ASOKA AND THE MISSIONS
FROM THE EXTENDED MAHĀVAMŚA

EDITED BY G.P. MALALASEKERA
TRANSLATED BY ĀNANDAJOTI BHĪKKHU
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Introduction

Texts


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

The text has extended the first section\(^1\) of the more usual Mahāvaṁsa in two ways: through addition and through rewriting, adding in further information, some of which is, at least _prima facie_, of importance, though we have no way of ascertaining its authenticity, as we cannot even determine the date of the text, beyond it being after Mahānāma’s text.\(^2\)

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

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

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1. That is, the first thirty-seven chapters, which is the original rescension of the text, written by Mahānāma in the 5th century of the Christian era.
2. Malalasekera dates it to the 9th-10th centuries: after Mahāvaṁsa and its Ṭīkā, and before the continuation to the text was made in the 12th century by Dhammakitti.
3. Malalasekera has made a very good comparison of the text with Mhv and its Ṭīkā (which he also edited) in the informative Introduction to his edition.
4. 14.26b is an instance of this.
5. See 13.26b-28a, where an absolutive sub-clause is left hanging without a finite verb to complete it; and the note to 13.9a where a section appears to be out of place, but it is so in both versions.
According to the editor of the text\(^6\) the work has drawn upon the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā (Mahāvaṁsa-Līnattha), the Buddhavaṁsa and possibly its Commentary, Thūpavaṁsa, Mahābodhiṇaṁsa, Vinaya Mahāvagga, Jātakaṭṭhakathā and the Samantapāsādika for the extra material. As far as I can see it does not, however, make any direct quotes from these works, and it is still unclear whether the author had other sources available, including, all importantly, the Sinhala Commentaries.

**Translation**

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

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

\[
\text{Jinanibbānato pacchā pure tassabhisekato}
\]

After the Emancipation of the Victor and before the consecration

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

\[
\text{aṭṭhārasādhikāṁ vassasatadvayaṁ atikkamā.}
\]

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

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

\[
\text{From the Emancipation of the Victor to the consecration in excess of two hundred and eighteen years had passed by.}\(^8\)
\]

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

**Places and People**

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

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

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\(^7\) Generally, when the text agrees in wording for more than half a padayuga (pair of lines) I mark it as in agreement; less than that I mark it as belonging to the Extended version.

\(^8\) Here the first half of the sentence is common to both texts, the second half is only found in this form only in the Extended version.
This is followed by his meeting with the novice Nigrodha, who so greatly impressed him, his disillusionment with the other ascetic groups and his growing faith in Buddhism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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9 Seemingly treated as one country or district, see the note to v. 3 below.
10 Probably around modern-day Pakistan, following the Greek armies had of Alexandria, during his push to the East.
11 The location of which is much disputed, and there is no clear answer to where it was. Some believe it was lower Burma, others Central Thailand and still others in India itself.
12 See Prapod Assavariruathakarn: The Ascendency of Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia, p. 61 (Silkworm Books, Bangkok, 2010).
13 It refers to the Elder Moggalitissa, who directed the Missions.
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Methods of Conversion

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

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

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

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

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

The Results

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

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

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14 This at least seems to be the purport of this obscure passage.
15 It is interesting to note that the most popular teachings were either similes or stories of Heaven and Hell.
16 See v. 40 below.
Another important thing to notice is the record of the attainments: eighty thousand in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, forty thousand in Mahisamanḍala, sixty thousand in Vanavāsī, thirty-seven thousand in Aparantikā, eighty-four thousand in Mahāraṭṭha, one hundred and seventy thousand amongst the Ionians, eight-hundred million in the Himālaya, sixty thousand in Suvaṇṇabhūmi and but a thousand in Laṅkā.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
August 2012
One day King (Bindusāra), after taking his noble son (Asoka),

sat him on his lap, and sat there playing with him.\(^{18}\)

After taking a right-handed shell in his hand, he then

placed it to his son, and his son urinated right there.

Having taken it, he poured (it) down on his son’s head with the shell.

Having seen (that), the angry Queen, after taking the youngster by the hand

to her advisor (Jarasāna), she was pleased (to know) the meaning of it.

"Do not be afraid, your son has great merit, is incomparable,

he will be the Foremost King over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle."

After making this assurance, Jarasāna departed.

In due course, while the King’s son was growing, she

\(^{17}\) I have included the end-titles at the top of the chapter they refer to. The original simply has the number: *Pañcamo Paricchedo*, etc.

\(^{18}\) Lit: *making him play*.

\(^{19}\) ExtMhv, m.c. for *vissajjayi*.

\(^{20}\) ExtMhv: *Ma*.

\(^{21}\) We need to insert the epenthetic vowel to complete the metre in the prior line: *bỳākaritvā*. 
Vijāyitvāna-ṃ-śīrām, Tissakumāram\textsuperscript{22} avhayaṃ.
gave birth\textsuperscript{23} to another (son), who was called prince Tissa.

Bindusārasutā āsuṃ sataṅ-keko bhavissati.
There were one hundred and one sons for (King) Bindusāra.

Asoko āsi tesaṅ tu puññaṭejobaliddhiṅko. [244]
But Asoka was the most meritorious, powerful and glorious.

Vemātike bhātare so hantvā ekūnakam sataṅ,
After killing his ninety-nine brothers by different mothers,

sakale Jambudīpasmiṅ ekarajaṅ apāpuṇi. [245]
he attained sole sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

[Asoka’s Family]\textsuperscript{24}
ExtMhv 246-256 ≠ Mhv XIII 8-11

Pubbe Moriyavāṁśamhi, Bindusāra-vahayo sutto
Formerly in the Moriyan lineage, a son called Bindusāra

jātassa Candaguttassa avhayantassa Rājino [246]
was born to the previous King called Candagutta\textsuperscript{25}

Pāṭaliputtanagare, accayeneva Pituno,\textsuperscript{26}
in the city of Pāṭaliputta, and after the death\textsuperscript{27} of his Father,

vaḍḍhento ‘nukkameneva tato Rājā ahosi so. [247]
while still growing, in due course he became the King.

Tassa Raṅṅo duve puttā āsuṅ sodariyā pi vā,
To that King there were two sons of the same mother,

tesaṅ duvinnaṅ, ekūnasatamatā sutā pare [248]
and to those two, there were ninety-nine other sons

vematiṅkā bhātaro ca Raṅṅo āsuṅ tad-antare.
of the King who were brothers by different mothers.

\textsuperscript{22} ExtMhv: kāmaram.
\textsuperscript{23} The absolutive is used as an aorist again here.
\textsuperscript{24} The titles within the chapter are supplied by the translator to help give context.
\textsuperscript{25} Candagutta was the founder of the Mauryan Empire, which eventually Asoka inherited.
\textsuperscript{26} One would expect a reading: pituno, to fit the cadence, also at 260 below. No doubt this was the pronunciation whatever the manuscript spelling.
\textsuperscript{27} Lit: after the end.
Asokassa kumārassa sabbajeṭṭhassa, Bhūpati [249]
To the eldest of them all, prince Asoka, the Lord of the Earth

Avantiraṭṭhaṁ tesaṁ pi uparajjam adāsi so.
gave the vice-sovereignty over the country of Avanti.

Athekadivasaṁ Rājā upaṭṭhānaṁ tam-āgataṁ [250]
Then one day the King came to the attendance hall

sutaṁ disvāna-m-attano: “Gantvā raṭṭhaṁ tuvaṁ tava
Ujjēnagare Tāta vasāhi,” ti apesayi. [251]
and after seeing his son, and saying: “Having gone to the country you, Dear, must
dwell in the city of Ujjēnā,” he sent him off.

Pituno vacaneneva, Ujjēnī-agamāsi so
In accordance with his Father’s bidding, having gone to Ujjēnā

Antarāvaṭumāyaṁ, so Vedise nagare tahim [252]
by the interior road, there in the city of Vedisa

Devanāmakaseṭṭhissa ghare vāsaṁ pakappayi.
he arranged to make his dwelling in the house of the merchant Deva by name.

Setṭhino dhītaraṁ disvā cintetvā pamudā imaṁ: [253]
After seeing the merchant’s daughter and reflecting gladly (he thought) this:

‘Sutaṁ lakkaḥasaṃpannaṁ dhañṇaṁ pemaṁ piyaṅkaraṁ,
‘I have heard she is endowed with auspicious marks, wealth, affection, and is
amiable,

yadi laddhā ime esā ārādhemi manaṁ. iti [254]
if they will receive these (gifts) I will win her favour.’

Dinnaṁ tehi labhitvā, so saṁvāsaṁ tāya kappayi.
Having received what was given, he became intimate with her.

Saṅjātagabbhā hutvā, sā Ujjēnagare nītā, [255]
After (life) arose in the womb, she was led to the city of Ujjēnā,

janayitvā Rājasutaṁ Mahindaṁ avhayaṁ subham,
and after giving birth to the Prince’s handsome son, called Mahinda,

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28 In v. 281 below, it says that Sumana was the eldest, so I am unsure how to interpret this.
29 We might have expected the present participle here, while going, as he is still on the way to Avantī.
30 We should read: nitā, m.c. to correct the cadence.
31 Rāja here must be written for Uparāja, as Asoka is still only a vice-regent.
aparaṁ dārīkaṁ ekaṁ Saṅghamittaṁ-ca avhayaṁ. [256]
she also had a daughter who was called Saṅghamittā.

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

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

sarītvā attano puttaṁ, ānāpetuṁ tato puraṁ [257]
Ujjēnagaram yeva amacce te apesayi.
having remembered his son, he sent ministers to fetch him from the city of Ujjēnā.

Asokassā pavattiṁ te gantvā, ārocayuṁ32 tato [258]
Having gone to Asoka with the news, they therefore announced

vacaneneva, tesāṁ so santīkaṁ turitaṁ gato.
his bidding, and he went quickly into their presence.

Antarā añjase tattha Vedisanagare tadā [259]
puttadāre ṭhapetvāna, gantvāna Pītu santīkaṁ,
After placing his children and wife there on the interior road of the city of Vedisa,

Pāṭaliputtanagare kālakatassa Pītuno,33 [260]
when his Father died34 in the city of Pāṭaliputta,

sarīrakiccaṁ katvāna sattāheneva sādhukaṁ,
after doing the proper duties to the body for seven days,

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

ghātāpetvāna, chattāṁ taṁ ussapetvāna-m-attano,
murdered, and raising the (Royal) canopy over himself,

abhisekaṁ sayaṁ yeva nagare tattha gaṇhati. [262]
he himself was consecrated right there in the city.35

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

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32 ExtMhv: arocayuṁ.
33 One would again expect a reading: pītuno, see 247 above.
34 Lit: made his time.
35 This appears to have been an initial coronation as King in the City, later (see v. 265) he was consecrated King over the whole Empire.
Jinanibbānato pacchā pure tassābhisekato
After the Emancipation of the Victor and before the consecration

atṭhārasasādhikaṁ vassasatadvayaṁ atikkamā.
in excess of two-hundred and eighteen years had passed by.

Patvā catūhi vassehi ekarajjaṁ Mahāyaso
Within four years of attaining sole sovereignty the Greatly Famous One

pure Pāṭaliputtasmiṁ attānaṁ abhisiñcayi.
had himself consecrated in the city of Pāṭaliputta.

Tassābhisekenasamakālaṁ, ākāse bhūmiyā
close to the time of his consecration, in the firmament and the earth,

yojane yojane āṇā niccam pavisatā ahu.
league by league did his orders always have penetration.

Anotattodakaṁ kāje atṭhānesuṁ dine dine
devā Devo akā tehi samvibhāgaṁ janassa pi.
Day by day the gods brought eight (loads) of water from (Lake) Anotatta on carrying-poles, and the God-King distributed them to the people.

Nāgalatādantakaṭṭhaṁ ānesuṁ Himavantato,
anekesaṁ sahassānaṁ devā yeva pahonakaṁ.
From the Himālaya the gods brought betel-wood tooth-picks, sufficient for countless thousands of (people).

Agadāmalakañ ceva tathā ’gadaharītakaṁ,
And also the myrobalan medicine, yellow myrobalan,

tato ca ambapakkañ-ca vaṇṇagandharasuttamaṁ.
and then supremely ripe, beautiful, sweet-smelling and tasty mangoes.

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36 Mhv: -nibbānato; Sanskritised spelling.
37 ExtMhv: sādhikam; printer's error.
38 Mhv reads: sāṭṭharasāṁ vassasatadvayaṁ evaṁ vijāniyaṁ; know that there were two-hundred and eighteen years.
39 Mhv: abhisiñcayi; same meaning; same spelling in v. 276 below.
40 Mhv: bhūmiyā; alternative form of the locative.
41 For the origin of this special power, see v. 298 below.
42 Mhv: tu.
43 The purest water that can be found, being brought from the Himālaya.
44 In verse 328 it explains how the King later redistributed this water to those who were worthy.
45 ExtMhv: phonakam; printer's error.
The protective gods (brought) five-coloured clothes, yellow strips of cloth for the hands, and divine water from Lake Chaddanta.

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

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

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

Honey-bees constantly made honey for him,

and bears wielded the hammers in the smiths’ forges.

The female cuckoo birds, who have pleasing and sweet voices, after going to the King, made sweet sounds for him.
from V. The Third Recital - 16

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

Rājābhisitto so ’soko kumāraṁ Tissam-avhayaṁ,\(^{49}\)
kaniṭṭhadā sa\(^{50}\) sodariyāṁ uparajje ’bhiśiṅcayi. [276]
The consecrated King Asoka also consecrated the prince called Tissa, who was his younger brother of the same Mother, to the vice-sovereignty.

Pitā saṭṭhisahassāni brāhmaṇe brahmapakkhike bhojesi, so pi te yeva tīṇi vassāni bhojajī. [277]
His Father (Bindusāra) had fed sixty-thousand brāhmaṇas of the brāhmaṇa faction, and for three years he also fed them.

Disvānupasamaṁ tesāṁ Asoko pi nivesane:\(^{51}\)
But having seen they were not quiet in his house Asoka, said:

“Viceyya dānaṁ dassan\(^{52}\)-ti amacce sannipātayi. [278]
“After investigating the donation I will give,” and gathered his ministers.

Ānāpayitvā\(^{53}\) matimā nānāpāsaṇḍike visum
The wise one, after having the various sectarians brought separately

vīmaṁsitvā nisajjāya bhojāpetvā visajjayi.\(^{54}\) [279]
and investigated on their seat, after feeding them, sent them away.

* * *

Kāle vātāyanagato santāṁ racchāgataṁ yatiṁ,
Nigrodhasāmaṇeraṁ so disvā, cittaṁ pasādayi. [280]
One time, while stood at the window, after seeing a peaceful striver,\(^{55}\) the novice Nigrodha, going along the street, his heart gained faith.

Bindusārassa puttānaṁ sabbesāṁ jeṭṭhabhātuno,
Sumanassā kumārassa putto so hi kumārako. [281]
The young man was the son of prince Sumana, the eldest brother of all of Bindusāra’s children.

\(^{49}\) Mhv: Tissasavhayaṁ.
\(^{50}\) Mhv: kaniṭṭhakaṁ.
\(^{51}\) Mhv: parivesane; at the meals.
\(^{52}\) Mhv: sanniyojāyi; commanded (his ministers).
\(^{53}\) ExtMhv: Anāpayitvā; printer’s error.
\(^{54}\) Written m.c. for vissajjayi.
\(^{55}\) The word in Pāḷi is yati, a denomination still sometimes used in Sri Lanka for monks.
Asoko Pitara dinnaṁ rajjaṁ Ujjeniyaṁ hi so hitvā, gato Pupphapuraṁ Bindusāre gilānake, [282]
Asoka had left the sovereignty of Ujjeni, given by his Father, and gone to the City
of Flowers when Bindusāra was sick,

katvā puraṁ sakāyattaṁ, mate Pitari, bhātaram
and after taking possession of the city, with the death of his Father,

ghātetvā jeṭṭhakaṁ, [56] rajjaṁ agghaṁ pure vare. [283]
after killing (all) his elder brothers, he took sovereignty over the noble city.

* * *

Sumanassa kumarassa devi, tan-nāmikā tato,
Prince Sumana’s queen, of the same name (Sumanā),

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

candālagāmam-agamā, tattha nigrodhadevatā
went to an outcastes’ village, and there a banyan-tree god

tam āmantiya nāmena, māpetvān gharāṁ [57] adā. [285]
called her by name, and after building a house gave it (to her).

Tadahe va varaṁ puttaṁ vijāyitvā, sutassa sā
On the same day, after the noble son was born, to her son

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

Disvāna [58] jeṭṭhacaṇḍalo, attano sāminiṁ [59] viya maṇñanto tam, upaṭṭhāsi sattavassāni sādhukaṁ. [287]
After seeing (her), the elder outcaste, honouring her like his mistress, attended on
her properly for seven years.

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

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

56 ExtMhv: jeṭṭhakam; printer's error.
57 Mhv: māpetvān gharāṁ; same meaning.
58 Mhv: Disvā tam.
59 ExtMhv: saminiṁ; printer's error?
pabbājesi, khuragge so Arahattaṁ apāpuṇi.
to let him go forth, and in the shaving house\textsuperscript{60} he attained Worthiness.

Dassanāyopagacchanto so tato Mātudeviyā [289]
While going from there to see his divine Mother,

dakkhiṇena ca dvārena\textsuperscript{61} pavisitvā puruttamaṁ,
after entering the supreme city by the south gate,

tañ-gāmagāmimaggena yāti rājaṅgaṇe tadā. [290]
he went by the road along the highway through village after village.

Santāya\textsuperscript{62} iriyāya ’smiṁ paśīdi so Mahīpati,
The Lord of the World gained faith through (seeing) his peaceful posture,

pubbe tu sannivāsenā pemañ-casmiṁ ajāyatha. [291]
but love arose in him because of a previous life (spent) together.

[Asoka Birth-Story]
\textsuperscript{292}-305 \neq \textsuperscript{Mhv. 49-61}

Pubbe kira tayo āsuṁ bhātaro madhuvāṇijā,
Previously, it seems, there were three brothers who were honey merchants,

eko madhuṁ vikkiṇāti, āharanti madhuṁ duve. [292]
one would sell the honey, and two would collect the honey.

Eko Paccekasambuddho vaṇarogāturo ahu,
One Independent Perfectly Awakened One had a diseased wound,

aṅño Paccekasambuddho tad-atthaṁ madhu-m-atthiko\textsuperscript{63} [293]
and another Independent Perfectly Awakened One seeking honey for his use

piṇḍacārikavattena nagaraṁ pāvisi tadā.
entered the city during his usual practice of walking for alms.

Titthaṁ jalatthaṁ gacchantī ekā ceṭī tam-addasa. [294]
A maid-servant who was going for water to the tank saw him.

Pucchitvā madhukāmattaṁ ānatvā, hatthena ādisi:
After asking and understanding his desire for honey, she pointed with her hand

\textsuperscript{60} I.e. as he was being prepared for ordination.
\textsuperscript{61} Mhv: \textit{dvārena}; same word with an epenthetic vowel.
\textsuperscript{62} ExtMhv: \textit{Santāy'}, against the metre.
\textsuperscript{63} Mhv: \textit{madhuatthiko}. 
“Eso madhu-āpaṇo Bhante tattha gacchā” ti-m-abravi.\textsuperscript{64} and said: “Go there, to the honey-stall, venerable Sir.”

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

**Tassa Paccekabuddhassa\textsuperscript{65} vāṇijo so pasādavā vissandayanto mukhato pattapūraṁ madhuṁ adā. \textsuperscript{296}**
The faithful merchant, gave (so much) honey to the Independently Awakened One the bowl was full and overflowing from the rim.

**Puṇṇaṁ-ca uppatītaṁ ca patītaṁ ca mahītale, disvā madhuṁ pasanno so evaṁ paṇidāhi\textsuperscript{67} tadā: \textsuperscript{297}**
After seeing (the bowl) full of honey and falling on the earth, being faithful, he made an aspiration thus:

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

> ākāse yojane āṇā bhūmiyaṁ yojanaṁ tathā. \textsuperscript{68} and my orders (be accepted) a league into the sky and a league into the earth.”

**Bhātare āgate āha:** “Edisassa madhuṁ adaṁ,
When his brothers came he said: “I gave honey to such a one, anumodatha tumhe taṁ tumhākaṁ ca yato madhu.” \textsuperscript{299}
you should also rejoice as the honey is also yours.”

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

nivāsentī ca caṇḍālā kāsāyāni sadā.” iti \textsuperscript{300}
(for) outcastes always wear yellow clothes.”

**Majjho:** “Paccekasambuddhaṁ\textsuperscript{69} khipa pāraṇṇave.” iti
The middle one said: “Chase\textsuperscript{70} that Independent Perfectly Awakened One across the seas.”

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\textsuperscript{64} Mhv: \textit{ti taṁ 'bravi.}
\textsuperscript{65} Mhv: \textit{Tattha pattassa Buddhassa.}
\textsuperscript{66} Mhv: \textit{uppatatā-ça.}
\textsuperscript{67} ExtMhv: \textit{panidāhi}; printer’s error.
\textsuperscript{68} Mhv: \textit{yojane ti ca.}
\textsuperscript{69} Mhv: \textit{Paccekabuddhaṁ taṁ.}
\textsuperscript{70} Lit: \textit{throw.}
from V. The Third Recital - 20

Pattidānavaco tassa sutvā, te cānumodisuṁ. [301]
But having heard the words transferring merit, they rejoiced.

Āpaṇadesikā sā tu āvatvā tattha gataṁ, Isiṁ 71
dīsvā ‘bhivandayitvā: “Kiṁ madhum Bhante labhittha vo?” [302]
But she who pointed out the stall, after going and standing there, seeing the Seer, and worshipping (him, asked): “Did you receive the honey, venerable Sir?”

“He said: “Yes,” and right there: “Just what is (my) noble sister’s wish in this?” he said, and she made her wish for the Queenship,

asmiṁ nāmā?” ti vutte, sā Devittaṁ tassa patthayi, 72
in this?”

adissamānasandiḥ-ca rūpaṁ atimanoramaṁ. [303]
having a highly delightful form with invisible joints. 73

Asoko madhudo, Asandhimittā 74 Devi tu ceṭikā,
Asoka gave the honey, but Queen Asandhimittā was the maid-servant,

caṇḍālavāḍi Nigrodho, Tisso so pāravādiko, [304]
Nigrodha said outcaste, Tissa said across (the seas),

Caṇḍālavāḍi caṇḍālagāme āsi, yato tu so
the one who said outcaste was born in an outcaste’s village, but from

patthesi mokkhaṁ, mokkhañ-ca sattavassāni 75 pāpuṇi. [305]
having desired liberation, after seven years he attained liberation.

[The Conversion of Asoka - 2]
306-330 = Mhv. 62-86

Niviṭṭhapemo tasmiṁ so Rājā ’titurito tato
Because of that established sense of love the King very quickly

pakkosāpesi taṁ, so tu santavutti-m-upāgami. [306]
summoned him, but he approached in his peaceful way.

“Nisida Tātānurūpe āsane,” t’ āha Bhūpati.
“Sit down, Dear, on a suitable seat” said the Lord of the Earth.

71 Mhv: Āpaṇadesikā sā tu devittaṁ tassa patthayi.
72 ExtMhv: patthayi; printer’s error.
73 Meaning, I suppose, being very smooth.
74 Mhv: ’sandhimittā.
75 Mhv: sattavasso ca.
Adīsvā bhikkhum-aññaṁ, so sīhāsanam-upāgami. [307]
Not having seen any other monk, he approached the lion’s seat.

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

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

Ālambitvā karaṁ Rañño, so pallaṅkaṁ samāruhi,
Having taken hold of the King’s hand, he ascended the throne,

nisīdi Rājapallaṅke setacchattassa heṭṭhato. [309]
and sat below the white canopy over the King’s throne.

Disvā tattha nisīdantaṁ Asoko so Mahīpati,
Having seen him sitting there the Lord of the World Asoka,

sambhāvetvāna guṇato, tuṭṭhacitto tadā ahu. [310]
having honoured him according to his virtue, was satisfied at heart.

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

Sambuddhabhāsitaṁ Dhammaṁ sāmaṇeram-apucchi taṁ. [311]
he questioned the novice about the Dhamma taught by the Perfectly Awakened One.

Tass’ Appamādavaggaṁ so sāmaṇero abhāsatha;
The novice recited the Section on Heedfulness78 to him;

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

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

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

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76 Mhv: nisinnam taṁ.
77 Mhv: tuṭṭho ‘tiva.
78 Geiger mentions that there are 11 sections of the Thematic Discourses with this title; but the section that came to my mind was the second in the Dhammapada.
Puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu tāni ’dā cariyassa\(^{79}\) so,
Again when eight more were given he gave them to his teacher,

puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu Bhikkhusaṅghassa tāni ’dā.\(^{80}\) [314]
and with the giving of eight more he gave them to the Community of monks.

Puna aṭṭhasu dinnesu, abhvāsesi buddhimā.\(^{81}\)
With the giving of eight more, being wise, he accepted (them).\(^{82}\)

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

sahatthā tappito Raññā, Dhammaṁ desiya Bhūpatiṁ
and they were satisfied with the King’s own hand, and he taught the Lord of the Earth Dhamma

Saraṇesu ca Sīlesu ṭhapesi samahājanāṁ.\(^{83}\) [316]
and established him and the multitude in the Refuges and the Precepts.

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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79 Mhv: tān’ adācariyassa.
80 Mhv: tān’ adā.
81 ExtMhv: buddhinā; printer’s error.
82 It means for himself.
83 ExtMhv adds *ti*, against the metre and several manuscripts.
to his house, and after leading, feeding and giving many things needed by an ascetic, 84

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

Byākāsi Moggaliputto Tisso Therad assa taṁ. 321 Then the Elder Moggaliputta Tissa explained it to him.

Sutvāna: “Caturāsidhammakkhandhā,” ti so 'bravi: “Pūjemi tesam85 paccekām vihārenā,” ti Bhūpati. 322 After hearing: “(There are) eighty-four thousand sections,” the Lord of the Earth said: “I will worship each of them with a monastery.”

Datvā tadā channavutidhanakoṭi86 Mahīpati Then the Lord of the World, having placed riches worth nine-hundred and sixty millions

puresu caturāsitisaṭassāsu mahātale, 323 in the eighty-four thousand cities on the earth,

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

sayam Asokārāmaṁ taṁ87 kārāpetuṁ samārabhi. 324 and he himself undertook to have the Asokārāma built.

Ratanattaya-Nigrodhagilānanāṁ ti Sāsane paccekām satasaṭassāṁ so adāsi dine dine. 325 For the Three Treasures, Nigroda and the sick in the Dispensation, he gave day by day separately one-hundred thousand.

Dhanena Buddhadinnena Thūpapūjā anekadhā anekesu vihāresu anekā88 akaruṁ sadā. 326 With the wealth given to the Awakened One they continually made innumerable offerings to the Shrines in innumerable monasteries.

