounding either his brother or the elephant seriously. Cf. Mah. ed., Introd., p. xxii.

³ Lit, 'Has leaped over me.' But the word 'laṅghayi' is evidently to be taken also metaphorically here.

custom. Mayst thou evermore remember the virtue of the
 46 guardian genii of our house !' Hereupon the king went to
 Mahāgāma, and thither did he bring his mother, whom he
 47 greatly revered. Sixty-eight years did the king live, whose
 heart stood firm in the faith, and he built sixty-eight vihāras.
 48 But the prince Tissa, carried forth by the bhikkhus, went
 49 thence unrecognized¹ and came to Dīghavāpi. The prince
 said to the thera Godhagatta Tissa :² ' I have done ill, sir ; I
 50 will make my peace with my brother '. The thera took Tissa,
 in the habit of a servitor, and five hundred bhikkhus with him
 51 and sought the king out. Leaving the prince above on the
 stairs the thera entered with the brotherhood. The monarch
 52 invited them all to be seated and had rice-milk and other
 (food) brought (to them). The thera covered his almsbowl, and
 on the question : ' Wherefore this ' ? he answered : ' We have
 53 come bringing Tissa with us. ' To the question : ' Where is
 the traitor ? ' he pointed out the place where he stood. The
 Vihāradevī hurried thither and stood sheltering her young son.
 54 The king said to the thera : ' It is known to you that we are
 now also³ your servants. If you had but sent a sāmaṇera of
 55 seven years our strife had not taken place (and all had ended)
 without loss of men. ' ' O king, this is the brotherhood's guilt,
 the brotherhood will do penance. '
 56 ' You will (first) have (to do) what is due to (guests)⁴
 arriving. Take the rice-milk and the rest. ' With these
 words he offered the (food) to the brotherhood ; and when he
 57 had called his brother hither he took his seat with his

¹ According to the conjectural reading añātako. Cf. Mah. ed.,
 Intro., p. xlvii.

² We have here a surname given to the thera because of his spotted
 complexion, Ṭikā: evaṃnāmikassa. TURNOUR translates, concern-
 ing the explanation of the name given in the Ṭikā, thus : ' Who
 was afflicted with a cutaneous complaint which made his skin scaly
 like that of the godha. ' (WIJESIṄHA : of an iguana.)

³ Ñāto vo dāsabhāvo idāni no, i.e. even after I have become
 king ; no is honorific plur.

⁴ Hessat' āgatakiccaṃ vo stands briefly for āgatānaṃ kic-
 caṃ hessati vo kiccaṃ. With these words the king returns to
 the hospitality shown to the bhikkhus.

brother even there in the midst of the brotherhood ; and when he had eaten together with him he gave the brotherhood leave to depart. And thither too¹ he sent his brother to direct the 58 work of harvest ; and he too, when he had made it known by beat of drum, directed the work of harvest.

Thus are pious men wont to appease an enmity, though 59 heaped up from many causes, even if it be great ;² what wise man, pondering this, shall not be of peace-loving mind toward others ?

Here ends the twenty-fourth chapter, called 'The War of the two Brothers', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, there, where he had sent the bhikkhus, i. e. to Dīghavāpi. The sassakammāni are preparations for the campaign against the Damiḷas.

² The Ṭikā explains anekavikappacitaṃ by anekadhā upacitaṃ, punappunānūsaraṇavasena rāsikataṃ ti attho.

CHAPTER XXV

THE VICTORY OF DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI

- 1 WHEN the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had provided for his people and had had a relic put into his spear¹ he marched, with
2 chariots, troops and beasts for riders,² to Tissamahārāma, and when he had shown favour to the brotherhood he said: 'I will
3 go on to the land on the further side of the river³ to bring
4 glory to the doctrine. Give us, that we may treat them with
honour, bhikkhus who shall go on with us, since the sight of
5 bhikkhus is blessing and protection for us.' As a penance⁴
the brotherhood allowed him five hundred ascetics; taking this
6 company of bhikkhus with him the king marched forth, and when he had caused the road in Malaya leading hither⁵ to be
made ready he mounted the elephant Kaṇḍula and, surrounded
7 by his warriors, he took the field with a mighty host. With
the one end yet in Mahāgāma⁶ the train of the army reached
to Guttahālaka.
- 7 Arrived at Mahiyaṅgaṇa⁷ he overpowered the Damiḷa
Chatta. When he had slain the Damiḷas in that very place
he came then to Ambatitthaka,⁸ which had a trench leading
8 from the river, and (conquered) the Damiḷa Tittamba;
fighting the crafty⁹ and powerful foe for four months he

¹ The spear serves as a royal standard, which is always carried before the prince.

² See note to 15. 189-190.

³ See note to 24. 4.

⁴ Cf. 24. 55.

⁵ That is to the north of the island, towards Anurādhapura. Note to 10. 77. On Malaya see note to 7. 68.

⁶ Mahāgāmena sambaddhā, lit. 'connected with Mahāgāma.'

⁷ Mahiyaṅgaṇa = Bintenne (Alut-nuwara). See Appendix C.

⁸ A ford of the Mahawæliganga, not far from Bintenne.

⁹ Katahattha = Skt. kṛtāhastā, and must be taken in the same sense.

(finally) overcame him by cunning,¹ since he placed his mother 9
in his view.

When the mighty man marching thence down (the river)
had conquered seven mighty *Damiḷa* princes in one day and 10
had established peace, he gave over the booty to his troops.
Therefore is (the place) called *Khemārāma*.

In *Antarāsobbha* he subdued *Mahākoṭṭha*, in *Doṇa Gavara*, 11
in *Hālakola Issariya*, in *Nālisobbha Nālika*. In *Dīghābhaya-* 12
gallaka he subdued, in like manner, *Dīghābhaya*; in *Kaccha-*
tittha, within four months, he subdued *Kapisīsa*. In *Koṭana-* 13
gara he subdued *Koṭa*, then *Hālavahānaka*, in *Vahiṭṭha* the
Damiḷa Vahiṭṭha and in *Gāmaṇi* (he subdued) *Gāmaṇi*, in *Kum-* 14
bagāma Kumba, in *Nandigāma Nandika*, *Khānu* in *Khānugāma*
but in *Tamba* and *Unnama* the two, uncle and nephew, named 15
Tamba and *Unnama*. *Jambu* also did he subdue, and each
village was named after (its commander.)

When the monarch heard (that it was said:) ‘Not knowing 16
their own army they slay their own people’, he made this
solemn declaration: ² ‘Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil 17
of mine, my striving (has been) ever to establish the doctrine
of the *Samḃuddha*. And even as this is truth may the armour 18
on the body of my soldiers take the colour of fire.’ And now
it came to pass even thus.

All the *Damiḷas* on the bank of the river who had escaped 19
death threw themselves for protection into the city named
Vijitanagara.³ In a favourable open country he pitched a 20
camp, and this became known by the name *Khandhāvāra-*
piṭṭhi.

Since the king, in order to take *Vijitanagara*, would fain 21
put *Nandhimitta* to the test, he let loose *Kaṇḍula* upon him
(once) when he saw him coming towards him. When the 22

¹ The allusion is too terse for us to make any safe conjecture as to
the cunning mentioned. According to the *Ṭikā* (*vivāhakarapa-*
lesa) the reference is to *Gāmaṇi*'s promising to his adversary
marriage with his mother, and with it the expectation of government.

² On *saccakiriya* see note to 18. 39.

³ Near the northern bank of the *Kālavāpi* (*Kaḷuwāwa*), about 24
miles SSE. from *Anurādhapura*.

- elephant came to overpower him, Nandhimitta seized with his hands his two tusks and forced him on his haunches.
- 23 Since Nandhimitta fought with the elephant the village built on the spot where (it came to pass) is therefore named Hatthipora.
- 24 When the king had (thus) put them both to the test he marched to Vijitanagara. Near the south gate befell a
- 25 fearful battle between the warriors. But near the east gate did Veḷusumana, sitting on his horse, slay Daṃḷas in great numbers.
- 26 The Daṃḷas shut the gate and the king sent thither his men. Kaṇḍula and Nandhimitta and Sūranimila, at the
- 27 south gate, and the three, Mahāsoṇa, Goṭṭha and Theraputta, 28 at the three other gates did their (great) deeds. The city had three trenches, was guarded by a high wall, furnished with gates of wrought iron, difficult for enemies to destroy.
- 29 Placing himself upon his knees and battering stones, mortar and bricks with his tusks did the elephant attack the gate of
- 30 iron. But the Daṃḷas who stood upon the gate-tower hurled down weapons of every kind, balls of red-hot iron and molten
- 31 pitch. When the smoking pitch poured on his back Kaṇḍula, tormented with pains, betook him to a pool of water and dived there.
- 32 'Here is no surā-draught¹ for thee, go forth to the destroying of the iron gate, destroy the gate!' thus said Goṭṭhaimbara
- 33 to him. Then did the best of elephants again proudly take heart, and trumpeting he reared himself out of the water and stood defiantly on firm land.
- 34 The elephants' physician washed the pitch away and put on balm; the king mounted the elephant and, stroking
- 35 his temples with his hand, he cheered him on with the words: 'To thee I give, dear Kaṇḍula, the lordship over the whole island of Laṅkā.' And when he had had choice
- 36 fodder given to him, had covered him with a cloth and had put his armour on him and had bound upon his skin a seven

¹ Surā is an intoxicating drink. The meaning is: it is not for pleasure's sake that thou hast come here.

times folded buffalo-hide and above it had laid a hide steeped 37
in oil he set him free. Roaring like thunder he came, daring
danger, and with his tusks pierced the panels of the gate and 38
trampled the threshold with his feet; and with uproar the
gate crashed to the ground together with the arches of the
gate. The crumbling mass from the gate-tower that fell 39
upon the elephant's back did Nandhimitta dash aside, striking
it with his arms. When Kaṇḍula saw his deed, in contentment 40
of heart he ceased from the former wrath he had nursed since
he (Nandhimitta) had seized him by the tusks.

That he might enter the town close behind him Kaṇḍula 41
the best of elephants turned (to Nandhimitta) and looked at
that warrior. But Nandhimitta thought: 'I will not enter 42
(the town) by the way opened by the elephant' and with his
arm did he break down the wall. Eighteen cubits high 43
and eight usabhas long it crashed together. The (elephant)
looked on Sūranimila, but he too would not (follow in) the
track but dashed forward, leaping the wall into the town. 44
Goṭṭha also and Soṇa pressed forward, each one breaking down
a gate. The elephant seized a cart-wheel, Mitta a waggon- 45
frame, Goṭṭha a cocos-palm, Nimila his good sword, Mahāsoṇa 46
a palmyra-palm, Theraputta his great club,¹ and thus, rushing
each by himself into the streets, they shattered the *Damiḷas*
there.

When the king in four months had destroyed *Vijitanagara* 47
he went thence to *Girilaka* and slew the *Damiḷa Giriya*.
Thence he marched to *Mahelanagara* that had a triple trench 48
and was surrounded by an undergrowth of *kadamba* flowers,
possessed but one gate and was hard to come at; and staying 49
there four months the king subdued the commander of *Mahela*
by a cunningly planned battle.² Then nearing *Anurādhapura* 50
the king pitched his camp south of the *Kāsa*-mountain.³ When
he had made a tank there in the month *Jeṭṭhamūla* he held 51

¹ Cf. 23. 58.

² *Mantayuddhena*. TURNOUR translates: 'By diplomatic stratagem.'

³ On *parato* see note to 36. 56; on *Kāsapabbata*, note to 10. 27.

a water-festival. There is to be found the village named Pajjotanagara.

52 When the king Eḷāra heard that king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was
come to do battle he called together his ministers and said :
53 ' This king is himself a warrior and in truth many warriors
(follow him). What think the ministers, what should we
54 do ? ' King Eḷāra's warriors, led by Dīghajantu, resolved : ' To-
55 morrow will we give battle.' The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi also took
counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty-two
56 bodies of troops. In these the king placed parasol-bearers
and figures of a king ;¹ the monarch himself took his place
in the innermost body of troops.

57 When Eḷāra in full armour had mounted his elephant
Mahāpabbata he came thither with chariots, soldiers and
58 beasts for riders. When the battle began the mighty and
terrible Dīghajantu seized his sword and shield for battle,
59 and leaping eighteen cubits up into the air and cleaving the
effigy of the king with his sword, he scattered the first body
60 of troops. When the mighty (warrior) had in this manner
scattered also the other bodies of troops, he charged at the
61 body of troops with which king Gāmaṇi stood. But when
he began to attack the king, the mighty warrior Sūranimila
62 insulted him, proclaiming his own name.² Dīghajantu thought :
' I will slay him,' and leaped into the air full of rage. But
Sūranimila held the shield toward him as he alighted (in
63 leaping). But Dīghajantu thought : ' I will cleave him in
twain, together with the shield,' and struck the shield with
64 the sword. Then Sūranimila³ let go the shield. And as he
clove (only) the shield thus released Dīghajantu fell there,
and Sūranimila, springing up, slew the fallen (man) with his
65 spear. Phussadeva blew his conch shell, the army of the
Damiḷas was scattered ; nay, Eḷāra turned to flee and they

¹ Ṭikā: rañño paṭirūpakam kaṭṭhamayarūpakam ti, i.e. wooden figures to represent the king.

² The usual form of challenge to single combat.

³ In the original text of vv. 62, 63 there are only the pronouns itaro, itaro, so, itaro, instead of the names Dīghajantu, Sūranimila, Dīghajantu, Sūranimila.

slew many Damiḷas. The water in the tank there was dyed 66 red with the blood of the slain, therefore it was known by the name Kulantavāpi.¹

King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi proclaimed with beat of drum : 'None 67 but myself shall slay Eḷāra.' When he himself, armed, had 68 mounted the armed elephant Kaṇḍula he pursued Eḷāra and came to the south gate (of Anurādhapura).

Near the south gate of the city the two kings fought ; 69 Eḷāra hurled his dart, Gāmaṇi evaded it ; he made his own 70 elephant pierce (Eḷāra's) elephant with his tusks and he hurled his dart at Eḷāra ; and this (latter) fell there, with his elephant.

