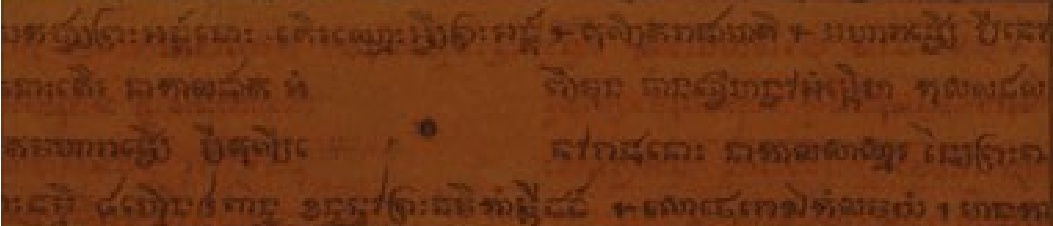


PALI LITERATURE

[A 3-in-1 Publication]

The Pali Literature of Ceylon
The Pali Literature of Burma
The Pali Literature of South-East Asia



G.P. Malalasekera

M.H. Bode

H. Saddhātissa

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THE PALI LITERATURE OF CEYLON
by G.P. Malalasekera

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA
by Mabel Haynes Bode Ph.D.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA (THAILAND)
by Venerable Dr Hammalawa Saddhātissa
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt



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Abbreviations

A	Āṅguttara Nikāya
BD	<i>Book of the Discipline</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BPS	Buddhist Publication Society
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Bv	Buddhavaṃsa
D	Dīgha Nikāya
Dasab	Dasabodhisattuppattikathā
Dhp-a	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā
Dhp	Dhammapada
Divy	Divyavadāna
Dīp	<i>Dīpavaṃsa</i>
DPPN	<i>Dictionary of Pali Proper Names</i>
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême-Orient
fl.	flourished
Gv	<i>Gandhavaṃsa</i> (JPTS). 1886. Index, 1896.
IASWR	Institute for the Advanced Studies of World Religions
J-a	Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> London. 1882, etc.
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> London. 1834, etc.
Khp	Khuddakapāṭha
M	Majjhima Nikāya
Mhv	Mahāvaṃsa
Mil	<i>Milindapañha</i>
MS.	Manuscript
MSS.	Manuscripts
Nidd II	Cūlaniddesa
Piṭ-sm	<i>Piṭakatthamain.</i> Rangoon. 1906.
PTS	Pali Text Society
Pv-a	Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society
S	Saṃyutta Nikāya

Sās	<i>Sāsanavaṃsa</i> . London. 1897.
Sās-dīp	<i>Sāsanavaṃsadīpa</i> . Colombo. 1881.
Vin-a	Samantāpasādikā
Vibh	Vibhaṅga
Vin	Vinaya
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
v.l.	Variant Reading
Vv	Vimānavatthu
WFB	World Fellowship of Buddhists

THE PĀLI LITERATURE OF CEYLON

By

G.P. Malalasekera

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Buddhist Publication Society is delighted and honoured to bring back into print the late Dr. G.P. Malalasekera's excellent and important study, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, which first appeared in 1928 as a Prize Publication of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. I.B. Horner, late President of the Pali Text Society, described this work as "masterly" and "invaluable," adding that it is "not very likely ever to be superseded." In retrospect such praise does not seem to be excessive. In a little over 300 pages Dr. Malalasekera admirably surveys Sri Lanka's rich heritage of Pali Buddhist literature, a legacy which has justly merited its international reputation as the stronghold of the Theravada Buddhist literary tradition. Beginning with the story of the Sinhala people's conversion to the Sublime Doctrine of the Buddha, the author traces, in impeccable prose, the development of Sri Lanka's Pali literature from its origins, through the glorious Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva periods, down to the early twentieth century. Since the history of the island, its Buddhist faith, and its Pali literature are inseparably intertwined, his book is at the same time a gracefully written history of Sri Lanka as reflected in its literary heritage.

This BPS edition of *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* includes a Supplement by Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, formerly Senior Lecturer in Pali at the University of Ruhuna. The Supplement contains corrections to a sprinkling of minor errors in the original edition and helps to clarify some points requiring elucidation. The publisher's thanks are due to Dr. Jayawardhana for compiling this Supplement, and also to Professor N.A. Jayawickrama for allowing us to incorporate into it several corrections from the marginal notes to his personal copy of the 1928 edition of the book.

The publisher would also like to thank Mr. Vijaya Malalasekera, the author's son, and other members of the Malalasekera family, for granting the BPS permission to publish this work by their esteemed father.

Bhikkhu Bodhi

PREFATORY NOTE

I am deeply beholden to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for having accepted this little volume to be issued under the aegis of their Prize Publication Fund. My obligations are due to the numerous scholars who have gone before me and explored the fields of Pali literature in Ceylon. Their pioneer work has made my efforts pleasanter and more fruitful than they would otherwise have been. I wish also to express my thanks for guidance and inspiration to my teachers at the School of Oriental Studies, Professor R. L. Turner, Dr. L. D. Barnett, Dr. W. Stede, and Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, and to Mrs. A. de Z. Elliot for various assistance received. I have no words sufficient to convey my heartfelt gratitude to my Ācariya, Mrs. Rhys Davids, but for whom this work would never have seen the light of day. The two years I spent in London as her *antevāsika* have been one of the happiest periods of my life, and I am indebted to her, more than I can express, for the very great honour she has conferred on me by revising this, the result of my first researches. *Ciraṃ jīvatu!*

G. P. M.
Colombo,
January, 1928.



THE PALI LITERATURE
OF CEYLON

INTRODUCTION

[1] The Pali literature of Ceylon is of great extent and importance and also of multifarious interest; it is of value alike to the historian and the student of folklore, to the philologist and the student of comparative religion. Broadly speaking, it may be classified under three main heads: first, the Buddhist Scriptures, or *Tipiṭaka*, which form the Pali Canon; second, the Commentaries (of Buddhaghosa, his contemporaries and successors), exegetical expositions of the text of the *Tipiṭaka*—compiled, as we have them now, only after the fifth century of the Christian era, but alleged to be based upon records of distinctly greater antiquity—and the *ṭīkā*s, or sub-commentaries to the canonical texts and their commentaries; and third, historical, grammatical and other works on secular subjects, including *ṭīkā*s on some of these works, which have been produced, by scholars at various times from about the fifth century to the present day.

Pali had probably ceased to be a spoken language by the time it was introduced into Ceylon; but that does not seem in any way to have lessened the interest which it evoked in the minds of the scholars of the island. To them it was of no pagan stock; they had no difficulty in assimilating the philosophic culture of a religion, which had come into birth and attained to power in a country which they themselves claimed as the motherland; they were *orasa-jātā* (bosom-born) spiritual children of India, their lives and minds nourished on her age-long, yet living and growing, traditions. When Buddhism was introduced into the island, under the aegis of the Emperor Asoka, they found in its teachings the development of essentially their own genius. Pali was the language consecrated as the instrument of, as it is called, “the Buddha’s word,” and in order, therefore, to realize to the fullest extent the value of the heritage which the Master had bequeathed to them, they devoted their attention to the study [2] of that language. To a nation little accustomed to traffic, and therefore free from the endless difficulties and anxieties which trade produces on society in general, the cultivation of letters was not only an indispensable pursuit, but a delight. In the Scriptures of the religion, which thenceforward became the national faith, Ceylon found material for endless contemplation; each succeeding sovereign, interested in the people’s welfare and in the development of his own spiritual nature, rendered them essential service in this respect, extend-

ing his munificent patronage to all whose lives were engaged in the pursuit of literary study.

Within a moderate period men of the Sinhalese race had acquired proficiency in the use of the Pali tongue; its phraseology, at once soft and sonorous, smooth-flowing and capable of employment as a language of culture and science, appealed to their imagination and kindled their power of expression. Pali became their literary dialect, raised to a position of dignity which, in spite of many vicissitudes, it still retains. Quite soon afterwards scholars began to compose works in Pali, so that the knowledge which they had garnered in the course of their studies might be recorded for the benefit of generations yet unborn.

The earliest attempt at such writings that has come down to us is the *Dīpa-vam̐sa*, a work generally assigned to the fourth or fifth century¹ From that time onwards there was a succession of authors of literary compilations, who wrote unremittingly, though there were periods of special activity. The Pali language continued to be assiduously cultivated; kings and princes, nobles and statesmen vied with one another in Pali composition, and laymen and monks contributed Pali works, some of which can rank among the notable productions of the literature of the world. Books were written on all conceivable subjects: exegesis and law, medicine and poetry, religion and folklore, history and philosophy, prosody and rhetoric—an array of extensive volumes on all that in [3] their day chiefly engaged the attention of mankind. The high degree of the intellectual attainments and the culture and refinement to which the Sinhalese had reached in the hey-day of their prosperity is fairly indicated by what now remains of the art displayed in the design and decoration of their religious edifices, the science exhibited in the conception and execution of their stupendous irrigation works, and in the beautiful ideals of love and service and devotion which appear to have been the staple of their best poetry.

Unfortunately for us, however, a large part of this ancient literature has been irretrievably lost.

The Sinhalese have ever been a domestic, not a political people. Lulled by a sense of security in their island-home, set in the silver sea, the people did not provide sufficient safeguards for the protection of their possessions and industries. Having but few needs of their own, they lavished their wealth upon their religious edifices, which they dec-

1. See discussion on the *Dīpa-vam̐sa* in Chap. VII.

orated with a profusion of precious metals and valuable gems, such as were highly prized and could easily be carried away. They thus attracted the attention of their rapacious neighbours, who from time to time swooped down upon their defenceless coasts, ravaging and plundering the wealth of the land. On several occasions these marauders succeeded in establishing themselves on the throne of the island, and in exercising supreme power. Their rule was marked by much cruelty and oppression, and not the least of the damage they perpetrated was the systematic destruction of whatever literary records fell into their hands.

But the country's foes were not all from without. More than once in the course of its history the Saṅgha in Ceylon was rent asunder by violent schisms, resulting from the propagation of heresy within its ranks. Like a hydra-headed monster, the Vaitulyavāda every now and then showed signs of vitality, until its final destruction by Parākrama Bāhu the Great, in CE 1165. And sometimes it came to pass that the heretics gained the confidence of the ruling monarchs, [4] who, to show their hatred of the recusant *Theriya Nikāya*, because of their obstinate adherence to the orthodox religion, commanded that their temples should be confiscated and demolished, and their books be collected and a bonfire made of them. Of the literature of the Vaitulyavādins themselves not a trace is left; for the kings of Ceylon, in the excess of their zeal for the preservation of the purity of the faith, born of their passionate attachment to the Theravāda fraternity, saw to it that not a vestige of their heretical teachings should survive. And finally, towards the close of the sixteenth century, Rājasiṅha I of Sītāvaka, embittered against Buddhism, because of the treachery of certain members of the Saṅgha, openly embraced a foreign faith, became virulently hostile to the Buddhist priesthood, drove them from their temples and destroyed their libraries.

Amidst all these ravages, however, a good deal of the Pali literature of Ceylon has survived, due mainly to the pious care of its loyal custodians. Regardless of personal danger and steadfast in their devotion to all learning, humble and ascetic in garb, the monks have preserved for us through the ages something of that heritage of wisdom which drew to Ceylon's shores in ancient times men from Burma and Siam and distant China in search of her intellectual treasures far more valuable than her pearls and rubies, her elephants and peacocks. And it happened that these seekers of knowledge carried back with them into their native

lands copies of the books which they had come across in their travels; and, when Ceylon had lost many of her books of priceless value, the Sinhalese were able to restore them from copies collected elsewhere.¹

Ever since the advent of the Portuguese into the island in the sixteenth century European scholars had evinced a certain amount of interest in the literature of the Sinhalese, [5] particularly in the books dealing with the history of Ceylon. But for quite a long time it was believed that the Sinhalese annals were devoid of materials of historical value; that their religious literature contained nothing but the ravings of fanaticism; that their other works were all myth and romance, wearisome in their monotonous inanity.² It was not till about 1826 that the discovery was made that Ceylon was in possession of continuous written chronicles in Pali, not only rich in authentic facts about the history of the island, but also yielding valuable materials for unravelling the meshes of Indian chronology. A young civil servant, George Turnour, in charge of the administration of the district at the foot of Ceylon's holy mountain, Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak), had been studying Pali under the guidance of a Buddhist monk; and the investigations which he made into certain rare and valuable manuscripts, led him to publish a series of articles in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, under the heading of "The Pali-Buddhical Annals." Therein he demonstrated that Ceylon possessed a connected history of over 2,300 years, authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which could contribute to verify the annals of any country.³ At the moment Prinsep was endeavouring to decipher the mysterious Buddhist inscriptions of "Piyadassi," scattered over Hindustan, and the identification of "Piyadassi" with Asoka, made possible by the discovery of the Ceylon chronicles, proved to be to him of the utmost importance.

The value of the Buddhist records in the scholarship of the East was thus brought home to research students more than ever before; and a new zest was added to their greater and closer scrutiny. In 1833 Edward Upham made at the request of Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice of Ceylon, translations of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, together with two chronicles in Sinhalese (the *Rāja-ratnākara* and the *Rājāvalī*) and published [6]

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1. Thus Oldenberg says that all the copies of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* which he saw bore marks of being copies from one Burmese original. (*Dīp.*, Introd., 11.) And Turnour (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vi, p. 790) says that his copy was obtained from MSS. brought to Ceylon from Siam.
 2. See e.g. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, 1725, iv, p. 60.
 3. V, p. 521; VI, pp. 299, 799, 1049:

them in three volumes under the title *The Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*.¹ Upham's translations included eighty-eight of the hundred chapters of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*: It was found, however, that his pioneer work was full of inaccuracies; and in 1837 Turnour made a fresh translation of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. Only thirty-eight chapters of this work were published, accompanied by the Pali text; Turnour dying before his task was completed.² In the introduction to this translation, Turnour gave a resume of the contents of his articles written for the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, and added a short dissertation on the Pali language and a few of its more important grammatical works. In addition to this he gave, in an appendix, a detailed account of the *Tipiṭaka*, as to its arrangement and divisions. He also drew the attention of scholars to the fact that in no part of the world were there greater facilities for the study of Pali than in Ceylon, and that in addition to the historical material in that language, the importance of which had been hitherto but little understood and imperfectly illustrated, there existed many doctrinal and metaphysical works on Buddhism still extensively and critically studied by the monks of Ceylon.³

The missionaries who had come to the island had already addressed themselves to the task of learning both Pali and Sinhalese, so that they might ascertain the nature of the religion which they were attempting to displace; and, in order to facilitate the work of their fellow-labourers in the field, they published translations in English of several of the books which had come under their notice. But for many years to come no attempt was made by scholars at a systematic study of the literature of Ceylon, whereby their books and their authors might be placed in some sort of chronological sequence. The meagreness of the published materials made the task doubly difficult. [7]

The first attempt to prepare a catalogue of the literary works of Ceylon was made by Rev. Spence Hardy, who, in the course of a residence of twenty years (1825–45) in the island, had made a collection of whatever manuscripts he happened to come across. At a meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held in Colombo on the 26th February, 1848, he read out a list, compiled by him, of "Books in the Pali and Sinhalese Languages;" this list was published in the Society's *Journal* in the same year.⁴ It was a bare enumeration of names of

1. London, Parbury, Allen & Co. (1833).
2. Ceylon, Cotta Church Mission Press (1837).
3. Introd., p. xxv.

books, often wrongly spelt; no mention was made of their authors, or of the dates of their compilation, and the list was necessarily incomplete. In 1852 James D'Alwis, one of the most erudite scholars of Ceylon during the last century, published his monumental work, an English translation of Vedeha's Sinhalese grammar, the *Sidat-saṅgarā*. In a masterly Introduction, extending to over two hundred pages, he traced the development of Sinhalese and gave a continuous history of the books written in that language from the earliest times to his own day. Unfortunately for us, however, D'Alwis confined himself therein exclusively to compilations made in Sinhalese, and, beside a bare mention of a few Pali works, no particulars were given of scholars who wrote in Pali.

In 1869, during the regime of Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Ceylon, was established the Government Oriental Library of Ceylon, containing a collection of books in Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit. D'Alwis was invited by the Governor to undertake to compile a catalogue of the books contained in the Library, and such other valuable and unknown manuscripts as were not available therein, but were to be found in the temple libraries of the island. He very public-spiritedly accepted the invitation. But before the work could be even fairly completed D'Alwis departed this life. He had written descriptive accounts of twenty-three books, eleven of which were compilations in Pali, and these were published in 1870, [8] as vol. I of *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon*.¹ D'Alwis did not satisfy himself with merely giving a list of books with their titles and author's names, and specifying the subject of which they treated; he gave detailed descriptions of the books themselves, illustrating his statements with copious quotations.

The work so well begun remained in abeyance until the appointment of Louis de Zoysa, Chief Interpreter Mudaliar, to pay official visits to the temple libraries of the island and to find particulars of the literary treasures they contained. In a report submitted to the Government in 1876 he mentions that, in spite of the fact that he was a Christian, on the whole he had met with a very favourable reception from the heads of the various Buddhist monasteries. Only in three or four instances does he seem to have been received with a good deal of distrust, the monks

4. JRAS (Ceylon Branch), vol. I No. 3, pp. 189 foll.

1. Government Printing Press, 1870.

evidently suspecting the Government of some design upon their collections! The results of his mission were not inconsiderable; he carried out his task with great tact and energy, and his report is interesting reading. Perhaps the greatest find was a copy of the Sinhalese gloss on the Dhammapada, which, excepting the Mihintale Inscription, is the oldest known specimen of Sinhalese prose. A strange fate seems to have been ordained for all those who undertook to make catalogues of the temple libraries, and De Zoysa too fell a victim to this unrelenting decree, for he died before his work could be finished. However, the Government issued as much of the catalogue as had been completed.¹ The works were included under several heads: the Pali manuscripts being divided into Canonical works, commentaries, *ṭīkā* or scholia, general religious works, historical works and grammatical and philological works. In regard to most of the manuscripts mentioned no further details were given, except the title of the book, size, place of deposit, author, date (hypothetical in many cases) and subject. [9]

Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, then Assistant Librarian of the Colombo Museum Library, was appointed to complete the work that had been assigned to De Zoysa. He paid visits to many of the temples which had hitherto been neglected, and the results of his researches were embodied in the “Administration Reports of the Colombo Museum 1890–95.” These were later put together under the title of the *Catalogue of the Colombo Museum Government Oriental Library*.²

Meanwhile the British Museum had been acquiring by purchase and presentation a collection of Sinhalese manuscripts, and in 1899 the Trustees invited Mr. Wickremasinghe to compile a *Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*, as part of the series of the catalogues of the manuscripts in the languages of India, which were then in course of publication. This catalogue was finally published by the British Museum in 1900. The historical introduction to this catalogue, though it contains only twenty-five pages, forms by far the most authentic account of the literature of Ceylon hitherto published. By the very nature of his work Mr. Wickremasinghe was precluded from giving more than the names of the Ceylon scholars who wrote in Pali, and the titles of their compositions; but he has done valuable service in fix-

1. Colombo, Government Printing Press, 1876.
2. Government Record Office, 1896.

ing the periods of several scholars whose works had till then been floating dateless on the sea of chronology.

Sometime later, the library of Hugh Nevill was acquired after his death by the British Museum and joined to their Oriental Collection. Nevill was for many years in the Ceylon Civil Service, and during his stay in the island had travelled extensively in search of rare and unknown manuscripts. He was immensely interested in the literature of Ceylon, and at the time of his death was engaged in the preparation of a catalogue of his collection, prefaced by a historical survey. His catalogue now forms part of the Nevill Collection of the Oriental Section of the British Museum Library;¹ and it is hoped that steps [10] may be taken soon to publish some of the works included in it which are at present not known to exist elsewhere.

No account of the attempts to give a continuous history of the Pali literature of Ceylon would be complete without a reference to that monumental work, Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, first published in 1875. There, in his introduction, besides giving an account of the books of the Tipiṭaka and of Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, Childers made brief mention of one or two other works in Pali, such as the *Sāra-saṅgaha* and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. Reference has also to be made to the article published in the *Indian Antiquary* by the Rev. Thomas Foulkes on the "Vicissitudes of Ceylon Literature."²

Among the Pali compilations themselves, only two works devote any attention to chronicling the history of literature. The first is the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, by an author named Dhammakitti, who lived probably at the end of the fourteenth century. It is a history of Buddhism in Ceylon, and one of its chapters (ix) is devoted to making a record of the books that had been written from the earliest times down to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great (CE 1164–97). This account contains several inaccuracies, and the author follows no chronological sequence; but it is of value in showing what works were recognized as authoritative at the period in which it was written. The other is a much later composition, by Ācariya Vimalasāra Thera, who completed and published his poem in CE 1880. It is called the *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa*, and is a history of the Buddhist church in the

1. The collection was re-catalogued in seven volumes by K.D. Somadasa, including Nevill's notes, and published as the *Catalogue of the Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, P.T.S., 1987–1995. (BPS ed.)

2. *Ind. Antiq.*, XVII pp. 100, 122.

island. The eleventh chapter gives a list of the authors who flourished in Ceylon from the time of Buddhaghosa to the reign of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu (CE 1240–75), together with the names of their compilations. This list also contains several works of Burmese authors which were introduced to Ceylon from time to time.

Apart from these, Subhūti Thera, in the Introduction to his [11] *Nāma-mālā*, published in 1876, gave a very valuable historical survey of the Pali grammatical literature of Ceylon. A similar account is contained in Dhammārāma's Introduction to his edition of Rāhula's *Pañcīkā-pradīpa*, published in 1896.¹ With these two works and the *Sāsana-vamsa-dīpa*, and the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*² as his basis, Medhānanda Thera wrote a historical Introduction to his Pali poem, the *Jinavaṃsa-dīpanī*, published in 1917³ giving an account of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon and of the works of Buddhist monks.

Short biographical memoirs of individual authors, together with descriptions of their compositions, are also to be found in the various editions of them published by scholars both in the East and the West, and in essays dealing with particular books that have appeared in various journals and periodicals. In this connection mention must be made of the *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, by Bimala Churan Law.⁴ There, with commendable energy, the author has gathered together a large mass of valuable material concerning the great commentator, which will be of the utmost help in any study of Pali literature.

After these preliminary observations a word may also be said about the method of treatment adopted in this present dissertation. The earliest Pali work that has come down to our times dates only from the fourth century CE. Perhaps at first sight, it might appear as if too much space has been allotted in the earlier chapters to a consideration of the history of Ceylon—apart from any literary productions—during the period prior to that date. It should be borne in mind, however, that the literature of a country cannot be separated from the life of its people; books are but an index to the intellectual development which men have attained in their reaction to the environment in which they live and move and have their being. To the literature of no country in the world does this observation apply more forcibly than to that of Ceylon, [12]

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1. Colombo, 1878; Colombo, 1896.
 2. q.v.
 3. Colombo, 1917.
 4. Calcutta, 1923.

where literary productivity has been mainly a result of the sedulous attention and the munificent patronage of kings and rulers and the support extended to the monks by an ever generous and grateful lay community. Pali literature grew only with the advancement of Buddhist culture, and some idea of the development of that culture and civilization is essential to enable us to see its literature in a true perspective. The same holds true of the period of the decay of literary activity, which the last three centuries have witnessed and which is a result of the neglect of Ceylon's spiritual heritage, and an undue attention to a civilization extraneous to the genius of the people.

This attempt to give a continuous and connected history of an intellectual movement which, in spite of the many vicissitudes it has undergone during the course of twenty-four centuries, will yet come to be included in the annals of the scholarship of the world, is inevitably full of deficiencies and imperfections. The searchlight of modern critical research has only of late been directed to the study of Pali literature. Instances are numerous where scholars are not agreed as to the date and origin of particular books, and in the absence of direct evidence conclusions must necessarily be uncertain. But, as time goes on and our knowledge of the subject grows, there is reason to believe that there will come a gradual narrowing of issues and an approximation to concurrence of opinion. Such is the cherished hope in which this effort has been made—the hope that it may serve as an unpretentious stepping-stone to a fuller and a closer study of the history of the Pali literature of Ceylon. [13]

CHAPTER I

THE CONVERSION OF CEYLON

For all practical purposes the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, and, therefore, the history of the Pali literature which records the results of that great spiritual movement, begins from the earlier part of the third century BCE. It starts with the arrival of the missionaries sent from India by the Buddhist emperor Asoka. It would, nevertheless, be incorrect to suppose that prior to that event the Buddha and his teachings were altogether unknown to the island. Indeed, there is evidence to the contrary.

The primitive history of Ceylon, like the ancient histories of all nations, is enveloped in fable; and, although latter-day chroniclers have recorded for our benefit events extending far down the vista of time, their accounts afford us very little of historical importance concerning the earliest times. It would almost seem from their manner of describing these remote happenings that they were not prepared to vouch for their strict accuracy, and that they did not regard it as their purpose to record anything anterior to the advent of the last Buddha, Gotama.

For to these chroniclers the history of Ceylon was the history of the Sinhalese people, and the Sinhalese people were, above all else, the custodians, appointed, it was believed, by the Master himself, of that sublime body of teaching which he gave to mankind. To give to the Sinhalese their authority for carrying out the mission that had been entrusted to them, the Buddha is said to have visited the island thrice, so that he might honour and purify with his holy presence the land which was to be the future home of the Sinhalese race. The old chronicles, such as, the *Mahā-vaṃsa* and *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, give vivid descriptions of these visits—made in the fifth month, the fifth year, and the eighth year after the Enlightenment. How much of truth there is in these descriptions we have no [14] way of ascertaining at this distant date; but that the tradition was a very old one, there is no doubt at all. The oldest of the Ceylon chronicles, the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*,¹ written in the fourth century CE, mentions it. The *Samanta-pāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, records it in the historical section,² and

1. Chaps. I and II.

2. P.T.S. Ed., pp. 1 foll.

the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, Ceylon's best known chronicle, gives a graphic account of the visits, with a wealth of detail.¹ (The *Samanta-pāsādikā* belongs to the latter half of the fifth century, and the *Mahā-vaṃsa* to the earlier part of the sixth century CE.) There exist to the present day the remains of a monument, erected in 164 BCE by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, on the spot where the Buddha was supposed to have touched the earth on his first visit.² It is quite probable that the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* account, the earliest record which we have at present, was borrowed from an even earlier source. For the author tells us that his work was based on earlier redactions, the *Sīhala-Atṭhakathā* (the Sinhalese commentaries), which contained besides exegetical matter on the Piṭaka, also material of a historical character "twisted into a garland of history from generation to generation like flowers of many kinds."³ It is significant that the Pali canon itself, which gives a fairly complete account of the Teacher's doings during the first few years of his ministry, does not make any mention of a visit to Ceylon.⁴ We may, therefore, be justified in concluding that the story first gained currency soon after the official introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon owing to the religious enthusiasm of the early converts and their national sentiment, which cooperated in producing a belief associating the founder of their new [15] faith with the dawn of history in their island home, which was thus made for ever sacred to them by the touch of the Master's feet.

Whatever be the truth underlying the accounts of these visits, there exists other evidence which makes it possible to believe that prior to the arrival of Asoka's missionaries Buddhism was not unknown to Ceylon.

The known history of the Sinhalese begins with the landing in Ceylon of Vijaya with his 700 followers in 543 BCE,⁵ according to the strict orthodox tradition on the very day of the Buddha's death.⁶

1. Mhv I.19 ff.

2. Mhv I.40-3

3. Dīp I.4.

4. It is interesting to note that the Burmese claim a visit of the Buddha to Burma. He is supposed to have stayed at a place now known as the Lohita-candana Vihāra (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, Introd., p. 13).

5. According to Ceylon chronology (*Ep. Zey.*, I pp. 155 foll.), Western scholars have long held this date wrong by some sixty years, but recent research, especially a new and more critical study of the Khāavela Inscription in the Hāthigumpha Cave, Orissa, has furnished very strong evidence that the Buddha was contemporary with both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu. The inscription fixes the latter at about 554 BCE, and Bimbisāra, his father, at c. 582 BCE, thus supporting the Ceylon dates. Vide *Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal*, vol. III, pp. 425-507; *JRAS* 1918, pp. 543-7; *Ceylon Antiq. and Lit. Reg.*, July, 1922, pp. 66-7.

There is room for suspecting, as Turnour remarks in his Introduction to the *Mahā-vamsa*,¹ that sectarian zeal had led to the assignment of the same date for the landing of Vijaya as to the cardinal Buddhistical event—the death of the Buddha. But we may confidently hold that Vijaya landed in Ceylon about the middle of the sixth century BCE. He was a headstrong and impetuous youth, scion of a royal race, which held sway over the country of Lāla (or Lāṭa), whose capital was Siñhapura.² Being banished from home because of their misdeeds, he and his followers, after many adventures on the way, landed in Ceylon, and energetically set about colonizing the country.

Ceylon was inhabited by a race of men whom Vijaya and [16] his companions called Yakkhas, and who evidently belonged to an earlier colony of settlers that had migrated from South India.³ For there is no reason to doubt that Vijaya's band was only one, perhaps the best known and the most powerful, of colonists who had gone over from India, in their southward course.⁴ Only a few miles of water separate Ceylon from the mainland. Even today people cross over in catamarans, the most primitive of all modes of boat save that of the hollowed log.

The country already possessed a certain degree of civilization. The Yakkhas had their own cities, social institutions, a fairly well-developed language, and indubitable signs of accumulated wealth. Spence Hardy tells us that Lan̄kāpura, the Yakkha capital, which Vijaya visited soon after he had landed, is no mere city of imagination, as its site can still be pointed out in the district of Mātale, in the Central Province.⁵ One of Vijaya's first acts was to marry, under romantic circumstances, a Yakkha princess, by name Kuvenī. Divested of obvious exaggerations, she appears before us as a very real and fascinating lady, whose

6. Thus the Mhv VI.47. The Dīp IX.21, refers the event to the time of the *Parinibbāna*. The *Samanta-pāsādikā* assigns it to the same year as the death of the Buddha (loc. cit.).

1. *Mahā-vamsa*, Transl., Introd., p. li.

2. Neither the country nor the city has yet been successfully identified. Philological evidence tends to the view that the original home of Vijaya was in East Bengal; it is not my purpose to discuss the question here.

3. Tennent, *Ceylon*, I pp. 327 foll.

4. Sir W. Jones said that Rāma "conquered Siñan in 1810 BCE," basing his authority on the *Rāmāyana*. However that may be, there is no doubt that, invited by its elephants and pearls, the fertility of the soil, and the salubrity and the richness of its products, the Indians settled there quite early, even if their occupation was not coeval with that of India. See D'Alwis, *Sīdat-saṅgarā*, Introd., p. xi.

5. JRAS (C.B.), I No. 2, p. 101.

ideas, tastes, and language harmonized with the princely character of Vijaya. And she had charms sufficiently real and refinements sufficiently captivating to win him and to obtain the honour of being his wife. It is true that she was later discarded in favour of another; but that was under the stress of political expediencies. After the marriage, Vijaya founded the city of Tambapaṇṇi and settled down there, while his ministers set about to form separate establishments, each for himself, "that the country might be rendered habitable for men,"¹ [17] in parts widely distant from each other.² It may be inferred that the places were well-populated and that the people were of a peaceable character, else the small party would not have dared to separate. Besides, the marvellous nature of the works executed by the Sinhalese and the rapidity with which they were finished in the first century and a half after the conquest (such as, for example, the irrigation tank of Anurādha constructed less than forty years after Vijaya's landing),³ seem to show that the Yakkhas had a high degree of civilization.

It is most improbable that into a community so cultured and well-established some traces, at least, should not have found their way, of that great Buddhist spiritual movement, which was making rapid strides in the mainland, and whose missionaries, with that enthusiasm which invariably marks allegiance to a new cause, were carrying the glad tidings even into regions hitherto unexplored. It is true that Vijaya's own attention was fully engrossed with the consolidation of his newly-acquired power. But the others who came soon after him, in ever-increasing numbers, were from countries where Buddhism was the dominant faith.⁴ This becomes all the more probable when we are told that Vijaya obtained his consort for his coronation from among the daughters of the Pāṇḍiyan king, who reigned at Madhurā in South India, and that she was accompanied by hosts of others, among them being a thousand families of the eighteen guilds.⁵ Now these Pāṇḍiyans were originally a Kṣatriya race of Āryans from the Madhyadeśa, the scene of the Buddha's lifelong ministry.⁶

After they had left their original home in their wanderings southwards they kept in touch with those whom they had left behind. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the Pāṇḍiyan families carried over

1. *Rāja-ratnākaraya*, chap. I, Mhv VII.39.

2. Mhv VII.43-5.

3. Mhv IX.11.

4. Tennent, I p. 339, and Hiuan-Tsang, *Travels*, Chap. IV.

5. Mhv VII.57 foll.

6. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 9ff.

with them to Ceylon some knowledge of the Buddha and his teachings. [18]

Hugh Nevill, in the introduction to the catalogue which he prepared for publication, of his collection of Pali books now in the British Museum says that when he was in Ceylon he was informed of a tradition among the Tamils there that Vijaya had actually, after settling down in Ceylon, introduced a colony of persecuted Buddhists from Magadha.¹

In his Introduction to the *Jinālaṅkāra*, James Gray ascribes that work to a monk named Buddhārakkhita, born of a distinguished family in Ceylon in 426 BCE. “With the inducements to missionary work in Vijaya’s domain our author must have joined the Church and, as an outcome of his devotion to Pali studies, composed the *Jinālaṅkāra*.” “And he was at the head of a congregation of monks in Coḷika-tamba-raṭṭha, the maritime western division of Ceylon, where the Coḷas of the Coromandel coast originally settled.”² Though there is no historical evidence to support the very great antiquity attributed to this work,³ yet the Burmese tradition, which Gray has followed in making these statements, serves to show that long before Mahinda’s arrival, Buddhism was known in Ceylon.

In this connection, there is one more fact worthy of notice. Vijaya died, leaving no heir to the throne. Before his death he sent an embassy to his younger brother Sumitta, inviting him to take charge of his domain in Ceylon. Sumitta, having been already crowned king as his father’s successor, accepted the invitation on behalf of his youngest son Paṇḍuvāsudeva, who came over and succeeded Vijaya. His queen was a Sākya princess, Bhaddakaccānā, of great beauty. Suitors from many lands sought her hand, and her father, to escape unpleasant complications, put her in a boat with a few friends, and launched it upon the Ganges. The boat, with its precious cargo, reached Ceylon, and Bhaddakaccānā became Paṇḍuvāsudeva’s queen.⁴ She and her companions, all scions [19] of the Sākya clan, were undoubtedly Buddhists, because

1. British Museum, *Oriental Catalogue*.

2. *Jinālaṅkāra*, Introd., pp. 7–8.

3. See my remarks on the *Jinālaṅkāra* further on. (Somadasa Jayawardhana: “There seems to be no historical evidence to support the statement quoted from Gray’s Introduction. His chronology regarding Ven. Buddhārakkhita derives from an erroneous translation; see my note on the *Jinālaṅkāra* further on. Further, Ven. Buddhārakkhita of Rohaṇa was from southern Sri Lāṅkā, not the maritime western division of the island.”)

4. Mhv VIII.18 foll.

the Piṭakas bear ample testimony to the whole-hearted adherence and the loyal devotion of the Sākyaans to the new faith taught by their great kinsman. It would be strange if, with such intercourse with the motherland, the Sinhalese people of that day were not brought into touch with the religious movement which was then growing and spreading in power in the valley of the Ganges.

Both Vijaya and his successors treated all religions with a perfect equality of royal favour, a policy evidently dictated by their eagerness to encourage immigration. Yakkha temples were respected, and even annual offerings were provided for them; halls were built for the Brahmans; residences were erected for them at public expense, one of them being the Tittihārāma (the monastery for foreign religions), built by Paṇḍukābhaya, on the spot where Abhayagiri now stands at Anurādhapura.¹ No mention, however, is made of a single edifice having been built for the use of the Buddhists—a silence probably due to a natural tendency on the part of Buddhist chroniclers to concentrate all attention on Mahinda and thus connect the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon with the most distinguished person conceivable, the great Asoka.²

Paṇḍukābhaya was followed by his son Muṭasiva, and he in turn by Devānampiyatissa (Tissa Beloved of the Gods). He was Muṭasiva's second son, but was chosen because he was "foremost among all his brothers in virtue and intelligence."³ At the time of his coronation many miracles came to pass: "In the whole Isle of Lānkā treasures and jewels that had been buried deep rose to the surface of the earth ... pearls of the eight kinds ... came forth out of the ocean and lay upon the shore in heaps."⁴

Soon after his accession Tissa sent envoys to his friend Dhammāsoka with costly presents—an act of friendly homage, [20] further evidence of the free intercourse which existed between the two kingdoms. The great emperor returned the courtesy. He sent an embassy of his chosen ministers, bearing gifts marvellous in splendour, that Tissa might go through a second coronation ceremony, and the messengers were directed to give this special message to the king: "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order. I have declared myself a lay disciple of the religion of the Sākya son; seek then, even thou, O best of men, converting thy mind with believing heart, refuge in

1. Mhv X.98–102.

2. Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, Introd., p. lii.

3. Mhv XI.6.

4. Mhv XI.8–15.

these best of gems.”¹ Thus was the ground prepared for Mahinda’s mission.²

In the meanwhile, between the landing of Vijaya in 543 BCE and the arrival of Mahinda about 243 BCE, many changes had come over India, north of the Vindhya Mountains. In the middle of the seventh century BCE the paramount power was the great kingdom of Kosala, then at the height of its prosperity, under the great Kosalan (Mahākosala). His dominions extended from the mountains to the Ganges, and from the Kosala and Rāmagaṅgā rivers on the west to the Gaṇḍak on the east. But already in the time of the Buddha’s boyhood a new star was rising on the political horizon. This was Magadha, a petty kingdom on the South of Kosala.

The exact course of events which made Magadha triumph over all her rivals it is impossible to follow. But one fact stands out clearly: before more than a century and a half had elapsed from the date of the Buddha’s death, Candragupta, a scion of the Nanda race, and a youthful adventurer, effected a revolution at Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the capital of the Magadhan monarchy, exterminated the Nanda family, which was then holding sway, destroyed the Macedonian garrison in the Indus basin, and, having thus secured his position against all enemies, worked his way [21] to a dominion equalling the mightiest then existing. He made of Magadha a gigantic empire and became the first genuinely historical emperor of India. He was succeeded by his son, Bindusāra, whose title Amitraghāta (slayer of foes) suggests a martial career. Though nothing definite is recorded of his military achievements, it seems almost certain that the conquest of the Dekkhan was effected during his reign.³

When the reign of Bindusāra terminated after a duration of twenty-eight years, he was succeeded by one of his sons, commonly called Asoka, then the Magadha Viceroy at Ujjenī. His succession was contested; but, in the end, he asserted his rights and was crowned emperor. He inherited a kingdom which was strong and rich and extensive, protected by a large army, administered by a government with elaborately organized departments, and carefully graded officials with well-defined duties. Asoka was a man of peaceable disposition, and did everything

1. Mhv XI.34–8.

2. For this, and the rest of the historical portion about Asoka in this chapter, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 272 foll.; Vincent Smith’s *Asoka* (Oxford Univ. Press), *Rulers of India Series, passim*; and *The Oxford History of India* (1923), pp. 72 foll.

3. Smith, *Oxford History*, p. 76.

in his power to make his subjects happy and contented. His imperishable records, in the shape of those wonderful inscriptions—the most remarkable of their kind in the world, and apparently written for the most part to his own dictation—enable us to form a fairly connected and vivid picture of his life. He waged but one war, and that a war of annexation, upon the kingdom of Kāliṅga, eight years after his consecration. This war is made to appear the turning-point in his career; for to this war was due not only the gradual development of the emperor's character and policy which converted him to the Buddhist faith, but also that movement which he later initiated, whereby Buddhism, from being a local sect, grew to be one of the world religions. The Kāliṅga war thus became one of the decisive events in the history of the world.

Asoka himself tells in the Thirteenth Rock Edict¹ how repentance came upon him when he contemplated the miseries and the sufferings which the indulgence [22] of his ambition had involved, and how he was driven to seek in the Good Law, which he elsewhere identifies with the teaching of the Buddha, refuge from the haunting of a remorse-stricken conscience.

There were three stages in this conversion. The Rūpnāth Edict,² written about the thirteenth year after his formal coronation, mentions that he had been, for two and a half years, a lay disciple (*upāsaka*), but had not developed much zeal, but that one year before the date of the Edict he had become close to the Order.³ In the Eighth Edict he tells us that in the thirteenth year after his anointing he had set out on a pilgrimage to the place of the Buddha's enlightenment, *Sambodhi*.⁴ Thenceforward he devoted his whole energy and all the extensive

1. Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadassi*.

2. Senart, op. cit.

3. Malalasekera rendered "entered the Order" and notes that the meaning of this is not clear. Adding "Perhaps it refers to the incident where Asoka consents to his children Mahinda and Saṅghamittā entering the Saṅgha, which act made him a *Sāsana-dāyāda*, "the inheritor, heir, or kinsman of the Buddha's religion," to the spreading of which teachings he thenceforward dedicated his life." However, Somapala Jayawardhana notes "Malalasekera's statement that Asoka "entered the Order" is based on a mistaken rendering of the words in the Edict *saṅghe upayāte*, which literally mean "I drew near to the Order." Scholars are agreed that Asoka himself did not become a monk. Most probably the expression means that he came into close association with senior members of the Order and regarded them as his spiritual mentors."

4. Malalasekera: "he had set forth on the path to Sambodhi (towards the attainment of Arahantship)." Somapala Jayawardhana: "The words of the Edict, *ayāya sambodhim*, are now understood to mean that Asoka set out on a pilgrimage to the Bodhi-tree at Buddha-gayā, the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment."

resources of his vast empire to the realization of the noble ideals which the new faith had given him. With unbounded zeal and a high and lofty devotion, such as was worthy of so great a cause, Asoka devised ways and means of bringing about a change of heart in all men—whom he considered as his children—so that they, “hearing his Ordinance, based on the Law of Piety, and his instruction in that Law, may practice the Law.”¹ He taught not merely by precept, but also by personal example. In the thirteenth edict he describes how he had already won success in his ambition in this direction among the people of Egypt, Syria, Macedonia, Epirus, Kyrene, among the Coḷas and Pāṇḍiyas in South India, and in Ceylon.

This last, the only one that may be called historically successful, is the achievement with which we are at present concerned. That Asoka had a special warmth of regard for Ceylon is clear from the message, referred to earlier, which he sent to Devānampiyatissa. According to the statements [23] made by the Ceylon chronicles, which there is no valid reason for disbelieving—especially, in view of the evidence, brought to light by Cunningham in and near the Sānchī Topes, which corroborate, in a very remarkable manner, many of the facts therein mentioned—Asoka dispatched his son² Mahinda, with six others, to carry the glad tidings of the Good Law over to Ceylon.

The *Mahā-vaṃsa* describes with ecstatic rapture the advent of Mahinda to the island, his aerial flight, his descent to Ambatthala, the loftiest peak of Mihintale, where, rising suddenly from the plain, the mountain overlooks the city of Anurādhapura. The story proceeds to relate how the king, who was hunting the elk, was miraculously allured to the spot where Mahinda was standing, and how the latter propounded the Doctrine to the ruler of the land, who, together with his forty thousand followers, embraced the new faith.³ Thus, on the full moon day of Posen (June–July), 236 years after the passing away of the Buddha, the new religion gained official recognition in the island. Mahinda’s arrival, and the consequent conversion of the king and his royal retinue, was the culminating event in a process which had been going on gradually and without doubt tolerably rapidly for well nigh two centuries.

1. Edict XIII.

2. “Aśoka’s younger brother” says Smith (*Oxford Hist.*, p. 99) following the Indian tradition and also the evidence furnished by the Chinese. Hiuan-Tsang mentions the name of Mahinda, but calls him Asoka’s younger brother (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, pp. 246–7). But I do not see any reason for accepting the Chinese version in preference to the Sinhalese.

3. Mhv XIV.1 foll.

No time could have been more opportune for the promulgation of the new and living religion. The two hundred years which had elapsed after Vijaya's arrival had been spent in initiatory measures for the organization of the country. Encouraged by the facilities held out to settlers, fresh colonists had been pouring into the land in ever-increasing numbers. Towns had been built and arrangements made to keep them clean and healthy; suburbs had been laid out and measures [24] adopted to provide the inhabitants with the necessary comforts of life; gardens planned, parks constructed, and fruit-bearing trees introduced. The production of food had been secured by the construction of canals and public works for irrigation. Every one, from the king downwards, took a personal interest in adding to the fruitfulness of the land. Carriage roads facilitated communication between the various settlements; village boundaries had been fixed, and the cultivation of art and science encouraged.¹ The people were contented and happy, and they were at the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity. By the earlier infiltration of Indian culture the ground had already been prepared to receive a doctrine of life which gave a new purpose to existence and furnished an opportunity for noble endeavour. The seed had only to be sown for it to take root and blossom with amazing vigour.

As a fitting climax to the conversion of Ceylon, which was the most successful and most productive of the missionary efforts of Asoka, he sent his daughter Saṅghamittā, carrying with her, as a token of the king's cordiality and goodwill, a branch of the Pipul tree at Buddhagayā, where the Teacher had attained enlightenment. And the honour thus paid to Ceylon was well deserved:

“It is doubtful if any other single incident in the long story of their race has seized upon the imagination of the Sinhalese with such tenacity as this of the planting of the aged tree. Like its pliant roots, which find sustenance on the face of the bare rock and cleave their way through the stoutest fabric, the influence of what it represents has penetrated into the innermost being of the people till the tree itself has become almost human. The loving care of some pious observer has left on record in sonorous Pali and with minute detail the incidents of the day when the soil of Ceylon first received it,² and today the descendants of the princely escort who accompanied it from India continue to be [25] its guardians. The axe of the ruthless invaders who for so many centuries to come were destined to spread ruin throughout the country

1. Mhv X.88 foll.

2. *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa*, q.v.

was reverently withheld from its base. And even now, on the stillest night, its heart-shaped leaves on their slender stalks ceaselessly quiver and sigh, as they have quivered and sighed for twenty-three centuries.”¹

The spiritual movement introduced under such well auguring auspices found a permanent abode in the little island home. If the criterion of the greatness of such a movement be the beneficial influence it has exerted on the character of those towards whom it was directed, then, certainly, the mission of King Asoka to Ceylon was amongst the greatest civilizing influences of the world, for it bequeathed to the Sinhalese people a gentleness of disposition and a nobility and refinement of character of which neither the ravages of time, nor centuries of ruthless warfare, nor the insidious attacks of modern commercialism have succeeded in depriving them.

But by no means the least of its results was the impetus it gave to a fresh study of the problems of mankind in the light of its new philosophy—a study which resulted in the production of a voluminous literature, which for centuries commanded the veneration of the whole Eastern world, and the remnants of which even today excite our wonder and admiration. “For there, in that beautiful land,” as Rhys Davids reminds us, “the province most fruitful of any in India or its confines, in continuous and successful literary work and effort, there have never been wanting, from that day to this, the requisite number of earnest scholars and students to keep alive, and hand down to their successors and to us that invaluable literature which has taught us so much of the history of religion, not only in Ceylon, but also in India itself.”²

It is the story of that literature, unique in many respects, that we propose to unfold in the following chapters. [26]

1. P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, pp. 3–4.
2. *Buddhist India*, pp. 303–4.

CHAPTER II

THE WRITING DOWN OF THE BOOKS

With the arrival of Saṅghamittā, and the planting of the sacred Bo-tree in Sinhalese soil, the establishment of Buddhism in the island was complete. Great rejoicings marked the event. A festival of fourteen days, the like of which Ceylon had never before witnessed, was held in honour of the occasion. From the sea to the city gates the road along which the holy sprig was conducted to Anurādhapura was decorated, “sprinkled with white sand, bestrewn with various flowers, and adorned with planted pennons and festoons of blossoms.”¹ Saṅghamittā was accorded all the honour due to so distinguished a visitor. When the ceremony of the planting of the tree was over, a state function was held, where the royal princes and other leading men who had escorted the Bodhi tree were duly presented to the king by Ariṭṭha, the Sinhalese envoy, who had been specially dispatched to Asoka’s court, to bring over Saṅghamittā and the sacred Pipul branch. Titles and honours were conferred on the distinguished ambassadors, and arrangements were made for the custody of the holy tree and for the due performance of religious ceremonies in its honour.

Meanwhile, day after day the great Thera Mahinda, on the invitation of the king, visited the palace in the forenoon and after being entertained with his companions to the midday meal preached the Good Dhamma to the multitudes who continually flocked to the palace gates to see the Thera and listen to his message. Day after day the concourse grew larger and larger, and thousands, hearing the teaching of the Great Elder, became converted and were admitted into the new faith.

A large number of the converts, both high and low, finding the householder’s life uncongenial to the practice of [27] the Buddha’s message, renounced the world and entered the Order of the Saṅgha. The prime minister, Ariṭṭha, who was the king’s nephew, and the king’s younger brother, Mattābhaya, were among the very first of younger Sinhalese Bhikkhus to be ordained.² For the residence of the Bhikkhus the king made an offering of the royal park, Mahāmeghavana (the pleasance of the Great Shower), extending southwards from the city to

1. Mhv XIX.37 foll.

2. Mhv XIX.66, and XVII.57–58.

the banks of the Kadamba river.¹ According to the Chronicles, many were the miracles that accompanied its consecration. The very elements manifested their joy at the glorious event; for on the extensive grounds thus dedicated to the use of the new religion was destined to rise a little while later the Mahā-vihāra, the Great Monastery, which for many centuries held, as a temple of learning; a prominent place in the Eastern world. Monasteries were built with all possible speed for the accommodation of the monks, and *sīmā* (boundaries) were marked out for the holding of the *uposatha* and other *vinaya* acts of the Saṅgha.

The women were by no means second to the men in their zeal for the new religion. Indeed, the very first of the converts to attain to the Fruits of the Path were Anulā, the wife of the sub-king Mahānāga, and the ladies of the court who formed her retinue.² A few days later, on attaining to the second stage of salvation (*sakadāgāmi*), they expressed a desire to receive the *pabbajjā* ordination and enter the sisterhood of nuns. They were informed that the *vinaya* rules did not allow Mahinda to admit women to the Order, and it was to make their ordination possible that Ariṭṭha was sent to Pāṭaliputra, to Asoka's court, that he might bring Saṅghamittā. Soon after her arrival the Therī admitted Anulā and five hundred other women into the Order, thus founding the Bhikkhunī-Sāsana (the sisterhood of nuns) in Ceylon. They had already retired from the world and gone into residence, in a nunnery which came to [28] be known as the Upāsikā-vihāra (the vihāra of the lay sisters).³ Saṅghamittā herself, wishing for greater seclusion and pleasanter remoteness, took up her abode in the Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra (the vihāra near the Elephant Post),⁴ which the king built for her special use. There she remained till the end of her days, "working for the progress of the Doctrine and mindful of the good of the Bhikkhunīs."⁵

The monks and nuns who had thus retired from household life were not actuated, in taking this step, by a desire to live in indolent devotion, supported by the generosity of the rest of the community. From its adherents Buddhism demands ceaseless activity in the service of their fellow men and women, and *pamāda* (indolence) is the greatest of all sins. The members of the Saṅgha could, if they felt so inclined, go for a while into some woodland retreat, or mountain cave, and there meditate

1. The present Malvatu Oya to the south of Anurādhapura.

2. Mhv XIV.58.

3. Mhv XVIII.11-12.

4. Mhv XIX.77-85.

5. Mhv XIX.78.

on the transitoriness of life, and the sorrows of this never-ending cycle of birth and death. But their rightful place was in the midst of men and women, preaching and discoursing, exhorting them to lead the good life, which alone could bring them to salvation. From its very inception Buddhism was a missionary religion. Quite early in his career as teacher and sage the Buddha took a momentous step in bidding his disciples go forth and preach the Dhamma to the whole world. "Go, monks," he said, "and wander for the good of the many, the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the happiness, and for the welfare of devas and men. Go not alone, but by twos. Preach, monks, the Doctrine which is lovely in the beginning, lovely in the middle, lovely in the end, in the spirit, and in the letter; proclaim the consummate life of holiness, perfect and pure."¹ Thus was the trumpet-call sounded, for the "first time in the world's history," for the establishment of a religion which knew no distinctions of colour or race, but [29] which was meant for the salvation of all mankind. It was this command of the Master that had sent Mahinda and Saṅghamittā over to Ceylon, and they and those whom they admitted into the fraternity of the Buddha's disciples in the island considered it their self-appointed task to make the message of the Dhamma known in every hearth and home throughout the land. Until missionaries trained from amongst the sons of the soil could themselves carry aloft the light of the Dhamma amidst all the people, Mahinda did not consider the Sāsana firmly and securely established.² The Buddhist missionaries sought no advantage for themselves or for their own nationalities. It was their endeavour to establish in every land whither they carried the Teacher's message a Saṅgha having its own national character, free to develop along its own lines, untrammelled by external control, temporal or spiritual. Indeed, when on one occasion King Devānampiyatissa, after having done all that he thought was necessary for the permanent establishment of the Sāsana in Ceylon, asked the great Thera Mahinda whether the religion of the Buddha was well established in the island, the reply he received was: "The Sāsana has been established, but it has not yet taken deep root:" "When will it be deeply rooted, Sir?" asked the king. "On the day when a son born in Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) of parents resident in that island has entered the Order in this island, and, having studied the *vinaya* in this island itself, expounds it in this island,

1. Mahāvagga, Vin I 10 (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., I 112).

2. *Samanta-pāsādikā* (P.T.S. Ed.), p. 102.

then, O King, will the Sāsana have taken deep root,"¹ was the memorable reply.