Dhanena Dhammadinnena paccaye caturo vare Dhammadharānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ upanesuṁ sadā nara. 327 With the wealth given to the Dhamma the people continually presented the four noble requisites to the monks who were bearers of the Dhamma.

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84 Such as bowls, robes, strainers, etc.
85 Mhv: te 'haṁ.
86 Mhv: -koṭiṁ.
87 Mhv: tu.
88 Mhv: aneke.
Anotattodakājesu Saṅghassa caturo adā;
From the water of the Anotatta\textsuperscript{89} he gave four (measures) to the Community;

\begin{quote}
Tepiṭakānaṁ Therānaṁ satṭhiyekaṁ dine dine; \textsuperscript{[328]}
day by day he gave one to the sixty Elders who knew the Three Baskets,\textsuperscript{90}
\end{quote}

duve\textsuperscript{91} Asandhimittāya deviyā tu adāpayi;
buth two he had given to Queen Asandhimittā;

sayam pana duve yeva paribhūjī Mahīpati. \textsuperscript{[329]}
and the Lord of the World enjoyed two himself.\textsuperscript{92}

\begin{quote}
Saṭṭhibhikkhusahassānaṁ dantakaṭṭhaṁ dine dine
solasitthisahassānaṁ adā nāgalatāvhayaṁ. \textsuperscript{[330]}
Day by day he gave toothpicks (made from) what is called betel wood to sixty-thousand monks and to sixteen thousand (dancing) women.
\end{quote}

[King Asoka sees the Buddha] \textsuperscript{331-338 = Mhv. 87-94}

Athekadivasanāṁ Rājā Catusambuddhadassinaṁ
kappāyukāṁ Mahākāḷaṁ Nāgarājaṁ mahiddhikaṁ \textsuperscript{[331]}
supitvāna tam-ānetum hemasankhalibandhanaṁ.\textsuperscript{93}
One day, King (Asoka), having heard about the Nāga King Mahākāla, of great power, who had lived for an aeon and seen the Four Perfectly Awakened Ones,\textsuperscript{94}
had him brought into his presence bound by golden chains.

Pesayitvā tam-ānetvā setacchattassā heṭṭhato \textsuperscript{[332]}
pallaṅkamhi nīśidetvā, nānāpupphehi pūjiya,
After sending for and bringing him, and having him sit under the white canopy over the throne, he worshipped him with many flowers,

solasitthisahasseehi parivāriya-m-abravi: \textsuperscript{[333]}
and surrounded him with sixty thousand (dancing) women, and said:

\begin{quote}
“Saddhammacakkavattissa Sabbaññussa Mahesino
rūpaṁ anantañāṇassa dassehi mama Bho.” iti \textsuperscript{[334]}
“Show me the form of the one who set rolling the True Dhamma, the Omniscient Great Sage with endless knowledge, Dear Sir.”
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{89} See v. 267 above.
\textsuperscript{90} Those who knew the Tipiṭaka, or Three Baskets of the Teaching by heart.
\textsuperscript{91} Mhv: \textit{ekāṁ}.
\textsuperscript{92} As there are only eight measures, the numbers do not add up, and we should read \textit{ekāṁ} in the verse above, with Mhv.
\textsuperscript{93} Mhv: \textit{sonnasankhali-}.
\textsuperscript{94} This means the four Buddhas who have already arisen in this auspicious aeon: Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama; one more will come later in this aeon: Metteyya.
Dvattīṁsalakkhaṇopetam, 'sītyānubyaṅjanujjalaṁ,'95
Endowed with the thirty-two marks, the eighty characteristics,

byāmappabhāparikkhattaṁ, ketumālopasobhitam:96 [335]
encircled by a fathom-wide light, adorned with the garland of rays:

nimmāsi97 Nāgarājā so Buddharūpaṁ manoharaṁ.98
(such) was the captivating form of the Buddha the King of the Nāgas created.

Tam disvā 'tipasādassaviṁhayassa ca pūrito [336]
Having seen that, full of faith and astonishment, (Asoka said):

“Etena nimmitam rūpaṁ īdisaṁ! Kīdisaṁ nu kho
“Such is this (mere) created form! What would (have been)

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

Akkhipūjan-ti saññātaṁ taṁ sattāhaṁ nirantaram,99
For seven days he uninterruptedly (performed) what is known as the Eye-Worship,

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

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

Ekāhaṁ Uparājā so addakkhi migavaṁ gato
One day the Prince (Tissa) went hunting and saw

kīḷamāne mige ’raññe, disvā etaṁ vicintayi: [462]
deer sporting in the wilderness, and having seen that he thought thus:

“Migā pi evaṁ kilanti araññe tiṇagocarā,
“Even the deer who live on grass enjoy (themselves) in the wilderness,

95 Mhv: asītivyaṅjanujjalaṁ.
96 Mhv: -mālābhisobhitam.
97 Mhv: nimmāyi.
98 Mhv: manoramāṁ.
99 Meaning he paid respect by looking at the form uninterruptedly for seven days; a similar thing is said in the commentaries about the Buddha after he attained Awakening: he spent the second seven days doing unblinking worship (animisapāja) to the Bodhi Tree (see e.g. Jinacarita v. 277).
kīḷissanti na¹⁰⁰ kiṁ bhikkhū sukhāhāravihārino?” [463] will not the monks who live on pleasant food (also) enjoy (themselves)?”

Attano cintitaṁ Rañño ārocesi gharaṁ gato.
He went to his house and informed the King of his thought.

Saññāpetuṁ tu sattāhaṁ rajjaṁ tassa adāsi so: [464]
To teach him, for seven days, (Asoka) gave him sovereignty:

“Anubhohi imaṁ rajjaṁ sattāhaṁ tvam, kumāraka,
“You can experience sovereignty for seven days, young man,

tato taṁ ghātayissāmi,” iti avoca¹⁰¹ Mahīpati. [465]
after that I will kill you,”¹⁰² so said the Lord of the World.

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

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

“‘Sattāhaṁ marissan’-ti tvam na kīḷi ime, kathāṁ
“Thinking: ‘After seven days I will die,’ you did not enjoy them, how

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

*Icevaṁ bhātarā vutto Sāsanasmīṁ paśādi so,
Spoken to thus by his brother he gained faith in the Dispensation,

kālena migavaṁ gantvā, Therāṁ addakkhi saññataṁ,
and in time having gone hunting (again), he saw the restrained Elder,¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Mhv: na kīḷissanti; different word order.
¹⁰¹ Mhv: iccavoca; sandhi form, same words.
¹⁰² As he had already killed ninety-nine of his brothers, this must have sounded very threatening.
¹⁰³ Mhv. adds: Nisinnaṁ rukkhamūlasmiṁ, so Mahādhammarakkhitaṁ; Mahādhammarakkhitaṁ sitting at the root of a tree. The Elder is one of the Asokan missionaries, who converted Mahāraṭṭha.
sālasākhāya Nāgena vijayant ānāsavaṁ: [468]
pollutant-free, being fanned with a Sāl branch by a Nāga:

‘Ayaṁ Thero viyāham-pi pabbajja Jinasāsane,
viharissāṁ kadāraññe?104 iti cintesi105 paññavā. [469]
‘When will I live in the wilderness like this Elder, having gone-forth in the Victor’s Dispensation?’ thought the one with wisdom.

Thero tassa pasādatthaṁ, uppatītvā vihāyasā
The Elder, in order to instil faith, after rising into the sky

gantvā Asokārāmassa, pokkharaṇñe106 jale ṭhito. [470]
and going to Asoka’s monastery, stood on the water of the pool.

Ākāse ṭhapayitvāna cīvarāni dharāni107 so
After hanging the robes he wore in the sky

ogāhetvā108 pokkharāṇīṁ, gattāni parisiṅcayi.109 [471]
and descending into the pond,110 he bathed his limbs.

Tam iddhim Uparājā so disvā atipasīdi ca:111
The Prince, having seen this psychic power, gained great faith, and saying:

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

Upasaṅkamma112 Rājanaṁ pabbajjam yāci sādaro,
He approached and respectfully asked (permission) from the King for his going-forth,

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

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104 ExtMhv: kada 'raññe; printer's error.
105 Mhv: cintayi.
106 Mhv: pokkharāṇīṇā.
107 Mhv: varāṇi; the noble (robes).
108 Mhv: ogāhitvā.
109 Mhv: parisiṅcatha.
110 Monks are allowed three covers for their bodies: their robes, a fire-house and a body of water. See Vinaya Cullavagga, Ch.5,16,2.
111 Mhv: disvātīva pasidiya.
112 Mhv: Upasaṅkammitvā.
mahatā parivārena, vihāram agamā sayam, surrounded by a great retinue, went to his own monastery,

pabbaji so Mahādhammarakkhitattherasantike. [474] and he went forth in the presence of the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita.

Saddhiṁ teneva catusahassāni narā pi ca, With him (roughly) four thousand other men also

anupabbajitānaṁ, tu gaṇanā ca na vijjati. [475] received the going-forth, but the (exact) number is not known.116

Bhāgiṇeyyo Narindassa Aggibrahmā ti, vissuto The Lord of Men’s nephew called Aggibrahmā,117 well-known

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

tassā tassa suto vā pi Sumano nāma nāmato, and their son who was known by the name of Sumana,

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

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

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

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

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

113 Mhv: agamāsi taṁ.
114 ExtMhv: pabbaji.
115 Mhv: tena catusatasahassāni.
116 A curious admission, as the numbers never seem to be realistic anyway. Geiger interprets this as meaning: the number of those who afterwards were ordained is not known; but quite how he derives this meaning is unclear to me.
117 Although I cannot find more information on Aggibrahmā, it appears he must have been Tissa’s son, as it is inconceivable that Asoka, who had killed all his rivals to the throne, except Tissa, would marry his daughter to one of his rivals sons.
118 Mhv: cāpi.
Vihāre te samāraddhe sabbe sabbapuresu pi sādhukaṁ tihi vashehi niṭṭhāpesuṁ manorame. [480]
All those delightful monasteries he had undertaken (to build) in all the cities were completed properly within three years.

Therassa Indaguttassa kammādhiṭṭhāyakassa tu
And through the superintendent Elder Indagutta’s

iddhiyā cāsu niṭṭhāsi Asokārāmasavhayo. [481]
psychic power the one called Asokārāma119 was completed.

Jinena paribhuttesu ṭhānesu ca tahiṁ tahiṁ
In the various places that had been visited120 by the Victorious One

Cetiyāni akāresi ramaṇīyāni Bhūpati. [482]
the Lord of the Earth made delightful Shrines.

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

lekhe ekāham-ānesuṁ: “Vihārā niṭṭhitā” iti. [483]
letters were brought on the same day, saying: “The monasteries121 are finished.”

Lekhe sutvā Mahārājā, mahātejiddhivikkamo,
Having heard the letters122 the Great King, of great power, success and heroism,

kātukāmo sakiṁ yeva sabbārāmamahāmahāṁ. [484]
desired to hold great festivals himself at all the monasteries.

Pure bheriṁ carāpesi:
In the cities the drum was beaten (and it was announced): “A week from this day

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

Yojane yojane dentu mahādānamahītale,
On the whole earth, league by league,124 give a great donation,

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119 I.e. Asoka's monastery.
120 Lit: made use of.
121 Vihāra literally means a living place, but by this time it had taken on the special meaning of a living place for monastics; i.e. a monastery.
122 We would say having read the letters, but in court the letters would have been read out.
123 Mhv: sabbathā.
124 Meaning: in every place.
karontu gāmārāmānaṁ maggānañ-ca vibhūsanañ. [486]
and make decorations along the pathways and in the village monasteries.

Vihāresu ca sabbesu Bhikkhusaṅghassa sabbadā¹²⁵
In all the monasteries for the Community of monks everyday

mahādānāni sajjentu,¹²⁶ yathākālanā yathābalanā, [487]
prepare a great donation, according to the right time, and according to ability,

dīpamālāpuppha-mālānāṅkārehi¹²⁷ tahiṁ tahiṁ,
with ornamentation of garlands of flowers and strings of lights here and there,

turiyehi ca sabbhehi, upahāraṁ anekadhā. [488]
and all musical instruments, and manifold presents.

Uposathaṅgam¹²⁸-ādāya sabbe Dhammaṁ suṅantu ca,
Having taken upon themselves the Observances¹²⁹ let everyone listen to Dhamma,

pūjāvisese ’neke hi¹³⁰ karontu tadahū pi ca.” [489]
and make innumerable offerings and merit on that day.”

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

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

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

Tasmiṁ dine Mahārājā, sabbālaṅkārabhūsito,
On that day the Great King, decked out with all adornments,

sahorodho sahāmacco, baloghaparivārito, [491]
together with his harem and ministers, and surrounded by his army,¹³¹

agamāsi sakārāmaṁ, bhindanto viya mediniṁ,
went to his own monastery,¹³² as though splitting the (whole) earth,¹³³
Saṅghamajjhamhi aṭṭhāsi, vanditvā Saṅgham-uttamaṁ. [492]
and, after worshipping the supreme Community, stood in the midst of the Community.

Tasmiṁ samāgame āsuṁ aṣītbhikkhuṭiyo,
In that assembly there were eight-hundred million monks,

ahesuṁ satasahassaṁ tesu khīṇāsavā yatī.134 [493]
and of them one hundred thousand were strivers who had destroyed the pollutants.135

Navuti bhikkhusahassāni ahū136 bhikkhuṭiyo tahiṁ,
There were (also) ninety thousand monastic137 nuns in that place,

khīṇāsavā bhikkhuṭiyo sahassāṁ ahū tā tadā.138 [494]
and at that time one thousand nuns had destroyed the pollutants.

‘Lokavivaraṇaṁ’ nāma pāṭiheraṁ akaṁsu te
Khīṇāsavā pasādatthaṁ Dhammāsokassa Rājino. [495]
Those who had destroyed the pollutants performed the miracle called ‘Opening the World’139 for the purpose of instilling confidence in King Dhammāsoka.

‘Caṇḍāsoko’ ti ŋayittha pubbe pāpena kammunā,
Previously, because of his wicked deeds, he was known as ‘Violent Asoka’

‘Dhammāsoko’ ti ŋayittha pacchā puññena kammunā. [496]
and later because of his meritorious deeds he was known as ‘Righteous Asoka’.

Samuddapariyantaṁ so Jambudīpaṁ samantato,
passi sabbavihāre ca nānāpūjāvibhūsite, [497]
He looked at the Rose-Apple Island, which is surrounded on all sides by the ocean, and all the monasteries decorated with many offerings,

ativa tuṭṭho te disvā, Saṅgham pucchi, niśidiya:
and having seen that he was very satisfied, and after sitting, he asked the Community:

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132 I.e the Asokārāma.
133 The simile is not clear, maybe it is meant to indicate his power.
134 ExtMhv: yati (singular), printer's error.
135 I.e. were Arahants.
136 Mhv: satasahassāni āsuṁ.
137 This is a curious use of the word bhikkhu, which normally signifies a male monastic, perhaps Geiger's reading is to be preferred.
138 Mhv: āsu tāsu tu.
139 Described in the Buddhavaṁsa commentary as making all the beings in the universe visible to each other, from the highest heaven to the lowest hell.
“Kassa Bhante pariccāgo Mahāsugatasāsane?” [498]
“Was anyone, venerable Sirs, so generous in the Dispensation of the Greatly Happy One?”

Thero Moggaliputto so Rañño puṭṭho140 viyākari:
The Elder Moggaliputta141 answered the King’s question:

“Dharamāne pi Sugate natthi cāgī tayā samo!” [499]
“Even while the Happy One was living there has been no generosity like unto yours!”142

Taṁ sutvā vacanaṁ, bhiyyo tuṭṭho Rājā apucchi taṁ:
Having heard that statement, the King was very satisfied and asked him:

“Buddhasāsanadāyādo hoti kho mādiso?” iti [500]
“Is there one who inherits the Awakened One’s Dispensation who is like unto me?”

Thero tu Rājaputtassa Mahindassopanissayām, tatheva Rājadhitāya Saṅghamittāya pekkhiya, [501]
But the Elder saw the supporting conditions of the King’s son Mahinda, and similarly of the King’s daughter Saṅghamittā,

Sāsanassābhivuddhiṁ-ca taṁ hetukam-apekkhiya,143 and seeing the conditions for the growth of the Dispensation,

paccābhāsatha Rājanaṁ so Sāsanadhurandharo: [502]
the one responsible for the Dispensation answered the King:

“Tādiso pi mahācāgī na dāyado tī Sāsane,
“Even such a one, who is greatly generous, is not known as an heir in the Dispensation,

yo hi koci, Mahārāja, āmisaṁ rāsikaṁ kare [503]
whoever, Great King, having amassed a heap of wealth

paṭhavītalato yāva Brahmalokā pi aggato
from the plains of the earth up to the tip of the Brahma worlds

dadeyya Bhikkhusaṅghassa mahādānaṁ asesato [504]
and would give it entirely as a great donation to the Community of monks

140 Mhv: pañhaṁ.
141 Ven. Moggaliputta was the Chief Elder in the Saṅgha at the time, and would soon head the Third Council.
142 Interestingly, this places Asoka above Anāthapiṇḍika as the most generous supporter.
143 Mhv: hetukaṁ avekkhiya.
from V. The Third Recital - 33

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

**yo puttaṁ vā**
**dhītaraṁ vā pabbajjāpeti Sāsane**
(but) he who lets his son or daughter go forth in the Dispensation

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

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

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

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

**Pituno vacanaṁ sutvā, Pitaram te abhāsisuṁ: [507]**
Having heard their Father’s statement, they said this to their Father:

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

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

**Uparājassa pabbajitakālato ca pabhūti so**
*Since the time of the Prince (Tissa’s) going-forth*

**kumāro pakatiyā pi kāmo hoti pabbajituṁ;**
*the young man (Mahinda) had naturally desired to go forth;

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

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

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

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144 Mhv: *Yo ca puttaṁ.*
145 Mhv: *kim.*
146 Mhv: *pabbajjākālato pabhūti hi so.*
147 Irregular cadence, the same word occurs irregularly in other verses also. See below, *passim.*
Piyaṁ puttaṁ Mahindañ-ca buddhirūpabaloditam,  
His dear son Mahinda, who was wise, handsome and very strong,

pabbajjāpesi samahāṁ, Saṅhamittāñ-ca dhītaram. [511]  
he let go forth with festivities, and also his daughter Saṅhamittā.

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

Saṅhamittā Rājadhitā, aṭṭhārasasamā vayā.148 [512]  
and the King’s daughter, Saṅhamittā, had reached eighteen.149

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

pabbajjaṁ sikkhādānañ ca tassā ca tadhū ahu. [513]  
and on that very day she had the going-forth and the placing in training.150

Upajjhāyo kumārassa ahu Moggali-avhayo,  
The prince’s preceptor was called Moggali,151

pabbājesi Mahādevatthero, Majjhantiko pana [514]  
the Elder Mahādeva let him go forth, but Majjhantika152

kammavācaṁ akā, tasmiṁ sopasampadamaṇḍale,  
made the formal announcement, and in the place of the higher ordination,153

Arahattaṁ Mahindo so154 patto, sapaṭisambhidam. [515]  
Mahinda attained Worthiness, together with the analytic knowledges.155

Saṅhamittāyupajjhāyā Dhammapālā ti vissutā,  
Saṅhamittā’s preceptor156 was the well-known (nun) Dhammapālā,

148 Mhv: tadā.
149 I do not know how we can reconcile this with her having had a son who had taken novice ordination two years earlier. If it were so it would mean that she gave birth to her son around age 11.
150 This means she was given the further ordination as a sikkhamāṇa, which she must hold for two years, before acquiring her higher ordination as a bhikkhuṇī.
151 I.e. Moggaliputta Tissa.
152 These are two of the named missionaries in the later part of the text, who took the Dispensation to Mahisamaṇḍala and Kasmīra-Gandhāra respectively. They were sent on their missions by Mahinda’s preceptor, Moggaliputtatissa.
153 It means right there in the sīma, or boundary-hall.
154 Mhv: Mahāsatto.
155 They are four: analytic knowledge of meanings, conditions, language and of improvisation; atthapaṭisambhida, dhammapaṭisambhida, niruttipaṭisambhida, paṭibhānapaṭisambhida.
156 Interestingly that she is called upajjhāya here, as the normal word is pavattinī.
ācariyā Āyupālā, kāle sā pi\textsuperscript{157} anāsavā. [516]
her teacher Āyupālā, and in time she also (became) pollutant-free.

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

chaṭṭhe vasse pabbajiṁsu Dhammāsokassa Rājino. [517]
they went forth six years after King Dhammāsoka (came to the throne).

Mahāmahindo vassehi tihi Dipappasādako,
The Great Mahinda, who brought faith to the Island, in his third year

piṭakattayaṁ uggānhi upajjhāyassa santike. [518]
learned the three baskets\textsuperscript{158} in the presence of his preceptor.

Sā bhikkhuṇī candalekhā, Mahindo bhikkhusūriyo,
The nun, a crescent moon, the monk Mahinda, the sun,

Buddhasāsanapajjotā dve kaniṭṭhā ca bhātaro. [519]
younger sister and brother, these two were Lights of the Awakened One’s Dispensation.

[Tissa and Sumitta’s Story]
520-536 ≠ Mhv 212-226

Pubbe Pāṭaliputtamhā vane vanacaro caraṁ,
Formerly a woodman from Pāṭaliputta, while roaming in a forest,

Kuntikinnariyā saddhiṁ saṁvāsaṁ kappayī kira. [520]
it seems, became intimate with a harpy\textsuperscript{159} called Kuntī.

Tena saṁvāsam-anvāya dve putte janayī tu sā,\textsuperscript{160}
As a consequence of that she gave birth to two sons,

Tisso jeṭṭho kaniṭṭho tu Sumitto nāma nāmato. [521]
the eldest was called Tissa, and the younger brother Sumitta.

Mahāvaruṇatherassa kāle pabbajja santike,
In time they received the going-forth in the presence of the Elder Mahāvaruṇa,

\textsuperscript{157} Mhv: sāsi.
\textsuperscript{158} The three baskets of the teaching: Discipline (\textit{Vinaya}), Doctrine (\textit{Dhamma}), and the Abstract Teaching (\textit{Abhidhamma}).
\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Kinnari} (masc.: \textit{kinnara}) have a bird’s wings and legs, and a human’s torso and head. In Greek mythology the harpy is exactly the same, though under the influence of Christianity they were later demonised.
\textsuperscript{160} Mhv: duve.
Arahattāṁ pāpuṇīṁsu chaḷabhīṁnaṁ bhaṁgaṇaṁ ubho. [522]
and they both attained Worthiness with the virtue of the six psychic powers.

Pāde kīṭavisenāpi phuṭṭho jetṭho savedano,
(Later) the elder was stung on the foot by a poisonous insect and was suffering.

āha puṭṭho kaṇiṭṭhena bhesajjāṁ pasataṁ ghatāṁ. [523]
and when asked by his younger brother he said (he needed) a measure of medicinal ghee.

Thero nivedanaṁ Rañño gilānavattato pi so
sappi-atthaṁ-ca caraṇaṁ pacchābhattaṁ paṭikkhipi. [524]
The Elder opposed informing the King of the existence of that illness and roaming for ghee after the (morning) meal. 162

“Piṇḍāya ce caraṁ sappiṁ labhase tvāṁ tam-āhara,”
“If you receive ghee on your alms round, please bring it,”

icchāha Tissatthero163 so Sumittattheram-uttamaṁ. [525]
said the Elder Tissa to the supreme Elder Sumitta.

Piṇḍāya caratā tena na laddhāṁ pasataṁ ghatāṁ,
(But) while wandering for alms he did not receive medicinal ghee,

sappikumbhasatenāpi byādhi jāto asādhiyo. [526]
and the illness grew (so that) one hundred pots could not accomplish (a cure).

Teneva byādhinā Thero patto āyukhayantikaṁ,
Eventually, through that illness, the Elder came to the end of his life,

bhikkhūnaṁ ovaditvāna,164 nibbātuṁ mānasam akā. [527]
and after advising the monks, he formed the intention of passing away.

Ākāsamhi niṣīditvā, tejojjhānavasena165 so
After sitting in the sky, through the meditation on the fire element

yathāruciṁ166 adhiṭṭhāya sarīraṁ Parinibbuto. [528]
(and) fixing his determination on the body, as he desired he attained Emancipation.

Tejo167 sarīrā nikkhamma nimmaṁsacchārikaṁ đahe

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161 Mhv: gilānapaccaye pi ca.
162 The reason being to maintain the Disciplinary rules, which state that a monk cannot ask for his needs without being invited, and cannot seek for food after the morning meal.
163 Mhv: Tissathero; giving the pathyā cadence.
164 Mhv: ovaditvāppamādena.
165 Mhv: tejojhāna-.
166 Mhv: yathāruci.
Therassa sakalāṁ kāyaṁ, aṭṭhikāni tu no ḍahi. [529]
The fire element emitted from his body burned the Elder’s whole body and flesh to ashes, but his bones did not burn.

Sutvā nibbutim-etassa Tissattherassa, Bhūpati
Having heard about the Elder Tissa’s passing away, the Lord of the Earth went to his monastery surrounded by a great army (of people).

Hatthikkhandhagato Rājā tānaṭṭhīni ’varohayi
The King, going on the back of an elephant, brought the bones down (from the sky)

kāretvā dhātusakkāraṁ, Saṅghaṁ byādhim-apucchi taṁ. [531]
and, after paying respects to the relics, he asked the Community about the illness.

Saṅgho kathesi taṁ Rañño: “Byadhijāto mahā ahu,”
The Community said this to the King: “The illness increased greatly.”

taṁ sutvā jātasaṁvego: ‘Ṭhito rajjamhi osadhaṁ [532]
and after hearing that he became anxious (thinking): ‘While staying in this country medicine

nādāsiṁ Bhikkhusaṅghassa, abhesajjena nibbuto.’
was not given to the Community of monks, and without medicine he passed away.’

Catunagaradvāresu pokkharaṇīṁ khaṇāpiya [533]
He had a pit dug at the four city gates

khaṇāpetvā sudhāpetvā bhesajjassa purāpayi,
and after having them dug and cleaned he filled them with medicine,

cātuddisassa Saṅghassa bhesajjassa adāpayi:
and he had medicines for the Community of the four directions given, thinking:

‘Mā hotu Bhikkhusaṅghassa bhesajjam dullaṁ.’ iti [534]
‘Do not let medicine for the Community of monks be difficult to obtain.’

Sumittathero nibbāyi caṅkamanto va caṅkame
The Elder Sumitta passed away while walking in the cloister

mahājanā pi teneva pasannā Buddhhasāsane. [535]
and through that the multitude gained faith in the Awakened One’s Dispensation.