When he had thus been victorious in battle and had united 71 Laṅkā under one rule² he marched, with chariots, troops and beasts for riders, into the capital. In the city he caused the 72 drum to be beaten, and when he had summoned the people from a yojana around he celebrated the funeral rites for king Eḷāra. On the spot where his body had fallen he burned it 73 with the catafalque, and there did he build a monument and ordain worship. And even to this day the princes of Laṅkā, 74 when they draw near to this place, are wont to silence their music because of this worship.

When he had thus overpowered thirty-two Damiḷa kings 75 DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI ruled over Laṅkā in single sovereignty.

When Vijitanagara was destroyed the hero Dīghajantuka 76 had told Eḷāra of the valour of his nephew, and to this 77 nephew named Bhalluka he had sent a message to come hither. When Bhalluka had received (the message)³ from him 78 he landed here, on the seventh day after the day of the burning of Eḷāra, with sixty thousand men.

Although he heard of the king's death after he had landed 79

¹ I would now like to adopt the form of this name as given in the Burmese MSS., as it gives good sense : 'End of the tribe.' The Ṭikā ed. has Kulatthavāpi. This, however, is no guarantee for the reading of the MSS.

² Ekātapattaka, lit. 'Being under one parasol (ātapatta).' Cf. ekachattena in v. 75.

³ The Ṭikā adds to tassa the subst. lekhasaṃdesaṃ.

yet, from shame, with the purpose: 'I will do battle,' he
80 pressed on from Mahātittha hither.¹ He pitched his camp
near the village Kolambahālaka.²

When the king heard of his coming he marched forth to
81 battle in full panoply of war, mounted on the elephant
Kaṇḍula, with warriors mounted on elephants, horses and
chariots, and with foot-soldiers in great numbers.

82 Ummādaphussadeva, who was the best archer in all the
island (followed) armed with the five weapons,³ and the rest
83 of the heroes followed him (also). While the raging battle
went forward Bhalluka in his armour came at the king
84 there; but Kaṇḍula, the king of elephants, to weaken his
onslaught, yielded his ground quite slowly and the army with
85 him drew also back quite slowly. The king said: 'Aforetime
in twenty-eight battles he has never retreated, what may this
86 be, Phussadeva?' And he answered: 'Victory lies behind
us, O king; looking to the field of victory the elephant draws
87 back, and at the place of victory he will halt.' And when
the elephant had retreated he stood firm beside (the shrine of)
the guardian god of the city within the precincts of the
Mahāvihāra.

88 When the king of elephants had halted here the Daṃḍa
Bhalluka came toward the king in that place and mocked at
89 the ruler of the land. Covering his mouth with his sword the
king returned insult for insult. 'I will send (an arrow⁴) into
90 the king's mouth,' thought the other, and he let fly an arrow.
The arrow struck on the sword-blade and fell to the ground.
And Bhalluka, who thought: 'He is struck in the mouth,'
91 uttered a shout for joy. But the mighty Phussadeva sitting
behind the king, let fly an arrow into his mouth wherewith (as
92 the arrow passed) he lightly touched the king's ear-ring. And
since he made him thus to fall with his feet toward the king,
he let fly yet another arrow at the falling man and struck

¹ To Anurādhapura. Cf. note to 7. 58.

² It is called Kolambālaka in 33. 42, and was situated (cf. note to that passage) not far from the north gate of Anurādhapura.

³ See note to 7. 16.

⁴ After pātemi 'I let fly', understand 'kaṇḍaṃ', as in the *Ṭikā*.

him in the knee; and making him (now) to turn with his 93
head toward the king, thus with swift hand he brought him
down.¹ When Bhalluka had fallen a shout of victory went up.

To make known his fault Phussadeva himself forthwith cut 94
off the lobe of his own ear and showed the king the blood
streaming down. When the king saw this he asked: 'What does 95
this mean?' 'I have carried out the royal justice upon my-
self,' he said (in answer) to the ruler of the land. And to the 96
question: 'What is thy guilt?' he answered: 'Striking thy
ear-ring.' 'Why hast thou done this, my brother, taking as
guilt that which was no guilt?' replied the great king, and 97
in gratitude he said moreover: 'Great shall be thy honourable
guerdon, even as thy arrow.'

When the king, after winning the victory, had slain all 98
the Damiḷas he went up on the terrace of the palace, and
when, in the royal chamber there in the midst of the dancers 99
and ministers, he had sent for Phussadeva's arrow and had
set it in the ground with the feathered end uppermost, he 100
covered the dart over and over with kahāpaṇas² poured forth
upon it, and these he forthwith caused to be given to Phussadeva.

Sitting then on the terrace of the royal palace, adorned, 101
lighted with fragrant lamps and filled with many a perfume, 102
magnificent with nymphs in the guise of dancing-girls, while he
rested on his soft and fair couch, covered with costly draperies, 103
he, looking back upon his glorious victory, great though it
was, knew no joy, remembering that thereby was wrought
the destruction of millions (of beings).

When the arahants in Piyāṅgudīpa³ knew his thought 104
they sent eight arahants to comfort the king. And they, 105
coming in the middle watch of the night, alighted at the

¹ Pādato katvā and sīsato katvā, lit. he made him 'foot-
wise' or 'headwise'. Rājānaṃ (Duṭṭhagāmaṇim) is dependent on
pādato (sīsato). On the first shot Bhalluka fell backwards, so that
he would have lain with his feet towards Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. To prevent
this Phussadeva then shot a second arrow at him, which struck
Bhalluka in the knee, even as he fell, so that he now fell forward on
his face. From that moment he lay in the posture of one conquered
and overthrown, or of a slave before the king.

² See note to 4. 13.

³ See note to 24 25.

- palace-gate. Making known that they were come thither through the air they mounted to the terrace of the palace.
- 1106 The great king greeted them, and when he had invited them to be seated and had done them reverence in many ways he
- 1107 asked the reason of their coming. 'We are sent by the brotherhood at Piyaṅgudīpa to comfort thee, O lord of men.'
- 1108 And thereon the king said again to them: 'How shall there be any comfort for me, O venerable sirs, since by me was caused the slaughter of a great host numbering millions?'
- 1109 'From this deed arises no hindrance in thy way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by
- 1110 thee, O lord of men. The one had come unto the (three) refuges, the other had taken on himself the five precepts.¹ Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be
- 1111 esteemed than beasts. But as for thee, thou wilt bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha in manifold ways; therefore cast away care from thy heart, O ruler of men!'
- 1112 Thus exhorted by them the great king took comfort. When he had bidden them farewell and had given them leave to
- 1113 depart he lay down again and thought: 'Without the brotherhood you shall never take a meal,' thus our mother and father
- 1114 have caused to swear us in our boyhood at the meal. Have I ever eaten anything whatsoever without giving to the brotherhood of bhikkhus?' Then he saw that he had, all
- 1115 unthinkingly, eaten pepper in the pod, at the morning meal, leaving none for the brotherhood; and he thought: 'For this I must do penance.'
- 1116 Should a man think on the hosts of human beings murdered for greed in countless myriads, and should he carefully keep in mind the evil (arising from that), and should he also very carefully keep in mind the mortality as being the murderer of all, then will he, in this way, shortly win freedom from suffering and a happy condition.

Here ends the twenty-fifth chapter, called 'The Victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See notes to 1. 32 and 62.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONSECRATING OF THE MARICAVATṬI- VIHĀRA

WHEN that king of high renown had united Laṅkā in one 1
kingdom he distributed places of honour to his warriors
according to their rank. The warrior Theraputtābhaya would 2
not have that which was allotted to him, and being asked:
'Wherefore?' he answered: 'It is war.' And questioned 3
(yet again): 'When a single realm is created what war is
there?' he answered: 'I will do battle with those rebels,
the passions, (battle) wherein victory is hard to win.' Thus 4
said he, and again and again the king sought to restrain him.
When he had entreated again and again he took the pabbajjā
with the king's consent. After taking the pabbajjā he attained 5
in time to arahantship, and he lived in the midst of five
hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas.

When the week of the festival of kingship was gone 6
by the fearless king Abhaya,¹ who had carried out the conse-
cration with great pomp, went to the Tissa-tank, that was 7
adorned according to the festival custom, to hold festival
plays there and to observe the tradition of crowned kings.

All that had been made ready for the king and hundreds 8
of offerings did they place on the spot where the Maricavattī-
vihāra² (afterwards stood). There in the very place where 9
the thūpa (afterwards) stood the king's people who carried
the spear planted the splendid spear with the relic.³ When 10
the king had disported himself in the water the whole day

¹ A play upon the words *abhayo* and *gatabhaya*.

² Now *Miriswæṭi* in the south-west part of *Anurādhapura*, north of *Tissawæwa*. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 19 foll.; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 294 foll.

³ Cf. 25. 1, with note.

through, together with the women of the harem, he said, in the evening : ' We will go hence ; carry the spear before us.'

11 And the people entrusted with (this duty) could not move the spear from its place ; and the king's soldiers came together and brought offerings of perfumes and flowers. When the king saw this great miracle, glad at heart he appointed sentinels there, and after he had returned forthwith into the city he built a cetiya in such wise that it enclosed the spear and founded a vihāra that enclosed the thūpa.

14 In three years the vihāra was finished and the ruler of men called the brotherhood together to hold the festival (on the consecration) of the monastery. A hundred thousand bhikkhus and ninety thousand bhikkhūṇīs were gathered together there. Then in this assembly the king spoke thus to the brotherhood : ' Without a thought of the brotherhood, venerable sirs, I ate pepper in the pod. Thinking : This shall be my act of expiation, I have built the pleasant Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra, together with the cetiya. May the brotherhood accept it !' With these words he poured forth the (ceremonial) water of a gift and piously gave the monastery to the brotherhood. When he had set up a great and beautiful hall in the vihāra and round about it, he commanded that lavish gifts should be given there to the brotherhood. The hall was so planned that stakes were set even in the water of the Abhayatank,¹ what need of further words to speak of the remaining space (covered) ?

21 When the ruler of men had given food, drink and so forth, for a week, he offered as a gift the whole of the costly necessities for samaṇas.² These necessities began with a cost of a hundred thousand (kahāpaṇas) and ended with a cost of a thousand. All this did the brotherhood receive. The money that was spent there in gratitude by the wise king,

¹ See note to 10. 84.

² The most costly parikkhāra (see note to 4. 26) was allotted to the most distinguished monks (Tī. saṃghattherānaṃ); the value was then graduated according to the rank of the recipient. The literal translation runs thus: the parikkhāra had at first (at the beginning) the value of . . . , at the end the value of . . .

who was a hero in battle as in largess, whose pure heart was filled with faith in the Three Gems, who desired to raise the (Buddha's) doctrine to glory, (that was spent) to honour the 24 Three Gems, beginning with the building of the thūpa and ending with the festival of the vihāra, (all this money), leaving 25 aside the rest of the priceless (gifts), is reckoned as but one less than twenty koṭis.¹

Treasures which, in truth, bear on them the blot of the five 26 faults² become, if they be acquired by people who are gifted with special wisdom, possessed of the five advantages ;³ therefore let the wise man strive to have them thus.

Here ends the twenty-sixth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The construction of the sentence in vv. 23-25 is thus: dhanāni tena kataññunā raññā pariccattāni, ratanattayaṃ pūjetuṃ—sesāni anagghāni (dānāni) vimuñciya—honti ekāya ūnavīsatiakoṭiyo. The instrumental cases yuddhe dāne ca sūrena, sūrinā, ratanattaye pasannāmalacittena, sāsanaṃ jjo-tanatthinā are attributes of raññā, and the plural neuter thūpakārāpanādito vihāramahanantāni attribute of dhanāni.

² According to the Ṭikā the five dangers which threaten the wealth are meant: loss by fire, water, living creatures, confiscation or brigandage.

³ The construction is: bhogā... honti... gahītasārā. The five benefits are, according to the Ṭikā: popularity among men, high esteem among pious men, fame, fidelity in fulfilment of lay-duties, and attainment of heaven after death. These advantages are possessed by a kingdom when well governed.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONSECRATING OF THE LOHAPĀSĀDA

- 1 HEREUPON the king called to mind the tradition known to
all, and duly handed down: 'The thera rich in merit, ever
2 intent on meritorious works, who formed his resolves in
wisdom, who converted the island did, as is known, speak
3 thus to the king, my ancestor: "Thy descendant, the king
Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the wise, will hereafter found the Great
Thūpa, the splendid Soṇṇamālī¹ a hundred and twenty cubits
4 in height, and an uposatha-house, moreover, adorned with
manifold gems, making it nine stories high, namely the
Lohapāsāda."'
- 5 Thus thought the ruler of the land, and finding, when he
made search, a gold plate kept in a chest and laid by in the
6 palace with such a written record thereon, he commanded that
the inscription be read aloud: 'When one hundred and
7 thirty-six years have run their course, in future time will
Kākavaṇṇa's son, the ruler of men, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, build
8 this and that in such and such wise.' When the king had
heard this read he uttered a cry of joy and clapped his hands.²
Then early in the morning he went to the beautiful Mahā-
9 megha-park, and when he had arranged a gathering together
of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he said to them: 'I will
10 build for you a pāsāda³ like to a palace of the gods. Send

¹ I. e. 'provided with golden garlands,' now Ruwanwæli. The usual designation in Mah. is Mahāthūpa.

² For the sense of apphoṭeti (=Skt. ā-sphoṭayati) cf. Thūpa-vaṃsa, 33⁹⁻¹⁰: vāmahatthaṃ ābhujitvā dakkhiṇahatthena apphoṭesi.

³ See note to v. 14. The building was destined to contain the cells of the bhikkhus.

to a celestial palace¹ and make me a drawing of it.' The brotherhood of the bhikkhus sent thither eight (theras) who had overcome the āsavas.

In the time of the sage Kassapa² a brahman named Asoka, 11 who had set out eight ticket-meals³ (to be apportioned) to the brethren, commanded his serving-woman named Bīraṇī: 12 'Give of this continually.' When she had given these gifts faithfully her whole life long she left this (world) and was 13 reborn as a lovely maiden in a gleaming palace, floating in the air, (and she was) continually served by a thousand nymphs. Her gem-palace was twelve yojanas high⁴ and 14 measured forty-eight yojanas round about; it was adorned 15 with a thousand jutting window-chambers, nine-storied and provided with a thousand chambers, gleaming with light, four-sided, with a thousand shell-garlands and with windows 16 as eyes and provided with a vedikā (adorned) with a network of little bells. In the middle of the (building) was the 17 beautiful Ambalaṭṭhika-pāsāda, visible from every side, bright with pennons hung out. When the theras, going to the 18 heaven of the thirty-three (gods), saw that (palace) they made a drawing of it with red arsenic upon a linen cloth, and they returned, and being arrived they showed the linen 19 to the brotherhood. The brotherhood took the linen and sent it to the king. When the king full of joy saw it he went 20

¹ By vimāna are meant the palaces serving as abodes for the gods and happy spirits. Cf. the Vimānavatthu, note to 14. 58.