For this purpose and for the purpose of disseminating knowledge of the Dhamma amongst the people a careful study of the religion was necessary. And Mahinda had provided for this by bringing with him over to Ceylon the traditions of the orthodox Theravādin school, contained in the Canon which had been handed down by the *Theravāda-paramparā* (the succession of Elders), and which had been completed [30] and sanctioned by the three Councils or Recitals held after the Buddha's death.

Devānampiyatissa's reign lasted for forty years. It was a period of unbroken peace, devoted entirely to the social and moral welfare of the country. The king had lived sufficiently long to see the accomplishment of the task upon which he had his whole heart—the permanent establishment of Buddhism as the national faith. This work well done, he passed away in the fullness of time, leaving behind him a name whose lustre the lapse of centuries has failed to dim in the memory of a grateful people. The whole island had become the scene of ever-increasing religious activity from Rohaṇa in the south to Pihiṭi in the north. By the time of Tissa's death the new religion had spread into every town, village, and hamlet, and vihāras and other religious edifices dotted the land from end to end. Some of them soon acquired fame as centres of learning, and chief among them was the Dīghasaṇḍa-senāpati-pariveṇa, built by the king's commander-in-chief, Dīghasaṇḍa, who gave it to Mahinda.² In later times it became famous as the residence of the author of the *Mahā-vamsa*.³ The desire for the acquisition of knowledge was also greatly encouraged by the presence of material prosperity. The disposition of the Gangetic population which had taken possession of Ceylon with Vijaya's arrival was essentially adapted to agricultural pursuits, and, helped by the zeal and vigour of the rulers, the people easily secured all the material comforts necessary for a happy life.

Tissa was succeeded by his brother Uttiya, and during his reign the great Apostle Mahinda passed away on the 8th day of the bright half of Assayuja (October), "the light of Laṅkā, the teacher of many disciples, he who, like unto the Master, had wrought great blessing for the people."⁴ In the following year the saintly Saṅghamittā herself passed

1. Ibid.

2. Mhv XV.212–14.

3. q.v.

to her [31] rest. She had worked strenuously for the religion during twenty-nine long years, and her remains were cremated in sight of the Bodhi-tree which she had brought over from Jambudīpa.¹ Uttiya was followed by Mahā-Siva and the latter by Sūra-Tissa, who was an ardent devotee of the religion, and is said before and after his accession to have built five hundred monasteries in all parts of the country. His pious career, however, came to a tragic end. From among the large concourse of foreigners who had come to Ceylon from Jambudīpa, two Tamils, sons of a horse-dealer, seized the kingdom and slew the king.² Thus began those periodical invasions of the Tamil hordes from the continent which later rendered desolate, the greater part of the island and all but completely destroyed its culture and civilization. It is true that the Tamils (or the Malabars, as they are frequently called) brought with them a certain amount of civilizing influence in the form of Hindu culture; but the destruction they wrought was immense. They pulled down all public buildings, put to death the monks, and burnt whatever literary records fell into their hands. The ultimate disappearance of the greater part of the literature and learning of Ceylon was, as we shall see later, directly or indirectly due to the results of these invasions.

The usurpers were driven out after nearly twenty-five years; but very soon others appeared on the scene, with greater strength of arms, under the leadership of Eḷāra from the Coḷa country. They killed the reigning king, and Eḷāra ruled the kingdom for forty-four years, administering “even justice towards friend and foe.”³ Eḷāra himself was a good friend of Buddhism and the Buddhists, and he was one of the most popular rulers of the country; but his followers were not so scrupulous in their behaviour. In the meantime many of the Sinhalese, unwilling to bow the knee to the invader, had gone [32] south to Rohaṇa, on the other side of the Mahavāli-gaṅga, and the Sinhalese capital was established at Mahāgama,⁴ where the ruling prince was Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa. He was a devout Buddhist and proved to be a great patron of that faith. In this he was assisted by his consort Vihāra-Mahādevī, whose enthusiasm excelled even that of her husband: Under their auspices the religion was firmly established in Rohaṇa, which later was destined to become the birthplace of many of Ceylon’s most distinguished sons and daughters

4. Mhv XX.30–3.

1. Mhv XX.51–4.

2. Mhv XXI.10–12.

3. Mhv XXI.14.

4. Mhv XXII.11 ff

in all spheres of life. More than a half of the best known names in Ceylon literature come from this province, and even today the inhabitants of Rohaṇa are reputed for their learning and their ability. The patriotism of the Sinhalese could not tolerate a foreign invader in their midst. No government, however just, if based upon alien domination, could placate national feeling or satisfy national aspirations. Tales of oppression, rumours of the supercilious contempt with which the conquerors treated the country's holiest possessions, reached the Sinhalese band in their exile. Youths of strength and valour and ardent patriotism flocked to Māgama, their hearts burning to avenge their country's insults. But the time was not yet ripe. The old king realized that the expulsion of the Tamils was a task of no small difficulty, and his army and his resources were yet too weak and limited to undertake the responsibility. But he could help towards that end, so that, when the propitious day dawned, the hated oppressor would no longer be supreme in the land. With this in view he gathered round him at his court all the bravest and the strongest of his subjects. Martial ardour, however, was not his predominant characteristic. It was otherwise with his queen, the noble lady, Vihāra-Mahādevī. She was cast in a much more heroic mould than her husband. The presence of a Tamil usurper on the throne at the sacred city of Anurādhapura was a humiliation which she resented deeply. Her ardent faith, too, strengthened her resolve to [33] see the emancipation of her motherland, and, when the time came, this noble and sagacious woman played no small part in the national movement to sweep the infidel foe into the sea.

And the hour produced the man.¹ To the king and queen was born Gāmaṇi-Abhaya, who was to rid Laṅkā of the Tamil oppression and help her to regain her lost honour. The omens that attended his conception and his birth indicated that he was no ordinary man.²

When he was twelve, his father, lest his son should ruin his chance by any attempts of rash impetuosity, had asked him to take an oath that he would never fight with the Tamils. The brave lad promptly and indignantly refused.³ We may be sure that the old king secretly rejoiced at having so courageous a son, and the queen-mother openly encouraged the lad's ambitions. He was trained in all the arts and sciences that he might be fit to be a ruler of men. At the age of sixteen he was given a

1. I have dealt with the career of Gāmaṇi at some length because it forms the central theme of the greatest of Pali epics, the *Mahā-vaṃsa* (q.v).

2. Mhv XXII.42 foll.

3. Mhv XXII.82-5.

separate establishment, and he gathered round him a famous band of giant warriors whose names have become household words to this day. The prince excelled all others in manly accomplishments—versed in archery, dexterous in swordsmanship, and skilled in guiding elephant as well as horse, he soon showed himself a born leader of men. Soon he sent forth his gallant bodyguard to sound the call to arms, and the nation manfully responded. In a few months the Sinhalese army, compact, thoroughly equipped and eager for the fray, assembled in Māgama, and Gāmaṇi demanded permission to cross the river and attack the foe. He met with a blunt refusal. “Be not rash,” wrote the aged king, “and desist from any precipitate action. The Tamils are over a million men. The region on this side of the river suffices at least for the present.”¹ But Gāmaṇi chafed at the restraint. He sent to his father a pair of bangles and other female ornaments, [34] declaring “My Royal Sire is a woman, not a man,” and hid himself to escape the royal anger. Soon afterwards Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa died, and within a few months of his coronation Gāmaṇi got ready in earnest for the campaign which had been his dream and ambition. With the blessings of the Saṅgha and the good wishes of the people he set out northwards with his army. Vihāra-Mahādevī accompanied her brave son and by her sagacity, enthusiasm, and encouragement kindled him to greater and greater achievements. Fort after fort fell under the charge of the brave Sinhalese band, and after a long siege at Vijitapura the Tamils were completely routed. A little while later Gāmaṇi engaged Eḷāra in a hand-to-hand fight near the south gate of Anurādhapura. Eḷāra was no match for his adversary, and soon fell. Gāmaṇi’s victory was complete, and in the hour of his triumph he made a gesture which brought honour not only to himself but also to the nation which produced him. For he decreed that his royal adversary should be accorded all the honours due to a king, and further declared that no man, prince or peasant, should pass the spot where the remains of the Tamil hero lay buried riding in palanquin or litter or with beating of drums.² It is to the credit of the people of Ceylon that during two thousand years and more they obeyed this decree and continued to pay their homage to one who was a brave man and a just and humane ruler.

In a few days the king was crowned as supreme ruler of a united Laṅkā (the three Sinhala provinces), and great were the rejoicings thereat. But the king’s outlook on life had changed, the great and glorious

1. Mhv XXIV.4.

2. Mhv XXV.71–5.

success for which he had lived and dreamed gave him no real joy. He thought of the thousands of human lives on whom suffering had been wrought to encompass this end, and he was filled with poignant grief. For he had always been deeply religious in mind and compassionate at heart, and the memory of these miseries caused him great pain. He determined to start a new chapter [35] in his life. Hitherto material conquest had been his one and dominant ambition; henceforth he would be a man of peace, governing his people like unto a father, and devoting himself to the sacred cause of the Buddha's compassionate teaching. Thus was initiated an era of peace and joy and contentment, an age pre-eminently of faith, beautiful in its simplicity, yet illumined by knowledge and imbued with an extraordinary moral earnestness. It was an age when devas walked on earth and in their heavenly abodes declared their wish to be born in Laṅkā as men and women. There was happiness in the land and prosperity. Many are the tales, enshrined in tradition, of the saintly personages that flourished during this period, and some at least of them undoubtedly deal with historical characters. But the accounts of their doings are enveloped in myth and fable, and it is impossible to separate truth from fiction.

Gāmaṇi's munificence was especially directed to the erection of religious edifices, chief among them being the Lovā-Mahāpāya (the Brazen Palace, so called because of its being roofed with metal plates), a nine-storied monastery elevated on sixteen hundred columns of monolithic granite, resplendent with gold and silver and precious atones, furnished with costly beds and chairs, a gem-palace designed and constructed after the reputed model of a devatā's abode in heaven.¹ This was dedicated to the use of monks of all ranks and positions, and there they studied and preached the Sacred Scriptures. This was a great service rendered by the king to the growth of literature, the providing of a place where scholars could meet and discuss various problems. The *Pūjāvaliya*² tells us that books were supplied and all manner of comforts provided for the preachers.

But the greatest of his works was the Mahā-Thūpa, the Ruvanvāli Dagoba (the Relic Chamber of the Golden Sands, so called from its magnificence), the most stupendous and the [36] most venerated of those at Anurādhapura. It was a labour of love, and the king took special precautions that no hardships fell upon the people in consequence of his great enterprise: "No work is to be done here without reward," he

1. Mhv XXVII.10-20.

2. Colombo Ed.; p. 176.

caused to be proclaimed, and no labourer was allowed to go away unrequited.¹ We are not here concerned with the building of the glorious edifice, except for one circumstance connected with it. We are told that on the day when the foundation stone was laid for the Mahā-Thūpa, on the full-moon day of Vesākha (April–May), 144 BCE, the assemblage of monks for the auspicious occasion included not only the bhikkhus of Laṅkā, but also large numbers from the principal vihāras and monasteries of India. The *Mahā-vaṃsa*² gives, with a wealth of detail, the names of many of the eminent visitors from India; Candagutta from the Vanavāsa country, Cittagutta from Buddha-gayā, Dhammasena from Isipaṭṭana; Indagutta from Rājagaha, Mānadeva from Pallavabhogga, Mittiṇṇa from Pāṭaliputta, Piyadassi from Sāvathī, Suriyagutta from Kelāsa, Urubuddharakkhita from Vesālī, Urudhammarakkhita from Kosambī, Urusaṅgha-rakkhita from Ujjenī, Uttara Mahā-Thera from the Vindhya, Uttiṇṇa from Kāśmir, and Mahā-Dhammarakkhita from Alasanda of the Yoṇa country (probably near Kabul). The *Mahā-vaṃsa* was here only following an older tradition, and, whatever we may feel about the chroniclers' statements as to the mode of travel adopted by these distinguished visitors and the numbers of the disciples that formed their respective retinues (sixty thousand, etc.), there is no gain-saying that this points to a historical event, that these eminent theras did come to Ceylon at the time and that they were men of influence in their various dioceses.

During the period of commotion which existed at the time of the Tamil supremacy, it is not probable that learning made much progress, nor is there much evidence that Gāmaṇi [37] during the earlier years of his reign had time left for the promotion of intellectual attainment amongst his subjects; for he was completely engrossed in erecting a series of monumental structures. But with the firm establishment of domestic peace and prosperity learning must have proceeded apace, and the arrival of these eminent theras from India, from regions as far apart as the Deccan and Sāvathī, together with their followers, must undoubtedly have given a fresh impetus to the study of the religion of which they were the exponents. A hundred years had elapsed between Mahinda's mission and the visit of these holy and learned men, and many things had happened in Ceylon during that period. In India, too, after the expulsion of the dissentient monks from Moggalīputta-Tissa's Council, many developments had probably taken place in the doctrine,

1. Mhv XXVII.23, and XXX.17.

2. Mhv XXIX.30 foll.

and these visitors were able to acquaint the Ceylon bhikkhus with such occurrences. No records exist of any literary productivity at this period, because the chroniclers were concerned only with accounts of royal munificence in the erection and endowment of religious structures; but chance references to events such as this visit and the circumstances connected with them justify such conclusions as we have arrived at above.

The thirty-second chapter¹ of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* contains also certain references to several of the chief monks of Gāmaṇi's time. Among them we find Mahā-milayadeva of Kālavela, who was in close connection with the *bhikkhus* dwelling on the Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak), Dhammagutta, the Earth shaker, of the Kalyāṇi-vihāra, BhaggaŚrīvāsī Mahā-Tissa, and Tissa the Short, who dwelt at Maṅgana in the highest mountains of Ceylon. It is interesting to note that some of these names occur in the list of the *Thera-paramparā* (succession of Elders) taken from the old Sinhalese *Mahā-vaṃsa* and preserved in the Parivāra² and also in the list quoted in full by Buddhaghosa in the *Samantapāsādikā*.³ Professor Rhys Davids [38] has identified some of them with certain theras mentioned in the Jātaka commentary,⁴ and the conclusions he has drawn are optimistic. "It is evident," says he, "that these Theras are real personages. In the few scraps of the early Ceylon texts that have already been published we have sufficient information as to their opinions and as to their character to warrant the hope that, when the texts are completely before us, we may be able to reconstruct, to a very considerable extent, the literary and intellectual history of Ceylon in the second century BCE."⁵ May his hopes be fulfilled!

There is one more fact in Gāmaṇi's career worthy of attention for our purpose, before we pass on. So great was the king's zeal for the propagation of the religion that he even assumed the role of preacher himself, his audience being none less than the monks of the Brazen Palace.⁶ He seated himself in the preacher's chair in the centre of the spacious hall and made ready to give the august assembly a discourse on some religious topic from the Maṅgala-Sutta. But, although he was quite familiar with the Sacred Scriptures, he could not proceed; he descended from the pulpit "perspiring profusely" he had realized how

1. Mhv XXXII.49 foll.

2. Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, III, pp. 313-14.

3. P.T.S. Ed., pp. 32 foll.

4. JRAS, Oct. 1901, pp. 889 foll.

5. JRAS, Oct. 1901, pp. 893-4.

6. *Pūjāvaliya*, Col. Ed., p. 177

difficult was the task of the teachers, and his munificence towards them was made greater: From that period he instituted "the preaching of religious discourses to be kept up in the vihāras in various parts of Laṅkā, supporting the ministers of religion who were gifted with the power of preaching." From that day the custom of regular *bana*-preaching at the village temple became an established institution, continued uninterruptedly to the present day. In ancient times the temple was the village school as well; but with the disappearance of state endowments and the decay of old institutions the function of the schoolmaster has been gradually taken away from the village [39] monk. However, at no time in the history of Ceylon was the Sinhalese peasant deprived totally of education in the wider sense of the term. The monk in the village temple continued to relate to him passages from the Scriptures which he stored up in his memory.¹ In every instance stories were adduced to illustrate the subject under discussion, and morals were drawn from such tales. Even today, when a large percentage of the population labours under the ban of "illiteracy," the peasant cannot be considered totally uneducated; for the traditional lore which he has inherited from the temple teachers continues to furnish him with ideals of sagacity, of loving service and good fellowship, and this is ultimately a real education. To the historian of literature the institution of these temple discourses has another significance. To them may directly be traced the origin of the *-kathā* and *-vatthu* books of religion and folklore, which in later days formed the most cherished possession of the villagers' scanty library. Of this, more later.

Gāmaṇi was succeeded by his brother Tissa (Saddhā Tissa, as he was called, because of his devotion to the religion). His reign of eighteen years was a period of unexampled prosperity. There is one story related of him which illustrates how deep was the interest evinced in Ceylon even by royal personages in the pursuit of wisdom and what great humility marked their acquisition of learning. Whatever literary achievements were accomplished by the Sinhalese were due very largely to the patronage extended to them by men of position and

1. Parker tells us in one of his interesting volumes on Ceylon that he knew of instances where the villagers used to travel 12 miles up and 12 miles down every full moon day to the nearest temple, carrying with them their meagre provisions for the journey. At the temple under the palm-trees, with the light of the tropical full-moon shining on the sand, they would listen throughout the night to preachers who discoursed to them one after another. The whole-night preaching still continues in certain parts where the bustle of modern life has not penetrated.

power, kings and queens not excluded. Several of Ceylon's monarchs were themselves distinguished authors, but they all had a love of literature and, what was more, showed it. One day it was announced that the great Thera Buddharakkhita [40] would preach that night at Mihintale. The king, unannounced and without any ceremony, came to hear the sermon. Having arrived late and being reluctant to disturb the audience, he stood outside the hall, listening with rapt attention. The discourse lasted the whole night, and at dawn the Thera concluded the sermon with the usual benedictions. The king's cry of acclamation revealed his identity. The Thera asked him when he had come. "When you were just commencing, Sir," said he. "You are king, sire, and not accustomed to such discomfort. How was it possible for you to remain standing outside throughout the night?" "Not one night, Venerable Sir, but many nights in succession would I willingly stand listening to a sermon such as yours. Let me assure you on my honour, I never missed one syllable of your discourse." Then he entered into a discussion with the Elder on the Dhamma, at the conclusion of which he offered the throne to the Teaching. But the Thera returned it, saying: "Do, O King, rule the country on behalf of the Dhamma."¹

For some time after Tissa's death there was internal trouble in the land. The monks made an unfortunate intervention in politics in an attempt to place their favourite on the throne in violation of the law of succession. This attempt ended in failure and brought disaster upon them.² The rightful heir, dissatisfied with their conduct, discontinued the various offerings, the cost of which had regularly been borne by the Royal Treasury down to that time, and which had provided the monks with all the necessaries of life, thus enabling them to carry on their work of study and teaching in comfort. This withdrawal of the royal favour greatly inconvenienced the monks, and brought upon them slight and neglect, which interfered with the progress of the religion. But reconciliation was soon effected, and the king, anxious to atone for his erstwhile neglect and remissness, went to the other extreme of lavish expenditure and unbounded munificence. A few [41] years later, when his successor was on the throne, a commander of troops in the army raised the standard of revolt and slew the king. But another figure, more powerful than he, appeared on the scene. This was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, whose reign is of immense interest in the history of Pali literature. Within twenty-four hours of the revolt, the usurper was no more, and

1. *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* Colombo Ed., p. 123.

2. Mhv XXXIII.17-21

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had consecrated himself as king. But quite soon the peace of the land was disturbed by rebellion within and invasion without. Taking advantage of the internal troubles, a large army of the Malabars made another of their periodic incursions, their object being plunder and the capture of the throne. In a great battle fought to the north of the capital the Sinhalese were completely defeated, and the king was compelled to mount his chariot and seek safety in flight. During fourteen years the king remained in concealment, befriended by a Thera, Mahā-Tissa, and a chieftain, Tanasīva.¹ In the meanwhile the people bowed to the inevitable, and accepted the Tamil domination, confident that soon their own royal line would be restored to them. In the hill-country the remnants of the Sinhalese army stoutly maintained their independence, and after an interval of over fourteen years Vaṭṭagāmaṇi slew the Tamil ruler and liberated the country from its oppressors.

Quite soon after his restoration, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi built the Abhayagiri Dagoba on the site of the Tiṭṭhārāma, the monastery of the Nigaṇṭhas, whose leader, unmindful of the munificent hospitality which his fraternity had enjoyed at the hand of the Buddhist kings of Ceylon, had gloated over Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's misfortunes and openly expressed his delight at the king's defeat.² After the victory the king avenged the ingratitude, and, where the Tiṭṭhārāma stood, he constructed the Abhayagiri Dagoba, the mightiest of its kind, which, rising from a square platform of nearly eight acres in extent, exceeded 400 feet in height. The vihāra attached to [42] it he gave over to his benefactor, the Thera Mahā-Tissa. This vihāra was destined later to be the scene of events which were of great consequence both to the religion and to the literature connected with it.

For it happened that the Thera Mahā-Tissa, who had accepted the gift of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, but actually lived elsewhere, was credited by general repute with living in domestic intercourse. Thereupon the pious monks of the Mahā-vihāra, custodians of the purity and the reputation of the faith in Ceylon, assembled together and interdicted him. One of the Thera's pupils, who was present, obstructed them, and the tribunal of monks, adjudging the obstructor guilty of misconduct, expelled him from the Order. He, burning with resentment, left with a large body of his followers, and, breaking away from the Mahā-vihāra fraternity, lived at Abhayagiri-vihāra. Soon their band was strengthened by the arrival in Ceylon of a body of monks from Pallarārāma in India,

1. Mhv XXXIII.50 foll.

2. Mhv XXXIII.44-6 and 81-3.

who, though professedly Buddhist monks, were regarded as heretics by the orthodox monks both of India and Ceylon. They belonged to the Vajjiputta Nikāya, one of the sects descended from those that had refused to recognize Moggaliputta-Tissa's Council. Their teacher was the Ācariya Dhammaruci, and on their arrival in Ceylon, finding no favour with the Mahā-vihāra, they joined the Abhayagiri fraternity, which quite readily welcomed them and soon accepted also their doctrines and tenets. The dissentient Bhikkhu who had attempted to defend Mahā-Tissa, and who was now living as the head of the Abhayagiri monks, took to himself the name of Dhammaruci Ācariya, and thenceforward the Abhayagiri fraternity became known as the Dhammaruci Nikāya, established in the fifteenth year of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi and 454 years after the Buddha's death.¹ This was the beginning of the first schismatic division among the Saṅgha in Ceylon. It was originally a seceding movement, due purely to personal and disciplinary reasons; but in the course of time doctrinal [43] differences came to be associated with it. For nearly twelve centuries it continued to disturb the peace of the Ceylon monks, and there is no doubt that during its period of existence its adherents produced literary works setting forth their point of view. But, unfortunately for us, kings, in the excess of their zeal for the preservation of the purity of the Dhamma, took it into their heads to persecute the heretics and burn their books, so that none of their doctrinal works have come down to us.² It is significant, however, that for quite a long time the Abhayagiri and the Mahā-vihāra fraternities existed side by side, sometimes on quite friendly terms.

During Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign there took place another event which marked an epoch in the history of the Pali literature not only of Ceylon, but, we may say, of the whole area. The *Mahā-vaṃsa* has but a brief reference to it: "The text of the three Piṭakas and the Aṭṭhakathā thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally; but, since they saw the people were falling away (from religion) the Bhikkhus came together, and, in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books."³

We gather from other sources, which give more details of this important event, that this solemn act of recording the teaching in books was the result of a Council in which 500 Elders participated under the

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, pp. 11–12.

2. Several other works, however, attributed to members of this sect, exist even now. They will be noticed in their places.

3. Mhv XXXIII.100–1, also *Dīpa-vaṃsa* XX 20–21.

patronage of a certain chieftain. The venue of the Council was Alu-vihāra (Āloka-vihāra), a rock temple a few miles from the town of Mātale in the Central Province.¹

During nearly four and a half centuries the Buddha's message had been preserved and propagated mainly by oral tradition. The ancient chronicles of Ceylon give us the names of the elders who formed the most important links in this tradition. At the head of the list appears [44] Upāli, the former barber of the Sākyaans, but later one of the most prominent of the Buddha's disciples and the chief exponent of the Vinaya. Then in succession follow Dāsaka, Soṇaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta-Tissa (President of the 3rd Council), and Mahinda and his fellow-missionaries to Ceylon (Ittiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla, all of them Tissa's pupils). First in the line of Sinhalese Theras is Mahā-Ariṭṭha, Mahinda's pupil. Then follow a number of names whose places in the history of this succession it is difficult to fix with any degree of certainty, the last being Siva, who, perhaps, presided over the Council of Five Hundred responsible for the systematic writing of the Dhamma in books. How far the Alu-vihāra redaction agreed with or differed from the canon and commentaries settled by the 3rd Council and introduced into Ceylon by Mahinda's mission; whether after their introduction into the island any passages previously considered unorthodox had crept into the orthodox scriptures and whether the Alu-vihāra council separated such interpolations, and how far the Tipiṭaka and its commentary, reduced to writing at Alu-vihāra resembled them as they have come down to us now, no one can say. This much, however, is certain, that in the fifth century of the Christian era the present Piṭakas, etc., were considered orthodox both on the continent and in Ceylon, as is evidenced by the visits of Buddhaghosa and Fa Hsien; and in view of the great care with which the orthodox monks attempted to preserve the purity of the Word there is not much probability that the canon underwent any material changes in the interval.

There is no reason, however, to believe that the writing of the Dhamma was unknown before this time. Mr. Wickremasinghe² even goes so far as to say that a written literature existed in Ceylon at least a century earlier than the Alu-vihāra Council. He cites many incidents from the *Mahā-vaṃsa* to prove that writing was common long before Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's period. Books are mentioned as early [45] as 150 BCE in the reign of Gāmaṇi: The *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahā-vaṃsa*, so often

1. See *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, pp. 10–11.

2. *Catalogue*, p. x.

referred to in the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, must have been, he says, a written document. Elsewhere he asserts, in reference to the Vessagiri Inscription¹ (which he fixes at 161–137 BCE), that the Sinhalese at the time were acquainted with the Brāhmī alphabet in a form complete enough for writing even Sanskrit. Thus the statement that until Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya the whole Buddhist canon was transmitted orally, is an exaggeration. Probably, as to some extent even now, the monks as a body knew the whole canon by heart. With regard to the Sinhalese commentaries, said to have been compiled by Mahinda, their very nature precludes the possibility of having been handed down orally. It may be that in Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's time they were still unarranged, rare, imperfect and full of inaccuracies, as even now in manuscripts. At Alu-vihāra the text was rehearsed and commentaries revised and distributed.² Writing was known even in the lifetime of the Buddha.³ There is also the well-known commentarial story of King Pukkusāti, to whom the King of Kosala sent a letter containing an exposition of the Dhamma.⁴ However, it is safe to assume that writing, save for contracts and probably letters, had not very long been in vogue and was not extensively known or cultivated. And it is very probable that lack of suitable writing material largely restricted its use. And there was also a high degree of sanctity attached to the saying of religious truths, so that it was considered most important to receive them direct from a teacher's lips. Even today great respect is shown to the man who carries all his learning in his head; for "who knows whether books may not get lost or destroyed and become not easy to lay hands on? "And the person who trusts to books for reference is contemptuously referred to as "he who has a big book [46] at home, but does not know a thing." Anyone visiting a village monastery in Ceylon at the present time will find the ola⁵ leaf books carefully wrapped up in costly silk cloths and reverently packed in beautifully carved bookcases, that the faithful devotees may offer to them flowers and incense and thus pay honour to the Buddha's word. The monk is expected to carry all his learning in his head.

1. *Ep. Zey.*, I p. 14.

2. Wickremasinghe, *Catal.*, p. xi.

3. Mahāvagga, Vin I 43, and again *ibid.*, Vin I 49 (*sace kho Upāli lekham sikkhissati*), Oldenberg, vol. I p. 75 and p. 77.

4. Papanācasūdanī, Col. Ed., p. 234; also JPTS 1883, pp. 47–9.

5. The leaves of the Talipot palm, *Corypha umbraculifera*. This tall palm, growing in South India and Sri Lanka, has huge leaves that are used as umbrellas or fans or writing material. (BPS ed.)

Such circumstances as these made oral teaching at first the sole, and later the chief, means of preserving and spreading the knowledge of the religion. From the information at our disposal we can form a fair idea of how this was made possible. Buddhaghosa tells us that at the Rājagaha Council, when the Vinaya Piṭaka had been recited, Upāli was entrusted with the work of teaching and preserving it.¹ Similarly other sections of the Teaching were given in charge of other Great Elders and their disciples. These several schools, in their combination, preserved the Teaching in its entirety, so that at any given time there were Bhikkhus who, while conversant with the rest of the Doctrine as well, specialized in the knowledge of a particular section of it. Such were the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* (reciters of the Dīgha-nikāya), *Majjhima-bhāṇakas*, etc. We also hear of *Vinaya-dharas* and *Tipeṭakis* in the commentaries. This practice of learning up portions of the Scriptures continued quite ordinarily for a very long time. Thus we find at Mihintale in the tenth century an inscription of King Kassapa V, recording that special honour was paid to monks for reciting certain sections of the Scriptures by heart.² What the 500 monks of the Alu-vihāra Council did was to arrange systematically the canon and the commentaries, so that what was until then known only to the few might become the possession of the many. Theirs was a definite step forward. Till then each scholar learnt a part of the canon by heart, taught it to his pupils and explained it in Sinhalese. Each was a walking, living edition of a certain text. To assist [47] in remembering the explanation mnemonic verses, often doggerel in nature, were made use of. Books, such as we know now, were not then in existence. But the action of the Alu-vihāra monks changed all this. They systematized the canon and arranged it, so that the study of it became easier and simpler. And this writing down of the literature helped its advance in great measure; for a written literature can develop in a shorter time than one that is handed down by word of mouth, when each single text requires generations of teachers and disciples to be preserved at all. The service done by the Alu-vihāra Council in this respect was invaluable. "For you, as for me," said Sir Robert (now Lord) Chalmers, Governor of Ceylon, speaking in Colombo some years back,³ "the rocky gorge of Alu-vihāra, impressive though nature has left it, must be always more impressive still as the scene of the fruitful labours of those 500 Bhikkhus—labours that mark an epoch in

1. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, P.T.S. Ed., p. 15

2. *Ep. Zey.*, I pt. ii, p. 56.

3. Public Hall, Colombo, 27th February, 1915.

the history of the scholarship of the world, and that several centuries later drew that very encyclopaedic scholar Buddhaghosa to the same venerable scene, there to study the authentic tradition of the Theravādins, which writing had safeguarded and preserved amidst wars and the ravages of time in Ceylon.” [48]

Manuscripts of the Alu-vihāra edition were soon made and were deposited in the Mahā-vihāra and other principal temples of the island.¹

1. *Pūjāvāliya*, Col. Ed., p. 198.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST CULTURE

Vatṭagāmaṇi was followed by a series of undistinguished rulers in rapid succession. First came Mahā-Culi Mahā Tissa, famed for his extreme piety and his ardent devotion to the saintly Thera Mahā-Summa. The latter part of his reign was troubled by the lawlessness of his cousin Nāga, known to history as Cora-Nāga (Nāga the rebel or robber). This prince was in all respects the worst of the earlier kings of the Sinhalese dynasty, a man of loose character and of cruel disposition. In spite of the munificence showered on the Buddhist religion by various monarchs and the devotion which most of them showed towards it, its tale is not one of uniform prosperity. And the first of its domestic enemies was Cora-Nāga, who harassed the monks because they had refused to help him during his marauding career. He spared nothing sacred or profane, and when, after twelve years of oppression, he was poisoned by his Queen Anulā the people heaved a sigh of relief. But Anulā was equally libidinous and licentious, a profligate woman whose passions knew no bounds, of iron will, shrinking from nothing to gain her ends, a firm believer in the efficacy of poison to remove the unfortunates who incurred her disfavour. This “infamous woman,” as the *Mahā-vamsa* calls her, the Messalina of Ceylon, was before long put to death by Prince Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa, who, seeing the horrified people without a leader, left the monk’s life to place himself at the head of the movement against the licentious queen.¹ His son, Bhāṭika Abhaya, succeeded him and reigned during twenty-eight years, a period of uninterrupted happiness to the people. He was a just ruler, truly humane and pious. One of his earliest acts was to remit all the taxes due to himself.² His devotion to religion was [49] extraordinary, and the chronicles dwell at length on the religious festivals which he held from time to time. His offerings to the Mahā-Thūpa were enormous, and some of them read to us now like fairy tales. Once he ordered, at his own expense of course, the Cetiya to be strewn from the steps to the parasol on the top with jasmine flowers, and thus covered it with a mass of blossoms which he kept from withering by means of water carried by machines from the Abhaya tank.³ On

1. Mhv XXXIV.16 foll.

2. Mhv XXXIV.38.

3. Mhv XXXIV.44 foll.

another occasion he had a net of coral prepared and cast over the Cetiya, and, when he had given orders to fasten in the meshes thereof lotus-flowers of gold as large as wagon-wheels and to hang clusters of pearls to the lotus-flowers beneath, he worshipped the Great Thūpa with this offering. But what is more important, from our point of view, is that in five places in the capital he constantly entertained monks devoted to the acquirement of sacred learning and maintained them with the requisites of life.

The next hundred years was a period of great internal commotion, kings succeeding one another with great rapidity as a result of the varying fortunes of rival claimants to the throne. Sometimes, as in the case of Kanirajāṇu-Tissa,¹ the monks attempted to interfere in these political upheavals with disastrous consequences to themselves. The *Lambakaṇṇas* (long-eared ones), descended from the princes, who came over from India along with the branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree, had multiplied in numbers and acquired much influence in the country. They became a perpetual source of trouble, ultimately supplanting the ancient line of kings. During the whole of this period the only monarch of any importance was Vasabha, who reigned from about CE 65–109. The chronicles describe him as “delighting perpetually in well doing”; he made lavish gifts to the monks and supported especially those who undertook to go about as preachers and teachers.² It is also recorded of him that he restored ruined [50] and dilapidated buildings in various parts of the island where monks carried on their studies, and an inscription informs us of a gift made by him to a Thera named Majibuka who lived near Anurādhapura.³

In the reign of the next king a small army of Coḷians invaded Ceylon and carried off much booty and a considerable number of prisoners. This insult was avenged by his son and successor, Gaja-Bāhu (the Elephant-armed), who invaded Tanjore with a large army. The king of Tanjore, intimidated by the sudden attack, acceded to all demands without a single act of hostility.⁴ It was the first expedition of the Sinhalese outside their island home, and their success brought about several important and interesting results. Twelve thousand Coḷian prisoners accompanied Gaja-Bāhu on his return home, and they were settled in various parts of the country, where they quite soon became

1. Mhv XXX.10, 11.

2. Mhv XXX.92–3.

3. *Ep. Zey.*, vol. I p: 69.

4. Pieris, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

part of the permanent population. Their descendants are scattered in many districts even at the present time, and their language has influenced Sinhalese speech in no small measure. A large number of Coḷian words found their way even into the literary dialect of the Sinhalese. The king of Coḷa also presented Gaja-Bāhu with the jewelled anklets of the Hindu goddess Pattinī and the insignia of four Hindu deities, Viṣṇu, Kartikeya, Nātha, and Pattinī. The cult of these gods and goddesses was thus introduced into the island; an extensive literature and folklore grew up around these names; special families dedicated themselves to their service, and observances and ceremonies connected with these deities continue to this day. A large number of books dealing with the cult of Pattinī are still available.¹

No event of importance happened till nearly a hundred years later, when Vohāra-ka-Tissa ascended the throne in CE 204. He was so called because of his skill in the law and of his enactments forbidding and abolishing bodily injury as a punitive measure. He was a great patron of learning and [51] helped the monks in all their difficulties.² Two Theras are mentioned as his special favourites; the Thera Deva, a gifted preacher living at Kappukagāma, and Mahātissa of Anurārāma in Rohaṇa. His gifts to the priesthood were immense, but among them is one worthy of special notice. We are told that after his accession he ordered the Ariya-vaṃsa to be read frequently, and commanded that on each occasion of such public recital there should be held over the whole island a regular almsgiving of reverence for the true doctrine.³ Now, this *Ariya-vaṃsa* was, as its name implies, a “book of the holy ones,” probably life-histories of men and women eminent in the Buddhist religion, which were read aloud for the edification of the people.⁴ It is obvious from the king’s order that the habit existed before his time, and it is interesting to note that this custom has continued down to this day even in the remotest parts of the island. Every full-moon day, when the villagers assemble in the temple precincts to perform their religious observances, the monks relate to them stories of eminent men and women from the books of a bygone age, the chief among them being

1. *JRAS (C.B.)*, vol VIII (29), 462; IX (32), 321; X (34), 43.

2. Mhv XXXVI.28 foll.

3. Mhv XXXVI.38.

4. The Ariya-vaṃsa is a sutta in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (A II 27ff.) extolling the virtues of the monk’s life. During this period of Ceylon’s religious history it had become a popular theme for sermons. See Walpola Rāhula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (1956; repr. Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre, 1993), pp. 268–73. (Somapala Jayawardhana)

the *Jātakatṭhakathā* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. We cannot say now whether the Ariya-vaṃsa was written in Sinhalese or in Pali, or perhaps in both, whether the audience was able to follow the stories as they were being read, or whether they had to be explained and expatiated upon by the monks who read them.

In this reign the Buddhist Saṅgha was once more faced with the problem of a violent schism.¹ We have already seen how the formation of the Dhammaruci sect with its headquarters at Abhayagiri in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the first serious blow to the authority of the Theravādins in Ceylon, since the establishment of the religion by Mahinda. The division thus originated continued all along, [52] but apparently the bitterness of the controversy had disappeared. The two fraternities at Mahā-vihāra and at Abhayagiri lived independently of each other, and there does not seem to have been any kind of communion between them. Both had become centres of learning, and already in the time of Bhāṭika Abhaya differences of opinion in regard to the text of the canon had begun to manifest themselves. The *Samanta-pāsādikā*² gives us an account of a dispute which arose regarding a reading of a certain passage in the Vinaya. When the dispute had dragged on, the king appointed his minister Dīghakārāyaṇa, a man well-versed in scriptural lore, to settle the matter. After an exhaustive inquiry, he upheld the view of the Mahā-vihāra community.

The kings were evidently not quite discriminating in the zeal they exhibited in lavishing gifts on the monks, and the people, too, partly ignorant and partly unconcerned with the individual or general disagreement over particular points of the Doctrine, maintained an attitude of *laissez faire*. The result was that the Dhammarucians, though they had not made much headway in securing adherents to their way of thinking, yet had grown rich in material possessions; and we find that the monarchs one after another, anxious to maintain the goodwill of both parties, were equally generous to both fraternities. Thus Subha built beautiful rows of cells both at Abhayagiri and at the Mahā-vihāra.³ Gaja-Bāhu raised the height of the Abhayuttara Thūpa and caused vestibules to be built at the gates thereof, and constructed the Gāmaṇi-Tissa Tank for the maintenance of the Abhayagiri monks.⁴ Kaṇiṭṭha-Tissa caused to be built a splendid structure, named Ratana-

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, pp. 12–13.

2. Colombo Ed., p. 189.

3. Mhv XXX.57.

4. Mhv XXXV.119–22.

pāsāda, at Abhayagiri, for the Thera Mahānāga. He also constructed twelve great and remarkably beautiful *pāsādas* at the Mahā-vihāra, and made a road leading from the grounds to the Dakkhiṇavihāra.¹ The two parties [53] had thus been existing side by side, the Mahā-vihāra fraternity more or less tolerating their unorthodox rivals. But in the reign of Vohāraka-Tissa the quarrel broke out anew. "In the days of this king," the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* tells us, "the monks of Abhayagiri of the Dhammaruci sect adopted the *Vaitulya-Piṭaka*, which certain infidel Brāhmaṇas called Vaitulyas, who had assumed the garb of monks for the purpose of destroying the religion, had composed in the time of Dhammāsoka Mahārāja, and proclaimed it as the preaching of the Buddha. Thereupon the priests of the Theriya-nikāya, having compared it with the authentic text, rejected the Vaitulya doctrines as being opposed to religion."²

It is surmised that the reference here to the events of Asoka's reign relates to the beginning of the form of Buddhism known to us as the Mahāyāna. The close resemblance of the name Vaitulya to the Vaitulya Sūtras belonging to that school is very suggestive.³ The origin of the Mahāyāna sect is generally assigned to the first centuries of the Christian era. It is quite possible, however, that it had a much earlier beginning, but came into prominence only about the time referred to, because of the works of scholars like Aśvaghōṣa, who flourished in that age.

The action of the Mahā-vihāra resulted in a great controversy, which produced such bitterness that the king himself intervened. He entrusted the investigation of the matter to one of his ministers, named Kapila, "a man who had exhaustively studied all branches of knowledge." Kapila reported in due course that the Vaitulya-vāda was opposed to the strict teaching of the Buddha, whereupon Vohāraka Tissa burnt all the available Vaitulyan books and disgraced the monks of the Abhayagiri, who had tacitly or overtly adopted the heresy.⁴ [54]

This was a most unfortunate act of intolerance. Not a single book of the Vaitulyans has come down to us, and we are not able to ascertain the ways wherein their opinions differed from those of the orthodox Theravādins.

1. Mhv XXXVI.7-14.

2. p. 12.

3. See also Geiger, *Mahā-vamsa*, p. 259, footnote 2.

4. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 13.

It is noteworthy that the Buddhist monks, while they were perfectly tolerant with regard to other systems of belief professed by other religionists, were ever vehement in their persecution of schism. In the Vinaya an attempt to bring about disunion among the Saṅgha is put in the same category as shedding the blood of the Buddha. Boldly confident in the superiority of their own religion, they bear without impatience the errors, to them glaring, of open antagonists, and even seem to exult in the contiguity of competing systems, as though theirs would derive strength by comparison. To the assaults of open opponents the Buddhist displays the calmest indifference, convinced that in its undiminished strength his faith is firm and inexpugnable; his vigilance is only excited by the alarm of internal dissent, and all his passions are aroused to stifle the symptoms of schism. The intolerance shown in this instance by the Mahā-vihāra Bhikkhus brought its own retribution in due time. Like mushrooms that grow by night, the heretics secretly strengthened their numbers and waited for an opportunity to assert themselves. Their chance was not long in its arrival.

Next in our rapid survey of this early period we come to the Saint-King Siri Saṅghabodhi, one of the most revered names in Ceylon history. He embodied the spirit of self renunciation and self-sacrifice which marked those whose feet were set in the path to Sambodhi (Enlightenment). He was a visionary and an idealist, “a man on earth devoted to the skies,” and from a worldly point of view his career as king was a disastrous failure. Yet he was loyal to his principles, which he maintained at the cost of his kingdom and his life. The *Hatthavana-galla-vam̐sa* (q.v.) gives us a vivid description of the man and his ideals. Born at Mahiyaṅgana, under the shade of the Thūpa, which stands on a spot hallowed [55] by the tradition of the Master’s visit, he was trained by his maternal uncle, the Thera Mahā-Nanda, who made him an accomplished scholar and a perfect man. Later on he was raised to the throne, and we are told that his piety and compassion were such that they moved the very heavens. But his novel methods of government and administration of justice, amidst a people unaccustomed to such measures, brought about a state of anarchy in the land; and, when one of the ministers, Goṭhābhaya, raised the standard of revolt, he gladly renounced the throne and retired to the forest to lead an ascetic’s life. But the usurper felt his position insecure as long as Saṅghabodhi was alive, and he therefore set a price on the head of the fugitive king. Many murders were committed by unscrupulous men who coveted the reward. Meanwhile the king himself, in the course of his wanderings,

had come to Attanagalla, where, in a beautiful woodland grove, the eye could linger with delight on the "pillared shades," thick with their dense green foliage and laden with their pendant fruits and flowers. Finding this an ideal spot, he remained there, leading a life of seclusion and meditation. Sometime later he met a peasant travelling through the forest, who on being questioned, not recognizing the king in his disguise, related all that was happening in the land. Being excessively glad at the opportunity of making the supreme sacrifice, the king revealed his identity and pressed upon the peasant to accept his head. This offer met with a positive refusal; but Saṅghabodhi proceeded to immolate himself, and the man, apparently paralysed by this sudden development, could not prevent it. The head was ultimately produced at the court; and when Goṭhābhaya saw it he was struck with sudden remorse. His very first act was to hurry off to Attanagalla, where he found also the dead body of the queen, who had lost her life while searching for her husband. The royal pair were cremated with all the honours due to their rank, and Goṭhābhaya immediately set about making all possible amends for his misdeeds. He built a number of monuments [56] in memory of the departed king, on sites associated in some manner or other with the latter's brief hermit life. The most remarkable of them was the Vaṭadāge ("Circular Relic-house"), a rotunda-shaped building constructed over the king's ashes. His munificence to the monks was great, and by these acts he gradually regained his lost popularity.¹

This effort on the part of the king to win the people's goodwill was greatly helped by another opportunity of upholding undiminished the purity of the faith, which was to them then, as now, the greatest possession on earth. In the fourth year of his reign the old Vaitulyan heresy raised its head again, the scene of trouble being once more the Abhayagiri-vihāra.² The monks launched a campaign of vigorous propaganda. We are told that one of their number, the Thera Ussiliya-Tissa, recalling to their minds the disgrace which had befallen the heretical monks in Vohāraka-Tissa's reign, refused to be associated with the new enterprise. Finding dissuasion of no avail, he left Abhayagiri and with some three or four of his followers went over to Dakkhiṇagirivihāra. There they accepted as their leader a Mahā-Thera named Sāgala, and were thenceforth known as the Sāgaliyas, an offshoot of the Dhammaruci sect, but not wholly believing in the traditions of that community. When reports of these dissentient movements reached the king, he

1. *Hatthavana-galla-vamsa* (concluding chapters).

2. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 13.

made up his mind to win by one stroke the everlasting gratitude of the true followers of the religion. As patron of the Buddhist church in the island, he assembled the monks of the five chief monasteries which constituted the orthodox Saṅgha of Ceylon—the Mahā-vihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamañārāma, Vessagiri-vihāra, and the Cetiya-vihāra. After having satisfied himself by a searching inquiry that the Vaitulyans were heretical in their views, he lost no time in having the books of the Vaitulyavāda collected and burnt. And in order to teach a lesson to the others, he picked out sixty of the principal [57] offenders, branded them, and expelled them from the country.¹

For a time all went well. The exiled monks settled down at Kāvira, in South India and there they soon made themselves powerful. To them came a young and shrewd adventurer, who, noticing the favours lavished upon them by their followers at Kāvira, joined the band as a monk. After his ordination he went by the name of Saṅghamitta. It is said that one day, while the monks were changing their clothes preparatory to bathing, Saṅghamitta saw the brand-marks on their bodies and questioned them about it. Having learnt of all that had happened, he offered them his services, if he could be of any use. He was told that, if he could go to Laṅkā and openly and boldly interest himself on their behalf, they might still be able to return thither and wrest power from their enemies, now in triumph. Saṅghamitta had unbounded confidence in his abilities and he gladly entered into the adventure. “I will go and will see that either the monks of the Mahā-vihāra adopt the Vaitulya doctrines, or that the vihāra itself is uprooted and destroyed.” So said he, and sailed in a few days. On his arrival he took residence at Abhayagiri and began his insidious campaign.

Meanwhile the Sāgaliya sect, which had seceded from the Dhammaruciāns a few years previously, had not been idle. They had attempted by every means in their power to propagate their views and had met with a certain measure of success. The people were perplexed by these varied views contending for acceptance and were unable to decide for themselves which were the true teachings of the Buddha. The king, wishing to come to some sort of settlement of these disputes, summoned another meeting of the different factions, and a solemn assembly was held, this time at the Thūpārāma. The king himself was present. Here Saṅghamitta denounced the views of the Theriya Nikāya and the practices of the [58] Mahā vihāra fraternity, and he put forward his case with such great force of argument that the king was convinced.

1. The accounts of these schisms are taken mainly from the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*.

The king's uncle, Thera Goṭhābhaya, after whom the king had been named, belonged to the orthodox party; but his attempts to win over the king were of no avail. Saṅghamitta triumphed, and thus began a period of great calamity to the Mahā-vihāra monks.

It was the first time in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon that a reigning Sinhalese sovereign had accepted and publicly taken the side of a heretical sect in opposition to the orthodox church. For over five and a half centuries the Mahā-vihāra had been looked upon as the lawful custodian of the purity of the faith, and this secession of the king therefore caused great consternation amongst them. We are told that they held many and frequent meetings of their followers to decide upon a course of action.

Saṅghamitta soon became a great favourite of the king, enjoying his friendship and confidence. He was appointed tutor to the king's two sons, and it is said that when he found the elder son too clever to be deceived by his false doctrines, he paid greater attention to the younger, Mahāsenā.

Although Goṭhābhaya had thus taken the heretics under his wing, his old attachment to the Mahā-vihāra was too great to allow him to harm them, as Saṅghamitta desired. On the contrary, he continued to support them, though perhaps not with the same zeal and devotion as before. On his death his elder son, Jeṭṭha-Tissa, came to the throne. He was a proud and arrogant man, and his barbarity towards his nobles, whom he suspected of disloyalty, won for him the surname of "the Cruel." On his accession, Saṅghamitta, realizing that the king was by no means his friend, after consultation with the younger prince, who was his favourite, hurriedly left the country, to wait patiently at Kāvīra for the day of his triumph, when Mahāsenā should sit on the throne of Ceylon. Jeṭṭha-Tissa proved himself later to be a staunch friend and patron of the orthodox party and showered his favours upon them [59] during the fourteen years of his reign. He was succeeded by his brother Mahāsenā, one of whose first acts was to send for his erstwhile tutor and friend, Saṅghamitta, who was also asked to preside at his coronation. This act of preference showed quite clearly what the king's disposition was towards the Mahā-vihāra sect.

From the day of his return Saṅghamitta tried his best to persuade the monks of the Theriya Nikāya to accept the Vaitulyavāda. But they were loyal to their faith and remained adamant. At last he pointed out to them what their refusal would mean for them, by way of the king's wrath. Such threats were of no influence, and Saṅghamitta was determined to

have his revenge. "The dwellers in the Mahā-vihāra do not teach the true Vinaya," he told the king; "we of the Abhayagiri are those who teach the true Vinaya." But Mahāsenā, weak-minded though he was and devotedly attached to his tutor, shrank from the suggestion. The traditions which he had inherited from his ancestors of many centuries proved too strong for him to resist them, and perhaps the fear of the people's indignation at so dastardly a crime as that prompted by Saṅghamitta weighed with him as well. But Saṅghamitta would not be easily baulked. Again and again he pleaded and entreated, he argued, "the Devil quoted scripture for his purpose "and Mahāsenā yielded at last to his importunities. His reluctance and weak resistance broke down before the ceaseless intriguing of the crafty Saṅghamitta.