167 Mhv: Jālā.
168 Mhv: Tathā nibbutim-etassa sutvā Therassa.
169 Mhv: Hatthikkhandhaṭṭitto.
170 Mhv: tān’ aṭṭhīn’ avarohayi.
171 ExtMhv: pokkharāṇim; printer's error.
Kuntiputtā duve Therā te lokahitakārino,
Kuntī’s two sons were Elders who sought the benefit of the world,

nibbāyiṁsu Asokassa Rañño vassamhi aṭṭhame. [536]
they passed away in King Asoka’s eighth year (as King).172

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

Tato pabhuti Saṅghassa lābhā173 ’tīva mahā ahu,
From that time the gains of the Community were very great,
pacchā pasannā ca janā yasmā lābhā174 pavattayuṁ, [537]
and because of those people who later gained faith there were (great) gains,
pahīnalābhasakkārā titthiyā lābhakāraṇā,
and because the sectarian who had gains lost their gains and respect,

antamaso ghāsacchādanamattaṁ pi nālabhiṁsu te, [538]
and did not receive even so much as their food and clothing,
sayaṁ kāsāyam-ādāya, vasiṁsu saha bhikkhuhi
having themselves taken the yellow robes175 they dwelt with the monks

yathā sakañ-ca te vādaṁ: “Buddhavādo” ti dīpayuṁ,
and each one explained his own view, saying: “(This is) the Awakened One’s view,”
yathāsakaṁ taṁ176 kiriyāṁ akariṁsu yathāruciṁ.177 [539]
and they each carried out their own vows just as they liked.

* * *

172 According to MhvṬ this story was introduced here as it began the increase in the success of the Dispensation, which led to rogue monks entering the Community, which is related next.
173 Mhv: lābho.
174 Mhv: lābham.
175 I.e. without proper ordination.
176 Mhv: ca.
177 Mhv: -ruci.
Then the Elder Moggaliputta, firm in the development of virtue,

having seen the arising of this very rough tumour on the Dispensation,

being far-seeing, looked for the right time to relieve it,

after giving over his own great chapter of monks to the Elder Mahinda,

dwelt alone for seven years high up the Ganges on the Ahogaṅga mountain, devoting himself to solitude.\(^\text{178}\)

(As) the sectarian monks were manifold and obstinate, the monks

were not able to make them train, or be restrained by Dhamma.

Because of that in all the monasteries in the Rose-Apple Isle the monks

did not hold the Observance or the Invitation\(^\text{179}\) for seven years.

[Murder in the Monastery]

Having heard that, the Great King Dhammāsoka, of great fame,

sent a minister to the supreme Asokārāma, saying:

“Having gone (there) please settle this dispute and have the Observance

\(^{178}\) This is exactly the place where the Elders who led the Second Council went to discuss what measures should be taken in regard to the Vesālī monks who were not maintaining traditional discipline.

\(^{179}\) The fortnightly Observance, when the Disciplinary Rules are recited, and the yearly Invitation for correction. These are two of the main legal acts that the Saṅgha carry out, and being unable to perform them would be considered a serious problem.
kārehi Bhikkhusaṅghassa

maṃpamārāme nu tvaṁ.” [546]
carried out for the Community of monks in my monastery.”

Avisahanto ‘macco so taṁ kammaṁ paṭipucchitum,
That minister, being unable to ask (the King) about that deed, [182]
aññe ‘mace ‘pasaṅkamma, idaṁ vacanam-abravi: [547]
when another minister had approached, made this statement:

“Ayye Rājā pesayittha maṁ, gantvāna Uposathaṁ
adhisthāṇaṁ sametvāna, kārāpetuṁ Uposathaṁ. [548]
“Noble Sir, the King has sent me, and after going and settling the dispute about the
Observance, I am to make them hold the Observance.

Kathan-nu ‘maṁ adhisthāṇaṁ sameyāmi ahaṁ?” iti
Now how can I settle this dispute?”

Saññāpetvāna te ‘maccā paṭi-āhanu taṁ tadā: [549]
Having made it known to him, the minister then answered him:

“Yathā pi nāma paccantaṁ core ghātenti sabbathā,
“As in the border countries those known as thieves are all killed,

evam-eva tayo bhikkhū haññate iti ruccati.” [550]
so you must set your mind on the death of the monks.”

Gantvāna sannipātētvā Bhikkhusaṅghaṁ sa dummatis:
Having gone and assembled the monks, that fool

“Uposathaṁ karothā,” ti sāvesi Rājasāsanāṁ. [551]
conveyed the King’s message, saying: “Hold the Observance.”

“Uposathaṁ titthiyehi na karoma mayaṁ,” iti
“We do not hold the Observance with the sectarians,”

avoca Bhikkhusaṅgho taṁ amaccaṁ mūḷhamānasāṁ. [552]
the Community of monks said to that minister, confused in mind.

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180 Mhv: -saṅghena.
181 Mhv: mamārāme tuvaṁ.
182 It is not clear here, but maybe he felt he didn't have the right to question the King's order.
183 ExtMhv: Saññapetvāna.
184 Mhv: bhikkhu.
So `macco katipayānaṁ Therānaṁ paṭipātiyā\textsuperscript{185} acchindi asinā sīsaṁ: “Kārohi”\textsuperscript{186} ti “Uposathaṁ.” [553] That minister successively cut off the head of some of the Elders with a sword, saying: “Hold the Observance.”

Rājabhātā Tissathero taṁ disvā kiriyaṁ lahuṁ
The Kings’ brother, the Elder Tissa, after seeing that deed and quickly
gantvāna, tassa āsanne āsanamhi nisīdi so. [554] going, sat down on a seat near to him.

Theraṁ disvā amacco so gantvā, Rañño nivedayi:
The minister, after seeing the Elder and leaving, informed the King:

“Mahārāja ettakā bhikkhū asinā pātitā mayā,
“Great King, I have felled some of the monks with a sword,

ayyassa Tissattherassa sampatto, kiṁ karom’ ahaṁ?”
(but) with the arrival of the Elder Tissa, what should I do?”

Sabbaṁ pavattimṁ sutvāna,\textsuperscript{187} jātaḍāho Mahīpati, [555] Having heard the news, the Lord of the World grew feverish,
sīghaṁ gantvā Bhikkhusaṅghaṁ pucchi ubbiggamānasos:o:
and after going quickly, with agitated mind he questioned the Community of monks:

“Evaṁ katena kammena, kassa pāpaṁ\textsuperscript{188} siyā?” iti [557] “Through the doing of this deed, for whom will there be evil (consequence)?”

Tesaṁ apaṇḍitā keci: “Pāpaṁ tuyhan,”-ti keci tu:
Some who were not wise said to him: “The evil (consequence) is yours,” but some said:

“Ubhinnañ-cā,”\textsuperscript{189} ti āhaṁsu, “Natthi tuyhan”-ti paṇḍitā. [558] “For both (of you),” but the wise said: “There is no (evil consequence) for you.”

\textsuperscript{185} Mhv: paṭipātiyā.
\textsuperscript{186} Mhv: Kāremī.
\textsuperscript{187} Mhv: taṁ sutvā.
\textsuperscript{188} ExtMhv: pāpam; printer’s error.
\textsuperscript{189} ExtMhv: Ubhinnañ cā; printer's error.
Having heard that, the Great King said: “Is there no monk who can settle my doubts, and having dispelled them, to uphold the Dispensation?”

“There is the Elder Tissa Moggaliputta, O Best of Charioteers, after dispelling your doubt, he will uphold the Dispensation.”

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

Having chosen four Elders who were Dhamma preachers, and surrounding each of them with a thousand monks, and four ministers together with a thousand men, he immediately sent them, with his statement:

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

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

The Elder heard their word, (but) he did not come; those people having come again to the King, informed him.

Again, the Lord of the World sent eight Dhamma preachers and eight ministers together with sixteen thousand men.
Te tathevā ti āhaṁsu: “Na gacchāmi” ti āha so. [566]
But to them also he spoke, saying: “I will not go.”

Punāgantvā narā sabbe Rañño taṁ paṭivedayuṁ.
Having come again all those people told it to the King.

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

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

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

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

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

“ ‘Hohi Bhante upatthambho kātuṁ Sāsanapaggahaṁ,’
‘Venerable Sir, you should be a support to uphold the Dispensation,’

iti vutte Mahārāja Thero essati193 so.” iti [570]
when this is said, Great King, he will come.”

Puna pi There amacce194 ca Rājā soḷasa soḷasa
visuṁ sahassapurise, tathā vatvāna pesayi: [571]
Yet again the King sent sixteen Elders and sixteen ministers each with a thousand men, and after saying this, he said:

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

“Mahārāja, Mahāthero vuddhataro khīṇasavo.196
“Great King, the Great Elder is elderly, and has destroyed the pollutants.

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

193 Mhv: ehiti.
194 Mhv: macce.
195 It is curious that here Asoka does not seem to know the Elder's age, although earlier in the story he has already been in close contact with him.
196 We should read: khīṇasavo m.c.
“Kuhiṁ nu Bhante Thero vasatī?” ti apucchi so,
“Where does the Elder reside, venerable Sir?” he asked,

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

“Bandhayitvā bhane nāvāsaṅghātam”[197] netha vo.” iti
“Having bound together a wooden raft, friend, please lead (him) to us.”

Te tassa santikaṁ gantvā, Rañño sāsanam[198]-abravum. [574]
Having gone into his presence, they spoke the King’s message.

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

“Aham pi pabbajitvāna, tad-atthāya-m-ihāgato, [575]
“After going-forth, I came here for (my own) benefit,”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

197 ExtMhv: -saṅghātam; printer's error.
198 ExtMhv: Sāsānam–.
199 This is not quite in harmony with what was said above (vs. 542), about Ven. Moggaliputta already being a leader of the monks.
eko ca samāno nāgo āgato parirakkhituṁ, [579]
one noble ascetic will come and protect (you),

gahetvā dakkhiṇe hatthe, vinodessati vimatiṁ. 200
having taken your right hand, he will dispel (your) doubt.”

Tāvad-eva Mahīpālo sutvā Therassa āgataṁ, [580]
At the instant the Guardian of the World heard (that) he went to the Elder,
paccuggantvāna taṁ Theraṁ, jāṇumattāṁ jalaṁ ṭhito,
having gone out to meet the Elder, he stood knee-deep in water,
nāvāya uttarantassa Therassādāsi gāravo 201 [581]
and as the Elder came out of the ship he respectfully gave

attano dakkhiṇaṁ hatthaṁ, idam-āha Mahīpati:
his right hand, and the Lord of the World said this:

“Anukampāya maṁ Bhante tvaṁ gaṇhāhi karaṁ mama.” [582]
“Out of compassion for me, venerable Sir, please take my hand.”

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

Rājā Theraṁ nayitvāna uyyānaṁ Rativaddhanāṁ,
The King, after leading the Elder to the garden (called) Delight-Increasing,

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

200 We should read: vimatiṁ m.c.
201 Mhv: otarantassa Therassādā sagāravo.
Samatthabhāvaṁ Therassa vīmaṁsanto Mahīpāti:
Inquiring into the Elder's proficiency, the Lord of the World

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

“Kin?”-ti vutte, “Mahīkampaṁ” āha taṁ puṇa-v-āha so:
“Which (one)?” he said, “An earthquake” he said, and again he said:

“Sakalāyekadesāya taṅkampaṁ202 daṭṭhum-icchasi?” [588]
“What do you desire to see, a quake of the whole earth or in one direction?”

“Ko dukkaro?” ti pucchitvā “Ekadesāya kampanaṁ dukkaram,”203 ti suṇivāna taṁ duṭṭhukāmataṁ ’bravi. [589]
After asking, “Which is the more difficult?” and hearing: “A quake in one direction is more difficult,” he said he desired to see that one.

Rathaṁ assaṁ manussaṅ-ca pāṭiṅ-codakapūritaṁ
Thero yojanaṁśīmaya antarambhi catuddise [590]
ṭhapāpetvā tad-antehi204 saha taṁ yojanaṁ mahīṁ
After placing a chariot, a horse, a man and a pot full of water within a boundary of a league on all four sides, the Elder shook the earth until its end for a league

cālesi iddhiyā, tatra nisinnassā adassayi.205 [591]
with his psychic power, and showed it to the one sitting there.

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

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

kukkuccaṁ pucchi: “‘haṁ Bhante ‘maccekaṁ bhikkhunaṁ: ‘Idaṁ adhikaraṇaṁ sametvāna gantvā mayhaṁ vihārakaṁ [593]
bhikkhavo ‘posathaṁ aja kārāpehi’ ti pāhiṁīn,
asked about his doubt: “Venerable Sir, I sent a minister to the monks, saying: ‘After going and settling this dispute in my monastery make the monks hold the Observance today,’”

202 Mhv: kataraṁ.
203 Mhv: dukkaram.
204 Mhv: tad-āḍhehi.
205 Mhv: ca dassayi.
tattake te ime bhikkhū voropetvāna jīvitā. [594]
and he deprived206 so many of those monks of their lives.

Pāpass’ attthitanatthittaṁ itarasseva kammunā?”
Through this action is there or is there not evil (consequence) for the other?”207

“Paṭicca kammaṁ nattī,” ti “Kiliṭṭham cetanaṁ vinā,”
“Through this action there is no (evil consequence), the intention being void of
defilement.”

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

Thero bodhesi Rājānaṁ vatvā Tittirajātakaṁ: [595]
The Elder related208 the Partridge Birth-Story and enlightened the King:

Atīte Brahmadattamhi kārente Rājataṁ kira
In the past, it seems, when Brahmadatta was ruling

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

dijakulamhi ekasmīṁ Bodhisatto nibbattiya
the Awakening One arose in a twice-born209 family

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

Takkasilāya nikkhamma, pabbajji Isipabbajaṁ.
and leaving from Takkasila, he went forth in the Seers’ going-forth.

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

patvā aṭṭha samāpattiyo,210 kīlanto jhānakīlitaṁ,
after attaining the eight attainments, while enjoying the absorptions,

ramaṇīye vanasaṇḍe vasanto ekako bhave, [599]
and dwelling211 alone in a delightful jungle abode,

206 Using the absolutive as an aorist again here.
207 It is awkwardly said, but he is asking is there an evil consequence, not for one one who did
the deed, but for the other one, the one who gave the order; i.e. for himself.
208 To make sense of this sentence we must again take the absolutive as an aorist here.
209 I.e. brāhmaṇa family, said to be twice born, because of the upanayana ritual in which the
child is invested with the sacred thread.
210 A more metrical reading here would have been samāpatti, which would give pathyā.
211 There is no finite verb in this sentence.
Paccantagāmaññataram gacchamāno tad-antare
while going to a certain border village, in the meantime,

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

pavane aññatarasmiṁ kāretvā pannasālakaṁ,
and making a leaf-hut in a certain forest,

paccayeh’ upaṭṭhahitvā, sakkaccam taṁ vasāpayuṁ. [601]
and attending on him with requisites, respectfully made him live (there).

* * *

Tasmiṁ gāme tadā eko sakuṇiko,212 viganhiya
Then in that village one fowler, after capturing

ekaṁ dipakatittirāṁ sikkhāpetvāna pañjare [602]
pākkhipitvā, sinehena niccaṁ-ca paṭṭajaggati.
and training a decoy partridge and putting it in a cage, always looked after it with affection.

So taṁ araṇṇaṁ netvā, tittire āgatāgate [603]
Having led him to the wilderness, when the partridges had gathered round

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

‘Mamaṁ nissāya tittirā nassanti bahu ŋātakā, [604]
(Thinking:) ‘Because of me many of my partridge family are perishing,

kiṁ mayhaṁ taṁ pāpan?’-ti nirāsaddo ahosi so.
what is this wickedness to me?’ he became silent.

Nissaddabhāvaṁ ŋatvā so paharitvāna tittirāṁ [605]
After understanding his silence, and beating the partridge

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

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

* * *

212 Also spelt like this in v. 607 below, though we would expect: sākuṇik-.
Evaṁ sakuṇiko, lobhaṁ nissāya, tittire bahū
gañhitvā, dīgham-addhānaṁ kappesi jīvitattano. [607]
In this way the fowler, through greed, after grabbing many partridges, made his
living over a long period of time.

Dukkhāturo so tittiro iti evaṁ vicintaiyī:
The suffering partridge reflected thus:

“‘Aho ime marantū!’ ti cetanā me na vijjati, [608]
‘Alas, all these die!’ it is not my intention, 213

paṭiccakammaṁ panidaṁ abhiṇhaṁ mama phussati, 214
but I am affected by the repetition of this deed,

akaronte mayi saddaṁ ete pi nāgamuṁ.” iti [609]
for when I don’t make a sound they do not come.”

* * *

“Karonte yeva gacchanti ayaṅ-ca āgatāgate
ñātame me, gahetvāna pāpeti jīvitakkhayaṁ. [610]
And: “When I do make this (sound) my relatives come and gather round, and after
grabbing them, their lives are brought to destruction.

Ettha, kin-nu idaṁ pāpaṁ mayhaṁ attheva natthī?” ti
Herein, is this a wicked deed of mine or not?

Tato paṭṭhāya: ‘Ko nu kho kaṅkhaṁ chindeyya maṁ?’ iti
Because of that (he thought): ‘Who can clear my doubts for me?’

paṇḍitaṁ so tathārūpaṁ voloketvāna vicari. [611]
he went round looking for such a wise man.

* * *

Athekadivaśaṁ so te gahetvā tittire bahū
Then one day, after grabbing many partridges

pūretvā pacchiyaṁ: ‘Pāniṁ pivissāmi,’ ti cintayī. [612]
and filling his basket, he thought: ‘I would like to drink water.’

Bodhisattassa assamaṁ gantvā, taṁ pañjaraṁ tato
ṭhapetvā santike tassa, pivitvā pāṇiyicchitaṁ, [613]
Having gone to the Awakening One’s hermitage, and placed the cage there in his
presence, and after drinking the water he desired,

213 Lit: my intention is not found.
214 Written m.c. for phusati.
vālukātale nipanno niddaṁ okkami tāvade.
he lay down on the sand and instantly fell asleep.

* * *

Niddokkantassa bhāvaṁ so ānatvāna tittiro tato, [614]
Understanding his sleepy nature, the partridge,

‘Kaṅkham-idaṁ tāpasam-evā pucchissāmī,’ ti cintayi,
thinking: ‘I will ask this ascetic about this doubt,’

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

Nisinno pañjare gāthaṁ puchchanto pāṭham-āha so:
While sitting in the cage he, questioning, recited this verse:

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

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

Tassa pañham vissajjento dutiyaṁ gāthaṁ āha so: [617]
Answering his question he spoke the second verse:

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

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

Sutvāna vacanaṁ tassa, tatiyaṁ gāthaṁ āha so:
Having heard his statement, he spoke the third verse:

“‘Nātako no nisinno,’ ti bahu āgacchate215 jano, [619]
“(Thinking): ‘Our relative is sitting (there)’ many come (to see),

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

Sutvā so Bodhisatto taṁ catutthagāthaṁ āha so: [620]
Having heard this the Awakening One spoke the fourth verse:

215 ExtMhv: agacchate.
“Na paṭicca kammaṁ phusati mano, te nappadussati,
The mind is not affected by this deed, there is no wrong for you,
appossukkassa bhadrassa na pāpaṁ upalippati.” [621]
for the lucky one who does not act no wickedness attaches.”

Evaṁ so tittiraṁ tattha saññāpesi anekadhā,
Thus he convinced the partridge in many ways,
nissāya Bodhisattaṁ kho nikkukkucco ahosi so. [622]
and through the Awakening One he became without remorse.

Sakuṇiko pabuddho so Bodhisattam ‘bhivandiya,
The fowler, having woken, after worshipping the Awakening One,
pañjaraṁ tattha-mādāya sakagharam apakkami. [623]
picked up his cage from there, and left for his home.

Dhammadesanimaṁ Satthā āharitvāna, Jātakaṁ
The Teacher, having taught this Dhamma teaching,
samodhānesi sabbaṁ taṁ: “Tittiro Rahulo ahu. [624]
made the connection to all in the Birth Story: “The partridge was Rāhula.

Kaṅkhaṁ vinodayanto so: ahaṁ eva Buddhho ahu.”
The one dispelling his doubts: that was I, the Awakened One.”

* * *

Taṁ Dhammadesanaṁ sutvā Rājā attamano tato. [625]
Having heard this teaching of the Dhamma the King was uplifted.

Vasanto tattha sattāhaṁ Rājuyyāne manorame
Living there seven days in the delightful Royal Garden

sikkhāpesi Mahīpālaṁ Sambuddhasamayaṁ varaṁ. [626]
(the Elder) trained the Lord of the World in the noble religion of the Perfectly Awakened One.
from V. The Third Recital - 52

**Holding the Third Council**

627-645 = Mhv. 266-282

Tasmīṁ yeva ca²¹⁶ samaye²¹⁷ duve yakkhe Mahīpati
pesetvā mahiymām bhikkhū asese sannipātayi. [627]
At that time the Master of the World sent two yakkhas and he assembled the rest of the monks on the earth.

Sattame divase gantvā sakārāmaṁ manoramaṁ,
Having gone on the seventh day to his own delightful monastery,

kāresi Bhikkhusaṅghassa sannipātaṁ asesato. [628]
he made an assembly from the entire Community of monks.

Therena ekamante so nisiṇṇo sāṇi-antare,²¹⁸
With the Elder seated on one side within a curtain,

ekteke laddhike²¹⁹ bhikkhū pakkosītvāna santikāṁ,²[629]
after calling the schismatic monks one by one to his presence,

“Kiṁvādī Sugato bhante?” iti pucchi Mahīpati.
the Lord of the World asked: “Venerable Sir, what was the Happy One’s doctrine?”

Te sassatādikaṁ diṭṭhim byākarimśu yathāsakam. [630]
They explained their own view, beginning with eternalism and so on.

Te micchādiṭṭhike sabbe Rājā uppabbājāpayi,
The King had all those holding wrong views disrobed,

sabbe saṭṭhisahassāni āsuṁ uppabbajāpitā. [631]
and those he had disrobed were sixty-thousand in all.

Apucchi Dhammike bhikkhū: “Kiṁvādī Sugato?” iti
He (also) asked the monks who knew Dhamma: “What was the Happy One’s doctrine?”

“Vibhajjavādī,” tāhaṁsu; taṁ Therāṁ pucchi Bhūpati: [632]
They said: “The doctrine of analysis;” and the Lord of the Earth asked the Elder:

“Vibhajjavādī Sambuddho hoti?” “Āmā,” ti²²⁰ āha so.
“Did the Perfectly Awakened One (teach) the doctrine of analysis?” “Yes,” he said.

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²¹⁶ ExtMhv omits *ca*, but it is needed for the metre.
²¹⁷ Mhv: *Tasmīṁ yeva ca sattāhe*.
²¹⁸ Mhv: *saha ekante nisinno sāni-antare*.
²¹⁹ Mhv: *ekteka*-
²²⁰ Mhv: *Sambuddho hoti Bhante?” ti.*
Rājā[221] “Āmā,” ti sutvā taṁ pasannamanaso tadā.[222] The King, having heard him say: “Yes,” gained faith of mind, and then said:

“Saṅgho visodhito yasmā tasmā Saṅgho Uposathaṁ
“Since the Community is (now) purified, therefore the Community should hold

tı s putvā taṁ pasannamanaso tadā: Rājā tuṭṭhamano tadā
the Observance, venerable Sir,” and having said this, the Lord of the Earth, after
giving over protection of the Community to the Elder, re-entered his lovely city.

Saṅgho samaggo hutvāna, tad-ākāsi Uposathaṁ. [635]
After the Community came back into harmony, it held the Observance.

* * *

Thero anekasaṅkhamhā[223] Bhikkhusaṅghā viṣārade
The Elder, out of the innumerable monks in the Community who were mature,

chaḷabhiññe Tepiṭake[224] pabhinnapaṭisambhīde [636]
had the six psychic powers, knew the Three Baskets, and had developed the analytic
knowledges,

bhikkhusahassam uccini kātuṁ Saddhammasaṅgaham,  
chose a thousand monks to make the compilation of the True Dhamma,

te hi Asokārāmamhi akā Saddhammasaṅgaham. [637]
and they made the compilation of the True Dhamma in the Asokāraüma.[225]

Mahākassapathero ca Yasatthero ca kārayuṁ  
yathā te Dhammasaṅgitiṁ, Tissatthero pi taṁ tathā. [638]
Just as the Elder Mahākassapa and the Elder Yasa had made the Dhamma Recital,
so did the Elder Tissa[226] do likewise.

Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaññ, parappavādamadanaṁ.[227]
The Objects of Controversy,[228] which crushed the disputants,

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221 ExtMhv: Raja; printer’s error.
222 Mhv: Thero: “Āmā,” ti, taṁ sutvā Rājā tuṭṭhamano tadā.
223 Mhv: -saṅkhyaṃhā.
224 ExtMhv: Tipiṭake.
225 I.e. Asoka’s own monastery.
226 Moggaliputta Tissa.
227 Mhv: paravādappamaddanaṁ.
228 Now the fifth book of the Theravāda Abhidhamma collection.
abhāsi Tissatthero ca tasmiṁ Saṅgītimaṇḍale. [639]
the Elder Tissa related in the Recital pavilion.

Evaṁ bhikkhusahassena rakkhāyāsokarājino,²²⁹
Thus, with a thousand monks, being under the protection of King Asoka,

ayaṁ navahi māsehi Dhammasaṅgīti niṭṭhitā. [640]
did he complete this Dhamma recital in nine months.²³⁰

Raṇño sattarase vasse, dvāsattatisamo Isi,
In the seventeenth year of the King’s reign, the Seer, who was seventy-two,

Mahāpavāraṇāyaṁ²³¹ so Saṅgītiṁ taṁ samāpayi. [641]
concluded the Recital with a Great Invitation.²³²

Sādhukāraṁ dadantī va devā ca manujā pi ca²³³
While gods and men were giving their applause

Saṅgītipariyosāne akampittha mahāmahī. [642]
at the close of the Recital the great earth itself shook.

Upāli Dāsako ceva, Soṇako Siggavo tathā
Upāli and Dāsaka, Soṇaka, Siggava and then

Tisso Moggaliputto ca pañcetevijitāvino [643]
Tissa Moggaliputta, these victorious five

paramparāya Vinayaṁ Jambudīpe sirivhaye,
brought the unbroken Discipline lineage down in what is called the glorious Rose-

acchijjamānaṁ ānesuṁ Tatiyo yāva Saṅgaho. [644]
Apple Island as far as the Third Council.

²²⁹ Mhv: rakkhāyāsokarājino; printer's error.
²³⁰ The first council took one month to prepare and three months to recite; the so-called sixth council in Burma in 1956, in which the Tipiṭaka, the commentaries and sub-commentaries were all recited took two years to complete.
²³¹ Mhv: Mahāpavāraṇāyaṁ.
²³² It is not clear if this was a special Invitation for correction at the end of the Recital, or part of the normal yearly Invitation at the conclusion of the Rains Retreat.
²³³ Mhv: Sāsanaṭṭhitikāraṇe.
Hitvā seṭṭhaṁ Brahmavimānaṁ pi manuññaṁ,
Having abandoned the excellent, pleasing Brahma mansion,
āgammakā Sāsanakiccaṁ katakicco.

jegucchaṁ so Sāsanahito234 naralokāṁ
for the benefit of the Dispensation, he235 was one who came to this loathsome world of men, and did his duties for the Dispensation.