² The last Buddha before Gotama; see 1. 10; 15. 125.

³ Salākabhatta. See note to 15. 205.

⁴ Here then we have a construction of several stories, diminishing in size towards the top (navabhūmika!) after the style of the Assyro-Babylonian ziggurat (RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 70 foll.; PERROT et CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, ii, p. 390 foll.). Such a building is the Sat-mahal-prāsāda at Polannaruwa, although belonging to a later time. See TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 588; BURROWS, *Archaeological Report*, x, 1886, p. 8; FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 245; *Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1903 (lxv, 1908), p. 14 foll. The word pāsāda serves now to designate the graduated galleries which form the base of thūpas. See SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 20, &c.

to the splendid ārāma and caused the noble Lohapāsāda to be built after the drawing.

21 At the time that the work was begun the generous (king)
 22 commanded that eight hundred thousand gold pieces should be
 23 placed at each of the four gates ; moreover, at each gate he com-
 24 manded them to lay a thousand bundles of garments and many
 25 pitchers filled with ball-sugar, oil, sugar-dust, and honey, and
 26 proclaiming, ' No work is to be done here without reward,' he
 27 had the work done (by the people), appraised, and their wage
 28 given to them.

29 The pāsāda was four-sided, (measuring) on each side a
 30 hundred cubits, and even so much in height. In this most
 31 beautiful of palaces there were nine stories, and in each story
 32 a hundred window-chambers. All the chambers were overlaid
 33 with silver and their coral vedikās¹ were adorned with mani-
 fold precious stones, gay with various gems were the lotus-
 flowers² on the (vedikās) and they (the vedikās) were sur-
 rounded with rows of little silver bells.

34 A thousand well-arranged chambers were in the pāsāda,
 35 overlaid with various gems and adorned with windows. And
 36 since he heard of Vessavaṇa's³ chariot which served as a car
 37 for the women, he had a gem-pavilion set up in the middle
 38 (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned
 39 with pillars consisting of precious stones, on which were
 40 figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, and shapes of devatās ;
 41 a bordering of pearl network ran round the edge of the
 42 pavilion and thereon was a coral vedikā of the kind that has
 43 been described above.

44 Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems,
 45 stood a shining beauteous throne of ivory with a seat of
 46 mountain-crystal, and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun

¹ On the balustrades of the projecting windows, cf. the descrip-
 tions in FOUCHER, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, fig. 100 ;
 GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst*, fig. 27. See Appendix D, no. 30.

² For lotus-blossoms as a frequent ornament: FOUCHER, in the
 same work, fig. 97, 98 ; GRÜNWEDEL, fig. 3 ; balustrade with leaf-
 ornaments on cornices: FOUCHER, fig. 99.

³ See note to 10. 89.

in gold, a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus-blossoms 34 made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-*tales* in the same place¹ within a festoon of gold.

On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly 35 cushions was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently), and a white parasol with a coral foot, resting 36 on mountain-crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were 37 the eight auspicious figures² and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver 38 bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. Palace, parasol, throne, and pavilion were beyond price.

Costly beds and chairs, according to rank, and carpets and 39 coverlets of great price did he command them to spread about. The rinsing-vessel and the ladle (belonging thereto) were even 40 of gold;³ what need then to speak of the other utensils in the palace? Surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided 41 with four gateways the pāsāda gleamed in its magnificence like the hall in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods). The 42 pāsāda was covered over with plates of copper, and thence came its name 'Brazen palace'.

When the Lohapāsāda was ready the king assembled the 43 brotherhood, and the brotherhood came together as at the consecration-festival of the Maricavaṭṭi (vihāra). Those 44 bhikkhus who were yet simple folk stood on the first story, those learned in the tipīṭaka on the second, but those who had entered on the path of salvation and the others (stood) 45

¹ On events in the former existences of the Buddha as a motive for decorative scenes see particularly FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 270 foll. For arrangements in the manner described here, see CUNNINGHAM, *Bharhut*, plate xl foll.

² WIJESIṄHA enumerates the aṭṭha maṅgalikāni: lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, lamp. The Thūpavaṃsa, 64²⁵, mentions sirivaccha as the first (cf. 30. 65).

³ Ācāmakumbhī or ācamanakumbhī—thus the Thūpavaṃsa 54²—is a vessel to hold water for washing the feet and hands, and is placed at the entrance of the temple (WIJESIṄHA). See M.V. I. 25. 19; C.V. V. 35. 4.

each on one of the third and higher stories,¹ but the arahants stood on those four stories that were highest of all.

46 When the king had bestowed the pāsāda on the brother-
hood, after pouring forth the (ceremonial) water of presenta-
tion, he commanded, as before, a lavish gift of alms for
47 a week. That which was spent by the generous king for
the pāsāda, leaving aside all that which was beyond price, is
reckoned at thirty koṭis.

48 The wise who consider how marvellously precious is the
giving of alms, while the gathering together of treasures (for
oneself) is worthless, give alms lavishly, with a mind freed
from the fetters (of lust), mindful of the good of beings.

Here ends the twenty-seventh chapter, called 'the Con-
secrating of the Lohapāsāda', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled
for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th stories stood those who had attained to the first three stages of the path: the sotāpannā, the sakadāgāmino, and the anāgāmino. See notes to 1. 33, 15. 18 and 13. 17. 'Simple folk' in verse 44 is puthujjanā, the unconverted, those who had not even entered on the path.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE OBTAINING OF THE WHEREWITHAL TO BUILD THE GREAT THŪPA

SPENDING a hundred thousand (pieces of money) the king 1 hereupon commanded a great and splendid ceremony of gifts for the great Bodhi-tree. As he then, when entering the 2 city, saw the pillar of stone raised upon the place of the (future) thūpa and remembered the old tradition, he became glad, thinking: 'I will build the Great Thūpa.' Then he mounted 3 the high terrace (of his palace), and when he had taken his repast and had lain down he thought thus: 'At the conquer- 4 ing of the Damiḷas this people was oppressed by me. It is not possible to levy a tax; yet if without a tax I build the 5 Great Thūpa how shall I be able to have bricks duly made?'

As he thus reflected the devatā of the parasol observed his 6 thought, and thereupon arose a tumult among the gods; when Sakka was aware of this he said to Vissakamma:¹ 'King Gāmaṇi has been pondering over the bricks for the 7 cetiya: Go thou a yojana from the city near the Gambhīra- river and prepare the bricks there.'² 8

Thus commanded by Sakka, Vissakamma came hither³ and prepared the bricks in that very place.

In the morning a huntsman there went into the forest with 9 his dogs; the devatā of the place appeared to the huntsman in the form of an iguana. The hunter pursued it, and 10 when he came (to the place) and saw the bricks, and when the iguana vanished there, he thought: 'Our king intends to 11 build the Great Thūpa;⁴ here is an aid thereto!' Thereupon he went and told (this thing). When the king, to whom his 12

¹ See note to 18. 24.

² See note to 7. 44.

³ To Laṅkā or to Anurādhapura.

⁴ Or 'a great thūpa'.

people's good was dear, heard his welcome words he, glad at heart, bestowed on him a rich guerdon.

13 In a north-easterly direction from the city, at a distance of three yojanas and near Ācāraviṭṭhigāma, on a plain covering
14 sixteen karīsas (of land) there appeared nuggets of gold of different sizes; the greatest measured a span, the least were
15 of a finger's measure. When the dwellers in the village saw the earth full of gold, they put some of it into a gold vessel and went and told the king of this matter.

16 On the east side of the city, at a distance of seven yojanas, on the further bank of the river and near Tambapiṭṭha, copper
17 appeared. And the dwellers in the village there put the nuggets of copper into a vessel, and when they had sought the king they told him this matter.

18 In a south-easterly direction from the city, four yojanas distant, near the village of Sumanavāpi many precious stones
19 appeared. The dwellers in the village put them, mingled with sapphires and rubies, into a vessel and went and showed them to the king.

20 In a southerly direction from the city, at a distance of eight yojanas, silver appeared in the Ambaṭṭhakola-cave.¹
21 A merchant from the city, taking many waggons with him, in order to bring ginger and so forth from Malaya, had set
22 out for Malaya. Not far from the cave he brought the waggons to a halt and since he had need of wood for whips
23 he went up that mountain. As he saw here a branch of a bread-fruit-tree, bearing one single fruit as large as a water-pitcher, and dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he cut
24 the (fruit) which was lying on a stone away from the stalk with his knife, and thinking: 'I will give the first (produce as alms),' with faith he announced the (meal) time. And there came thither four (theras) who were free

¹ Where the Rajatalena-vihāra (Mah. 35. 4) was afterwards built, now the Ridi-vihāra (Silver Monastery), to the north-east of Kurunægala, cf. E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 39; TURNOUR, *Mah. Index*, s. v. Ambaṭṭhakola; RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins, &c.*, p. 17. The distance between Anurādhapura and Ridi-vihāra is 55 miles = 95 km. as the crow flies.

from the āsavas. When he had greeted them gladly and 25
 had invited them with all reverence to be seated, he cut away
 the rind around the stalk with his knife and tore out the 26
 bottom (of the fruit), and pouring the juice which filled the
 hollow forth into their bowls he offered them the four bowls
 filled with fruit-juice. They accepted them and went their way. 27
 'Then he yet again¹ announced the (meal) time. Four other
 theras, free from the āsavas, appeared before him. He took their 28
 alms-bowls and when he had filled them with the kernels of
 the bread-fruit he gave them back. Three went their way,
 but one did not depart. In order to show him the silver he 29
 went further down and seating himself near the cave he ate
 the kernels. When the merchant also had eaten as he wished 30
 of the kernels that were left, and had put the rest in a bundle, he
 went on, following the track of the thera, and when he saw the 31
 thera he showed him the (usual) attentions. The thera opened
 a path for him to the mouth of the cavern: 'Go thou now 32
 also on this path, lay brother!' When he had done reverence
 to the thera he went that way and saw the cave. Standing 33
 by the mouth of the cave and seeing the silver he struck upon
 it with his axe, and when he knew it to be silver he took 34
 a lump of the silver and went to his freight-waggons. Then
 leaving the waggons behind and taking the lump of silver
 with him the excellent merchant went in haste to Anurādha- 35
 pura and told the king of this matter, showing him the
 silver.

In a westerly direction from the city, at a distance of five 36
 yojanas, near the landing-place Uruvelā,² pearls in size like
 to great myrobalan fruits, mingled with coral, six waggon- 37
 loads, came forth to the dry land. Fishermen who saw them
 piled them together in a heap, and taking the pearls together 38
 with coral in a vessel they went to the king and told him of
 this matter.

In a northerly direction from the city, at a distance of 39

¹ Pana should probably be altered to puna.

² According to our passage the site of Uruvelā seems to be near the mouth of the Kala-oya, which is distant about 40 miles, as the crow flies, from Anurādhapura.

seven yojanas, in a cave opening on the Peḷivāpikagāma-¹
 40 tank, above on the sand, four splendid gems had formed in
 size like to a small mill-stone, in colour like flax-flowers,
 41 (radiantly) beautiful. When a hunter with his dogs saw
 these he came to the king and told him: 'I have seen
 precious stones of such and such a kind.'

42 The lord of the land, rich in merit, heard, on one and the
 same day, that the bricks and the other (treasures) had
 43 appeared for the Great Thūpa. Glad at heart he bestowed
 due reward upon those people, and appointing them forthwith
 as watchers he had the treasures all brought to him.

44 Merit, that a man has thus heaped up with believing heart,
 careless of insupportable ills of the body, brings to pass
 hundreds of results which are a mine of happiness; therefore
 one must do works of merit with believing heart.

Here ends the twenty-eighth chapter, called 'the Obtaining
 of the wherewithal to build the Great Thūpa', in the Mahā-
 vamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the
 pious.

¹ The Peḷivāpi is the present Vavunik-kulam, a little over 50 miles
 north of Anurādhapura. The river, of which the damming-up has
 formed the tank, is called Pāli-āru. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*,
 pp. 256, 365-366.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT THŪPA

WHEN the wherewithal to build was thus brought together 1
he began the work of the Great Thūpa on the full-moon day
of the month Vesākha,¹ when the Visākha-constellation had
appeared. When he had ordered to take away the stone pillar 2
the lord of the land had the place for the thūpa dug out to
a depth of seven cubits² to make it firm in every way.
Round stones that he commanded his soldiers to bring hither 3
did he cause to be broken with hammers, and then did he,
having knowledge of the right and the wrong ways, command 4
that the crushed stone, to make the ground firmer, be stamped
down by great elephants whose feet were bound with leather.

The fine clay that is to be found on the spot, for ever 5
moist, where the heavenly Gaṅgā falls down (upon the earth³)
(on a space) thirty yojanas around, is called because of its fine- 6
ness, 'butter-clay.' Sāmaṇeras who had overcome the āsavas,
brought the clay hither from that place. The king commanded 7
that the clay be spread over the layer of stones and that bricks
then be laid over the clay, over these a rough cement and over 8
this cinnabar,⁴ and over this a network of iron, and over this
sweet-scented marumba⁵ that was brought by the sāmaṇeras 9

¹ See note to 1. 12.

² The reading *sattahatthe* is undoubtedly the correct one. WIJESINHA (note to this passage) says: the *Ṭikā* has *sata*. That, however, is not the case. It also reads *satta*.

³ The idea is that the Gaṅgā flows through the atmosphere, the earth and underworld.

⁴ *Kuruvinda* is 'ruby' or 'cinnabar'.