Then followed a series of events which formed the darkest chapter in the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon. A Royal Edict went round, "whoever gives alms to a Bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahā-vihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred pieces of money," and no one dared disobey. Three days the monks went their usual round in the city, begging-bowl in hand, and each day they returned with empty bowls. For the first time in six centuries the Mahā-vihāra starved. On the fourth day the monks of the Theriya Nikāya assembled in solemn [60] conclave at the Brazen Palace. Their decision was manly: "Even though we starve to death," said they, "we cannot concede that heresy is true doctrine. Should we do so, many others would follow us and suffer evil, and the guilt would be upon us. Let our lives and our asceticism be imperilled, we persist in refusing to adopt the Vaitulya doctrines." Thus by their courageous resolve, by their steadfast loyalty to the faith, whose purity they valued more than their very lives, by their self-sacrificing zeal, did they win for Ceylon what has ever remained its proudest boast, that "Laṅkā is the home of a Buddhism whose teachings are pure and unsullied and untainted by heresy." Leaving their vihāras, their abodes of sanctity and their seats of learning, they journeyed out of Anurādhapura, some to the Māyā Province and others to Rohaṇa, there to await the day of their deliverance from persecution.

Saṅghamitta's joy was unbounded; this was the hour of triumph for which he had yearned and planned throughout his life. Things had happened exactly as he desired, and his success was complete. "Ownerless land belongs to the king," he whispered in Mahāsenā's ear, when the orthodox monks had deserted their vihāras. Thus it happened that all the abandoned monasteries and their possessions were seized in the king's name and appropriated by the Dhammarucians now in power. A

campaign was started in dead earnest, led by Saṅghamitta and his friend, a minister named Soṇa, to extirpate the Theriya monks. They carried on apace the work of spoliation and destruction of all that erst-while belonged to their rivals. Stately structures were demolished and plundered, one after the other; the Mahā-vihāra, the Brazen Palace, and all such religious edifices, built by the generosity of devout kings and pious noblemen for the use of the orthodox Saṅgha, were razed to the ground. Some three hundred and sixty-four colleges and great temples were uprooted and destroyed, says an ancient chronicle;¹ and the spoils gathered from them [61] went to enrich and adorn the home of heresy, the Abhayagiri which, now splendid in ornaments and rich in possessions stood, pre-eminent over all, as the greatest and the wealthiest monastery in Laṅkā. During nine years Saṅghamitta lived in glory. In the tenth year, however, the popular indignation against the religious activities of the king and his two evil counsellors came to a head in an open rebellion led by a noble named Meghavaṇṇābhaya, one of the king's own ministers. Mahāsenā marched with his forces to quell the uprising, and the two armies met near Mahāgama. There an interesting thing happened. The rebellious minister, anxious to indicate that he bore no personal ill-will against the king, although he was determined to fight and even slay him in defence of the religion, proceeded into the royal camp, taking with him choice food and drink that he might partake of it with the king. He was duly recognized and led before Mahāsenā. The king, who always bore a great regard, even affection, for Meghavaṇṇābhaya, questioned him as to the motives of his coming. He, setting the food and drink on a table, invited the king to partake of it and talk to him in confidence. In perfect trust Mahāsenā sat down and, when the meal was over, asked "What has made thee to become a rebel, Meghavaṇṇābhaya?" "Because the Mahā-vihāra has been destroyed, sire," said he, with tear-filled eyes. "I will make the vihāra to be dwelt in yet again, Abhaya; forgive me my fault," replied the conscience-stricken king, who evidently was sick himself of the destruction wrought by his evil geniuses. The two were reconciled on the spot, and the two armies marched back to the capital in the friendliest possible intercourse: *Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*. At Anurādhapura, meanwhile, the people had taken the law into their own hands, and they broke out into wild demonstrations. The lead for violence was given by one of Mahāsenā's own queens. She had long and bitterly wept over the destruction of the Mahā-vihāra, and she had

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 14.

never forgiven the evil-minded Saṅghamitta, who was responsible for this savage act of vandalism and for the [62] expulsion of the Theriya monks. Saṅghamittā was slain by a carpenter, as he attempted to obstruct the building of the Thūpārāma, which this queen had undertaken to restore. The people surrounded Soṇa's house, killed him and flung his body on to a dung-heap. When order was somewhat restored, the angry queen, who had procured Saṅghamitta's death, did what Goṭhābhaya had done thirty-seven years earlier—collected the heretical Vaitulya books and made a bonfire of them.

Mahāsenā, true to his word, began to restore the Mahā-vihāra, and in a short time the monks of the Theriya fraternity, their nine years' exile ended, returned to the capital. The royal Edict which had necessitated their departure was recalled, and for a time peace and quiet reigned in the land.

But it was not for long. The king was particularly susceptible to heresy. Two years later another dissentient monk, Kohon-Tissa by name, of the Sāgaliya sect, living at Dakkhiṇārāma, succeeded in gaining the king's confidence, and soon began fresh trouble for the Mahā-vihāra. The king was anxious to construct a stately vihāra for his new friend, and for this he wished to encroach upon the precincts of the Mahā-vihāra. Against this the latter strongly protested, and left the Vihāra. But the king was obstinate and he sent men to uproot their boundary marks. Legend has it that a Rākṣasa (demon) with an iron-club uplifted in his hand, appeared on the scene and frightened away the workmen. He then ran amok in the city, and the king, alarmed, undertook to repair the damage done and restore the Vihāra to its rightful owners. Later, however, in spite of strenuous opposition, he built for his friend Kohon-Tissa the majestic Jetavana-vihāra on the Mahā-vihāra premises. The latter, refusing to be thus inveigled, brought against Kohon-Tissa a charge involving one or more of the extreme offences, punishment for which was expulsion from the Order; and at a full meeting of the Saṅgha Kohon-Tissa was adjudged guilty after a long trial and ordered [63] to be disrobed. The king, apparently dissatisfied with this decision, appointed the Chief Justice of his court, Dhammika, to investigate the charge afresh. In this the king was disappointed; for Dhammika was too upright and fearless to let his decision be influenced by the king's wishes. After a thorough investigation he ordered Kohon-Tissa to be disrobed forthwith and expelled from the Order. Mahāsenā owned defeat, and sincerely repented of his folly. During twelve years thenceforward he became an ardent friend and

supporter of the Theriya Nikāya, and the *Mahā-vaṃsa* mentions that "There is no record of his gifts of food and drink," they were too numerous.¹ He helped all those who wished to devote their lives to learning and literary pursuits and became their great benefactor.

With the death of Mahāsenā in CE 302 ended the "*Mahā-vaṃsa*," or the "Great Dynasty" of Sinhalese kings. The sovereigns of the "*Cūla-vaṃsa*" (or the Lesser Dynasty), says the *Rājāvaliya*, were no longer of the unmixed blood, but the offspring of parents only one of whom was descended from the Sun, and the other from those who had brought the Sacred Bodhi-tree or the Sacred Tooth; on that account the fertility of the land was diminished, and the kings who succeeded Mahāsenā were no longer revered as of old.²

At the time when the Great Dynasty became extinct, the material prosperity of the country was quite sound and auspicious. The people, though occasionally disturbed by minor civil commotion, were able to carry on their pursuits in peace; there was contentment all round. The attention which the kings bestowed on the irrigation of the country had made the food of the people abundant; and the sums expended on the adornment of the city, the multitude of its sacred structures, the splendour of its buildings, and the beauty of its lakes and gardens, bear ample testimony to the wealth of the kingdom. The accounts left to us by the traveller, [64] Fa Hsien, who visited the island a little while later, fully corroborate the descriptions given in the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. It was crowded, he says, with nobles, magistrates, and foreign merchants; the houses were beautiful, the public buildings richly adorned; the streets and the highways were broad and level, and halls for preaching, teaching and reading *bana* were erected in all the thoroughfares. He was assured that the island contained no less than fifty to sixty thousand ecclesiastics, all of whom ate in common, and of whom from five to six thousand were supported by the bounty of the king.³ In such a community literary genius was bound to sprout in full vigour. Men and women, free from the cares of the material needs of the body, were able to devote their attention to the cultivation of the mind. They studied assiduously not only the text and the commentaries of the Pali canon, which formed their sacred scriptures, but also all branches of knowledge. There was constant and free intercourse with the mainland of India, and many other parts of Asia as well. Moorish traders from

1. Mhv XXXVII.46.

2. *Rājāvaliya* (Upham), p. 239.

3. Giles' translation, pp. 69–70

Arabia travelled hither, selling their wares; Pliny records that early in the fourth century CE four ambassadors from Ceylon made their way to Rome on a complimentary mission to a state, the intercourse with which is still evidenced by large finds of Roman coins in the island.¹ Along with the intercourse in goods must have existed intercourse in views as well; and the people of Ceylon, then as now, were always prepared to learn and assimilate the culture of other nations. The era of contentment and prosperity gave a fresh impetus to this desire for the development of the intellect. Whatever literary works were produced at this time—and there must have been many such—are unfortunately irretrievably lost, leaving behind them no records at all, and we have to satisfy ourselves with but vague surmises. What such surmises lead us to assume will be more evident in the next chapter. [65]

1. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, p. 9.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF LITERARY ACTIVITY

Mahāsenā's son and successor, Siri Meghavaṇṇa, did all that lay in his power to make amends for the mischief which his father had committed. He assembled all the monks of the Mahā-vihāra, who had been scattered abroad by the measures of Mahāsenā and reverentially asked then how best he could make up for the sacrileges of which his father had been guilty. Acting under their advice, he rebuilt the Brazen Palace, which was the proudest building in the capital; he reconstructed all the *parivenas* (temple-schools) which had been demolished and restored all the lands that had been endowed for their maintenance. Meghavaṇṇa was evidently a student of history, and when he learnt of Mahinda, who had converted the island to Buddhism, he caused an image of the Thera to be made and held a great festival in his honour. For the ceremony of dedication he sent messengers and summoned to the city all the monks from the various parts of the country; the *Mahā-vaṃsa* gives a glowing description of the rejoicings that marked the event.¹ He also decreed that a similar festival should be held annually at the conclusion of the rainy season. This order was for a very long time carried out; but, like many another institution; it has now perished.² But the most outstanding event of the reign was the bringing over to Ceylon of the Right Eye-Tooth, the *Dāṭhādhātu*, from Kāliṅga.

In the introductory verses of the *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* the author tells us that his work was based on an ancient poem in Sinhalese (*Eḷu*) verse, called the *Daḷadā-vaṃsa*. And this poem appears to have been composed in the ninth year of Meghavaṇṇa's reign—the very year of the arrival of the Tooth Relic in Ceylon—by the king's express command. It is said to have contained a history of the [66] relic from the death of the Buddha to its arrival in Ceylon. There seems to have been another work, called the *Dāṭhādhātu-vaṃsa*, composed either at this time or shortly after and mentioned in *Mahā-vaṃsa* XXXVII. In a footnote to his translation of this chapter, Turnour mentions that the work was still extant at the time (1837).³ In spite of a diligent search I have not been

1. Mhv XXXVII.66 foll.

2. An attempt, however, has recently been made to revive it.

3. Turnour, *Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 241, footnote.

able to see a copy. Major Forbes identifies the *Daḷadā-vaṃsa* with this work, but gives no reason for his conclusions.¹

Whatever information we have at present is based on the *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa*, written by Dhammakitti in the twelfth century CE. There we learn that the relic was introduced into Ceylon from Dantapura in the ninth year of Siri Meghavaṇṇa's reign by Hemamālā, daughter of Guhasīva, king of Kāliṅga, and her husband, Danta Kumāra, a prince of the Ujjenī royal family. During more than eight centuries the relic had remained undisturbed at Dantapura; but Guhasīva, when he became a convert from Brahmanism to Buddhism, paid homage to the Tooth and thereby incurred the implacable wrath of the Brahman priests. They complained to his suzerain lord of Pāṇḍu at Pāṭaliputra, who ordered it to be brought to his capital, and there, by the wonders it exhibited, he himself was converted. Shortly afterwards the king of Sāvattihī assembled an army and demanded the relic. War ensued, and Pāṇḍu's army was defeated. The relic was restored to Guhasīva. Sometime later the son of the king of Ujjenī, who was a zealous Buddhist, came to Dantapura, bringing tokens of homage to the relic, and there he married Hemamālā, daughter of the Kāliṅga king. A large army from Sāvattihī appeared at Dantapura, demanding the relic once more, and Guhasīva, apprehensive of the power by which he was assailed, directed his daughter and son-in-law to escape from the city, taking the relic with them. They disguised themselves as Brahmins, and after many adventures, [67] came to Ceylon (which is said to have been foretold as its final resting place), and delivered it to the king. There they were received with all the honour due to their exalted rank and the precious object which they escorted. On the arrival of the relic at Anurādhapura the king took charge of it himself and, rendering thereto the greatest homage, deposited it in a casket made of *phalika* (steatite) stone and lodged it in an edifice called the Dhamma-cakka, built by Devānampiyatissa. In the height of his felicity the king, so the *Mahā-vaṃsa* tells us,² spent nine lakhs in celebrating the Dāṭhādhātu festival and made proclamation that the relic should be annually honoured by taking it in a procession to the Abhayagiri-vihāra. A century later, Fa-Hsien saw the ceremony performed, and he has described it in his memoirs.³ Dhammakitti⁴ mentions in his work a rubric written by Meghavaṇṇa

1. See *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* discussion.

2. Mhv XXXVII.96.

3. Giles' translation, pp. 69–70.

4. *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa*, p. 16.

for the observances to be performed before the Tooth (*caritta-lekham abhilekhayi*). There is a copy of this ancient ceremonial manual still extant in the Māligāva Temple at Kandy, where the relic is now deposited.

The Tooth Relic from the time of its first arrival in Ceylon obtained among the Sinhalese the position which the Palladium held in ancient Rome, for the sovereignty of the country belonged to the possessor of the venerated object. Even today, after the vicissitudes of many centuries, no relic commands more veneration than this. The wealth of the country was freely poured out in its honour. Wherever the palace of the king had to be erected, by reason of the incursions of invading foes, by its side, within the royal precincts, rose the Daḷadā-Māligāva (the Palace of the Tooth Relic), smaller but incomparably more beautiful than the royal residence. Entire villages were dedicated to the maintenance of those whose business it was to supply offerings of rice and flowers and incense and oil, and one king at least [68] offered up all his personal ornaments as a mark of humble devotion.¹

Siri Meghavaṇṇa's contemporary in India was Samudragupta, whose brilliant reign saw the establishment of a mighty Indian empire, second only to that of Asoka. Though a Vaiṣṇavaite himself, he was tolerant towards other faiths, and we are told that in his youth he was a friend of Vasubandhu, the Mahāyānist teacher of great repute. Reference should be made to him here, because of one single event connected with him, which for several reasons is of much interest to us. It is recorded by a Chinese writer that Siri Meghavaṇṇa, king of Ceylon, sent an embassy to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a Saṅghārāma near the Mahābodhi-vihāra. Hiuan-Tsang,² who saw this monastery two and a half centuries later, gives a full description of it and adds many details about its foundation. According to him, a certain disciple of the Buddha, a monk from Ceylon, went forth to wander through India, but at all the convents he visited he was treated with disdain as a foreigner. He came back, and in great sorrow reported his experiences to the king. The latter, who seems to have held the monk in high esteem, asked what there was that should be done to remedy matters. He was advised to build convents throughout India for the benefit of travelling monks. A minister was accordingly dispatched to the Emperor with costly presents and jewels to ask permission for the purpose. Samudragupta was pleased at this cordiality shown towards him,

1. *Kīrti Srī Rāja-Siṅha*, Pieris, op. cit., p. 11

2. *Memoirs*, II, pp. 133 foll. (Beal).

and granted leave to “take one of the places in which the Tathāgata has left traces of his holy teaching.” The Bodhimaṇḍala (Bodhi-tree platform) was chosen as the most suitable spot, and there an imposing edifice was erected to entertain all monks coming over from Ceylon. The king, Meghavanna, had the following inscription engraved in copper: “To help all without distinction is the highest teaching [69] of all the Buddhas; to exercise mercy as occasion offers is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And now I, unworthy descendant in the royal line, have undertaken to found this Saṅghārāma to enclose the sacred traces, and to hand down their renown to future ages and to spread their benefits among the people. The monks of my country will thus obtain independence and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption.”¹ In an inscription of a stone pillar at Allahabad, Samudragupta gives an account of his reign, and among the alliances he formed with foreign powers there is mention of “the Saimhalakas, who propitiated him with presents.”²

At the time of Hiuan-Tsang’s visit there were over 1,000 monks in this convent, studying the “Great Vehicle “and belonging to the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. “They carefully observe the Dharma and Vinaya,” he wrote, “and their conduct is pure and correct.”³

The circumstances connected with the founding of this Saṅghārāma allow us to infer that at this time Ceylon monks were not held in high esteem on the continent, the reason being perhaps the ascendancy of Brahmanical power, or more probably because the views of the Ceylon school were not acceptable even to the Buddhist monks of India. The cleavage between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna had grown wider and wider. The disfavour with which Ceylon kings and monks viewed any encroachment by Vaitulya doctrines on the Theravāda Buddhism of the island had made it impossible for much exchange of scholarship to take place between the two countries. But this establishment of a Theravāda community near the Bodhimaṇḍala, which was undoubtedly then as now the chief centre of Buddhist pilgrimage, must have facilitated such interchange of views. As far as we know, there do not seem [70] to have been any restrictions as to who should make use of the convent. Nominally, of course, the chief power was vested in the hands of the Mahā-vihāra, and we may well assume that monks of the Abhayagiri

1. *The Buddhist*, vol. VIII, No. 26, published in Colombo, 1922.

2. *History of the Saṅgha*, by D.B. Jayatilaka, in course of publication.

3. *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 133 (Beal).

fraternity, for instance, who wished to study in greater detail and at much closer distance the doctrines which distinguished them from other schools, took advantage of the opportunity thus created for the pursuance of their purpose. I believe also that the familiarity thus brought about with the Mahāyānists, as we may safely call the dissenters from the Theravāda, was in large measure responsible for the convergence that later seems to have come about between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri fraternities. The Mahāvihāra community seems to have treated the Abhayagiri sect with much toleration throughout, and their doings were interfered with only when glaring attempts were made by them to tarnish the purity of the Dhamma. It was also most probably in this Saṅghārāma that the young Brahman Buddhaghosa met Revata Thera, who converted him and admitted him into the Order.¹

Passing over Meghavaṇṇa's brother and successor, Jeṭṭha-Tissa, who was a skilful carver and a clever painter,² we next come to Buddhadhāsa, according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* "a mine of virtue and an ocean of riches." "This monarch exemplified to the people in his own person the conduct of the Bodhisattas; and he entertained for mankind as large a compassion as a parent feels for his children. The indigent he made happy by distribution of riches amongst them, and he protected the rich in their property and life."³ In addition to all his other qualifications of wisdom, piety and virtue, he possessed in supreme measure a knowledge of surgery, and many are the miraculous cures attributed to this royal surgeon. One case, for example, was that of a man who had drunk water containing the spawn of frogs in it, and an [71] egg entering the nostril, ascended into the head and being hatched there became a frog. There it attained its full growth, and in rainy weather it croaked and gnawed the head of the man. The king, splitting open the head, extracting the frog and re-uniting the several parts, quickly cured the wound.⁴ He provided hospitals all over the island, not only for men but also for birds and beasts. To every ten villages a royal physician was appointed, and for their guidance he compiled a work called the *Sārārtha-saṅgraha*, a compendium of medical science.⁵ By way of the encouragement of learning, he sought out ministers who could expound

1. See next chapter.

2. Mhv XXXVII.101.

3. Mhv XXXVII.105–110; Geiger's trans., p. xxxix; 267, n. 1.

4. Mhv XXXVII.144.

5. Now published with a translation by a later author, Colombo, 1899.

the doctrines of the faith, patronized them, devotedly attended to their needs, and provided all facilities for carrying on their work. At the Mahā-vihāra he built a Pariveṇa called Mora or Mayūra (the remains of which still exist) and made large endowments for its maintenance.

It was during this reign that a certain monk named Mahā Dhammakathī translated the Suttas of the *Piṭakattaya* (Three Piṭakas) into Sinhalese.¹ Who this Dhammakathī was and what was the nature of his translation it is impossible to say, because no records of him or his work exist at the present time. The *Mahā-vaṃsa* gives but the name of the man and the barest account of his work, dismissing the subject with only one verse. Mr. Wickremasinghe² identifies him with Dharmagupta mentioned by Fa Hsien in the account of his visit to Ceylon. According to him Dharmagupta lived at Mihintale at the head of about two thousand monks. He was “a Śramaṇa of great virtue, honoured and looked up to by all the kingdom. He has lived for more than forty years in an apartment of stone, constantly showing such gentleness of heart that he brought snakes and rats to stop together in the same room, without doing one another any harm.” The identification, ingenious as it is, has, as far as I am aware, nothing but [72] conjecture to support it. Legge in his translation of Fa Hsien³ adds a footnote: “Eitel says (p. 31) a famous ascetic, the founder of a school which flourished in Ceylon, CE. 400,” and adds further: “But Fa-Hsien gives no intimation of Dharmagupta’s founding a school.” Little as we know of Dhammakathī (and there is hardly any probability of our ever being able to learn much more), his work is of great significance as showing the outcome of a steady tendency on the part of the Sinhalese language to assert itself over the Pali.

Whatever be the origin of Sinhalese as the language of the people of Ceylon—whether it was brought over by Vijaya and his followers from some part of the Indian peninsula, or whether it was derived from the same source as classical Sanskrit and Pali⁴ or was, as the *Mahā-vaṃsa*⁵ puts it, indigenous (*dīpa-bhāsā*), “the language of the land,” and later modified and developed by the Aryan settlers—within two and a half centuries after Vijaya’s arrival the language was found sufficiently rich and copious in its terms and regular in its structure to have been capable

1. Mhv XXXVII.175.

2. EP, Zeyl., vol. I pt. III, p. 83.

3. p. 107, footnote 2.

4. For a discussion of this question see D’Alwis, *Sidat-saṅgarā*, Introduction

5. Mhv I.2–3.

of the enunciation in it of matter so varied and so abstract as that contained in the commentaries brought over by Mahinda from the Council at Pāṭaliputta. With the advent of Pali, as the language of the sacred Scriptures, Sinhalese borrowed and derived from it various terms and expressions with all their specific connotations. The steady and constant intercourse kept up with the mainland enabled all the advances made in various branches of knowledge in India to find their way into Ceylon; and the numerous colonies of Brahmans and others that from time to time settled down in the island contributed to enlarge the vocabulary of Sinhalese by the addition of words from their literatures. The frequent invasions of Tamil marauders—each one of whose attacks is sure to have left behind some of their number as permanent settlers, [73] even after they had been repelled—provided another source of enrichment for the language. Thus Sinhalese steadily and quickly grew up to be a language capable of expressing the most varied ideas and emotions, rich in its vocabulary and supple in its structure.

From the time when Pali was introduced into Ceylon its study was assiduously cultivated, but, as Sinhalese grew in power, monks and laymen alike tended more and more to use this medium for the exposition of the Buddhist faith. Mahinda gave the lead to this tendency not only by preaching in “the language of the land,” but more so by translating into it the Commentaries on the Piṭakas.¹ The very nature of the Aṭṭhakathās demanded that they should be compiled in a manner to be easily understood, and the choice of Sinhalese, which was mainly the people’s tongue, is therefore no matter for surprise. We shall see later, how eagerly scholars availed themselves of this concession to conduct their expositions in their own language, by the number and variety of the works—histories, poems, etc., commentarial and otherwise—which they produced in that medium, with a line or two of Pali verse being introduced here and there, at salient points, to emphasize certain things, or to sum up the narrative.

But from the very commencement it seemed to have been agreed upon that the text of the canon itself, the *Piṭakattaya*, was to remain intact in Pali; that no attempt should be made to have it in any other language. The reason for this was obviously the preservation of the purity of the doctrine, so that whenever doubt arose on some doctrinal matter, as variously expounded by the commentators, there was always the resource of appealing to the Scriptures themselves for the correct inter-

1. See next chapter on Buddhaghosa’s work, which was based on the translations.

pretation. This understanding seems to have been respected for quite a long time, and the first attempt, as far as we know, to violate it was that made by Mahā-Dhammakathī in Buddhādāsa's reign. [74]

The reason for Dhammakathī's enterprise is not difficult to guess. Most probably, as the Sinhalese language, by the accretion it received from many sources, grew in force and in extent, and as writers exercising themselves in its composition acquired greater and greater facility in expressing their ideas in that medium, they began to cultivate it even more assiduously than before, and Pali soon became of secondary importance, its use being restricted to mnemonic purposes: Fewer and fewer became those who specialized in Pali, and Dhammakathī probably felt himself justified in the belief that, if the canon were to be made more widely known amongst the people, it should be put into the form most easily intelligible to them. And a beginning was made with the translation of the Suttas.

We are not told that the work, thus commenced by Dhammakathī, was continued by others. Probably the conservatism of the monks in this matter stopped any further attempts. Clear evidence of the neglect of Pali studies at this time is afforded by the fact that when scholars did come to write in that language, such as, for instance, in the case of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, which, according to Oldenberg,¹ was begun about this period, the language was unnatural, weak and stilted, lacking in subtlety and virility of expression. The reaction against this lamentable state of decline came when Buddhaghosa's works gave fresh impetus to the study of Pali, and a definite attempt was made to supersede the "language of the land" by means of Pali.

It is interesting to observe that, side by side with the ascendancy of Sinhalese over Pali, another language was gradually coming into vogue in Ceylon. This was classical Sanskrit, which had rapidly become the medium of expression for learned works on the mainland of India. Scientific and secular works in that language had found their way into Ceylon, and were studied with care. And when the surgeon-king [75] Buddhādāsa compiled his memorable work, "the *Sārārtha-saṅgraha*"—the first of its kind in Ceylon—it was neither Pali nor Sinhalese that he used, but Sanskrit. We shall have occasion to refer to the influence of Sanskrit on Ceylon literature later; but the compilation of Buddhādāsa's book in a language so far not used in Ceylon to any large extent is worthy of notice here.

1. Oldenberg, *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, p. 9.

Buddhadāsa's elder son, Upatissa, succeeded him. During his reign the island was afflicted with drought, disease, and distress, and, acting on the advice of the monks, he requested a body of them to walk about in the streets of the city throughout the night, chanting the Ratana-sutta and sprinkling water. We are told that, as a result, at sunrise great clouds poured down rain upon the earth; all the sick and crippled disported themselves with joy, and the king issued the following decree: "Should there at any time be another affliction of drought and sickness in the island, do ye observe the like ceremonies."¹

This account of the ceremony given in the *Mahā-vamsa* is interesting, in that it is the first recorded instance of the *Paritta* having been recited for the public weal, the only other occasion being the one on which the Buddha himself is traditionally said to have preached the Ratana-Sutta to banish a deadly plague from Vesālī. Ever since this time the ceremony of chanting the *Paritta* has taken fast hold of the imagination of the Sinhalese, and is extensively observed, even at the present day. The Suttas most often chanted are the Maṅgala, the Ratana, and the Karaṇīya-Metta Suttas of the Khuddaka-pāṭha; and the *Pirit pota*, or the book containing the suttas for such recital, forms part of the meagre library of every Sinhalese household. Such recital is believed to ward off all evils and danger, and to bring about health and prosperity. Most Sinhalese know some part of these suttas by heart, and every child is taught to recite [76] at least a portion of them every morning and before retiring to bed.²

Several translations of these *Paritta-suttas* have been written in Sinhalese, some of them most elaborate, but, most of them being more difficult of comprehension than the original Pali, not much use is made of them, and the efficacy of the recital is believed to remain unaffected whether the reciter understands or not the meaning of what he chants!

Upatissa was killed by his queen consort, who was infatuated with his younger brother Mahānāma, at that time a member of the Order. On his brother's death, however, he threw off his robes, became king and married Upatissa's consort. His approval of the queen's treachery was evidently viewed with disfavour by the Mahā-vihāra fraternity, for we find both him and his queen actively supporting the Abhayagiri establishment of schismatic priests.³ It was during this reign that there

1. Mhv XXXVII.189-98.

2. It is interesting to recall that, when I left Ceylon for England, among the tokens of remembrance given to me were several editions *de luxe* of such *Pirit-Potas*.

arrived in Ceylon the greatest of the Buddhist commentators, Buddhaghosa, whose works are of monumental importance.

To this period are traditionally ascribed two short works in Pali, the *Khudda-sikkhā* and the *Mūla-sikkhā*, supposed to have been written prior to the advent of Buddhaghosa. Both works are alluded to by name in the great inscription of Parākrama Bāhu at Galvihāra, Polonnaruva (CE. 1065),¹ and the grammarian Moggallāna, who lived at that time, is said to have written a commentary on the *Khudda-sikkhā*.² This commentary no longer exists, but it was apparently based on an older Sinhalese commentary. The two works are short summaries of Vinaya rules, a kind of [77] *memoria technica* of the Vinaya. The works are for the greatest part in verse, with only a few passages in prose. The verses are put together in a rough and ready manner, appropriate for the mnemonic purpose they are intended to serve.

A colophon at the end of the *Khudda-sikkhā* ascribes that work to a monk named Dhammasiri, who was “like unto a banner in Tambapāṇṇi” (Ceylon). Though no mention of an author’s name is made in the *Mūla-sikkhā*, tradition agrees to ascribe it to Mahāsāmi. The two, being both monks of Anurādhapura who lived in the same period, were probably confreres.³ Nothing more is known about these authors and, from the evidence at our disposal, it is very difficult to form any opinion as to the age of the books. Dr. Edward Müller, basing his arguments on the language and certain forms of words used to meet the exigencies of metre, is inclined to think, that they are later than the *Mahā-vamsa* and are not earlier than the sixth or seventh century CE.⁴ D’Alwis, in his Introduction to the *Sīdat-saṅgarā*, assigns a rather early date, viz. 350 CE.⁵ The language of both compilations is simple and free from artificiality and all Sanskritisms. Rhys Davids agrees to confirm the traditional date, viz. about 350 CE, and is convinced that both belong to the memorizer period of Pali.⁶ Most of the extracts given in the works are from the text of the Vinaya Piṭaka, but a few passages remain unidentified. Dr. Müller thinks such passages are quotations from the Vinaya commentaries.⁷

3. Mhv XXXVII.212.

1. Miller’s *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, No. 137, 11 (1922).

2. Fryer’s *Subodhāṅkāra*, p. 4, note on Kaccāyana; see also under Moggallāna in the present treatise.

3. JPTS, 1883, pp. 86–7; also De Zoysa, *Catalogue*.

4. JPTS, 1883, pp. 86–7.

5. Introduction to *Sīdat-saṅgarā*, p. cl.

6. JPTS, 1883, p. xiii.

A Sinhalese *sannē* or verbatim translation of the *Khudda-sikkhā* exists, a work of great scholastic merit, written in very elegant and archaic language, the author of which is not known. It is generally assigned to the eleventh century, and two *ṭīkās* were written in Pali based on this, the *Porāṇa-ṭīkā*, by Revata or Mahā-Yasa, the author of a *ṭīkā* [78] on Buddhadatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, and the other by Saṅgharakkhita, author of the *Subodhālaṅkāra* and several other valuable works, whose date was the latter half of the twelfth century. The works are used in Ceylon and Burma at the present day by novices of the Order as a handbook of Vinaya rules. [79]

7. JPTS, loc. cit.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHAGHOSA

Considering that Buddhaghosa ranks in the Buddhist church as its greatest commentator and exegetist, and that the service which he rendered to the cause of the Buddha's religion was of the most useful and enduring kind, the information we have about his life is very meagre. Very little is known about him, except through his own writings; we have nothing to go upon except his commentaries, and a few traditions and legends. And these very traditions and legends are so much coloured by the imagination of their creators that much reliance cannot be placed upon them. Circumstantial details are so interwoven with fictitious elements, that it is difficult to separate strict truth from mere romance. Facts of historical value occupy comparatively little space in these narratives.

The *Buddhaghosuppatti*¹ is the longest account of his life and is, in its entirety, a work highly diverting as well as instructive. But its author had evidently little authentic knowledge of the subject of his study, and his collection of legends is mostly valueless from the historical point of view. It reads too much like a romance and does not help us much in elucidating Buddhaghosa's history. Gray, in his translation of the work,² gives a list of other sources which contain accounts of the commentator's life—a list of what he considers the most trustworthy Burmese records. Besides these, the earliest connected account of his life is that contained in the *Mahā-vam̐sa* (chapter XXXVII), which, though it is considered by some to be by a later writer of the thirteenth century, is by far the most authentic source of our information, and is itself probably derived from very much older material. [80] The whole narrative bears upon it the impress of truth; and our only regret is that it contains so very little. It fixes for us quite definitely the period of Buddhaghosa's activities, and this fact is in itself most useful.

The following is a translation of the *Mahā-vam̐sa* account: "A Brahman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the Great Bodhi-tree,³ accomplished in arts and sciences, one who had mastered the three *Vedas*, was well-versed in knowledge; skilled in all disputes, himself a

1. Edited and translated by J. Gray, Luzac & Co., 1892.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 9 foll.; see also that very valuable book, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, by Bimala Charan Law, Calcutta, 1923,

schismatic wanderer over Jambudīpa, assuming the character of a disputant, lived in a certain monastery and was in the habit of rehearsing by day and by night with clasped hands a discourse which he had learnt, perfect in all its parts, and sustained throughout in lofty strain. A certain Elder, Revata by name,¹ becoming acquainted with him, thought ‘This being is one of great wisdom; he should be converted.’ (So thinking) he inquired: ‘Who is this that brays like an ass?’ The youth replied: ‘Do you know, then, the meaning of the ass’s braying?’ ‘I do,’ rejoined the Elder, and the youth exhibited the extent of his knowledge. The Elder explained each of his statements and pointed out their fallacies. Being thus refuted, the youth exclaimed, ‘Come now and propound your creed,’ and the Elder recited to him a passage from the Abhidhamma. The Brahman could not understand the meaning of that text, and inquired: ‘Whose *manta* (teaching) is this?’ ‘It is the Buddha’s *manta*.’ On his exclaiming ‘Impart it to me,’ the Elder replied: ‘Enter the Recluse’s Order.’ And he, being desirous of acquiring knowledge of the Three Piṭakas, and being convinced that ‘This is indeed the Way,’ took the vows of a Recluse. [81]

“Because he was as profound in his eloquence as the Buddha himself, they called him Buddhaghosa (the voice of the Buddha); and throughout the world he became as renowned as the Buddha. Having there (in Jambudīpa) composed an original work called the *Ñāṇodaya*, he at the same time wrote the chapter called *Atthasālinī* on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. Revata Thera then, observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a *Parittaṭṭhakathā* (a concise commentary on the *Piṭakattaya*), thus addressed him: ‘The text alone (of the *Piṭakattaya*) has been preserved in this land; the *Aṭṭhakathās* are not extant here; nor is there any complete version of the different *vāda* (schools). The Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* are genuine; they were composed in the Sinhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahinda, who had previously consulted the discourses of the Buddha, confirmed at the three Convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sāriputta and others; and they exist among the Sinhalese. Go there, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the Māgadhī grammar. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the

3. According to Burmese tradition he was born in North India in the fifth century CE in the Magadha country (see Gray, op. cit.). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 29) says that he was the son of a *Purohita* named Kesa and that his mother was Kesī.

1. I have suggested in the preceding chapter that this Revata may have been an Elder of the Saṅghasarāma built for Ceylon monks by Kittī Siri Meghavaṇṇa.

whole world.¹ Having been thus advised, this eminently wise man, rejoicing therein, departed thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch, Mahānāma.² On reaching the Mahā-vihāra, he entered the Mahā-Padhāna Hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the Vihāra, and listened to the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā and the Theravāda, from beginning to end, propounded by Elder Saṅghapāla. He became thoroughly convinced that they contained the true meaning of the doctrines of the Dhammarāja. Thereupon, paying reverential respect to the priesthood, [82] he thus petitioned: ‘I am desirous of translating the Aṭṭhakathā; give me access to all your books.’ The monks, to test his qualifications, gave only two stanzas, saying: ‘Hence prove your ability; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let you have all our books.’ From these stanzas, and consulting the *Piṭakattaya* together with the Aṭṭhakathā, and condensing them, he composed the commentary, the *Visuddhimagga*. Thereupon, having assembled at the Bo-tree the monks who had acquired a complete knowledge of the Buddha’s doctrines, he commenced to read out his work. The devas, in order to make his wisdom celebrated amongst men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and a third time, recomposed it. When he was producing his book for the third time, the devas restored the other two copies also. The monks then read out the three books simultaneously. In the three versions, neither, in a signification nor in a single misplacement by transposition, nay, not even in the Thera controversies, or in the text was there, in the measure of a verse or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation. Thereupon the monks, rejoicing again and again, fervently shouted, saying: ‘Most assuredly this is Metteyya himself,’ and gave him the books where the three Piṭakas were recorded, together with the commentaries.

Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthakāra-Vihāra,³ at Anurādhapura, he translated according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhas, the root of all languages, the whole of the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā. This proved [83] an accomplishment of the utmost benefit to all languages spoken by the human race. All the Theriya teachers held this compilation in the same estimation as the Tipiṭaka. Thereafter,

1. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 29) says he was sent to make amends for having thought himself cleverer than his teacher.

2. The *Ceylon Antiquary and Lit. Register* (vol. I pt. ii, pp. 94 foll.) gives over a score of different dates fixed upon by different scholars; some as early as 543 BCE! Most of them centre round the name of Mahānāma, king of Ceylon. Sinhalese tradition assigns his arrival to 965 years after the Parinibbāna.

the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudīpa, to worship at the Bo-tree.”¹

So much, then, for Buddhaghosa's life, as far as may be gleaned from the information at our disposal. The monks of the Mahā-vihāra in Ceylon were by no means slow to recognize his genius, and they provided him with every facility for carrying out his work. One monk after another requested him to enter upon new fields of scholarship, and he responded gladly. Buddhism was at this time on the wane in India. Various new sects had arisen on the continent, each claiming to possess the authentic tradition of the Buddha. We saw in the last chapter that the Ceylon monks were not held in high esteem by members of these dissentient schools, The only place, perhaps, the Theravāda yet had a foothold was in the Sinhalese, Saṅghārāma at the Bodhimaṇḍapa. But even there the Piṭakas and their commentaries were not being studied in their entirety. It may be that no exegetical works were available to them in a language easily understood by their disciples on the spot. Buddhaghosa evidently felt this keenly himself; for, according to the *Mahāvamsa* account, the desire to compose a concise commentary on the Piṭakas (*Piṭakatthakathā*) was expressed by him spontaneously to his teacher, Revata, and the latter was only too glad to encourage this ambitious project and devise ways and means of helping its accomplishment. [84] When Buddhaghosa mentioned his wish to the Mahā-vihāra monks, they realized well the importance of his works, and the fruitful results that would follow therefrom. Once the commentaries, which contained a full exposition of the Dhamma, were available in a

3. Lord Chalmers says: “I venture on the confident opinion that, although it was probably at the Mahā-vihāra in Anurādhapura (where he would meet Ceylon's most accomplished scholars) that Buddhaghosa began his work by writing three editions of his own expository *Visuddhi-magga*, it is surely an impeccable tradition that makes him journey for his authentic copy of the *Piṭakas* and *Aṭṭhakathās* to Alu-vihāra, renowned as the venerable birthplace and still the faithful custodian of the written records he had come so far to seek. For in these things sentiment counts for much and to none more than to a zealous and reverent scholar such as Buddhaghosa undoubtedly was.” (*Ceylon Antiq. and Lit. Reg.*, vol. I pt. I p. 2 foll.)

1. Kern says that after completing his work in Ceylon, Buddhaghosa went over to Burma to propagate the Buddhist faith (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 125), while Spence Hardy mentions that the Burmese ascribe the new era in their religion to the time when the great exegetist reached their country from Ceylon (*Buddhism*, p. 532). The *Buddhaghosuppatti* states (pp. 65–6) that he was born in the Tusita heaven after his death. The Cambodian Buddhists have a tradition that Buddhaghosa died in their country, in a monastery called after him Buddhaghosa-Vihāra. He was cremated there, his relics collected and stūpas built over them (Law, *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 42).

language understood by the monks of India, a new impetus would be given to the study of the orthodox teaching, and the glory of the religion would thereby be increased in manifold measure. We find them, therefore, most eager in their encouragement of his work. The king himself, though not very favourably disposed towards the Mahā-vihāra fraternity, for reasons given in the preceding chapter—extended to Buddhaghosa his royal patronage, and we find this acknowledged by Buddhaghosa himself. Thus in the epilogue to the *Samanta-pāsādikā* he says that he completed his work in the twenty-first year of King Sirinivāsa of Ceylon, who was his benevolent patron.¹

But the work he undertook was by no means an easy one, and it is no wonder, therefore, that the learned Sinhalese monks, before they gave their consent to his being assigned this Herculean task, thought it prudent to test his talents beforehand by giving him a text from the sacred canon as a subject for a thesis; and it was a natural tradition that armed him with Sakka's iron stylus that he might be possessed: thereby of speedier penmanship.

While already in India, according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, he had composed a work called *Ñāṇodaya*, about which nothing further is known. We may, I think, assume that it was not preserved among his permanent compilations, probably because it was incorporated in his later and more substantial and better-informed works. The name of the book, however, lends colour to the assumption that it was a treatise on some philosophical subject. His first work in Ceylon was the *Visuddhimagga*, set him, as we saw above, as a test-subject for a disquisition by the Mahā-vihāra monks. In the *Nidānakathā*, or Introduction to the book, he gives in detail the [85] circumstances in which he made this compendium, and again repeats them towards the close of the work.² It is an encyclopaedia of the Doctrine, containing the whole of the Buddha's teachings in a connected volume, and, as Gray says in his Introduction³ to the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, "If he had written nothing else, it alone would have secured for him undying fame." The *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpanī*⁴ summarizes it thus: "In short, the work deals with *kusala*, *akusala*, *avyākata-dhammā*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *sati-paṭṭhāna*, *kamma*, *pakati*, and many other topics of Buddhist philosophy, and is the only book in which the whole of the Buddha's system is well depicted in an abridged

1. Also *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. IV, p. 235.

2. Vol. I p. 2; vol. II pp. 711 (Pali Text Soc. ed.).

3. p. 31.

4. pp. 30–1.

compilation of the three Piṭakas, together with quotations from the commentaries on the passages from the Piṭakas mentioned therein.”

No mention is made in it of any of Buddhaghosa's other works, whence it is concluded that it was the first permanent work of his pen. The work is a masterly production, and Buddhaghosa undoubtedly took great pains over it; for we are told that he made three editions of the work, before it was put into final shape. The work, as we have it, is divided into three parts: conduct, concentration (or mental training), and wisdom. The quotations mentioned in it are plentiful and varied, and bestrew the work from beginning to end. They have been taken from nearly every work in the earlier Buddhist literature; the three Piṭakas, the Sinhalese commentaries, notably the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā of the Mahā-vihāra community, the *Milinda-pañhā*, and the *Peṭakopadesa*.¹ The result is an extraordinary book, written with admirable judgment as to the general arrangement of the matter and in lucid style (though at times long words are used and the language is difficult to understand), free from argument and discussion—a book of which, according to [86] Mrs. Rhys Davids,² “we might say, within limits, what is said of the *Divina Commedia* and of the Shakespearean plays: in its pages may be found something on everything—i.e. in the earlier Buddhist literature ... a closely packed microcosm ... of macrocosmic range.”

Mr. Nagai,³ in a very learned article, draws attention to the extraordinary similarity that exists between the *Visuddhimagga* and a Chinese Pali work called the *Vimuttimaggā*, and seems inclined to conclude that they are one and the same work appearing in different attire. The *Vimuttimaggā* was translated into Chinese in CE 505 by a Cambodian (Funan) priest whose name (according to Mr. Nagai) was Saṅghapāla, and it is an “encyclopaedia of Buddhist theology.” Legend says it was composed by Arahant Upatissa, usually identified with Sāriputta; but Mr. Nagai, basing his conclusions on the internal evidence of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, assigns him to the first century CE. The translator, Saṅghapāla, came from Mid-India, and stayed in China during fifteen years. His master, Guṇabhadra, had visited Sihaladīpa, and other southern countries, and brought with him copies of various works. We do not know whether the *Vimuttimaggā* was among the books so brought, or whether it was of Mid-Indian or even Cambodian origin. The *Vimuttimaggā* is

1. See *Vism* (P.T.S. ed.), pp. 753 foll.

2. *Vism* p. 763.

3. *JPTS*, 1917–19, pp. 69 foll.

an Abhidhamma exegesis, serving as a compendium for that portion of Buddhist literature. A comparison of the two works shows that, though they resemble each other very much in form, inasmuch as both divide the contents according to *sīla*, *jhāna*, *paññā*, and *vimutti*, yet they differ greatly in the way of explanation, the arrangement of the materials, etc. Those portions which are curtailed in one, are being given fully in the other or vice versa, and in some points the Chinese work seems to have been influenced by the Mahāyāna doctrine.

There is, I feel, no need to conclude, therefore, that the *Visuddhimagga*, which has been considered to be entirely [87] Buddhaghosa's own work, is in reality a revised version of Upatissa's *Vimuttimagga*. If we suppose that the *Vimuttimagga* was the result of books brought by Guṇabhadra of Mid-India, from his travels in Ceylon and other Hīnayāna countries, the solution of the problem seems clear. Both authors drew their inspiration from the same sources. A close examination of the two works shows that their greatest resemblance lies in the treatment of philosophical (Abhidhamma) matter. We saw that, in the school where Buddhaghosa first received his knowledge of Buddhism, the special subject of study was the Abhidhamma. It was by the recital of an Abhidhamma text that Buddhaghosa's attention was first drawn to the Buddha's teaching, and Buddhaghosa's first work was the *Ñāṇodaya*, apparently a treatise on that particular aspect of Buddhist lore. Buddhaghosa is sent to Ceylon to get a complete edition of the Commentaries because, as his teacher tells him, "There is no *complete* version of the different schools (*vāda*) with us. *The Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā are genuine*; the text alone (of the *Piṭakattaya*) is preserved in this land; the Aṭṭhakathā are not extant." This does not mean that *some*, at least, of the commentaries were not studied in India, especially in view of the existence of the Sinhalese Saṅghārāma at the Bodhimaṇḍapa. As long as the text was extant the traditional interpretation thereof, in various degrees of authenticity, at different times, existed as well, handed down through the centuries by a line of teachers who aimed as far as was possible at consistency in doctrinal interpretation: Buddhaghosa makes reference in the *Visuddhimagga*¹ to the commentaries on the Aṅguttara, Majjhima, and Saṃyutta-nikāyas. This reference may well be, as Maung Tin suggests,² not to Buddhaghosa's own commentaries, but to the original Ceylonese Commentary from which he later made his redaction, and in which he was so deeply

1. See index to the *Visuddhimagga*.

2. *Path of Purity*, Preface, pp. v and vi.

steeped, even at the time when he wrote the *Visuddhimagga*. If, then, it is assumed that [88] the *Vimuttimagga* found its way to China by way of some of the schools which flourished in India at the time, and which studied the canon in the more or less traditional method, it would not be difficult to conclude that the *Visuddhimagga* and *Vimuttimagga* are more or less independent works, written by men belonging to much the same school of thought the Theravāda.

But by far the greatest service rendered by Buddhaghosa to the progress of Buddhist knowledge was his series of masterly commentaries. The *Aṭṭhakathās* (or “talks about the contents, meaning, or purpose of various parts of the doctrine,” as the word itself implies) represented the most ancient, orthodox, and traditional interpretations of the Buddha’s teachings. They were not so much creative as explicative and interpretative. Such talks go back to the time of the Buddha himself. Law, in his book on Buddhaghosa,¹ has a very interesting chapter on the origin of these commentaries. He says that the need for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha’s words, which formed the guiding principle of life and action of the members of the Saṅgha, was felt from the very earliest days of the Order. When the Master was alive there was always the possibility of referring disputed questions direct to him. But even during the Master’s lifetime—at the Buddhist centres formed at various places under the leadership of one or other of the famous disciples—discussions, friendly interviews, and analytical expositions used to take place, and the *raison d’être* of the commentaries is to be traced to these discussions. Sometimes it happened that accounts of these discussions were duly reported to the Teacher, and some of them were approved by him, and he would then ask the monks to bear the particular expositions in mind as the best that could have been given. The utterances of the disciples that won such approbation were treasured by the members of the community, and especially of their respective groups, and held in high esteem, honoured as much as [89] the words of the Buddha himself. These formed the nucleus of the commentaries. Often, when the Buddha preached a sermon in concise form on some aspect of the doctrine, the monks used to repair to one of the chief disciples and get the points explained in greater detail. Such was Mahā-Kaccāyana, for example, who was foremost in reputation for his power in giving detailed expositions of what the Buddha said in brief. When later the text of the canon came to be compiled, arranged, and edited, some of the expositions found their way into the Piṭakas and

1. Bimala Churan Law, op. cit., pp. 48 foll.

were given a permanent place therein. Thus we have the *Saṅgīti-suttanta*¹ of the Dīgha-nikāya, ascribed to Sāriputta and forming a complete catechism of terms and passages of exegetical nature. Such was also the *Sacca-vibhaṅga*² (an exposition of the Four Noble Truths) of the Majjhima, which later found its proper place in the second book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and also the Madhupiṇḍika-sutta of Mahā-Kaccāyana, included in the Majjhima-nikāya.³ It sometimes happened that for a proper understanding of the text explanations of a commentarial nature were quite essential; and in such cases the commentary was naturally incorporated into the text and formed part of the text itself. Thus we have an old commentary embedded in the Vinaya, and the Parivāra added as a supplementary examination paper to the whole. Then there is the Niddesa, a whole book of commentary on texts now included in the Sutta-nipāta; and there are passages clearly of a commentarial nature scattered throughout the Nikāyas. Lastly, there are the interesting fragments of commentaries, tacked, the one on to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the other to the *Vibhaṅga*. We saw in an earlier chapter how the canon, in order to facilitate the learning and the retention of it, was divided into sections and entrusted to various groups of disciples to form their special study. There is a very old [90] tradition which tells us that the commentaries on all the principal canonical books were handed down by these schools *along with* the texts themselves. This probably explains how it was that parts of the commentaries came later to be attached to the texts which they interpreted, e.g. in the case of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. This, however, does not mean, as Mrs. Rhys Davids points out,⁴ that all the commentaries were so handed down in all the schools, or that each of them was exactly the same in each of the schools where it was taught. But, where the commentaries were so handed down, tradition tells us that they were compiled and subsequently written in the dialect of the district where the school was situated. They were, therefore, not the work of one single author, but of a community of brethren.

It must be borne in mind that these commentaries were not compiled in the modern sense of the word, nor did any commentaries, such as Buddhaghosa himself wrote later, exist in the Buddha's lifetime or immediately after his death. So that, when Buddhaghosa mentions, in

1. D III 207 foll.

2. M III 248 foll.

3. M I 110 foll.

4. *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, 2nd ed., Introd., p. xxvi.

the opening stanzas of the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, that the commentary to the Dīgha-nikāya was at the first council rehearsed by 500 holy Elders, we may assume that he means, that at this meeting the *meanings* to be attached to the various terms—particularly to those that appear to have been borrowed from Hindu philosophy—were discussed and properly defined. This removes the difficulty of conceiving the contemporaneous existence of the commentaries and the Piṭakas from the very earliest times. Such definitions and fixations of meaning formed the nucleus of the later commentaries. The Elders had discussed the important terms at the First Council, and had decided on the method of interpreting and teaching the more recondite doctrines.