Ko nāmañño Sāsanakiccamhi pamajje? ti [645]
Who else would be heedless in regard to the duties to the Dispensation?

Sujanappasādasaviņhegatthāya Kate
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People

Mahāvaṁse Tatiyadhammasāṅgūi nāma Pañcamo Paricchedo
The Fifth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Third Recital

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234 Mhv: Sāsanahetu; in the text the metre is wrong, and Geiger's reading may be preferred.
235 I.e. Moggaliputta Tissa.
Thero Moggaliputto so, Jinasāsanajotiko,
The Elder Moggaliputta, the light of the Dispensation of the Victor,\(^{236}\)

niṭṭhāpetvāna Saṅgītiṁ, pekkhamāno anāgataṁ, \(^{[1]}\)
having brought the (Third) Recital\(^{237}\) to a close, looking towards the future,

Sāsanassa patiṭṭhānaṁ paccantesu apeekhiya,
and to the establishment of the Dispensation in the border countries,

pesesi Kattike māse te te There tahiṁ tahiṁ. \(^{[2]}\)
during the month of Kattikā\(^{238}\) sent various Elders here and there.

Theraṁ Kasmīra\(^{239}\)-Gandhāraṁ Majjhantikam-apesayi:
He sent the Elder Majjhantika to Kasmīra-Gandhāra, saying:

“Patiṭṭhāpehi tattheva raṭṭhasmiṁ Sāsanaṁ.” iti
“Have the Dispensation established there in the country.”

Apesayi Mahādevattheraṁ Mahisamaṇḍalaṁ. \(^{[3]}\)
He sent the Elder Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala.

Vanavāsim\(^{240}\) apesesi Theraṁ Rakkhanāmakaṁ;
To Vanavāsi he sent the Elder Rakkhita by name;

...tathāparantakaṁ Yonaṁ Dhammarakkhanāmakaṁ. \(^{[4]}\)
but the Ionian\(^{241}\) named Dhammarakkhita to Aparantikā.

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\(^{236}\) I.e. the Buddha, often called *Jina* or *Victor* in the texts.

\(^{237}\) Traditionally said to have been called by King Asoka after purifying the Sangha, and intended to confirm the true teachings. The traditional date is around 250 years after the Buddha's parinibbāna. However, Asoka doesn't mention it in his Edicts, which must put at least his part in the Council in doubt.

\(^{238}\) I.e. November.

\(^{239}\) Text: *Kasmīrā*, treating them as two here, but referential *raṭṭhasmiṁ* below is singular.

There is a map showing the locations of these destinations here: http://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Maps/Map-12-Asokan-Missions.htm.

\(^{240}\) Mhv: *Vanavāsam*; and below.

\(^{241}\) Or, we might say now, the Greek.
XII. Faith in Various Districts

Mahāraṭṭhaṁ Mahādhammarakkhitattheranāmakaṁ;
To Mahāraṭṭha²⁴² (he sent) the Elder by name Mahādhammarakkhita;

Mahārakkhitatheran-tu Yonalokaṁ apesayi. [5]
he sent to the world of the Ionians the Elder Mahārakkhita.

Pesesi Majjhimaṁ Therāṁ Himavantappadesakaṁ;
He sent the Elder Majjhima to the Himālaya²⁴³ districts;

Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ There dve Soṇaṁ Uttaram-eva ca. [6]
to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (he sent) two Elders, Soṇa and Uttara.

Sabbe pi te Mahātherā gacchantā attapañcamā,²⁴⁴
All of these Great Elders went with five besides themselves,
paccantime janapade vattesuṁ upasampadaṁ.
to give the higher ordination in the border countries.²⁴⁵ [7]

Mahāmahindatheraṁ taṁ, Theraṁ Iṭṭhiyam-Uttiyaṁ,
That Great Elder Mahinda, the Elder²⁴⁶ Iṭṭhiya and Uttiya,

Sambalaṁ Bhaddasālañ-ca, sake saddhivihārike, [8]
Sambala and Bhaddasāla,²⁴⁷ his attendant monks,

“Laṅkādīpe manuññamhi manuññaṁ Jinasāsanaṁ
patiṭṭhāpetha tumhe,” ti pañca There apesayi. [9]
he sent these five Elders, saying: “You must establish in the pleasant Island of
Laṅkā the pleasant Dispensation of the Victor.”

²⁴² Now called Maharashtra.
²⁴³ Lit: place endowed with snow.
²⁴⁴ Text: -pañcaṁ, printer's error.
²⁴⁵ See the introduction for a consideration of the importance of this addition.
²⁴⁶ Singular where a plural in expected.
²⁴⁷ From the text below we know that two others accompanied Mahinda to Laṅkā, they are the
novice Sumana, and the upāsaka Bhaṇḍuka.
XII. Faith in Various Districts

[Majjhantika in Kasmīra-Gandhāra]
10-32 ≠ Mhv 9-28

Tadā Kasmīra-Gandhāre, pakkaṁ sassāṁ mahiddhiko
Āravālo[248] Nāgarājā, vassaṁ karakasaññitaṁ [10]
Then in Kasmīra-Gandhāra, the Nāga King Āravāla, the one of great power,
(destroyed) the ripe crops, having made the rain known as hail

vassāpetvā samuddasmiṁ, sabbaṁ khipati dāruṇo.
fall into the lake.249 and all was violently upset.

The Elder Majjhantika, having gone quickly through the air,

Āravāladahe vāripiṭṭhe caṅkamanam akā,250
walked up and down on the top of the water on Āravāla’s lake,

tīṭhati ca nisīditvā, seyyaṁ kappesi tāvade. [12]
he stopped and having sat down, he instantly lay down.

Nāgamāṇavikā disvā kuddhā Rañño nivedayuṁ:
Having seen that, the angry young Nāgas informed the (Nāga) King, saying:

“Deva! Muṇḍanako eko chinnapaṭadharo ahu,
“God-King! This solitary shaveling wearing his (patchwork) cloth,251

vārimhi kāsuṁ letvāna,252 akā caṅkamanādike.” [13]
having lain on this lake253 of water, is walking up and down and so on.”

Sutvāna tāsaṁ vacanaṁ Nāgarājā mahiddhiko,
Having heard their statement the Nāga King, of great power,

nikkhamma bhavanato ‘yaṁ vividhā bhīṁsikākari: [14]
came out from his dwelling and did various fearful things:

\[248\] Mhv: Aravāl- here, and below.
\[249\] Samudda normally means ocean or sea, but Kasmīra-Gandhāra was a long way away from the ocean, and the word can cover any large body of water, which is what is meant here.
\[250\] Mhv: caṅkamanādike; walking up and down and so on.
\[251\] Cf. 14.11 below.
\[252\] This would imply a verb leti, or possibly layati, neither of which is found in the Dictionaries. It is presumably connected with Sanskrit layana; clinging, adhering, resting, lying down.
\[253\] Cf. SED: karṣū, Us f. (Uṇ. i, 82) a furrow, trench, incision ŠBr. KātyŚr. &c.; a river, canal...
vātā mahantā vāyanti, megho gajjati vassati,
great winds did blow, a cloud thundered and rained,

phalanti asaniyo,²⁵⁴ vijjū niccharanti tato tato, [15]
thunderbolts crashed, lightning struck here and there,

mahīruhā pabbatānaṁ kūṭāni papatanti ca,
trees and the tops of the mountains (all) fell down,

virūparūpā Nāgā ca bhiṁsāpenti samantato. [16]
and deformed Nāgas caused fright on all sides.

Sayaṁ dhūpati jalati akkosanto anekadhā,
He himself angrily fumed and burned in many ways,

“Etha, gaṇhatha hanatha,” Nāge sabbe apesayi. [17]
and he sent all the Nāgas, saying: “Go, seize and kill (them).”

Sabbaṁ taṁ iddhiyā Thero paṭibāhiya bhiṁsanaṁ
The Elder having repelled all those fearful things with his psychic power

avoca Nāgarājaṁ taṁ, dassento balam-uttamaṁ: [18]
said this to the Nāga King, showing his supreme strength:

“Sadevako pi ce²⁵⁵ loko āgantvā tāsayeyya maṁ
“If the world together with its gods having come were to (try to) frighten me

na me paṭibalo assa yam-ettha²⁵⁶ bhayabheravaṁ. [19]
they would not be able to (give rise to) fear and fright in me here.

Sace pi tvaṁ mahiṁ sabbaṁ sasamuddaṁ sapabbataṁ,
Even if you, having taken up the whole earth with its oceans and mountains, Great

ukkhipitvā Mahānāga, khipeyyāsi mamopari, [20]
Nāga, were to throw them at me from on high,

neva me sakkuṇeyyāsi janetum bhayabheravaṁ.
there is no possibility to give rise to fear and fright in me.

Aññadatthu tavevassa vighāto Uragādhipa.” [21]
Assuredly, it is only for your own distress, Ruler of Snakes.”

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²⁵⁴ Mhv: *phalantāsaniyo*; which is better metrically.
²⁵⁵ Text: *ca*, which gives savipulā, which is normally avoided in the classical period.
Mahāvaṁsa: *ce*, which also gives better sense.
²⁵⁶ Mhv: *janetum*; *to give birth to*. 
XII. Faith in Various Districts

Taṁ sutvā nimmadassassa, Thero Dhammaṁ adesayi,
Having heard that, he was crushed, and the Elder taught the Dhamma,

tatto\textsuperscript{257} Saraṇasīlesu Nāgarājā patiṭṭhahi, [22]
and truly the Nāga King was established in the Refuges and Precepts,

tathēva caturāsīti sahassāni Bhujaṅgāmā,
and right there and then eighty-four thousand Serpents,\textsuperscript{258}

patiṭṭhahinīsu Saraṇe Silesu ca lahuṁ lahuṁ. [23]
were also very quickly established in the Refuges and Precepts.

Himavante ca Gandhabbā Yakkhā Kumbhaṇḍakā bahū,
In the Himālaya many Gandhabras, Yakkhas and Kumbhaṇḍakas,

patiṭṭhahitvā Saraṇe Silesu ca lahuṁ lahuṁ, [24]
had been very quickly established in the Refuges and Precepts,

Bhaṇḍako\textsuperscript{259} nāma Yakkho tu, saddhiṁ Hāritayakkhiyā,
but the Yakkha named Bhaṇḍaka, together with the Yakkhinī Hāritā,

pañcasatehi puttehi Phalaṁ pāpuṇi ādikaṁ. [25]
and their five-hundred children attained (Path and) Fruit and so on.

Tato Majjhantiko Thero Nāge sabbe avoca so:
Then the Elder Majjhantika said this to all the Nāgas:

“Mā dāni kodhaṁ janayittha ito uddhaṁ yathā pure, [26]
“Now do not give rise to anger in the future as in the past,

sassaghātañ-ca mā kattha, sukhakāmā hi pāṇino.
do not destroy the crops, for breathing beings desire happiness.

Karotha mettaṁ sattesu, vasantu manujā sukhaṁ.”
Develop loving-kindness towards beings, let humans live happily.”

Iti tenānusaṭṭhā te tathēva paṭipajjisuṁ. [27]
Like this they were admonished and they followed the path in that place.

Tato ratanapallaṅke Theraṁ so Uragādhipo
nisīdāpiya, atṭhāsi vijamāno tad-antike. [28]
Then the Ruler of Snakes, having made the Elder sit down on a jewelled couch, stood near by fanning him.

\textsuperscript{257} Mhv: \textit{tato; and then}.
\textsuperscript{258} Another term for Nāgas.
\textsuperscript{259} Mhv: \textit{Paṇḍako}. 
XII. Faith in Various Districts - 61

Tadā Kasmīra-Gandhāre vāsino manujāgatā
Then the humans residing in Kasmīra-Gandhāra who had come

Nāgarājassa pūjatthaṁ, mantvā Theraṁ mahiddhikam, [29]
in order to worship the Nāga King, after discussing the Elder of great power,

Theram-evābhivādetvā, ekam-antam nisīdisuṁ.
and worshipping the Elder, sat down on one side.

Tesaṁ Dhammam-adesesi Thero Āsīvisūpamaṁ. [30]
The Elder taught them the Dhamma about the Simile of the Poisonous Snake.260

Asītiyā sahassānaṁ Dhammābhisamayo ahu,
For eighty thousand (of them) there was a penetration261 of the Dhamma,

satasaḥassāṁ purisā pabbajum Therasantike. [31]
and one-hundred thousand men went forth262 in the presence of the Elder.

Tato pabhuti Kasmīra-Gandhārā te idāni pi
Since that time until now those in Kasmīra-Gandhāra

āsuṁ kāsāvapajjotā,263 vatthuttayaparāyaṇā. [32]
are light up with the monastic robe, finding support in the three objects.264

[More Missions]
33-47 = Mhv 29-43

Gantvā Mahādevatthero, desaṁ Mahisamaṇḍalaṁ,
The Elder Mahādeva, having gone to the district of Mahisamaṇḍala,

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260 Probably SN 35. Sut. 238, although there are others that include a relevant simile. An appropriate simile for Nāgas to learn, there four poisonous snakes represent the four elements, which are subject to disintegration.
261 I.e. they attained Path and Fruit. Abhisamaya is the noun regularly used in this connection. Cf. passim.
262 I.e. ordained as monks. Technically pabbajjā is the lower ordination, which is normally followed by upasampadā. But here and elsewhere in this text it appears to be used as a shorthand to indicate both. It appears from this again, that Majjhantika must have been the leader, and was probably accompanied by at least four other monks, to make up the number required to give the higher ordination.
263 Mhv: kāsāya-
264 The three objects of reverence, i.e. the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.
suttantaṁ Devadūtaṁ so kathesi janam-ajjhago. [33]  
presented the Discourse on the Divine Messengers in the midst of the people.

Cattālīsasahassāni Dhammacakkhuṁ visodhayuṁ,  
Forty thousand (people) purified the Dhamma-Eye,

cattālīsasahassāni pabbajīṁsu ca santike. [34]  
and forty thousand (people) went forth in his presence.

* * *

Gantvāna Rakkhitatthero Vanavāsiṁ, nabhe ṭhito,  
The Elder Rakkhita, having gone to Vanavāsi, while standing in the sky,

Saṁyuttaṁ Anamataggaṁ kathesi janam-ajjhago. [35]  
preached the Thematic Discourses on the Unknown Beginning in the midst of the people.

Saṭṭhinarasahassānaṁ Dhammābhisamayo ahu,  
For sixty-seven thousand (people) there was a penetration of the Dhamma,

sattatisahassamattā pabbajīṁsu tad-antike. [36]  
around thirty-seven thousand went forth in his presence.

Vihārānaṁ pañcasataṁ tasmiṁ dese patiṭṭhahi,  
Five hundred monastic dwelling places were established in this district,

patiṭṭhāpesi tatthevaṁ Thero so Jinasāsanaṁ. [37]  
and the Elder established the Dispensation of the Victor in that place.

* * *

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265 Mhv: taṁ.

266 MN 130. Another simile, this time about the signs of sickness, old age and death, which one heedless ignores.

267 Text: Cattālīsa- here, Cattālīsa- below. The text varies, here I have preferred to write Cattālīsa- each time.

268 I.e. they attained path and fruit.

269 Mhv: tad-antike; same meaning.

270 SN 15. Similes about the extreme length of Sāṁsāra.

271 Mhv: sattatimisasahassamattā; same meaning.

272 Text: vihāraṁ-ca, but plural is required.

273 Another epithet for the Buddha.
XII. Faith in Various Districts

**Gantvā ’parantakaṁ Thero Yonako Dhammarakkhito,**
The Ionian Elder Dhammarakkhita, having gone to Aparantikā,

**Aggikkhandhopamaṁ Suttaṁ kathesi** [274] janan-ajjhago, [38]
preached the Discourse on the Simile of the Mass of Fire [275] in the midst of the people,

**sattatiṁsasahassāni pāṇe tattha samāgame** [276]
and thirty-seven thousand breathing beings who had assembled together there

**Dhammāmataṁ apāyesi Dhammādhammesu kovido.** [39]
tasted [277] the Deathless Dhamma of the one skilled in what was Dhamma and not Dhamma.

**Purisānaṁ sahassaṅ-ca** [278] itthiyō ca tatodhikā
A thousand of men and even more women than that

**Khattiyānaṁ kulā yeva, nikkhamitvāna pabbajum.** [40]
from the Noble families, having renounced (the world), went forth.

* * *

**Mahāraṭṭhaṁ Isī gantvā so Mahādhammarakkhito,**
The Seer Mahādhammarakkhita, having gone to Mahāraṭṭha,

**Mahānāradakassapavhaṁ Jātakaṁ** [279] kathayī tahiṁ. [41]
preached the Birth Story called Mahānāradakassapa [280] in that place.

**Maggaphalaṁ pāpuṇiṁsu caturāsītisahassakā,**
Eighty-four thousand (people) attained Path and Fruit,

**terasan-tu sahassāni pabbajine su ca santike.** [281] [42]
but thirteen thousand (people) went forth in his presence.

* * *

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[274] Mhv: *kathetvā; having preached.*
[275] AN Bk. 7 Sut. 68, on the preference of embracing fire over embracing a woman.
[277] Lit. *drank.*
XII. Faith in Various Districts

Gantvā Yonakavisayāṁ 282 so Mahārakkhito Isi,
The Seer Mahārakkhita, having gone to the locality of the Ionians, 283

Kālakārāmasuttantaṁ kathesi janam-ajjhago, [43]
preached the Kālakārāma Discourse 284 in the midst of the people,

paññasatasahassāni sahassāni ca sattati
and one hundred thousand and seventy thousand breathing beings

Maggaphalaṁ pāpuṇiṁsu, dasasahassāni pabbajum. [44]
attained Path and Fruit, and ten thousand went forth.

* * *

Gantvā catūhi Therehi desesi Majjhimo Isi
The Seer Majjhima, together with four Elders, 285 having gone

Himavantapadesasmin Dhammacakkappavattanaṁ, [45]
into the Himālaya district Set Rolling the Dhamma Wheel, 286

Maggaphalaṁ pāpuṇiṁsu asītipañakoṭiyo.
and eight-hundred million breathing beings attained Path and Fruit.

Visuṁ te pañca raṭṭhāni pañca Therā pasādayum, [46]
Separately these five Elders brought faith to five countries,

purisā satasahassāni ekekasseva santike
and a hundred thousand men in the presence of each (of the Elders)

pabbajīṁsu, pasādena Sammāsambuddhasāsane. [47]
went forth, 287 having faith in the Dispensation of the Perfectly Awakened One.

282 Mhv: Gantvāna Yonavisayāṁ; same meaning.
283 This was probably not Ionia itself, but where the Greeks were still stationed on the edge of India, possibly around what is now Pakistan, following the campaigns of Alexandria the Great.
284 AN Bk. 4 Sut. 24. On the lack of conceit in the Buddha in regard to sense objects.
285 According to the Dipavamsa the companions were named Kassapagotta, Durāsada (= Dundhubhissara in MhvṬ), Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva, though these names are given in different forms elsewhere.
286 A play on words, the Dhammacakkappavattana, which was the First Discourse of the Buddha, is found at SN 56.11.
287 That means, I believe, a hundred thousand went forth in the presence of each of the Elders.
Saddhiṁ Uttaratherena Soṇatthero mahiddhiko,
The Elder Uttara together with the Elder Soṇa, of great psychic power,

Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ agamā, tasmiṁ tu samaye pana [48]
went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, but at that time

jāte jāte Rājagehe dārake, ruddarakhhasi,
whenever children were born in the King’s Palace, a fierce demoness,

samuddato nikkhamitvā bhakkhayītvāna, gacchati. [49]
having left the ocean and eaten (the child), would then depart.

Tasmiṁ khaṇe Rājagehe jāto hoti kumārako
At that moment in the King’s Palace a prince was born

There manussā passitvā: ‘Rakkhasānaṁ sahāyakā.’
and people, having seen the Elders (thought): ‘(These are) friends of the demons.’

Iti cintiya māretuṁ sāvudhā288 upasaṅkamuṁ. [50]
Thus thinking to kill them they approached with weapons.

Disvā āvudhahatthe: “Kiṁ āgacchathā?” ti pucchiya
Having seen (them) holding weapons in their hands, he asked: “Why did you come?”

“Jāte Rājakule te hi dārake rakkhasā bahū [51]
khādanti, tesam āhā tumhe pi rakkhasānaṁ sahāyakā289
ahumhā.” ti Vutte te Therā āhāṃsu te nare: [52]
“These children born in the Royal family are eaten by many demons, and you are
friends with these demons.” When this was said, those Elders said this to those
people:

“Samaṇā mayaṁ śilavantā, pāṇavadhāi saññaṁā,
“We are virtuous ascetics, who are restrained from killing breathing beings and so
on,

kalyāṇadhammā asamā, na rakkhasisahāyakā.” [53]
having unmatched goodness, we are not friends of the demoness.”

288 Mahāvaṁsa: sāvudhā; same meaning.
289 Geiger gives a variant verse found in a number of versions which is similar to this verse:
Jāte jāte Rājakule dārake khādanti rakkhasā, tumhe tesamī sahāyakā Therā te evam-āhu te.
XII. Faith in Various Districts - 66

Tasmīṁ khaṇe sā rakkhasī saparisāya: “Dārake Khādissāṁī,” ti turitā nikkhantā hotī sāgarā. [54]
At that moment the demoness said to her assembly: “I will eat the children,” and quickly left from the waters.

Te disvāna, mahāravaṁ viraviṁsu mahājanā:
Having seen them, the multitude cried out a loud cry:

“Ayyā pi rakkhasā sabbā āgatā khāditum!” iti [55]
“The noble demons have come to eat us all!”

Diguṇe rakkhase Thero māpayitvā bhayānake,
The Elder, having created twice as many fearful demons,

tāṁ rakkhasiṁ saparisaṁ parikkhipi samantato. [56]
surrounded that demoness and her assembly on all sides.

Rakkhasī parisāyo tā passitvāna disodisaṁ
After seeing that (created) demoness’ assembly in all directions

‘Idaṁ imehi laddhan’-ti mantvā bhītā palāyi sā. [57]
and considering: ‘This (land) is (now) theirs’, fearfully she ran away.

Tassa desassa ārakkhaṁ ṭhapetvāna samantato
Having placed a protection of that district on all sides

tasmīṁ samāgame Thero Brahmajālaṁ adesayi, [58]
the Elder taught the Brahmajāla (Discourse) in that gathering,

Saraṇesu ca Sīlesu aṭṭhaṁsu bahu te janā.
and established the multitude in the Refuges and Precepts.

Saṭṭhiyā tu sahassānam Dhammābhisamayo ahu, [59]
But for sixty thousand there was a penetration of the Dhamma,

aḍḍhuḍḍhāni sahassāni pabbajunā kuladārakā.
and three and a half thousand sons of good families went forth.

Pabbajināsu diyaḍḍhamu tu sahassāni kuladhītaro. [60]
But one and half thousand daughters of good families (also) went forth.

Tato pabhuti sañjāte Rājagehe kumārake
Since that time when a prince was born in the King’s Palace

290 A strange epithet to use here.
291 DN 1.
292 For bahū m.c. to fit the cadence. Mhv: bahavo.
nāmaṁ kariṁsu Rājāno Soṇuttarasanāmake. [61]
the Kings gave them the names of Soṇa and Uttara.

Mahādayassāpi Jinassa, kaḍḍhanaṁ
The very sympathetic Victor, gave up and

vihāya pattaṁ Amataṁ sukhaṁ pi te,
renounced attainment of the Deathless happiness for himself,

kariṁsu lokassa hitaṁ tahiṁ tahiṁ.
and sought the benefit of the world here and there.

Bhaveyya ko lokahite pamādavā? ti [62]
Who would be heedless in benefiting the world?

Sujanappasādasaniyagatthāya Kate
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People

Mahāvaṁse Nānādesappasādo nāma Dvādasamo Paricchedo
The Twelfth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Faith in Various Districts

293 Kariṁsu is plural, which doesn't fit with the subject.
[XIII. Mahinda’s Journey]
[Mahindāgamano]
1-29 ≠ Mhv 1-21

[To Vedisa]
1-8 ≠ Mhv 1-8

Mahāmahindathero so, tadā dvādasavassiko,
Then the Great Elder Mahinda, having twelve Rains,\(294\)

upajjhāyena āṇatto Saṅghena ca mahāmatī [1]
being of great intelligence, ordered by his preceptor and the Community

Laṅkādīpaṁ pasādetuṁ, kālaṁ pekkham vicintayi:
to bring faith to the Island of Laṅkā, having sought the right time, thought:

‘Vuḍḍho Muṭasivo Rājā, na sakkā Sāsanapaggahaṁ,’\(295\) [2]
‘King Muṭasiva is old, he is unable to uphold the Dispensation,’

tanayo Piyatisso ca Rājā ca abhavissa so
if his son Piyatissa were to become King

so sakkā paggahāṁ kātuṁ Sāsanassa ca Satthuno,
he would be able to uphold the Dispensation of the Teacher,

na hi so samayo patto na gacchissāmi Dīpakaṁ.’ [3]
therefore the time has not arrived when I will go to the Isle.’

Tad-antare Mahindo so, daḷhaṁ katvāna mānasaṁ,
In the meantime Mahinda, having resolved his mind (to go later),

passituṁ ūtisāngaṁ ca Dakkhiṇāgiriyaṁ varam, [4]
in order to see his relatives (went) to the noble Dakkhiṇāgiri,\(296\)

upajjhāyaṁ-ca Saṅghaṁ-ca vanditvāpuccha Bhūpatimī
d and after worshipping his preceptor and Community, he asked the Lord of the Earth\(297\)

ādāya caturo There, Saṅghamittāya atrajanī, [5]
and took with him four Elders, and (his sister) Saṅghamittā’s son,

\(294\) In the monastic life seniority is counted by the number of Rains Retreats one has completed. At twelve Rains Mahinda would be an Elder, although still quite a young monk.

\(295\) This line has an extra syllable.

\(296\) It was a state (janapada) situated more or less where Madhya Pradesh is now, having Ujjenī (modern Ujjain) as capital.

\(297\) King Asoka, his Father.
XIII. Mahinda's Journey - 69

Sumanaṁ sāmaṇerañ-ca, chaḷabhīññaṁ mahiddhikāṁ.
the novice Sumana, who had the six deep knowledges and great power.

贍īnaṁ saṅgahāṁ kātuṁ agamā Dakkhināgiriṁ [6]
To give favour to his relatives he went to Dakkhināgiri

tathā tattha298 carantassa cha māsā samatikkamuṁ.
and while walking from one place to the other six months passed by.

Kamena Vedisagirinagaraṁ Mātudeviyā [7]
sampatto Mātaramī passi, Devī disvā Piyaṁ sutaṁ,
Having by and by reached his Mother Devī’s city Vedisagiri he saw his Mother, and Devī, having seen her dear son,

bhoyayitvā saparisaṁ attanā, yeva kāritaṁ
and prepared food for him and his assembly, made

vihāraṁ Vedisagiriṁ Theraṁ ārocayī299 subhaṁ. [8]
the lovely monastery (called) Vedisagiri, and announced it to the Elder.