⁵ *Marumba* is used (C.V. V. 14. 5; 35. 4; VI. 3. 8) for besprinkling a damp *pariveṇa* (living-cell). At *Pācittiya* X. 2 (*Vin. Piṭ.* iv, p. 33) *pāsāṇā*, *sakkharā*, *kaṭhalā*, *marumbā*, *vālikā* follow one upon another.

from the Himalaya. Over this did the lord of the land com-
 10 mand them to lay mountain-crystal. Over the layer of moun-
 11 tain-crystal he had stones spread ; everywhere throughout the
 12 work did the clay called butter-clay serve (as cement). With
 13 resin of the kapittha-tree,¹ dissolved in sweetened water,²
 14 the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper
 15 eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in
 16 sesamum-oil, (he laid) a sheet of silver seven inches thick.
 17 When the king, glad at heart, had thus had preparation
 18 made upon the spot where the Great Thūpa was to be built,
 19 he arranged, on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the
 20 month Āsāḷha, an assembly of the brotherhood of the
 21 bhikkhus, and spoke thus : ‘ To-morrow, venerable sirs, I shall
 22 lay the foundation-stone of the Great Cetiya. Then let our
 23 whole brotherhood assemble here, to the end that a festival
 24 may be held for the Buddha, mindful of the weal of the people ;
 and let the people in festal array, with fragrant flowers and
 so forth, come to-morrow to the place where the Great Thūpa
 will be built.’

He entrusted ministers³ with the adorning of the place of
 18 the cetiya. Commanded by the lord of men, they, filled
 19 with deep reverence for the Sage (Buddha), adorned the
 20 place in manifold ways. The whole city also and the streets
 21 leading thither did the king command to be adorned in
 22 manifold ways. On the following morning he placed at the
 23 four gates of the city many barbers and servants for the
 24 bath and for cutting the hair, clothes likewise and fragrant
 flowers and sweet foods (did) the king (place there) for his
 people’s good, he who rejoiced in the people’s welfare. Taking,
 according to their wish, the things thus put before them,
 townsfolk and country-people went to the place of the thūpa.
 The king supported, in order of their rank, by many
 ministers, richly clothed as befitted their office, surrounded

¹ *Feronia Elephantum*.

² Rasodaka is translated by TURNOUR ‘water of the small red
 cocoonut’. The Tīkā gives no explanation.

³ The Tīkā, following the Aṭṭhakathā, gives their names, Visākha
 and Sirideva.

by many dancers richly clothed like to celestial nymphs, (he himself) being clad in his state-*raiment*, attended by 25 forty thousand men, while around him crashed the music (he being) glorious as the king of the gods; in the evening 26 he who had knowledge of fit and unfit places went to the place of the Great Thūpa,¹ delighting the people (with the sight). A thousand and eight waggon-loads of clothes rolled 27 in bundles did the king place in the midst, and on the four sides he had clothes heaped up in abundance; and moreover 28 he had honey, clarified butter, sugar and so forth set (there) for the festival.

From various (foreign) countries also did many bhikkhus 29 come hither; what need to speak of the coming of the brotherhood living here upon the island? With eighty thou- 30 sand bhikkhus from the region of Rājagaha² came the *thera* Indagutta, the head of a great school. From Isipatana³ 31 came the great *thera* Dhammasena with twelve thousand bhikkhus to the place of the *cetiya*.

With sixty thousand bhikkhus came hither the great *thera* 32 Piyadassi from the Jetārāma-vihāra.⁴ From the Mahāvana 33 (monastery) in Vesālī⁵ came the *thera* Urubuddharakkhita⁶ with eighteen thousand bhikkhus. From the Ghositārāma in 34 Kosambī⁷ came the *thera* Urudhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus. From the Dakkhiṇāgiri in Ujjenī⁸ came 35 the *thera* Urusaṃgharakkhita with forty thousand ascetics.

With a hundred and sixty thousand bhikkhus came the 36

¹ We should rather expect Mahāthūpapatitṭhānatṭhānaṃ ṭhānavicakkhaṇo: 'he went to the place where the Great Thūpa should be built, having knowledge of (fitting) places.'

² Cf. note to 2. 6.

³ A park and afterwards a monastery near Bārāṇasī (Benares) where the Buddha had preached his first sermon. M.V. I. 6. 6 foll.

⁴ I. e. Jetavana. See note to 1. 44.

⁵ See note to 4. 9. Also M.V. VI. 30. 6; C.V. V. 13. 3, and in many other places.

⁶ I. e. Mahābuddharakkhita.

⁷ See note to 4. 17; M.V. X. 1. 1; C.V. I. 25. 1, and often.

⁸ See note to 5. 39; 13. 5. Notice that the names of the three *theras* in 33, 34, 35, contain the words *buddha*, *dhamma*, *saṃgha*.

thera named Mittiṇṇa from the Asokārāma in Pupphapura.¹
 37 From the Kasmīra country came the thera Uttiṇṇa bringing
 38 with him two hundred and eighty thousand bhikkhus. The
 wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhogga² with four hundred
 39 and sixty thousand bhikkhus, and from Alasanda³ the city
 of the Yonas came the thera Yonamahādhammarakkhita with
 40 thirty thousand bhikkhus. From his dwelling by the road
 through the Viñjhā forest mountains,⁴ came the thera Uttara
 with sixty thousand bhikkhus.

41 The great thera Cittagutta came hither from the Bodhi-
 42 maṇḍa-vihāra⁵ with thirty thousand bhikkhus. The great
 thera Candagutta came hither from the Vanavāsa⁶ country
 43 with eighty thousand ascetics. The great thera Suriyagutta
 came from the great Kelāsa-vihāra with ninety-six thousand
 44 bhikkhus. As for the number of the bhikkhus dwelling in
 the island who met together from every side, no strict account
 45 has been handed down by the ancients. Among all these
 bhikkhus who were met in that assembly those alone who had
 overcome the āsavas, as it is told, were ninety-six koṭis.

46 These bhikkhus stood according to their rank around the
 place of the Great Thūpa, leaving in the midst an open space
 47 for the king. As the king stepped into this (space) and saw⁷

¹ I. e. Pāṭaliputta ; see note to 4. 31. For Asokārāma, cf. 5. 80.

² Pallava is the name of the Persians = Skt. Pallava or Pahlava. Bhoggaṃ is perhaps 'fief'; cf. rājabhoggaṃ in D. I. 87^o and often elsewhere.

³ Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, i. e. the Greeks, probably the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of the Paropanisadae near Kābul. See ARRIAN, *Anabasis* iii. 28, iv. 22.

⁴ I. e. Vindhya. See 19. 6 with note.

⁵ A monastery built near the bodhimaṇḍa at Bodhgayā, the place where Gotama attained to Buddhahship.

⁶ See note to 12. 31.

⁷ The Tīkā gives here (from the Aṭṭhakathā) the following peculiar explanation: 'As the king steps into the middle of the circle he expresses the following wish: if his work is to come to a happy issue then, as a sign thereof, may theras who bear the name of the Buddha, his doctrine and his order, take their places on the east, south, and west sides; but on the north side a thera with the name of Ānanda, the Buddha's beloved disciple. Each bhikkhu shall be surrounded by

the brotherhood of bhikkhus standing thus he greeted them joyfully, with believing heart; when he had then duly offered 48 them fragrant flowers and had passed round them three times, turning to the left,¹ he went into the midst, to the consecrated place of the 'filled pitcher'. Then forthwith uplifted by the 49 power of pure gladness he, devoted to the welfare of the beings, commanded that the pure turning staff (for tracing the circular boundary), made of silver and secured (by means 50 of a rope) to a post of gold, be grasped by a minister of noble birth, well attired and in festival array,² and, being 51 resolved to allot a great space for the cetiya, he ordered him to walk round (with the turning staff in his hands) along the ground already prepared.³ But the great thera of wondrous 52 power named Siddhattha, the far-seeing, prevented the king as he did this. Reflecting: 'If our king shall begin to build 53 so great a thūpa death will come upon him, ere the thūpa be finished; moreover, so great a thūpa will be hard to repair,' 54 he, looking to the future, prevented (the measuring of) that great dimension. In agreement with the brotherhood and 55 from reverence toward the thera, the king, though he would fain have made (the thūpa) great, hearkened to the thera's word and did, according to the thera's instruction, allot a 56 moderate space for the cetiya, that the (foundation) stones might be laid.

Eight vases of silver and eight (vases) of gold did he, with 57 tireless zeal, place in the midst, and in a circle around these he 58 placed a thousand and eight new vases, and likewise (around

a troop of companions of the same name. The king's wish is fulfilled.' The theras in question and their companions are called (cf. *Ṭīkā*, pp. 383-384 and above v. 33 foll.) Mahābuddharakkhita, Mahādhammarakkhita, Mahāsaṅgharakkhita, and Mahānanda.

¹ *Katvāna tipādakkhiṇaṃ*. See note to 18. 36.

² *Ṭīkā*: *Abhimaṅgalabhūtenā ti, janehi pīṇitattā abhimaṅgalasaṃmatehi ahatavathhādihi alaṃkārehi patimaṇḍitattā ca samaṅgaliko ti* 'he was samaṅgalika because he was liked by the people and because he was adorned with ornaments that were believed to be festival, as new garments (not washed before) and so forth'.

³ And to draw, in this way, the circular outline of the thūpa.

59 each of these) a hundred and eight garments.¹ Eight splendid
bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself.² When he then had
60 commanded an official chosen for this and adorned in every way
to take one of them, he laid on the east side, which had been
61 prepared with many ceremonies, the first foundation stone,³
solemnly, upon the sweet-smelling clay.

When jasmine-flowers⁴ had been offered on that spot an
62 earthquake came to pass. And he caused the other seven
(stones) to be laid by seven (other) ministers and ceremonies (of
63 consecration) to be carried out. Thus he caused the stones
to be laid on the day appointed, the fifteenth uposatha day
in the bright half of the month Āsāḷha.

64 When he had reverentially greeted the four great theras
who were free from the āsavas, who stood there at the
four heavenly quarters, and when he had honoured them
65 with gifts he came in due course, greatly rejoicing, to the
north-east side, and when he (here) had greeted the great
thera Piyadassi, who was free from the āsavas, he took his
66 place near him. Exalting the festival ceremony there this
thera preached the true doctrine to him; the preaching of the
67 theras was rich in blessing for the people. The conversion of
forty thousand to the true doctrine took place, and (yet) forty
thousand (more) became partakers in the fruit of entering
68 into the path of salvation.⁵ A thousand lay-folk became even

¹ According to the Ṭikā from aṭṭhuttare aṭṭhuttare to viṣuṃ viṣuṃ is to be read as ONE sentence, so that the stop after pana (in 58 d) in the edition should be deleted. In this case we must add in 58 c, d a second parivāriya with the meaning: 'laying around (them),' and the translation would be 'and in a circle around these he placed a thousand and eight new vases, and eight splendid bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself, (laying in a circle around) each of them a hundred and eight garments'.

² Namely East, NE., N., and so forth. The stones are called pavarā as they were of gold.

³ According to the Ṭikā the thera Mittasena had mixed the clay (gandhapiṇḍa), the thera Jayasena had poured the water on it.

⁴ Jāti and sumanā are both names for *Jasminum grandiflorum*.

⁵ They attained to the first stage of sanctification. See notes to 1. 32 and 33.

such as have but one (earthly) existence before them, a thousand became such as have no other (earthly) existence (to come), and a thousand also became arahants.¹ Eighteen 69 thousand bhikkhus and fourteen thousand bhikkhuṇīs attained to arahantship.

Even so may every one whose heart is inclined to (faith in) 70 the Three Gems, knowing that by a benefactor of mankind, whose heart is set on generous giving, the highest blessing is brought to pass for the world, strive toward the attainment of many virtues, as faith and so forth.

Here ends the twenty-ninth chapter, called 'The beginning of the Great Thūpa', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ They attained to the second and third, and to the last and highest stage of sanctification. See notes to 15. 18 and 13. 17.

CHAPTER XXX

THE MAKING OF THE RELIC-CHAMBER

1 WHEN the great king had reverentially greeted the whole
brotherhood he invited them, saying: 'Even till the cetiya is
2 finished accept ye alms from me.' The brotherhood would
not consent; when he then by degrees¹ prayed (them to
3 accept) for a week he won acceptance, for one week, by the
half of the bhikkhus. When he had obtained this from them
4 he, satisfied, had pavilions set up in eighteen places around
the place of the thūpa and commanded there, for one week,
lavish gifts to the brotherhood. Then he gave the brotherhood
leave to depart.

5 Thereupon commanding that the drums be beaten he called
the master-builders together with all speed; in number they
6 were five hundred. And one of them answered the king, on
his asking: 'How wilt thou make (the thūpa)?' 'Taking a
7 hundred workmen I will use one waggon-load of sand in
one day.'

The king rejected him.² Thereon they offered (to work
with) one half less and yet one half less again, and (at last
8 with) two ammaṇas³ of sand. These four master-builders also
did the king reject. Then an experienced and shrewd master-
9 builder said to the king: 'I shall pound (the sand) in a
mortar, and then, when it is sifted, have it crushed in the
mill and (thus will use) one ammaṇa (only) of sand.'

¹ I.e. limiting his invitation more and more.

² The use of too much sand would tell against the durability of the thūpa. Therefore the Tīkā makes the king say to the master-builder: 'Shouldst thou do so the cetiya would be like a heap of pure sand and would be covered with grass and bushes.'

³ As a measure of capacity. The Abhidhānappadīpikā 484 defines the ammaṇa as 11 doṇā. The doṇa is 64 pasatā, i.e. handfuls. Cf. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, pp. 17-18.

And on these words the lord of the land, whose courage 10 was like to Indra's, consented, with the thought: 'There will be no grass nor any such thing on our cetiya,' and he 11 questioned him saying: 'In what form wilt thou make the cetiya?' At that moment Vissakamma¹ entered into (and possessed) him. When the master-builder had had a golden 12 bowl filled with water, he took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water. A great bubble rose up 13 like unto a half-globe of crystal. He said: 'Thus will I make it.' And well-pleased the king bestowed on him 14 a pair of garments worth a thousand (pieces of money) and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand kahāpaṇas.

'How shall I have the bricks transported without laying 15 burdens on the people?' Thus pondered the king in the night-time; when the gods were aware of this they brought 16 night after night bricks to the four gates of the cetiya and laid them down there, always as many as sufficed for one day. When the king heard this, glad at heart, he began work on 17 the thūpa. And he made it known: 'Work shall not be done here without wage.' At every gate he commanded to place 18 sixteen hundred thousand kahāpaṇas, very many garments, different ornaments, solid and liquid foods and drink withal, 19 fragrant flowers, sugar and so forth, as well as the five perfumes for the mouth.