Later, when schisms arose within the Buddhist Church, they were caused mainly by differences of opinion as to the correct interpretation of certain rules of the Order, and of [91] the meaning to be attached to various points in the Doctrine. With the lapse of time the philosophical notions implicit in the Dhamma had grown, new ideas had developed and earlier conceptions been elaborated; the simpler, archaically expressed Sutta teachings had been expanded and widened in their scope, and various schools of thought had arisen within the Order itself. Some of them were obviously heretical in their views. When, at the Second and the Third Councils, the custodians of the orthodox tradition met together to condemn such heresies, we may be sure that they determined with even greater preciseness and clearness than before the connotations and the applications of the Buddha's teachings. By the time of the Third Council such commentarial literature (using the word in the wider sense) had been more or less fully developed; and when, after the conclusion of that Synod, Mahinda came to Ceylon, he brought over with him the expositions of the teaching which had been sanctioned by the Elders at that meeting. Very soon after Mahinda's arrival he translated them into "the language of the land," and there they continued to be studied and pondered upon and further developed by the monks of Ceylon.

At the time when Buddhaghosa arrived in the island—in the early part of the fifth century CE—the commentaries so handed down in the schools at various times and places had already been put together into treatises, and books had been made of them, written in the native dialects. And we know, at least, the names of several of those which existed at this period. They are:¹

1. The Mūla- or Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, or simply the Aṭṭhakathā, of the dwellers of the Mahā-vihāra at Anurādhapura.

2. The commentary of the dwellers of the Uttara-Vihāra, also at Anurādhapura.

3. The *Mahāpaccaṛī*, or “Great Raft,” so called because it was composed on a raft somewhere in Ceylon [92]

4. The Andha-Aṭṭhakathā, handed down at Kāñcīpura (Conjevaram), in South India.

5. The Kuruṇḍī-Aṭṭhakathā, so named because of its having been written at the Kuruṇḍavelu-vihāra in Ceylon.

6. The Saṅkhepa-Aṭṭhakathā, or “Short Commentary,” which was also, possibly, of South Indian origin.¹

Buddhaghosa thus found a large mass of material at his disposal. These commentaries doubtless embraced various shades of opinion, and represented different schools of thought. It is difficult to decide whether each one of them dealt with the canon as a whole, or only with separate portions of it, but the former is not probable. The *ṭīkā*s themselves give but very imperfect accounts of them, because, judging from the meagre information they contain with regard to them; at the time when the *ṭīkā*s came to be compiled, almost all traces of the older commentaries had disappeared. In the *Sammohavinodanī* on the *Vibhaṅga*²

Buddhaghosa tells us that he composed it “by taking the substance of the old commentaries” (*porāṇaṭṭhakathānaṃ sāraṃ ādāya*). Thus, it is pretty clear that at least the first three of those mentioned above were separate works on the entire Tipiṭaka, and that [93] all of them were

1. *Manual of Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, pp. xxvii and xxviii, also Vijayasinha, *JRAS*,

1870, vol. V, pp. 298 foll., N.S.

1. In addition to these Buddhaghosa often quotes the authority of what he calls the *Porāṇā*. Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests (Law, op. cit. Foreword) that these *Porāṇās* represented an evolving school of philosophical thought. It is distinctly stated in the *Gandhavamsa* (pp. 55–9) that the *Porāṇācariyā* are also the *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*. Law (p. 64) considers that the name refers to eminent and revered teachers of the Order, who were often asked to interpret questions arising among the Saṅgha, and whose interpretations were embodied in the great *Aṭṭhakathās*; and he suggests that these were preserved in the Great Sinhalese Commentaries, and distinguished by being quoted in the original Pali. I am of opinion that the *Porāṇās* merely refer to teachers whose expositions were not necessarily embodied in the Commentaries, but handed down in various schools by oral tradition, sometimes with mnemonic verses to help the memory and that Buddhaghosa, refers to such traditional explanations as the anonymous *Porāṇā*. Often in Sinhalese books, when the author quoting from an ancient work either does not know—or does not think it necessary to give—the source, he introduces it merely by *eheyin purātanayō kīhu* (“therefore the ancients said”).

2. Vijayasinha, loc. cit., p. 299.

more or less directed to the elucidation of one or more of the Piṭakas, and that they purported to be separate and independent commentaries.

The task before Buddhaghosa was, therefore, by no means an easy one. The very copiousness of the material was an embarrassment. When he set out from India to make his "Concise Commentary," his idea was merely to study the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathās and translate them into Pali. But now, faced often with conflicting views, contradictory assertions, and sometimes incompatible doctrines, he had to expunge, abridge, enlarge, and make new a commentary of his own. The author of so systematic and coherent a synopsis as the *Visuddhimagga* could not rest content with a mere translation; for that no great ability was required, and certainly far less extraordinary talent than he possessed. He wished to collect and systematize the knowledge which the various works contained, to garner the criticism of ancient scholarship for the use of future generations of scholars; and therefore he did not shrink from rewriting them so as to expand what he found into a fuller and richer form, embodying in the old material whatever he found elsewhere, to illuminate and elucidate the text of his comment. He approached his task with no iconoclastic desire to supersede the earlier scholiasts; on the contrary, he studied with great assiduity what his predecessors had written and incorporated with pious care in their works; he had always one great object predominantly in view, namely, to inspire reverence for what he considered supreme authority.

He himself describes what he did in the metrical introduction to the *Samanta-pāsādikā*:¹ "In commencing this commentary—having embodied therein the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the *Mahāpaccarī*, as also in the famous *Kuruṇḍī* and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the Elders—I shall perform my task well. Let the young and [94] the middle-aged and the elderly monks who entertain a proper regard for the doctrines of the Tathāgata, the Luminary of Truth, listen to my words with pleasure. The Dhamma, as well as the Vinaya, was declared by the Buddha and his sons understood it in the same sense as it was delivered; and inasmuch as in former times they (the Sinhalese commentators) composed the commentaries without disregarding their (sons') opinions, therefore, excepting any error of transcription, everything contained therein is an authority to the learned in this Order, who respect ecclesiastical discipline. From these commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative

1. P.T.S. ed., p. 2, vv. 10–16.

decisions, without overstepping any Pali idiom (I shall proceed to compose my work). And, as this commentary will be explanatory of the meanings of words belonging to the Suttas in conformity with the sense attached to them therein, therefore ought it the more diligently to be studied.”

Thus Buddhaghosa’s work formed a synthetic unity, deliberately planned as a consistent scheme for dealing with the traditions which had come down through the centuries, handed down by distinguished members of the Order and ever growing in the scope of their expositions of the canon. He was a critical scholar in some ways; there is evidence of this in almost every passage of his commentaries; he consulted manuscripts of various schools, and faithfully recorded the variant readings which he found in the same. Often, especially in the case of narratives, he found different versions of the same incident, and preserved them for the information of later generations. Working in this manner, he wrote the following commentaries which have come down to our day.

The *Samanta-pāsādikā*, regarded by some as his most important work, is a voluminous compilation dealing with the Vinaya texts and he says he wrote it before all others because the Vinaya forms the foundation of the Buddhist faith.¹ Apart from its value as a commentary to explain the [95] rules of morality, etc., embodied in the Vinaya, it contains a great mass of social, political, moral, religious, and philosophical history of Ancient India.² The work was translated into Chinese quite soon after it was written, and the Chinese translation, made by a monk named Saṅghabhadra in CE 489 (according to Nariman),³ exists to this day. In Ceylon itself several *ṭīkā*s have been

1. P.T.S. Ed., p. 1, v. 5

2. Law, p. 77.

3. Nariman, *Buddhist Literature*, see Index. (BPS ed.: In the meantime this work has been translated by P.V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa as *Shan-Chien-P’i-P’o-Sha, A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona 1970. Despite the English subtitle, it is not identical with the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, but perhaps with one of its sources or a parallel version of another Theravādin lineage. Apparently the Chinese title corresponds to the Sanskrit *Sudarśanavinayavibhāṣā*, which could correspond to *Sudassanavinayajotikā* in Pali; see Ānanda W. Guruge, “*Shan-jian-lu-piṣoṣa* as an Authentic Source on the Early History of Buddhism and Asoka,” in *Dhamma-Vinaya*, SLABS, Colombo 2005, pp. 91–110. This is possible, but it is more likely, as Bapat suggests in his introduction, that Saṅghabhadra adapted and expanded the text to fit the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptaka tradition to which he belonged.)

written on this work at various times, and they will be referred to in their proper places; several of them still survive.

His other commentary on the Vinaya is the *Kaṅkhā-vīṭaraṇī* on the Pātimokkha, which forms one of the books of the Vinaya Piṭaka, and contains certain rules of discipline for members of the Order, in such form as could easily be committed to memory by them. There exists a Sinhalese glossary on this work, written several centuries ago.¹

These books were followed by commentaries on the four Nikāyas in succession: the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* on the Dīgha-nikāya, written in three parts, showing us Buddhaghosa's encyclopaedic learning at its best, and composed in language less confused than that of his other commentaries, the *Papañcasūdanī* on the Majjhima, the *Sāratthappakāsinī* on the *Samyutta* and the *Manorathapurāṇī* on the Aṅguttara-nikāya. In the introductory verses to each of these books he gives the circumstances in which, and names the scholars at whose instigation, he undertook and carried out the work. In addition to these he is also said to have compiled commentaries on three books of the Khuddaka-nikāya—the Khuddaka-pāṭha, the Sutta-nipāta, and the Dhammapada. The commentary on the first two divisions is called the *Paramattha-jotikā*.

Some doubts have been expressed by various scholars as to the authenticity of the tradition which ascribes the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* to Buddhaghosa.² Not a few scholars [96] are of opinion that the work is modern and that the author was a later Buddhaghosa (Culla-Buddhaghosa) who obtained his materials from the same source as the Sinhalese *Saddharmaratnāvalī*, written by Mahā-Thera Dhammasena in the thirteenth century.³ At the end of the commentary we find the following colophon: "*Vipula-visuddha-buddhinā Buddhaghoso'ti garūhi gahīta-nāmadheyyena katāyaṃ Dhammapadassa attha-vaṇṇanā.*" ("This commentary on the Dhammapada was written by Buddhaghosa of eminent and lustrous knowledge.") This may well refer to the great commentator. In a Sinhalese work, the *Pūjāvaliya*, it is mentioned that he wrote the work at the request of King Sirinivāsa and his minister Mahānigama.⁴ This Sirinivāsa was undoubtedly Mahānāma, and the *Samanta-pāsādikā* tells us that Buddhaghosa wrote in the Ganthakāra-pariveṇa built by the great Minister Mahānigama and that on other occasions he lived in the palace built by the king himself, this palace

1. *Kaṅkhā-vīṭaraṇī-piṭapota*. De Zoysa, p. 7.

2. E.W. Burlingame in his translation (Yale University Series).

3. Wickemasinghe, p. 11.

4. Colombo Ed., 1897, p. 16.

forming part of the monastery at the Mahā-vihāra where Buddhaghosa came to study the Sinhalese commentaries. At the end of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* is a stanza:

“Vihārā adhirājena kāritamhi kataññunā
Pāsāde Sirikuḍḍassa rañño viharatā mayā.”

(“By me residing in the palace of King Sirikuḍḍa in the monastery built by the grateful king.”)

Sirikuḍḍa is apparently only another name for Sirinivāsa (Mahānāma).¹

The chief stumbling block is the difference in language and style between this work and the other commentaries which undoubtedly belong to Buddhaghosa. Compared, for instance, with the commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya, the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* resembles more the *Jātaḥakathā* than anything else. At best it seems to be the work of a compiler who collected and edited sermons and stories, [97] not inventing new ones, but merely presenting in literary Pali what existed already as folklore; and the arrangement is different even from the *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*. But this difference may possibly be due to the difference in the subject-matter of the various texts taken up for comment. “The Dhammapada, unlike the great Nikāyas, which consist of prose and gāthās, is entirely made up of gāthās without the prose setting, which, in the Nikāyas, is supplied in the text itself. Here, therefore, was the necessity of bringing it into line with those canonical works.”² Hugh Nevill in the Introduction to his Catalogue ventures upon the view that this work did not belong to the three great *aṭṭhakathās* (*Mahāpaccaṛī*, and *Kuruṇḍī*) which Buddhaghosa studied, but merely represented the popular legends accepted before the Alu-vihāra redaction, and were either not then treated as of canonical value, or accepted by rival sects without dispute, and therefore not found necessary to be specially set down in writing. In Buddhaghosa’s time they had acquired considerable authority, and they were translated by him and arranged at his discretion. It may be quite possible, Nevill says, that the legends had their origin in India or elsewhere and that they did not belong to Mahinda’s school; this may account for the different method of treatment. Where different versions are given of the same story,³ the responsibility belongs not to Buddhaghosa, but to the different accounts from which he obtained his information.

1. Vide D. B. Jayatilaka, *Introd. to the Sikha-valaṇḍa* (Colombo Ed., 1923), p. vii.

2. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

A translation of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, called the *Saddharma-ratnāvalī*, was made during the thirteenth century CE by an Elder named Dhammasena.¹ All the stories, [98] save quite a few, are taken from the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and follow more or less the same order. The greater part is merely a translation of the Pali original, though, as is stated in the Introduction to the book, it does not follow the text throughout. Unlike the author of the Pali commentary, the translator does not quote the actual words of the *Dhammapada*, but in most instances gives the substance of the aphorisms by way of introductions to each illustrative tale.

Besides these works, Buddhaghosa also wrote a series of commentaries on the books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The best known of them is the *Atthasālinī* on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, said to have been composed in India.² The work contains more than one distinct reference to the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, (pp. 97–8) showing that it was written or at least completed after the Vinaya commentary. Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests³ that, though it was written at Gayā, it was later subjected to a complete revision by the author after his studies in Ceylon. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in the body of the work he quotes from or refers to many works including, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has shown, the Ceylonese *Aṭṭhakathās* and the *Visuddhimagga*. The commentary on the Vibhaṅga is named *Sammohavinodanī*, and the exegeses on the other five books are collectively called the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (sometimes also *Paramattha-dīpanī*).⁴

Such in brief was the nature of Buddhaghosa's vast labours, accomplished single-handed with a talent as wonderful as his industry was extraordinary. The *Buddhaghosuppatti* (p. 7) tells us that when Buddhaghosa had completed his recension of this whole library of books expository of the Tipiṭaka, a bonfire "as high as seven average-sized elephants" [99] was made of the Sinhalese translations which Mahinda gave to Ceylon three centuries earlier, and which had later been added

3. See Hardy, JRAS, 1898, pp. 741–94, for examples of such different versions. That different recensions of even the *Dhammapada* existed is shown by a comparison of the Pali work with the Chinese. See Norman, *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pt. II, pp. 15–16.

1. Dhammasena is mentioned in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* with authors such as Vilgammula Anuruddha, who lived in the reign of, or just before, Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu (CE 1236–71). See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, for fuller description, Nos. 13 and 14.

2. Mhv XXXVI.225, and *Sāsanavaṃsa* (P.T.S.), p. 31.

3. *Manual of Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. xxvii.

4. De Zoysa, *Catalogue*, p. 3, and Nevill's *Catalogue*.

to in that land. We need not take this statement as being literally true. All that it probably means is that in his own time, and certainly today, they were completely superseded by Buddhaghosa's compilations; he had eclipsed all others. As a stanza in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (p. 66) has it:

*“Buddhaghose patitṭhante paññavantā pi ye janā
Tesaṃ paññāpabhā n’atthi Rāhu-mukhe va candimā.”*

(“When Buddhaghosa is nearby, even wise men lose the lustre of their wisdom, like the moon in the Dragon’s mouth.”)

It is a hopeless task to inquire into what has become of the old Sinhalese commentaries; no trace of them now exists.¹ “The early diffusion of Pali among the priesthood and the learned laity, and the subsequent introduction of Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit verbiage into the once pure Eḷu, must, have so choked that language that it died out early and its memory was cherished only by the lovers of Parnassus. For all religious and philosophic purposes Pali and Sanskritized Sinhalese began to be used from a very early period and continue to be used to this day.”²

So much has been written on the value of Buddhaghosa's labours that very little need be said here. Perhaps Buddhaghosa's greatest value to the modern historian lies in the very limitations of his mental powers, such as originality and independence of thought, which were imposed upon him by his extreme reverence for all that was traditional. For him there was no development in the doctrine and all the texts were the words of the Master himself. For the correct understanding of that doctrine, however, Buddhaghosa's work is indispensable. Many points of Buddhist teaching and many cruxes of philosophy would be unintelligible to us but for his [100] expositions. Though his philology is sometimes crude³ and often fanciful, yet his notes on rare words are invaluable and often conclusive. “For nearly fifteen centuries,” said Sir Robert (now Lord) Chalmers on one occasion, “Buddhaghosa has remained the unchallenged expounder of Buddhism for the Theravādin, or Southern School. In the evolution of Buddhist thought he marked an epoch; he restated thought for his own day and stereotyped it ever since

1. There are traces of these old Sinhalese commentaries in quotations in Sinhalese works such as the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya* and the *Dharmaṃpradīpikā*. (Somapala Jayawardhana)

2. JRAS (N.S.), vol. v, p. 301.

for the orthodox.... Viewed as a scholar rather than as a philosopher, there is ample evidence in his writings to show that he was a critical scholar... From the point of view of textual criticism his help is invaluable to modern editions of Piṭaka texts; for through Buddhaghosa's records they can base their text on the best manuscripts which existed 1,500 years ago; and, where Buddhaghosa's reading is certain, it is an almost unerring guide in these later days. We have to get back through Buddhaghosa's commentary to his text of the canon and beyond this we can never hope to penetrate in restoring the Piṭaka texts as first written down at Alu-vihāra."¹ It is true, no doubt, as Professor Rhys Davids has told us, "that the method adopted in his commentaries follows very closely the method of those much older ones preserved in the canon, but the literary skill with which he uses it is a great advance, more especially in lucidity, over older documents."² The stories he gathered together in his writings from various sources and the expositions he gave with the help of his [101] very wide, if not profound, erudition constitute a thesaurus, preserving for later generations invaluable information of the social customs, commercial values, folklore, ceremonies, and beliefs of the ancient world. "It may readily be granted," observed Mrs. Rhys Davids in a critical study of one of his works,³ "that Buddhaghosa must not be accepted *en bloc* to me his work is not only highly suggestive, but also a mine of historic interest. To put it aside is to lose the historical perspective of the course of the Buddhist philosophy."

But even greater than this, for Ceylon, was the immense influence which his writings exerted on the development of the literary faculty among the Sinhalese Buddhists. The impetus he gave to Pali learning was very great, and we shall see in our next chapter how it resulted in enriching the literature of the island. [102]

3. It is sometimes asked whether Buddhaghosa knew Sanskrit. A *Mahā-kāvya* in Sanskrit on the life of the Buddha, called the *Padyacūdāmaṇi* is sometimes attributed to the great exegete (Law, p. 85 foll.). Perhaps his reluctance to use Sanskrit in his etymology was due to the suspicion with which that language is viewed in defining terms of Buddhist philosophy and its traditional taboo for scriptural purposes. But the evidence yielded by his etymological exegesis is heavily against his having known, or at least been proficient in it. Cf. Dr. Stede, *Pali Dictionary*, Afterword.

1. *Cey. Antiq. and Lit. Reg.*, vol. I, pt. I p. 2.

2. *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, vol. II, p. 887.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi. Cf. her ed. *Visuddhimagga*, Afterword; and Foreword to Dr. B. C. Law's *Buddhaghosa*.

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHAGHOSA'S SUCCESSORS

The description, quoted from the *Mahā-vaṃsa* in the last chapter, of the life and work of Buddhaghosa might cause us to think that he wrote commentaries on the whole Tipiṭaka; but we know now that this statement is a poetic exaggeration. There is no doubt that Buddhaghosa's ambition was to write a complete recension of Buddhist commentarial literature, but he was unable to achieve his aspirations completely. He was compelled to leave Ceylon before his task could be finished; the reason for his departure we do not know; it may have been failing health; he had laboured ceaselessly for years, engaged in hard, strenuous work, and his spirit, indomitable as it was, had to give way to his weaker body; or it may be that his teacher was dying—Revata, who had shown the young enthusiast the way to a most fruitful life—and Buddhaghosa was summoned to his bedside; or after many years of exile undertaken for a noble cause the motherland may have called to him with a voice that would accept no denial; he was growing old, and he felt it was but right that India should see the fruits of his work before he died; for it was in India's cause that he first went out to Ceylon, that he might make a summary of the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathā* for the use of Indian monks, who were handicapped for want of such help in understanding the Dhamma.

Whatever the reason may have been, Buddhaghosa left Ceylon while some of the commentaries remained yet unedited and untranslated into Pali. But others were forthcoming to complete the task thus left unfinished. Even in his own time Buddhaghosa was but one, the greatest, it is true, but only one, of several who were labouring, fired by the same purpose, enthusiastic in the same cause—that of writing the commentarial literature in Pali. [103]

Buddhaghosa's fame spread far and wide, quite soon after the compilation of his monumental *Visuddhimagga*; in his own lifetime his works were being assiduously studied in more than one country—in mid-India, in Ceylon, in unlettered Thatōn, and lastly in Burma, where, as some believe, he spent the latter part of his life. He established the pre-eminence of Ceylon over all other countries in the genuineness of its traditional heritage of the Buddha's religion, and justified her claim to be the home of the orthodox Theravāda of his day. Scholars were

thus attracted to the island for purposes of study in even larger numbers than heretofore, and their visits, as we shall see later, resulted in the production of works of much value.

But above all stands the service which Buddhaghosa rendered to the development of the Pali language. In place of the archaic, stilted, sometimes halting Sutta speech, almost puritanical in its simplicity, groping about often for want of words to express ideas and conceptions then fresh to the minds of the users of this or that dialect, Buddhaghosa left behind him in his many works a language rich in its vocabulary, flexible in its use, elegant in structure, often intricate in the verbiage of its constructions, and capable of expressing all the ideas that the human mind had then conceived. Sonorous, long-winded sentences took the place of the direct simple composition of the Suttas. The Oriental mind, fascinated by the ornamentation of its structure, soon began to use much more extensively than before the Pali language now grown into adolescence. And we find one author after another beginning his works with the proud boast that he was compiling his works for the benefit of learners in Pali; in Māgadhi, that language “which is the root of all speech, sweet to the taste, pleasant to the ear, and delightful to the heart.”¹

In Ceylon itself, where so far the native writers of the island had contented themselves with composing their books in the language of the land, they now deliberately sought to supersede [104] that language by the cultivation of their new love—Māgadhi or Pali. They were also undoubtedly attracted by the prospect of appealing to a wider public through Pali than was possible through Sinhalese. It seems to have caught their fancy: they were like children fascinated by a new and clever toy, in the manipulation of which they had acquired more than average proficiency. Pali made rapid strides as the cultivated literary language of the wise, and mastery over its form grew with use till it resulted in such limpid, lucid verse as we find in the *Mahā-vaṃsa*.

Material prosperity is the handmaid of literary development, as of all artistic work; and the century that followed Buddhaghosa’s arrival was an era of peace and happiness to the people. The Malabar invasions had ceased, at least for the time being, and the islanders were left free to devote themselves to the pursuits of industry and skill. The annals of this period are replete with accounts of Anurādhapura’s growth—its rich endowments of temples, lands and gardens, maintained at the nation’s cost, of hospitals and playgrounds, of granaries and

1. *Rūpa-siddhi*, Introduction.

storehouses, of aqueducts for carrying water into the city, and numerous other works for the public benefit:

The city had grown in strength and power and splendour. Fa Hsien, who visited the island during this period, has left us a graphic account of what he saw and heard during his visit. He tells us of royal residences, monastic edifices and dagobas, all enclosed within walls of great strength and shut in by massive gates, and of the outer city, set apart for the common people, who carried on the business life of the capital, divided into various quarters, and inhabited by provision dealers and drapers, artisans and goldsmiths, with shops for the sale of every description of goods. The parks were maintained for the growth of innumerable flowers, solely for the decoration of temples and dagobas, and for the ornamentation of the streets of the great city on festal days, when the entire population gave themselves up to rejoicing and merry-making. They presented a brilliant spectacle, one unbroken vista [105] of holiday-makers in their hundreds and thousands, garbed in festive attire, walking along the long, winding highways bestrewn with black and white sand, and flanked by festoons of bright-hued flowers, while the huge forms of gaily caparisoned elephants passed in slow procession to the chief Dagoba with its myriad garlands of the gayest blossoms, resplendent in the tropical sunshine.¹

In the presence of such contentment and prosperity, confined to their island-home, and therefore free from endless frontier wars and from the difficulties and anxieties that trade produces upon society in general, the people found in the cultivation of letters not only a necessity, but also their chief delight. Each succeeding sovereign interested in the people's welfare rendered them most valuable service in this respect, and, whilst their own intellectual development was nearest to their hearts, that of their subjects was not neglected. The monasteries served as schools for the growth of Buddhist culture, and the monks and the nuns acted as the religious instructors.

By this time the art of writing had been fully developed; the difficulty of finding a cheap, easily accessible material, durable enough for writing had been solved by the discovery of the ola-leaf, made of the dry shoots of the talipot palm, and we need therefore not be surprised that a notable array of authors followed in the footsteps of Buddhaghosa, and carried on the work which he had begun and continued in so masterly a manner.

1. *The Travels of Fa Hsien*, Giles, pp. 86 foll.

First among them in chronological order was Buddhadatta. The *Gandha-vamsa* (p. 59) puts him next in order to Buddhaghosa. There is an interesting account given in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*¹ of a meeting between the two scholars. Buddhadatta was already in Ceylon before Buddhaghosa had made up his mind to make a summary of the Sinhalese commentaries; [106] but he had to leave the island without accomplishing the object which had brought him there. And on the very day when Buddhadatta left Ceylon Buddhaghosa is said to have taken ship for Anurādhapura. After three days the two ships passed near each other, according to the legend, through the influence of Sakka; the meeting of the monks was, therefore; a dramatic one. They introduced themselves to each other. Buddhaghosa announced the purpose of his journey. "I am returning from there," said Buddhadatta, "after having written the *Jinālaṅkāra*, and the *Dantadhātu-bodhivaṃsa*, but not the *aṭṭhakathās* and the *ṭīkā*s; if you render the teachings of the Master into Māgadhī from Sinhalese, write out the commentaries of the three Piṭakas." He also gave Buddhaghosa his iron stylus, myrobalan and a stone, and added: "If you have trouble in the eyes or pain in the back, rub this myrobalan on the stone and apply it and your pain will assuredly disappear." Buddhaghosa had evidently already heard of Buddhadatta; for he is said to have praised the *Jinālaṅkāra*—"Your book is very deep and difficult for the unwise to understand." "I came to the island," replied Buddhadatta, "to write out the teaching of the Master from Sinhalese into Māgadhī; but I shall not live much longer. Do you therefore accomplish the task; and, when your commentaries are finished, send them on to me, that I may summarize your labours." Whatever we may think of this description of the meeting of the two teachers in mid-ocean, there is no reason to disbelieve the statement that a meeting did take place.

The facts known about Buddhadatta are very few. At the end of his book, the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, we are told that it was written by Buddhadatta of Urāgapura (*Urāgapurena Buddhadattena racito'yaṃ*), and the same appears at the close of the *Abhidhammāvatāra*. The *Vinaya-vinicchaya* colophon gives us the further information "by the great exegetist of Tambapaṇṇi." (*Tambapaṇṇiyena parama-veyyākaraṇena*). In explaining this the author of the *ṭīkā* tells us that Urāgapura [107] was a city in the south of India and that Buddhadatta was born in the Coḷa kingdom situated in the Kāveri;² but he entered the Order at the Mahā-vihāra at Anurādhapura, and therefore belonged to the

1. Ed. Gray, pp. 49-51.

Mahā-vihāra fraternity.¹ Both the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, however, were written in India, probably after his return there; for the colophons tell us that he wrote in the country of Coḷa, at Bhūta-maṅgala-gāma in the monastery built by Veṅhudāsa, and that the author's royal patron was king Accutavikkama.² It thus appears that he resided for some time in Ceylon, and longer, perhaps, in South India.

His chief works are the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*. The *Vinaya-vinicchaya-ṭīkā* confirms the account given in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* of the meeting of the two scholars and adds that Buddhaghosa kept his promise to send Buddhadatta copies of his commentaries. It also says, further, that Buddhadatta read them and summarized the Abhidhamma commentary in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the Vinaya exposition in the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*.

As its name implies, the *Abhidhammāvatāra* is an introduction to the study of Buddhist philosophy. There is much similarity between it and the *Visuddhimagga*, and this lends colour to the tradition which makes it a concise summary of Buddhaghosa's works. At any rate, we are quite safe in assuming that they drew their materials from the same sources. "It is probably right to conclude," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "that they both were but handing on an analytical formula which had evolved between their own time and that of the final closing of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka."³ They often use the same similes (e.g. the simile of the blind man and the lame helping each other to walk, to define *nāma* and *rūpa*).

In one respect, at least, his exposition of the Abhidhamma [108] is better than that of Buddhaghosa. Thus, whereas Buddhaghosa expounds his psychology in terms of the five-aggregate division, Buddhadatta opens his scheme with the fourfold division of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgha*: mind, mental properties, material quality, and Nibbāna.... His work is, mostly, in metrical Pali, but he stops at times to supply his own prose commentary. Already in his works, in place of the usual numerical and often, to us, arid analyses, we detect traces of an advance in synthesis, e.g. the doctrine of function (*kicca*) and of process (*pavatti*).⁴

2. Aung (JPTS, 1910, p. 123) puts the Coḷa province in Ceylon, east of *Anurādhapura*, but gives no reason for doing so.

1. *Abhidhammāvatāra*, P.T.S. Ed., Intro., pp. xii, foll.

2. Ibid., colophon and *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, colophon.

3. *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 179.

4. Cf. *Buddhist Psychology*, p., 179.

There is no doubt that Buddhadatta's work marked a further advance in many ways in the study of the Abhidhamma. His diction is very often less involved and ambiguous than Buddhaghosa's, his style less discursive and more graphic, his vocabulary is extraordinarily rich, and he obviously profited by the labours of the earlier and yet in many ways the greater commentator. The work has been held in high esteem from ancient times and is extensively used both in Ceylon and in Burma.¹ Two *ṭīkā*s on it exist in Ceylon, the older by Vācissara Mahāsāmi, of the Mahā-vihāra, and the later by Sumaṅgala, pupil of the scholar named Sāriputta.

Buddhadatta's other book on the Abhidhamma, the *Rūpārūpa-vibhāga*, does not, at present, exist in Ceylon.² His well-known work on the Vinaya, the *Vinaya-ṭīkā*, is sometimes (e.g. in the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, IX.30) attributed to an author named Buddhasīha. But the colophon to the book definitely states that Buddhadatta was the author and that he dedicated it to his pupil Buddhasīha.³ It is a moderately large work and a glossary has been published in Sinhalese in quite recent years by a monk of the South of Ceylon, Dhīrānanda by name.⁴ The *Vinaya-ṭīkā* is now usually found, bound together with its [109] supplementary volume, the *Uttara-ṭīkā* (also a commentary on the Vinaya) dedicated (according to the *Gandha-vaṃsa*, p. 40) to another pupil, Saṅkhaṭṭha.⁵ Vācissara wrote a commentary to both works in the thirteenth century; but both *ṭīkā*s and their *ṭīkā*s have been largely superseded by Sāriputta's monumental work, the *Vinaya-saṅgaha*; written in the twelfth century CE (q.v.). An older *ṭīkā* on the *Vinaya-ṭīkā* also exists, by one Revata Thera, who wrote a commentary on the Sinhalese *Khuddha-sikkhā*, and who lived probably towards the end of the eleventh century CE.

A Ceylon tradition⁶ attributes to Buddhadatta the authorship of two other works—the *Madhurattha-vilāsinī*,⁷ and the *Jinālaṅkāra*. The former is a commentary on the *Buddha-vaṃsa*, one of the books of the

1. This and the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* form two of the nine classical summaries of the *Abhidhamma* in Burma (Little Finger Manuals or *Le-han*).

2. It survived in Southeast Asia though. (BPS ed.)

3. So does the *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 40.

4. Galle 1884.

5. Ed. by Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta, for the P.T.S.

6. Although a Ceylon tradition attributes the authorship of these two works to Ven. Buddhadatta, this ascription is only tenable in the case of the *Madhurattha-vilāsinī*. On the authorship of the *Jinālaṅkāra* see p. 110 and the following note. (Somapala Jayawardhana)

7. Sometimes also called *Madhuratthapakāsinī* (De Zoysa, p. 2).

Khuddaka-nikāya, and is a compilation of legends dealing with the lives of Gotama, when he practised the *pāramitā* during the regimes of twenty-four previous Buddhas. The commentary follows very closely the method of Buddhaghosa's works, showing that the author was quite familiar with the great exegetist's writings: Mr. Wickremasinghe, perhaps struck with this similarity in the method of treatment, seems inclined to believe that the author of the *Buddha-vaṃsa* commentary was distinct from the Buddhadatta under discussion.¹ But we saw above that Buddhadatta's expositions resemble Buddhaghosa's in many ways, and I therefore can see no reason for separating the two authors. The *Pūjāvaliya* of the thirteenth century² mentions the *Buddha-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā* as among Buddhadatta's works,³ and the Ceylon tradition is, I find, supported by the Burmese authors as well.⁴ [110]

Even more obscure is the authorship of the *Jinālaṅkāra*.⁵ It is a Pali poem of 250 verses, containing a narrative of the Buddha's life, written in brilliant rhythmical cadences and elegant language, with a large variety of versification. Some of the stanzas show traces of artificiality in construction,⁶ with internal rhymes, alliterations and other such rhetorical devices. Gray attributes its authorship to Buddharakkhita, "who is stated to have been born in Ceylon in the 117th year of the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, i.e. 426 BCE. His birthplace was Rohaṇa, and it appears that he was at the head of a congregation of priests in Coḷikatambaratṭha (afterwards Tambapaṇṇi), the maritime western division of Ceylon... With the inducements to missionary work in Vijaya's domain our author must have joined the Church, and, as an outcome of his devotion to Pali studies, composed the *Jinālaṅkāra*." (p. 7 foll.) He further states that a *ṭīkā* on the work exists written by Buddhadatta, "contemporary of Buddhaghosa, the great commentator," with which the text has been embodied, and "which, as a storehouse of much information in connection with the life and teachings of the Buddha, is held in high appreciation by native scholars." The *Gandha-vaṃsa*, however, attributes the *Jinālaṅkāra* itself to Buddhadatta and its *ṭīkā* to Buddhara-

1. *Catalogue*, p. xii.

2. Colombo Ed., p. 169

3. The *Abhidhammārthasaṅgraha artha-kathā* given in the list, evidently refers to the *Rūpārūpa-vibhāga*. See also *Abhidhammāvatāra* (P.T.S.).

4. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 98, and *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 33.

5. The *Jinālaṅkāra* was composed by Ven. Buddharakkhita of Rohaṇa. The text says that he was born in the seventeen hundredth year after the passing away of the Buddha (not the 117th year!); that is, in 1157 CE. The author of the *ṭīkā* to the *Jinālaṅkāra* is not known. (Somapala Jayawardhana)

6. Gray, *Jinālaṅkāra*, Intro., p. 10.

akkhita (pp. 69 and 72). De Zoysa follows the *Gandha-vaṃsa* with regard to the authorship of the work (p. 7). It is very rare in Ceylon and is not to be found in any of the old Temple Libraries; whatever copies do exist in the island are, in my opinion, importations from Burma. I have not heard whether it is studied to any extent in Ceylon. Nor is it referred to in the passage from the *Pūjāvāliya* mentioned above. The Ceylon tradition regarding Buddhadatta does not seem to make any mention of such a work by him. The language of the book makes the date assigned to it by Gray preposterous. Gray [111] evidently feels so himself; but he tries to explain it away. "It contains," he says, "stanzas in the style of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha." But nothing could destroy his faith in the author's existence four centuries before Christ. "If he (the author) is to be looked upon as an imitator of Sanskrit writers, the authors of *Raghu-vaṃsa* and *Kirātārjunīya* must have flourished, not after the commencement of the Christian era, but at least four centuries before. Several parallels may be noticed between the artificial stanzas in their works and those occurring in the *Jinālaṅkāra*." (pp. 10 and 11.)

Some of the varieties of versification found here are not met with in Pali books till a quite late period, when the study of Sanskrit had come to influence Pali to a large extent. Nor is there any justification, except the postscript which Gray found attached to the copy of his *ṭīkā*,¹ for believing that Buddhadatta wrote the *ṭīkā*s. Be that as it may, it is quite certain, if the evidence of language and construction be of any value in determining the date of an author, that [112] the *Jinālaṅkāra*, as we have it now, was a work not earlier than the sixth or seventh century CE. We do not know who wrote it, nor who was the author of its *ṭīkā*. It is quite possible that there was a much earlier work by the same name; the life of the Buddha was a favourite subject for verse (e.g., the *Buddha-vaṃsa* itself); but such a work, if it existed, is now irretrievably lost, and only a traditional reference to it remains. I am inclined to believe that the confusion between Buddhadatta (if that was his name), who wrote the commentary on the *Jinālaṅkāra*, and Buddhaghosa, the contemporary of Buddhaghosa, was due to the fact that the latter, too, had written a commentary on the life of the Buddha; namely the *Madhuratthavilāsini* on the *Buddha-vaṃsa*.² The author of the *Jinālaṅkāra*-

1. Mandalay MS.

2. I am strengthened in this opinion by another fact mentioned by Gray, viz., that the *Jinālaṅkāra* is regarded in Burma as an *atthakatha*, a commentary. Introd., p. 10.

ṭīkā was comparatively [112] unknown, and his work was grafted on to the more famous scholar. Such instances are not unknown in the history of literature.¹

To this period also undoubtedly belongs Dhammapāla, author of a large number of commentaries. It has sometimes been suggested that, as the name is a very common one among Buddhists, ancient and modern, there has possibly been confusion of several authors of the same name by writers on Buddhist ecclesiastical history. In the *Gandha-vaṃsa* four scholars of the name of Dhammapāla are enumerated in a chapter entitled "On the native places of the scholars" (pp. 66 seq.). Two of them are mentioned in a series of ten scholars, all natives of India. The first is distinguished by the name of *Ācariya* (the teacher), and is said to have written fourteen books (p. 69). His name follows that of Buddhadatta and that of Ānanda, the author of a *ṭīkā* on Buddhaghosa's Abhidhamma commentaries. The second is called Culla-Dhammapāla (Dhammapāla the Lesser) to distinguish him from his greater namesake; he was the senior pupil of Ānanda, and is the author of *Sacca-saṅkhepa*. A third is mentioned between Saṅgharakkhita, author of the *Vuttodaya*,² and Anuruddha (author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*), and therefore belongs to about the twelfth century. A fourth Dhammapāla belongs to a group of scholars who are said to have written at Arimaddana in Burma (Gv p. 67, and Mrs. Bode's Introd., p. 3). It is the first with whom we are concerned here, distinguished as the *Ācariya* Dhammapāla. The others will be dealt with, each in his proper place. The *Sāsana-vaṃsa* (p. 33) records that he dwelt at Badaratittha³ in the [113] Damila kingdom near Ceylon. He was, therefore, very probably Tamil by birth, and wrote in South India. Badaratittha is on the south-east coast of India, just a little to the south of Madras. His works show that he was a native of Kāñcīpura. We cannot be sure as to the time in which he flourished, but it is generally agreed that he was slightly posterior to Buddhaghosa. Neither scholar makes any reference to the other by name⁴ or by their works; but considering that Buddhaghosa's works cover the chief portions of the Buddhist scriptures,

1. E.g. the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. It is interesting that in the list of works of Buddhadatta given in Gv p. 59, no mention is made of the *Jinālaṅkāra*; on p. 72 occurs the name Buddhadatta, author of a *ṭīkā* to the *Jinālaṅkāra*, also, apparently, called the *Jinālaṅkāra*. I suggest that the confusion in authorship is due to the identity of the two names, and that, what we have now is a text extracted from the *ṭīkā*.

2. Gv pp. 61, and 70, and Sās p. 34.

3. Sometimes spelled *Padaratittha*, e.g., in the *Sāsana-vaṃsa*.

the Four Nikāyas, the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and the Vinaya Piṭaka, it is most probable that Dhammapāla came later. Else he, by no means of lesser intellect, would surely have attempted the exposition of the more important works of the Canon, e.g. the Four Nikāyas. The Khuddakanikāya, which formed the special subject of Dhammapāla's study, was admittedly of minor importance compared with the rest of the Sutta Piṭaka. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that he is credited with having written a *ṭīkā* (called the *Paramattha-mañjūsā*) on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*.¹ He also wrote the *ṭīkā*s on Ācariya Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Dīgha-nikāya, Majjhima-nikāya, and Saṃyutta-nikāya.

That he studied at the Mahā-vihāra in Ceylon, whether he wrote his books there or not, is undoubted, because he states in his works (e.g. the Introduction to the commentaries on the *Petavatthu*) that he follows the traditional interpretation of texts as handed down in the Mahā-vihāra, and we know from Buddhaghosa's mission to Ceylon that the Theravāda commentaries, then studied by the Mahā-vihāra fraternity in Ceylon, were not available in India. It is quite likely that he had the advantage of studying the Tamil commentaries (of which we know that at least two existed) as well. In a [114] translation of a book of travels by the Chinese traveller Hiuan-Tsang,² some interesting details are given of Dhammapāla's life. Hiuan-Tsang visited Kāñcīpura, the capital of the Tamil country, in CE 640. The monks then told him that the famous Dhammapāla was born there. "He was a boy of good natural parts, which received great development as he grew up, and when he came of age a daughter of the king was assigned to him as wife. But on the night before the ceremony of marriage was to be performed, being greatly distressed in mind, he prayed before an image of the Buddha. In answer to his prayer a god bore him away to a mountain monastery, some hundreds of *li* from the capital. When the brethren there heard his story, they complied with his request and gave him ordination."

There is good reason to believe that this, very probably, refers to our author.³ The *Gandha-vamsa* (p. 60) gives a list of the works ascribed to Dhammapāla. Seven out of his fourteen commentaries are on the prin-

4. But there are traces in Dhammapāla's works, of several borrowings, evidently from Buddhaghosa—especially the *Atthasālinī* and the *Dhp-a*; see Hardy's Introduction to the *Netti*, xv–xvii.

1. Aung, JPTS, 1910, p. 121. This *ṭīkā* is not much used in Ceylon; but seems to be extensively used in Burma.

2. Ed. by Rhys Davids and Watters, London, 1905, vol. ii, p. 226 sq.

3. See also Hastings' *Encyclopaedia*, vol. v, p. 701.

cipal books of poetry preserved in the canon (Thera- and Therī-gāthā, Udāna, Vimāna-vatthu, and Petavatthu, Itivuttaka and Cariyā-piṭaka). His other works are a commentary on the *Netti* (with a *ṭīkā* on the same), the *Paramattha-mañjūsā*, referred to above (a commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*) and the *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* (also called the *Līnatthapakāsini ṭīkā*) on Buddhaghosa's commentaries to the first three Nikāyas, and another by the same name on *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.¹ The *Gandha-vaṃsa* also mentions a *ṭīkā* on the *Buddha-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā* and an *anuṭīkā* (new sub-commentary) on the *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā* (p. 60). These last two works are very rare; in fact, I do not know of any copy existing in Sinhalese [115] characters; and I am inclined to believe that they are the result of the labours of a later author, probably an Indian or a Burmese Dhammapāla.

Dhammapāla's works show great learning, much exegetical skill, and a good deal of sound judgment. There are many resemblances between him and Buddhaghosa. "It would seem," says Rhys Davids,² "that Dhammapāla was educated in the same university as Buddhaghosa ... the two writers hold very similar views. They refer to the same authorities; they have the same method of exegesis; they have reached the same style in philological and etymological science and they both have the same lack of any knowledge of the simple rules of higher criticism." Yet Dhammapāla shows much individuality in the treatment of his subject. He confines himself rigidly either to questions of meanings of words or discussions of ethical import in his texts; he is, however, not so ethically insistent as Buddhaghosa; his style is simpler, less garrulous, less diffuse, and shows more of the grammarian and the academician than of the exegetical compiler and fanciful etymologist. His explanation of terms is quite clear, and shows an advance over Buddhaghosa; though he was evidently well-read and quite well-informed, Buddhaghosa's knowledge was more widely diffused and more encyclopaedic; and the information we derive from his works with regard to the social; religious, philosophical, and moral ideas of his time, though considerable, is far less than that afforded by Buddhaghosa's writings. "Dhammapāla's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work, but, not seldom, they run on all

1. Gv 60 and 69. The commentaries on Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimāna and *Peta-vatthu*, and Cariyā-piṭaka are collectively called *Paramatthadīpanī*, or sometimes, as in Burma, *Vimāla-vilasīnī* (De Zoysa., p. 2, and Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 96).

2. Hastings' *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics*, vol. IV, pp. 701 foll.

fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, but also with the prose and framework of poems in the Suttanipāta or the Saṃyutta-nikāya, not to mention the Jātaka."¹ Often his explanations of episodes and their characters are, it is true, but legends woven out of legends, yet they represent the most ancient [116] orthodox tradition, and help us immensely in understanding the more archaic idiom of the original Pali Dhammapāla's work was, as he states in the colophon to several of his books, compilations from already existing commentaries, and, shows the importance attached at this period, in the history of orthodox Buddhism, to the work of, re-writing in Pali the traditional interpretations so far handed down in local dialects, namely Sinhalese or Tamil.

In his commentaries, especially to the poetic work of the Canon, Dhammapāla follows a regular scheme. First² comes an introduction to the whole collection of poems, giving the traditional account of how they came to be thus put together as one whole, then each poem is taken separately and the words explained philologically and exegetically. And this presentation of verses in a groundwork of prose-narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Much of Dhammapāla's work is but a recast, a re-compilation in scholastic Pali, of the older Sinhalese or Tamil commentarial literature. Thus we need not be surprised if the narratives contain much hagiographical myth; the exegesis is coloured by later developments of doctrine, and twisted by professional exigencies of edification. Yet, as Mrs. Rhys Davids tells us, these, commentaries "have a venerableness of their own, bridging over the seas of time between Asoka and the days of the greater scholastics to a greater extent than at first appears."³ They contain the old "talks on meaning," as they came down to him unbroken, if varied in diction, from the earlier age of his faith, and are, to that extent at least, of immense value. Such defects as he had were but the shortcomings of his age, when higher criticism, as we now know it, was yet unborn, and when faith took the place of historical and scientific investigation.

Mr. Wickremasinghe⁴ includes in this period also Upasena, [117] author of a commentary on the *Mahā-niddesa* (which is itself a commentary) called *Saddhammappajotikā*. Nothing further is known about

1. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, Introd., p. xxv.

2. *E.g. Petavatthu* commentary.

3. *Psalms of the Brethren*, Introd., p. xxv.

4. *Catalogue*, p. xii.

him. The *Gandha-vam̐sa* (pp. 66–7) includes him in the list of Ceylon authors, and the *Sāsana-vam̐sa* (p. 33) merely states that he was the author of this volume.

His name does not occur in the list of writers who succeeded Buddhaghosa, given in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*.¹ A colophon to the *Saddhammappajjotikā* states that it was written by “Mahā Thera Upasena, like unto a banner in Tambapaṇṇi,” and that he followed the tradition of the Mahā-vihāra.² It is a fairly long work, but distinctly inferior to the achievements of Dhammapāla or Buddhaghosa. The author was merely retranslating into Pali what he found in the Ceylon commentaries and makes no attempt at originality.

Another work of much importance, which was composed during the period under consideration, is the *Jātaḥkaṭṭhakathā* (the commentary on the *Jātakas*). The *Jātakas* belong to the *Ākhyāna* type of Indian literature,³ out of which the later epic poems evolved. Their chief characteristic was that the entire story was not yet rigidly established in form, but only certain parts were metrically fixed and thereby secured from further departure from the tradition. Such parts were, especially, passages of direct narrative. They were bound together by a framework of prose, where the details of the situation were described, and the names of the characters of the story were told; the secular prose, which held the sacred verses intact, forming with them “a picture, as it were, of wooded slopes of verdant growth, clothing the hills that tower relatively unchanging, above them.”⁴

The telling of legends of virtuous monarchs, valorous men and holy hermits was a very early custom in India. It was supposed to remove evil, and in the *Aitareya-Brah̐maṇa* [118] we are told that “if those who are longing to have a son born to them will have the legend of Śunaḥśepa related to them, their wishes would be gratified.”⁵ And the tendency to relate a story in order to inculcate a moral has always been a characteristic trait of the Indian temperament. Tradition tells us, therefore, that, as occasion arose, the Buddha was accustomed

1. p. 23, Colombo Ed.

2. The author also tells us that he completed it in the 26th year of the reign of King Sirinivāsa Sirisaṅghabodhi, who has been identified as King Mahānāma (407–429). As the rulers who succeeded Mahānāma were usurpers, the author appears to have ignored them and stated the date reckoning from the coronation of the last lawful king. (Somapala Jayawardhana)

3. Oldenberg, JPTS, 1910, pp. 19 foll.

4. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Brethren*, p. xxv.

5. Winternitz, *Calcutta Review*, Nov., 1923, p. 130.

throughout his long career of teacher, to explain and comment on events around him by relating similar things that had occurred to him in his own previous births; the experience of many lives was always present to him, and he used this “to point a moral and adorn a tale.” The stories so told were treasured by his disciples and later gathered together to form the *Jātaka* book, on which a commentary had been handed down, first in India and then in Ceylon.

Whether we believe these details or not, it is recorded that the *Jātakas* or birth-stories were recognized by the Master himself for purposes of teaching. Several of them occur in the canonical books (e.g. the *Tittira-jātaka* in *Cullavagga*, VI, 6, 3–5, *Mahāśudassana-jātaka* in *Dīgha-nikāya*, D II 1). The *Cariyā-piṭaka* is in reality a *Jātaka* book giving in verse accounts of previous births which the Bodhisatta had to pass through in order to acquire the ten perfections necessary for the attainment of the Enlightenment. So was the *Apadāna*, another of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* volumes; containing metrical episodes in the lives of recluses, resembling very closely the introductory tales of the *Jātaka* commentary. So too was the *Buddha-vaṃsa* (the history of the Buddhas), giving an account of the life of Gotama, when, as Bodhisatta, he had to receive *vivarāṇa* (the declaration) at the hands of the twenty-four previous Buddhas.

By the third century BCE most of the *Jātakas* were well known, as we can be sure from the numerous representations of the stories on the bas-reliefs at Sāñchī and Amarāvātī, and especially at Bhārhut, which show that at that time the *Jātakas* were widely known and were considered part of the [119] sacred history of the religion. From India they came over to Ceylon, and there took firm hold of the imagination of the people. When Fa Hsien visited Ceylon in the fifth century,¹ he witnessed the annual procession of the Tooth Relic being carried from Anurādhapura to Mihintale, and he describes how on both sides of the road were hung pictures of the 500 different births of the Buddha, painted in different colours, and “executed with such care as to make them appear living.”

Even today, among the Sinhalese, the relating of the *Jātaka* stories is a very common practice. In the Sinhalese homes, it is true the fireside with which those of harsher climes associate story-telling, is absent, but it finds its representative in the little veranda or on the roadside; and

1. Fa Hsien, Giles' *Travel*, p. 71. Mhv LXXIII.72 states that Parākramabāhu the Great erected at Polonnaruva a circular house, in which he might listen to the recitation of the *Jātakas*.

often, when the family have retired to rest for the night in the single room or veranda which generally forms the house of the Sinhalese peasant, one member, frequently the grandfather, relates stories from the *Jātaka* book till the dull god of sleep has drawn away his audience. In the night, as the villagers sit guarding the ripening grain of the paddy-fields from the inroads of the elephant or the wild boar, these stories serve to pass pleasantly what, otherwise, would be a weary vigil, and on numerous occasions story-telling plays an important part.¹

We cannot say how the *Jātakas* were originally handed down. No one who reads them can fail to recognize that the verses constitute the essential element in the form adopted by the compilers of these stories; but they are not verses which are given as quotations, extracted from some treasures of old lore—they are seen to have their home in the [120] narrative itself, they have their value because the characters in the story and the Bodhisatta are made to say them. But was the prose narrative, too, handed down or was it left to the judgment and the discretion of those who related the story? We cannot say, but certainly the essential points of the story, as well as the verses, were handed down, for most often the latter contain no indication of the persons who figure in the narrative.