[Asoka’s Children in Avanti]
9-13 ≠ Mhv 9-11

Avantiraṭṭhaṁ bhuñjanto,300 Pitarā dinnam-attano,
While he was enjoying the country of Avanti, which was given to him by his Father,

so Asokakumāro pi, Ujjenīgamānā purā, [9]
Prince Asoka, on his journey to the city of Ujjenī,

Vedisanagaraṁ patvā, vasati ca pure vare,
after arriving at the city of Vedisa, dwelling in that noble city,

Deviṁ nāma labhitvāna kumārīṁ, setṭhidhītaramī, [10]
and receiving a girl named Devī, a merchant’s daughter,

gahī subhaṁ abhirūpaṁ Vedisanagare vare,
took ahold of that lovely and handsome (girl) in the noble city of Vedisa,

samvāsaṁ tāya kappesi, gabbhaṁ gaṇhiya tena sā. [11]
became intimate with her, and through him she conceived301 a child.

Ujjeniyaṁ kumāraṁ taṁ Mahindaṁ janayī sutaṁ,302

298 Mhv: tassa.
299 Mhv: āropayi; (the Elder) got ready.
300 This section is evidently either an interpolation to explain the genealogy of Mahinda and Sāṅghamitta, or is at least out of position, as the events should properly have been stated first.
301 Lit: an embryo took hold.
In Ujjenī she gave birth to a son, prince Mahinda,

\[ \text{vassadvayam atikkamma Saṅghamittaː ca dhītaraː,} \] \[ \text{[12]} \]
and after two years had passed also to a daughter Saṅghamittā,\[ \text{303} \]

\[ \text{putte cuddasavasse, so abhisekaː apāpuṇi.} \]
and fourteen years after his child, he attained his consecration.

Tasmā kāle vasati sā Vedisanagare tadā.\[ \text{304} \]
Then at that time she\[ \text{305} \] dwelt in the city of Vedisa.

[Determining the Time]

14-21 ≠ Mhv 12-17

Thero tattha nisīditvā: ‘Kālaññū’ iti, cintayi,
Then the Elder, after residing there, thinking: ‘This is the right time,’

‘Pitarā me samāṇattaː abhisekam-ahussavaː’\[ \text{[14]} \]
and ‘(in) the consecration festival which is ordered by my Father

Devānampiyatisso so Mahārājānubhotu ca,
the Great King Devānampiyatissa will partake,\[ \text{306} \]

Vatthuttayaguṇe cāpi sutvā jānātu dūtato.\[ \text{[15]} \]
and having heard about the virtues of the Three Objects from the envoy may he understand.

Ārohatu Missakanagam Jeṭṭhamāsassesuposathe
May he ascend mount Missaka on the Observance day\[ \text{307} \] in the month of Jeṭṭha,\[ \text{308} \]

tadahe va gamissāma Laṅkādīpavaram mayam.‘\[ \text{[16]} \]
(and) we will go on the same day to the noble Island of Laṅkā.’

Tasmā khaːne ca devindo āgamma Therasantikaːn
At that time the lord of the gods came into the presence of the Elder

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302 Mhv: \textit{subham}; \textit{(to a) beautiful (son)}.  
303 It is clear from this that Devī was more of a courtesan, and not the main Queen (Aggamahesi), who is named elsewhere in the Chronicle (5.85) as Asandhimittā; the latter died quite early and Asoka then raised Tissarakkhā to Queen, see XX v.6 below.  
304 Mhv: \textit{Vedise nagare tahiː}.  
305 Presumably referring to Devī.  
306 Although he partook in the coronation, it appears he did so without attending, probably simply by sending tribute and good wishes.  
307 That is on the Full Moon day, the fast days are observed on the New Moon and Full Moon days.  
308 The month after Visakha, normally falling in June.
avoca iti Sakko taṁ Mahindattheram-uttamaṁ: [17]
and Sakka said this to the Great and Supreme Elder Mahinda:

“Bhante, Muṭasivo Rājā kālakato idāni pi
“Venerable Sir, now the King Muṭasiva has died

Devānampiyatisso tu putto rajjaṁ akārayi, [18]
and his son Devānampiyatisśa309 is making his rule,

tasmā hi Bhante, kāloyaṁ gamatthāya Dīpakaṁ,
therefore, venerable Sir, this is the right time to go to the Isle,

yāhi Laṅkaṁ pasādetuṁ, Sambuddhenāpi vyākato, [19]
go to bring faith to Laṅkā, as predicted by the Perfectly Awakened One,

mayaṁ pi tatthupatthambhā bhavissāmā,” ti abravi.
and we will provide the support (for you) there,” he said.

Deviyā bhaginī dhītu putto Bhaṇḍukanāmako, [20]
Devī’s sister’s daughter’s son,310 Bhaṇḍuka by name,

Therena Deviyā Dhammaṁ sutvā desitam-eva tu
having heard the Dhamma preached by the Elder to Devī

Anāgāmiphalaṁ patvā, vasi Therassa santike. [21]
and attained the Fruit of Non-Returner, dwelt in the presence of the Elder.

[Arrival in Laṅkā]
22-29 ≠ Mhv 18-21

Vedisanagare ramme vasitvā timsa rattiyo:
After dwelling in the delightful city of Vedisa for thirty nights, thinking:

‘Kāloyaṁ gamanassā,’ ti “Gacchāma Dipam-uttamaṁ,” [22]
‘This is the right time for the journey’, (he said): “We will go (now) to the supreme Island,”

mantetvāna Mahindo so Jeṭṭhamāssapo sathe
and the Elder Mahinda, having advised (them thus) on the Observance day in the
month of Jeṭṭha

309 The name means: Tissa, Beloved of the Gods.
310 I.e. Devī’s grand-nephew.
XIII. Mahinda's Journey - 72

Thero catûhi Therehi Sumanenāpi Bhaṇḍunā [23]
with the four Elders, Sumana and Bhaṇḍu

saddhiṁ tena gahaṭṭhena naraṭāṅnattihetunā,
the householder, by knowing their human state,

paṭipāṭiyā vihārā uggantvāna nabhe tale [24]
having risen in succession from the monastery into the sky

sobhamānā ca te Therā haṁsarājā va ambare,
those Elders, shining like kings of geese in the sky,

khaṇeneva idhāgamma pabbate meghasannibhe [25]
aṭṭhaṁsu tattha kūṭamhi ramme Missakapabbate.
in an instant came here and stood resembling clouds on the mountain there on the
top of the delightful mount Missaka.

Ṭhitā hutvā girikūṭaṁ haṁsā va, nagamuddhani [26]
Mahindo nāma nāmena Saṅghatthero tadā ahu,
Having stood like geese on the mountain peak, there were on the top of the
mountain the Community Elder known by the name of Mahinda,

Iṭṭhiyo Uttiyo Therā Bhaddasālo ca Sambalo [27]
the Elders Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla and Sambala

sāmaṇero ca Sumano, chaḷabhiñño mahiddhiko,
and the novice Sumana, who had the six deep knowledges and great power,

kumāro Bhaṇḍuko ceva diṭṭha-Sacco ca sattamo.
and the young man Bhaṇḍuka, these seven who had seen the Truth.

Iti hete Mahātherā Laṅkādīpappasādakā. [28]
Thus these Great Elders lit up the Island of Laṅkā.

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311 The young man is sometimes called Bhaṇḍu in the narrative, and at others Bhaṇḍuka. Both
would mean shaven-headed.

312 I do not understand the text here, but MhvṬ doesn't see a problem and paraphrases:
manussabhāvajānanāya.
Laṅkāpasādaguṇena viyākato so,
Laṅkāhitāya, Muninā sayitena ante, [29]
As predicted by the Sage on his last resting place, for the benefit of Laṅkā,
through the virtue of the faith of Laṅkā,

Laṅkāya Satthusadiso hitahetu tassā,
he who, through being of benefit to Laṅkā, was like the Teacher,

Laṅkāmarūhi mahitobhinisīdi tatthā ti.
through the protective gods of Laṅkā came to reside there.

Sujanappasādasanīvegatthāya Kate
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People

Mahāvainse Mahindāgamano nāma Terasamo Paricchedo
The Thirteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Mahinda’s Journey

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313 I.e. the Buddha on his death bed in Kusināra.
314 I.e. Mahinda.
Sambuddhaparinibbānā dvinnām vassasatopari
Over two hundred years after the Emancipation of the Perfectly Awakened One

tasmiṁ Dīpe Sāsanassa Mahindo so ṭhapīyate [01]
Mahinda established the Dispensation in this Island

tasmiñ-ca divase patto nakkhatto Jeṭṭhamūlako.
on the very day the root of the constellation of Jeṭṭha was reached.

Ahosi tasmiṁ nagare Rājā ghosāpayisse at
The King had it proclaimed there in the city,

amacce315 sannipātētvā: “Chaṇaṁ ghosetha vo.” iti [02]
after assembling his ministers (saying): “Please proclaim a festival for us.”

Devānampiyatisso so Rājā salilakīḷitaṁ
King Devānampiyatissa, having given a water-sport

datvā nagaravāsīnaṁ, migavaṁ kilitum agā. [03]
for the city-dwellers, went for the sport of deer-hunting.

Cattālīsasahassehi narehi parivārito,
Surrounded by forty-thousand of his men,

dhāvanto padasā yeva, agamā Missakaṁ nagaṁ. [04]
while running on foot, he came to mount Missaka.

There dassetum-icchanto devo tasmiṁ mahīdhare,
The god of the mountain, wishing to show (him) the Elders in that place,

tiṇaṁ khādayamāno316 va āsi317 gokaṇṇarūpavā. [05]
took a form like an elk grazing in the thicket.

315 Text: Aṁacce; printer's error.
316 Mahāvaṁsa: Gumbaṁ bhakkhayamāno; grazing in the thicket.
317 Mhv: atṭhā.
XIV. Entry into the City - 75

Rājā disvā: ‘Pamattaṁ taṁ na yuttaṁ vijjhitum,’ iti
The King, having seen (him), thinking: ‘It is not proper to shoot one who is heedless;’

jiyaṁ poṭhesi tasmiṁ, so dhāvi ‘mbatthala-m-aggato,
therefore struck his bow-string, and (the elk) ran to the top of Ambatthala,\(^{318}\)

piṭṭhito anubandhanto Ambalatthābhīrihi\(^{319}\) so. [06]
and pursuing from behind he (also) ascended the Ambatthala.

Rājānudhāvi so dhāvaṁ, Therānaṁ santiṁ gato,
The King chased along, and he ran within the presence of the Elders,

avidūrehi Therehi sayaṁ antaradhāyati. [07]
and with the Elders not so distant (the elk) himself vanished.

Thero ‘Bahusu diṭṭhesu atibhāyissatī,’ ti so
The Elder, thinking: ‘In seeing many (people) he will be very fearful,’

‘Itare pi mamaṁ yeva Rājā mā passatū\(^{320}\) jane,’
(determined): ‘Let the King see no other people than myself,’

adhiṭṭhahitvā, attānaṁ dassesi samanantare. [08]
and having made the resolution, he showed himself immediately.

Rājānaṁ āgataṁ disvā, Mahindo dūratogato,
Having seen the King come, Mahinda came from afar,

“Tissa, Tissa, ito ehi!” iti Therō avoca so. [09]
and the Elder said: ‘Tissa, Tissa, come hence!’

‘Tisso’ ti vacanaṁ sutvā, bhīto Rājā vicintayi:
Having heard the word ‘Tissa’ the fearful King reflected:

‘Koci Tisso ti nāmena Dīpe jāto naro idha,\(^{10}\)
gahetvā lapituṁ nāmaṁ samattho pi na vijjati,
Here in this island there is no man born, who, having taken (it), is able to speak my name Tissa,

muṇḍako pana ekoyaṁ chinnabhinnapatandharo, [11]
but this solitary shaveling, wearing his patchwork robe,

\(^{318}\) A plain in front of the Missika mountain, it means: Mango Plain, and perhaps gets it's name from the discussion that follows.

\(^{319}\) Text: Ambalatthalābhīrihi; printer's error.

\(^{320}\) Text: passatu, against the cadence.
paṇḍukāsāvavasano, Tissanāmena avhayi.  
a cloth died with yellow dye, called (me) by name Tissa.

Nu kho ayāṁ pi kiṁ: hoti manusso anussako?  [12]  
What is this: a human being or a non-human being?

Tam-atthaṁ cintitam Raññā Thero ſatvā tam-abravi:  
After understanding the sense of the King’s thoughts, the Elder said this:

“Samaññā mayaṁ, Mahārāja, Dhammarājassa sāvakā.  
“We are ascetics, Great King, disciples of the King of the Dhamma.

Taveva anukampāya, Jambudīpā idhāgatā.”  [13]  
Having compassion on you, we have come here from the Rose-Apple Island.”

Therassa vacanaṁ sutvā, so vigatabhayo ahu,  
Having heard this statement of the Elder, he was without fear,

saritvā sakhisandesāṁ: ‘Samāno’ iti nicchito.  [14]  
and remembering his friend’s message he considered: ‘(He is) an ascetic’.

Dhanuṁ sarañca nikkhippa upasaṅkamma taṁ Isiṁ,  
Having put aside his bow and arrow he approached the Seer,

sammodamāno Therena so nisīdi tad-antike.  [15]  
and, greeting the Elder, he sat down in his presence.

[The Questions]  
16-28 ≠ Mhv 11-23

Tadā tassa manussā te āgamma parivārayuṁ  
Then the men who had come with him surrounded them

tadā sese pi dassesi Mahāthere sahāyate.  [16]  
and he showed the rest of his friends, the Great Elders.

Te pi disvā, ‘bravī Rājā: “Kadāme āgatā?” iti  
After seeing them, the King said: “When did these come?”

“Mayā saddhin,”-ti Therena vutte, pucchi idāṁ pūna:  [17]  
“(They came) with me,” said the Elder, and again (the King) asked this:

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321 Presumably meaning Asoka.
322 Mhv: Mahāthero; it would then mean: The Great Elder then showed his friends.
“Santi īdisakā aññe Jambudīpe323 yati?” iti
“Are there other strivers like these in the Rose-Apple Island?”

Āha: “Kāsāvapajjoto Jambudīpo, tahiṁ pana” [18]
He said: “The Rose-Apple Island shines with the dyed robe, moreover, in that place

Tevijā iddhipattā ca, cetopariyakovidā,
there are those with the Three Knowledges, psychic powers, skill in mind-reading.

Dibbasotā324 Arahantā, bahū Buddhassa sāvakā”. [19]
Worthy Ones with Divine Hearing, and many disciples of the Awakened One.”

Pucchi: “Kenāgatatthā?” ti, “Na thalena na vārinā
He asked: “By what means did you come?” “Neither by land nor by water

āgatamā” ti vutto, so vijāni: ‘Nabhasāgamaṁ.’ [20]
did we come,” he said, so he understood: ‘They came through the air.’

Vīmaṁsaṁ so Mahāpañño paññaṁ pañhe325 apucchi tam,
Enquiring, the One with Great Wisdom asked him a wisdom question,

puṭṭho puṭṭho viyākāsi tam taṁ pañhaṁ Mahīpati: [21]
and one question after another the Lord of the World answered in this way and that:

“Rukkhoyaṁ Rāja kin-nāmo?” “Ambo nāma ayaṁ taru.”
“This tree, King, what is its name?” “The name of this tree is mango.”

“Imaṁ muñciya añaṁbo?”326 “Santi Ambatarū bahū.” [22]
“Aside from this, are there other mangoes?” “There are many mango trees.”

“Imañ-ca ambam te ambe muñciyaṭṭhi mahīruḥā?”
“Aside from this mango and those mangoes, are there (other) trees?”

“Imañ bhante bahū327 rukkhā, anambā pana te tarū.” [23]
“Venerable Sir, there are many other trees, and those trees are not mangoes.”

“Aññe ambe anambe ca muñciyaṭṭhi mahīruḥā?”
“Aside from (those) mangoes and (those) not mangoes, are there (other) trees?”

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323 Text: *Jambudīpē*, printer’s error.
324 Mhv inserts *ca*.
325 Mhv: *sāñham pañhaṁ*; a subtle question.
326 Mhv: *atthambo*.
327 Text: *bahu*; against the metre.
“Ayaṁ Bhadantambarukkho,”\textsuperscript{328} “Paṇḍitosi Narissara!” \textsuperscript{[24]} 
“(There is) this mango tree, venerable Sir,” “Lord of Men, you are wise!

Santi te ñātakā Rāja?” “Santi Bhante bahū janā,”
Do you have relatives, King?” “There are many people, venerable Sir,”

“Santi anihātakā Rāja?” “Santi anihātakā\textsuperscript{329} bahū,” \textsuperscript{[25]} 
“Are there (others) who are not relatives, King?” “There are many who are not relatives,”

“Ñātake te ca añaī ca muñciyāṅno pi atthi nu?”
“Aside from these and the others, is there anyone else?”

“Aham-evā bhaveyyāmi,” “Sādhu, sādhū” ti so ‘bravi, \textsuperscript{[26]}
“There would be myself,” “(It is) good, good!” he said.

‘Paṇḍito’ ti viditvāna, Cūḷahatthipadopamaṁ
Suttantaṁ desaiṁ Tero, Mahīpassa\textsuperscript{330} mahāmati. \textsuperscript{[27]}
Having understood: ‘He is wise,’ the Elder taught the very wise Lord of the World
the Short Discourse on the Simile of the Elephant’s Foot.\textsuperscript{331}

Desanāpiyosāne, saddhinā tehi narehi so
cattālisahasasahassehi Saraṇesu patiṭṭhahi. \textsuperscript{[28]}
At the end of the Teaching, together with forty-thousand of his men, he established
him in the Refuges (and Precepts).

[Ordination and Teaching] 
\textsuperscript{29-50} ≠ Mhv 24-41

Bhattābhihāram sāyaṅhe Raṅño abhiharum, tadā
In the evening an offering of food was brought to the King, then

Suttantaṁ hi sunītvā so Mahindeneva bhāsitaṁ, \textsuperscript{[29]}
after hearing the Discourse that was spoken by Mahinda,

‘Na bhuṇjissanti dāni me\textsuperscript{332} iti jānaṁ tu Bhūpati, 
although the Lord of the Earth knew: ‘They will not eat now’,

‘Apucchitvāna bhuṇjissaṁ ayuttaṁ,’ iti cintayi, \textsuperscript{[30]}
thinking: ‘It is not suitable to eat without having asked,’

\textsuperscript{328} Mhv: Bhante, ambarukkho; same meaning.
\textsuperscript{329} Mhv: te ñātito.
\textsuperscript{330} For Mahīpatissa? Or parallel to the form Bhūmipa at 35 below?
\textsuperscript{331} MN 27. About others who come to refute the teaching of the Buddha, but end up as his
disciples; and the gradual Path leading to Awakening
\textsuperscript{332} Mhv: ’me dāni; which gives the pathyā cadence.
XIV. Entry into the City - 79

‘Pucchituṁ yeva vaṭṭati, bhattenāpucchi te Isī, (and:) ‘It is right to ask,’ he invited the Seers to the meal,


Iti vutte tu so Rājā: “Kim kālaṁ?” anupucchati, When this was said the King inquired: “What is the right time?”

“Aruṇato va paṭṭhāya yāva majjhantikā.” iti [32] “Starting from dawn up and till the middle of the day.”

Kāle vutte ’bravi evaṁ, “Gacchāma nagaraṁ.” iti When the right time was told, he spoke thus: “We will go to the city.”

“Tuvaṁ gaccha Mahārāja vasissāma mayaṁ idha.” [2633] “You go, Great King, we will take up residence here.”

“Evaṁ sati kumāroyaṁ amhehi saha gacchatu.” “If that is so, let this young man go with us.”

“Ayaṁ hi āgata-Phalo Rāja viññāta-Sāsano, [34] “This (young man) has come to (Path and) Fruit, King, understood the Dispensation,
apekkhamāno pabbajjaṁ, vasatamhāka santike, and is seeking the going-forth, (therefore) he must dwell in our presence,

idāni pabbājessāma imaṁ, tvaṁ gaccha Bhūmipa.” [35] we will give him the going-forth now, (but) you can go, Lord of the Earth.”

“Pāto rathaṁ pesayissaṁ tumhe tattha ṭhitā purāṁ * “In the morning I will send a chariot, standing in that you

yāthā,” ti There vanditvā, Bhaṇḍuṁ netvekam-antikām [36] can proceed to the city,” and after worshipping the Elders, he led Bhaṇḍu to one side

pucchi Therādhikāraṁ so, Rañño sabbaṁ abhāsi so: and asked what the Elder referred to, and he told the King all:

333 Mhv: yuttan-ti; is it suitable (to ask).
334 As stated above in 13.21 he had attained the third Path and Fruit.
335 Bhūmipa, which I can't find listed anywhere, is presumably for Bhūmipati.
336 Text: here, by ellipsis.
“Deva! Pañca ime bhikkhū khīṇāsavā bhavissare,” [37]
“God-King! These five monks have destroyed the pollutants,

Mahātherā mahāpaññā, pabhinnapaṭisambhidā.”
(they are) Great Elders of great wisdom, who have developed analytic knowledge.”[337]

‘Therā laddhā,’ ti tussitvā, ‘Labhā me’ iti cintayi. [38]
After rejoicing: ‘The Elders have been received,’ he thought: ‘This is a gain for me.’

Bhaṇḍussa gihihāvena gitāsaṅko Narissaro,
Because of Bhaṇḍu’s lay appearance the Lord of Men lost his fear,[338]

aṇṇāsi narabhāvaṁ so. “Pabbājema imaṁ,” iti [39]
knowing he had the nature of a man. Saying: “We will let him go forth,”

Thero, taṁ gāmasimāyanā, tasmiṁ yeva khaṇe,[339] akā
the Elder, in that village boundary, at that very instant, gave

Bhaṇḍukassa kumārassa pabbajjaṁ upasampadaṁ, [40]
to the young man Bhaṇḍuka the going-forth and the higher ordination,

Tasmiṁ yeva khaṇe so ca Arihattaṁ apāpuṇi.
and at that very instant he also attained Worthiness.

Sumanaṁ sāmaperaṁ taṁ Thero āmantayī tato: [41]
Then the Elder addressed the novice Sumana:

“Dhammassavanakālo tvaṁ gosāpehi idāni pi.”[340]
“Please announce the time for listening to the Dhamma now.”

“Sāvento kittakaṁ ṭhānaṁ Bhante ghosemahaṁ?” iti [42]
“When sounding it, venerable Sir, how far shall I announce it?”

“(Over) the whole of Copper-Dust (Island),”[341] and when this was said, he said: “(It is) good!”

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337 It means the four branches of analytical knowledge: attha-, dhamma-, nirutti- & paṭibhāna- paṭisambhidā; analytic knowledge of meanings, conditions, language and of improvisation.
338 Although he is said to have already lost his fear above (v. 14), on learning they had come out of compassion.
339 Mhv: gane; in that very group.
340 Mhv: ghosehi” apucchi so; requested him: announce...
341 DPPN: the name given to that district in Ceylon where Vijaya landed after leaving Suppāraka (Mhv.vi.47; Dpv.ix.30). It is said to have been so called because when Vijaya’s followers, having disembarked from the ship, sat down there, wearied, resting their hands on the ground, they found them coloured by the red dust that lay there.
Sāmaṇero samāpajji catutthajjhānapādakaṁ [43]
The novice attained a basis in the four absorptions  

adhiṭṭhahitvā vuṭṭhāya, tikkhattuṁ sakam-iddhiyā
and after making a resolution and rising from it, three times through his own psychic power

sāvento sakalaṁ Laṅkaṁ, Dhammakālaṁ aghosayi. [44]
he sounded it through the whole of Laṅkā, announcing the time for the Dhamma (Teaching).

Rājā Nāgacatukke so soṇḍipasse nisīdiya
The King, who was sitting on the side of the Four Nāgas tank

bhuñjanto, taṁ ravaṁ sutvā, amacce te apesayi.
eating, after hearing that roar, sent his ministers to them.

Gantvāna turitā sabbe vanditvā343 te apucchisuṁ: [45]
Having quickly gone and worshipped them all, they asked:

“Upaddavo nu atthī?” ti Āha: “Natthi upaddavo,
“Is there some danger?” He said: “There is no danger,

sotuṁ Sambuddhavacanaṁ kālo ghosāpito.” iti [46]
the time was being announced to hear the Perfectly Awakened One’s words.”

Sāmaṇeraravaṁ sutvā, Bhummā devā aghosayuṁ,
Having heard the roar of the novice, the Earth-Gods announced (it too),

evaṁ kamena so saddo Brahmalokaṁ samāruhi. [47]
and in succession the sound thus rose up to the Brahmā world.

Tena ghosena devānaṁ sannipāto mahā ahu
With the announcement a great many gods assembled

Samacittasuttaṁ desesi Thero tasmiṁ samāgame. [48]
and the Elder taught the Discourse on the Peaceful Mind[44] in that assembly.

Asaṅkhiyānaṁ devānaṁ Dhammābhisamayo ahu
An innumerable number of gods penetrated the Dhamma

bahū Nāgā Supaṇṇā ca Saraṇesu patiṭṭhahum. [49]
and many Nāgas and Supaṇṇas were established in the Refuges.

342 The four absorptions (jhāna) give one the strength of mind to effect psychic powers.
343 Text: vaṇḍitvā; printer's error.
344 AN Bk. 2, Sut. 31. On gratitude.
Yathedaṁ Sāriputtassa Suttaṁ Therassa bhāsato
Just as when the Elder Sāriputta spoke this Discourse

asaṅkhiyānaṁ devānaṁ Dhammābhisamayo ahu,
an innumerable number of the gods penetrated the Dhamma,

tathā Mahindatherassā ahu devasamāgamo. [50]
so did the gods who assembled around the Elder Mahinda.

[Entering the Town]
51-80 ≠ Mhv 42-65

Rājā pabhāte, pesetvā ratham yojesi sārathim,
At daybreak the King, having sent the driver, yoked the chariot,

“Nayanatthāya te There gaccha tvaṁ Missakaṁ lahuṁ.” [51]
and said: “In order to lead those Elders (here) go quickly to (mount) Missaka.”

Rathān-ca yojayitvā so pājetvā Missakaṁ nagaṁ
ekam-ante ṭhapetvā, tam vanditvā Theram-uttamaṁ,
After yoking and driving the chariot and putting it aside at mount Missaka, and
having worshipped the Supreme Elder,

“Arohatha rathaṁ, yāma nagaraṁ” iti te 'bravi. [52]
he said to them: “Mount the chariot, and let us go to the city.”

“Nārohāma rathaṁ, gaccha gacchāma tava pacchato.”
“We do not mount chariots, you go and we will follow after you.”

Iti vatvāna pesetvā sārathim sumanorathā, [53]
After saying this and sending the driver away with good wishes,345

vehāsaṁ abbhugantvā, te nagarassa puratthato,
and ascending into the sky, at the east of the city,

Paṭhamatthūpaṭhānamhi, otariṁsu mahiddhikā. [54]
on the place of the First Shrine, the ones with great power descended.