'Let them take of these as they will when they have 20 laboured as they will.' Observing this command the king's work-people allotted (the wages).

A bhikkhu who wished to take part in the building of the 21 thūpa took a lump of clay which he himself had prepared,² went to the place of the cetiya, and deceiving the king's 22 work-people, he gave it to a workman. So soon as he received it he knew what it was,³ perceiving the bhikkhu's design. 23

¹ Cf. the note to 18. 24. Thus it is the god who acts and speaks through the medium of the master-builder.

² I.e. had kneaded and mixed. As he received no wage for this he hoped to have a share in the meritorious work of building the thūpa.

³ He recognized the brick by the difference in the composition.

A dispute arose there. When the king afterwards heard this he came and questioned the workman.

24 'Sire, with flowers in the one hand the bhikkhus are used
25 to give me a piece of clay with the other; but I can only
know (just so much) whether he be a bhikkhu from another
land or of this country, Sire.'¹

26 When the king heard this word he appointed an overseer
to show him the ascetic who had offered the lump of clay.
The other showed him to the overseer and he told the king.
27 The king had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the
courtyard of the sacred Bodhi-tree and bade the overseer give
28 them to the bhikkhu.² When the bhikkhu, observing nothing,
had offered them, the overseer told him this while he yet stood
there. Then did the ascetic understand.

29 A therā living in Piyaṅgalla in the Koṭṭhivāla district, who
also wished to take part in the work of building the cetiya
30 and who was a kinsman of that brick-worker, came hither and
when he had made a brick in the size (such as was used there)
31 after having learned (the exact measure) he, deceiving the
work-people, gave it to the workman. This man laid it on
its place (in the thūpa), and a quarrel arose (on this matter).
32 When the king knew this he asked: 'Is it possible to
recognize the brick?' Although the workman knew it, he
33 answered the king: 'It is impossible.' To the question:
'Dost thou know the therā?' he answered: 'Yes.' So that
he might be made known the king placed an overseer near
34 him. When the overseer had thereby come to know him he
went, with the king's consent, and visited the therā in the
35 Kaṭṭhahāla-pariveṇa and spoke with him; and when he had
learned the day of the therā's departure and the place whither

¹ The workman means by this that a more exact description of the personage was impossible to him. The conjectural reading of the Colombo edition *nevā ti* instead of *devāti* is unnecessary. The Thūpavamsa has also (p. 61⁸⁵): *ayaṃ pana āgantuko ayaṃ nevāsiko ti ettakaṃ jānāmi*. See Mah. ed., note to this passage.

² So that the bhikkhu might be rewarded in this way for his work on the thūpa.

he was going, and had said to him: 'I am going with thee to thy village,' he told the king all. The king commanded that a pair of garments, worth a thousand (pieces of money), and a costly red coverlet be given to him, and when he had (also) commanded to give him many things used by samaṇas, and sugar and a nālī¹ of fragrant oil withal, he laid his command upon him.

He went with the therā, and when Piyaṅgallaka was in sight he made the therā sit down in a cool shady place where there was water, and when he had given him sugar-water and had rubbed his feet with fragrant oil and put sandals upon them, he gave him the necessaries (saying): 'For the therā who visits my house² have I brought these with me, but the two garments for my son. All this do I give to thee now.' When with these words he had given those (necessaries)³ to the therā who, after receiving them, set out again upon his journey, he, taking leave of (the therā), told him, in the king's words, the king's command.

While the Great Thūpa was built, people in great numbers who laboured for wages, being converted to the faith, went to heaven. A wise man who perceives that only by inner faith in the Holy One is the way to heaven found, will therefore bring offerings to the thūpa.⁴

Two women, who since they had also laboured here for hire were re-born in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods), pondered when the thūpa was finished, upon what they had formerly

¹ A measure of capacity (Abhidh. 1057), Sinh. nāliya, according to CLOUGH 'about three pints wine-measure'.

² Kulūpaka or -aga is the name given in a family to a bhikkhu who continually frequents the house to receive alms, and enters thus into confidential relations with the family.

³ After te must be understood parikkhāre.

⁴ It is significant that in the Tīkā there is no explanation of verses 42-50. These have indeed the look of a monastic legend (cf. particularly the practical application in verse 43), which may have been interpolated at a later period. In any case the interpolation must be old. It is found in all the groups of MSS. and also in the Kambodian Mahāvamsa, and the story appears again in the Thūpavamsa.

done, and when they both became aware of the reward of their deeds, they took fragrant flowers and came to do
 46 reverence to the thūpa with offerings. When they had offered the fragrant flowers they did homage to the cetiya. At this moment came the thera Mahāsiva who dwelt in
 47 Bhātivāṅka (with the thought): 'I will pay homage by night to the Great Thūpa.' As he, leaning against a great
 48 sattapaṇṇa-tree,¹ saw those women and without letting himself be seen stood there gazing at their marvellous splendour, he, when their adoration was ended asked them:
 49 'Here the whole island shines with the brightness of your bodies; what works have ye done that ye have passed from
 50 this world into the world of gods?' The devatās told him of the work done by them in the (building of the) Great Thūpa; thus does faith in the Tathāgata bring a rich reward.

51 The three terraces for the flower-offerings to the thūpa² did the theras of miraculous power cause to sink down so soon as they were laid with bricks, making them equal to the
 52 surface of the soil. Nine times did they cause them to sink down when they were laid. Then the king called together an
 53 assembly of the brotherhood of bhikkhus. Eighty thousand bhikkhus assembled there. The king sought out the brotherhood, and when he had paid homage to them with gifts and had
 54 reverentially greeted them he asked the reason of the sinking down of the bricks. The brotherhood answered: 'In order that the thūpa may not sink down of itself was this thing
 55 done by the bhikkhus of miraculous power, O great king; they will do it no more, make no alteration and finish the Great Thūpa.'

56 When the king heard this, glad at heart he caused the work on the thūpa to be continued. For the ten flower-terraces³

¹ Skt. saptapaṇṇa, *Alstonia scholaris*.

² It seems that pupphādhāna means the three concentric galleries (the so-called pāsāda) which form the base of the thūpa proper. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 27; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 286.

³ I.e. for the nine pupphādhānattayāni which had sunk and the tenth that remained on the surface.

ten koṭis of bricks (were used). The brotherhood of 57 bhikkhus charged the two sāmaṇeras, Uttara and Sumana, saying: 'Bring hither, to (make) the relic-chamber in the cetiya, fat-coloured stones.'¹ And they set out for (the land 58 of) the Northern Kurus² and brought from thence six massive fat-coloured stones measuring eighty cubits in length and 59 breadth, bright as the sun, eight inches thick and like to gaṇṭhi blossoms.³ When they had laid one on the flower- 60 terrace in the middle and had disposed four (others) on the four sides, in the fashion of a chest, the (theras) of wondrous 61 might placed the sixth, to serve (afterwards) as a lid, upon the east side, making it invisible.

In the midst of the relic-chamber the king placed a bodhi- 62 tree made of jewels, splendid in every way. It had a stem 63 eighteen cubits high and five branches; the root, made of coral, rested on sapphire. The stem made of perfectly pure 64 silver was adorned with leaves made of gems, had withered leaves and fruits of gold and young shoots made of coral. The eight auspicious figures⁴ were on the stem and festoons 65 of flowers and beautiful rows of fourfooted beasts and rows of geese. Over it, on the border of a beautiful canopy, was 66 a network of pearl bells and chains of little golden bells and bands here and there. From the four corners of the canopy 67 hung bundles of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand (pieces of money). The figures of sun, moon and 68 stars and different lotus-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. A thousand and eight pieces of 69 divers stuffs, precious and of varied colours, were hung to the canopy. Around the bodhi-tree ran a vedikā made of all manner 70 of jewels; the pavement within was made of great myrobalan-pearls.⁵

Rows of vases (some) empty and (some) filled with flowers 71

¹ See note to 1. 39.

² See note to 1. 18.

³ The Ṭṭkā explains gaṇṭhipuppha by bandhujīvaka-puppha. Cf. B.R., *Skt.-Wtb.*, s.v. bandhujīva: *Pentapetes phoenicea* (hat eine schöne rote Blume . . .).

⁴ Cf. note to 27. 37.

⁵ See 11. 14; cf. 28. 36.

made of all kinds of jewels and filled with four kinds of fragrant water were placed at the foot of the bodhi-tree, 72 On a throne, the cost whereof was one koṭi, erected to the east of the bodhi-tree, he placed a shining golden Buddha- 73 image seated. The body and members of this image were duly¹ made of jewels of different colours, beautifully shining. Mahā- 74 brahmā stood there holding a silver parasol and Sakka carry- 75 ing out the consecration with the Vijayuttara shell, Pañcasikha with his lute in his hand,² and Kālanāga with the dancing-girls, and the thousand-handed Māra with his elephants and train 76 of followers. Even like the throne to the east (other) thrones were erected, the cost of each being a koṭi, facing the other 77 seven regions of the heavens. And even thus, so that the bodhi-tree was at the head, a couch³ was placed, also worth one koṭi, adorned with jewels of every kind.

78 The events⁴ during the seven weeks⁵ he commanded them to depict duly here and there in the relic chamber, and also the 79 prayer of Brahmā,⁶ the setting in motion the wheel of the

¹ According to the Ṭikā the finger-nails and the whites of the eyes were made of mountain-crystal, the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, and the lips of red coral, the eyebrows and pupils of sapphire, the teeth of diamonds, &c.

² Pañcasikho gandhabbaputto (D. II. 265¹² foll.; Jāt. IV. 69¹) is the poet and minstrel of the gods. He appears in attendance on Sakka in Jāt. III. 222¹⁰, &c.; IV. 63⁷, &c., and often. The gandhabbā (Skt. gandharva) are the heavenly musicians.

³ To represent the death-bed of the Buddha, the parinibbāna-mañca, and intended as a receptacle for the relics.

⁴ In the vv. 78-87 scenes from the Buddha's life, from the sambodhi to his death and obsequies, are enumerated. Cf. for this especially M.V. I. 1-23 (OLDENBERG, *Vin. Pit.* i, p. 1 foll.); the Jātakanidāna (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātakas*, i, p. 77 foll.); and for 84^d foll. the Mahāparinibbānasutta (D. II. p. 106 foll.; RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 44 foll., and *S.B.B.* iii, p. 71 foll.). KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 21 foll. On such scenes as the subject of bas-reliefs in buddhistic monuments see FOUCHER, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, i, p. 414 foll.; GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddh. Kunst*, pp. 61 foll., 118 foll.

⁵ The time immediately after the sambodhi which the Buddha spent near the bodhi-tree.

⁶ Brahmā and the other gods entreat the Buddha to preach the discovered truth to the world.

doctrine, the admission of Yasa into the order, the pabbajjā of the Bhaddavaggiyas and the subduing of the jaṭilas; the visit 80 of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the accepting of the Veḷuvana, the eighty disciples,¹ the journey to Kapilavatthu 81 and the (miracle of the) jewelled path in that place,² the pabbajjā of Rāhula and Nanda,³ the accepting of the Jetavana, the 82 miracle at the foot of the mango-tree, the preaching in the heaven of the gods, the miracle of the descent of the gods,⁴ and the assembly with the questioning of the thera,⁵ the Mahāsa- 83 mayasuttanta,⁶ and the exhortation to Rāhula,⁷ the Mahāmaṅgalasutta,⁸ and the encounter with (the elephant) Dhanapāla; ⁹ the subduing of the (yakkha) Ālavaka, of the (robber) Aṅguli- 84

¹ The smaller circle of the disciples after the admission of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

² The miracle of the ratanacaṅkama consisted in this that the Buddha created a path of gems in the air, pacing upon which he preached to the Sakyas. According to *Jāt.* i, p. 88, the Buddha performed in Kapilavatthu the yamakapāṭihāriya (also called in v. 82 ambamūle pāṭihīra). Cf. note to 17. 44.

³ Mah. ed. read Rāhulananda° instead of Rāhulān°.

⁴ On these legends see SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 295 foll., 298 foll., 301. Cf. FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 473 foll., 483 foll., 537 foll.

⁵ The allusion is to the assembly before the gates of Saṅkapura, where the Buddha appears, after his return from the heaven of the gods, and Sāriputta's intellectual superiority to the other disciples is demonstrated. SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, p. 302.

⁶ = Sutta 20 of the Dīghanikāya (D. II. p. 253 foll.) preached in Kapilavatthu.

⁷ In Majjhima-Nik. I. p. 414 foll. is an Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rāhulovādasutta preached in Veḷuvana near Rājagaha; and at III. p. 277 foll. a Cūla-Rāhulovādasutta preached at Jetavana. Cf. also Saṃyutta-Nik. III. 135-136; IV. 105-107.

⁸ = Sutta-nipāta II. 4 (ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45).

⁹ A later name of the elephant which Devadatta lets loose upon the Buddha to crush him and whom the Buddha subdues by the power of his gentleness. SPENCE HARDY (*l. l.*, p. 320 foll.) mentions Nālāgiri or Mālāgiri as his original name. The Milindapañha (ed. TRENCKNER), p. 207²⁵, has Dhanapālaka. In Sanskrit Buddhist sources Vasupāla also occurs. KERN, *Buddhismus*, transl. by Jacobi, i, p. 251; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 542 foll.

māla and the (nāga-king) Apalāla,¹ the meeting with the
 85 Pārāyanakas,² the giving-up of life,³ the accepting of the dish
 of pork,⁴ and of the two gold-coloured garments,⁵ the drinking
 86 of the pure water,⁶ and the Parinibbāṇa itself; the lamentation
 of gods and men, the revering of the feet by the thera,⁷ the
 burning (of the body⁸), the quenching of the fire,⁹ the funeral
 87-rites in that very place and the distributing of the relics by
 Doṇa.¹⁰ Jātakas¹¹ also which are fitted to awaken faith did the
 88 noble (king) place here in abundance. The Vessantarajātaka¹²

¹ SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, pp. 261 foll., 249 foll.; BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 377; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 507 foll., 544 foll.

² TURNOUR: 'the Pārāyana brahman tribe (at Rājagaha).'

³ Three months before his death the Buddha resolves to enter into the nibbāṇa at the end of that appointed time. An earthquake accompanies his resolve.