The *Jātakas*, as we have them now, consist of 551 stories, in twenty-two *nipātas* or groups, roughly divided according to the number of verses in each story. Each story opens with a quotation of part of a verse, followed by a preface (called *paccuppanna-vatthu*, or story of the present), giving the particular circumstances in which the story was related by the Buddha, and this leads the Buddha to recall some past event (*atīta-vatthu*) in the long series of his previous lives as Bodhisatta. It ends always in a short summary where the Buddha identifies the different characters in the story showing the parallelism which runs between the two stories, and which constitutes their connection (*anusandhi*). Every story is illustrated by one or more *gāthas*,² uttered usually by the Bodhisatta or sometimes by the Buddha himself, in which case they are called *Abhisambuddha-gāthā* (stanzas after enlightenment). This is followed by a series of short comments on the words of the stanzas.

1. Most of the existing books of poems in Sinhala are verse translations of *Jātaka* stories; e.g. *Sasadā-vata*, *Guttīla-kāvya*, *Kusa jātaka*, *Kāvya-sekhara*, and, perhaps the most popular, the *Vessantara-jātaka*.

2. "In the midst of the unmeasured indefiniteness of the prose diction appear formations of another kind, welded, rounded off, and gathering into themselves the essence of the whole." Oldenberg, loc. cit.

The whole collection is prefaced by a long introductory essay called the *Nidāna-kathā* (History of the Lineage), giving the Buddha's history before his birth as Siddhattha, and also during his last birth before he became the Awakened One.¹

Even the most orthodox Buddhist will admit that the [121] present collection contains some fables, fairy-tales, "Joe Millers," and records of everyday experienced, such as are in no way peculiar to Buddhism, but are the common property of the world, floating down the ages.² But not even the most critical scholar will deny that some of the stanzas and all the central stories are genuinely Buddhist, and that some of the narratives of the *Paccuppanna-vatthu* contain genuine fragments of the life of the Buddha, and that another considerable portion, if not distinctly Buddhist, is Indian and local, and has its origin and application within a limited range. The stories inculcate pointed, allegorical lessons of morality, most of them specific points of Buddhist teaching, and are fables only in the most general sense of the term; they are full of feeling and genuine admiration for high standards of self-sacrifice, perseverance, justice, and correct valuation of pleasure and sagacity. Some have called them "artistic sermons" "ready to hand, and to be preached to mixed audiences.

Professor Kunte, in a very interesting paper read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,³ described how such an artistic sermon is made to work. "A part of a *gāthā* is first recited. Faith in the Buddha is thus awakened, and a good basis for the chant of the *gāthā* in full is thus prepared. Then, in explaining the *gāthā* the preacher shows his power of erudition. The ordinary audience listens on, half-puzzled and half-struck by what the mind considers to be profound and mysterious and, moved by the incomprehensible, it works up into the marvellous and obtains from this a passive intellectual enjoyment. The preacher proceeds with an energy of his own. The strain on the mental power of the audience is now at its height, when abstruse comments upon the *gāthā* are abstrusely but eloquently explained. This is succeeded by the narration of the simple, but popular, *atīta-vatthu*. There is thus a sudden transition [122] from the mysterious to the simple, from the more religious to the popular element. Such a transition produces a

1. For a fuller and more detailed account of the nature of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* see Rhys Davids' excellent introduction to his *Buddhist Birth Stories*, now re-edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids in Broadway Translation Series, London, 1924.

2. E.g. "The Talkative Tortoise" (Fausböll, J 215), and "The Ass in the Lion's Skin" (Fausböll, J 189).

3. C.B.R.A.S. *Journal*, vol. VIII, pp. 193 foll.

contrast, and the parallelism which runs between the two stories and which constitutes the *anusandhi* is thus combined with a contrast. And parallelism and contrast are the foundation upon which all aesthetic pleasure, whether intellectual or emotional, is built. The transition from the comments on a *gāthā* affords relief to the minds of the audience.” And further on he gives the reasons for such procedure. “An audience cannot be trifled with—pleasure it must have. The number of lay ladies and gentlemen attending a convent gave it importance.”

Quite interesting and ingenious, but, I am afraid, rather fanciful.

It is quite uncertain as to when the *Jātakas* were put together into a systematic form. They were probably first handed down orally and disjointedly, but their growing popularity necessitated a more permanent form, at least of the kernel. Rhys Davids has shown quite conclusively that the *Jātaka* book existed at a very early date as a separate compilation,¹ and we have the evidence of the Ceylon tradition of the history of Buddhism that a collection called the *Jātakas* existed at the time of the Council of Vesāli, for that formed one of the portions of the Tipiṭaka rejected or altered by the dissentient Vesalian monks.² The Ceylon tradition is that the original *Jātaka* book consisted of *gāthās* alone, and a commentary on these, containing the stories with which they were connected, was written in very early times in Sinhalese. This was translated in the fifth century by Buddhaghosa and the Sinhalese original was afterwards lost. The verses are undoubtedly very much older than the prose narrative, as it has come down to us. Their language is distinctly archaic, and they contain archaic forms and forced constructions, and the corrupt state in which some of the verses are found, [123] as compared with the regularity and simplicity of the prose parts, shows that the verse was much older. Rhys Davids thinks³ that the vast majority of the stories were earlier still, that in most cases the verses were added after the stories became current, that the stories—about one-tenth of the collection—without the verses at all (the verses being found only at the conclusion) are probably the oldest, and that they were handed down in Ceylon in Sinhalese while the verses remained intact in Pali, as they were received. It is probable, however, that the verses form the older kernel of the work, and that in its original form the *Jātaka* book, like the *Cariyā-piṭaka*, consisted only of verses. But the verses are, most of them, quite unintelligible without the story.

1. Op. cit., Introd., pp. Iv foll.

2. *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, vv. 35 and foll.

3. Op. cit., p. lxxvii.

Who was the author of the present *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*? Most Western scholars deny that it was the work of the great commentator, Buddhaghosa,¹ as do also the most advanced of scholars in Ceylon.² More direct evidence is necessary before we can come to any definite conclusion. It is very probable that the book is the work of one author; in the *paccuppanna-vatthu* references are made backwards and forwards, the comments on later *gāthās* are abbreviated, and directions about such abbreviations are given, and the same system is followed of fitting in all the elements of the story and its commentary—part of *gāthā*, *paccuppanna-vatthu*, *gāthā* in full, comment, *atīta-vatthu*, and conclusion. And the Pali work is not necessarily to be considered as a translation of a Sinhalese commentary; for the author refers several times to a previous *Jātaka* commentary, which, probably, was a Sinhalese work, and in one case (i.e. in discussing the age of Rāhula at the time of Siddhattha's renunciation) mentions what it says only to overrule it.⁴ There is no reason to suppose [124] that it belonged to the three Sinhalese commentaries which Buddhaghosa translated; it may equally have belonged to the Dhammaruci fraternity of Abhayagiri. A very old glossary to the Pali commentary, of unknown date, exists in Sinhalese, certainly older than the Sinhalese translation made in the thirteenth century, and there the work is assigned to the great exegetist.

In the *Sutta-nipāta aṭṭhakathā*, which is admittedly Buddhaghosa's, the reader is referred to the *Nidāna-kathā* of the *Jātaka* commentary,³ but Buddhaghosa does not say he wrote it. On the other hand, in the commentaries attributed to Buddhaghosa, there appears at the end an eulogy of himself (*parama-visuddha-saddhā-buddhi-viriya-guṇa-patimaṇḍitena... Buddhaghoso'ti guru gahita-nāmadheyyena katā*). No such mention is made in the *Jātaka* commentary; Buddhaghosa gives a separate name to each of his commentaries—*Samanta-pāsādikā*, *Kaṅkhā-vitarāṇī*, *Sumaṅgala*, etc.—but no such name is given to the *Jātaka*, though it is larger than the above-mentioned. The usual aspirations of Buddhaghosa, expressed at the end of his works (“may all beings enjoy the taste of the Dhamma of the Omniscient One, may the good Dhamma last long”), have in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* given place to a personal ambition: “May I be born in Tusita heaven, and, when Metteyya comes, may I receive nomination to become a Buddha, and after having perfected the *pāramitās* may I become Buddha.” The adoration

1. Childers assigned it to Buddhaghosa (*Dictionary*, Preface, p. ix, note).

2. e.g. H. Sumaṅgala, the greatest scholar in Ceylon in the last century.

3. Colombo Ed. (Mahabodhi Press), p. 2.

of Buddhaghosa of the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha, and of his scholarly predecessors, etc., given at the beginning of the commentaries which are undoubtedly his, are charming in their style and captivating in their sentiment. The same cannot be said of the verses at the outset of the *Jātaka* commentary, which begin:

“*Jāti-koṭi-sahasseehi pamāṇa-rahitaṃ hitaṃ
Lokassa loka-nāthena kataṃ yena mahesinā.*” [125]

In the introduction to Buddhaghosa's commentaries he gives the names of those at whose special request each work was compiled, and in all the other books they are Theras of the Mahā-vihāra, distinctly stated as such. Three Theras, however—Atthadassi, Buddhamitta, and Buddhadeva—are mentioned in the *Jātaka* commentary, and in introducing one of them it is said that he belonged to the Mahiṃsāsaka sect (*Mahiṃsāsaka-vaṃsamhi sambhūtena nayaññūnā*), which is one of the unorthodox sects, then separated from the Theravāda.¹ Nothing is said about the others, but we may presume that they belonged to the same school. It is true, nevertheless, that he states his intention of compiling the commentary in conformity with the exposition current among the Mahā-vihāra fraternity. As Rhys Davids points out,² it is noteworthy that there is not the slightest allusion, either to Buddhaghosa's conversion, or to his journey from India, or to the high hopes he entertained; there is no mention of Revata, his teacher in India, or Saṅghapāla, his teacher in Ceylon; this silence seems “almost as convincing as such negative evidence can possibly be.” After reading a great deal of Buddhaghosa's works one feels that the language of the *Jātaka* commentary and its method of treatment are not characteristically Buddhaghosa's—it is a mere matter of subconscious inference, but it is there all the same.

So much, then, for what might be said both in favour of and against assigning the work to Buddhaghosa. If not by Buddhaghosa, the work must have been composed after his time, and soon after: otherwise his name would not be connected with it. It is significant that the whole of the *Avidūre-nidāna* up to the conversion of the Sākyas agrees, almost word for word, with the account given in the *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, Buddhadatta's commentary on the *Buddha-vaṃsa*. Could they have

1. Cf. Mhv V.6 foll.

2. Opp. cit., p. xv.

been the work of the same hand? Or were they drawn from one common source? [126]

We cannot conclusively say: In the list of Buddhaghosa's works given in the *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 59) the *Jātaka* commentary is included. On the other hand, a treatise called the *Jātattagī-nidāna* is attributed to a Culla-Buddhaghosācariya (p. 63),¹ a native of Laṅkā (p. 67). Could he have been the author of our work? Nothing more is known about him except the very meagre details given in the *Gandha-vaṃsa*. If Culla Buddhaghosa was responsible for the present *Jātaka* commentary, he must have lived very soon after the older and greater Buddhaghosa. For it is clear from the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, as Rhys Davids points out,² that before Buddhaghosa's arrival no Sinhalese commentaries had been turned into Pali, and it is certain that his good example was quickly and most enthusiastically followed by others, and it was impossible that so important a work as the *Jātakas* could have been for long left untranslated. Once this proximity of time between the two authors is assumed, it is easy to understand how the lesser author's individuality got merged in that of his greater and more glorified namesake.

We may, however, I think, be quite certain that the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, as we have it now, is the work of a Ceylonese author. There is no doubt that after the *Jātakas* had been brought to Ceylon certain tales were added to them there. In two of the *Jātakas* (*Haṭṭhipāla-jātaka*, Fausböll J 509, and *Mūgapakkha-jātaka*, J 538) occur the names of six Ceylon Theras (Mahā-vaṃsaka Tissa, Phussadeva of the Mountain-Side Gloom, Uparimaṇḍalaka Malayavāsī, Mahā Saṅgharakkhita, Bhagarīvāsī Mahātissa, Mahāsiva of Vāmanta Hill, and Mahā-Malayadeva of Kālavela), famous for their learning and held in high esteem by the monks of the *Theravāda-paramparā*.³ As already mentioned, a very old glossary to the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* exists in Sinhalese, written perhaps about [127] the thirteenth century, and attributed to an author named Rājamarāri, of whom nothing further is known.⁴

The existing Sinhalese version, called the *Pansiyapanas Jātaka*, is a translation of the Pali work made in the reign of King Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu IV (circa CE 1305), according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,⁵ by

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1. The *Gandha-vaṃsa* (Be) attributes the *Sotatthaki-/Sotattha-kiṃ-mahā-nidāna* to Culla Buddhaghosa, not the *Jātattakī-nidāna*. (BPS ed.)
 2. Op. cit., Introd., pp. lxv-lxvi.
 3. For their description see Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1901, pp. 890 foll.
 4. It was published (badly edited, unfortunately) in the JRAS (Ceylon Branch), vol. VII, pp. 184 foll.
 5. Mhv XC.80-6.

the king himself, who had learnt them from a Coḷian monk, but more probably by several compilers at the instigation of the king, and, as the Sinhalese Introduction tells us, at the personal request of the minister Parākrama. Though a faithful translation, it is not servile, and in several instances has avoided the defects of the Pali commentary. Some of the stories are told in indifferent Sinhalese, and many provincialisms are to be detected; a few Tamil expressions and words are also to be found, as was to be expected. After the translation was completed the king had it read before a learned assembly of monks and distributed copies all over the island. The charge of its preservation was entrusted to a learned Thera, named Medhaṅkara and the pupils who became his successors.¹

What were the monks of the Abhayagiri fraternity and their confederates doing during this period under review? It is impossible to believe they were idle, for ceaseless activity in the propagation of their views had been their characteristic ever since they gained a foothold in Ceylon. The wave of great literary activity which swept over the island could not have left them unaffected. The Chronicles do not record any attempts on the part of the orthodox Theravādins to persecute them or suppress their activities; the glory of the Mahā-vihāra had blossomed in all its brilliance; its fame had spread far [128] and wide; scholars came to it from many climes in pursuit of wisdom, in their search for the true unadulterated doctrine of the Buddha. In the hour of their triumph we may presume they were content to leave the Dhammarucikas free to go on their way. We saw that both Mahānāma and his queen were lavish in their gifts to the Abhayagiri community, and we may be sure that, thus endowed with material prosperity, they and their followers produced works of merit. In discussing the authorship of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* it was suggested that the work was a compilation of the Abhayagiri school.

Unfortunately for us, such a state of tolerance of heterodoxy did not last long, and in the holocaust of book-burning, which followed a few centuries later, and through the gradual, absorption of the dissentient *Nikāyas* into the State Church, their works were either completely destroyed or gradually fell out of use. There is, however, one incident on record which shows that they were not unmindful of the importance of literary development in the progress of religion. In the account of Fa-

1. For a fuller and more detailed description of the work, see Mr. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, pp. 118 foll. Other independent versions of single Jātakas, in prose as well as in poetry, made both before and after this work, and based probably on the Pali text, are to be found scattered throughout the island.

Hsien's travels we are told that he lived in Ceylon for two years, and continuing his search for the sacred Scripture, "he obtained a copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka according to the school of the Mahīsāsakas. He also obtained a copy of the Great Āgama (*Dīrghāgama*), the Miscellaneous Āgama (*Samyuktāgama*), and also a collection of the Miscellaneous Piṭaka (*Sannipāta* [*Sutta-nipāta* ?])—all being books unknown in the land of Han. Having obtained these Sanskrit works, he took passage in a large Merchantman."¹ From the names of the books we are led to conjecture that they did not belong to the Theravāda school. The late Hugh Nevill, in his catalogue of his manuscript collections now in the British Museum (No. 115), suggests that the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*, still extant in Burma, which, in his opinion, formed the basis [129] for the Pali *Rasavāhini* (q.v.), by Vedeha, in the fourteenth century, was also a work of the Dhammaruci sect. As far as I can see, there is nothing in that work itself to justify our assigning it to the Abhayagiri Nikāya, but a more careful perusal than I have been able to give it might bring forward more definite evidence. The *Mahāvamsa-tīkā* refers to it as an *aṭṭhakathā*.² [130]

1. Legge, *Travels*, p. 111. See also Beal, *Records of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 247 foll., for a description of the Abhayagiri sect in the seventh century.

2. Geiger, *Mahā-vamsa* and *Dīpa-vamsa*, p. 48.

CHAPTER VII

THE PALI CHRONICLES

While Buddhaghosa and his fellow-labourers were exploring the field of commentarial literature, and compiling the result of their researches so that the word of the Buddha might be known in what they held to be its pristine purity, not only by the people of Ceylon—who were specially favoured by the presence in their midst of a genuinely orthodox and traditional interpretation of the Dhamma, handed down in their own vernacular—but also by the many millions in other countries, another type of literary effort was slowly evolving in the shape of Pali chronicles, recording the history of Laṅkā, and, what was much more important to the chroniclers themselves, the vicissitudes and the triumphs of the Buddhist faith. Many centuries later, after the labours of these historians had been almost forgotten and had sunk very largely into oblivion, a great stir was caused among students of historical research, when about the year 1826 the discovery was made and communicated to Europe that, whilst the history of India was only to be conjectured from myths and elaborated from dates on copper grants, or from fading inscriptions on rocks or columns, Ceylon was in possession of continuous and written chronicles, rich in authentic facts, not only presenting a connected history of the island itself, but also yielding valuable materials for elucidating that of India. At the moment when Prinsep was deciphering the then mysterious inscriptions of Hindustan and Western India, and when Csoma de Körös was unrolling the Buddhist records of Tibet, and Hodgson those of Nepal, a fellow-labourer of kindred genius, indefatigable in his energy and distinguished equally by his abilities and by his modest display of the same, was successfully exploring these Pali chronicles of Ceylon. He was George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service, and the annals [131] of historical research in later years bear ample testimony to the remarkable evidence his work furnished in elucidating the earlier history of Southern Asia. Since Turnour's day many scholars of repute, both in the East and in the West, have devoted their time and energies to the task of learning more about these chronicles, testing the accuracy of their statements and trying to unravel with their aid something of the earlier history of the

Indian Peninsula. What is attempted here is merely to give a brief outline of the researches of such scholars.¹

The two chief chronicles of Ceylon are the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* and the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, the former by an unknown author in the fourth century, and the latter by an Elder of the Buddhist Church, Mahānāma by name, and written in the fifth century CE. We saw, in the second chapter of this treatise, that members of the Saṅgha had been, from the earliest times, in the habit of recording noteworthy events in the Order, and attempting to keep a continuous history of their activities. Such, for example, are the records of the last two chapters of the Cullavagga. When Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon and a branch of the Saṅgha established in the island, the Ceylonese Bhikkhus followed the example of their predecessors in Jambudīpa and handed down, in succession in the Church, historical accounts of the Order. The zeal for keeping such records of their doings does not seem to have been confined to the Order alone; from time to time archaeologists have discovered, amongst the cherished possessions of distinguished families of the Sinhalese gentry, authentic accounts of their doings handed down from father to son, faithfully preserved and brought up to date by each succeeding generation. Thus, in a copy of the *Rājāvalī-saṅgraha* (which is an abridged *Rājāvaliya*) written down to the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha, and now forming part of the library of the late Hugh Nevill, [132] there is attached to the end of the book a separate account of the family of one Yaṭihelagala Polvatte Vidāne, in whose possession the copy was found. The Vidāne's family holds descent from the Bodhidhara princes who accompanied the branch of the Sacred Bo-tree to Ceylon, and settled down there. The present account is composed in much later language, but it is clearly based on older records and contains accounts of the doings of the family from quite early times.² It is useful as showing the nature of personal records kept by the Sinhalese, from which the various histories were afterwards compiled, suppressing matter of private interest alone.

1. For fuller details and critical discussion see, especially, Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa: Mahā-vaṃsa* (P.T.S.); Oldenberg, *Dīpa-vaṃsa*; JRAS passim and *Indian Antiquary* passim.

2. It concludes with an interesting section on a dispute in 1852, when a relation of the Vidāne (headman of the village), one Angoda Saṅghananda Sāmaṇera, ordained in 1842, preached *bana*. The other worthies of the place objected for an unknown cause, and the matter came up before the Police Magistrate of Madawalatenne, who said that under the English law there was perfect freedom in all such matters, and dismissed the case. The volume is included in the Nevill collection of the British Museum.

The *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, as was mentioned above, is not associated with the name of any special author, and represents the earliest of the chronicles now extant. It is, as we shall see presently, the outcome of a fairly large number of previous works, no one of which had any special author, and is the last of the literary works of Ceylon which can be assigned to a period during which no books had special authors. Every ancient country, at the beginning of its literary activity, has such a period, and the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* marks the close of a very important epoch—important for us in settling the literary chronology—an epoch of universal anonymity, when every work was the outcome of the literary industry of a whole school. After the date of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, books, as a rule, were written by one man, and his authorship was openly acknowledged.

There is an interesting passage in the introduction of the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*¹ which sheds considerable light on how the chronicles, as we have them now, came to be composed in Pali verse. The author tells us that up to the time when the [133] *Mahā-vaṃsa* was compiled there existed in the Mahā-vihāra, written in Sinhalese, a *Sīhala-Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, beginning from “the visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, accounts of the arrival of the relics of the Bodhi-tree; the histories of the convocations and of the schisms of the Theras; the introduction of Buddhism into the island, the colonization by Vijaya and all that was known and recorded by the pious men of old (*porāṇā*) connected with the supreme and well-defined history of those unrivalled dynasties.” And the *Mahā-vaṃsa* itself was an attempt at “an imitation of the history composed by the Mahā-vihāra fraternity. In this work the object aimed at is—setting aside the Sinhalese language (in which the former history was written)—to write in Māgadhī. Whatever the matters may be which are contained in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, without suppressing any part thereof, rejecting the dialect only, this work is composed in the supreme Māgadhī language, which is thoroughly purified from all imperfections... I will celebrate the dynasties (*vaṃsa*) perpetuated from generation to generation; illustrious from the commencement and lauded by many bards; like unto a garland strung with every variety of flowers.”² The main record on which the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* (and later the *Mahā-vaṃsa*) were based was this *Sīhala Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, sometimes referred to as the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* and the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, sometimes referred to simply as the *Aṭṭhakathā*.³

1. Colombo Ed., pp. 22, 31–2; see also Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa* pp. 43 ff.

2. Chap. I opening stanzas.

Besides this, the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* mentions also the following works which contained historical materials: (1) *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsa*, (2) *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, (3) *Dīpa-vamsaṭṭhakathā*, (4) *Sīmā-kathā*, (5) *Cetiya-* and *Mahācetiya-vamsa-aṭṭhakathā*, (6) *Mahābodhi-vamsakathā*, (7) *Sumedha-kathā*, and (8) *Sahassa-vatthu-aṭṭhakathā*.

As far as we know, none of these works are now extant, but their names give some indication of the nature of their contents. The first were the chronicles of [134] the Uttaravihāra fraternity, the third a commentary on the *Dīpa-vamsa*, the fourth evidently a description of the boundaries of the Mahā-vihāra, the fifth accounts of the dagobas erected in Ceylon, especially the Mahāthūpa of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and the last a collection of legends and folk tales. The *Sumedha-kathā*¹ was, perhaps, a life-history of the Buddha, from the time when he received *vivaraṇa* as the ascetic Sumedha at the hands of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha many, many aeons before. If that surmise be correct, the later *Buddha-vamsaṭṭhakathā* was evidently based on the *Sumedha-kathā*.

The presence of an *Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsa* in the list is very interesting because it shows that each of the Saṅgha communities was in the habit of preserving special records of their own community. Judging from the quotations given of it in the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, the *Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsa* seems to have differed from the Mahā-vihāra chronicle not so much in its general scheme as in matters of detail, and it also, apparently, contained much historical material not found in the other.² The numerous references made in the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* to these works lead us to conclude that, even at the time of the composition of the *ṭīkā*, there was still in existence a rich literature of collected works, carefully preserved in the different monasteries, most of them forming part of the Aṭṭhakathā, the commentaries to the canonical scriptures. And quite early in the literary history of Ceylon a secondary literature had sprung up, where single subjects, such, for example, as the history of the Bodhi-tree or the erection of the *thūpas*, were taken out of the original works, and made the theme of connected, continuous chronicles.

3. Geiger, *Dīpavamsa and Mahā-vamsa*, pp. 45 foll.

1. It might be the *Sumedha-kathā* section of the *Nidāna-kathā* to the *Jātaka*. (BPS ed).

2. The story of the Nine Nanda princes. Mhv-ṭ p. 117, and the romantic history of Paṇḍukābhaya and the Yakkhiṇī Cetiya, *ibid.*, p. 202.

The *Dīpa-vaṃsa* represents the earliest attempt, so far as we know, to treat of these subjects in a compact, concise manner, forming one continuous story. It is a conglomeration of myths, legends, tales, and history, and the further we go [135] back in time the more mythical it becomes, put together from various traditional sources, in an unaided struggle to create a composite whole from materials existing scattered in various places. This accounts for the outward form of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, its clumsiness and incorrectness of language and metre, its repetitions, omissions and general fragmentary character. And this very incompleteness of its composition; and its want of style help us in fixing the date of its compilation. It contains “whole series of verses giving the main parts of the story, arranged as mnemonics and inartistically put together, called by Geiger “memory verses” (memorial verse).¹

Often different versions are given of the same story,² showing that they were derived from different sources and also, possibly, because of a desire to keep the various traditions as they had been, more or less authorized, with due reverence for their antiquity, and to hand them on unaltered to later generations. The *Dīpa-vaṃsa* was not the work of a single author, but of several generations, a succession of rhapsodies, added to by succeeding authors, as the Introduction tells us, “twisted into a garland of history from generation to generation, like flowers of various kinds.” It was, perhaps, originally meant for oral recitation, and so arranged that several of the more important subjects came up before the listener again and again, gradually impressing the full facts on his memory. If that were so, what appears inartistic and clumsy in the written work would appear highly natural when it was handed down orally. There was also, evidently, a commentary to, the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, giving details of the points raised in the mnemonic verses, for the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā* refers to a *Dīpa-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā*; and mention is made of it by the *Mahā-vaṃsa* author himself, as having been recited for him by order of king Dhātusena at the festival of Mahinda.³ Nevill, in his manuscript catalogue referred to above, [136] draws attention to the “unique consequence given to nuns” all throughout the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* and is of opinion that it seems to afford a clue to its authorship. “It can scarcely be a record of the Theravāda fraternity of the Mahā-vihāra, because in the very reign in which it was put forward by royal

1. Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 8.

2. E.g. the First Council in Dip IV.1–26; and again in V.1–15.

3. Mhv XXXVIII.173.

patronage (Dhātusena's) Mahānāma set about to supersede it by his *Mahā-vaṃsa*. It certainly is not a record of the Dhammaruci sect of the Abhayagiri community, because it passes over the history of that wealthy, royal foundation with a well-calculated but short notice that could offend no one. But it dilates on a third society, the community of Theravādin nuns. It would seem that Mahānāma was jealous of their fame, for he tells us nothing even of the still famous Mahilā, daughter of Kāvantissa and sister of Gemuṇu ... In chapter XV there is a detailed account of original missionary nuns coming from India, learned in the Dhamma and the Vinaya; in chapter XVII unusual stress is laid on previous Bo-trees brought by Rucanandā, Kanakadattā, and Sudhammā, although Mahānāma pays them no attention. In chapter XVIII there was evidently a list of Bhikkhus preceding that of the Bhikkhunīs. If this was recited by the monks, it could scarcely have dropped out, while it would naturally be omitted by the nuns who wished to impress on the audience the importance of their Order.

“The poem goes on to describe how the missionaries from India taught Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma. In the reign of Abhaya, however, Sumanā taught *Saddhamma-vaṃsa* (religious history), and Mahilā was also learned in it. In Saddhātissa's reign no historian is mentioned among the Bhikkhunīs; but in Valagambā's reign the nuns boasted of Sivalā and Mahārūha from India, who were both historians. In the reigns of Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa and his son Abhaya they were proud of Nāgamittā, ordained in Laṅkā, and also described as well-versed in religious history. After her and before the conclusion of the poem in Mahāsena's reign there flourished among the nuns Sanhā and Samuddā, distinguished [137] for their knowledge in the *Saddhamma-vaṃsa*. The book *Saddhamma-vaṃsa* gives the names of eight historians and rhapsodists among a list of seventy-two nuns who taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya. I take it as almost certain that, in the reign of Gemuṇu, Sumanā taught the *vaṃsa* for the first time among the nuns. Princess Mahilā embodied the Sinhalese tradition of her family with other traditions handed down from Saṅghamittā and her companions. Sivalā and Mahārūhā from India revised this, and very probably formed it into the unpolished almost aboriginal Pali we now possess, to which additions were made by Nāgamittā, and later by Sanhā and Samuddā.”

This suggestion about the authorship of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* is very ingenious and deserves careful consideration. I am not aware of its having been published anywhere yet, and hence I have quoted it in full. It is not possible with the information at our disposal to come to any

definite conclusion. There are certain minor points—which do not affect the main argument at all—in Nevill's statements which are not strictly correct, e.g. that Mahānāma composed the *Mahā-vaṃsa* out of jealousy of the reputation of the nuns. Mahānāma lived in an age when the clumsy, inartistic diction of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, with its faulty arrangement, would not suffice for the edification of the learned, and he set about to compile a work which was more in keeping with the literary development of his time.

The *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, like the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, finished its record with the death of king Mahāseṇa. Whether this was due to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* having superseded it after that date, or whether, as Oldenberg suggests,¹ the authors stopped at the epoch of Mahāseṇa's reign, where the past destinies of their spiritual abode, the Mahā-vihāra, were divided from the present by the success of a hostile party in obtaining the king's sanction for destroying the Mahā-vihāra, we cannot say.

I am inclined to the former view. The *Mahā-vaṃsa* fulfilled all the purposes of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, and better, and there was [138] no reason for its further continuance in the old form. I agree with Oldenberg² in assigning some time between the beginning of the fourth and the first third of the fifth century as the date of the completion of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* in its present form. It could not have been closed before the beginning of the fourth century, because its narrative extends till about 302 CE. Buddhaghosa quotes several times from the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, but his quotations differ in some details from our version.³ In the *Mahā-vaṃsa* we are told that Dhātusena (459–77 CE) ordered the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* to be recited in public at the annual Mahinda festival, so that by that time the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* had been completed. After that date it fell into disuse, its glory outdone by the more brilliant work of Mahānāma; but it seems to have been studied till much later, because Dhammakitti III of the Āraṇyakavāsi sect, quotes it in his *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* with great respect as a work of much merit and immense importance.⁴

The beginning of the fifth century saw an important development in the literary life of Ceylon through Buddhaghosa's activity. Pali was once more definitely established as the ecclesiastical and literary lan-

1. *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, p. 8.

2. *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, p. 9.

3. E.g. see Oldenberg, *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, p. xii, note 2; and also note on Dīp V.30. This would make the interval between the two works about 100–150 years, sufficient for the difference in points of their style, remembering that Buddhaghosa came in between them.

4. e.g. *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, pp. 47, v. 7; 49, vv. 8 foll.

guage of the Buddhists. Buddhaghosa himself mastered the language fully and wrote in it fluently and voluminously. His works soon found their way into every monastery, where they were assiduously perused, portions of them being learned by heart. Buddhaghosa's works marked the turning point between the ancient and the modern epochs of Pali literature in Ceylon, and with his compositions as their model his successors were soon able to master Pali grammar and style with perfect ease, and, with his compilations as their background, even to improve upon them. Many fruitless attempts at Pali [139] composition must have marked the transition from the inartistic stilted metre of the *Dīpa-vaṃsa* to the elegant, literary fluency of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* verses. And once the mastery over literary form had been attained, its possessors were anxious to use it. Materials for the exercise of their powers were at hand in plenty. Pali had once more gained its ascendancy over Sinhalese, and it was their ambition, as so many authors of this period tell us, in the process of their works, to set aside the Sinhalese language, reject the *dīpa-bhāsa*, and compose their works in the "supreme Māgadhī language, which is the mother of all tongues, sweet to the ear and delightful to the heart, and cooling to the senses." They found the works of the old authors full of imperfections; defects as well of prolixity as of brevity and inaccuracies of detail. They had all respect for the old wine, but it was contained in primitive jars, antiquated, out of fashion, and covered with cobwebs, and they desired to put it into new bottles, polished and shining and full of artistic decoration. But it was old wine all the same, and a certain flavour of conservatism remained for quite a long time. Thus, when Mahānāma came to write his work the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, "replete with information on every subject, comprehending the amplest details of all important events, like unto a splendid and dazzling garland strung with every variety of flowers, rich in colour, taste and scent... avoiding the defects of the ancients," we find that he could not quite rise above his material. He strove to confine himself to his sources to the best of his power. Often he adopted the Pali verses of the originals unchanged in his work, especially when they appeared to him to be of an authoritative character. He went to the same sources as the *Dīpa-vaṃsa*, and in many passages the two works agree word for word.¹

Very little is known of the author of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. In the concluding passage of the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā*² he is named Mahānāma, and it

1. See Geiger, op. cit., pp. 14 foll.

2. p. 502.

is said of him that he lived in a cell built [140] by the General Dīghasaṇḍa who was the commander of the army in Devānampiyatissa's reign,¹ and the vihāra founded by him bore the name of Dīghasaṇḍa-senāpati-pariveṇa, and belonged to the Mahāvihāra. Ceylon tradition assumes that this Mahānāma was the uncle of king Dhātusena, who is said to have lived in the habitation of Dīghasaṇḍa.² Turnour (Introduction, liv) accepts this tradition, but Geiger³ is convinced that Turnour was mistaken. "I am fully convinced," says he, "that we must entirely separate the Mahānāma, author of *Mahā-vamsa*, from the uncle of Dhātusena."

I am not so "fully convinced." Geiger's chief argument is chronological. Dhātusena entered the monastic life under the protection of his uncle (Mahānāma) in the reign of Damiḷa Paṇḍu. The uncle was "*at that time a Thera*" (italics are mine), and "thus in all probability considerably older than his nephew." Dhātusena came to the throne in 436 CE. The transference of Sīhagiri-vihāra to Mahānāma, presbyter of the Dīghasaṇḍa-vihāra (Mhv XXXIX.42) was early in the reign of Moggallāna I (497–515 CE). Geiger's objection is that the reign Mahānāma to whom the Sīhagiri-vihāra was transferred, and who was our author, cannot be the same as Dhātusena's uncle, because the latter could not have lived so long. Why? Because he was already a Thera when Dhātusena entered the Order somewhere between 436 and 441 CE, and must therefore have been comparatively old. I believe that this inference is unjustified, for, though Dhātusena's uncle is referred to as Thera, that does not prove he was *then* a Thera. When the verses came to be written, he had come to the Thera age and was naturally referred to as such. (If we say that when King George was five years old he was a boy of sweet temper, it does not necessarily mean that he was king at the age of five.) If Mahānāma had been, say, thirty years old at the [141] time of Dhātusena's Ordination, he would have been about ninety, at the most, when Sīhagiri-vihāra was transferred to him, an age by no means impossible. So, while I agree, therefore, that the evidence at our disposal is not sufficient to establish the identity, I hold that the Ceylon tradition has not yet been proved false.

Nothing further is known about the *Mahā-vamsa* author. An inscription at Buddhagayā⁴ mentions a Mahānāma among Ceylon teachers in

1. Mhv XV.212–13.

2. Mhv XXXVIII.16, and XXXIX.42.

3. *Dīpa-vamsa* and *Mahā-vamsa*, pp. 41 foll.

4. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 274 foll.

the following succession: Bhara, Rāhula, Upasena, Mahānāma, Upasena (II), Mahānāma (II). The first Upasena may well refer to the author of the *Mahā-niddesa-aṭṭhakathā* and the first Mahānāma to our author. The date of this inscription is not, however, definitely known.¹ Of Mahānāma's work Geiger says:² "The *Mahā-vaṃsa* is already worthy the name of a true epic. It is the recognized work of a poet, and we are able to watch this poet at work in his workshop. Although he is quite dependent on his materials, which he is bound to follow as closely as possible; he deals with them critically, perceives their shortcomings and irregularities, and seeks to improve and to eliminate." But though the level of epic poetry was reached with the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, the process of literary development had not yet come to its highest attainment. It was still too early for that to be possible, so soon after Buddhaghosa's work had given fresh impetus to Pali studies. Even the materials of the old chronicles yet remained unexhausted, and later authors seized upon them and continued what Mahānāma had begun so well. Mahānāma was no genius, he was too much hide-bound by tradition, and his work cannot rank as a literary performance of the first order; yet his services to the cause of Pali literature, and to historical studies of later generations, were immense, and to us invaluable.

After Mahānāma's death the chronicle was continued by [142] later authors. The history of the island from the reign of Mahāsena, 302 CE, to the time of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Dambadeniya (1240–75) was compiled by Dhammakitti II under royal patronage.³ Rhys Davids questions the accuracy of this statement.⁴ "Each new chronicler hurried over the kings preceding the one under whom he wrote, and then enlarged at length on the events of that monarch's reign. There seems to be a break at the eventful chapter of Parākrama the Great's reign, while the following kings are hurried over until Parākrama of Dambadeniya, who occupies seven chapters. Perhaps there is some confusion between the two Dhammakittis, the one the author of *Dāṭṭhā-vaṃsa* in Parākrama the Great's reign, and the other the author of a part of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* in the reign of Parākrama of Dambadeniya. The latter seems evidently later in style." There is no evidence to support this con-

1. Rājendralal Mitra, *Buddha-gaya*. pp. 190 sq.

2. Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa* and *Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 2.

3. Wijesinha, *Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 284, and Wickremasinghe, JRAS, 1896, pp. 202 foll.

4. JRAS, vii, p. 354 and footnote.

tention, and until such evidence is forthcoming, we shall have to rest content with tradition.

The name of the author by whom the history of Ceylon was written from the reign of the Dambadeniya king to that of Paṇḍita Parākrama-bāhu of Hastisailapura (modern Kurunegala) has not yet been ascertained.¹ The chronicle from that date until CE 1758 to the death of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha was compiled by Tibbotuvāvē Sumaṅgala Thera, and it has since been continued to 1815 (the date of the cession of Ceylon to the British) by the late Hikkaduvē Śrī Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē Paṇḍita.²

There is extant a *ṭīkā*³ on the Mahā-vaṃsa, written by an author of whom we know nothing. In the closing words of his work he calls it the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*. The Ceylon tradition assigns it to Mahānāma, author of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* [143] itself.⁴ But it is improbable that the two authors were identical. On the other hand, Geiger assigns it to the tenth century.⁵ The author of the *ṭīkā* distinguishes himself quite clearly from the older writer by calling the latter *ācariya*.⁶ It is clear that many years had elapsed between the original work and its *ṭīkā*, sufficiently long to allow the name of a village to have undergone change.⁷ The *ṭīkā* also mentions the king Dāṭhopatissa II (“the nephew, “to distinguish him from the older king of the same name),⁸ and it cannot, therefore, have been composed earlier than, roughly speaking, 670 CE.

But I cannot agree with Geiger in saying that the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* belongs to the period between the years 1000 and 1250.⁹ In my opinion the date is far too late. Geiger’s one argument for so late a date is a quotation from the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (the only one so far traced) found in the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*¹⁰ He identifies this *aṭṭhakathā* with the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* of Upatissa, which he assigns to the tenth century. Now, the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa*, as we have it, is admittedly a translation of an original work. Upatissa says so definitely in his poem,¹¹ and there is no means of ascertaining whether the *Sihala*

1. De Zoysa, p. 18.

2. Colombo, 1877.

3. Printed in Colombo and edited by Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍave.

4. De Zoysa, p.18.

5. Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa*, pp. 32 foll.

6. E.g. p. 25, line 1 and 11.34–5; p. 28, line 18.

7. Sāmagalla in the Mhv became Moragalla at the time of the *ṭīkā*, Mhv-ṭ p. 427, line 26.

8. Mhv-ṭ p. 456, line 27.

9. *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa* p. 34.

10. Mhv-ṭ 294.8.

Mahābodhi-vaṃsa referred to there was identical with the *aṭṭhakathā* mentioned in the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā*, or whether it was not itself a later compilation in Sinhalese of an earlier *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*. There is no need to deny that the Pali *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* is a later work, written, perhaps, as late as the tenth century, and the language certainly points to some such date, as we shall see later. It is quite possible that both the quotation in the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā* and the passage in the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* were drawn from the [144] same source directly or indirectly (if indirectly, through the Sinhalese *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa*). I think, therefore, that the date assigned to the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā* by Geiger rests on very slender evidence.

And not this alone. A perusal of the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā* shows that it adds to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* a not inconsiderable amount of material of legends, as well as of folklore, and these were drawn, as we saw in our discussion of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* originals, not only from the sources whence the author of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* derived his materials, but from others equally old¹ —like the *Mahāvāṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Dīpa-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, and the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*. We saw how very soon after Buddhaghosa compiled his commentaries in Pali from the materials he gathered out of the exegetical works written in Sinhalese the original Sinhalese commentaries fell into disuse, and, before long, completely disappeared, because it was found that they no longer served any useful purpose, their function having been taken up by Buddhaghosa's works. Now, the *Mahā-vaṃsa* bore to the Sinhalese *Vāṃsaṭṭhakathā* exactly the same relation as Buddhaghosa's commentaries did to the scriptural *aṭṭhakathā*. It was a concise and relatively accurate compilation from various sources, avoiding their imperfections and containing practically all their details.

We may, I think, legitimately presume, therefore, that the Sinhalese *Vāṃsaṭṭhakathās* did not long survive Mahānāma's work. And in view of the fact that at the time the author of the *ṭīkā* compiled his work the original sources were still being studied, or, at least, were extant, this period could not have been as much as five centuries later than Mahānāma's. Since Mahānāma lived in the sixth century CE, I would assign the author of the *ṭīkā* to the seventh or eighth century. I am also supported in this by the name of a second Mahānāma appearing in the Buddhagayā inscription referred to above, in the succession Upasena I, Mahānāma I, Upasena II, Mahānāma II. I believe, also, that the later

11.P.T.S. Ed., p. 2.

1. See also Geiger, op. cit., pp. 47 and 48.

Mahānāma was [145] identical with the author of the *Paṭisambhidā-maggaṭṭhakathā*. The identity of the name, and the proximity in time, of the two authors would account for the Ceylon tradition which regards the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (*Mahāvamsa-tīkā*) as a work of the *Mahāvamsa* author himself.

Much has been written on the value of the *Dīpa-vamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* as works of historical accuracy and on their usefulness in unravelling the history of Southern Asia. The greater the care and the attention that have been given to the statements in these works, the more evident has it become to students of historical research, that they are of immense importance in arriving at a correct understanding of the mysterious mazes of Indian chronology. Vincent Smith early in his career called both works “silly fictions of mendacious monks,” and wrote of them: “I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology prior to the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in about 160 BCE. The undeserved credit given to the statements of the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history.”¹ But he was sufficiently convinced before his death to write about the date of the Buddha’s death, which forms one of the most important cruces of Indian chronology: “The new reading of the Khāravēla inscription... if correct, obliges us to move back all the Saisunāga dates more than fifty years, and therefore supports the Ceylon date for the death of the Buddha, viz. 544 or 543 BCE. It may be argued that traditions preserved in Magadha should be more trustworthy than those recorded at a later date by monks in distant Ceylon; but there is ample evidence of the fact that Gautama Buddha was contemporary with both Bimbisāra or Sreṇika and his son Ajātasatru or Kūṇika, and, this being so, I feel compelled, until further light is thrown on the subject, to accept, tentatively, the earlier date, 543 BCE.”² [146]

Geiger, in his invaluable Introduction to his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, has brought together ample evidence from external sources to justify the faith which later-day scholars have been induced to place in the Ceylonese chronicles.³ In their details, it is true, they manifest the same love of the marvellous, the same credulity and superstition, the same exaggeration in description, the same adulation of kings and princes, as is met with in the annals and religious history of nations called civilized, Christian and non-Christian, of ancient and modern

1. *Aśoka*, preface, p. 6.

2. *Early History of India*, p. 50, 1924 ed.

3. *Mahāvamsa*, Introd., pp. xv foll. Also Norman, JRAS, 1908, pp. 1 foll.

Europe. Their chief defect, in my opinion, is that, while they inform us of the history of monarchs and their deeds, and their endowments for the glorification of the religion, they make no mention of the everyday lives of the people, the many millions who made history in those ancient times. But that would not permit us “to throw away the child with the bath.” With all their drawbacks, common, however, to annals and religious histories of all nations, their chronology is admirably accurate,¹ and neither Brahmanism nor even the Sanskrit language can show any work of an unquestionable date with the shadow of a claim to their honesty of intention and their accuracy of chronological record.
[147]

1. See Geiger, *Introd.*, pp. xx foll.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF THE GOLDEN ERA

The history of Ceylon from the end of the fifth century to about the beginning of the eleventh is but a narrative of the decline of the power and prosperity which had been matured under the old dynasty of kings and of the rise of the Malabar marauders, whose ceaseless forays and incursions eventually reduced authority to feebleness and the island to desolation. The accounts given of the royal imbeciles who filled the throne during this period contain hardly any events of sufficient importance to relieve the monotonous repetitions of temples founded, and dagobas repaired, of tanks constructed, and monks endowed with lands for their maintenance. Civil dissensions, religious schisms, royal intrigues and assassinations contributed equally with foreign invasions to diminish the influence of the monarchy and exhaust the strength of the kingdom.

Intimate relations existed between the Tamils of the Dekkhan and the Sinhalese settlers from quite an early period. Vijaya's second wife was the daughter of a Pāṇḍyan king and her companions were married to Vijaya's ministers and other officials. Similar alliances are frequent, and the Sinhalese annalists allude on more than one occasion to the *Damiḷa* (Tamil) consorts of their sovereigns. Intimate intercourse and consanguinity were thus established from the remotest times; high employments were given to the Tamils, their services made use of, and privileges given to them. Thus encouraged, the Malabars first came over to Ceylon as settlers and later as invaders. As early as 237 BCE, Sena and Guttika seized the throne, and, as they ruled righteously, the people seem to have acquiesced in their sovereignty.¹ The first regular invasion, however, was under Eḷāra, who ruled for forty-three years, with characteristic justice and impartiality. These earlier bands of immigrants brought with them a certain amount of civilizing [148] influence in the form of Hindu culture, which, as we have already seen, the Sinhalese were quick to assimilate. The Tamils of South India, then as now, were earnest students of Sanskrit literature, and we may well presume that their presence in the island helped much in encouraging the study of Sanskrit in Ceylon. The Tamil colonists became one with the people; they settled down peacefully, pursuing their different voca-

1. Mhv XXI.10–12.

tions unmolested in the observance of their religious rites, because of the broad-mindedness of the Sinhalese rulers.

Settlement and intermarriages had all along been encouraged,¹ and many Sinhalese families of rank had formed connections with the Tamils. The schisms among the Buddhists themselves, tending as they did to engraft Brahmanical rites upon the doctrines of the purer faith, seemed to have matured the intimacy that existed between the two peoples; some of the Sinhalese kings erected temples for the Hindu gods,² and the promoters of the Vaitulyan heresies found refuge from persecution among their sympathizers in the Dekkhan.³ But the majority of the subsequent invasions by the Malabars were not regular conquests nor were they, by any means, attempts at peaceful penetration. They were of a predatory character, periodic forays made by a restless and energetic race, into a fertile and defenceless country. From time to time successive bands of marauders would swoop down upon some place of debarkation, gather together as much spoils as they could from the unwarlike Sinhalese of the coast, and retire into their fortified strongholds on the continent.

Once, in 113 CE,⁴ Gaja-Bāhu avenged their outrages by means of a punitive expedition into the Coḷa country and inflicted upon them so severe a defeat that the lesson was long remembered, and from that time till about the middle of the fifth century there was an interval of respite from their [149] depredations. In 433 CE, however, a large army landed in Ceylon and seized the capital,⁵ and for twenty-seven years, till Dhātusena recovered possession of the north of the island, five Tamil rulers in succession administered the government of the country north of the Mahāvālīgaṅga. But Dhātusena was followed by his son Kāsyapa,⁶ and the country was thrown into a state of chaos once more. In the succession of assassinations, conspiracies and civil wars, which distracted the kingdom during the next several centuries; and during the struggles of the rival branches of the royal house, each claimant, in his adversity, betook himself to the Indian continent, and Malabar mercenaries from Pāṇḍiya and Coḷa, enrolled themselves indifferently under any leader, and deposed or restored kings at their pleasure. The

1. Tumour's *Epitome*, p. 19.

2. *Rāja-ratnākara*, p. 78.

3. Mhv XXXVII and *Epitome*, p. 25.

4. Tennent, I p. 397.

5. Mhv XXXVII.11 ff.

6. Mhv XXXVII.85 ff.

Rājāvaliya in a single passage enumerates fourteen sovereigns who were murdered, each by his successor, between 523 and 648 CE.¹

For nearly four hundred years till the beginning of the eleventh century, the Sinhalese annals are filled with these exploits and escapades of the Malabars; they filled every office,² and it was they who decided the claims of competing candidates for the crown. At last the island became so infested with them that the feeble kings, finding it impracticable to oust them from the capital city of Anurādhapura, began to move southwards to escape their attentions and transferred their residence to Polonnaruva, which eventually became the capital. It is remarkable that these later-day Malabars never identified themselves with any plan for promoting the prosperity, and for the embellishment of Ceylon; they aspired not to beautify or enrich, but to impoverish and to deface; their influence tended not to exalt and civilize, but to ruin and debase all that was worthy in the culture of Ceylon.

The Sinhalese were either paralysed by dread, and made [150] but feeble efforts to rid themselves of their invaders, or were fascinated by their military pomp, and endeavoured to conciliate them by alliances, or sometimes purchased the evacuation of the island by paying huge ransoms. Every now and then the more patriotic among the Sinhalese (especially the sturdy mountaineers of Rohaṇa), impatient of foreign domination, made determined efforts to resist the encroachments of the hated Malabar oppressors, but the brave highlanders were helpless against the numerical superiority of their foe. In the reign of Mahinda III (circa 997 CE), the king married a Kālīṅga princess, and in a civil war that followed during the regime of his son and successor, the island was reduced to extremes of anarchy and oppression, and finally in 1023, when the Coḷians again invaded Ceylon, they succeeded in establishing a Malabar viceroy at Polonnaruva (the capital city), who held away over the kingdom for nearly thirty years, protected by a foreign army of mercenary soldiers. The rightful sovereign had been taken captive and cast on the coast of India, where he died in exile.³

Meanwhile in Rohaṇa, stern and rugged mother of many of Ceylon's noblest sons, a brave and heroic band had striven to maintain their sturdy independence in the only remnant of free territory left unmoled by the oppressors. From out of the gloom and despondency of anarchy and intrigue, and amidst the terrible confusion of these con-

1. *Rājāvalī*, p. 244.

2. *Epitome*, p. 33.

3. *Rāja-ratnākara.*, pp. 84–5, and Mhv IV.18–33.

flicts, there suddenly arose in Rohaṇa's mountain fastnesses the hero destined to rescue the kingdom from foreign domination, deliver it from the hated sway of the Malabars and bring it back to its ancient, wealth and tranquillity. It was a stupendous task, this restoration of national independence, but the new leader was equal to it. Kitti was his name. With indomitable courage and aided by the steadfast loyalty of his mountaineers, he achieved victory after victory over all his enemies, and re-united the severed kingdom of Ceylon under one national banner. When his position was thus consolidated, he [151] proclaimed himself king under the name of Sirisaṅghabodhi Vijayabāhu. Thus was peace given once more to the stricken land.