Therehi paṭhamotiṇṇathānamhi, kata-Cetiyaṁ,
On that place where the Elders first crossed over, a Shrine was made,

ajjāpi vuccate, tena evaṁ Paṭhamacetiyaṁ. [55]
so it is said today, and therefore it is (called) the First Shrine.

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345 Geiger misinterprets this, even parsing the compound wrongly. It should be su, good + manoratha, wishes, not ratha + sumanas.
Having dismissed the driver, the King had a pavilion made in the inner residence having a decorated canopy.

Having heard from the King of the Elders' virtues, all the women in the harem desired to see the Elders, therefore the Lord of the World had a delightful pavilion made inside the Royal Grounds, covered and decorated with white cloth and flowers.

Having heard in the presence of the Elder that they had given up using high seats he had a doubt: ‘Can the Elder sit down on a high seat or not?’

The driver, who was thinking about this, went to the door of the First Shrine, and having seen the Elders standing in that place, putting on their robes, was greatly surprised in mind, and after going to the King announced: “They are coming, God-King.”

The King, after questioning the driver, (said): “Look here, did the Elders stand in the chariot

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346 Dictionaries: pahināti, with retroflex n. Printer's error?
347 These two additional lines seem to only repeat what is said in verse 58 below, and one wonders whether they were meant to replace them?
348 Mhv: Theraguṇaṁ.
349 Mhv: Raṅño; in the King's (harem).
350 Giving an unusual savipulā, we would expect a reading nivadayī, to give the pathyā cadence.
udāhu padasā sabbe āgatā kiṁ puraṁ?” iti [62]  
or did they all come to the city on foot?”

“Nāruhyiṁsu rathaṁ, Deva, api ca mama pacchato  
“They did not mount the chariot, God-King, but following me

idāni ‘pācinadvāre purato te pi āgamuṁ.’” [63]  
they came and are now in front of the western door.”

Sutvā: “Idāni Ayyā me pīṭhakesu na icchisum,  
susādhū bhummattaranaṁ paññāpethā,” ti bhāsiya,  
Having heard (that), he said: “Now, these Noble ones do not desire (to sit) on chairs,  
therefore it is good to spread out a cover on the floor,”

gantvā paṭipathaṁ There sakkaccaṁ abhivādayi,351 [64]  
and having gone in front he respectfully worshipped the Elders,

Mahāmahindatherassa hatthato pattam-ādiya,  
taking the Great Elder Mahinda’s bowl from his hand,

sakkārapūjā vividhā puraṁ Therāṁ pavesayi. [65]  
and with manifold respect and worship he led the Elder to the city.

Disvā āsanapaññattiṁ nemittā byākaruṁ iti:  
Having seen the designated seats the fortune-tellers predicted:

“Gahitā pathavīmehi, Dīpe hessanti Issarā.” [66]  
“Having taken the ground, they will be Lords of this Island.”

Narindo ānayanto352 te There antepuraṁ varaṁ,353  
The Lord of Men brought those Elders to the noble harem,

disvā āsanapaññattiṁ Thero iti vijānayi: [67]  
and having seen the prepared seat, the Elder thought thus:

‘Laṅkādīpe patiṭṭhitam Sāsanaṁ Satthuno varaṁ,  
‘The noble Dispensation of the Teacher has been established in the Island of Laṅkā,

vasundharāyaṁ niccalāṁ patthataṁ hutvā va ṭhassati.354  
having spread (a cloth) on the unmoved earth it will remain.’

351 Mhv: abhivādiya.  
352 Mhv: pūjayanto.  
353 Mhv: nayi; led them.  
354 The metre is very poor here.
Tattha te dussapīṭhesu nisīdiṁsu, yathārahaṁ, [68]
There they sat down on the cloth seat, according to their worth,\(^\text{355}\)

te yāgukhajabhojjehi sayaṁ Rājā atappayi,
and the King himself satisfied them with rice-gruel, staple and non-staple foods,

niṭṭhite bhattakiccamhi sayaṁ upaniśidiya. [69]
and at the conclusion of his duties concerning the meal he himself sat down nearby.

Kaniṭṭhassoparājassa Mahānāgassa jāyikaṁ,
He had his younger Brother, the deputy King Mahānāga’s wife,

vasantiṁ Rājagehe va pakkosāpesi cānulaṁ: [70]
Anulā, who resided in the Royal Palace, summoned and said:

“Abhivādanasakkāraṁ karontu pamukhā imā.”
“Pay your respects and worship in front of these.”

Āgamma\(^\text{356}\) Anulādevī pañca-itthisatehi sā
Queen Anulā, having come with five hundred women

There vandiya pūjetvā, ekam-antaṁ upāvisi. [71]
and having worshipped and honoured the Elders, took a seat on one side.

Bhattakiccāvasāne, so vassanto Dhammaratanaṁ\(^\text{357}\)
At the end of the meal duties, raining Dhamma-jewels down

mahājanassa Raṅño ca Deviyā saha itthiyā, [72]
on the King, the Queen, the women and the multitude,

Petavatthuṁ Vimānaṁ-ca Saccasamyuttam-eva ca,
the Wise One taught the Ghosts Stories and the Divine Mansions, and also the

desis Paññāvanto va mahājanasamāgame,
Thematic Discourses on the Truths\(^\text{358}\) to the assembled multitude,

sutvā pañcasatā itthi Paṭhamaṁ Phalam-ajjhaguṁ.\(^\text{359}\) [73]
and having heard them five-hundred women attained the First (Path and) Fruit.

\(^{355}\) It means that they sat in line according to their seniority.

\(^{356}\) Text: Agamma.

\(^{357}\) This line has a faulty cadence.

\(^{358}\) I.e Petavatthu (KN 7), Vimānavatthu (KN 6) and SN 56.

\(^{359}\) Text: ajjahaguṁ.
Hiyyo diṭṭham-anussehi sutvā Theraguṇe bahū
Having heard of the Elders’ virtues from those who had seen them on the previous day many

Theradassanam-icchantā, samāgantvāna nāgarā [74]
of the city-folk after gathering, desiring to see the Elders,

Rājadvāre mahāsaddam akaruṁ pi samantato.
made a loud noise all around the King’s Gates.

Rājā, kolāhalam sutvā, pucchitvā te vijāniya,
The King, having heard the commotion, questioned them and understood,

mantetvāna amaccehi, idam-āha Mahīpati: [75]
and the Lord of the World, after giving orders to his ministers, said this:

“Sabbesaṁ idha sambādho, sālaṁ Maṅgalahatthino
sodhetha360 tattha dakkhinti There ’me nāgarā.” iti [76]
“Here they are all crowded together, clean up the State Elephant’s stall and the city-
folk can see the Elders there.”

Sodhetvā Hatthisālaṁ taṁ vitānādihi sajjukaṁ
alaṅkaritvā, sayanāṁ1 paññāpesuṁ yathārahāṁ, [77]
Having cleaned up the Elephant stall and quickly decorated it with canopies and so
on, they prepared the seats according to their worth,

sa Thero tattha gantvāna nisidtvāna-m-āsane,362
and after going there and sitting down on the seat the Elder,

taṁ363 Devadūtasuttaṁ so364 kathes Kathiko Mahā. [78]
the Great Preacher, preached the Discourse on the Divine Messengers.365

Taṁ sutvāna, pasīdiṁsu nāgarā te samāgatā,
Having heard it, the city-folk who had gathered round, gained faith,

tesu pāṇasahassāṁ tu Paṭhamaṁ Phalam-ajjhaga. [79]
but a thousand breathing beings attained the First (Path and) Fruit.

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360 Mhv: sodomhu; same meaning.
361 This line is 9 syllables long, Mahāvaṁsa reads sayane, which fits the metre better.
362 Mahāvaṁsa 14.63a reads: Mahāthero nisidiya; the Great Elder ... sat down.
363 Mhv: so.
364 Mhv omits this so.
365 MN 130. As Mahādeva did in Mahisamanḍala above, v. 33.
Laṅkādīpe so Satthukappo akappo
In the Island of Laṅkā, he who was like the Teacher, the incomparable

Laṅkādhiṭṭhāne dvīsu ṭhānesu Thero,
Elder, resolved on (the good of) Laṅkā in two places,

Dhammaṁ bhāsitvā Dīpabhāsāya evaṁ
after speaking on Dhamma in the language of the Island he thus

Saddhammotāram kārayī Dīpadīpo. [80]
made the True Dhamma descend on the Island of Light.

Sujanappasādasanvegatthāya Kate
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People

Mahāvaṁse Nagarappavesano nāma Cuddasamo Paricchedo.
The Fourteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called Entry into the City
“Hatthisālā pi sambādhā,” iti tattha samāgatā,
“The elephant stall is crowded,” said those who had assembled there,

te Nandanavane ramme, dakkhiṇadvārato bahi,
and outside the southern gate, in the delightful Joy Grove,

Rājuyyāne ghanacchāye sītale nīlasaddale,
in the King’s garden, which was well-covered, cool and grassy,

paññāpesum āsanāni Therānaṁ sādarā narā.
the people reverentially prepared seats for the Elders.

Nikkhamma dakkhiṇadvārā, Thero tattha nisīdiya,
Having left by the southern gate, the Elder sat down there,

Āsīvisopamaṁ suttaṁ abhāsi Dhammakovido.
and the one skilled in Dhamma related the Simile of the Poisonous Snake.

Tesu pāṇasahassan-tu paṭhamaṁ Phalam-ajjhaguṁ
In that place one thousand breathing beings entered into the first (Path and) Fruit

tato divasato, tattha dutiye divase pi vā
on that day, and there on the second day also

addhateyyasahassānaṁ Dhammābhisamayo ahu.
two and a half thousand penetrated the Dhamma.

Mahākulīnā cāgamma itthiyō bahukā hi tam,
Many women from the great families came there,

vanditvāna nisīdiṁsu, uyyānam pūrayantiyo.
and after worshipping, sat down, filling the garden.
Bālapaṇḍitasuttantaṁ tāsaṁ Thero adesayi, [6]
The Elder taught the Discourse on the Fools and the Wise, 371

sahassa-itthiya tāsu paṭhamaṁ Phalam-ajjhaguṁ.
and one thousand of those women entered into the first (Path and) Fruit.

Evaṁ tattheva uyyāne sāyaṇhasamayo ahu, [7]
And so there in that garden the evening time set in,

tato Therā nikkhamiṁsu: “Yāma taṁ pabbataṁ.” iti
and therefore the Elders departed, saying: “We go to the mountain.”

Vudikkhiya manussā te: “Therā nikkhamma tāvade,” [8]
Having seen (them going) men said: “The Elders have left straight away,”

gantvā nivedayuṁ Rañño, sīghaṁ Rājā upāgami,
and after going and informing the King, the King went quickly,

upāgammā ‘bravī Therāṁ vanditvā Dharanīpati: [9]
and after going and worshipping the Elder, the Lord of the Planet said:

“Bhante, idāni sāyaṇhe dūro va pabbato ito,
“Venerable Sir, it is far from here to the mountain in the evening,

idheva Nandanuyyāne nivāso phāsuko.” iti [10]
live comfortably right here in the Joy Wood.”

“Purassa accāsannattā asāruppan,”-ti bhāsite,
“(It is) unsuitable, being too near to the city,” he said,

vaco sutvāna Therassa idaṁ vacanam-abravi: [11]
and having heard that word, he uttered this statement to the Elder:

“Mahāmeghavanuyyānaṁ nāccāsannaṁ na dūrakaṁ,
“The Great Cloud Grove is neither too near nor too far,

rammaṁ chāyūdakūpetaṁ, nivāso tattha rocatu.
delightful, endowed with shade and water, be pleased to reside there.

Nivattitabbaṁ Bhante!” ti Therō tattha nivattayi. [12]
You should turn back, venerable Sir!” and the Elder turned back.

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371 MN 129; it relates the deeds done by fools and by wise men and their respective rewards.
Tasmiṁ nivattaṭhānamhi Kadambanadiyantike,
In that place where they turned back, on the banks of the Kadamba river,\textsuperscript{372}

Nivat tacetiyam nāma kātaṁ vuccati cetiyam. [13]
the Shrine said to be called the Turning Shrine was built.

Tamā Nanda namā dakkhiṇena sayāṁ There\textsuperscript{373} Rathesabho,
Mahāmeghavanuyyāne\textsuperscript{374} Pācīnadvārakaṁ nayi. [14]
The Best of Charioteers led the Elders to the south of the Joy (Wood), (through) the Eastern Gate in the Great Cloud Grove.

Tattha Rājaghare ramme, mañcapīṭhāni sādhuni\textsuperscript{375}
sādhukām\textsuperscript{376} santharāpetvā: “Vasathettha sukham.” iti [15]
There, near the delightful Palace, after spreading properly good beds and chairs he said: “Dwell comfortably here.”

Rājā, There ’bhivādetvā, amaccaparivārito,
The King, after worshipping the Elders, surrounded by his ministers,
puraṁ pāvisi, Therā tu tamā rattim tattha te vasum. [16]
entered the city, but the Elders dwelt for the night right there.

Pabhāte yeva pupphāni gahetvā, Dharaṇīpati
Having gathered flowers in the morning, the Lord of the Planet

There upecca vanditvā pūjetvā kusumehi ca, [17]
after approaching the Elders and worshipping (them) with the blossoms,
pucchi: “Kin?”-ti\textsuperscript{377} “Sukham vutthāṁ? Uyyānam phāsukam?” ti ca asked: “How?” and “(Did you) live happily? (Was the) garden comfortable?”

“(We did) live happily, Great King, the garden is comfortable for strivers.”

“Ārāmo kappako\textsuperscript{378} Bhante Saṅghassā?” ti apucchi so.
He asked: “Is a monastery suitable for the Community, venerable Sir?”

\textsuperscript{372} Which lay to the east of the city.
\textsuperscript{373} Mhv: Therāṁ; singular.
\textsuperscript{374} Mhv: -vanuyānaṁ; of the Great Cloud Grove.
\textsuperscript{375} Mhv: sādhukāṁ.
\textsuperscript{376} Mhv: sādhūni.
\textsuperscript{377} Mhv: kappate.
\textsuperscript{378} Mhv: kappate.
“Kappate,” iti vatvāna, kappākappesu kovido [19]
Thero Veḷuvanārāmapatīgahaṇam-abravi.
After saying: “(It is) suitable,” the Elder skilled in what was suitable and unsuitable spoke about the receiving of the Bamboo Grove Monastery.  

Tam sutvā abhihaṭṭho so tuṭṭho āsi Mahīpati. [20]
Having heard (that), the Lord of the World was happy and very joyful.  

Therānaṁ vandanatthāya Devī pi Anulā gatā
In order to worship the Elders, Queen Anulā came

saddhiṁ pañcasatitthīhi, sutvāna Dhammadesanaṁ [21]
together with five-hundred women, and after listening to the Dhamma teaching

tāya cittappasādāya, dutiyaṁ Phalam-ajjhagā.
with faithful minds, they entered the second (Path and) Fruit.  

Tadā sā Anulādevī ahu kāmā pabbajituṁ [22]
Then Queen Anulā had a desire to go forth

saddhiṁ pañcasatitthīhi, idam-āha Mahīpatiṁ:
together with the five hundred women, and said this to the Lord of the World:

“Ajjeva pabbajissāma, sace icchasi, Bhūmipa.” [23]
“Today itself we will go forth, if it is your wish, Lord of the Earth.”

Sutvāna tassā vacanaṁ, Rājā Therā avoca so:
Having heard her statement, the King said to the Elder:

“Bhante pi Anulādevi icchamānā pabbajitum” [24]
“Venerable Sir, Queen Anulā desires to go forth

saha pañcasatitthīhi, pabbājetha idāni vo.”
together with five hundred women, please give them the going-forth.”
“Na kappati Mahārāja pabbājetum thiyo hi no. [25]
“It is not suitable, Great King, for us to give the going-forth to women.³⁸⁴

Atthi Pāṭaliputtaṁ bhikkhuṇī me kaniṭṭhakā,
There is in Pāṭaliputta³⁸⁵ a nun who is my younger sister,

Saṅghamittā ti nāmena pākaṭā³⁸⁶ sā bahussutā, [26]
Saṅghamittā by name, who is famous and very learned,

Narinda Samanindassā Mahābodhidumindato
dakkhiṇasākham-ādāya, tathā bhikkhuṇiyo varā, [27]
Lord of Men, having brought the southern branch from the Great Bodhi Tree of the
Lord of Ascetics,³⁸⁷ and then also noble nuns,

Laṅkādīpe³⁸⁸ pure Rāja Buddhānaṁ pi sayambhunanī
tiṇṇannañ-ca Bodhirukkho patiṭṭhāpiya Rājino [28]
to the city in the Island of Laṅkā, King, (as) the Bodhi Trees of the three self-made
Buddhas³⁸⁹ were planted by the Kings

ajja pana Dumo Bodhi Gotamassa yasassino,
(so) today the Bodhi Tree³⁹⁰ of the famous Gotama,

raṁsivissajjanākāro, patiṭṭhāpeyya Bhūmipa. [29]
which has a resplendent halo, should be planted, Lord of the Earth.

“Āgacchatū,” ti pesehi Rañño no Pitu santikam,
Send a message into the presence of the King, our Father, saying: “Let her come,”

pabbājessati sā Therī āgatā itthiyo imā.” [30]
and that Elder Nun, having come, will give the going-forth to these women.”

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³⁸⁴ Mahinda says this because he believes the dual ordination is necessary, whereby a bhikkhuṇī needs to be ordained by other nuns, and then have the ceremony confirmed by the monks. This is sometimes disputed, as the Buddha never revoked the original ordination by monks only.

³⁸⁵ Mentioned in Mahāparinibbānasutta (DN 16, elsewhere on this website) as Pāṭaligāma. So called because of the Trumpet Flowers (Pāṭali) that were growing there when it was founded; it is also known as Pupphapura and Kusumapura (both meaning Flower City).

³⁸⁶ Mhv: vissutā.

³⁸⁷ It means: a sapling, uparopa.

³⁸⁸ ExtMhv puts this and the next three lines in square brackets and refers vaguely to the Introduction in a note. I have been unable to find anything in the Introduction to explain it though.

³⁸⁹ These are the three Buddhas preceding Gotama in this aeon: Kakusandha, Konāgamana and Kassapa; all the Buddhas have different Bodhi Trees, in their cases they were: Acacia Sirissa, Udumbara (Glamorous Fig Tree) and Nigrodha (Banyan Tree).

³⁹⁰ The Assattha or Fig Tree (Ficus Religiosa).
“Sādhū!” ti vatvā gañhitvā Rājā bhiṅkāram-uttamaṁ: After saying: “Well said!” and taking the noble water-jug, the King

“Mahāmeghavanuyānaṁ dammi Saṅghass’ imaṁ,” iti [31] saying: “I give this Great Cloud Grove to the Community.”

Mahindatherassa kare dakkhiṇodakam-okiri.391 sprinkled water over the right hand of the Elder Mahinda.392

Mahiyā patite toye saheva vacanena sā [32] As the water fell on the Earth with that statement

Vasundharā imā ceva cattārinahutādhikā, the Earths, in excess of four myriads,

dviyojanasatā saṅkhyā, sahassabahalā pi vā [33] for two hundred leagues in extent, or a thousand thick,

pavedhayitvā sāmantā, sandhārakajalantikā. bearing waters to their edge, shook393 on all sides.

Disvāna taṁ acchariyaṁ, bhīto ubbiggasāṅkito, [34] Having seen that wonder, fearful, frightened and apprehensive,

“Kasmā kampati bhūmī?” ti Bhūmipālo apucchi taṁ. the Guardian of the Earth asked: “Why does the earth tremble?”

“Mā bhāyasi, Mahārāja, Dasabalassa Sāsanaṁ [35] “Do not be afraid, Great King, the Dispensation of the One of Ten Powers

ṭhassati idha, teneva Medinī ʿyaṁ pakampati. will be established here, and because of that this Earth trembles.

Vihāraṭṭhānaṁ paṭhamaṁ idaṁ ṭhānaṁ bhavissati.” The first monastic dwelling place will be in this place.”394

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391 Mhv: ākiri.
392 This is a way of making a formal donation by pouring water; it was also done this way by King Bimbisāra when he donated the Bamboo Wood.
393 It appears that the absolutive is used in a finite sense here.
394 I.e. the Mahāvihāra, or Great Monastery, which became the seat of Theravāda orthodoxy. The emphasis is changed somewhat from the Mahāvamsa version; there, as soon as he had given the Grove the Dispensation is said to be established; whereas here it will be established only when the monastery has been built.
Having heard that statement, the Lord of the World had great faith, and offered sweet-smelling jasmine flowers to the Elder.

* * *

395 Mhv: jātimā.
Mahābodhiṅ-ca Therīṅ-ca ānāpetuṁ Mahīpati,
In order to bring the Great Bodhi and the Elder Nun, the Lord of the World,

Therena vuttavacanaṁ saramāno, sake pure [1]
Antovassekadivasaṁ, nisinno Therasantike,
remembering the statement spoken by the Elder, on a certain day in the Rainy Season, while sitting in his own city near the Elder,

sahāmaccehi mantetyā, bhāgineyyaṁ sakaṁ sayaṁ, [2]
Ariṭṭhanāmakāmaccaṁ, tasmiṁ kamme niyojayi.396
after consulting his ministers, urged his own nephew, the minister called Ariṭṭha, to (undertake) these deeds.

Mantvā āmantayitvā taṁ, idaṁ vacanam-abravi: [3]
After considering (it) and inviting him, he uttered this statement:

“Tāta sakkhissasā gantvā397 Dhammāsokassa santikaṁ
“Dear, after going into the presence of (King) Dhammāsoka will you be able398
to bring the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā and the Great Bodhi here?” [4]

Mahābodhiṁ Saṅghamittāṁ Therīṁ ānayituṁ idha?”
“Sakkhissāmi ahaṁ Deva ānetuṁ te duve tato399
“I will be able, God-King, to bring these two from there

idhāgato pabbajitum sace lacchāmi, Mānada.” [5]
if, after returning here, I am allowed to go forth, your Honour.”

“Gaccha Tāta tuvaṁ Therīṁ ānetvā Bodhiyā saha,
“You may go, Dear, and after bringing the Elder Nun together with the Bodhi
(Tree),

yadā patvāna Laṅkāyaṁ, pabbajassu yathicchitaṁ.” [6]
after you have reached Laṅkā, you can go-forth according to your wish.”

396 Mhv: niyojayaṁ.
397 Mhv: sakkhisi gantvā taṁ.
398 Sakkhissasi is unclear, it suggests a verb sakkhati, which is not found in Pāḷi. In Mhv. there are many vvl, most of which connect it with sakkoti; being able.
399 Mhv: tā tato idha.
Evaṁ vatvāna, so Rājā bhāgineyyaṁ apesayi,
Having said that, the King sent his nephew,

so Therassa ca Rañño ca sāsanaṁ gaṇhī vandiya. [7]
and he took the message of the Elder and the King and worshipped (them).

Assayujasukkapakkhe nikkhanto dutiye dine
Leaving on the second day of the bright fortnight in Assayuja

so ’nuvyutto, Jambukole nāvaṁ āruyah patṭane, [8]
he, being dedicated, after boarding a ship in the port of Jambukola,

Mahodadhīṁ tarītvāna, Therādhamśānayogato,
and crossing the ocean, through the power of the Elder’s determination,

Nikkhantadivase yeva Pāṭaliputtam-āgami. [9]
on the very day of departure it arrived at Pāṭaliputta.

Tadā tu Anulādevī, pañcakaññāsatehi ca,
Then Queen Anulā, with five hundred young women,

Antepurika-itthīhi saddhīṁ pañcasetehi ca, [10]
and together with five hundred women of the harem,

dasāsilāṁ samādāya, kāsāyavasanā suci,
having undertaken the ten precepts, pure in the yellow robes,

being in training, looked forward to the going-forth, looked for the coming of the Elder Nun,

nagarassee kaddesamhi ramme Bhikkhuṇupassaye
kārāpite Narindena vāsāṁ kappesi subbatā. [12]
and made her dwelling in good conduct in the delightful Nunnery in a certain district of the town where the Lord of Men had had it made.

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400 Mhv: gayha.
401 Mhv: dutiye 'hāni.
402 Normally falling in October.
403 Probably on the northern coast of the Jaffna peninsular.
404 ExtMhv: Therādhamśāhbalena pi; through strength unseen by the Elder, which doesn’t make much sense.
405 Mhv: tathā.
406 It is interesting that she is portrayed as already wearing the yellow robe, even though she only has ten precepts, which are not even sāmaneri precepts. It is a strong echo of the first nun Mahāpajāpati, and her following, who also donned robes before they were ordained.
407 The exact location cannot now be determined, except that it was within the city limits.
Upāsikāhi tāhesa vuttho Bhikkhuṇupassayo
(As) these lay-women lived in the Nunnery

Upāsikāvihāro ti tena Laṅkāya vissuto. [13]
it became well-known throughout Laṅkā as the Lay-Womens’ Monastery.408

* * *

Bhāgineyyo Mahāriṭṭho Dhammāsokassa Rājino
appetvā, Rājasandesam Therasandesam-abravi: [14]
His nephew Mahāriṭṭha, having reached King Dhammāsoka, spoke the King’s
message and the Elder’s message:

“Putto Deva Mahindo maṁ pesesi tava santikaṁ.
“Your son Mahinda, God-King, sent me into your presence.

Anulā nāma sā Devi, bhūtujāya409 ca Rājino [15]
Piyatissasahāyassa tumhākāṁ Rājakusumaṁ,
The Queen named Anulā, your friend the King Piyatissa’s brother’s wife, O Chief
of Kings,

ākaṅkhamānā pabbajjaṁ, dasasīlaṁ samādiya, [16]
desiring the going-forth, has undertaken the ten precepts,

saddhiṁ sahassa-itthīhi, niccaṁ vasati saññatā.
together with a thousand women, and lives constantly restrained.

Mahātheriṁ Saṅghamittam pabbājetuṁ visajjaya, [17]
Please send the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā to give the going-forth,

tāya saddhiṁ Mahābodhidakkhinaṁ sākham-eva ca.”
and together with her a branch from the south side of the Great Bodhi Tree.”

Theriyā santikaṁ gantvā amacco idam-abravi: [18]
(Then) the minister, having gone into the presence of the Elder Nun said this:

“Ayye bhātā Mahindo so maṁ pesesi tavantikaṁ.
“Noble Sister, your brother Mahinda send me into your presence.

Bhūtujāya tu Anulādevī nāma upāsikā, [19]
Devānampiyatissassa tāhi kāmā pabbajituṁ,410
Devānampiyattissa’s brother’s wife, the lay-woman called Queen Anulā, through
having a desire for the going-forth,

408 The proper name for a residence for nuns (bhikkhuṇī) is an Upassaya; but before they were
ordained they lived there as lay women under ten precepts, so it became famous as the Lay-
Womens’ Monastery.
409 ExtMhv: bhūtujāya.
410 Irregular cadence.
saddhim sahassa-itthihi, niccaṁ vasati saññatā. [20]
together with a thousand women, lives constantly restrained.