⁴ The dish set before the Buddha by the smith Cunda—the sūkaramaddava—brought on the illness which finally caused his death.

⁵ The garments were presented to the Buddha by the Malla Pukkusa. As Ānanda put them on him his body radiated unearthly brightness, as a sign of approaching death.

⁶ The turgid waters of the Kakutthā-river become clear by a miracle when Ānanda takes from it a draught for the Master.

⁷ None can succeed in setting light to the funeral pyre on which the body of the Buddha is lying, for the thera Mahākassapa is still on his way from Pāvā to pay the last honours to the dead Master.

⁸ After Mahākassapa has passed round the funeral pyre three times, and has then uncovered the master's feet and done homage to them, the pyre breaks into flame of itself.

⁹ Streams of water fall from heaven and extinguish the fire.

¹⁰ In order to settle the dispute that threatens to burn fiercely over the remains of the Buddha the brahman Doṇa divides them into eight parts.

¹¹ On pictorial representations of the Buddha's former existences (jātaka-stories) see FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 270 foll.

¹² *The Jātaka*, ed. FAUSBÖLL, vi, p. 479 foll. The existence as Vessantara is the Buddha's last earthly existence. He passes from this into the Tusita-heaven. Hence this jātika has a particular significance. See FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 283-285. On a fresco representing this jātika in a series of detached single scenes, in the Degaldoruwa monastery in Ceylon, see COOMARASWAMY, *Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs*, p. 6 foll. (reprinted from *Ceylon Observer*, Feb. 17, 1905).

he commanded them to depict fully, and in like manner (that which befell beginning at the descent) from the Tusita-heaven even to the Bodhi-throne.¹

At the four quarters of the heaven stood the (figures of) 89 the four Great kings,² and the thirty-three gods and the thirty-two (celestial) maidens and the twenty-eight chiefs of 90 the yakkhas; but above these³ devas raising their folded hands, vases filled with flowers likewise, dancing devatās and 91 devatās playing instruments of music, devas with mirrors in their hands, and devas also bearing flowers and branches, devas with lotus-blossoms and so forth in their hands and 92 other devas of many kinds, rows of arches made of gems and (rows) of dhammacakkas;⁴ rows of sword-bearing devas and 93 also devas bearing pitchers. Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of 94 dukūla fibres continually alight. In an arch of crystal there was in each of the four corners a great gem and (moreover) 95 in the four corners four glimmering heaps of gold, precious stones and pearls and of diamonds were placed. On the wall 96 made of fat-coloured stones sparkling zig-zag lines⁵ were traced, serving as adornment for the relic-chamber. The king 97 commanded them to make all the figures here in the enchanting relic-chamber of massive wrought gold.⁶

¹ FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 285-289, 290 foll. The tusitā are a class of gods, Skt. tuṣita.

² The four guardians of the world (lokapālā) : Dhatarat̥ṭha in the N., Virūḥa in the S., Virūpakkha in the W., and Vessavaṇa in the E.

³ According to the Ṭikā's interpretation this tatopari belongs to añjalipaggahā devā. The comma in Mah. ed. should then be moved accordingly.

⁴ The 'wheel of the doctrine', a sacred symbol of the Buddhists. Originally perhaps a sun-symbol. See SEWELL, *J.R.A.S.* 1886, p. 392.

⁵ Vijjulātā, literally 'lightnings'. The Ṭikā explains vijjulātā by meghalātā nāma vijjukumāriyo, and quotes from the Pōrāṇā (cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 45) the following verse: meghalātā vijjukumārī medapiṇḍikabhittiyā | samantā caturō passe dhātugabbhe parikkhipi.

⁶ The Ṭikā goes into fuller details, to refute those who may perhaps doubt the truth of the description. GEIGER, *l. l.*, p. 35.

98 The great thera Indagutta, who was gifted with the six
supernormal faculties, the most wise, directed here all this,
99 being set over the work. All this was completed without
hindrance by reason of the wondrous power of the king, the
wondrous power of the devatās, and the wondrous power of
the holy (theras).

100 If the wise man who is adorned with the good gifts of
faith, has done homage to the blessed (Buddha) the supremely
venerable, the highest of the world, who is freed from dark-
ness, while he was yet living, and then to his relics, that were
dispersed abroad by him who had in view the salvation of man-
kind; and if he then understands: herein is equal merit;
then indeed will he reverence the relics of the Sage even as the
blessed (Buddha himself) in his lifetime.

Here ends the thirtieth chapter, called 'The Making of the
Relic-Chamber', in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene
joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

WHEN the subduer of foes had completed the work on the 1 relic-chamber he brought about an assembly of the brotherhood and spoke thus : ' The work on the relic-chamber has been com- 2 pleted by me ; to-morrow I will enshrine the relics ; do you, venerable sirs, take thought for the relics.' When the great 3 king had spoken thus he went thence into the city ; but the assembly of bhikkhus sought out a bhikkhu who should bring relics hither ; and they charged the ascetic named Soṇuttara, 4 gifted with the six supernormal faculties, who dwelt in the Pūjā-pariveṇa, with the task of bringing the relics.

Now once, when the Master was wandering about (on the 5 earth) for the salvation of the world, on the shore of the Ganges a brahman named Nanduttara invited the Saṃ- 6 buddha and offered him hospitality together with the brotherhood. Near the landing-place Payāga¹ the Master, with the brotherhood, embarked on a ship. As then the 7 thera Bhaddaji of wondrous might, endowed with the six supernormal faculties, saw there a place where the water whirled in eddies, he said to the bhikkhus : ' The golden 8 palace measuring twenty-five yojanas wherein I dwelt, when I was (the king) Mahāpanāda,² is sunk here. When the 9 water of the Ganges comes to it here it whirls in eddies.'

The bhikkhus, who did not believe him, told this to the Master. The Master said : ' Banish the doubts of the 10 bhikkhus.' Then to show his power to command even in the Brahma-world he rose, by his wondrous might, into the 11

¹ Skt. Prayāga, the holy place where Gaṅgā and Yamunā unite.

² Cf. Mah. 2. 4 ; Dīp. 3. 7. There is also mention of M.'s palace, Mah. 37. 62 (= Cūlavamsa 37. 12, ed. Col., p. 7 ; TURNOUR, *Mah.*, p. 239).

air and when he, floating at a height even of seven tālas, had taken the Dussa-thūpa¹ in the Brahma-world upon his
 12 outstretched hand, and had brought it hither and shown it to the people, he put it again in the place to which it belonged.
 13 Thereon he dived, by his wondrous power, into the Ganges, and seizing the palace by its spire² with his toe he raised it high up, and when he had shown it to the people he let it
 14 fall again there (to its place). When the brahman Nanduttara saw this wonder he uttered the wish: 'May I (at some time) have the power to procure relics that others
 15 hold in their possession.' Therefore did the brotherhood lay this charge upon the ascetic Soṇuttara³ although he
 16 was but sixteen years old. 'Whence shall I bring a relic?' he asked the brotherhood, and thereupon the brotherhood described the relics thus:

17 'Lying on his deathbed the Master of the world, that with his relics he might bring to pass salvation for the world,
 18 spoke thus to (Sakka) the king of the gods: O king of the gods, of the eight doṇas⁴ of my bodily relics one doṇa, adored
 19 (first) by the Koḷiyas in Rāmagāma,⁵ shall be borne thence into the kingdom of the nāgas and when it will be adored even there by the nāgas it (at the last) shall come to be
 20 enshrined in the Great Thūpa on the island of Laṅkā. The far-seeing and most wise thera Mahākassapa⁶ then, mindful of the (coming) division of the relics by king Dhammāsoka,

¹ Dāṭhāvamsa 35 (*J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 113).

² For the meaning of thūpikā see Attanagaluvamsa, ed. ALWIS, IX. 7 (p. 32²⁴): cetiyasīse kirīṭaṃ viya kanakamayam thūpikam ca yojetvā 'having fastened a golden thūpikā on the summit of the cetiya like a diadem'.

³ Who had in fact been that same Nanduttara in a former existence.

⁴ A certain measure of capacity. See 17. 51. For the passage following cf. D. II. pp. 165-168.

⁵ The Koḷiyas were a tribe related to the Sakyas. The Rohiṇī was the boundary river between them. In the Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, i, p. 262) the capital of the Koḷiyas is called Vyagghapajja.

⁶ The saṃghathera after the Buddha's death and head of the First Council.

had a great and well-guarded treasure of relics placed¹ near 21
 Rājagaha (the capital) of king Ajātasattu as he brought 22
 thither the seven doṇas of relics ; but the doṇa in Rāmagāma
 he did not take, knowing the Master's intention. When the 23
 king Dhammāsoka saw the great treasure of relics he thought
 to have the eighth doṇa also brought thither. But, bethinking 24
 them that it was destined by the Conqueror to be enshrined
 in the Great Thūpa, the ascetics² of that time who had
 overcome the āsavas prevented Dhammāsoka from (doing)
 this. The thūpa in Rājagāma, that was built on the shore 25
 of the Ganges, was destroyed by the overflowing of the
 Ganges, but the urn with the relics reached the ocean and 26
 stayed there in the twofold divided waters³ on a throne made
 of many-coloured gems surrounded by rays of light. When 27
 the nāgas saw the urn they went to the nāga palace
 Mañjerika of the king Kālanāga and told him. And he went 28
 thither with ten thousand koṭis of nāgas, and when he
 had brought the relics to his palace, (adoring them) with
 offerings meanwhile, and had built over them a thūpa made 29
 of all kinds of jewels and a temple above the (thūpa) also,
 he, filled with zeal, brought offerings continually, together
 with the (other) nāgas. There a strong guard is set ; go thou 30
 and bring the relics hither. To-morrow will the lord of the
 land set about enshrining the relics.'

When he had heard these words of the brotherhood he, 31
 answering 'Yes (I shall do so)', withdrew to his cell pondering
 over the time when he must set forth. 'To-morrow the 32
 enshrining of the relics shall take place,' thus proclaimed
 the king by beat of drums in the city, by which all that

¹ Kārāpento at 21 c seems to be employed pleonastically. The construction of the sentence may be explained, as I have indicated by the punctuation in the edition, thus: Mahākassapathero ... mahādhātunidhānaṃ ... kārayi, Rājagahassa rañño Ajātasattuno sāmante (taṃ nidhānaṃ) kārāpento.

² Tīkā: tattha khīṇāsavā yatī ti tasmim Dhammāsoka-kakāle khīṇāsavā bhikkhū.

³ The waters of the sea divide to receive the urn. TURNOUR'S translation: 'Where the stream of the Ganges spreads in two opposite directions,' certainly does not give the right sense.

- 33 must be done is set forth. He commanded that the whole
 city and the road leading hither¹ be carefully adorned and
 34 that the burghers be clad in festal garments. Sakka, the king
 of the gods, summoning Vissakamma (for this task), caused
 the whole island of Laṅkā to be adorned in manifold ways.
- 35 At the four gates of the city the ruler of men had gar-
 ments, food and so forth placed for the use of the people.
- 36 On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the evening, (the king)
 glad at heart, well versed in the duties of kings, arrayed in all
 37 his ornaments, surrounded on every side by all his dancing-
 women and his warriors in complete armour, by a great body
 38 of troops, as well as by variously adorned elephants, horses
 and chariots, mounted his car of state² that was drawn by
 39 four pure white Sindhu-horses³ and stood there, making the
 (sumptuously) adorned and beautiful elephant Kaṇḍula pace
 before him, holding a golden casket⁴ under the white parasol.
- 40 A thousand and eight beautiful women from the city, with
 the adornment of well-filled pitchers, surrounded the car and,
 41 even as many women bearing baskets (filled) with various
 42 flowers, and as many again bearing lamps on staves. A thou-
 sand and eight boys in festal array surrounded him, bearing
 43 beautiful many-coloured flags. While the earth seemed as it
 were rent⁵ asunder by all manner of sounds from various
 instruments of music, by the (thundering) noise of elephants,
 44 horses and chariots, the renowned king shone forth, as he
 went to the Mahāmeghavana, in glory like to the king of
 the gods when he goes to Nandavana.⁶
- 45 When the ascetic Soṇuttara, sitting in his cell, heard the
 noise of the music in the city⁷ as the king began to

¹ I. e. to the Mahāvihāra.

² Suratha, according to the *Ṭīkā*, is used here as maṅgalaratha elsewhere.

³ See note to 23. 71.

⁴ To receive the relics.

⁵ The loc. absol. *bhijjante viya bhūtale* does not belong to the whole sentence but especially to the pres. part. *yanto*.

⁶ See note to 15. 185.

⁷ Pure is not 'for the first time' (TURNOUR) but = *nagaramhi* (*Ṭīkā*).

set out, he went, plunging into the earth to the palace of the 46
 nāgas and appeared there in a short time before the nāga-
 king. When the king of the nāgas had risen up and had 47
 greeted him and invited him to be seated on a throne, he
 paid him the honours due to a guest and questioned him as
 to the country whence he had come. When this was told he 48
 asked the reason of the therā's coming. And he told him
 the whole matter and gave him the message of the brother-
 hood: 'The relics that are here in thy hands are appointed 49
 by the Buddha to be enshrined in the Great Thūpa; do thou
 then give them to me.' When the nāga-king heard this, he 50
 was sorely troubled and thought: 'This samaṇa might have
 the power to take them from me by force; therefore must the 51
 relics be carried elsewhere,' and he made this known by a sign
 to his nephew, who was present there. And he, who was 52
 named Vāsuladatta, understanding the hint, went to the
 temple of the cetiya, and when he had swallowed the urn
 (with the relics) he went to the foot of Mount Sineru¹ and 53
 lay there coiled in a circle. Three hundred yojanas long
 was the ring and one yojana was his measure around.² When 54
 the (nāga) of wondrous might had created many thousand
 (heads with puffed-up) hoods he belched forth, as he lay
 there, smoke and fire. When he (then) had created many 55
 thousand snakes like to himself, he made them lie about him
 in a circle.

Many nāgas and devas came thither then with the thought: 56
 'We will behold the combat of the two nāgas.'³

¹ Name of the mythical mountain Meru which is the central point of the universe.

² That is, the nāga's body was a yojana in circumference. The *Ṭikā* gives another sense to the passage. According to it bhogo is equal to bhogavā, i.e. snake, and yojanavaṭṭavā equal to yojanasata-vaṭṭavā, sata being understood from what precedes. That is certainly too artificial. TURNOUR translates, 'with a hood forty yojanas broad'; WIJESINHA: 'one yojana broad.' But none of this appears in the text.