During the troubled times that intervened between Dhātusena and Vijaya-Bāhu, the study of the Dhamma, as well as of the secular branches of learning that had been cultivated to a high degree in earlier times, had perforce to be abandoned, owing to the foreign occupation. But during these four hundred years, of bitter gloom and despondency, it was their common religion that held the people together and sustained them in their adversity. Their rulers recognized this fact, and, whenever a chance arose, the rival claimants to the throne attempted to earn the goodwill of the populace by munificent gifts to the Saṅgha.

A few of them—indifferent to, or happily unembarrassed by any questions of external policy or foreign expeditions, and limited to the narrow range of internal administration—devoted themselves to intellectual pursuits. The accounts of their reigns refresh the records of this period like oases in a desert tract. Some of them were ardent lovers of literature. Such was Culla-Moggallāna: "There was no one like to him as a poet," says the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,¹ and, "being a man of great talent, he composed many sacred songs, which he caused to be recited by men seated on elephants at the end of discourses at the temple services." He made "unusual" offerings to those that preached the Doctrine and caused them to read the Tipiṭaka with its commentaries. So was also Kumāra Dhātusena, also called Kumāradāsa, author of a melodious Sanskrit poem, the *Jānakī-haraṇa*,² and so passionately attached to his bosom friend Kālidāsa, that, in despair at his death, he flung himself into the flames of the poet's funeral pyre.³ Another was Aggabodhi I,

1. Mhv IXI.55–61 (Wijesinha's translation.)

2. Wickremasinghe, p. xiii.

3. D'Alwis, *Sidat-saṅgarā*, p. cliv. This Kālidāsa was not the Sanskrit dramatist, but apparently a Sinhalese poet, one or two of whose verses have been preserved.

patron of the arts, [152] surrounded by twelve talented poets,¹ of whose works, unfortunately, we know nothing, and Silāmēgha Sena or Matvala Sen, author of the *Siyabas-lakara*, the standard work on Sinhalese prosody. Others patronized the Saṅgha, the repository of all religious and secular learning, by providing them with alms, and dwelling places and extensive lands for the maintenance of their monasteries. Some of them were actuated in their generosity by a desire to make amends for their misdeeds,² and we find the orthodox monks of the Theriya Nikāya more than once disgraced because of their reluctance to accept gifts from those of whose actions they could not approve.³

The annals of this period are full of records of gifts to the heretic sects, possibly because of their connivance at the crimes of their patrons.⁴ The Abhayagiri fraternity seems to have benefited most by such royal favours; but even they suffered from the capriciousness of their benefactors, who would not hesitate to undo all the good they had done, pull down their monasteries, and remove from them all objects of value.⁵ The activities of the schismatics in carrying on their propaganda were much in abeyance during this period, and we hear of only one attempt to spread heresy, which, however, proved abortive,⁶ being put down with a firm hand by the ruling prince of the district where it reared its head. Some of the more broad-minded among the rulers attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the various sects by making them endowments to be held in common. Thus Aggabodhi I gave the Saṅghikagiri-vihāra with 200 fields to all members of the Order and dedicated the Kurunḍa-vihāra to all the [153] fraternities.⁷ Perhaps the repeated invasions of the island by the fierce Tamils did much to foster the feeling of brotherhood among the monks, who, in spite of all their dissensions, were yet patriotic Sinhalese and faithful sons of the Buddha. But the old feud between the Mahā-vihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra continued, and, when Silāmeghavaṇṇa requested the two communities to observe the *uposatha* ceremony together, the former promptly refused, and thereby earned the wrath of the king.⁸

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 17.

2. E.g. the parricide Kāsyapa. Mhv XXXIX.8 foll.; chap. XLIII.28 foll.

3. Mhv XXXIX.11 foll.

4. Mhv passim.

5. Mhv XLIV.139–42

6. Mhv XLII.35–40.

7. Mhv XLII.9–22.

8. Mhv XLIV.80–2

And later, when Dāṭhapatissa II built the Kappura-pariveṇa for the Abhayagiri monks on land which encroached upon the sacred boundary of the Theriya brethren, the latter showed their great disapproval by performing towards him the *patta-nikkujjana-kamma*¹ (inversion of the alms bowl on their begging rounds, thus indicating their refusal to accept his alms, a kind of excommunication).

The gifts thus indiscriminately given to members of the Saṅgha and the want of proper supervision brought disorganization within the Order itself, and attracted into its fold many undesirables who were actuated merely by desire for gain. So low was the degeneracy into which the monks had fallen when Vijayabāhu came to the throne that, as we shall see later, he had to obtain help from Rāmaññadesa in re-establishing ordination in Ceylon.

But even before Vijaya-Bāhu two attempts were made to prevent moral worthlessness among the Saṅgha. The first was by Dalla Moggallāna (608–14 CE), who proclaimed a *Dhamma-kamma*.² The second was by Silā Meghavaṇṇa (614–23 CE), who was a staunch adherent of the Abhayagiri fraternity [154]. This Nikāya had become quite degenerate; prosperity had corrupted the members of the community, whose lives were now unworthy of their high calling. A young and zealous bhikkhu, Bodhi by name, realizing the immediate necessity for reform, approached the king personally and requested him to issue a decree for enforcing discipline in the Order. The king readily acceded and entrusted the execution of it to the young reformer himself. The latter, armed with the royal authority, proceeded to hold a thorough investigation, as a result of which a large number of bhikkhus were expelled. This zeal for reform, however, cost him his life. The men who were thus driven out of the Order conspired together and murdered him. The king, in righteous indignation, had all the leading conspirators arrested, cut off their hands and made them tank-keepers.³ Many others were banished. And, appreciating the zealous efforts of the murdered bhikkhu, he carried out the reforms which had been initiated, and puri-

1. Mhv XLV.32 ff.

2. The expression often occurs in the Mhv to denote the manner in which the earlier kings interfered to carry out reforms in the Buddhist Church. It means literally a *legal act*. The act seems to have consisted in the promulgation by the king of a decree enforcing the observance of discipline among the priesthood, and, in some cases, empowering one or more of its Order to carry the decree into effect by means of an ecclesiastical court. Wijesinha, Mhv II p. 25, footnote.

3. Mhv XLIV.75–83.

fied the Order. His attempts, however, to unite the Mahā-vihāra and Abhayagiri fraternities ended, as we saw earlier, in complete failure.

And every now and then some of the monarchs, more enlightened than others and more anxious for the welfare of the religion, strove to keep alive the study of the Dhamma. Thus Dāṭhapatissa I (circa 640–52 CE) gave a special *pariveṇa* to the Elder Nāgasāla at Maricavatti and prevailed upon him to teach the Abhidhamma with the Aṭṭhakathā,¹ and his successor Kassapa II made great offerings to the holy monk Mahādhammakathī, and made him teach the Dhamma. For the monk, who dwelt at Kaṇḍhakāra in the monastery built by the king's brother, he caused the whole Pali scriptures to be written, together with the lesser books or "epitomes" (*sa-saṅgham*).

The extant inscriptions of this period [155] reveal to us the great care with which the monastic rules were drawn up with a view to securing the independence, the exalted prestige, and, above all, the purity of the Buddhist Church. No kind of corruption was tolerated in the management of temple property, no slackness in the observance of religious ceremonies. No monk of questionable character was allowed to remain in the Vihāra, and for anyone who desired to enter the Order a minimum knowledge of the Dhamma was insisted upon. Thus from an inscription of Kassapa V (929–39 CE), who, it is interesting to note, expounded the Abhidhamma himself and caused it to be written on plates of gold (Mhv LII, vv. 49–50), we learn that no one was allowed to join the Order unless he knew (probably by heart) at least four sections (*bhāṇavāra*) of the *Paritta*.²

Mahinda IV (circa 975–91 CE) encouraged the study of the Dhamma by decreeing, in an inscription which is still preserved, that the monks who read aloud and explained to an audience the Vinaya-piṭaka should be assigned five *vasag*³ of food and raiment, for the Sutta-piṭaka seven *vasag*, and for the Abhidhamma-piṭaka twelve *vasag*.⁴ He, moreover, caused Dhammamitta to expound the Abhidhamma, and Dāṭhānāga, "who dwelt as a recluse in the forest and was like an ornament unto Laṅkā, to discourse thereon."⁵ Sena IV (c. 972 CE), on one occasion sat in the Lohapāsāda and expounded the Suttanta to the brethren of all the three fraternities assembled therein.⁶ The great

1. Mhv XLIV.149 ff.

2. *Ep. Zey.*, vol. I pt. ii, pp. 42–3.

3. *Vasag*, a *vasag* is five cells with food and raiment. *Ep. Zey.*, vol. I p. 100, n. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. III, p. 100.

5. Mhv LIV.35–7.

attention paid to the Abhidhamma is significant. As a result of these activities of enlightened rulers, the torch of learning was prevented from being totally extinguished, and even this dark chapter of Ceylon's history is not completely barren of literary productions concerned with Pali literature.

To this period may be assigned the *Khemappakarāṇa* [156] (also called the *Paramattha-dīpa*¹ by the Elder Khema). The book is now not widely known in Ceylon, and whatever copies there are at present have been introduced from Burma. The *Gandha-vam̐sa* ascribes it to a Khema Thera of Ceylon.² According to the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*,³ it is a work expository of the Abhidhamma, and it is extensively studied in Burma as one of the nine mediaeval compendia of Abhidhamma, known as *Let-Than* or "little finger manuals."⁴ It is more often called in Ceylon *Nāmarūpa-samāsa*, and this title is more appropriate to the contents of the work. It contains short descriptions of the *citta*, a discourse on *citta-cetasikā*, defining *kusala* and *akusala dhamma*, and concludes with a list of twenty-eight mnemonic verses, giving in brief the meanings of such terms as *mahābhūta*, *indriya*, etc., which occur in Abhidhamma literature. That the book was held in high esteem in Ceylon from ancient times is evident from the references to its author in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* and the *Saddhammaratnākāra*,⁵ and in the latter he is spoken of as *Tipiṭaka-pariyatti-dhara* (versed in the text of the Tipiṭaka). There is a commentary on it by Vācissara Mahāsāmi of Ceylon (q.v.), written in the twelfth century.⁶ Both text and commentary were published in Sinhalese characters by a monk named Baṭapola Dhammapāla in Ceylon in 1908, and an English transliteration of the text alone has appeared in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.⁷ The short disquisitions on the various subjects are concisely written in simple, easy style and the whole work forms a little handbook for the study of mediaeval Abhidhamma.

Mr. Wickremasinghe agrees with Professor Geiger in accepting the tenth century as the date of the compilation of [157] the Pali

6. Mhv LIV.4.

1. *Sāsanavam̐sa-dīpa*, v. 1222.

2. Gv p. 61 and 71.

3. p. 63, JPTS Ed.

4. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, preface, p. viii.

5. p. 367, Colombo Ed.

6. De Zoysa ascribed the *Khema-ppakarāṇa* itself to Vācissara. *Catalogue*, p. 8.

7. 1915, pp. 1 foll.

Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa.¹ [157] S. Arthur Strong, who edited it for the Pali Text Society (1891), assigned the author to the same period as Buddhaghosa, his reason being that the *Gandha-vaṃsa* mentions it as having been written at the instigation of one Dāṭhānaga, whom he identified with another named Dāṭṭha, who is said (in the *Gandha-vaṃsa*) to have requested Buddhaghosa to write the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*. Strong was wrong in assuming that Dāṭṭha and Dāṭhānāga were one and the same. Besides the *Gandha-vaṃsa*, the Sinhalese version of the Pali work, written by Saraṇāṅkara Saṅgharāja in the eighteenth century, and named the *Madhurārtha-prakāśinī*,² mentions that the *Bodhi-vaṃsa* was written at the instigation of a Dāṭhānāga.³ Both Wickremasinghe and Geiger identify Dāṭhānaga with the *thera* of the same name, whom Mahinda IV (975–91 CE) appointed to discourse on the Abhidhamma.⁴ If that supposition be correct, the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* must have been written in the last quarter of the tenth century.

It begins with a history of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, gives in a short summary an account of the existence of the Bodhisatta under previous Buddhas, the life of Gotama, his enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree, the planting of the Bodhi-tree at Jetavana by Ānanda, providing the occasion for the Buddha to preach the *Kāliṅga-bodhi-jātaka*,⁵ the Parinibbāna, the Three Councils, Mahinda's mission, the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, the introduction there of the relics and a branch of the Bodhi-tree, the planting of the sacred tree and the establishment of the *Bodhi-pūjā*, or ceremonies in connection with it.

The book itself says nothing about its authorship, except that it was a translation from a Sinhalese original. [158] The *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 61) mentions the work by name, but in a group of five works assigned vaguely to unnamed authors. The *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa* (v. 1262) calls Upatissa the author of the *Bodhi-vaṃsa*,⁶ but says nothing more about him. The *Ēlu-Bodhi-vaṃsa*, which is an enlarged Sinhalese translation of the Pali work, done by Vilgammūla Mahāthera, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, ascribes the Pali *Bodhi-vaṃsa* to Upatissa and so does Saraṇāṅkara's later translation referred to above, written at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Gurulugomi, who lived about the latter half of the twelfth century,⁷ author of the *Amāvatura*, wrote a

1. *Catalogue*, p. xiv, and Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 79.

2. Wikramasinghe, p. xxi.

3. De Zoysa, p. 16.

4. Mhv LIV.36.

5. Fausboll, J IV p. 288 foll.

6. Wickremasinghe, p. 22.

masterly commentary in the Sinhalese of his period on the Pali *Bodhi-vaṃsa*, called the *Bodhi-vaṃsa-parikathā*, but better known as the *Dharmapradīpikāva*, and there, too, the work is assigned to Upatissa. An Upatissa of Ceylon is mentioned in the *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 67), but we know nothing more about him.

In the whole of the first chapter, the close dependence on the *Nidāna-kathā* is unmistakable. Even verbal identity is not rare.¹ Usually the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* account is shorter and more like an epitome. It is interesting, however, to note that the story of the *Kāliṅga-bodhi-jātaka* as given in the *Bodhi-vaṃsa* differs from Fausböll's version of it; among other peculiarities, in the former version there is a long description of *dibba-cakkhu* (clairvoyance) and the seven gems of a *cakkavatti* king. The later chapters show direct dependence on the *Samanta-pāsādikā* and the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, chiefly the former. Thus the description of Mahinda's activities after his arrival in Ceylon agrees almost word for word with that in the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, so much so that we are led to the conclusion that the whole passage was directly borrowed from Buddhaghosa's commentary. The concluding verses of some of the chapters are the same as the closing chapters of the [159] *Mahā-vaṃsa*.²

In our discussion in a previous chapter of the date of the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*, we presumed that the *Bodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā* referred to there was different from Upatissa's work, and was more probably the earlier Sinhalese source of our *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa*. But the quotations from later works such as the *Mahā-vaṃsa* and the *Samanta-pāsādikā* would lead us to believe that Upatissa did not merely *translate* the Sinhalese text directly, but also improved upon it in the translation, supplementing it with quotations from works, which, in the meantime, had attained great authority. We shall see later that this was the case with other historical works of a similar type, e.g. the *Thūpa-vaṃsa*.

Even where the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* borrows from other works its style is different from theirs, more artificial and affected; the stanzas are written in sonorous Pali, the ornamental epithets are plentiful and the author is fond of long periods. There are distinct traces in the language of the influences of Sanskrit on the Pali, and we may regard this book as marking the beginning of the period of Sanskritized Pali.

7. Wickremasinghe, p. 31.

1. Cf. Mhbv 31-4, with J.N.K., 17, 82.

2. e.g. Mhv xiv, 65; *M.B.V.*, p. 122; Mhv xvi, 18; Mhbv p. 139; Mhv xviii, 68; Mhbv p. 153. See Geiger, *Mahā-vaṃsa and Dīpa-vaṃsa* p. 77.

Sometimes Pali words are used in their Sanskrit sense, sometimes Sanskrit words not found perhaps elsewhere at all in the old Pali literature¹ and long compounds, possibly derived from an acquaintance with Sanskrit *Kāvya*s, are employed; the whole tone and manner of his work betray a tendency to use a kind of Sanskritized Pali.

Somewhere about 1300 CE an amplified Sinhalese version of the Pali *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* was made by Vilgammūla Mahāthera, chief monk of the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi Temple, at the request of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Kurunegala (c. 1295–1347 CE). The author is probably the one mentioned in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (p. 24) as having made a Sinhalese paraphrase of Mayūra's Sanskrit poem *Sūrya-śataka* in the [160] reign of Dambadeniya Parākramabāhu (c. 1236–71).² This is written in almost pure Eḷu, which evidently made it difficult to be understood in later years, when Eḷu had come to be regarded as too archaic for ordinary usage; for we find that early in the eighteenth century Saranaṅkara Saṅgharāja compiled a verbatim paraphrase of the Pali work into the Sinhalese of his own period.³ It is curious that Saranaṅkara makes no mention of Vilgammūla's translation. There also exists a Sinhalese glossary of the Pali terms, of extreme philological value, judging from the language, written about the fourteenth century by a scholar of unusual attainments of whom nothing is known. Both this and the other less famous work on the Bodhi-tree —the *Sulubodhi-vaṃsa* (the lesser *Bodhi-vaṃsa*) are still in manuscript form.⁴

The *Gandha-vaṃsa*⁵ also mentions an Upatissa, a native of Ceylon, as author of the *Anāgata-vaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*.⁶ According to the *Gandha-vaṃsa*, the original *Anāgata-vaṃsa* was the work of an Elder named Kassapa,⁷ who also wrote *Mohavicchedanī*, *Vimati-vinodanī*, and the *Buddha-vaṃsa*. The *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa* (v. 1204) says that he was a poet who lived in the Coḷa country, but we know nothing either of his date or of his other works. It is certain that the *Buddha-vaṃsa*, which he is supposed to have written, was different from the canonical work of

1. E.g. *udite bhuvana-sekhara*, p. 5; *pārāpāta-carāṇa-pāṭala-rāge*, p. 61, to give but two. See also Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1905, p. 393.

2. Wickremasinghe, p. 23.

3. Wickremasinghe, p. 109.

4. See De Zoysa, p. 20

5. P. 72 and p. 67.

6. The one called *Amatarasa-hārā*, *Anāgatavaṃsa-ṭīkā*, *Amatarasadhārānā-gata-buddhavaṃsa-vaṇṇanā*, etc. The other *Anāgata-vaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* called *Samanta-bhaddikā* was written by Paññālaṅkāra of the Kālavāpivihāra in 1577 CE.

7. P. 61.

the same name.¹ Ceylon tradition supports the *Gandha-vaṃsa* in ascribing the *ṭikā* on the *Anāgata-vaṃsa* to an Upatissa, but nothing more is known about him. A copy of this which is in the library of the Daḷadā Māligāva at Kandy in Ceylon, quotes the *Anāgata-vaṃsa* in full, and then proceeds to explain it. The style of the *ṭikā* inclines me to the view that we may be justified in identifying its author with Upatissa of the *Bodhi-vaṃsa*, but I would not venture any opinion until more definite evidence is forthcoming. [161]

The *Anāgata-vaṃsa*² itself is a poem of about 150 stanzas (the number varies in different copies) on the future Buddha Metteyya. It is remarkable that, so far as we know, there does not seem to be any mention of Metteyya's name in the Nikāyas except in the Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya (D III 76), quoted also in the *Milinda-pañhā* (p. 159), where the Buddha speaks of the glorious spread of the Dhamma under Metteyya's regime. The name occurs also in the last stanza of the *Buddha-vaṃsa*. By the time of the *Mahāvastu* the legend is in full vogue,³ but it is in the *Anāgata-vaṃsa* that we find the fullest and most complete account of the tradition. There is not the slightest doubt that it is a late work; many in Ceylon regard it as a spurious work altogether.⁴ It is regrettable, however, that we cannot get any definite information as to the date of the origin and the subsequent growth of the belief held by the Buddhists in their future Buddha, Metteyya. In earlier times it was enough to say that many future Buddhas would come to be born in the world, and then a few details, one after the other, were added about the Buddha who was to come immediately after the last Gotama, until the legend grew as we have it now. There are several points of analogy between the belief in Metteyya and the Western idea of a Messiah, though they are not the same. Mrs. Rhys Davids has found one reference to the *Anāgata-vaṃsa* in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*,⁵ but whether the work referred to there is the same as ours, there is no possibility of saying.

1. The *Gandha-vaṃsa* (Burmese edition as found on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM) actually uses the title *Dasa-buddha-vaṃsa*. Alternative titles of the *Anāgata-vaṃsa* are *Anāgata-buddha-vaṃsa* and *Anāgata-dasa-buddha-vaṃsa*. Perhaps the *Gandhavaṃsa* confusingly refers to the same work, or, perhaps, the Gv refers to the *Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa* alias *Anāgata-buddha-vaṃsa*. (BPS ed.)

2. For the text with extracts from the commentary see JPTS, 1886, pp. 33 foll.

3. Rhys Davids, *Hastings Encyclopaedia*; I p. 414.

4. E.g. De Zoysa, p. 5.

5. *Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 761.

Personally, I am inclined to the view that Upatissa's commentary is based on a much older work, just as the *Bodhi-vaṃsa* goes back to an earlier *Bodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā* referred to in the *Mahāvāṃsa-tīkā*. Both works are now lost, and we shall [162] probably never have a chance of knowing more about them. The introductory verses of the present *Anāgata-vaṃsa* mention that it was preached by the Buddha at the request of Sāriputta,¹ who wished to know about the future of the Buddha's religion. There is no doubt that this statement goes back to an old tradition. To the tenth century or the earlier part of the eleventh also belongs the small but delightful Pali poem of ninety-eight stanzas, known as the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*—the stanzas of the Oil Cauldron. They purport to be the religious exhortations of a great Elder named Kalyāṇiya Thera, who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen Consort of king Kelaṇi-Tissa, who reigned at Kelaniya (306–207 BCE). The story is related in brief in the 22nd chapter of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,² but it omits the fact that the Thera was killed by being placed in a cauldron of boiling oil. We are told, instead, that both the Thera and his attendant were slain and thrown into the sea. The *Rasa-vāhinī*, written by Vedeha in the first half of the fourteenth century, gives us greater details of the story.³ There we are informed that the kings' attendants placed a cauldron of oil on the hearth and, when the oil was boiling, hurled the Thera into it. The Thera at that instant attained insight, *vipassanā*, and, becoming an Arahat, rose up in the boiling oil and remained unhurt, "like a royal swan in an emerald vase," and, in that position reciting a hundred stanzas, looked into the past to ascertain of what sin this was the result. He found that once upon a time, when he was a shepherd, he cast a fly into boiling milk, and this was the punishment for his former misdeed. He then expired, and the king had his body cast into the sea. A vihāra seems to have been built later on the spot where the therā was put to death, for the *Sāḷalihinī-sandeśa*, written in CE 1462, refers to it as still existing. [163]

“The decorated hall, which in their zeal
The merit-seeking people built upon
The spot where stood the cauldron of hot oil
Into which King Kelaṇi-Tissa threw
The guileless sage, a mere suspect of crime.”⁴

1. JPTS, 1886, p. 41, vv. 1–5.

2. Mhv XXII.13–20.

3. See D'Alwis, *Sidat-saṅgarā*, pp. clxxx and cclxxi.

The present text purports to contain the stanzas uttered by the Elder in the boiling cauldron, but their language and style most definitely point to a very much later date. The verses as we have them now are only ninety-eight in number;¹ possibly the “hundred” mentioned in the *Rasa-vāhinī* is only a round figure. Neither the author of our version nor his date is known. There is no doubt, however, that he was a member of the Order, well versed in the Piṭakas and commentarial literature.

The stanzas show great depth of religious and metaphysical learning. The verses embody in them the fundamental tenets of Buddhism and are an earnest exhortation to men to lead the good life. They open with a blessing upon the king, apt beginning for the utterances of a holy man before his murderer. Their setting is exquisite, and the style of the poem clearly shows that it was written by a man who also knew Sanskrit quite well. Only such a man could have constructed in the elaborate and beautiful metre of the poem, so delicate a specimen of mosaic work in Sanskritized Pali. Yet the Pali is not overladen with Sanskritisms, which shows that the work is earlier than the twelfth century. It is a fine specimen of the literature of what might be called the Pali Renaissance period, before the language became contaminated by Sanskrit influences and lost its pristine purity of diction and simplicity. I give below the first verse, which is a good example of the style of the poem:

Laṅkissaro jayatu vāraṇarājagāmī
Bhogindabhogarucirāyatapīnabāhu,
Sādhūpacāranirato guṇasannivāso
Dhamme ʒhito vigatakodhamadāvalepo. [164]

Such, then, are the Pali works of which we have any knowledge that were written during the four centuries previous to the accession of Vijayabāhu. Vijaya-Bāhu succeeded to a kingdom torn by strife and completely overrun by foreign enemies. Just previous to him, Sena V had reigned (c. 991 CE), a lad of 12 years at the time of his coronation. Because of his evil companions his ministers rebelled, and the young king in despair handed over his capital to the Tamils and fled south. In his adversity he took to drink and became so addicted to the vice that he was nicknamed Matvala Sen (the mad tiger).

When he died after ten years, he was succeeded by his brother Mahinda V, who was fitted neither by character nor by capability to

4. Macready's version, verse 70.

1. See the text in JPTS, 1884, p. 55 foll.

rule a kingdom. Sena's misrule had plunged the country into confusion. Strangers from across the seas, belonging to diverse races, had become so numerous and powerful in Anurādhapura, that the king found it difficult to maintain his position there. The weakness of his administration led to insubordination; the people refused to pay taxes, and the king had not the wherewithal to pay his army. The Coḷa king, seizing the opportunity, sent over a large army and conquered the country north of the Mahāvāliḡaṅga. In a few years the Tamil domination extended even beyond the river. The Coḷas became masters of both Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. This was the last of the glory of Anurādhapura, which for twelve centuries had been the centre of all the activities of the Sinhalese, religious, social, and intellectual. Robbed of its ancient splendour, this noble city ceased henceforward to be the pride of Laṅkā and gradually fell into decay and ruin.

In the thirty-sixth year of his reign Mahinda himself and his queen were captured and taken away. The Tamils were masters of all Ceylon. They sacked all the Vihāras and the Dagobas, and destroyed whatever they could not carry away. They had been taught by the earlier Sinhalese royal imbeciles who hired them¹ that wealth was to be found in plenty in [165] the monasteries. "The Tamils, like unto Rakkhasas (demons)," says the *Mahā-vam̄sa*,² "began to oppress the country and take by force whatever belonged to the people." Mahinda's capture was in A.D. 1001. Till Vijayabāhu was crowned as king of all Ceylon in A.D. 1065, there was no peace in the land. The interval was one long period of war and persecution. "Thus did these kings war with one another," bemoans the *Mahā-vam̄sa*; and "drive each other away from the throne; and by reason of this continual warfare the people were sore, oppressed and suffered greatly, and the country was brought to great poverty."³

When he had driven out the enemy who had been completely tyrannizing over the island for over a century, Vijayabāhu turned his mind to the task, equally colossal, of repairing the fearful damage that had been inflicted upon the national life during that period of alien domination. He resided at Polonnaruva, which now became the capital of the kingdom. The century of Coḷa supremacy was much more than a political evil. Its devastating effects were felt in every fibre of the national being, but nowhere so disastrously as in that of religion: The destruc-

1. e.g. by Kassapa II and Dāṭhopa-Tissa I.

2. Mhv LIV.66-8.

3. Mhv LIV.34 foll

tion of the great religious edifices, the *vihāras*, *pariveṇas*, and monasteries resulted in the dissolution of the great fraternities that formed the Saṅgha, and the consequent decay of that high-souled institution and of the national learning, of which it had been the faithful custodian.

The most significant evidence of the complete disorganization of the Saṅgha under the Tamil rule lies in the total disappearance of the Bhikkhunī Order during this period. Hence forward we find no reference to nunneries in the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. Up to this time they had continued to flourish unaffected by persecutions consequent on schisms, though there is evidence that among the Bhikkhunīs, too, there were heretical schools;¹ [166] but we do not hear of their having been persecuted at any time. The Bhikkhunī Order had been fostered and cherished by successive rulers for over twelve centuries, and why it was now allowed to die out completely without any attempt at resuscitation, it is difficult to understand.

Vijayabāhu found that no ordination of bhikkhus had been held for long years, because the whole island could not muster five ordained monks. He therefore sent an embassy to his friend and ally, King Anuruddha of Rāmaññadesa, soliciting his help in restoring the Sāsana in Ceylon. A number of eminent Theras, masters of the Tipiṭaka, were sent over, who re-established the ordination in the island and helped in the resuscitation of learning by instructing a large number of bhikkhus in the three Piṭakas and the commentaries.² King Anuruddha was then fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country, and it is said that he consulted Vijayabāhu and came to an agreement with him as to the Pali texts which were to be accepted as representing the true teaching of the Buddha.³

The three fraternities were restored to their ancient homes, and, although they reappear as distinct bodies, they seem to have lost much of the sectarian spirit which had kept them disunited. A Tamil inscription of Vijayabāhu records that he brought about a reconciliation of the three Nikāyas,⁴ and we find that they consented to accept in common a Vihāra he built for them at Polonnaruva.⁵

1. Thus, e.g. Moggallāna I (497–515 CE) is said to have built a special convent called Rājini and given it to the Sāgalikā sisterhood, Mhv XXXIX.43.

2. Mhv LX.5–7.

3. M. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 11.

4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. II, pt. VI, p. 234.

5. Mhv LX.13.

This religious revival was, as might be expected, accompanied by a great intellectual re-awakening. The king himself was a scholar and a poet of no mean order; the pursuits of literature had a great attraction for him. Amidst his multifarious duties, he found time every morning to seclude himself for a few hours in his religious library (*dhamma-mandira*) and there he composed a Sinhalese translation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*.¹ [167]

Unfortunately, this work, as well as the Sinhalese poems which the *Mahā-vam̐sa* says he composed, are now lost. He was a generous patron of learning; the young noblemen attached to his court were encouraged by suitable presents to engage themselves in literary pursuits, and the king himself acted as judge of them. He caused the three Piṭakas to be written and given to the monks who desired copies. Scholars from abroad, especially from India, brought Ceylon once more into touch with the culture and the intellectual movements of other lands. Sanskrit and Tamil were assiduously studied, and several works of merit in Pali too were produced.

Chief among these was the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* of Anuruddha. Earlier in this chapter attention was drawn to the fact that during this period (seventh to eleventh century) much care was bestowed on the study of the Abhidhamma. Special teachers were appointed to give instruction in the subject. Generous endowments were made to those who devoted themselves to Abhidhamma learning and recitals. More than one king studied it himself, and we now find Vijayabāhu translating the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. We need not be surprised, therefore, that the works of this time deal mostly with the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.²

It was mentioned earlier that one of the influences of the migration into Ceylon of large numbers of Tamils from South India was the greater attention devoted to the study of Sanskrit. Already in the fourth century Buddhādāsa had composed a medical treatise (the *Sārārthasaṅgraha*) in that language. At the beginning of the sixth century Kumāradāsa had written an exquisite Sanskrit poem, the *Jānakī-*

1. Mhv LX.17.

2. When King Jeṭṭha-Tissa (623 CE) was losing ground in his fight with the Tamils, the message he sent to his queen was that she should betake herself into a convent, learn the Doctrine and, having preached the Abhidhamma, give him the merits thereof; and we are told that the queen did as she was asked, and perfected herself in the Abhidhamma and the *Aṭṭhakathā*—a striking illustration of the great veneration in which the Abhidhamma was held (Mhv XLIV.107–17).

haraṇa, and in the *Siyabas-lakara*, a work on Sinhalese prosody, [168] already noticed, written by Silāmegha Sena (846–66 CE), the influence of the Sanskrit rhetoric is clearly to be seen. Somewhere about the tenth or eleventh century lived an Elder named Ratnaśrījñāna, also called Ratnamatipāda, author of two works on Sanskrit grammar, the *Cāndragomi-vyākaraṇa-pañjikā*, and the *Śabdārtha-cintā*.¹

The Pali language, which had reached the height of its development with Buddhaghosa and his successors, Dhammapāla, Mahānāma, and others, remained as the cultivated literary language of Ceylon, used by those who had a clear mastery over it, for about three centuries. With the incursions of the Tamils and the consequent general disorder in the kingdom circumstances were incompatible with much literary effort and the cultivation of Pali generally dwindled. More attention began to be given to secular subjects than heretofore, and Sanskrit came to be regarded as being of the first importance for that purpose. Already in the *Mahābodhi-vam̐sa* the influence of Sanskrit studies was plainly perceptible in the loss of the simplicity of its Pali, in the restriction of its freedom, in its long compounds, and its intricate versification. Mention was made of the fact that Vijaybāhu I encouraged learned men from other lands to come and settle down in Ceylon. They were *par excellence* Sanskritists, and set up a faction for Sanskrit modes of literature. Sanskrit forms of expression became the vogue. This process, however, did not reach its culmination till about a century or two after Vijayabāhu; but we see its clear workings even in the literature of the period now under review.

The author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* was an Elder named Anuruddha. His name is mentioned in the colophon of that work, and there he is stated to have been an incumbent of the Mūlasoma-vihāra. The style of his language shows that he did not live before the tenth or eleventh century, most probably the latter. And the fact that Sāriputta, who lived in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great (1164–97), compiled a [169] paraphrase to the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*—coupled with the fact that no mention is made in Anuruddha's work of the exploits of Parākrama, whose greatness was extolled by all the writers of his period—would lead us to place the author before that monarch. Scholars agree in ascribing him to the beginning of the twelfth century.² Not much more is known about him. According to the Burmese tradition Anuruddha was an Elder of Ceylon and wrote the

1. Wickremasinghe, p. xiii.

2. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. vii and footnote.

Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha at the (Mūlasoma) Vihāra founded by Somādevī, Queen of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (88–76 BCE) and the minister Mūla, at Polonnaruva.¹ The statement that he lived at Mūlasoma-vihāra is supported by the Colophon to the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* mentioned above.

The *Sāsana-vaṃsa* merely calls him “Anuruddha Ācariya of Ceylon.”² The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* of the fourteenth century gives him as the author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, and states also that Anuruddha (most probably identical with our author) also wrote another work on Abhidhamma, the *Paramattha-vinicchaya*; but he is there mentioned as having lived at Kāñcīpura (Conjevaram), reputed as the abode of the commentator Dhammapāla.³

In his edition of the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, J. Gray gives a chronological list of saintly and learned men of Southern India, taken from the Talaing records, and there we find Anuruddha, mentioned⁴ after authors who are supposed to have lived later than the seventh or eight century. The *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 61) gives him as author of three treatises on the Abhidhamma, the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, *Paramattha-vinicchaya*, and *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*, and mentions him among the Ceylon authors (p. 67). The evidence before us would lead to the conclusion, therefore, that Anuruddha lived about the beginning of the twelfth century, that he was a native of [170] Ceylon, but spent part of his time at Kāñcīpura, in South India, and that he was the author of three works on the Abhidhamma. Such is also the universal belief in Ceylon.⁵

In the printed edition of the *Anuruddha-śataka*—a Buddhist devotional poem of 101 stanzas, in elegant Sanskrit and one of the few Sanskrit works now extant in Ceylon—Paṇḍita Baṭuvantudāvē, one of the most erudite of Oriental scholars in Ceylon in the last century, states that the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* mentions the *Anuruddha-śataka* and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* as works of the same author, Anuruddha.⁶ D’Alwis, in his catalogue, reiterates the same statement.⁷ The Pali Text Society edition of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, however, makes no such mention. The statements of these two responsible scholars show that

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1. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. vii.
 2. p. 34
 3. P.T.S. Ed., p. 82.
 4. p. 26.
 5. De Zoysa, p. iv.
 6. Colombo Ed., 1866, p. ii.
 7. p. 170.

they had a variant reading of the passage before them. At any rate, that both the *Anuruddha-śataka* and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* are the works of the same author is universally believed in Ceylon.¹

Now, the *Anuruddha-śataka* tells us in its concluding stanzas:

“*idam vyadhattottaramūlanātha-
ratnāṅkuropasthavirānuruddhaḥ*”

“that “it was done by Anuruddha, Upasthavira (or Anunāyaka), who was like unto a gem in the necklace of the Uttaramūla (Nikāya).”

This is the first time, as far as we know, that this new Nikāya comes into sufficient prominence for notice to be taken of it. There is no doubt, to my mind, that the Uttarōla monastery referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*² was the headquarters of the new fraternity. It was built by King Mānavamma, son of Kāsyapa II, who ascended the throne in 691 CE, and ruled at Anurādhapura, according to the *Pūjāvāliya*, for thirty-five years.³ It was an offering of gratitude by him to the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra [171] for having consented to take into the Order his elder brother in spite of the loss of one eye, which he had suffered in some yoga practices.⁴ The first chief of the Uttarōla was the king's brother himself, and he was in charge of 600 monks; he was granted great honours and privileges together with five classes of servants to minister unto him. He was appointed to supervise the guardians of the Tooth Relic, and from that time the monks of the Abhayagiri became the king's counsellors, and we are told that “hearkening unto their counsel he governed righteously.”⁵

Mānavamma was Vijayabāhu's paternal ancestor, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, and from a Tamil inscription of this king we find that he kept up his patronage of the Uttaramūla Nikāya, for it is recorded that he himself gave over the custodianship of the Tooth Relic, which was the most precious heritage of a Ceylon king, to a monk named Moggallāna, of this fraternity.⁶ Probably this same Moggallāna was the Mahā-Nāyaka of the Nikāya during Anuruddha's time, for we find Anuruddha describing himself as Upasthavira (the second chief). In later times the

1. See also Wickremasinghe, p. xiv.

2. Mhv LVII.20.

3. Wijesinha, *Mahāvamsa*, pt. II, p. xx (table).

4. Mhv LVII.7–11.

5. Mhv LVII.16–26.

6. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. II, part VI, pp. 250

Uttaramūla Nikāya gave birth to many an illustrious star in Ceylon's literary firmament: Moggallāna, Vilgammūla, and Śrī Rāhula, to mention but three. Successive kings extended to them their patronage and made munificent endowments for the maintenance of the Nikāya. Of these, each in its proper place.

For nearly nine centuries the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* has stood at the head of works on Abhidhamma, held in the highest esteem by all Buddhists of the Southern school. It gives in outline what the teaching of this part of the Doctrine meant to the ancient Buddhists, but it is no systematic digest of the Abhidhamma Canon. Its style is unattractive, with its dry, terse categories, elliptical mnemonic summaries, its endless catalogues and analyses. "Compared with the older [172] and the more famous classic, Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, the *Compendium* [*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*] covers very largely the same range of subject-matter as that work, though without the same amplitude of treatment. But the object of each work, and hence, to some extent, the order and emphasis of treatment in each is different. The *Compendium* is a concise statement of a view of things; with purely theoretical analysis. The *Way of Purity* is ethical in its end, and is psychological only in order the better to teach ethics, and the way to saintship. The two works are thus to some extent mutually complementary."¹

The curt and dry method of its treatment, and the numerical characters of its psychological analyses, required a great deal of patient study before they could be mastered. But here we have a "famous and venerable digest of that mere abstract, analytical teaching which the Buddhists called Abhidhamma, or 'ultra-doctrine,' wherever the narrative and the homily of the Suttanta discourses found no place,"² and the very nature of the work made perhaps, a simpler, more attractive treatment of the subject very difficult. Words were yet wanting to express certain ideas; the crystallized experience of the ages had not yet become sufficiently familiarized with, the fundamental question of philosophy, for such subjects as mental phenomena to be talked of, except in crude and bizarre numerical analyses. Anuruddha's work, however, was in great measure an advance on what had gone before him,³ yet the subjects he treated of were abstruse and difficult to understand.

1. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. x.

2. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. xvii.

3. E.g. in the treatment of the *bhavaṅga* and the *cittas*; the methods of introspection employed with regard to the theory of *cetasikas*. For a fuller description see *Compendium of Philosophy*, Preface, pp. xix foll., and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, 2nd ed., 1924.

Everyone had not the high gifts to unravel the cobwebbed structure of this little manual, these subtle psychological analyses. Hence grew up around it a mass of exegetical literature, explanatory of its difficulties.¹ In [173] Ceylon itself Sāriputta Mahāsāmi (also, apparently, called in Burma Nava-Vimalabuddhi) and his pupil, Sumaṅgala, wrote *īkās* on the work, the first of which is now hardly ever used. Sumaṅgala's *īkā*, *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī*, still remains in favour both in Burma and in Ceylon. Sāriputta also wrote a verbatim paraphrase in Sinhalese.² Several commentaries on the book have been written in Burma, some in Pali and others in Burmese, and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* continues to be studied with great zeal and earnestness in Burma even today.³

Two other works of Anuruddha, the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* and the *Paramattha-vaṇicchaya*, are included among the nine "Little Finger Manuals" (*Let-Than*) of the Burmese.⁴ Both works were written while the author was residing at Kāñcīpura, in the Tambaraṭṭha, as he says in the colophon or *nigamana* of the *Paramattha-vaṇicchaya*. They are composed in *gāthā* verse, and show him as a poet of much ability, with more scope for his metrical gifts than was possible when he was composing the analyses of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. It is interesting to note that in the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* he says that he composed the work according to the commentaries of the Mahā-vihāra⁵ and in the colophon he makes affectionate reference to Ceylon, showing his connection with the island (vv. 1849–55).

The treatment of the subject in the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* is much simpler than in the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*; it is meant to be an introduction to the study of the Abhidhamma, divided into thirteen chapters, giving a general idea of the subjects that would come before the student as he reads the Abhidhamma books, and thus familiarizing his mind with the chief lines of [174] thought he would have to follow out later in greater detail: Two *īkās* exist on the work, one by Vācissara

1. The *Piṭakattha-main* (a Burmese bibliography of Burmese Buddhist works) mentions twenty-three different Burmese *nissayas* on this work. All the Burmese authors of the 17th century took it in hand, and it has been carefully edited by modern *Hsayās* [= *Sayādaws*]. See M. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 61–62.

2. De Zoysa, p. iv.

3. *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. ix–x.

4. The others being Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rupārūpa-vibhāga*, Dhammapāla's *Sacca-saṅkhepa*, Kassapa's *Moha-vaṇicchedanī*, Khema's *Khema-ppakaraṇa*, and Chapaṭa's *Nāmācāra-dīpa*.

5. JPTS, 1923, p. 5, v. 2.

(thirteenth century) and the other by Sumaṅgala, author of the *Vibhāvanī-ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.

The *Paramattha-vinicchaya* is a much shorter work in twenty-nine sections, dealing with *citta*, *cetasika*, *rūpa*, and *nibbāna*, by no means so comprehensive as the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*; nor is it as extensively used. A commentary exists, written by a Mahā-Bodhi Thera, of whom nothing more is known except that he was an incumbent of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura.¹ Both works are notable specimens of medieval Pali verse. [175]

1. Aung, JPTS, 1910, p. 126. The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* also mentions him as the author of a *Sacca-saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā* on Dhammapāla's *Sacca-saṅkhepa* (q.v.).

CHAPTER IX

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Vijayabāhu's death in 1120 CE was again the signal for internal discord, which threatened to dissever the unity of the kingdom. But in this emergency a mighty figure appeared on the stage and all other claimants to the throne were overruled in favour of Parākrama, a prince of great accomplishments and of energy so unrivalled as to secure for him the goodwill of his kindred and the admiration and loyalty of the people. High thoughts welled within his breast: "If I, who am born of a princely race, should not do a deed worthy of the heroism of kings, my life would be of no avail,"¹ he had said while yet a child, and it had been his ambition to rescue his motherland from foreign dominion and consolidate the monarchy in his own person.

He completed by foreign travel an education which, according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa*² comprised every science and accomplishment of the age in which he lived, including theology, medicine and logic, grammar, poetry and music, the training of the elephant and the management of the horse. With consummate skill and unsurpassed power of organization, with an originality which always stood him in good stead and with unremitting care for details, he soon became master of the kingdom and in 1164 CE crowned himself "sole king of Laṅkā."

There is no name in all the annals of Sinhalese history which commands the veneration of the people in such measure as that of this prince of the "mighty arm", Parākrama Bāhu, since he united in his person the piety of Devānampiyatissa and the chivalry of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Once peace was assured within his dominions, he would not rest content with the inglorious ease of his predecessors. His was the ambition to combine the renown of foreign conquests with the triumphs of domestic policy. In pursuance of the former he carried his arms even [176] into such distant countries as Cambodia and Arammana, which had offered him insult or inflicted injury on his subjects.³

To secure the prosperity of the land he devoted himself most earnestly to agriculture as his first task and constructed as many as fourteen hundred and seventy tanks, three of them of such vast dimen-

1. Mhv LXIV.48.

2. Mhv LXIV.30 ff.

3. Mhv LXXVI.12 ff.

sions that they were known as the “seas of Parākrama.”¹ By a careful organization of a splendid civic service he suppressed all lawlessness with a firm hand, and in one of his inscriptions it is recorded, that “the security which he established as well in the wilderness as in the inhabited places was such that even a woman might traverse the island with a precious jewel in her hand and not be asked what it was.”²

But all his energies he made subservient to the restoration and the embellishment of his religion, and the encouragement of the fine arts. In spite of Vijayabāhu’s efforts to purge the Buddhist Saṅgha of undesirables, there still remained within its fold members who were unfit to lead the monastic life, fattening on the endowments given to various monasteries by monarchs whose zeal for generosity was not tempered by any discrimination. “In the villages that were given to the Order,” says the *Mahā-vamsa* with scathing sarcasm, “purity of conduct among monks consisted only in that they supported their wives and children. Verily of purity there was none other than this. Neither was there any unity in the performance of the office of the Church; and those monks that walked the blameless life cared not even to see each other.”³

The king determined to end this lamentable state of affairs, and, being a just man, impartial and resolute withal, he proceeded with great tact and skill. He decided to hold a council of the Elders of the three fraternities and appointed Mahā Kassapa of Udumbaragiri-vihāra, a man learned in the [177] three Piṭakas, who knew the Vinaya wholly, as the head of the assembly. He first invited the leaders of the dissentient schools, who lived in various parts of the country, to Polonnaruva and then requested the Mahā-vihāra monks to be reconciled to them. But they were unwilling, “inasmuch as the lewd brethren prevailed in the church and the breach was from old time.”⁴ Some departed to countries over the seas, others took off their robes and many wished not even to sit in the same judgment hall. Then began the great trial to see whose teachings were correct, and very hard were the questions that had to be determined. “Verily, it seemed as if the endeavour to accomplish this unity was like unto the effort to raise Mount Meru.” But the king was not to be baffled in his purpose. He secured the assistance of great doctors learned in the three Piṭakas, and with their help solved the questions that arose for judgment. He was convinced of the righteous-

1. *Rāja-ratnācarī*, p. 88.

2. Tennent, I p. 409.

3. Mhv LXXVIII.3-4.

4. Mhv LXXVIII.12.

ness of the claims of the Mahā-vihāra, and ended by becoming their patron. He upheld their decisions and decreed that their teachings should be accepted. With great care and patience he made investigation into the members of the schismatic schools; many of them he caused to return to the life of novices, others he persuaded to leave the Order, giving them lands and offices for their maintenance.¹ Where persuasion was of no avail, he used force and compelled them to disrobe themselves. The triumph of the Mahā-vihāra was complete, the three fraternities² were united and from this time we hear no more of the power of dissentient bodies. This unification of religion was succeeded by the erection of numerous buildings for the benefit of its votaries. Dagobas and statues of the Buddha were multiplied without end, temples of every form erected in Polonnaruva and elsewhere throughout the country. Halls for the reading of *bana*, [178] image-rooms, residences for the priesthood, ambulance halls and rest-houses for their accommodation when on journeys were built in every district, and rocks were hollowed out as dwellings for those more inclined to solitude.³

The *Mahā-vamsa* devotes several chapters to describing the various activities of the king. Even now the ruins of Polonnaruva, the most picturesque city in Ceylon, attest to the care which he lavished on his capital. Ramparts were built and fortresses erected; palaces for his own use, schools and libraries, magnificent halls for music and dancing and drama, tanks for public baths, parks and flower-gardens.

The bare enumeration of such works conveys an idea of the immense prosperity which must have made their performance possible. With this perfect internal tranquillity, undisturbed by oppression, encouraged in their activities by the great and devout interest taken by the head of the State himself, and working amidst congenial and beautiful surroundings, there arose during this period a band of scholars, who made this epoch the Augustan age of Ceylon literature.

Oldest among them was Mahā Kassapa of Dimbulāgala-vihāra (= Udumbaragiri-vihāra), who, as we saw above, was appointed by the king to preside over the great council of Elders in order to decide the Vinaya rules. He was especially proficient in the Vinaya Laws, and his services were of great use at the Assembly.⁴ He was the author of a Sin-

1. Mhv LXXVIII.17–20.

2. The Abhayagiri, the Jetavana, and the Mahāvihāra.

3. Mhv LXXVIII.31 ff.

4. Mhv LXXVIII.7.

halese *sannē*, a paraphrase, to the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, which is no longer extant. He was a Sanskrit scholar as well, and wrote a grammar in that language, called *Bālāvabodhana*, on the lines of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*.¹ He is also reputed to have written a *porāṇa-ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. Whether he is identical with the Elder Kassapa, whom the *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa*² calls a poet of the Coḷa country, but who is regarded in Burma [179] as a native of Ceylon³ and author of a treatise on the Abhidhamma called the *Moha-vicchedanī* (which forms one of the “Little-Finger Manuals” in Burma), a *ṭīkā* on the same, a Vinaya commentary called the *Vimati-vinodanī*, and also according to the *Gandha-vaṃsa*,⁴ of two other treatises called *Buddha-vaṃsa* and *Anāgata-vaṃsa*,⁵ we cannot say.⁶ Of these, the *Vimati-vinodanī* commentary on the Vinaya, though now hardly known in Ceylon itself, has been held in great esteem in Burma. It was one of the authorities appealed to when Dhammaceti carried out his reforms in the fifteenth century, and is mentioned in the Kaḷyāṇi inscriptions. It was largely used by the Pārupaṇas in their debate with the Ekaṃsikas, which ended in the defeat of the latter by the clever Nāṇābhivaṃsa at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶

Contemporaneous with Kassapa was the Elder named Moggallāna, author of the *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*. He is, perhaps, to be separated from the lexicographer of the same name, who also lived at this time and wrote the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*. But of this more presently. Moggallāna’s work was an attempt to start a new school of Pali grammar in Ceylon. The influence of extensive Sanskrit studies during this period undoubtedly had something to do with it, as we shall see later on. Up to this time the *vade mecum* of Pali writers in determining their grammatical form had been *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*, which was held in very high esteem. This work consisted of eight divisions, each division comprising suttas or rules expressed with sententious brevity; *vutti* or supplementary comments to explain the deficiencies in the suttas and

1. Wickremasinghe, p. xv.

2. Verse 1204.

3. Aung, JPTS, 1910, p. 126, and Bode, op. cit., p. 33, note.

4. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 61.

5. See the section on *Anāgata-vaṃsa* and Upatissa above. Somapala Jayawardhana: “Ven. Mahā kassapa of Dimbulāgala-vihāra is not identifiable with the Ven. Kassapa of the Coḷa country. The latter is the author of the *Moha-vicchedanī* (an Abhidhamma commentary) and the *Vimati-vinodanī* (a *ṭīkā* on the *Samanta-pāsādikā*). The authorship of the *Moha-vicchedanī-ṭīkā* is also ascribed to him.”

6. Bode, op. cit., p. 76.

render them intelligible; *payoga* or grammatical analyses with examples, and the *nyāsa* or scholia, giving explanatory notes, on some of the principal grammatical forms in the shape of, questions and answers. The *Nyāsa* often exists as a separate book called *Mukha-matta-dīpanī*.¹

Tradition has it that all the [180] suttas or aphorisms were written by one and the same person—Mahā-Kaccāyana. In the *Kaccāyana-bheda*, written by Mahāyasa Thera of Thatōn about the thirteenth century,² there occurs a memorial verse: “The aphorisms, *Sutta*, were made by Kaccāyana; the *Vutti* by Saṅghānandi; the illustrations by Brahmadata; and the *Nyāsa* by Vimalabuddhi.”