Pabbajethā ti tumhe taṁ gantvā kira mayā saha.”
Having gone together with me please give them the going-forth.”

Amaccassa vaco sutvā, turitā turitā tadā [21]
Having heard the minister’s word, and then very quickly

gantvā Pitu samipaṁ sā Therī Theramataṁ ’bravi:
having gone into the presence of her Father, the Elder Nun related the Elder’s
thought:

“Bhātā mayhaṁ Mahindo so pesetvā mama santikaṁ, [22]
“My brother Mahinda has sent (these) into my presence,

pahiṇitvā janaṁ amhe, gacchissāmi ahaṁ.” iti
and after we have sent the people back, I will go.”411 (and:)

“Bahū janā kuladhītā Anulāpamukhā pi ca,
“Very many people, daughters of good families, with Anulā at their head,

ākaṅkhamānā pabbajjaṁ, gamanaṁ me vudikkhayuṁ.” [23]
desiring the going-forth, are looking forward to my journey.”

Sukkakaṇṭho va so Rājā sutvāna Theriyā vaco,
The King, who was flushed,412 having heard the Elder Nun’s statement,

assudhāraṁ pavattento, taṁ Therīṁ idam-abravi: [24]
with a shower of tears set rolling, said this to the Elder Nun:

“Mahindo Amma putto me nattā so Sumano pi vā
“My son Mahinda, Dear, and my grandson Sumana

ohāya idha amhe, maṁ chinnahatthaṁ akā viya, [25]
having left us here, I am as though with my hands cut off,

Tambapaṇṇiyadīpamhi ubho tattha gamiṁsu te,
they both having gone there, to the Copper Dust Island,

apassantassa te mayhaṁ, mahā soko upajjati.413 [26]
they are no longer seen by me, and great grief has arisen.

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411 The Pāli is very poorly constructed here.
412 Lit: white-throated. I cannot find this word or phrase used elsewhere, and the reading must be in doubt.
413 Irregular cadence, perhaps we should read: upajjati.
Passantassa mukham-ajja\textsuperscript{414} tava sokopasammati, 
Seeing their faces today your grief will be allayed, 

idāni pi tuvaṁ Amma apassanto kathāṁ aham \textsuperscript{[27]}
but now, not seeing you also, Dear, how will I 
sokaṁ vinodayissāmi puttanattaviyogajāṁ?
dispel my grief in being parted from my son and grandson? 

Alaṁ Amma tayā gantuṁ ajja, mā agamāsi tvām.” \textsuperscript{[28]}
Enough, Dear, (if) you were to go today, you (also) will not return.” 

Pituno vacanaṁ sutvā sā Therī idam-abravi:
Having heard the statement of her Father, the Elder Nun said this: 

“Bhātuno vacanaṁ Rāja ahosi garukāṁ mama, \textsuperscript{[29]}
“My brother’s word has importance for me, King, 
saddhiṁ sahassa-itthīhi Deviyāsā mahā ahu.
together with the (request) of the great Queen and the thousand women. 

Api ca bhātuno mayhaṁ na karomi vaco viya \textsuperscript{[30]}
Further, I suppose, this is not (just) my brother’s word 
pabbājaniyā ca bahū paṭimānenti\textsuperscript{415}-m-āgataṁ. 
and many are waiting for the coming of the going-forth. 

Icchāmi taṁ Mahārāja gamissāmi idānahaṁ.” \textsuperscript{[31]}
This I desire (to give), Great King, and (so) now I must go.” 

“Yadi tayā gantukāmā, gahetvā Bodhim-uttamaṁ 
“If you desire to go, after taking (a branch of) the Supreme Bodhi (Tree) 
gantvā, Ayye, aduin Laṅkaṁ dakkhasu bhātuno.” iti \textsuperscript{[32]}
and going, Noble Sister, you must see your brother in Laṅkā.” 

* * *

\textsuperscript{414} Better to read: \textit{mukham ajja}, which gives the more usual pathyā cadence. 
\textsuperscript{415} ExtMhv: \textit{pati-}. 
Kattikasukkapakkhassa dine pāṭipade tahiṁ
On the first day of the bright half of (the month) Kattikā

Mahābodhiṁ Mahāsālamūle pācīnake subhe [111]
(Asoka), the Guardian of the World, after placing (a branch of) the Great Bodhi (Tree) to the east of the root of a lovely great Sāla tree, and worshipping it day by day,

gañhato sattarasame divase tu navaṅkurā [112]
on the seventeenth day new shoots starting taking hold

sakiṁ yeva ājāyiṁsu Bodhikkhandhā manoramā.
and arose on the trunk of the delightful Bodhi (Tree).

Disvā pasannamanasaso tuṭṭhacitto Mahīpati, [113]
Having seen (that) the Lord of the World, his mind faithful and satisfied,

dasanakhasamodhānaṁ aṅjaliṁ akarī sire:
with his ten fingers raised in reverential salutation to his head, said:

“Sakale Jambudīpamhi rajjaṁ me demihaṁ,” iti, [114]
“I give it sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Island,”

abhiśiṇci Mahābodhiṁ mahārajje Mahīpati.
and the Lord of the World consecrated the Great Bodhi (Tree) with great sovereignty.

* * *

Sumanasāmaṇero so Mahindeneva pesito [115]
The novice Sumana who was sent by Mahinda

gañhanatthāya dhātuṇ-ca saddhiṁ pattenā Satthuno,
in order to take a relic of the Teacher together with his bowl,

Puṇṇamikattike yeva dine, gantvā vihāyasā, [116]
on the Full-Moon day of Kattikā, having flown through the sky,

patto Pupphapuraṁ rammaṁ, tasmiṁ tu samaye pana
arrived in the delightful City of Flowers,416 and at that time

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416 Another name for Pāṭaliputta, Asoka's capital, now known as Patna.
from XVIII. The Acquisition of the Great Bodhi Tree - 101

Sālamūlamhi ṭhapitaṁ Mahābodhiṁ tahiṁ subhaṁ [117]
having placed the Great Bodhi (Tree) at the root of the lovely Śāla tree in that place

Kattikacchaṇapūjāhi pūjayantaṁ-ca addasa,
he saw (them) worshipping with offerings at the Kattikā festival,

kārāpetvāna rakkhāṁ so Bodhiyā, Dharaṇīpati [118]
and the Lord of the Planet, having placed a guard around the Bodhi (Tree),

saddhiṁ amaccasaṅghehi vasati Bodhisantike.
dwelt near to the Bodhi (Tree) together with his council of ministers.

Antepuritthiyasabbā, Saṅghamittāpadhānakā, [119]
All the women of the harem, with Saṅghamittā at their head,

nagarā abhinikkhamma, sabbāpūjavīdhāṁ vā
pūjayantā Mahābodhiṁ vasiṁsu, saha bhattunā. [120]
having gone out from the city, worshipping with all sorts of offerings, (also) dwelt near the Great Bodhi (Tree), together with their husband.

Surucirapavororubhipūjā, dhajākulā
bahuvidhā visālā ca, pupphā panasamatthakā, [121]
The worship of the beautiful, noble, excellent Bodhi (Tree), with many and extensive flags, flowers and fruits at its head,

narānāṁ marūnaṁ cittāṁ, padumāṁ va suphullitaṁ
(opened) the minds of men and the protective gods, like a lotus opened

suriyaramsena vinā kiccena attano viya. [122]
by the rays of the sun without any effort on its part.

Pāṭaliputtarahade kusumaṁ suvikāsanaṁ
The blossoming flowers in the lakes of Pāṭaliputta

narānāṁ marūnaṁ-ceva cittāṁ vikāsinī ahu. [123]
delighted the minds of the people and the protective gods.

Vissajjetvāna chabbaṇṇaraṁsiyo sā nabhe tale,
After emitting six colourful rays in the sky and on the ground,

pasādetvā jane sabbe, Buddho viya sujīvati. [124]
and instilling faith in all the people, it dwelt well like an Awakened One.

Sujanappasādasanvegatthāya Kate
Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People

Mahāvaṁse Mahābodhigahaṇo nāma Āṭṭhārasamo Paricchedo
The Nineteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Acquisition of the Great Bodhi Tree
Mahābodhirakkhaṇatthaṁ aṭṭhārasa Rathesabho, devakulāni datvāna aṭṭhāmaccakulāni ca [1]
In order to protect the Great Bodhi, the Best of Charioteers, after appointing eighteen (from) royal families, and eight (from) ministerial families,

aṭṭha brāhmaṇakulāni, aṭṭha seṭṭhikulāni ca,
eight (from) brāhmaṇa families, eight (from) merchants’ families,

gopakānaṁ padhānānaṁ vissāsānaṁ kulāni ca [2]
(and from) the foremost and faithful cow-herders families,

kulīṅgapesakārānaṁ kumbhakārakulāni vā,
the sparrow weavers, the potters families,

taracchānaṁ kulāneva aṭṭha aṭṭha-m-adāsi so. [3]
the hyena families, eight of each were appointed.

Pāhesi Nāgayakkhe te parisāya saheva so,
He sent Nāgas and Yakkhas together with their assembly,

udakāharanatthāya siñcayitvā dine dine, [4]
and after sprinkling with water brought for the purpose day by day,

hemasajjhughaṭe yeva datvā aṭṭhaṣṭha kāmado,
and giving eight gold and eight silver water-pots, as desired,

gāhāpetvā Mahābodhiṁ, pūjehi vividhehi vā: [5]
and taking the Great Bodhi (Tree), with worship in various ways, he said:

“Yathā yathā ca tumhe te purato purato,” iti.
“In whatever way you like (go) from city to city.”

Senaṅgaparivutto so uyyojento Narādhipo, [6]
The Ruler of Men, surrounded by his army, dismissing (them),

hatthi-assaratheheva gantvāna tad-anantaram
having gone immediately with his elephants, horses and chariots,

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417 Mhv.: Bodhi-āgaman.  
418 It is unclear why the weavers are designated as sparrow weavers, or what the hyena families mentioned below were. Geiger suggests these may be totem clan names.
from XIX. The Journey of the Great Bodhi Tree - 103

aṭaviṁ samatikkamena Viñjhāṭaviṁ-ca-m-avhayaṁ, [7]
by crossing through the jungle called the Viñjhā forest,

Tāmalittim anupatto divaseva sattahi.
arrived at Tāmalitti within seven days.

Devanāgamanussā te sannipatitvā lahum lahum⁴¹⁹ [8]
The gods, Nāgas and men, having quickly assembled

antarāmagge-m-akaruṁ Bodhipūjaṁ yathāvidhi
on the highway, worshipped the Bodhi (Tree) in the way they liked

accuḷārāhi pūjāhi pūjetvāna⁴²⁰ dine dine, [9]
and after worshipping (it) with a great offering day by day,

Gandh abbēhi ca gītehi vāditehi anekadhā,
with manifold Heavenly Musicians’ music and song,

anupubbenā gantvā, te sattāhenepupāgamum. [10]
having gone gradually, they (also) arrived on the seventh day.⁴²¹

Mahāsamuddatīramhi Mahābodhiṁ Mahīpāti
The Lord of the World, having placed the Great Bodhi (Tree) on the bank on the

ṭhapetvā sattadivasāni nānāpūjāhi pūjai, [11]
Great Ocean worshipped (it) with various offerings for seven days,

vijjamānena rajjena sakale Jambudīpake
and the Guardian of the World, the Best of Charioteers, consecrated the Great

Mahābodhiṁ abhisinchī Mahīpālo⁴²² Rathesabho. [12]
Bodhi (Tree) with sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

Ma ga sa r as ukkakakke dine pāṭipade tato
On the first day of the lunar fortnight in the bright half of Maggasira⁴²³

ukkhipitvā Mahābodhiṁ tehi yevaṭṭha-aṭṭhahi [13]
after raising the Great Bodhi (Tree) with (help) given by eight of each from the

Sālamūlamhi dinnehī jātuggatakulehi so,
high-born families appointed at the root of the Sāl tree,

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⁴¹⁹ This line is one syllable too long.
⁴²⁰ ExtMhv: pūjetvāna.
⁴²¹ This account is different from the Mahāvaṁsa, where the Bodhi (Tree) is put on board ship
and sails down to Tāmalitti. Here it appears to be taken by the land route, before it sets sail.
⁴²² ExtMhv: Mahīpalo.
⁴²³ Normally falling in December.
saṁbapūjāвидhāнеhi galamattaṁ jalam tahiṁ [14]
orohitvāna nāvāyaṁ patiţṭhāpiya sādhukāṁ,
with all kinds of offerings, having descended into the water up to his neck and 
established (it) properly on the ship.

Saṅghamittāṁ Mahātheriṁ sahekādasabhikkhuṁī [15]
nāvaṁ āropayitvāna ājihē vividhē vā,
and having invited the Great Elder Saṅghamittā with eleven other nuns424 onto the 
ship with various offerings,

Mahāriţṭhaṁ mahāmaccaṁ idaṁ vačanam-abravi: [16]
uttered this statement to the chief minister Mahāriţṭha:

“Ayaṁ Tāta Mahābodhiṁ tikkhatt uṁ Jambudīpake 
sakale vijjamānena rajjena abhisīncayin. [17]
“This Great Bodhi (Tree), Dear, I consecrated three times with sovereignty over the 
whole of the Rose-Apple Isle.

Idāneva Mahābodhiṁ ānayitvāna-m-attano,
Now, after bringing the Great Bodhi (Tree) myself,

saṁbapūjāвидhānehi425 patvāham idha paţtane, [18]
and arranging all kinds of ceremonies here in the port town,

galappamāne udake orohitvā, tahiṁ imaṁ 
having descended up to my neck into the water, and herein

patiţṭhāpiya nāvāyaṁ Saṅghamittāya Theriyā, [19]
established (it) on the ship with the Elder Nun Saṅghamittā,

purato me sahāyassa pesesiṁ tava passato, 
seeing that you are sent back from the city to my friend,

evaṁ evābhipujetu Rājā rajjena me sakha. [20]
the King should also worship (it) with sovereignty in the same way.

Sabbapūjāвидhānāṇi katāni idha sabbaso
Having made all kinds of ceremonies and offerings there

Devānampiyatisso tu Mahārājā sakha ca me [21]
my friend the Great King Devānampiyatissa

karotu sabbapūjāni mayā pūjaṁ pi yādisam.”
should also make all the offerings that have been made by me.”

424 These are named in Dīpavaṁsa, XVIII, vv. 11-12 as follows: Uttarā, Vicakkhanā, Hemā, 
Pasādapāla, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Pheggu, Pabbatā, Mattā, Malla and Dhammadāsiyā.
425 ExtMhv: -pujā-.
Sahāyassa vaco datvā, Mahīpālo jutindharo [22]  
Having given this advice to his friend, the resplendent Guardian of the World,

assūni parimuñcanto, idaṁ vacanam-abravi:  
lamenting tearfully, uttered this statement:

“Aho pi vata re tassa Dasabalassa tādino, [23]  
vīsarasaramisijālam muñcamāno idāni so,  
Bodhirukkho pasādento ambe ohāya gacchati.” [24]  
“Alas, the Bodhi Tree of the virtuous one, the One of Ten Powers, while it is still emitting a net of twenty coloured rays, we have gladly given (it) up.”

Idaṁ vatvā, Mahārājā sirasi katvāna-mañjaliṁ,  
Having said this, the Great King, after making reverential salutation with his head,

passamāno Mahābodhiṁ gachantaṁ saya Theriyā, [25]  
seeing the Great Bodhi (Tree) going with the Elder Nun,

assudhāraṁ pavattetvā, tīre aṭṭhāsi dummano.  
with a shower of tears set rolling, stood depressed on the bank.

Mahābodhisamārūḷhā sā nāvā [26]  
While watching the ship with the Great Bodhi (Tree) on board going

mahājanassa Rañño ca, pakkhanditvāna toyadhim,  
from the multitude and the King, after crossing the water (someway),

samantā yojane vīci [27] sannisīdi mahaṇṇave. [27]  
the waves settled down for a league all round on the great sea.

Supupphi [28] paṅcavaṇṇāni padumāni samantato,  
Five coloured lotuses on all sides blossomed,

antalikkhe pavajjimsu anekaturiyāni ca. [28]  
and in the firmament manifold instruments played.

Devatāhi anekāhi pūjānekā pavattitā,  
Manifold offerings were made by the gods,

gahetuṁ ca [29] Mahābodhiṁ Nāgā 'kaṁsu vikubbaṇaṁ. [29]  
and the Nāgas worked magic (in order) to seize the Great Bodhi.

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426 ExtMhv: navā; printer’s error.
427 ExtMhv: vīci; singular, where a plural is required.
428 Mhv: pupphiṁsu; which is preferable.
429 v.l.: gahetvā va. ExtMhv excludes ca; but it is found in Mhv. and is needed for the metre.
The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, who had gained the strength of psychic powers,
after taking the form of a Supaṇṇa, frightened the Great Snakes.

Trembling and fearful, after seeing the spiritual power and the splendour of the Great Elder Nun, worshipping the Elder’s feet with their heads at her feet, they begged for their lives, saying:

“Don’t be angry with us, Noble Sister, on this journey today there will be no obstacle for you, you will be safe;

we have come in order to ask for the Bodhi (Tree).”

She gave the Great Bodhi (Tree) to the Nāgas to worship, then having taken the Great Bodhi (Tree), they went to the Dragons’ abode.

After worshipping with various offerings and giving sovereignty over the Nāga realm for seven days and bringing it back, they placed it on the ship,

and that same day arrived at Jambukola (in Laṅkā).

(King) Dhammāsoka, affected with grief over separation from the Great Bodhi (Tree),

helpless, looking longingly towards that region,

The traditional enemies of the Nāgas (a mythical snake) were the Supaṇṇas (a mythical bird).

This is the same port from which the envoys had left Laṅkā, see Ch. XVIII, vs. 8 above.

A play on his name: Asoka means griefless, here he is said to be sasokavā, with grief.
and after making great lamentation, he went back to his city.

[Reception in Laṅkā]
38-51 = Mhv. 23-31

Devānampiyatissso so Rājā lokahite rato,
King Devānampiyatissa, who delighted in the benefit of the world,

sutattā sāmaṇeramhā divasaṁ Bodhiyāgamaṁ
had heard the word of the novice Sumana about the day of the arrival of the Bodhi (Tree), and from the first day

Maggasirassa paṭṭhāya, tassevuttarādvārato
that began (the month of) Maggasira, having decorated the highway from the north gate as far as Jambukola

rajatapaṭapanaṇhehi vālukāneva sādisā
with silver leaves of cloth strewn like sand that had been sprinkled all round on the highway,

nikkhantadivasato Rājā nagaramhā ṭhito ca so
and from the day the King went out from the city he waited

samuddāsanasālā ti nāmenāsīdha pākaṭā
at the grounds of the reception-hall by the ocean, and there the Lord of the Earth,

mahāsamuddamajjhena sajjitāya vibhūtiyā
through the psychic power of the Great Elder Nun, saw the Great Bodhi (Tree) coming in the middle of the great ocean, decked out in all its splendour,

Mahindassānubhāvena, samīpaṁ viya-m-āgataṁ
and by the power of Mahinda, he drew as though close (to it).

Tasmiṁ ṭhāne katā sālā pakāsetum tam-abbhutaṁ
In that place a hall was made to display the wonders

Samuddāsanasālā ti nāmenāsīdha pākaṭā
which became well-known as the Ocean Reception Hall.

433 ExtMhv: divasato.
After leaving the Ocean Reception Hall and standing outside,

while raising the pandal, he saw both of the roads

strewn all round with five-coloured flowers,

and various flags and clothes, together with priceless flowers,

great water pitchers, all full with lilies.

The Guardian of the World, having placed them at intervals along the road,

through the power of the Great Elder together with the other Elders,

after leaving, in one day had reached Jambukola.

The Lord of the Earth, driven by joy at the coming of the Great Bodhi (Tree),

after plunging into the water up to his neck, raising the beautiful body of the Great Bodhi (Tree) on his head,

emerging from the ocean, placing it aside with all offerings,

and placing it (under the care of) the sixteen families in that lovely pavilion,

went for three days to the shore of the ocean,

and having adorned it, the Lord of Lanka worshipped it with sovereignty over Lanka.
Mahābodhimhi Nāthassa, Laṅkābhūvadane subhe Saddhammadhajabhūte tu ṭhite acchariyehi pi, [118]
Near the Lord’s Great Bodhi (Tree), through the wonder of being near the flag of the true Dhamma (preached) in the lovely words of the land of Laṅkā,

tadā sā Anulādevī pañcakaññāsatehi pi
Queen Anulā, with five hundred women and

antepurika-ittihīhi saddhiṁ pañcasatehi vā, [119]
together with (another) five hundred women of the harem,

santike pabbajitvāna Saṅhamittāyā Theriyā,
after receiving the going-forth in the presence of the Elder Saṅhamittā,

sahassabhikkhuṇī heva, vaḍḍhetvāna vipassanaṁ,
those one thousand nuns, after developing insight,

na cirasseva sā Therī Arahattaṁ apāpuṇi. [120]
in no long time\textsuperscript{437} attained the state of Worthiness.

\* \* \*

Upāsikāvihāro ti ūnāte Bhikkhuṇupassaye
In the Nunnery known as the Lay-Womens’ Monastery

Sasaṅghā Saṅhamittā sā Mahātherī tahiṁ vasi. [166]
the Great Elder Saṅhamittā lived together with her Community.

Agārattayapāmokkhe agāre tattha kārayi.
She made there three dwelling places which were (considered) the foremost.\textsuperscript{438}

Tadā hi Anulādevī sutvāna Dhammadesanāṁ [167]
At that time Queen Anulā, after hearing a Dhamma teaching

Therassa santike yeva, Saccānaṁ paṭibujjhiya,
in the Elder (Mahinda’s) presence, understanding the Truths,

\textsuperscript{437} It seems to me, that as Arahat Saṅhamittā herself had received the Sikkhamāna training for two years, that she would have asked Anulā and the others to keep it too, so no long time here should probably include that period.

\textsuperscript{438} In Mhv it mentions that she built twelve dwelling places in all.
kāsāyāni nivāsetvā, dasasilāni vādiya [168]
and donning the yellow robes, undertook the ten precepts

Dolakanāmāmaccassa ghare vāsaṁ akappayi.
and made her dwelling in the home of the minister named Dolaka.

Gatāya Theriyā tattha Laṅkādīpe tato paraṁ, [169]
Afterwards, with the coming of the Elder Nun to the Island of Laṅkā,

Cūlaṅgaṇa-Mahāgaṇa-Sirivaḍḍhā ti – te tayo
pāsāde pamukhe tattha kārāpesi Mahīpati. [170]
these three foremost palaces: Small Chapter, Great Chapter and Increasing Splendour were made by the Lord of the World.

Parivāratthāya tesaṁ pāsāde apare bahū,
For the benefit of his retinue and many others in the palace,

Mahābodhāhaṭāyeva nāvāya kūpayaṭṭhikaṁ [171]
Mahāgaṇakagehamhi lakāраñ-ca patiṭṭhitam, [172]
when the Great Bodhi (Tree) was brought in the ship, the Ruler of the World had
the sail was established in the Great Chapter house,

Sirivaḍḍhanagehamhi arittaṁ ṭhapitaṁ tadā.
and then the rudder was placed in the Increasing Splendour house.440

Etādiso: guṇopeto Ratanattayagāravo, [173]
Bodhiyā garukaṁ katvā yāvaḍīvaṁ441 Mahīpati,
The Lord of the World, who was of such a kind: endowed with virtue and respect
for the Three Treasures, after paying lifelong respect to the Bodhi (Tree),

yāni sabbāni ṭhānāni kārāpetvāna Dīpake,
and causing all the places in the Isle to be prepared,

pākaṭā nāma nāmena, yāva ajjatanā iti. [174]
(gained) a famous name, lasting even until today.

Raṉño maṅgalahathī so, vicaranto yathāsukhaṁ,
The King’s state elephant, wandering wherever it liked,

439 ExtMhv: Cūl-
440 Dr. Hema Goonatilake, in her paper, *The Unbroken Lineage of the Sri Lankan Bhikkhuni Sangha from 3rd Century B.C.E. to the Present*, makes the interesting point that these nunneries are the first museums we hear of in history.
441 ExtMhv: -jīvam.
purassa ekapassamhi kandarantamhi sītale, [175]
Kadambapupphagumbante aṭṭhāsi, gocarami caraṃ.
stayed on one side of the city in a cool spot in a mountain grotto, near to a
Kadambapupphha bush, where it grazed.

Abhiṇhaṁ⁴⁴² gamanaṁ tattha narā, hatthim vudikkihya: [176]
Often people journeyed there, and after seeing the elephant,

“Ramamāno ayaṁ hatthī Kadambavanake,” iti
and saying: “This elephant delights in the Kadamba Grove,”

tañḍulāneva pāyitvā,⁴⁴³ akaruṁ hatthiposanaṁ, [177]
after feeding it with rice, fattened up the elephant,

Āḷhaka-m-avhayantena ṭhānaṁ tena pavuccati.
and that place came to be known by the name of the Measure of Grain.⁴⁴⁴

Athekadivasaṁ hatthī na gaṇhi kabalāni so,
One day the elephant didn’t take (even) a morsel,

Dīpappasādakam Theraṁ Rājā so pucchi tam-manaṁ. [178]
and the King asked the Elder who brought faith to the Island the reason.

“Kadambapupphagumbasmiṁ Thūpassa karanaṁ karī
icchatī,” ti Mahāthero Mahārājas
“Near the Kadambapuppha bush site he desires that a Sanctuary be built,” the Great
Elder said to the Great King.

Sadḥātukaṁ tattha Thūpaṁ Thūpassāgāram-eva ca,
khippaṁ Rājā akāresi niccaṁ janahite rato. [180]
The King, who was ever delighting in the welfare of the people, quickly built a
Sanctuary there together with a relic, and a Sanctuary room.

Saṅghamittā Mahātherī, suññāgārābhilāsinī,
The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, who longed for an empty abode,

ākiṇṇattā vihārassa vasamānassa tassa pi,⁴⁴⁵ [181]
as the dwelling place she lived in was crowded,

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⁴⁴² ExtMhv: Abhiṇhaṁ.
⁴⁴³ ExtMhv: pāyitva (?), and reports that māyitvā is found in all manuscripts.
⁴⁴⁴ Contrary to Geiger, who interprets ālhaka as meaning post (a meaning not found in the
Dictionaries), this story indicates that the reason for the name is that the elephant was given a
full measure of food by the visitors to the place.
⁴⁴⁵ Mhv: sā.
vuḍḍhatthinī Sāsanassa, bhikkhuṇīnaṁ hitāya ca,
seeking the benefit of the Dispensation, and the welfare of the nuns,

Bhikkhuṇupassayaṁ aṁnaṁ icchamānā vicakkhaṇā [182]
being wise and desiring another Nunnery,

gantvā Cetiyagehaṁ taṁ, pavivekasukhaṁ subham,
after going to that lovely Shrine House, which was comfortably secluded,

divāvihāraṁ kappesi, vihārakusalāmalā. [183]
spent the day there, she who had faultless skill in dwellings.