³ A double meaning. Read one way nāga 'snake-demon', refers to Vāsuladatta; the other way, referring to the therā, it means, 'hero, great or mighty man.'

57 When the uncle perceived that the relics had been taken
thence by his nephew, he said to the thera: 'There are no
58 relics with me.' The thera told him the story of the coming
of the relics from the beginning, and said then to the nāga-
king: 'Give thou the relics.'

59 And to content him by some other means the serpent-king
took the thera with him and went to the temple with the
60 cetiya and described it to him: 'See, O bhikkhu, this cetiya
adorned with many gems in many ways and the nobly built
61 temple for the cetiya. Nay, but all the jewels in the whole
island of Laṅkā are not of so great worth as the stone-slab¹ at
the foot of the steps; what shall be said of the other (treasures)?
62 Truly it beseems thee not, O bhikkhu, to bear away the relics
from a place of high honour to a place of lesser honour.'

63 'Verily, there is no understanding of the truth² among
you nāgas. It were fitting indeed to bear away the relics to
64 a place where there is understanding of the truth. The
Tathāgatas are born for deliverance from the saṃsāra, and
thereon is the Buddha intent, therefore I will bear away the
65 relics. This very day the king will set about enshrining
the relics; swiftly then give me the relics without delay.'

66 The nāga said: 'If thou shalt see the relics, venerable sir,
take them and go.' Three times the thera made him repeat
67 this (word), then did the thera standing on that very spot
create a (long) slender arm, and stretching the hand straight-
68 way down the throat of the nephew he took the urn with
the relics, and crying: 'Stay, nāga!' he plunged into the
earth and rose up (out of it) in his cell.

69 The nāga-king thought: 'The bhikkhu is gone hence,

¹ At the lower end of the stairway of buildings in Ceylon lie semi-circular stones with gracefully executed ornaments, the so-called 'Moonstones'. SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 58, with Plate LVII, fig. 3.

² Certainly to be taken in the concrete sense of the four holy Truths (*ariyasaccāni*) which form the foundation of Buddhist doctrine: the Truths concerning sorrow, the cause of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow, and the way leading to the cessation of sorrow. *Samyutta*, v. 420.

deceived by us,' and he sent to his nephew to bring the relics (again). But when the nephew could not find the urn in his belly he came lamenting and told his uncle. Then the nāga-king also lamented: 'We are betrayed,' and all the nāgas who came in crowds lamented likewise. But rejoicing in the victory of the mighty bhikkhu¹ the gods assembled, and adoring the relics with offerings they came together with the (thera).

Lamenting, the nāgas came to the brotherhood and made right woful plaint sorrowful over the carrying away of the relics. From compassion the brotherhood left them a few of the relics; rejoicing at this they went and brought treasures as offerings.

Sakka came to the spot with the gods bringing a throne set with jewels and a casket of gold. In a beautiful pavilion made of jewels that was built by Vissakamma on the spot, where the thera had emerged (from the earth), he set up the throne and when he had received the urn with the relics from the hand of the thera, and had put them in the casket he placed it on the throne.

Brahmā held the parasol, Saṃtusita the yak-tail whisk, Suyāma² held the jewelled fan, Sakka the shell with water. The four great kings³ stood with swords in their grip and the thirty-three gods of wondrous power with baskets in their hands. When they had gone thither offering pāricchattaka flowers⁴ the thirty-two celestial maidens stood there bearing lamps on staves. Moreover, to ward off the evil yakkhas the twenty-eight yakkha-chieftains stood holding guard. Pañcasikha stood there playing the lute, and Timbaru who had set up a stage, making music to sound forth.⁵ Many devas (stood there) singing sweet songs and the nāga-king Mahākāla

¹ Lit. 'Of the nāga among bhikkhus.' See note to v. 56.

² Saṃtusita and Suyāma also appear as devaputtā at A. IV. 242²⁶, 243¹, and S. IV. 280²³. Cf. also Jāt. I. 48¹⁶, 53¹⁷, 81¹⁰⁻¹¹; IV. 266³.

³ See note to 30. 89.

⁴ Blossoms of a tree growing in the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven. M.V. I. 20. 10; Jāt. I. 202¹⁴, IV. 265¹⁸.

⁵ On Pañcasikha see note to 30. 75; Timbaru is called in D. II. 268²⁻³ Gandhabba-rāja. With raṅgabhūmi cf. Sinh. raṅgabim (= raṅgamaḍulu) 'place for acting, theatre'.

84 chanting praises in manifold ways. Celestial instruments of
music resounded, a celestial chorus pealed forth, the devatās
85 let fall a rain of heavenly perfumes and so forth. But the
thera Indagutta created, to ward off Māra, a parasol of copper
86 that he made great as the universe. On the east side of the
relics and here and there in the five regions¹ the bhikkhus
raised their song in chorus.

87 Thither, glad at heart, went the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi,
and when he had laid the casket with the relics in the golden
88 casket that he had brought upon his head, and had placed it
upon a throne, he stood there with folded hands, offering
gifts to the relics and adoring them.

89 When the prince saw the celestial parasol, the celestial
perfumes, and the rest, and heard the sound of celestial in-
90 struments of music and so forth, albeit he did not see the
Brahma-gods he, rejoicing and amazed at the miracle, wor-
shipped the relics, with the offering of a parasol and investing
them with the kingship over Laṅkā.

91 'To the Master of the world, to the Teacher who bears the
threefold parasol, the heavenly parasol and the earthly and
92 the parasol of deliverance I consecrate three times my kingly
rank.' With these words he, with joyful heart, thrice con-
ferred on the relics the kingship of Laṅkā.

93 Thus, together with gods and men, worshipping the relics
with offerings, the prince placed them, with the caskets, upon
94 his head, and when he, surrounded by the brotherhood of the
bhikkhus, had passed three times, going toward the left,
around the thūpa, he ascended it on the east side and
95 descended into the relic-chamber. Ninety-six koṭis of ara-
hants stood with folded hands surrounding the magnificent
96 thūpa. While the king, filled with joy, when he had mounted
into the relic-chamber, thought: 'I will lay them on the
97 costly and beautiful couch,' the relic-casket, together with
the relics, rose up from his head, and, floating at a height of
98 seven tālas in the air, the casket forthwith opened of itself;

¹ By this is meant east, west, south, and north, and north-east,
also cf. 29. 64 and 65. In Skt. the north-east is called aparājītā
diś, Manu VI. 31.

the relics rose up out of it and taking the form of the Buddha, gleaming with the greater and lesser signs,¹ they performed, 99 even as the Buddha (himself) at the foot of the gaṇḍamba-tree that miracle of the double appearances, that was brought to pass by the Blessed One during his lifetime.² As they 100 beheld this miracle, with believing and joyous heart, twelve koṭis of devas and men attained to arahantship; those 101 who attained the three other fruits (of salvation)³ were past reckoning.

Quitting the form of the Buddha those (relics) returned to their place in the casket; but the casket sank down again 102 and rested on the head of the king. Then passing round ⁴ the relic-chamber in procession with the thera Indagutta and 103 the dancing-women, the glorious king coming even to the beautiful couch laid the casket on the jewelled throne. And 104 when he, filled with zeal, had washed again his hands in water fragrant with perfumes, and had rubbed them with the five kinds of perfumes, he opened the casket, and taking out 105 the relics the ruler of the land, who was intent on the welfare of his people, thought thus:⁵ 'If these relics shall 106 abide undisturbed by any man soever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure continually, then may they rest, in the form of the Master as he lay upon 107 his deathbed, upon this well-ordered and precious couch.'

Thinking thus he laid the relics upon the splendid couch; 108 the relics lay there upon the splendid couch even in such a shape. On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the bright half 109 of the month Āsāḷha, under the constellation Uttarāsāḷha, were the relics enshrined in this way. At the enshrining of 110 the relics the great earth quaked and many wonders came to pass in divers ways.

¹ See note to 5. 92.

² Cf. 17. 44, also the note to 30. 81.

³ I.e. the state of a sotāpanno, of a sakadāgāmī or of an anāgāmī. See notes to 1. 33; 15. 18; 13. 17.

⁴ Pariharaṃ (part. pres.). The subst. parihāra=Sinh. pārahāra means a solemn procession.

⁵ A saccakiriya, cf. note to 18. 39.

- 111 With believing heart did the king worship the relics by
(offering) a white parasol, and conferred on them the entire
overlordship of Laṅkā for seven days.
- 112 All the adornments on his body he offered in the relic-
chamber, and so likewise (did) the dancing-women, the
113 ministers, the retinue and the devatās. When the king had
distributed garments, sugar, clarified butter and so forth
among the brotherhood, and had caused the bhikkhus to recite
114 in chorus the whole night, then, when it was again day, he
had the drum beaten in the city, being mindful of the
welfare of the people: 'All the people shall adore the relics
115 throughout this week.' The great thera Indagutta, of
wondrous might, commanded: 'Those men of the island
116 of Laṅkā who would fain adore the relics shall arrive hither
at the same moment, and when they have adored the relics
here shall return each one to his house.' This came to pass
as he had commanded.
- 117 When the great king of great renown had commanded
great offerings of alms to the great brotherhood of the
118 bhikkhus for the week uninterruptedly, he proclaimed: 'All
that was to be done in the relic-chamber has been carried out
by me; now let the brotherhood take the charge of closing
the relic-chamber.'
- 119 The brotherhood charged the two sāmaṇeras with this task.
They closed up the relic-chamber with the fat-coloured stone
that they had brought.¹
- 120 'The flowers here shall not wither, these perfumes shall
not dry up; the lamps shall not be extinguished; nothing
121 whatsoever shall perish; the six fat-coloured stones shall
hold together for evermore.' All this did the (theras) who
had overcome the āsavas command at that time.
- 122 The great king, mindful of the welfare (of the people),
issued the command: 'So far as they are able (to do so) the
123 people shall enshrine relics.' And above the great relic-
treasure did the people, so far as they could, carry out the
124 enshrining of thousands of relics. Enclosing all together

¹ Cf. with this 30. 61. The two novices are Uttara and Sumana, mentioned in 30. 57.

the king completed the thūpa and, moreover, he completed the four-sided building¹ on the cetiya.

Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incomprehensible is the nature of the Buddhas, and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.² 125

Thus do the pious themselves perform pure deeds of merit, in order to obtain the most glorious of all blessings; and they, with pure heart, make also others to perform them in order to win a following of eminent people of many kinds.³ 126

Here ends the thirty-first chapter, called 'The Enshrining of the Relics', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ A dāgaba consists essentially of three elements. The dome, usually hemispherical, and ordinarily raised on a cylindrical base, forms the principal part. In the upper part of this is the relic chamber. The second part is a square block of brickwork now mostly known by the Burmese term 'tee'. This is the caturassacaya of our passage. Finally the 'tee' forms the base for the conical spire (chatta = parasol) that crowns the whole. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 263. In 32. 5 is evidently muddhavedī 'top or upper-terrace' or 'rail', a designation of the 'tee'. Cf. Appendix D, s.v. vedī.

² Cf. 17. 56.

³ Ṭikā: khattiyabrāhmaṇādivividhavisesa janaparivāra-hetubhūtāni puññāni pi pare ca kārentīti attho 'they make also others to perform meritorious works which are the cause of (obtaining) a following of eminent people of various kinds as khattiyas, brāhmaṇas and so forth.'

CHAPTER XXXII

THE ENTRANCE INTO THE TUSITA-HEAVEN

1 ERE yet the making of the chatta and the plaster-work¹
on the cetiya was finished the king fell sick with a sickness
2 that was (fated) to be mortal. He sent for his younger
brother Tissa from Dīghavāpi and said to him: 'Complete
3 thou the work of the thūpa that is not yet finished.' Because
of his brother's weakness he had a covering made of
white cloths by seamsters and therewith was the cetiya
4 covered, and thereon did he command painters to make on it a
vedikā duly and rows of filled vases likewise and the row with
5 the five-finger ornament.² And he had a chatta made of
bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper vedikā
6 a sun and moon of kharapatta.³ And when he had had this
(thūpa) painted cunningly with lacquer and kaṅkuṭṭhaka⁴ he
declared to the king: 'That which was yet to do to the thūpa
is completed.'
7 Lying on a palanquin the king went thither, and when on

¹ On chatta see note to 31. 124. By sudhākamma is meant covering with stucco the dome of the cetiya which was made of brick.

² The vedikā (rail) seems, as it was counterfeited in painting, to have been merely an ornament. 'Buddhist railings' occur in low-relief as ornament on the cornice of the first pāsāda of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba (SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 26) as also, which may be taken into account here, on the 'tee' of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana-dagaba (SMITHER, pp. 47 and 52). We also frequently meet with 'urns' as ornaments. But it is not clear what ornament is meant by pañcaṅgulikapantikā.

³ Muddhavedī='tee', see note to 31. 124. The picture of the sun on the four sides of the 'tee' is an emblem constantly found. Kharapatta=Skt. kharapatra is a name of different plants.

⁴ On kaṅkuṭṭhaka 'a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour'=Skt. kaṅkuṣṭha, see Mah. ed., p. 355.

his palanquin he had passed round the cetiya, going toward the left, he paid homage to it at the south entrance, and as he then, lying on his right side on his couch spread upon the ground, beheld the splendid Great Thūpa, and lying on his left side the splendid Lohapāsāda, he became glad at heart, surrounded by the brotherhood of bhikkhus.

Since they had come from here and there to have news of the sick (king), there were (present) in that assembly ninety-six koṭis of bhikkhus. The bhikkhus, group by group, recited in chorus. When the king did not see the thera Theraputtābhaya among them he thought: 'The great warrior, who fought victoriously through twenty-eight great battles with me nor ever yielded his ground, the thera Therasutābhaya comes not now to help me, now that the death-struggle is begun, for methinks he (fore)sees my defeat.'

When the thera, who dwelt by the source of the Karinda-river¹ on the Pañjali-mountain, knew his thought he came with a company of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas, passing through the air by his miraculous power, and he stood among those who surrounded the king. When the king saw him he was glad at heart and he bade him be seated before him and said: 'Formerly I fought with you, the ten great warriors, by my side; now have I entered alone upon the battle with death, and the foe death I cannot conquer.'