From the distinct mention of different names for the authors of the different parts, it would seem that Saṅghānandi was different from Kaccāyana. In the *ṭīkā* to his work, written by Mahāyasa himself, he tries to justify the tradition that both rules and supplements were written by Kaccāyana, on the hypothesis that Kaccāyana may also have been called Saṅghānandi. That the tradition continued to be accepted as being authoritative, however, is shown by the fact that, in the *Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā* or commentary on the *Sandhi-kappa* (section treating of euphonic combination of letters) of Kaccāyana, Mahāvijitāvi of the Abhayagiri Parvata at Panyā (Vijaya-pura), who lived about the sixteenth century,³ still assigns the whole of the grammar and the *Mahā-Nirutti* and the *Netti-ppakkarāṇa* to Mahā-Kaccāyana.

In the commentary to Buddhappiya’s *Rūpa-siddhi*, a grammar based on the *Kaccāyana*, the author of the older grammar is identified with the Great Elder Mahā-Kaccāna, one of the eighty chief disciples of the Buddha: “Who is this Kaccāyana? Whence his name? It is he who was selected for the important office (of compiling the first Pali Grammar) by the Buddha himself, saying ‘Bhikkhus, amongst my disciples capable of elucidating in detail what is expressed in the abstract, the most eminent is Mahā-Kaccāna.’” According to the *Rūpa-siddhi*, Kaccāyana’s purpose was that “men of various nations and tongues, rejecting the dialects which have become confused by its disorderly mixture with Sanskrit and other languages, may with facility acquire, by conformity to the rules of grammar [181] propounded by the Tathāgata, the knowledge of the word of the Buddha.”⁴

1. Bode, op. cit., p. 37

2. Bode, p. 37.

3. Bode, p. 46.

4. Turnour, *Mahā-vaṃsa*, introd., p. xxvii.

In the *Anguttaraṭṭhakathā*, Kaccāyana is represented as “a therā who was able to amplify the concise words of the Buddha both by means of letters and by showing their sense. Others could do it only one way or the other. Therefore was he called the chief.”

It is quite possible that the great Elder Mahā-Kaccāna, a chief disciple of the Buddha, did compile a set of rules in the languages in which the Canon was handed down. There is evidence to show that Mahā-Kaccāna was the head of a school at Avantī. The *Mahā-vastu*¹ says that he was the nephew of Asita or Kāladevala, seer of Vindhyācala. Acting under the seer’s advice, he, together with his companions, visited the Buddha and there, impressed by the Buddha’s erudition, they, became monks and later attained Arahātship. Kaccāna (or Nalaka, as he was called, Kaccāna being the *gotta* or *gotra* or *gens* name), is said to have been the son of the minister of Caṇḍappajjota of Avantī. He returned with his followers from Sāvattihī and founded *āśramas* in the Avantī country at Kururaghara-papāta and Makkara-kata. The *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthā* contain several names of monks and nuns of this Avantī fraternity, e.g. Nanda Kumāraputta, Isidatta son of a caravan-guide, Dhammapāla, and Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa.²

Though the Avantī school never grew to be large in numbers, yet they had an important voice in matters of dispute with regard to changes of doctrine and in the rules of discipline, for we find that in the Council of Vesālī they had to be called in to take part in discussing the questions raised by the Vajjian monks.³ The Vinaya, in the 5th book (13) of the *Mahā-vagga*, mentions Avantī as a place difficult of access, and in the *Sutta-nipāta* the names of the halting stations are given from [182] Patiṭṭhāna to Sāvattihī through Avantī, in describing the journey of Bāvārī’s ten disciples when they came to see the Buddha. In the *Culla-vagga* (ii, p. 299) it is said that the Avantī Bhikkhus laid special stress on ascetic practices allowed in the Buddhist code which are known as the *dhuta-vāda* practices.

It is significant that the *Netti-ppakaraṇa*, which is a special work of doctrinal interpretation by way of exegetical analysis, should also be ascribed to Mahā-Kaccāna, who was reputed to be the greatest analytical exponent in the Buddha’s time. Living in comparative isolation, the school at Avantī may quite possibly have developed a system of analysis and of grammar—two more or less related subjects—and the

1. *Mahā-vastu*, vol. II, p. 382.

2. See *Psalm of the Brethren*, under these names.

3. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 107.

traditional assertion that Mahā-Kaccāna himself was the author of the terse aphorisms would therefore be justified to this extent that he was the founder of the school in whose *paramparā* the subject was handed down and further developed. And, just as in sanctioning the Vinaya rules as authoritative declarations, the words “*anujānāmi bhikkhave*” were put into the mouth of the Buddha, so quite possibly the grammatical rules were upheld by directly attributing them to the founder of the school himself.

That the grammar was the work of a south Indian school is further supported by the fact that when, after Moggallāna’s grammar had superseded Kaccāyana’s authority, the reaction set in a century later in favour of the elder author, it was led by a south Indian, Buddhappiya or Dīpaṅkara, with his grammar, the *Rūpa-siddhi*. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that there existed a set of grammatical rules going back possibly to Mahā-Kaccāna himself, and quoted on his authority, and that they were developed apparently in India, probably by members of the Avantī school, Saṅghānandi, Brahmadata, and lastly by Vimalabuddhi. The text now known to us may be considered a revised edition of what were traditionally known as the *Mahā-Kaccāyana Suttas*, arranged and enlarged by Saṅghānandi. This would also account for Mahāyasa’s surmise, mentioned earlier, that [183] Kaccāna and Saṅghānandi were one and the same. It is the generally accepted theory in Ceylon that the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa* has extensively borrowed its terminology from Sanskrit grammar and that there is much resemblance between the works of Kaccāyana and those of the Kātantra school rather than those of Pāṇini and his school. The Kātantra grammars do not labour under the studied brevity and obscurity of the Pāṇinians, and this perspicuity and method of treatment bear close affinity to those adopted in Kaccāyana’s work. It is clear however that, except in the examples drawn from the Buddhist canon and texts, most of the others are adapted from the well-known and common examples of all Sanskrit grammarians.¹

D’Alwis, in the scholarly Introduction to his edition of the *Kaccāyana*,² has shown that either Buddhaghosa was not familiar with the work of Kaccāyana, or the grammar had not in his time acquired the authority which it certainly exercised a few centuries later. Since, however, Buddhaghosa does make reference to Kaccāyana in his

1. For details see D’Alwis’ Introduction to his edition of the grammar, Colombo, 1864.

2. pp. xxv foll.

Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā as the chief of the *neruttikas* and mentions the *Kaccāyana-pakarāṇa* in the *Sutta-niddesa*, the first supposition falls to the ground. If in Buddhaghosa's time Kaccāyana's work had been widely known and accepted as the chief authority, he certainly would have used Kaccāyana's terminology. That Buddhaghosa's terms were different from Kaccāyana's will be clear from the following tabulated list of cases¹:

Buddhaghosa Kaccāyana
Paccattaṃ Paṭhama
Upayogaṃ Dutiyā
Karaṇaṃ Tatiyā
Sampadāna Catutthī
Nissakka Pañcamī
Sāmi Chaṭṭhī
Bhumma Sattamī
Ālapana Ālapana[184]

When, however, we come to the author of the *ṭīkās* written during and soon after the reign of Parākrama Bāhu I (1164 CE), we find that their terminology tallies with that of Kaccāyana.² We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the *Kaccāyana* came to be put into its present form and recognized in Ceylon as an authority on Pali grammar somewhere between the century after Buddhaghosa and the eleventh century. Edmund Hardy has shown us in his introduction to the *Nettipakarāṇa*³ that that work, too, does not seem to have been well known to Buddhaghosa. Possibly both works were introduced to Ceylon during the time when scholars from South India migrated to Ceylon in large numbers to study at the Mahā-vihāra and other centres of learning in Anurādhapura, soon after Buddhaghosa's works proved to them the richness and the genuineness of the Ceylon Theravāda tradition. It is now generally accepted that the *Kaccāyana* came into vogue in Ceylon about the seventh century of the Christian era.⁴

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1. There is, however, a Burmese tradition that Kaccāyana's grammar was brought to Burma by Buddhaghosa, and the Burmese translation and commentary are ascribed to him (*Pali Grammar*, by Francis Mason, introd., p. v).
 2. D'Alwis, loc. cit.
 3. P.T.S. Ed., pp. xiv–xv.
 4. Thus Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, Preface, p. viii. See, however, *Pali Grammar*, by Vidyābhūṣana, published by the Mahā Bodhi Society, Calcutta, where Kaccāyana's period is given as third century CE at Mathurā (Introd., p. xxviii).

In the eleventh century, when Vijayabāhu of Ceylon appealed to Anuruddha, king of Burma, for help in re-establishing the Saṅgha ordination in the island, the intercourse between the two countries became closer and more intimate. We saw in the last chapter how the two monarchs co-operated in arranging a common authoritative canon for both countries, and how Anuruddha obtained from Ceylon [185] copies of the Pali Tipiṭaka, which he examined and compared with the Thatōn collection, aided by the Talaing monk Arahanta. Anuruddha died in 1057 without being able to see the first fruits of his husbandry, but during the reigns of his immediate successors Pali learning took firm root at Pagan, and the works of this period show that the Burmese monks specialized in the study of *abhidhamma* and *nirutti* (grammar).

In 1154 the monk Aggavaṃsa completed the *Sadda-nīti*, a grammar based on the Tipiṭaka, and described it as the most comprehensive in existence.¹ It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age, and of the author to the present day, for the *Sadda-nīti* is still regarded in Burma as a classic. The *Sadda-nīti* formed the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. A few years after its completion, the Thera Uttarajīva left Pagan for the Mahā-vihāra, taking with him a copy of the work, which immediately evoked enthusiastic admiration and was declared superior to any work of the kind written by Sinhalese scholars.² Uttarajīva was accompanied by his pupil, the novice Chapaṭa, who lived amidst the Ceylon Saṅgha for several years, received ordination at their hands, and later became one of the most famous of the Burmese *literati* under the name of Saddhammajotipāla, author of many books, including several grammatical treatises based on the *Kaccāyana*, to which we shall refer later.³

The intimate association with grammarians of such eminence as these was bound to inspire their colleagues in Ceylon with a zeal for the study of the *nirutti-sattha* (grammatical science). A new zest was given

1. Bode, "Early Pali Grammarians in Burma," JPTS, 1908. The edition of the *Saddanīti* by Helmer Smith has been published by the P.T.S. (BPS ed.)

2. *Sāsana-vamsa*, p. 74.

3. Bode, op. cit., p. 89. "There seems to be a confusion between two Burmese monks named Chapaṭa and Chappaṭa, or Chappaḍa. The earlier, the pupil of the Elder Uttarajīva, accompanied his teacher to Ceylon in the twelfth century and received ordination from the Ceylon Saṅgha. He returned to Burma with four other bhikkhus, where he established a new ordination lineage. The second Chappaṭa was a Burmese monk who came to Ceylon during the reign of King Parākrama-bāhu VI (1412-1467), who had his capital at Jayawardhanapura. This latter Chappaṭa was also known by the name Saddhammajotipāla and is the author of the books discussed below." (Somapala Jayawardhana).

to the perusal of such works as they had already with them. Chief amongst such was undoubtedly the *Kaccāyana*, which they regarded as their manual. But since Kaccāyana's day other influences had been at work, shaping and moulding Pali grammatical [186] forms. In Ceylon the great attention given to Sanskrit by the learned monks had brought about the birth of a Sanskritized Pali, which was recognized as good literature. The need was therefore felt for a more up-to-date treatise on Pali grammar, and an Elder named Moggallāna came forward to supply that need.

Of the man himself, apart from his work, we know little. He was a pupil of Mahā-Kassapa of Udumbaragiri, and it is stated in the colophon of the grammar that he wrote it in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great, after the king had purged the Saṅgha of all heretical and sinful Bhikkhus, i.e. after A.,D. 1165. Śrī Rāhula, author of the *Pañjikā-pradīpa* on *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa* states that Moggallāna was an incumbent of the Thūpārāma-vihāra at Anurādha-pura.¹ He was perhaps identical with the Moggallāna Thera mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Vijayabāhu² as having been entrusted with the custodianship of the Tooth Relic, in which case he was the head of the Uttaramūla Nikāya, of which fraternity the author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* was *anunāyaka*. He was doubtless a distinguished scholar, for he is very highly spoken of by his contemporary, the learned Medhaṅkara³ of Udumbaragiri-vihāra, a pupil of Sāriputta and author of several works of note. He is also mentioned as one of his teachers in most eulogistic terms by Saṅgharakkhita,⁴ another of Sāriputta's pupils, who wrote no less than five comprehensive works on Pali grammar and prosody.

As has been already mentioned, there are several points of difference between Moggallāna's grammar and those of the *Kaccāyana* school. Aggavaṃsa's *Sadda-nīti*, introduced into Ceylon from Burma, had followed the terminology of Kaccāyana. Moggallāna differs from them both. His aphorisms are differently worded. He disputes the correctness [187] of the very first sutta in the *Kaccāyana*—that there are forty-one letters in the Pali alphabet—and contends that the number is forty-three, including short *e* (= *ē*) and *o* (= *ō*). Kaccāyana, in his second chapter, mentions that the three inflexions, *-āya*, *-ā*, and *-e*, are used

1. See also De Zoysa, p. 24.

2. *Ep. Zeyl.*, vol. II, pt. VI, pp. 246 foll.

3. In the *Vinayārtha-samuccaya* (q.v.).

4. In his *Sambandha-cintā* (q.v.).

optionally with nouns for *-sa* (dat. sing.), *-smā* (abl. sing.), and *-smim* (loc. sing.) respectively, and that they are never used with pronouns. Moggallāna denies this, and quotes examples from the Tipiṭaka to support his contention. He takes exception to the *Kaccāyana* definition of the dative case as “that which expresses a wish to give, that which pleases or holds,” and states that, though words of giving govern a dative case, and though the forms of the two cases are identical, yet words expressing pleasure and bidding govern a genitive.¹

The work is divided into six chapters: terminology and *sandhi*, declensions, compounds, nominal derivations, verbal derivatives, and verbs. Moggallāna himself calls his work *Sadda-sattha* (work on verbal science), and mentions in the colophon that not only did he write the aphorisms, but also composed to them a *vutti*-explanatory of the rules in detail.

He also wrote a *pañcīkā* or commentary on his *vutti*, and called it the *Vutti-vaṇṇanā-pañcīkā* dealing with the *kāraka* (syntax) only. This extinct work is well known because of the *Pañcīkā-pradīpa* written on it, by Śrī Rāhula Saṅgharāja, mentioned above. Moggallāna’s work started a new school of Pali grammar in Ceylon, which included such luminaries of learning as Saṅgharakkhita, Piyadassi, author of the *Pada-sādhana*, Ānanda, Vanaratana Medhaṅkara, and Śrī Rāhula. Their works will be dealt with in their respective places.

A Moggallāna was also the author of the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*, written at the same time as the above, in the reign of Parākrama the Great. Whether he was identical with the grammarian or with the Moggallāna referred to in Vijayabāhu’s inscription is at present impossible to say. A Sinhalese *sannē* or verbatim paraphrase of the work says that it [188] was composed by the author of the *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*, but, though the *sannē* is undoubtedly an ancient and a valuable work, we know neither its author, nor the date of its compilation. The same statement is made in a *ṭīkā* or commentary which is certainly later than the *sannē*, for reference is made there to the latter work. The tradition in Ceylon is that the author of the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* is different from the grammarian.² The work belongs to the latter part of Parākrama’s reign, for the author speaks in high praise of the king and of the works done by him for the adornment of his capital and as “having long extended his protection to the united Saṅgha of the Three Nikāyas.”

1. Also D’Alwis, *Catalogue*, p. 184.

2. See Subhūti’s edition, Colombo, 1865, and also see De Zoysa, p. 21.

Moggallāna calls himself “the special object of the King’s wish-conferring patronage and a dweller amongst the Sarō-gāma fraternity.” He composed his work at the Mahā Jetavana-vihāra in Pulasti-pura (Polonnaruva).¹ The seventy-eighth chapter of the *Mahā-vamsa* speaks of Moggallāna as having attended the Convocation of Mahā-Kassapa from the country of the Uparāja or sub-king.² The headquarters of the Sarō-gāma fraternity were at Seruvāvila near Trincomali, and this community came into prominence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when one of its members became head of the Kitsirimevan Kālani Temple and compiled several works of merit.³ Even in the twelfth century they must have constituted an important body of monks; otherwise they would not have been represented in the Convocation. The Jetavana-vihāra was built by Parākrama to rival in splendour Anāthapiṇḍika’s gift to the Buddha. We are told that it consisted of 520 dwelling-houses, apart from other buildings, and was replete with every means of comfort.⁴

The *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* is the only ancient Pali dictionary in Ceylon, and it follows the style and method of the Sanskrit [189] *Amara-koṣa*. As the name implies, it is meant to throw light (*padīpa*) on the meanings of nouns (*abhidhāna*). In the opening stanzas Moggallāna tells us that his work was written because “an intimate acquaintance with nouns and their genders is essential for those desiring to learn the correct significance of words and is a help to those wishing to master the word of the Buddha.” In the colophon he says that the lexicon “interprets the names of all objects in the Deva, Mānuṣa, and Nāga worlds.” The work is divided into three parts, dealing with celestial, terrestrial, and miscellaneous objects respectively, and each part is subdivided into several sections, which are by no means mutually exclusive. The whole book is a dictionary of synonyms, all the names given to one particular thing being grouped together and put into verse to facilitate memorizing them. The last two sections of the last part are devoted to homonyms and indeclinable particles.

The work is held in the highest esteem both in Burma and Ceylon. In Burma an important officer of state under King Kittisīhasūra (1351 CE) wrote a *Samvaṇṇanā* on it and the Elder Ñāṇavara of Pagān translated

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1. Subhūti’s edition, colophon.
 2. Mhv LXXVIII.9.
 3. Wickremasinghe, p. 23.
 4. Mhv LXXVIII.31–48.

the Lexicon into Burmese in the eighteenth century, thus completing a task which had been begun by his predecessors in the seventeenth century.¹ In Ceylon itself a *sannē* and a *ṭikā* were written, to which reference has already been made.

Mrs. Bode mentions² that in the Ekamsika-Pāruṇa controversy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Ekamsikas quoted in support of their arguments a treatise called *Cūḷa-gaṇṭhi-pada*, which they attributed to the Arahat Moggallāna, one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. They explained that it was embodied in a text known as the *Piṭakattaya-lakkhana-gandha*, brought to Burma by Buddhaghosa. But the Pāruṇas maintained that the text on which the Ekamsikas depended was a treatise called the *Vinaya-gaṇṭhi-pada*, of the twelfth century, and was written [190] in Ceylon by the Thera Moggallāna in Parākramabāhu's reign. The title of the book would suggest that it was a dissertation on the Vinaya, but no such book is known in Ceylon at the present day, and, so far as I am aware, Moggallāna did not write any compilation on the Vinaya and the only work bearing the name of *Vinaya-gaṇṭhi-pada* extant at present in Burma is ascribed to a Sinhalese monk named Joti, of whom nothing more is known.³

Perhaps brightest among the constellations that adorned Ceylon's literary firmament during Parākramabāhu's reign was Sāriputta, called also Sāgarāmatī,⁴ "like to the ocean in wisdom." He was one of the prominent members of Parākramabāhu's convocation, and we are told that the king built for him "a mansion of great splendour containing many halls and chambers," attached to the Great Jetavana-vihāra at Polonnaruva.⁵ Like all the other learned men of his period, he was a clever Sanskrit scholar as well, and wrote a *ṭikā* on Ratnaśrījñāna's *pañjikā* to the *Cāndragomi-vyākaraṇa*. This was called the *Ratnamati-pañjikā-ṭikā* or *Pañjikālaṅkāra*. He is also credited with having written a concise grammar in Sanskrit, called the *Padāvatāra*, dealing mainly with words, their forms and meanings, but this work is now apparently lost.⁶

Another of his works is the *Vinaya-saṅgha*, a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka; divided into various sections, giving concise explanations of Vinaya rules: Thus: "*Divāseyyā ti divānibbajjanam, tatrāyam vinicchayo: anujānāmi bhikkhave divāpaṭisalliyantena dvāraṃ saṃ-*

1. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3. Dr. Forchhammer's *List* published by the Government of India, 1879.

4. *Saddhamma-saṅgha*, p. 63.

5. Mhv LXXVIII.34.

6. See preface, p. xvi, printed edition of *Moggallāna-pañcikā-pradīpa*.

varitvā paṭisallayitun ti vacanato divā nippajjante dvāraṃ saṃvaritvā nibbajjitabbam.” (“*Divāseyyā* means ‘sleeping by day.’ This is the decision with regard to it, ‘Bhikkhus, I rule that he who rests in sleep by day should have his door closed,’ from this, ‘if one [191] sleeps by day the door should be closed.’”) In the colophon Sāriputta mentions that it was written by him at the request of King Parākrama.

The work seems to have been known under various titles. The Mandalay manuscript in the India Office Library has the title *Mahā-vinaya-saṅgaha-pakarāṇa* by Sāriputta, and in the colophon the work is called *Palimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya*. The manuscript in the Colombo Museum Library bears the title *Palimuttaka-vinaya*; D’Alwis in his *Catalogue* (p. 170) gives a *Palimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya* as one of Sāriputta’s works, and Westergaard has the same in his *Catalogue* (p. 48). Forchhammer’s *List* contains *Vinaya-mahāsaṅgaha*, by Sāriputta. The *Gandha-vam̐sa* calls it *Vinaya-saṅgaha* (p. 61); and so does the *Sāsana-vam̐sa* (p. 33).

In Burma the work is known as the *Vinaya-saṅgaha* and *Vinaya-saṅgaha-pakarāṇa*,¹ and is mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscription.² Among several works of Sinhalese authorship, it formed one of the chief works consulted by King Dhammaceti of Pegu in the fifteenth century, when he instituted his reforms for the Saṅgha,³ and the *Piṭakattha-main* (p. 43) mentions a commentary on it by the Ācariya of King Sin-gu of Ava.

It has been suggested in view of the variety of the titles under which the book is known that *Vinaya-saṅgaha*, or, to give it its full name, *Palimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha*, was only part of a much larger *Mahā-vinaya-saṅgaha-pakarāṇa*,⁴ but I see no reason to accept this suggestion. It is only too well known that the work of ancient authors often bore more than one title—sometimes confusedly so—and it is quite likely that Sāriputta’s work was no exception to this custom and that whatever its full and original name was, it was generally called the *Vinaya-saṅgaha*.

Two *ṭikās*⁵ are extant on it in Ceylon, one old (*porāṇa*) and the other new (*nava*), but the author and the date of neither is known. The *Gandha-vam̐sa* (p. 61) says [192] that Sāriputta wrote a *ṭikā* on it himself. He also wrote a Sinhalese *sannē* to the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.

1. Bode, p. 38, and p. 39, footnotes.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII.

3. Bode, p. 38.

4. E.g. Fausböll, JPTS, 1896, p. 18.

5. De Zoysa, p. 15.

Sāriputta's most comprehensive work, however, is the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, his masterly sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā* on the Vinaya Piṭaka. The immense amount of valuable information he has collected therein shows that his knowledge was extensive and profound, and that he was not second to the great commentator himself in exegetical ability. The language betrays the influence of Sanskrit learning on the author's Pali. Many of the illustrative stories given are of Ceylonese Theras and laymen, and the work contains a very valuable historical account of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist Saṅgha were divided at the time of the Third Council, and gives much information not available at present anywhere else. The work is divided into two sections *Cūḷa-* and *Mahā-*, and follows closely the lines laid down by Buddhaghosa, thus suffering from the same weakness of being tied down too much to orthodox interpretations. Sāriputta is also credited with having written the *ṭīkās* on the four Nikāyas of the Sutta-Piṭaka collectively known as the *Sāratthamañjūsā-ṭīkā*.¹

The *ṭīkās* were sub-commentaries, that is to say, works containing expositions of points in the Aṭṭhakathā or commentaries which needed further elucidation for their correct interpretation; or sometimes they merely gave additional information regarding the discussions in the commentaries, e.g. more illustrative stories. The *ṭīkās*, unlike the commentaries, were purely of Ceylonese origin, compiled and written by Ceylonese scholars,² and the *ṭīkās* on the Canonical texts and commentaries were composed soon after the Convocation held under the patronage of Parākrama-Bāhu [193] with Mahā-Kassapa as President.

The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*³ has an interesting chapter on how they came to be written: "After the three fraternities of Ceylon monks had been reconciled and monasteries and places of learning had been built for their use, Mahā-Kassapa, head of many thousand monks at Jetavana-vihāra, assembled there and made the following declaration:

1. De Zoysa, p. 3.

2. Somapala Jayawardhana: "The earliest Pali *ṭīkās* were those composed by Ācariya Dhammapāla of Badaratittha, in South India, perhaps in the sixth century CE. His *ṭīkās* include the *Paramattha-mañjūsā* (sub-commentary to the *Visuddhimagga*) and the *ṭīkās* to the first three Nikāyas. As Ven. Dhammapāla was a South Indian and wrote long before the time of Parākramabāhu, Malalasekera's statement cannot be accepted. Two *ṭīkās* were composed after the Convocation of Polonnaruva: the *Sārattha-dīpanī* (a sub-commentary to the Vinaya) and the *Sāratthamañjūsā* (a sub-commentary to the Aṅguttara Nikāya)."

3. JPTS Ed., pp. 58 foll.

“Whatever commentaries have been compiled by teachers of old on the Aṭṭhakathā of the three Piṭaka are now of no use to monks living in the various countries. Many of them are written in the Sinhalese language, and the others in Māgadhī mixed with various languages (*ākulaṃ*) and unintelligible. Let us therefore remove such faults and compose exegetical commentaries, complete and clear in exposition.” The Bhikkhus agreed and requested him to obtain the royal sanction. That having been secured, they reassembled in the hall (at Jetavana) built by the king, and composed *ṭīkā*s (*Līnattha-vaṇṇanā*) on the Vinaya Piṭaka (*Sārattha-dīpanī*), the four chief Nikāyas of the Sutta-Piṭaka (the *Sārattha-mañjūsā* divided into four parts) and on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka (*Paramattha-dīpanī* in three parts).”

To the *ṭīkā*s on the Abhidhamma more detailed reference will be made later. It is significant that Sāriputta’s name is not mentioned in this connection, and that no special works are assigned to him by the author of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*. Unreliable as the information of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* is in many respects, as we shall see when we discuss it later, there is no doubt that the account of the *ṭīkā* compilation, as given here, contains more than a germ of truth. It has to be remembered that for several centuries preceding Parākrama’s reconciliation of the communities the Saṅgha had been torn by various schisms. The different sects, while they accepted the authority of the common canon and of Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, interpreted various points of teaching in their own way, to support each in their claims to orthodoxy. These [194] interpretations were written and handed down in *ṭīkā*s or additional commentaries, and, as the author of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* puts into the mouth of Kassapa, they were variously written, some in Sinhalese, others in Pali, others in a mixture of dialects, due to the conglomeration of the many elements that constituted the Saṅgha. The *ṭīkā*s contained much valuable information and often the correct traditional interpretations that would be of great assistance in a correct understanding of various points of the Dhamma teaching. Much matter must have accumulated since Buddhaghosa compiled his works, especially after scholars began to come over to Ceylon from Burma and China, South India and Cambodia. And, just as Buddhaghosa felt the necessity of making a concise compilation of the different *aṭṭhakathās* that had come down to his day, the need was realized of bringing these various *ṭīkā*s together and making a synthetic summary of them all. It was impossible, however, to accept all or even most of what they contained, nor was it politic that the works of any particular school should

supersede those of the others. There were yet in the Saṅgha those who were not quite whole-heartedly reconciled to the victory of the Mahāvihāra over the other schools; thus unity of the fraternities had been secured only with great tact and patience and labour, and a wise man; such as Kassapa undoubtedly was, would have shrunk from doing anything fresh to rekindle dissatisfaction. We may well believe, therefore, that he consulted his colleagues at Jetavana and obtained their help in settling the *ṭīkā*s. These *ṭīkā*s may be regarded, therefore, as the work of a school, rather than of single individuals; they were rehearsed in solemn conclave and completed after discussion.

What, then, about Sāriputta's part in this task? He was an important member of the Jetavana monastery and undoubtedly took a prominent part in the proceedings. He may possibly have been appointed to supervise certain sections of the work—the Vinaya, Aṅguttara, and the Majjhima portions. It may even be that after consultation [195] with his *saddhi-vihārikas* he was authorized by them to write those sections which now bear his name. The custom of single authors making compilations was then quite well-established, and, as long as the matter which they contained won their approval, the *ṭīkā* compilers would have had no objection to any one of their number—and Sāriputta was certainly one of the most eminent amongst them—writing the work. This supposition would account also for Sāriputta having written a *Vinaya-saṅgaha*, apart from the *ṭīkā* on the Vinaya associated with his name. The first was purely his, the second the work of an assembly (or a committee, we may call it), of which he was the head. The *ṭīkā*s on the Vinaya Piṭaka and on the Aṅguttara and the Majjhima-nikāya s of the Sutta Piṭaka are definitely attributed to Sāriputta. As to the authorship of the *ṭīkā*s on the other two portions of the Sutta Piṭaka, nothing is known. The common name borne by all the *ṭīkā*s of each Piṭaka would seem to strengthen the hypothesis that they were the work either of one person or of a whole community, and we know that Sāriputta is not credited with having written them all himself. In this connection it is significant that Dhammakitti, author of the *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa*, who was one of Sāriputta's immediate disciples, also mentions only the *Samantapāsādikā-ṭīkā* and the *Aṅguttara-ṭīkā* as his teacher's works.¹ [196]

1. Colophon JPTS Edition, p. 151, i.e. in addition to the *ṭīkā* on *Cāndragomī-Pañcīkā* and the *Vinaya-saṅgaha*.

CHAPTER X

SĀRIPUTTA'S CIRCLE

While Mahā-Kassapa, assisted by Sāriputta and others of equal eminence, was labouring for the glory of the religion in Ceylon, an event took place which drew Burma and Ceylon together, even more intimately than before, and which had far-reaching consequences in the later history of the Buddhist Saṅgha in both countries. Ever since the time of Buddhaghosa, Burmese monks were in the habit of coming over to the Mahā-vihāra that they might there imbibe the Orthodox Theravāda tradition and bring it back with them to their own land. The intercourse between the two countries was undoubtedly interrupted to some extent during the foreign invasions of Ceylon, and its internal discords. But after Vijayabāhu obtained the help of King Anuruddha in re-establishing the ordination in his own country, it revived, and, in the prosperous reign of Parākrama the Great, increased to a very large extent.

It was about this time, somewhere about the beginning of Parākrama's regime in 1165 CE, that the Elder Uttarajīva left Pagan to visit the celebrated Mahā-vihāra, taking with him, as we saw, a copy of Aggavaṃsa's great work, the Pali Grammar, *Sadda-nīti*. Uttarajīva was accompanied by his pupil, the, novice Chapaṭa, known in religion as Saddhammajotipāla,¹ whose fame surpassed, for a time, at least, even that of Aggavaṃsa. He received the *upasampadā* from the Saṅgha in Ceylon, and lived with them for several years, studiously learning the Dhamma as handed down in the Mahā-vihāra, and perhaps mastering many texts which were as yet unknown in Burma. He was a man of great skill and ability, and his stay in the sacred island was of great importance to the literary history of Burma. He returned to his country deeply imbued with the conviction, that the Mahā-vihāra alone had preserved the legitimate line of [197] Thera-succession from the time of the Buddha, and that the *upasampadā* would be valid only if it were conferred by the Mahā-vihāra fraternity. He, therefore, brought with him into Burma four Sinhalese monks,² and this little group formed the nucleus of a Sihala Saṅgha in Burma, the rightful heirs of the legitimate tradition. We are not concerned here with following the vicissitudes of

1. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 74.

2. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 65.

that community. It was well that the Sīhala Saṅgha did gain a foothold in Burma and rise into eminence there, for, in later years, when the *upasampadā* was again lost in Ceylon, during a period of great adversity, it was the Burmese Saṅgha who helped in large measure to make good the loss and re-establish the ordination.¹

Chapaṭa was the author of several works, eight in all, according to the *Gandha-vam̐sa*,² only one of which was written in Ceylon, the *Saṅkhepa-vañṇanā*, a commentary on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgha*, divided into nine chapters, closely following Anuruddha's work.³

Meanwhile Sāriputta was head of a large school at Jetavana, in a splendid monastery built by the king for his special use. He was, perhaps, more responsible than anyone else of this period for the spread of learning in Ceylon. Famed far and wide as Sāgaramati, "like to the ocean in wisdom," he left behind him several disciples of profound learning and great abilities, at least six of whom have come down to posterity as authors possessed of high literary erudition.

Among them was Saṅgharakkhita, who specialized in *nirutti* (grammar), rhetoric, and prosody. In the *Vuttodaya* he speaks, with great respect of the grammarian Moggallāna, and calls him one of his teachers. He also mentions among his preceptors a certain Selantarāyatana (Galaturu-mūla) Thera, and in the colophon to the *Samandha-cintā* calls himself a pupil of Medhaṅkara "who purified the religion," evidently [198] Udumbaragiri Medhaṅkara, pupil of Kassapa and Sāriputta. Perhaps the Selantarāyatana Thera and Medhaṅkara were one and the same. In the *Canda-sārattha-ṭīkā*⁴ to his *Samandha-cintā*, he is called a grandson of King Dāṭhopatissa, which is undoubtedly a mistake, because Dāṭhopatissa lived about three centuries earlier. Perhaps the author was mistaken for another earlier writer of the same name of whom nothing is known.

In the colophon to the *Samandha-cintā*, Saṅgharakkhita tells us that he also wrote the *Vuttodaya*, *Susadda-siddhi*, *Yoga-vinicchaya*, *Subodhālankāra*, and a *Khudda-sikkhā-ṭīkā*. Chief among his works ranks the

1. Bode, op. cit., pp. 16–20. This is the first Chappaṭa, who wasn't an author. See note by S. Jayawardhana on the confusion between the two Chappaṭas on note 3 on page 152."

2. Gv p. 74.

3. Fausböll, *India Office Catalogue*, JPTS, 1896, p.39. S. Jayawardhana: "This is the second Chappaṭa, also known as Saddhammajotipāla; he wrote his works in the fifteenth century."

4. By Saddhammañāṇa of Pagan, in the fourteenth century (*Piṭakattha-main*, p. 74).

Vuttodaya, the only original work, so far as we know, extant on Pali prosody; it is of moderate length, divided into six chapters and written partly in prose and partly in verse. The author tells us in his introductory stanza that “the works on prosody composed in earlier times by Piṅgala and others are not in a manner satisfactory to those studying pure Māgadhī. Therefore for their easy comprehension do I now commence in the Māgadhī language this *Vuttodaya* adapted to popular prosody and divided into *mattā* and *vaṇṇa*, composed in language pleasing and abounding in sense and embodying both rule and example.”¹

The *Vuttodaya* is wholly based on works dealing with Sanskrit prosody, the terms of which it has borrowed and adopted and, in some instances, whole sentences are incorporated from Piṅgala and other authorities with no more alterations than are necessary when Sanskrit is turned into Pali.² It is divided into six chapters dealing with prosodial feet (eight *gaṇas*) and technical terms, metre (different types of metre and their rules, chiefly the *ariyā*), *samavutta* or verses where every line is alike, *aḍḍhasamavutta* (where every half-*gāthā* is alike), *visamavutta* (the four lines of a *gāthā* are unequal), and the last, on the [199] six kinds of knowledge essential to good poetry (e.g. spreading of rhythm, ascertaining the tune, symbols of rhythm, etc.). There is a Sinhalese *sannē*, written, probably, by the author himself, and a Pali *ṭīkā* by an unknown hand.³ It has been made the subject of several commentaries and glosses in Burma, notably the *Vuttodaya-pañcīkā* of Saddhammañāṇa and the *ṭīkā* of Vepullabuddhi of Paḡān.⁴

Another of Saṅgharakkhita's works is the *Samandha-cintā*, dealing with the Pali verb and its use in syntax. It also gives a description of the six *kāraḡas* or cases used with the verb in the sentence. This treatise is based on the grammar of Moggallāna, whom he mentions as his teacher, along with Medhaṅkara, both of whom he eulogizes in the opening stanzas as having assisted in the suppression of heresy. There exist a Pali *ṭīkā* by an unknown author (see below), and a Sinhalese *sannē* by Gotama Thera,⁵ both of whom, judging from their comments, were undoubtedly well-versed in the principles of Pali grammar. Mahāyasa's *Kaccāyana-sāra* of the thirteenth century quotes extensively

1. Colombo Ed., p. 7.

2. E.g. the last ten verses of the first chapter on *pada-ccheda* (caesura), which are taken directly from Halāyudha.

3. Wickremasinghe, p. viii.

4. Fausböll, *Cat. Mandalay MSS.*, p. 50.

5. De Zoysa, p. 29.

from the *Sambandha-cintā*, showing that Saṅgharakkhita's work became famous after it was written. Abhaya, a Burmese author of Pagān of the fourteenth century, also wrote a *ṭikā*,¹ which is probably the one extant in Ceylon at present.

The *Subodhālankāra* is a work on the art of poetry, as the following table of contents shows, apart from the technique of prosody, which is dealt with in the *Vuttodaya*. It is a learned and important work, and treats chiefly of the *gāthā* verse. It is divided into five chapters: (1) incongruity of sense and tautology; (2) the art of avoiding such faults; (3) elegance of words and phrases; (4) the elegance of sense and how it can be acquired; (5) the elegance of sound and the art of making verse pleasant to the listener. The work is much used in Ceylon and in Burma, where a *Nissaya* or [200] scholiast has been written on it as late as 1880 called the *Alaṅkāra-nissaya*.²

Of Saṅgharakkhita's two other known works: (1) *Susaddasiddhi* or *Sāraththa-vilāsini*, a *ṭikā* on the *Moggallāna-Pañjikā*, and (2) the *Khudda-sikkhā-ṭikā*, mention has already been made in connection with the works on which they are based.

Contemporary with Saṅgharakkhita was Sumaṅgala, another of Sāriputta's pupils. He specialized in the study of Abhidhamma, and wrote *ṭikās* on several Abhidhamma works. His *ṭikā* on Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* is entitled *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* (the Blossoms of Philosophy). He also wrote a *nava-ṭikā* on Dhammapāla's *Sacca-sāṅkhepa*, called *Sāraththa-sālinī* (the Essence of Meanings), but by far his best known work is the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī* (Philosophy Made Clear), on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. It was once known in Burma as the *Ṭikā hla* (the Beautiful *Ṭikā*), because the comments in it are so very apt to the subject of discussion. But when, in the fifteenth century, Ariyavaṃsa of Ava became proficient in the Buddhist Scriptures, the *Ṭikā hla* changed its name to *Ṭikā gyau* (the Famous *Ṭikā*).

The *Sāsana-vaṃsa*³ gives us some interesting details of this change of name. Ariyavaṃsa was a member of Chapaṭa's Sihala-saṅgha, and went to Sagaing to study grammar under a learned Thera called Ye-din (the water-carrier). Either to restrain his own inclination for talk, or because he found his companions too talkative, this monk was in the habit of keeping his mouth filled with water. When Ariyavaṃsa first came to him, there seemed little hope that the silent water-carrier would

1. Bode, p. 22, and Gv pp. 64–74.

2. Bode, p. 56.

3. Pp. 95 foll.

discourse to him on any subject. But he was not discouraged. He came daily to the monastery, performing all the services of a pupil to Ye-din, till the latter asked him his reasons for these visits. Ariyavaṃsa begged permission to study with the famous ācariya because, though he had [201] studied texts, he had not grasped their meaning, and till then, the expositions of his teachers had not been of help to him. Ye-din consented to give him some instruction and explained this *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī*. In a short time Ariyavaṃsa had grasped all the knowledge he had missed till then. The ācariya charged him to help other students of the subject by writing a commentary on the text he felt fitted best to expound, and the result was the *Maṇisucāra-mañjūsā*, his *ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī*. We are told that, while writing it, Ariyavaṃsa submitted his work chapter by chapter to the criticism of his fellow-monks, reading it aloud to them as they assembled on *uposatha* days at the Vihāra¹ Because of Ariyavaṃsa's masterly exposition of the book Sumaṅgala's work henceforth came to be known as the 'Famous Ṭīkā,' and now forms part of the regular course of Abhidhamma studies in Burma. Chapaṭa, who also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (the *Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā*), in referring to the earlier *ṭīkā*s, compares Sumaṅgala's work to "the moon which cannot shine within bamboos," and his own work to the "firefly which can." A pretty and modest simile, but by no means flattering to those who read his book.

To the group of Sāriputta's disciples also belongs Buddhanāga, who wrote the *Vinayattha-mañjūsā*, a *ṭīkā* on Buddhaghosa's *Kaṅkhā-vitaranī*. He mentions in the colophon that he wrote the work at the request of an Elder named Sumedha, "wise and clever and anxious for the furtherance of the Religion."

Another was Medhaṅkara of Udumbaragiri, first of four Medhaṅkaras² famous in Ceylon literature. Perhaps there was a fifth, oldest of them all, whom Saṅgharakkhita refers to by name as one of his teachers. Our Medhaṅkara mentions both Sāriputta and Moggallāna as his preceptors; but, though he belongs to the Udumbaragiri fraternity, no mention is made [202] of Kassapa. He does not appear to have written any works in Pali, or, if he did, they were later superseded by other works, for the only one of his compilations which has come down to us is a work in Sinhalese prose. It is called the *Vinayārtha-samuc-*

1. Bode, pp. 41–2 and 61.

2. The other three were: (1) Āraññaka Medhaṅkara; (2) the translator of the Jātakas into Sinhalese; (3) author of the *Jina-carita*.

caya, a compendium of Vinaya rules translated into Sinhalese from the original Pali with explanatory notes taken from the Commentaries.

Sāriputta had another pupil named Vācissara. I agree with Mr. Wickremasinghe in his suggestion¹ that there were two Vācissaras, both of whom lived before the end of the thirteenth century, the one slightly senior to the other. Considering the number of works assigned to Vācissara in the *Gandha-vaṃsa*,² one would almost be inclined to the belief that there were even more than two, not all of them from Ceylon, but living about the same period.

The *Gandha-vaṃsa* attributes even the *Bālāvatāra* to Vācissara, but we know now that the author lived after the thirteenth century. It was the younger Vācissara that describes himself as the pupil of Sāriputta. The elder I would consider to have been either a contemporary of Sāriputta, or, more probably, slightly anterior to him. To the senior monk, I would attribute the *Khema-ppakaraṇa-ṭīkā*, two *ṭīkā*s on Buddhadatta's works (one called simply the *Uttara-vinicchaya-ṭīkā* on the *Uttara-vinicchaya*, and the other on the *Vinaya-vinicchaya* called *Yoga-vinicchaya*), and an original work on the Abhidhamma called *Rūpārūpa-vibhāga*. He also wrote a treatise called the *Sīmālankāra* on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, to which Chapaṭa compiled a *ṭīkā*.³ A *porāṇa-ṭīkā* on Anuruddha's *Nāma-rūpa-pariccheda* is likewise to be assigned to him, together with a *ṭīkā* on the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and the date of the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*. The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*⁴ assigns it to Ānanda, but we know that [203] the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* is not always reliable in its information. The *Gandha-vaṃsa*⁵ ascribes it to Culla Dhammapāla, and the colophon of the work agrees with this.

The author of the *Sacca-saṅkhepa* is to be distinguished from the commentator of the same name, who is usually called *ācariya* to differentiate him from his less illustrious namesake, Culla Dhammapāla. The *Gandha-vaṃsa* calls him the eldest pupil of Ānanda. Nevill, in his *Manuscript Catalogue*, takes this Ānanda to be the same as the teacher of Vedeha and Buddhappiya and fixes his date as early as the seventh century. But Buddhappiya and Vedeha certainly lived very much later, as we shall see when we come to consider those authors.

1. Cat., p. xvi.

2. P. 62.

3. Bode, p. 18.

4. Chap. 9.

5. Gv pp. 60, 70.

The Ānanda who was Culla-Dhammapāla's teacher was undoubtedly older than Buddhappiya's teacher, for Culla Dhammapāla lived before the twelfth century at the latest. Chapaṭa¹ mentions the *Sacca-saṅkhepa* in his *Saṅkhepa-ñāṇa* commentary on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, and, if Mr. Aung² is right in his information, Dhammapāla lived even earlier than Anuruddha, for we are told that, when Anuruddha wrote his work, the *Sacca-saṅkhepa* was as a *vade mecum* superseded by it in the twelfth century. The work—*Summary or Outline of Truth*; as its name implies—is a short treatise in five chapters, dealing with such Abhidhamma matters as *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *citta*, *khandha*, and *Nibbāna*. It forms one of the *Let-Than* or “Little Finger Manuals,” and, as such, is extensively studied in Burma. In his commentary on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, Chapaṭa points out certain differences between that work and the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*, and acts as an apologist for the former, going into very minute details. “Thus, while the *Sacca-saṅkhepa* begins with an exposition on the body, Anuruddha sets out with an inquiry into the mind Why? Because he had the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* instead of [204] the *Vibhaṅga* in his mind when he wrote the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.”³ There is no doubt, I feel, that it was the elder Vācissara who wrote the first or *Porāṇa-ṭīkā* to the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*, and not the younger, who describes himself in the *Sambandha-cintā-ṭīkā* as a pupil of Sāriputta. For we find that another of Sāriputta's pupils, Sumaṅgala, also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the same work, called the *Abhinava-ṭīkā*, and it is not probable that two pupils of the same teacher would have written on the same work.

If the elder Vācissara specialized in the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, the younger gave most of his attention to the study of grammar. He was, evidently, one of Sāriputta's youngest pupils, for among his works several are *ṭīkā*s on books written by Saṅgharakkhita, one of Sāriputta's chief disciples. They are the *Sambandha-cintā-ṭīkā*, *Subodhālāṅkāra-ṭīkā*, and *Vuttodaya-vivaraṇa*. He also wrote, at the request of Sumaṅgala,⁴ a *nava-ṭīkā* on the *Khudda-sikkhā*, to which Saṅgharakkhita had already written a *ṭīkā*. Vācissara called his work the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, as a compliment to his colleague who incited him to write it. Another of his compilations was a *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa-ṭīkā*. Perhaps it was this same Vācissara who, according to the

1. JPTS, 1910, p. 125.

2. JPTS, 1917, p.2.

3. JPTS, 1910, p. 125.

4. Colophon to that work.

Mahā-vaṃsa, left Polonnaruva during the invasion of Māgha and went over to the Pāṇḍu and Coḷa countries, to seek for protection for Laṅkā.¹ The authorship of the *Thūpa-vaṃsa* is also ascribed to him (see below).

Apparently contemporary with the elder Vācissara was a Thera named Vimalabuddhi, author of the oldest *ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.² His work was quite recent during the time of the senior Vācissara, and that was why the latter wrote his *ṭīkā* only on Anuruddha's *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*, and why a few years later, Sāriputta contented himself with writing [205] only a Sinhalese *sannē* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. But, some time afterwards Sumaṅgala felt himself at liberty to write a *nava-ṭīkā*. Vimalabuddhi's work is now unknown in Ceylon, and considered quite superannuated even in Burma,³ where it has been completely replaced by Sumaṅgala's "famous *ṭīkā*" (*Ṭīkā-gyau*). To Sāriputta's period also belongs Piyadassi, pupil of the grammarian Moggallāna.

He wrote the *Pada-sādhana*, an abridged Pali grammar based on Moggallāna's work. He tells us in his colophon that he was a pupil of the great *nirutti-ācariya*, and that he wrote, at the request of a village chieftain named Kappinna. The author of the Sinhalese *sannē* tells us that Piyadassi was incumbent of the Devarāja-vihāra in Dolosdās-ṛaṭa (Girivāpattu) on the Valave River in Ruhūṇa, South Ceylon. Kappinna was his maternal uncle, and was in charge of the Rambhā-vihāra lands of which Devarāja-vihāra formed a part. The work is divided into six sections dealing with *saññā*, *sandhi*, *samāsa*—prefixes, suffixes, and verbs. The author called it *Pada-sādhana* or *Moggallāna-saddattharatnākara*, but posterity has refused to accept the longer name! Vanarātana Ānanda wrote a Sinhalese *sannē* on it, which we shall notice presently, and there also exists a Pali *ṭīkā* called the *Buddhi-ppasādani* by Śrī Rāhula of the fifteenth century.

Possibly to the same period belongs Mahābodhi, author of a *Porāṇaṭīkā* (*Mukha-mattakā*) on Anuruddha's *Paramattha-vinichaya*.⁴ He seems to have written a *ṭīkā* on the *Khema-ppakaraṇa* as well and also according to the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*,⁵ a *Sacca-saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā*, entitled *Nissayaṭṭhakathā*.

1. Mhv LXXXI.17–21.

2. De Zoysa, p. 4

3. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p.ix

4. JPTS, 1910, p. 125.

5. Ch. IX v. 25.

Parākramabāhu the Great died in 1186 CE. He was a noble king, just and tolerant and a scholar of deep learning [206] withal, the greatest figure in the annals of the island. Ceylon was never to produce his like. His death was the signal for fresh internal strife; his family were unable to sustain the honours which he had won for the land of his birth. After several conspiracies and assassinations among his heirs and relations, his widowed queen ascended the throne under the name of Līlāvati, only to be deposed in less than three years. Within a short time, however, she was restored, and for a while all went well. But the ignominious and selfish schemings of rival aspirants to the throne brought disruption, discontent and disunion in the land, and within thirty years after Parākrama's death the kingdom had been reduced to such an extremity of weakness by their contentions, that the Malabars, ever vigilant for an opportunity to carry out their projects, landed in Ceylon in a large band of 24,000, led by Māgha, and in a short time reconquered the whole island. Māgha was crowned king and his reign was marked by extreme cruelty. His merciless brigands swept through the country, plundering, ravishing, mutilating and slaughtering. Not even the modest-looking yellow robe of the pious bhikkhu would afford any protection from the cruelties of the Malabar mercenaries. The holiest shrines were violated and overthrown. The *Mahā-vaṃsa*¹ and the *Rāja-ratnākara* describe with painful elaboration the gradual extinction of Buddhism, the plundering of the temples, the expulsion of the monks, and the desecration of all that was holy. No outrage appeared too heinous to the plunderers, no torture too cruel; with sheer wantonness they broke the cords that held together the valuable and rare palm-leaf books and scattered the leaves to the winds. All books and literary records such as fell into their hands were piled up and burnt, and the whole island resembled a dwelling in flames or a house darkened by funeral rites.²

After an interval of twenty years, Vijayabāhu III collected [207] as many Sinhalese soldiers as he could and with their aid succeeded in winning for himself a portion of the kingdom. While the Malabars were holding sway over the rest of the island from the capital city at Polonnaruva, Vijaya-Bāhu established himself at Dambadeniya, 50 miles to the north of the present Colombo. From there he governed the Province of Māyā; but it was not till the time of his son and successor, Paṇḍita

1. Mhv IXXX.54 ff, and *Rāja-ratnākara*, pp. 93 foll.

2. *Rājāvaliya*, p. 256 (Upham).

Parākrama Bāhu, that the people succeeded in compelling the invaders to abandon Polonnaruva and retreat towards the mainland of India.

During the earlier part of these internal conflicts and foreign invasions, the generality of the people were left free to follow their own pursuits, and the monks, supported by a generous laity, devoted their energies to the service of literature. Thus except when Māgha's ruthless campaign completely destroyed the peace of the land, the period that intervened between the death of Parākrama the Great and the accession of Paṇḍita Parākrama, was not wholly devoid of literary productions.