Theriya vandanatthāya Rājā Bhikkhuṇupassayaṁ
gantvā, tattha gataṁ sutvā, nikkhamitvā upassayā, [184]
The King, after going to the (first) Nunnery in order to worship the Elder Nun,

patvā Cetiyagehamhi, Mahātherim avandayi.
and arriving near the Shrine House, worshipped the Great Elder.

Sammoditvāna saddhiṁ so Saṅhamittāya Theriyā, [185]
After exchanging greetings with the Elder Saṅhamittā,

tassā āvatvā adhippāyaṁ, adhippāyavidū vidū,
understanding her intention, the wise man, skilled in intentions,

samantā Thūpagehassa rammaṁ Bhikkhuṇupassayaṁ
kārāpesi Mahīpālo mahātejiddhivikkamo. [186]
the Guardian of the World, a hero of great power, had a delightful Nunnery built around the Sanctuary House.

Hatthāḷhakasamāpamhi kato Bhikkhuṇupassayo
The Nunnery was built near where the elephant took his measure of grain

Hatthāḷhakavihāro ti vissuto āsi tena so. [187]
therefore it became well-known as the Elephant’s Measure monastery.

Sumittā Saṅhamittā sā Mahātheri mahāmati,
The good friend,⁴⁴⁶ the Great Elder Saṅhamittā, who was greatly wise,

tasmiṁ hi vāsaṁ kappesi ramme Bhikkhuṇupassaye. [188]
(then) made her dwelling in that delightful Nunnery.

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⁴⁴⁶ This is a play on her name, which means friend of the community.
Evāṁ Laṅkālokaḥitaṁ, Sāsanavuddhiṁ,
saṁsādhento esa Mahābodhidumindo,
Thus benefiting the world of Laṅkā, and accomplishing
the development of the Dispensation, the Great Bodhi Tree,

Laṅkādīpe rammē Mahāmeghavanaṁsiṁ,
aṭṭhā dīghaṁ kālaṁ\textsuperscript{447} -anekabbhutayutto ti. [189]
endowed with various wonders, remained for a long time,\textsuperscript{448}
in the Great Cloud Grove, in the delightful Island of Laṅkā.

\textbf{Sujanappasādasānvegatthāya Kate}
\textit{Written for the Faith and Invigoration of Good People}

\textbf{Mahāvaṁse Mahābodhāgamano nāma Ekūnavīsatimo Paricchedo}
\textit{The Nineteenth Chapter in the Great Lineage called the Journey of the Great Bodhi Tree}

\textsuperscript{447} ExtMhv: \textit{Aṭṭhāsi dīghakālaṁ}; giving an extra syllable and being against the pattern of the

\textsuperscript{448} Indeed it still remains there to this day, being the oldest historical tree in the world.
Yasmiṁ rajje patiṭṭhito Pāṭalinagare vare aṭṭhārasamavassamhi, Dhammāsoko jutindharo, [1]
The resplendent (King) Dhammāsoka established his reign in the noble Pāṭali town, and in the eighteenth year,

tasmiṁ kāle, Mahārājā Piyatisso sahāyako,
at that time, his friend the Great King Piyatissa,

ānāpayitvā te dūte Jambudīpe sirivhaye: [2]
after sending his messengers to the splendid Rose-Apple Island, saying (to them):

“Vacanena Mahindassa paññavantassa tādino
“By the bidding of the wise and virtuous Mahinda

ānayittha Mahā bodhiṁ Saṅhamittāya Theriyā,”
bring the Great Bodhi (Tree) and the Elder Nun Saṅhamittā,”

Mahāmeghavanārāme Mahābodhi patiṭṭhahi. [3]
and he planted the Great Bodhi in the Great Cloud Grove monastery.

Tato dvādassame vasse Mahesi tassa Rājino,
Twelve years after that the King’s Chief Queen,

piyā Asandhimittā sā Sammāsambuddhamāmakā,449 [4]
the dear Asandhimittā, who was devoted to the Perfectly Awakened One,

Maccu mukhamhi sampattā, rogena paripiḷitā.
being oppressed by disease fell into the mouth of Death.

Tato catutthavassamhi,450 Dhammāsoko Mahīpati, [5]
After a further four years, the Lord of the World Dhammāsoka,

gahetvān’ itaram Devim, Tissadevi-ca-m-avhayam,
having taken another Queen, Tissadevi by name,

Mahesiyā abhāvena ṭhapesi visamāsayaṁ. [6]
appointed this contrary one to Chief Queen in his loss.

449 Mhv: matā Sambuddhamāmakā.
450 Mhv: catutthe vassamhi.
Tato ca tatiye vasse, bālā rūpena māninī,
After a further three years, foolishly proud of her beauty,

assaddhā appasannā ca Sāsanaṁ tassa Satthuno, [7]
faithless and without devotion to the Teacher’s Dispensation,

rucitvā attano rūpaṁ, nandanaṁ janayanti pi,
delightin her beauty, which made her rejoice,

attano jātigottona mānatthaddhā tadā pana, [8]
and being very vain about her birth and lineage,

passantā tam Mahīpālam satataṁ pi gatam gataṁ
seeing the Guardian of the World constantly going

vandanatthaṁ Mahābodhiṁ, saddhiṁ saparisāya ca, [9]
to worship the Great Bodhi (Tree), together with his assembly,

ussūyamānā, sā Devī cintayantī tadā iti:
and being jealous, the Queen thinking like this:

“Maya pi ca451 ayam Rājā Mahābodhiṁ mamāyati,” [10]
“The King is (more) devoted to this Great Bodhi, (than) to me,”

iti kodhavasaṁ gantvā, attano ’natthakārakā,
and coming under the influence of anger, being one who works against her own benefit,

manḍukaṇṭakayogena Mahābodhiṁ aghātayi. [11]
she destroyed the Great Bodhi with a poisonous thorn.452

Sattatimsāni vassāni Rājā rajjam akārayi.
The King made his reign for thirty-seven years (in all).453

Catutthe divase yeva divasamhā payojitā, [12]
On the fourth day after the day (the destruction) was instigated,

dukkhito dummano hutvā, byādhinā paripīlito,
having become sorrowful and depressed, oppressed by sickness,

451 ExtMhv omits ca, spoiling the metre.
452 The manḍu (or elsewhere manḍuka) thorn is unidentified, but it is mentioned both in the Vinaya commentary (on the Pārājika), and in the Jātaka commentary (Jā 186).
453 This figure – and the ones above that precede it – agree with Mhv, but in that text the King is said to have died four years after the Bodhi (Tree) was poisoned, which would have made 41 years in all.
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aniccatāvasaṁ patto Dhammāsoko mahāyaso. [13]
the greatly famous Dhammāsoka came under the influence of impermanence.454

[The Passing of King Devānampiyatissa]
14-42 ≠ Mhv 7-28

Devānampiyatisso tu Rājā, Dhammaguṇe rato,
But the King Devānampiyatissa, who delighted in the virtue of the Dhamma,

Mahāvihāre navakammaṁ, tathā Cetiyapabbate. [14]
built the Great Monastery, and (another) near the Cetiya mountain.455

Thūpārāme navakammaṁ niṭṭhāpetvā yathārahaṁ,
And after completing the building of the Sanctuary monastery, as was fit,

Dīpappasādakāṁ Theraṁ pucchi pucchitakovido: [15]
he asked the Elder who brought faith to the Island, who was skilled in questions:

“Kāressāmi ahaṁ Bhante vihāre te bahū idha
“Venerable Sir, I will build here many monasteries

Cetiyāneva sabbāni niṭṭhapetvā asesato,
and after completing all the rest of the Shrines,

patiṭṭhapetuṁ Thūpesu kathaṁ lacchāmi dhātuyo?” [16]
where will I find the relics to place inside the Sanctuaries?”

“Sambuddhapattaṁ pūretvā, Sumanenāhaṭā idha
“Having filled the Perfectly Awakened One’s bowl, Sumana brought it here

Cetiyapabbate Rāja ṭhapitā idha dhātuyo, [17]
to the Cetiya mountain, King, and placed (many) relics there,

Hatthikkhandhe ṭhapetvāna dhātuyo, idha āhara.”
after putting those relics on the back of an elephant, bring them here.”

Taṁ tassa vacanaṁ sutvā, Rājā attamano ahu, [18]
Having heard this statement, the King was uplifted,

bhusāpetvā mahānāgaṁ, maṅgalahatthisammataṁ,
and after decorating the great elephant, the appointed state elephant,

pūjāsakkārasammānaṁ gāhāpetvā anekadhā, [19]
and making them give worship, respect and honour in various ways,

454 A figurative way of saying he died.
455 Now known as Mihintale.
tattha gantvā Satherena, tathā āhari dhātuyo.
and going there with the Elder, he brought the relics back.

Vihāre kārayitvāna ṭhāne yojanayojane, [20]
After buildings monasteries league by league,\textsuperscript{456}

tesu tesu vihāresu, Cetiyesu tahiṁ tahiṁ,
in every monastery, and inside every Shrine,

dhātuyo ca nidhāpesi, nakkhattenā subhena so. [21]
he deposited the relics, with lovely celebrations.

Sambuddhabhutta paṭṭaṁ so Rājavatthughare subhe, ṭhapayitvāna pūjesi nānāpūjāhi sabbadā. [22]
After placing the bowl the Perfectly Awakened One had eaten from in the lovely
Royal Palace, he worshipped it with various offerings everyday.

Pañcasatā issaraputtā, mahābhogā mahāyasā
chaḍḍayitvā, mahābhoge pabbajuṁ Therasantike. [23]
The five hundred noble sons, having discarded great wealth and fame, went forth
in the presence of the Elder of great (spiritual) wealth.

Pañcasatehisarehi vasitaṭṭhāne kato tu so,
He built a dwelling place with the five-hundred nobles,

vihāro tad-upādāya Issarasamaṇavhayo. [24]
and in reference to that it was called the Noble Ascetics monastery.

Pañcasatā vassa janā mahābhogā mahāyasā
nikkhamma, Girigāmhamha pabbajuṁ Therasantike,
Five hundred people from the farmer class having renounced great wealth and
fame, went forth in the presence of the Elder in Mountain Village,

teheva vasitatthāne kato Vessagiravhayo. [25]
and he built a dwelling place there called Farmers’ Mountain (monastery).

Yāyaṁ Mahāmahindena Therena vasitaṁ guhā
Whatever caves were lived in by the Great Elder Mahinda

sapabbate vihare, sā sā Mahindaguhā ahu. [26]
on the mountain dwellings, those became (known as) Mahinda’s caves.

* * *

\textsuperscript{456} I.e at every place.
Mahāvihāraṁ paṭhamaṁ, dutiyaṁ Cetiyaṁ subhaṁ,
First the Great Monastery, second the lovely Cetiya (monastery),

Thūpārāmaṁ tu tatiyaṁ, Thūpapubbaṅgamaṁ subhaṁ, [27]
but the Sanctuary monastery was third, preceding the lovely Sanctuary (itself),

catutthaṁ tu Mahābodhipatiṭṭhāpanakāraṇaṁ.
but fourth he had the Great Bodhi planted.

Mahācetiyaṭhānamhi silāyūpassa cāruno [28]
The beautiful stone pillar (marking) the place of the Great Shrine

Sambuddhagīvādhātussa patiṭṭhāpanapañcamaṁ,
and (inside) the relic of the Perfectly Awakened One’s neck (bone), he established fifth,

Issarasamaṇaṁ chaṭṭhaṁ, Tissavāpiṁ tu sattamaṁ, [29]
the Nobles Ascetics’ (monastery) was sixth, the Tissa tank seventh,

aṭṭhamaṁ Paṭhamathūpaṁ, navamaṁ Vessagirivhayaṁ,
eighth was the First Sanctuary, ninth the (monastery) called Farmers’ Mountain,

Upāsikāvihārañ-ca, tathā Hatthāḷhakāvhayāṁ, [30]
The Lay-Womens’ Monastery, and then the (one) called the Elephant’s Measure,

kireva Bhikkhuṇīsaṅgho, bhikkhuṇīphāsukāraṇaṁ,
Hatthāḷhake osaritvā, bhikkhuṇīnaṁ upassaye. [31]
it seems the Community of nuns, after entering the Elephant’s Measure, which was made for the comfort of the nuns, (lived) in this home for the nuns.

Hatthāḷhakā nikkhamitvā, Saṅghamittā anāsavā
After leaving the Elephant’s Measure, the pollutant-free Saṅghamittā
gatā Bhikkhuṇisāṅghena bhattaggahaṇaṇakāraṇa. [32]
went with the Community of nuns for the reception of food.

Kāretvā bhattasālaṁ so Mahāpālikam-avhayāṁ,
Having made a reception hall called the Great Range,

pāṭiyekkaṁ pāṭiyekkaṁ sampannaparivāritaṁ, [33]
for each of the honoured assemblies separately,

vatthabhojanapānādi, upakaraṇasampadaṁ,
the King furnished (it) with (all) utensils, and gave clothes, food, drinks and so on for both Communities.
Tathā Bhikkhusahassassaeparikkhāram-uttamaṁ
Pavāraṇāya dānaṁ-ca anuvassaṁ-ca dāpayi. [35]
In the same way he had donated to a thousand monks at the Invitation a donation
of the very best requisites annually.

Nāgadipe Jambukole vihāre tamhi paṭṭane
In the port of Jambukola in the Nāgadīpa457 (he built) the monasteries (known as)

Tissamahāvihāraṁ-ca, Pācīnārāmam-eva ca, [36]
Tissa’s Great monastery,458 and the Eastern monastery,

ettakamhi vihāramhi bahudānam nirantarām
paṭiyattāṁ paṭiyattāṁ sakkaccāṁ pi dine dine. [37]
and in all these monasteries he continually had great donations prepared with
respect day by day.

Iti etāni kammāni Laṅkārajjahitatthiko,
Thus these deeds the one who sought the kingdom of Laṅkā’s benefit,

Devānampiyatisso so, kārāpesi, guṇappiya,
(King) Devānampiyatissa, to whom virtue was dear, had made,

yāvajīvaṁ tu nekāni puñṇakammāni ācini. [38]
and throughout his life he accumulated countless meritorious deeds.

Paṭhame yeva vassamhi rajjaṁ patvā, pabhūti so
After attaining sovereignty in the first year, subsequently

sabbāni puñṇakammāni dānasīladikānī459 vā. [39]
(his) all meritorious deeds, beginning with donations, virtue and so on.

Rajjaṁ patvāna paṭṭhāya, ācinitvā dine dine,
After attaining sovereignty, accumulating (merit) day by day,

vibhajjetvā yadi vatvā gaṇanāya asaṅkhiyā, [40]
sharing what has been called an immeasurable amount,

Laṅkādīpo ahū phīto Dhammatejena pālito.
The Island of Lāṅkā became prosperous and was protected by the strength of
Righteousness.

Devānampiyatisso so, Ratanattayamāmako, [41]
Devānampiyatissa, who was devoted to the Three Treasures,

457 Now known as Jaffna, it is not an island, but a peninsular.
458 Not the monastery of the same name in the south as Geiger suggests.
459 ExtMhv: -siladikāni; printer's error.
vassāni cattāḷīsāni rajjaṁ kāresi Dīpake,
made his rule over the Isle for forty years, (and then),

maccu mukhamhi sampatto, rogena paripīḷito. [42]
being oppressed by disease, he fell into the mouth of Death.

[The Passing of Arahat Mahinda]
43-64 ≠ Mhv 29-47

Tassaccaye kaniṭṭho so,⁴⁶⁰ Uttiyo iti vissuto,
After his passing his younger brother, well-known as Uttiya,

Muṭasīvassa⁴⁶¹ Raṅño tu rajjaṁ kāresi sādhukaṁ. [43]
(born) of King Muṭasiva, made his rule righteously.

Tadā Mahindathero so Laṅkādīpo mahāgaṇī,
Then the Elder Mahinda, the Light of Laṅkā, leader of a great crowd,

Laṅkādīpamhi dīpetvā, Jinasāsanam-uttamaṁ [44]
pariyattīṁ paṭipattīṁ paṭivedhaṁ-ca sādhukaṁ,
after lighting up the Island of Laṅkā, and propagating the supreme Dispensation of
the Victor (consisting of) proper study, practice and penetration,

Laṅkāya Satthukappo so katvā lokahitam bahuṁ, [45]
who, like the Teacher,⁴⁶² benefiting many in the world in Laṅkā,

gañehi Bhikkhusaṅghehi paññavantehi tādihi,
with a virtuous crowd of wise monks in the Community,

tassa Uttiyarājassa jayavassamhi aṭṭhame, [46]
in the eighth victorious year of the King Uttiya,

Antovassamī, saṭṭhivasso Cetiyaapabbate vasi,
within the Rains Retreat, after he had dwelt sixty years near the Cetiya mountain,

Assayujassa māsassa sukkapakkhaṭṭhame dine, [47]
on the eighth day of the bright half of the month Assayuja,⁴⁶³

Parinibbāyi so Thero nibbuto dīpavaḍdhano.
that passionless Elder, who increased the light,⁴⁶⁴ attained Emancipation.

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⁴⁶⁰ Mhv: taṅkaniṭṭho.
⁴⁶¹ Long -t- here must be m.c., if it is not a printer's error.
⁴⁶² I.e. the Buddha.
⁴⁶³ Around October.
⁴⁶⁴ Or perhaps: who increased the (virtue in the) Island.
Nibbutassa Mahindassa aṭṭhamiyaṁ dine pana
As the passionless Mahinda (passed away) on the eighth day

tenā tam divasaṁ nāma aṭṭhamiyā ti sammataṁ. [48]
it was agreed upon that his name (be given) to the eighth day.465

Tamaṁ sutvā, Uttiya Rājā sokasallasamappito,
Having heard that, King Uttiya, affected by the dart of grief,
gantvāna Theram466 vanditvā kanditvā bahudhā bahū, [49]
after going, worshipping and lamenting the Elder a great deal,

āsittagandhatelāya lahunī suvaṇṇadoṇiyā
Theradehaṁ khipāpetvā, tamā doṇim śādhuphussitaṁ [50]
having the body of the Elder quickly laid out in a golden casket that had been sprinkled with perfumed oil, and placing

svaṇṇakūṭāgāramhi ṭhapāpetvā, alaṅkate
kūṭāgāram467 āropayitvā468 kārento śādhukīḷanaṁ [51]
that perfect casket on a golden bier, and lifting the decorated bier, while making righteous ceremonies

mahatā va janoghena āgatena tato tato,
with a great flood of people who had come together from here and there,

mahatā va baloghena kārento pūjanāvidhiṁ, [52]
while making various offerings with a great army (of people),

alaṅkatenā maggena, bahudhālaṅkataṁ puram,
through the city’s decorated path, that had many decorations,

kūṭāgārā āropayitvā dhāretvā Rājavīthiyā, [53]
after lifting and carrying the bier along the Highway,

Mahāvihāraṁ netvāna, saddhiṁ-ca parisāya pi,
and leading (it) to the Great Monastery, together with the assembly,

ṭhapāpetvā Mahīpālo kūṭāgāram alaṅkataṁ [54]
and placing the decorated bier (there), the Guardian of the World,

465 It seems each day of the lunar month had a name specially assigned to it, and they gave Mahinda’s name to the eighth day of the month.
466 Mhv: gantvā Therān-ca.
467 Mhv: kūṭāgāre.
468 This must be for āropayitvā, as ropayitvā, planting, cultivating, itself would not give a good meaning.
Pañhambamālake yeva sattāhāni tahiṁ pana (celebrated) in the Mango Question enclosure, for seven days
toṇadhajapupphehi, gandhapuṇṇaghaṭhehi pi, 469 [55] with arches, flags and flowers, with pots full of incense,
vihārañ-ca samantā ca maṇḍitaṁ yojanattayaṁ. adorned for a distance of three leagues around the monastery.

Ahu Rājānubhāvena, Dīpan-tu sakalam pana [56] (This) was through the power of the King, but the whole Island
ānubhāvena devānaṁ tathevālaṅkataṁ ahu. was decorated through the power of the gods.

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469 Mhv: *ca.*
The Lord of the World, after making many offerings for a week,
in the easterly direction, in the Elders’ enclosure,

after making circumambulation of the fragrant pyre near the Great Sanctuary,

leading the delightful bier to that place

and placing it on the pyre, paid his final respects.

After lighting the fire, and sprinkling with perfumed water,
the Lord of the Earth right there in the Elder’s cremation spot after making a
Shrine deposited the relics there, as was fit.

The Ruler of Men after having half of his relics

and depositing relics in all the monastic Sanctuaries, (King) Uttiya made offerings
day by day.

The place where the sage’s body had been laid

is called, out of respect for him, the Seer’s Courtyard.

Thenceforth after bringing the body of the Noble Ones from three leagues all
round, it was burnt in that place.

Nānāpūjāṁ kārayitvā sattāhaṁ taṁ Mahīpati [57]

puratthimadisābhāge, Therānam-bandhamālake,
kāreṇvā gandhacitakaṁ Mahāthūpaṁ padakhiṇāṁ, [58]
kāroṇto tattha netvāna kūṭāgāraṁ manoramāṁ

and placing it on the pyre, paid his final respects.

Ujjāletvāna aggiṁ so, gandhodakena siñciya,

Therassa ḍahanatṭhāne Cetiyaṁ tattha Bhūpati [60]
kāreṇvā dhātuyo tattha nīdāpesi yathārahaṁ.

the Lord of the Earth right there in the Elder’s cremation spot after making a
Shrine deposited the relics there, as was fit.

Upaḍḍhadhātuyo tassa gāhāpetvā Narādhipo [61]
The Ruler of Men after having half of his relics

Cetiyapabbate yeva tathā tattha nīdāpayi,
deposited there in the Cetiya mountain,
sabbesu ca vihāresu Thūpe kāresi Uttiyo, [473]
dhātuyo ca nīdāpetvā, pūjāpesi dine dine. [62]

and depositing relics in all the monastic Sanctuaries, (King) Uttiya made offerings
day by day.

Isino dehanikkhepakataṭṭhānamhi tassa taṁ
The place where the sage’s body had been laid

tvuccate, bahumānena, Isibhūmaṅgaṇaṁ iti. [63]
is called, out of respect for him, the Seer’s Courtyard.

Tato pabhuti Arīyāṁ samantā yojanattaye
sarīraṁ āharitvāna, tamhi desamhi ḍayhati. [64]

Thenceforth after bringing the body of the Noble Ones from three leagues all
round, it was burnt in that place.

470 Mhv: Nānāpūjā.
471 Mhv: taṁ sattāhaṁ.
472 Mhv: netvā taṁ.
473 Mhv: khattiyo.
The Great Elder Saṅghamittā, of great power, great intelligence,

after fulfilling all duties to the Dispensation with virtue and wisdom,

and benefiting many people in the delightful Island of Laṅkā,

nine years after (the beginning of the reign) of King Uttiya,

fifty-nine years (after arriving), while residing in the Elephant’s Measure house, the light of the world passed away.

Having heard that, King Uttiya, affected by the dart of grief,

with a shower of tears set rolling, went out with his assembly

Therassa viya pūjāya pūjāsakkāram-uttamaṁ karonto Theriyā tassā sattāhāni tahiṁ pana, and just as for the Elder (Mahinda), he made supreme offerings and paid respect to the Elder Nun for a week in that place,

and decorated the whole of Laṅkā as for the Elder (Mahinda).

After seven days, the Elder’s body (was placed) on top of a bier,

and, after being led round the delightful city with the assembly,

and placing the decorated bier aside, the Guardian of the World,
Cittasālāsamīpamhi, Mahābodhipadassaye, near to the Beautiful hall, in sight of the Great Bodhi,

Thūpārāmavihārassa puratthimadisāya vā, [72] on the eastern side of the Sanctuary monastery,

Theriyā vuttaṭhānamhi, aggikiccaṁ akārayi. in the place indicated by the Elder Nun, had the cremation carried out.

Thūpañ-ca tattha kāresi Uttiyo so Mahīpati. [476] [73] The Lord of the World Uttiya also had a Sanctuary built in that place.

Gahetvā dhātuyo tassā Thūpe tattha nidhāpayi, Having taken her relics he deposited them in the Sanctuary,

sabbapūjāvidhānehi pūjāpesi dine dine. [74] and he worshipped there day by day, with all kinds of offerings.

[The Passing of Other Elders] 75-82 ≠ Mhv 54-58

Pañcāpi te Mahātherā Ittiyo [477] Uttiyo pi ca Also the five Great Elders: Ittiya, Uttiya,

Bhaddasālo Mahāthero Sambalo ca mahāmatī, [75] the Great Elder Bhaddasāla and the greatly intelligent Sambala,

Mahindo pañcamo ceva nibbāyiṁsu anāsavā. and Mahinda, (these) five, being without pollutants, attained Emancipation.

Ariṭṭhādayo Mahātherā, mahāpaññā visāradā, [76] (Also) beginning with the Great Elder Ariṭṭha, greatly wise and skilful,

vācetvāna bahū sisse Vinayesu visārade, after skilfully teaching many students in the Discipline,

Suttanta-m-Abhidhammesu, kovide paṭisambhide, [77] Doctrine and Abstract Doctrine, being expert in discrimination,

anekāni sahassāni bhikkhuhiṁśavā tathā, and innumerable thousands of monks who had destroyed the pollutants,

Saṅghamittāpabhutayo Theriyō dvādasā pi ca, [78] and the twelve Elder Nuns beginning with Saṅghamitta,

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476 Mhv: Mahāmati.
477 Spelt Iṭṭhiya elsewhere. Spelling mistake?
khīṇāsavā bhikkhuṇiyo sahassāni bahūni vā
and many thousands of nuns who had destroyed the pollutants,

bahussutā mahāpaññā Vinayamhi Jināgamaṁ,
who were learned, greatly wise in the Discipline of the Victor’s tradition,

ālokaṁ dassayitvāna, obhāsetvā, imaṁ mahiṁ
jālitvā aggikhandhā va, nibāyiṁsu anāsavā. [80]
after showing the light, shining forth, and lighting up the earth like a mass of fire,

Dasavassāni so Rājā rajjaṁ kāresi Uttiyo,
King Uttiya made his reign for ten years,

aniccabhāvaṁ sampatto, rogena paripijito,
being oppressed by disease, he attained the state of impermanence,

evaṁ aniccatā esā sabbalokavināsinī. [81]
just so is the whole impermanent world heading for destruction.

Taṁ etaṁ atisāhasaṁ atibalāṁ nāvāriyaṁ yo naro
jānanto va, aniccatā bhavagate nibbinate neva ca,
That man who, knowing the very violent, very strong and unstoppable
impermanence, doesn’t grow weary of coming to existence, and

nibbiṅṇo viratiṁ ratiṁ na kurute pāpehi puññehi ca,
being tired of it, doesn’t have disgust for wicked things and delight in meritorious

things,

tassesā atimohajālabalatā, jānaṁ pi yaṁ muyhati. [82]
because of the strength of his great delusion, is one who, though knowing (the

truth), forgets (it).