The thera answered: 'O great king, fear not, ruler of men. Without conquering the foe sin the foe death is unconquerable. All that has come into (this transitory) existence must necessarily perish also, perishable is all that exists;²

¹ The Kirindu-oya or Māgama-ganga of which the mouth is in the Southern Province, east of Hambantōṭa, and the source in the mountains south of Badulla. Consequently the Pañjali-pabbata must be sought here also.

² The thera alludes to the oft-quoted verse that is put into Sakka's mouth after the Buddha's death in the Mahāparinibbāṇasutta (D. II. 157^a):

aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppādavayadhammino
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesam vūpasamo sukho .

'Transient are, alas! the saṃkhāras, having the nature of growth and

20 thus did the Master teach. Mortality overcomes even the
 Buddhas, untouched by shame or fear; therefore think
 thou: all that exists is perishable, full of sorrow, and unreal.
 21 In thy last mortal existence¹ thy love for the true doctrine
 was indeed great. Albeit the world of gods was within thy
 22 sight, yet didst thou, renouncing heavenly bliss, return to
 this world and didst many works of merit in manifold ways.
 Moreover, the setting up of sole sovereignty by thee did serve
 23 to bring glory to the doctrine. Oh thou who art rich in
 merit, think on all those works of merit accomplished by thee
 even to this present day, then will all be well with thee
 straightway!'

24 When the king heard the therā's words he was glad at
 heart and said: 'In single combat also thou art my help.'

25 And rejoicing he forthwith commanded that the book of
 meritorious deeds be brought, and he bade the scribe read it
 aloud, and he read the book aloud:

26 'Ninety-nine vihāras have been built by the great king,
 and, with (the spending of) nineteen koṭis,² the Maricavaṭṭi-
 27 vihāra; the splendid Lohapāsāda was built for thirty koṭis.³
 But those precious things⁴ that have been made for the Great
 28 Thūpa were worth twenty koṭis; the rest that was made for
 the Great Thūpa by the wise (king was worth) a thousand
 29 koṭis, O great king.' Thus did he read. As he read further:⁵
 'In the mountain-region called Koṭṭa, at the time of the famine
 called the Akkhakhāyika⁶ famine, two precious ear-rings were
 30 given (by the king), and thus a goodly dish of sour millēt-

decay; having been produced they are dissolved again; blissful is
 their subjection.' The meaning of saṃkhārā is by no means fully
 rendered by 'existence'. RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 117; *S.B.B.*
 iii, pp. 175-176, translates it with 'each being's parts and powers'.

¹ This refers to the story told in 22. 25-41.

² Cf. 26. 25.

³ Cf. 27. 47.

⁴ According to the Ṭikā the adorning of the relic-chamber is meant here.

⁵ Translation of the words ti vutte in 32.

⁶ Lit. famine during which the nuts called akkha (*Terminalia Bellerica*) were eaten, which at other times are used as dice. In the Aṭṭhakathā, according to the Ṭikā, the famine is called Pāsāṇa-chātaka.

gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the āsavas, and offered¹ to them with a believing heart; when, 31 vanquished in the battle of Cūlaṅgaṇiya, he was fleeing² he proclaimed the hour (of the meal) and to the ascetic (Tissa), 32 free from the āsavas, who came thither through the air he, without thought for himself, gave the food from his bowl'— then did the king take up the tale:

'In the week of the consecration-festival of the (Mari- 33 cavaṭṭi) vihāra as at the consecration of the (Loha) pāsāda, in the week when the (Great) Thūpa was begun even as when the relics³ were enshrined, a general, great and costly giving 34 of alms was arranged by me to the great community of both (sexes) from the four quarters.⁴ I held twenty-four great 35 Vesākha-festivals;⁵ three times did I bestow the three garments on the brotherhood of the island.

Five times, each time for seven days, have I bestowed (glad 36 at heart) the rank of ruler of this island upon the doctrine.⁶ I have had a thousand lamps with oil and white wicks 37 burning perpetually in twelve places, adoring the Blessed (Buddha) with this offering. Constantly in eighteen places 38 have I bestowed on the sick the foods for the sick and remedies, as ordered by the physicians.

In forty-four places have I commanded the perpetual giving 39 of rice-foods prepared with honey;⁷ and in as many places

¹ Ṭikā: kaṅgutaṅḍulaṃ gaheṭvā ambilayāguṃ pacāpetvā attano santikaṃ āgatānaṃ Malayamahādevattherādīnaṃ pañcannaṃ khīṇāsavamahātherānaṃ adāsi.

² Cf. with this 24. 22–31.

³ Cf. 26. 21; 27. 46; 30. 4; 31. 117.

⁴ Ubhato-saṃgha is bhikkhusaṃgha and bhikkhuṇī-saṃgha. We meet with the epithet cātuddisa 'of the four quarters', frequently in the oldest cave-inscriptions of Ceylon. Cf. E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 73; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 144 foll.

⁵ Tradition makes the Buddha's nibbāna fall on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha (at that time March–April), Sum. I, p. 2; Smp., p. 283; Mah. 3. 2. See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 6 foll.

⁶ Cf. 31. 90–92; 111.

⁷ Ṭikā: saṃkhatam madhupāyasam, sakkharamadhusap-pitehi saṃyojitam madhupāyasam.

40 lumps of rice with oil,¹ and in even as many places
 great jāla-cakes,² baked in butter and also therewith the
 41 ordinary rice. For the uposatha-festivals I have had oil for
 the lamps distributed one day in every month in eight
 42 vihāras on the island of Laṅkā. And since I heard that
 a gift (by preaching) of the doctrine is more than a gift
 of worldly wealth I said: At the foot of the Lohapāsāda, in
 43 the (preacher's) chair in the midst of the brotherhood, I will
 preach the Maṅgalasutta to the brotherhood;³ but when
 I was seated there I could not preach it, from reverence for
 44 the brotherhood. Since then I have commanded the preach-
 ing of the doctrine everywhere, in the vihāras of Laṅkā,
 45 giving rewards to the preachers. To each preacher of the
 doctrine did I order to give a nālī⁴ of butter, molasses and
 46 sugar; moreover, I bestowed on them a handful of liquorice,⁵
 four inches long, and I gave them, moreover, a pair of
 garments. But all this giving while that I reigned, rejoices
 47 not my heart; only the two gifts that I gave, without care
 for my life, the while I was in adversity, those gladden my
 heart.'

48 When the thera Abhaya heard this he described those two
 gifts, to rejoice the king's heart withal, in manifold ways:

49 'When (the one) of those five theras⁶ the thera Malayama-
 hādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof
 50 to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūṭa-mountain⁷
 he ate of it himself. But the thera Dhammagutta who
 51 could cause the earth to quake shared it with the bhikkhus
 in the Kalyāṇika-vihāra,⁸ (who were) five hundred in num-
 52 ber, and then ate of it himself. The thera Dhammadinna,

¹ Ṭikā: telullopakam eva cāti, telaussadakhīrasappi-
 maṇḍasamkhātaṃ ālopadānaṃ ca adāpayim.

² What jālapūva is I do not know. Nor does the Ṭikā give any
 explanation.

³ Sutta-nipāta, ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45. See note to 30. 83.

⁴ See note to 30. 37.

⁵ Yaṭṭhimadhukā (= Skt. yaṣṭimadhukā) the same as ma-
 dhulaṭṭhikā in CHILDERS, P.D., s. v.

⁶ A detailed narration of the story alluded to in 32. 30.

⁷ See note to 1. 33.

⁸ See note to 1. 63.

dwelling in Talaṅga, gave to twelve thousand (bhikkhus) in Piyāṅgudīpa¹ and then ate of it. The thera Khuddatissa of 53 wondrous power, who dwelt in Maṅgaṇa, divided it among sixty thousand (bhikkhus) in the Kelāsa (vihāra) and then ate of it himself. The thera Mahāvvyaggha gave thereof 54 to seven hundred (bhikkhus) in the Ukkanagara-vihāra and then ate of it himself.²

The thera³ who received the food in his dish divided it 55 among twelve thousand bhikkhus in Piyāṅgudīpa and then ate of it himself.⁷

With such words as these the thera Abhaya gladdened the 56 king's mood, and the king, rejoicing in his heart, spoke thus to the thera:

'Twenty-four years have I been a patron of the brother- 57 hood, and my body shall also be a patron of the brotherhood. In a place whence the Great Thūpa may be seen, in the 58 mālaka⁴ (bounded about) for the ceremonial acts of the brotherhood, do ye burn the body of me the servant of the brotherhood.'⁷

To his younger brother he said: 'All the work of the 59 Great Thūpa which is still unfinished, do thou complete, my dear Tissa, caring duly for it. Evening and morning offer 60 thou flowers at the Great Thūpa and three times (in the day) command a solemn oblation at the Great Thūpa. All the 61 ceremonies introduced by me in honour of the doctrine of the Blessed (Buddha) do thou carry on, my dear, stinting nothing. Never grow weary, my dear, in duty toward the brother- 62 hood.'⁷ When he had thus exhorted him, the king fell into silence.

At this moment the brotherhood of bhikkhus began the 63 chanting in chorus, and the devatās led thither six cars with

¹ See note to 24. 25. We cannot establish the identity of Talaṅga. TURNOUR (*Mah.*, p. 25) says: 'Singh. Talaguru-wihāre in Róhaṇa not identified.'

² The geographical names in 53 and 54 cannot be identified. Kelāsa according to 29. 43 was a monastery in India.

³ The allusion in this verse is to the story in 24. 22-31 ; 32. 31-32.

⁴ See note to 15. 29.

64 six gods, and severally the gods implored the king as they
stood in their cars: 'Enter into our delightful celestial world,
O king.'

65 When the king heard their words he stayed them with
a gesture of his hand: 'Wait ye as long as I listen to the
66 dhamma.' Then the bhikkhus thinking: 'He would fain
stop the chanting in chorus,' ceased from their recitations;
67 the king asked the reason of the interruption. 'Because the
sign (to bid us) "be still" was given,' they answered. But
the king said: 'It is not so, venerable sirs,' and he told them
what had passed.

68 When they heard this, certain of the people thought:
'Seized by the fear of death, he wanders in his speech.' And
69 to banish their doubts the thera Abhaya spoke thus to the
king: 'How would it be possible to make known (the presence
70 of) the cars that have been brought hither?' The wise
king commanded that garlands of flowers be flung into the
air, these severally wound themselves around the poles of
the cars and hung loose from them.

71 When the people saw them floating free in the air, they
conquered their doubts; but the king said to the thera:
72 'Which of the celestial worlds is the most beautiful, venerable
sir?' And the other answered: 'The city of the Tusitas,¹
73 O king, is the fairest; so think the pious. Awaiting the
time when he shall become a Buddha, the compassionate
Bodhisatta Metteyya² dwells in the Tusita-city.'

74 When the most wise king heard these words of the thera,
he, casting a glance at the Great Thūpa, closed his eyes as
he lay.

75 And when he, even at that moment, had passed away, he
was seen, reborn and standing in celestial form in the car
76 that had come from Tusita-heaven. And to make manifest
the reward of the works of merit performed by him he drove,
77 showing himself in all his glory to the people, standing
on the same car, three times around the Great Thūpa,

¹ See note to 30. 88.

² Metteyya = Skt. Maitreya is the name of the future Buddha, successor of the historic Buddha Gotama.

going to the left, and then, when he had done homage to the thūpa and the brotherhood he passed into the Tusita-heaven.

Even where the dancing-women who had come thither laid 78 off their head-ornaments there was a hall built called Makuṭamuttasālā. Even where the people, when the body of the 79 king was laid on the funeral pyre, broke into wailing there was the so-called Ravivaṭṭisālā built.

The mālaka outside the precincts (of the monastery), in 80 which they burned the body of the king here bears the name Rājamālaka.

The great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, he who is worthy of the 81 name of king, will be the first disciple of the sublime Metteyya, the king's father (will be) his father¹ and the 82 mother his mother.¹ The younger brother Saddhātissa will be his second disciple, but Sāliṛājakumāra, the king's son, 83 will be the son of the sublime Metteyya.

He who, holding the good life to be the greatest (good), 84 does works of merit, passes, covering over much that perchance is evil-doing,² into heaven as into his own house; therefore will the wise man continually take delight in works of merit.

Here ends the thirty-second chapter, called 'The Entrance into the Tusita-heaven', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, Metteyya's.

² Niyatapāpakamaṃ is that which is certainly or without doubt evil; aniyatapāpakamaṃ that which is possibly evil. Here there is an allusion to the scruples of conscience which the king himself felt at the close of his warlike career. See 25. 103 foll.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE TEN KINGS

- 1 UNDER the rule of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the subjects
in the kingdom lived happily; Sāliṛājakumāra was his
famous son.
- 2 Greatly gifted was he and ever took delight in works of
merit; he tenderly loved a caṇḍāla woman of exceedingly
3 great beauty. Since he was greatly enamoured of the Aso-
kamālādevī, who already in a former birth had been his
consort,¹ because of her loveliness, he cared nothing for
4 kingly rule. Therefore Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's brother, SADDHĀ-
TISSA, anointed king after his death, ruled, a peerless (prince),
5 for eighteen years. He finished the work on the parasol,
and the plaster-work and the elephant-wall² of the Great
6 Thūpa, he who won his name by his faith.³ The magnificent
Lohapāsāda caught fire from a lamp; he built the Lohapāsāda
7 anew, seven stories high. And now was the pāsāda worth
(only) ninety times a hundred thousand. He built the Dak-
8 khiṇāgiri-vihāra⁴ and the (vihāra) Kallakālana, the Kalam-
baka-vihāra, and the (vihāra) Pettaṅgavālika, (the vihāras)

¹ The story is told at length in the Ṭikā. Cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 37.

² Hatthipākāra: according to PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 284), who bases his conjecture on the dimensions of the tiles, the sustaining-wall of the upper 'pāsāda' on which are figures of elephants in relief. The sustaining-wall of the great terrace on which the Ruwanwēli-dagaba stands is also ornamented with similar figures of elephants in relief, the forepart of the body jutting out from the wall (SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 40). But this hatthipākāra seems to be of later origin.

³ A play on the name Saddhātissa from saddhā = faith.

⁴ A monastery of this name appears also in the Cūlavamsa, 52. 60.