Vijayabāhu, who succeeded Parākrama the Great, was himself a man of some education, and we are told that he wrote with his own hand, in the Pali tongue, a letter of great merit and sent it to the Burmese king at Arimaddana.¹ The contents of the letter we do not know, nor did the king live long enough to achieve any work of literary importance. When Lilāvati was restored to the throne with the help of her faithful minister, Parākrama, she became a generous patron of art; she had, also, a minister Kittisenāpati, mentioned in a Sinhalese poem of this period,² who evinced a deep interest in literary work.

During her reign was compiled the Pali poem *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa*. The author was Dhammakitti, the first of four scholars bearing the same name and famous in Ceylon literature.³ He was a pupil of the celebrated Sāriputta, and he speaks most respectfully [208] of his teacher in the colophon to the present work. We are told that the *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* was composed at the request of the minister Parākrama of the Kālanagara race, for whom the author seems to have entertained the highest regard, because of his exertions on behalf of the religion.⁴ Dhammakitti speaks highly also of Lilāvati, "spotless as the moon ... sweet-worded, just, like a mother unto her subjects, possessed of great intelligence, giving whatever was asked of her." He tells us that the Pali *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* is based on an older *Daḷadā-vaṃsa*, "written in the language of the land by the poets of Sīhala," and that it was composed in Māgadhī for the benefit of those living in other lands. We can infer from the *Mahā-vaṃsa*⁵ that this *Daḷadā-vaṃsa* was written in Eḷu verse in the ninth year of Kitti Siri Meghavaṇṇa by his orders, soon after the Tooth Relic was brought over to Ceylon. It is said to have given the history of the

1. Mhv LXXX.6.

2. *Sasadāva* Colophon.

3. For the other three, see Index.

4. Vv. 5-6.

5. Mhv XXXVII.

relic from the death of the Buddha, to the time of its arrival in Ceylon, as predicted by the Buddha. By the time of Dhammakitti the Sinhalese poem had become almost unintelligible. Turnour, in his translation of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,¹ remarks that the original Sinhalese poem was still extant in 1837, but I have not been able to see it.

The *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* is a very elaborate work, and rightly ranks among the Pali classical poems. It is written in sonorous language, and gives vivid descriptions, in the manner of Sanskrit poets. The earlier chapters give a minute account of the great struggle between the Buddhists and the Brahmans of India for religious supremacy (in the third century), and may, perhaps, have been taken from a very old and almost contemporary record of the events described therein. Except where the author attempts vivid descriptions, the poem presents one of the finest specimens of the stern simplicity, chasteness, and beauty of rhythm of Pali poetry, clothed in elegant diction, free from high-flown metaphors and ornately, [209] elaborated ideas. Coomaraswamy, who has translated it into English prose,² compares it to the *Nalopākhyāna* in its sweetness of rhythm and unaffected flow of words. The *Dāṭhā-vaṃsa* does not contain the history of the relic beyond the period of its arrival and reception in Ceylon. Turnour mentions that the *Dāṭhā-dhātu-vaṃsa*, referred to above, had two more chapters than are found in our work, relating the vicissitudes of the relic up to the eighteenth century. A Sinhalese paraphrase was written by Dhammakitti himself for the benefit, as he tells us,³ of less educated and local readers." In the Introduction to the Sinhalese *sannē* he calls himself a *rājaguru* (royal preceptor) in addition to his other titles. There are several works in Sinhalese on the history of the Tooth Relic, to which reference will be made in so far as they come within the purview of this dissertation.⁴

After Vijaya-Bāhu III established his capital at Dambadeniya, he helped, as much as lay in his power, those who were labouring in the cause of religion and literature. Thus, the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* tells us³ that under his auspices two of Sāriputta's pupils, Saṅgharakkhita, the head of the Church of his day, and Udumbaragiri Medhaṅkara, held a synod at the Vijayasundarārāma built by Vijayabāhu, and there, after much effort, settled various disputes which had arisen amongst the priesthood, formulated a new code of Vinaya rules, and "did great

1. p. 241, footnote.

2. Publ. Trübner, 1874, Introd., p. ix.

3. See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, passim, for further particulars.

4. p. 22.

service to religion.” The king also gave shelter to all the monks who were fleeing from Polonnaruva, “leaving their books and other necessities wherever they chanced to be,” and provided them with such comforts as were possible to obtain.¹ But the country was too distracted for peaceful pursuits to be possible. Māgha was carrying on his campaign of destruction “like unto a wild fire that consumes the tender plants of the forest of charity, [210] like unto the sun when he closes up the petals of the sacred lily of justice, and the moon when she obscures the splendour of the lotus-pond of patient endurance.”²

At this time, however, there existed in Ceylon a school of monks who were left undisturbed by any political upheavals. They belonged to the Vanavāsī or Araññavāsī fraternity and owed allegiance to the Mahāvihāra. They differed from each other, perhaps, only in the degree of rigour of their religious life, while they agreed on all doctrinal matters. Thus we find them acting together quite harmoniously at the Council of Paṇḍita Parākrama. We hear of this sect first, at the beginning of the sixth century, when during the reign of Aggabodhi II (598–608 CE) the King of Kāliṅga, having resolved to lead the life of a recluse, came over to Ceylon and joined the Order under the famous Elder Jotipāla. Vedeha, author of the *Rasa-vāhinī*, has given us, in the colophon to that work, an account of the beginnings of the Vanavāsī school to which he belonged.³ It had once at its head an elder named Ānanda, who, according to the *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 66), was a native of India. We do not know the date of his reign, but he probably lived about the eighth or the ninth century. He it was that composed, at the request of Buddhāmittha,⁴ the *Mūla-ṭīkā*, also known as the *Īnatthapadavaṇṇanā*, to the seven books of the Abhidhamma, which, according to the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* account mentioned in the preceding chapter, was revised by Mahā Kassapa and his colleagues. This work now exists in three sections, one each for the *Atthasālinī* and the *Sammoha-vinodanī* and the other for the *Pañca-ppakaraṇa*. Probably the original edition was in one volume—the *Satta-ppakaraṇa*, as it is still in Burma. He was also known as Vanaratana-Tissa, because of his connection with the Vanavāsī school. The *Mūla-ṭīkā* were based on Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, but their author occasionally dissents from the great exegetist. Thus, in [211] discussing the life-term of matter, he disputes

1. Mhv LXXXI.41–63.

2. Mhv LXXX.59.

3. Printed Ed., Colombo, end.

4. Gv p. 69.

the existence of a static phase of thought, and regarded it as merely hypothetical.¹ The Vanavāsī sect seems to have been closely associated with the Buddhists of Kāliṅga, for we find even at the end of the thirteenth century Vedeha mentioning the name of a Kāliṅga Mahā-Thera, an Elder of great eminence, who acted as sponsor at Vedeha's Ordination by Ānanda; and later, Buddhappiya of Coḷa belonged to the same fraternity. This connection with Coḷa and Kāliṅga may possibly also account for the special attention members of the school devoted to the study of the Abhidhamma.

I am inclined to believe that it was the same Ānanda that had as his pupil Culla-Dhammapāla, author of the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*, noticed earlier in this chapter, and also of an *anuṭikā* on Ānanda's *Mūla-ṭikā*, called *Līnattha-vaṇṇanā*. Whether he was the author of several other *ṭikās* mentioned in the *Gandha-vaṃsa* (p. 60) as well, we cannot say with any degree of definiteness.

The Araññavāsī sect continued to flourish even during the troublous times of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, and when Vijayabāhu was reigning at Dambadeniya it was presided over by another Elder named Ānanda, who was a disciple of Udumbaraḡiri Medhaṅkara, pupil of Sāriputta.² One of his pupils, Buddhappiya, speaks of him as "*Tambapaṇṇi-ddhajānaṇi*" (a banner unto the island of Ceylon).³ He and his school lived in seclusion and were able to carry on their pursuits undisturbed. Ānanda himself wrote a Sinhalese verbatim translation to Piyadassi's Pali grammar the *Pada-sādhana*, and another to the *Khudda-sikkhā*.

The authorship of the Abhidhamma *Mūla-ṭikā* is also generally ascribed to him,⁴ but, as I have endeavoured to show above, that work was evidently composed prior to the Council [212] of Kassapa in 1165 CE; for we find that Culla-Dhammapāla, who certainly lived before the twelfth century, wrote an *anu-ṭikā* on it.

Probably to the same period, but not, perhaps, to the same author, belongs the religious poem *Saddhammopāyana*. In the colophon to the Sinhalese paraphrase and in the introduction to a commentary on it called the *Saddhammopāyana-vinggaha*, the work is assigned to a great Elder of the Order, named Abhaya-giri Kavi-cakravarti Ānanda Mahā-Thera.⁵ Whether he is in any way connected with Vanaratana Ānanda,

1. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 26.

2. *Pada-sādhana-sannē* colophon.

3. *Rūpa-siddhi* colophon.

4. Wickremasinghe's *Catalogue*, p. xvii.

we have no means of finding out. The *Saddhammopāyana* itself gives no clue to its authorship, except in the introductory stanzas, where we are told that it was composed to be sent as a religious gift to the author's friend and companion Buddhasoma.¹ Nevill, in his manuscript *Catalogue*, has recorded a tradition that Vanaratana Ānanda and Buddhasoma were contemporaries and great friends, and that the *Saddhammopāyana* was written to dissuade the latter from renouncing his life as a monk. It is a treatise in nineteen chapters, dealing with such subjects as the difficulties of obtaining birth as a human being, a tendency to sin and the severe penalty attending it, the misery of existence as *petas* and lower animals, the advantages of being righteous, and the rewards it brings (such as birth in the Deva worlds), the merits of charity, chastity, piety, meditation, listening to the Doctrine, preaching it, etc. In one of the concluding stanzas the author expresses the wish that he might himself, one day, become a Buddha. It is written in simple and beautiful language, and parts of it are very frequently quoted by monks in the course of their sermons. It is held in very high estimation in Ceylon up to the present time.

There is a Sinhalese paraphrase (*sannē*) by a later writer, also called Ānanda, and a commentary, the *Saddhammopāyana-viggaha*, by an anonymous writer. [213]

Parākramabāhu II came to the throne in 1235 CE; he was a mighty prince, endowed with all the qualities of leadership, and he soon succeeded in ridding the country of its foreign invaders. Once more the Sinhalese flag floated over the whole of Ceylon, and the king set himself vigorously to create order out of the chaos which the Malabars had left behind them. With its wonderful elasticity and richness of natural resources, the island soon recovered from the effects of the Tamil occupation, and the people were once more free to follow their pursuits of peace. It was a miracle exhibited by the Tooth Relic that had given Parākrama confidence in his ability to overthrow his enemies, and had shown him that he was destined to advance the welfare of the Religion and the land of its adoption,² and as soon, therefore, as the country had settled down, he devoted all his energies to the glorification of the Faith.

The *Dambadeni-asna* and the *Rāja-ratnākara* are full of glowing accounts of his numerous accomplishments, and because of his exten-

5. Colombo Ed., 1874.

1. JPTS, 1887, p. 36, v. 3.

2. Mhv LXXXII.16-40.

sive and profound knowledge of religious and secular subjects he was styled Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita—"the all-knowing sage of the dark (*kali*) age of literature." He was of an intensely religious disposition, and, hearing that there prevailed much misconduct in the Saṅgha calculated to damage the religion among those who entered the Order to lead lives of idleness and impurity, he called together a synod under the leadership of Arañña Medhaṅkara¹ of the Udumbaragiri succession, chief pupil of Buddha-vaṃsa Vanaratana Ānanda. With their help, he held an inquisition and expelled those who were found guilty of misconduct and unsuited to the office of monkhood. He also drew up a *Katikāvata* (code of monastic law) formulating rules for the monks who devoted themselves to study or to meditation, so that their religious observances might be maintained in strict conformity with Vinaya [214] regulations.² We are also told that he obtained from the Coḷa country monks of great eminence, learned in the Tipiṭaka, endued with piety and great purity of life.³ The Araññavāsī sect came in for his special favour, and he built for their use, on a mountain in the forest, the Puṭabhata-sela (Paḷābatgala) monastery,⁴ which later became famous as the abode of many monks of great learning and severe austerities. He obtained teachers from India to teach the Ceylon bhikkhus such secular subjects as logic and grammar and the various sciences, and he persuaded his younger brother, the sub-king Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, to acquire much wealth of knowledge and become a teacher to many thousands of Elders.⁵ Several authors of this period, including Vedeha, speak most highly of the patronage extended to them by the king's minister Devapatirāja, who, according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* (chapter 86), was a man of great wisdom and devotion.

Such encouragement given to learning could not fail to be productive of great literary achievement, and Parākrama's reign is renowned as a period of numerous scholars of high repute. The king himself, towards the latter part of his life, handed over the reins of government to his son Vijayabāhu who, to judge from the *Mahā-vaṃsa* account, was a prince extremely well-beloved of his subjects. The leisure thus obtained Parākrama used in prosecuting such studies as were not possible to him amidst the responsibilities of government, and he also

1. The second Medhaṅkara in our list: The Elder Buddha-vaṃsa was evidently also a member of the Vanavāsī fraternity.

2. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 23.

3. Mhv LXXXIV.10.

4. Mhv LXXXIV.24.

5. Mhv LXXXIV.26–31.

wrote several works of merit: Sinhalese translations to the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Vinaya-vinicchaya* (the latter of which he called *Nissandeha*), and a Sinhalese poem, *Kav-siḷumīṇa*, which is a masterpiece of beautiful Eḷu, melodious in its strains and sublime in its ideas. The Sinhalese *Daḷadā-sirita* (History of the Tooth Relic) is also attributed to him.¹ [215]

At his request Dhammakitti compiled the *Mahā-vaṃsa* from the date at which Mahānāma left off down to his own times. This Dhammakitti is usually identified with the author of the *Dāthā-vaṃsa*.² If this identification be correct, then Dhammakitti must have lived in retirement at Tambaraṭṭha in South India, when he was invited by Parākrama. The king had heard that a lotus had once sprung up in the path of the Elder as he went on his alms-rounds, and, being greatly astonished, sent gifts and offerings to the Tamba country, and persuaded him to come back to Ceylon, where he was held in the highest esteem.³

An author whose name we do not know, but who is referred to as the Pañca-pariveṇa-adhipati (Pas Muḷa Mahāsāmi) composed in Pali a medical work—the only one, so far as we know, of its kind extant—called the *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* (the Casket of Medicine). The *Mahā-vaṃsa*⁴ says it was written in the time of Parākramabāhu of Dambadeniya, by “the learned and benevolent Elder, chief of the monks at the Pañca-pariveṇa, to the intent that all who strive to fulfil their religious duties, may thereby become free from disease.” Of the author nothing more is known. In a Sinhalese medical work, *Yoga-ratnākara*,⁵ compiled about the end of the fourteenth century, a verse in the colophon states that that work was arranged on the plan “of the *Mañjūsā*, a medical work in Pali stanzas, composed by Atthadassi Thera about the year 1267 CE.”⁶ If this information be correct, the author is undoubtedly our Pañca-mūla-pariveṇa-Adhipati. The *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* is mentioned in a Burmese inscription in Pagan dated 1442 CE.⁷ Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja wrote a Sinhalese paraphrase to it in the eighteenth century, and it is stated there that, having found his original defective, he added [216] eighteen sections, making them sixty. The author of the *Mañjūsā* also wrote a *ṭīkā* on his work, but copies of it are rare. The *Mañjūsā*

1. Wickremasinghe, p. xvii.

2. Wickremasinghe, p. xvii and footnote 4.

3. Mhv LXXXIV.12–16.

4. Mhv XCVII.59–62.

5. Wickremasinghe, p. 58.

6. Dr. Kynsey's report on Paraṅgi, *Ceylon Seasonal Paper*, 1881.

7. Bode, p. 108.

once enjoyed great repute, but it has later been superseded by Sanskrit works on the subject and is now hardly ever consulted.

To the same Thera is also generally ascribed the authorship of the *Sikkhā-pada-valaṅjanī*, the Pali translation of the Sinhalese *Sikha-valaṅda*.¹ It is a code of monastic rules, drawn up for the guidance of monks by an unknown author, who also wrote a commentary on it, called the *Sikha-valaṅda-vinisa* (the exegesis of the *Sikha-valaṅda*). Both works contain quotations from the *Samanta-pāsādikā* and other works on the Vinaya.² In an inscription of Mahinda IV (circa CE 947) mention is made of a chapter—the *Sikha-karaṇī*—of the *Sikha-valaṅda*, a fact which proves that the work was in existence prior to that date. On linguistic evidence the Sinhalese *Sikha-valaṅda* is assigned to the earlier part of the tenth century. The author of the Pali *Sikkhā-pada-valaṅjanī* tells us in his introductory verses that it was a translation of the Sinhalese original, but an examination of his work shows that it is an abridged compilation made from the two Sinhalese texts rather than a literal translation. The author gives no clue to his identity, but in copies of his work, made by latter-day scribes, is usually found the subscription: “The *Sikkhā-pada-valaṅjanī* of Pañca-mūla-pariveṇādhīpati Mahā Thera.”

About this time was composed the Pali *Thūpa-vaṃsa*. It resembles the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa* rather closely and follows the conventional form of the Pali epic tradition in beginning with the history of the earlier Buddhas, passing on to that of Gotama, the story of the missions, the collecting of the relics, the arrival of the Bodhi-tree, and then on to its special subject, the erection of Thūpas in the island. The last eight chapters (there are sixteen in all) are devoted to a description of the [217] activities of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and of these two whole chapters deal with the erection of the Mahā-Thūpa at Anurādhā-pura. In the colophon to the work³ the author calls himself Vācissara, and says that he was a relation of king Parākrama, employed by him to supervise the *Dhammāgāra*.

He professes to have been well-versed in the Tipiṭaka (*Piṭaka-ttaya-pāragu*), and mentions that he was the author of several other works which he had written in Sinhalese: A *Līnattha-dīpanī-ṭīkā* on the *Paṭisambhidā-magga*, two glossaries, one called *Attha-dīpanā* on the *Sacca-saṅkhepa*, and the other called *Attha-ppakāsanā* on the *Visud-*

1. *Sikha-valaṅda*, Ed. Jayatilaka, Colombo, Preface, 1923.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 116

3. Ed. Dhammaratana, Colombo, 1896.

dhimagga. It is now generally agreed that this Vācissara is identical with the younger Vācissara, referred to earlier in this chapter, pupil of Sāriputta.¹ He was one of the heads of the Church under Vijaya-Bāhu III, and there is nothing improbable in that he should still have been working under his successor. The *Rāja-ratnākara*² enumerates a list of learned monks and laymen who flourished between Buddhaghosa and the year 1809, after the Buddha (1266 CE). It mentions a Vāgīśvara third from the end, who, evidently, is our author.

In the introductory verses to his work Vācissara acknowledges obligation to two older compilations of the history of the Thūpas. One was written in Sinhalese, and therefore, was of use only to the inhabitants of Ceylon; and the other, though in Pali, showed many defects which made a revision very necessary. The old Pali work referred to is perhaps the *Cetiya-vaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* mentioned in the *Mahā-vaṃsa ṭīkā*.³ The author has also borrowed extensively from the usual sources: the *Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā*, the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, and the *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā*. The language of the poem is the Sanskritized Pali of this period.

A Sinhalese version of the *Thūpa-vaṃsa* also exists, written [218] by a "Sakala Vidyā Cakravartī," Parākrama Paṇḍita. Some maintain that this was the Sinhalese original to which Vācissara refers in his introductory verses,⁴ and that its author was a nephew of Parākrama-Bāhu the Great, who later came to the throne as Vijayabāhu, and whom the *Mahā-vaṃsa* (chap. 80, v. 1) describes as a great scholar and a poet of much renown. Mr. Wickremasinghe has shown this statement to be inaccurate.⁵ Besides the language of the Sinhalese version, which is certainly later than the twelfth century, and therefore would not agree with the date of Parākrama-Bāhu's nephew, there are other objections. Parākrama Paṇḍita evidently wrote his Sinhalese version very soon after Vācissara wrote in Pali. In the *Rāja-ratnākara* list mentioned above his name appears last among the learned laymen, showing that he lived before 1266 CE.⁶

1. Wickremasinghe, p. xvi, Geiger, *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahāvāṃsa* p. 84, and Pref. Colombo Ed.

2. P. 46, Colombo Ed.

3. Geiger, op. cit., p. 49.

4. E.g. Dhammaratana, Colombo Ed., 1889.

5. *Catalogue*, p. 141

6. Also *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 24.

The Sinhalese version is not a translation of the Pali; it is, on the whole, broader and contains more details than the Pali,¹ showing that it was a later expansion of the Pali text.²

Another historical treatise belonging to the same period is the *Hatthavana-galla-vihāra-vaṃsa*. It is a history of the Vihāra erected at Attanagalla on the spot where the ex-king, the pious Siri Saṅghabodhi, decapitated himself, lest others should be compelled to suffer on his account. The story of Siri Saṅghabodhi has already been related in brief in an earlier chapter. Attanagalla is a village situated a few miles away from Colombo. The remains of the temple and some of the other religious edifices erected by Goṭhābhaya, in repentance for the death of the good Saṅghabodhi, are still to be seen on a hill at the confluence of two rivulets amidst some of the most beautiful scenery that could be imagined. The work itself is divided into eleven chapters, mostly in verse, but interspersed with prose narrative. Eight of them are devoted to [219] a history of Saṅghabodhi, the remaining three dealing with accounts of the erection of the various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king had died, and the endowments made for their maintenance by successive rulers of Ceylon. It resembles more or less a historical novel into which the author has interwoven much material of varying interest—graphic descriptions of forest scenes, nearly a whole chapter (chapter 2) on the art of good government, a comprehensive moral code and a great deal of matter of historical importance. It is written in elegant, but simple Pali, and is one of the first works in Pali to which a student is introduced in Ceylon monasteries with a view to familiarizing him with Pali grammatical forms and constructions. It is generally assigned to a pupil of Anomadassi Saṅgharāja, who lived in the reign of Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu.

The author states in his introductory verses (stanza 3) that it was written at the request of his teacher Anomadassi, who was the author of a Sinhalese work on astrology, the *Daivajña-kāma-dhenu*.³ The events which the history records are brought down to this period, and the writer concludes his work abruptly by expressing the hope that “the annals of Attanagalla may thenceforward be continued by later historians.” The Anomadassi mentioned here is identified with the Elder for whom, according to the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,⁴ the minister Patirājadeva, fol-

1. E.g. the history of the Pāramitā, which is not found at all in the Pali.

2. For a fuller description see Wickremasinghe, pp. 139 foll.

3. D'Alwis, *Attanagalu-vaṃsa*, p. 7, note 6.

4. Mhv LXXXVI.37–9.

lowing the king's orders, built a temple of three stories and a lofty pinnacle, during the latter part of Parākrama's reign. A Sinhalese paraphrase was written by an anonymous author during the reign of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V (c. 1378–98 CE) by a pupil of Maitrī Mahāsāmi.¹ In the eleventh century, Ñāṇaratana, abbot of the Attanagalla-vihāra, wrote a Sinhalese poem² based on this work. In 1866 that indefatigable scholar, James D'Alwis, published in Colombo an English translation of the original Pali, prefaced with a very valuable introductory essay. [220]

1. De Zoysa, P. 17

2. Wickremasinghe, p. xxii.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF PAṆḌITA PARĀKRAMA

Vanaratana Ānanda, of the Araññavāsī sect mentioned in the last chapter and pupil of Dimbulāgala Medhaṅkara, left behind him several disciples who were scholars of note and authors of important compilations. One of them, Gotama Thera, wrote a Sinhalese translation of Saṅgharakkhita's Pali grammar, the *Sambandha-cintā*, on syntax. Two others are much better known as distinguished writers—Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara and Vedeha Thera. The first, Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara, more commonly called Buddhappiya, was, as his name implies, a native of the Coḷa country in South India. He probably formed a member of the community of monks whom Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu persuaded to come over from the Coḷa country to re-establish the Sāsana firmly in Ceylon.¹ Buddhappiya was the author of two books—*Rūpa-siddhi* and the *Pajja-madhu*. In the *Rūpa-siddhi* colophon² he describes himself as follows: "This perfect *Rūpa-siddhi* was composed by that monk who received the title of Buddhappiya and was named Dīpaṅkara—a disciple of Ānanda, the eminent preceptor who was like unto a standard in Tambapaṇṇi—he (Dīpaṅkara) was renowned like a lamp in the Damiḷa country, and, being the resident superior there of two monasteries including Bālādicca,³ caused the Religion to shine forth." At the conclusion of the *Pajja-madhu*⁴ he gives his name and pupilage: "May they drink deeply of these nectar-like verses (*Pajja-madhu*)—made by the bee Buddhappiya, delighted with the Buddha's virtues—who constantly attends upon that lotus, the Venerable Elder [221] Ānanda Vanaratana (Jewel of the Forest), heavy-laden with the perfume of his virtues and always in bloom."

Both works were evidently written while the author was residing in the Coḷa country, where, at this period, Buddhism was flourishing and where Buddhappiya, as we learn from the *Rūpa-siddhi* verse, held the incumbency of two monasteries and had achieved eminent renown for his abilities.

1. Mhv LXXXIV.10.

2. Colombo Ed., end.

3. The commentary says that the other monastery was called Cūḍamāṇīkya.

4. JPTS, 1887, p. 16, v. 103.

The *Rūpa-siddhi* is a Pali grammar on the model of the *Kaccāyana*. Its proper designation, as the author tells us in the opening stanzas, is *Pada-rūpa-siddhi* —“Etymology of the Parts of Speech.” Although it follows the *Kaccāyana-sandhi-kappa* in general outlines, the *Rūpa-siddhi* is a much fuller and more exhaustive work, supplying many deficiencies in the *Kaccāyana*; and even the division of sections differs in some degree from that adopted in the older grammar, as will be seen from the following list of contents. It is divided into seven chapters: *sandhi* (five classes *saññā*, *sara*, *pakati*, *vyañjana*, *niggahīta*), declension (masculine, feminine, neuter, pronominals, and numerals, personal pronouns having no gender, indeclinables, and inseparable particles), *kāraka* (syntax), *samāsa*, *taddhita* (nominal derivatives), *ākhyāta* (verbs), and *kitaka-uṇādi* (verbal derivatives and particles).

The book and its divisions were subjected to very strong criticism by Medhaṅkara in his *Payoga-siddhi*, written a little while after, and because of its great length and the abstruse nature of its treatment was later superseded by the *Bālāvatāra*, written in the fourteenth century. It is, however, much studied in Ceylon even at the present day, and retains its former prestige to some extent. The Burmese grammarian, Mahāyasa, in his *Kaccāyana-sāra*, written about the fourteenth century,¹ quotes with approval many extracts, from the *Rūpa-siddhi*. A *ṭikā* on it is usually assigned to Buddhappiya himself,² and an old Sinhalese paraphrase exists, written by an anonymous author, [222] but evidently compiled soon after the *Rūpa-siddhi* itself, because it is quoted in Rāhula's *Pañjikā-pradīpa* (1457 CE).

Buddhappiya's other work, the *Pajja-madhu*, is a beautiful Pali poem of Sanskritized Pali, couched in ornate language; it contains 104 stanzas. The first sixty-nine verses describe the beauties of the Buddha's person, dwelling on each detail, from the nails of his toes to the *ketu-mālā*, or garland of rays over his head. Every feature is extolled with a wealth of poetical imagery. Thus, the single curled hair between the Buddha's eyebrows is like the moon in its circuit from which fall drops of ambrosia upon the lotus-blossoms of his toes, the nails of which are their petals. The rest of the poem is taken up with praising the “unfathomable wisdom” of the Buddha, a panegyric upon his disciples the Saṅgha, and several verses describing the glories of Nibbāna. There is a Sinhalese paraphrase by an anonymous writer,

1. Bode, p. 37.

2. Gv pp. 60 and 70.

which is of very little use, being more intricate in its explanations than the original Pali.

The *Gandha-vamsa*¹ ascribes to Buddhapiya another book called the *Sārattha-saṅgaha*.² Mr. Wickremasinghe³ calls it “a religious work,” but I do not know of any copies existing in Ceylon.

A *Sārattha-saṅgaha* is included in the list of books in the Pagān Inscription⁴ (CE 1442). Mrs. Bode thinks it refers to Buddhādāsa’s medical work of the same name written in the fourth century.

There is a Sinhalese work on Buddhism, the *Sārārtha-saṅgraha*⁵, but the author makes no mention of its being a translation from the Pali original. There are extensive quotations from various Pali works, and the nature of its contents suggests that it was an original work by Saranaṅkara.

Ānanda’s other pupil was Vedeha, of the Araññavāsī fraternity, author of two Pali works, the *Rasa-vāhinī* and the [223] *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā*, the first in prose and the second in verse. He is also generally credited with having written most authoritative Sinhalese grammar extant—the *Sīdat-saṅgarā*.⁶ Vedeha gives us some account of himself in the colophon to the *Rasa-vāhinī*, where he says: “The *Rasa-vāhinī* was composed by Vedeha Thera, author of the beautiful *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā*, and the Sinhalese grammar, who, born of the Brāhmaṇa caste, was a banner to the three divisions of Ceylon. His tutor was the Venerable Ānanda of the Forest Hermitage, leader of a large Chapter of monks, and one who has crossed over the Ocean of Knowledge. His preceptor was the Great Elder Maṅgala, skilled in all learning, chief supervisor of boundaries (*sīmā*) and the Great Kāliṅga Thera.” In the *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā* colophon he mentions only the *Sīhala-sadda-lakkhaṇa* as his work, so that the order in which his books were written was: first, the *Sīhala-sadda-lakkhaṇa* (said to be the same as the *Sīdat-saṅgarā*), second the *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā*, and lastly the *Rasa-vāhinī*. In the *Sīdat-saṅgarā*—which was composed at the request of the minister Pratrīrajadeva Paṇḍita, identified with the minister of that name

1. Gv pp. 60 and 70.

2. Somapala Jayawardhana: “There is no Pali text called *Sārattha-saṅgaha*. Perhaps what is intended is the *Sāra-saṅgaha* composed by Ven. Siddhattha, a pupil of Ven. Buddhapiya Dīpaṅkara. Buddhādāsa’s work, the *Sārārtha-saṅgraha*, is in Sanskrit.”

3. *Catalogue*, p. xviii.

4. Govt. Printing Press, Rangoon, 1899, and Bode, p. 109.

5. q.v.

6. D’Alwis, *Sīdat-saṅgarā* preface, and *Catalogue*, p. 22. De Zoysa, p. 28, Wickremasinghe. p. 92.

dispatched by Parākrama-Bāhu to South Ceylon to repair dilapidated religious edifices¹ —the author describes himself as head of the Prati-irāja-Pariveṇa in south Ceylon.²

Of Vedeha's works, the *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā* is a Pali poem of about 800 verses, written at the request of a monk named Rāhula, belonging to the same Vanavāsī fraternity as the author himself. As the name implies, the poem purports to be a description of the beautiful peak on which the Buddha is said to have imprinted the mark of his left foot on his third visit to Ceylon. The story is related in the first chapter of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. But the account of this particular event occupies [224] only a few verses of the book. The rest of it contains the life of the Buddha from the time of his birth in the Tusita deva-world, prior to his being born in the world of men, and continues down to his third visit to Ceylon after having attained Enlightenment. Vedeha has described in great detail many incidents of the Buddha's life, and in the course of the narrative of the Master's journeying to Laṅkā, the poet makes use of the opportunity to describe in language at once graceful and elegant, and replete with chaste and beautiful imagery, many parts of the island, little known or explored at that time—its hills and dales, mountains and rivers, especially the Kelaṇi and the Mahāvāligāṅga, the exquisite splendour of their scenery, the beauty of the landscape and the matchless variety of its forests, with their delicately tinted foliage of luxuriant verdure, apt abode for woodland nymphs paying homage to the Holy Shrine. His vivid pen pictures of cities and their inhabitants show that Vedeha was deeply imbued with the lore of Sanskrit writers, but there is no trace of slavish imitation. On the contrary, the *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā* is undoubtedly the work of a poet, rich in his gifts and inspired with love and reverence for the subject of his poem. The opening verses of adoration, enchantingly sweet in their beautiful cadences, are sung even today, by many thousands who have never heard his name and know nothing of his work. A Sinhalese paraphrase of the Pali poem has been published³ in 1890 by two Buddhist monks, Dhammānanda and Ñāṇissara, two of the greatest Oriental scholars of their day.

The *Rasa-vāhinī* is a collection of stories in easy Pali prose, embodying legends historical and otherwise. In the opening stanza the author tells us that his work is a revision of an old Pali translation, made from an original compilation, by Raṭṭhapāla Thera of the Taṅgutta-vaṅka-

1. D'Alwis, *Catalogue*, p. 225.

2. *Sidat-saṅgarā*, p. 43.

3. Printed at the Government Press, Colombo, 1890.

pariveṇa of the Mahā-vihāra. We do not know anything more about Raṭṭhapāla, except that he is supposed to have made his [225] translation, from a number of legends then extant in the “language of the land” and said to have been related by Arahats. Vedeha found Raṭṭhapāla’s translation confused in its constructions and corrupted by repetitions, and he therefore revised it and put it into a new form, naming it the *Rasa-vāhinī*.

Perhaps Raṭṭhapāla’s translation was drawn from the ancient *Sahassa-vatthu-Aṭṭhakathā* (“Commentary of the Thousand Stories”), quoted four times in *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, which Geiger considers to be a collection of legends and folk-tales.¹ It contained among others tales of the former lives of the heroes who fought under king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and also the romantic tale of the love of prince Sāli, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi’s son, for the Caṇḍāla maiden.

Raṭṭhapāla evidently selected a number of sacred legends which had acquired sanctity from the belief that they had been handed down by Arahats. He naturally would not tamper with them and prune them into an elegant work, because each story had its own self-centred and venerated existence either at his time or before. The legends were never made to form a series, but each grew up of itself. Sometimes certain widespread myths, such as the inexhaustible rice-pot and the wishing gem, had clusters of stories which had grown round them as local legends, and they were written down consecutively, containing clumsy repetitions. Vedeha, who was of a poetic temperament, and, therefore, loved beauty of diction, was not satisfied with such an inartistic presentation of these homely stories, and he proceeded to clothe them in a new garb. The result is the *Rasa-vāhinī*, exquisite in its simplicity, charming in its naïveté, and delightful in its innocence. It is worth noticing that a large number of the stories are grouped round the days of King Valagambā, in whose reign the Tipiṭaka and their commentaries were committed to writing in Ceylon. Were they accretions to an old nucleus, or do they show that the original collection was made soon after that date? [226]

The stories are 103 in number, the first forty relating to incidents which happened in Jambu-dīpa and the rest in Ceylon. They illustrate the benefits that accrue to those who do good deeds, chiefly by making offerings to the Saṅgha. They are useful to us now, in that they throw new and interesting light on the manners, customs and social conditions

1. *Dīpa-vamsa and Mahāvamsa*, p. 48.

of ancient India and Ceylon. Perhaps some of them contain materials of historical importance hidden in their half-mythical tales.

The book is very widely used as an elementary Pali reader in temple-schools even to this day. The free and easy flow of language makes it pleasant reading, while the wealth of its descriptions furnishes the student with a copious vocabulary.

In the fourteenth century a monk named Dhammakitti, belonging to the Gaḍalādeṇi-vihāra, made a compilation in Sinhalese of Indian and Ceylon Buddhist legends. His work is called the *Saddharmāṅkāra*, and the last twenty-one of its twenty-four chapters contain all the stories of the *Rasa-vāhinī*. To them are subjoined two other stories, one of which, the *Metteyya-vastu*, is evidently derived from the *Cariyā-piṭaka*; the source of the other, *Padmāvati-vastu*, is not known. The greater part of the book is undoubtedly a translation of the *Rasa-vāhinī*, though Dhammakitti does not say so. In the colophon; however, he takes his pupillage back to the Chief Elder of the Araññavāsī sect, showing that he belonged to the same fraternity as Vedeha.¹

In Burma the work is known as *Madhurā-Rasa-vāhinī*, perhaps by a misconception of the words in one of the opening stanzas: *vakkhām'ahaṃ sumadhuraṃ rasavāhinintam*. Sometimes the section dealing with Ceylon stories is copied separately and called the *Sihala-dīpa-vatthu*. The *Rasa-vāhinī*, however, forms only one part of a much larger collection, called the *Sahassa-vathu-ppakaraṇa*,² which seems to have been lost in Ceylon. [227]

There is a tradition in Ceylon that a pupil of Ānanda Vanaratana also wrote a commentary on four *bhānavāras* of the Tipiṭaka in Sinhalese at the request of another monk named Anomadassi.³

To about this time, or perhaps to a slightly earlier period, I would also assign the *Kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa*, by an anonymous author. Dhammakitti, who, in the reign of Paṇḍita Parākrama, wrote a continuation of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, mentions it by name. It relates the story of the Buddha's hair relic (*kesa-dhātu*), which was brought to Ceylon in the reign of Moggallāna I (497–515 CE) by a novice named Amba Sāmaṇera. He was a man of the Lambakaṇṇa race, Silākāla by name, and had fled to India with Moggallāna through fear of the patricide

1. For a fuller description see Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, pp. 128 foll.

2. British Museum Or. 4674. See also Bode, p. 105. Jayawardhana: "The *Sahassa-vatthu-ppakaraṇa* has been published by Ven. A.P. Buddhadatta."

3. Medhānanda, *Jina-vaṃsa-dīpanī*, 1917, p. 17. A *bhānavāra* is equal to 250 verses of thirty-two syllables each.

Kassapa. There he became a recluse at the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra, and because of his having served a mango to the Elders he was given the nickname of Amba Sāmaṇera (Mango-novice). When Moggallāna ascended the throne a few years later, Silākāla, now no longer a monk, returned to Ceylon with the *Kesa-dhātu*. Moggallāna received it with great honour, and kept it in the Dīpaṅkara Image-house in a special casket beside the statues of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. Silākāla was appointed guardian of the relic, and made sword-bearer—hence his name Asiggaha Silākāla (Silākāla the Sword-Bearer). Later he married the king's sister. Such is the account given in the 39th chapter of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. Of the later history of the Relic, we know nothing at all. The *Kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa* itself is extremely rare, and I have heard of only one copy in Ceylon. De Zoysa does not mention it in his *Catalogue*, and Mr. Wickremasinghe makes but a passing reference to it.¹

Paṇḍita Parākrama's eldest son and successor, Vijayabāhu, who was entrusted with the supervision of the state during the very lifetime of the king, was an enlightened prince, extremely [228] devoted to the cultivation of the arts. He was a man of great religious fervour, and was called Bodhisatta (Buddha-Aspirant) by the people. The *Mahā-vaṃsa*² gives glowing descriptions of the measures he adopted to beautify the capital city of Polonnaruva, and we see there evidence of an ascetic mind belonging to a wise statesman, a just ruler and a man of broad views. We are told that he made the city of Pulatthi "like unto the city of Indra, so that by the magnificence thereof it surpassed Mithilā, discomfited Kāñcī, laughed at Sāvattthī, vanquished Madhurā, despoiled Bārāṇasī, robbed even Vesālī, and made the city of Campā tremble." It was this that perhaps gave Vedeha his material for the picturesque description of cities in the *Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā*. He encouraged learning among the monks by conferring dignities and offices on such of them as brought glory to the Order. They were given titles of Mahā-sāmi-pāda, Mūla-pāda, Mahā-Thera-pāda, Pariveṇa-Thera-pāda, etc. He held a great ceremony of Ordination at Sahassatittha, the Mahāvāli-gaṅga, lasting for a fortnight, to which monks came from every monastery, leaving none behind them, "not even a monk in charge of the stores."³ He sent gifts to the monks of Coḷa and Paṇḍu as well. The influence of an enlightened ruler is bound to be reflected in the life of

1. P. xviii.

2. Mhv LXXXIX.

3. Mhv LXXXIX.47-59.

his subjects, and the large number of literary works, mostly in Sinhalese, written during this period, are an index to the prosperity and the contentment which he, acting under his great father, achieved.

His brother, Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, who succeeded him (1277–88 CE), was no less a patron of learning. He “caused all the Three Piṭakas to be written by learned scribes of the Scriptures, rewarded them liberally and placed copies in the diverse Vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus spread the Pali scriptures throughout the land.”¹ During his reign Siddhattha [229] Thera compiled the *Sāra-saṅgaha*. The author describes himself as a member of the Vanavāsī fraternity, and pupil of Buddhappiya, author of *Rūpa-siddhi*, “famed throughout Coḷī and Laṅkā for his vast learning and great piety.” He also has a panegyric on Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, whose patronage he seems to have enjoyed.²

The *Sārattha-saṅgaha* is divided into forty sections, written partly in prose and partly in verse. The first chapter deals with the *buddhābhinihāra*, the preliminaries necessary for aspiring to Buddhahood, and several verses are quoted from the *Suttanipāta* commentary; it then passes on to the wonderful features of the Buddha’s life, quoting extensively from the commentaries accounts of such Suttas as the *Mahā-Sīhanāda*, and the *Culla-Hatthipadopama Sutta*. This is followed by a description of the gradual disappearance of the Buddha’s teaching, the appearance of Cakkavatti kings, the enshrinement of the relics of Holy Men, the protection of such shrines, illustrated with stories of men who reached salvation thereby, a discourse on the threefold *Sāsana* (*pariyatti*, *paṭipatti*, and *paṭivedha*), and a condemnation of heresies and of heretics who entered the order in Asoka’s reign attracted by gain. Many stories are given of the virtues of piety and devotedness of heart and self-denial, especially in the matter of giving alms.

One instance is given of a man who sold firewood and prepared alms for some novices (*sāmaṇeras*), which they refused to accept because it was not well prepared. He then pawned his daughter, bought a cow, and prepared alms with milk. Later he worked at a sugar mill to get money for his daughter’s release, but, as he was coming home with it, he met Piṇḍapātika Tissa Thera, whom he found starving for want of food. Paying an exorbitant price to the only man who had food in the place, he gave it to the Thera who thereby became an Arahat. To this is added a chapter on dreams—[230] Siddhattha’s dream on the day of Enlight-

1. Mhv XC, vv. 37–8.

2. Preface to printed edition of the first eight chapters: Colombo, 1891, ed. Dhammaratana.

enment, the dream of king Kosala, etc., the efficacy of the Refuges, the various kinds of *sīla*, methods of meditation, foods suitable for various classes of beings, the reproduction of living things, including a story of how two eggs laid by Ambapāla Gaṇikā gave birth to two Theras. The author says that this is contained in the *Apadāna*, but no such story is found there. The book also has a very ungallant chapter on the nature of women, and the concluding chapter deals with cosmology.

As will be seen from the above brief list of its contents, it is a curious medley of matter of diverse interest, jumbled together anyhow, with no attempt at arrangement. I am inclined to believe that the book, as we have it now, has been greatly tampered with by later editors, and many spurious additions have been made to it. Else it would be difficult to account for its admixture of religion and demonology and medicine. Copies of it are rare, and though an attempt was made in 1891 to have the book printed, only a few chapters have so far been published.

The Rev. Medhānanda in his recent work the *Jina-vaṃsa-dīpanī* says that it was this same Siddhattha who wrote a *Mahā-nipāta-vaṇṇanā*, the *Dampiyā-sannē*, and the *Rasa-vāhinī-ṭīkā*.¹

Another author of the same period was Vanaratana Medhaṅkara (the third of that name famous in the Buddhist Church of Ceylon), who wrote the *Jina-carita* and the *Payoga-siddhi*. In the colophon to the latter work he tells us that he was the pupil of Sumaṅgala Mahā Thera of the Jambuddoṇi-vihāra and was *niyāmakā* or director there. The *Jina-carita*, however, is said to have been written at the Vijayabāhu-pariveṇa, built by Vijayabāhu, of which the author was incumbent at the time.² This probably refers to the Vihāra built at Vaṭṭalagāma by Vijaya-Bāhu III, who ruled at Dambadeniya.³ The *Jina-carita* is a short Pali poem of [231] 472 stanzas dealing with the life of the Buddha. The first hundred verses describe briefly his birth as Sumedha in the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, and tells us how in one birth after another he strove to fulfil the ten *pāramitā* necessary for Buddhahood. The greater part of the work deals with the Renunciation and with the visit paid by Gotama to his relations after he had attained Enlightenment. The author gives vivid descriptions of Suddhodana's city, and the Twin Miracle which the Buddha performed at the foot of the Gaṇḍabba Tree to convince his relations and win their confidence. He then proceeds to paint

1. Medhānanda, *Jina-vaṃsa-dīpanī* (Colombo, 1917), Preface, p. 19.

2. JPTS, 1904, p. 31.

3. Mhv LXXXI.58.

little cameos about the various spots where the Buddha lived during his long ministry of service to his fellow-men.

The poem concludes with the author's aspirations to become a Buddha himself, "Giving my flesh, blood, and eyes with calm mind, fulfilling all the *pāramitā* (perfections) and virtues, all self-abnegation and wisdom, attaining to the highest pinnacle of perfection, may I become Buddha incomparable; having preached the sweet doctrine which brings happiness to men, and having freed all the world of men and devas from the fetters of Saṃsāra, may I reach the noble city of peace and joy."

There is an old Sinhalese paraphrase to the *Jina-carita*, which is usually ascribed to Medhaṅkara himself. Towards the end of last century, the Rev. Dhammānanda, principal of the Paramadhammacetiya-pariveṇa at Ratmalāna, published a new paraphrase written by himself. An English translation of it has been published in the *Pali Text Society Journal* (1904-7) by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, of Perse School, Cambridge.

Medhaṅkara's other work, the *Payoga-siddhi*, is a grammar written on the lines of the Moggallāna school. It bears the same relation to *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa* as the *Rūpa-siddhi* does to the *Kaccāyana*. The author follows Moggallāna closely, while supplying the deficiencies of that work which are criticized by Buddhappiya in his *Rūpa-siddhi*. The scope of the *Moggallāna* is thereby greatly increased, and Medhaṅkara [232] makes some caustic remarks on Buddhappiya's criticisms. "Many of his rules are mere figments of imagination," he says in one place.

The *Payoga-siddhi* is not now much used in Ceylon. It does not seem to have found its way to Burma at all, for no mention is made of it in any history of Burmese literature. The *Gandha-vaṃsa* and the *Sāsana-vaṃsa* are both silent about it. A Sinhalese paraphrase exists by a later anonymous writer, but neither paraphrase nor original has found much favour.

A few years later, in 1295, Parākramabāhu IV ascended the throne at Kurunegala. He was a wise and mighty prince, and after he had obtained a semblance of peace in the kingdom (for the Malabar peril was ever present like Damocles' sword) he assembled the monks together and caused the ceremony of ordination to be performed many times.¹ He was imbued with a great love for learning, and the books written during his reign are profuse in their admiration for his accomplishments, which were varied and numerous. He was especially

1. Mhv XC.64-5.

devoted in his attentions to the Tooth Relic, and made to it many offerings and held many feasts in its honour. In order that similar ceremonies may be performed daily, we are told that he, of his own free will, wrote a book in Sinhalese called *Daḷadā-sirita* (“the Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic”), according to the tenets of which the rites were to be held daily.¹

The *Mahā-vaṃsa* (Mhv XC.80–4) also tells us that he appointed as his teacher a certain Great Elder from the Coḷa country, a self-denying man, conversant with many languages and skilled in the science of logic and in religion. The king read all the *Jātakas* with him, and constantly heard them expounded, learnt them all, and kept in mind their meaning also. Thereafter he translated in due order the entire collection, 551 in number, from Pali into Sinhalese. He caused them to be read in an assembly of Elders who were well versed in the [233] Tipiṭaka, and having purified his translations of their faults, he caused them to be transcribed and spread them throughout the whole of Laṅkā. Later he visited an Elder of great eminence called Medhaṅkara, and gave these *Jātakas* into his charge, so that they might be preserved in the line of succession of his pupils. This Medhaṅkara probably refers to the author of the *Jina-carita* noticed above.

According to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* account, the translation of the *Jātakatṭhakatṭhā* was done by King Parākrama himself. The introduction to the existing Sinhalese version is silent as to its authorship. It merely states that the work was accomplished by the exertions of the minister Virasiṃha Pratrirāja. The translation does not always follow the Pali text: sometimes whole sentences being left out, which may perhaps be due to the carelessness of later-day scribes. Sometimes attempts have been made to add embellishments to the Pali version.²

The late Ven. H. Siri Sumaṅgala Nāyaka Thera, stated in the course of an article to the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. VIII, No. 28), that “provincialisms are to be detected in the *Jātakas*. Some of them are written in indifferent Sinhalese, some contain a few Tamil expressions and words.” From these facts he concluded that the Sinhalese version must have been made by several persons. The language of the translations is certainly not worthy of the king, if the *Mahā-vaṃsa* account of his having been the author of the

1. Mhv XC.76–8. But see Wickremasinghe, p. xvii, re authorship of *Daḷadā-sirita*. I believe that here we have to do with two different works, one of which evidently has been lost in later years.

2. See also Wickremasinghe, p. 119. D’Alwis, *Sidat-saṅgarā*, Introd., p. xxx.

Daḷadā-sirita is correct. It is interspersed with many Sanskrit and Pali words, and is decidedly colloquial in style. On the other hand, could the colloquialisms have been due to a deliberate desire to make the translation comprehensible to the ordinary layman? The *Jātakas* formed his chief spiritual sustenance, as they do to this day, [234] and it was necessary that he should understand as clearly as possible the lessons they inculcated.

From this period a distinct tendency is to be observed among the authors of books towards using Sinhalese as their medium of expression in preference to any other language then used for literary purposes in Ceylon. This was due to several reasons; greater attention than ever before was being paid to subjects of secular interest. Pali was pre-eminently the language of sacred literature or, at least, of literature having some definite connection with the religion—the history of religious movements, the chronicles of the doings of the Order, the measures adopted by various sovereigns and distinguished members of the community, for the maintenance of the national faith.

It is true that Sanskrit was there, available for use where Pali would not suffice; but Sanskrit never became the favourite language in Ceylon at any time to the extent that Pali did. Perhaps there was a prejudice against it from very early ages because of its having been the language of the Tīrthakas (unbelievers) and of the Vaitulyavādins, who sought through their writings to interpret the doctrines of Buddhism in a manner contrary to the traditions of the Theravāda monks. Besides, Sanskrit was *par excellence* a literary dialect, not to be easily understood, nor to be used with any degree of proficiency except by the very learned. Any work written in it would find circulation only within a narrow circle, for not even all the monks knew Sanskrit, while they were all acquainted with Pali, and there was not much chance of its gaining currency in the neighbouring continent, unless it should prove to be of remarkable merit, such as was Kumarādāsa's *Jānakī-haraṇa*.

There is no doubt that Vedeha's comprehensive Sinhalese grammar, the *Sidat-saṅgarā*, gave great impetus to the attention paid to Sinhalese studies. There he had made an attempt to keep Sinhalese as a special language apart from Pali and Sanskrit, though it contained many words derived [235] from them. In such grammatical factors as gender, for instance, he showed how Sinhalese differed from its ancestors. But it was too late to stem the tide. The influence of other languages, especially of Sanskrit, had already proceeded apace.

We saw how the sweet, soft rhythm of old Pali gradually gave place to a more sonorous, vigorous Sanskritized Pali; it was the same with Sinhalese. The language was enriched first on the side of its religious vocabulary by words derived from Pali, while words and phrases and turns of expression now began to be borrowed bodily from Sanskrit. The contiguity of Tamil, too, for several centuries has had its effect. Sinhalese thus once more came back to its own, though it was a language in many ways different from that used prior to the eleventh century. Hitherto Ceylon authors had written their most important works in Pali; henceforward Sinhalese comes to assume that position and most of the important compositions are in the “language of the land.”¹ No attempts are made now (such as the authors of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dāṭhāvamsa* made) to supersede it by any other medium of expression; occasionally an author is found using Pali, ambitious perhaps to reach a wider audience than that confined to Ceylon, or because the very nature of his treatise was such that Pali seemed its pre-eminently fitting garb.

From the fourteenth century onwards until the nineteenth the island never enjoyed perfect peace for any length of time; the Malabar hordes were ever waiting to swoop down upon it, and later came enemies from countries further away. Rival claimants to the throne were constantly at war with each other, and it was only on rare occasions that a sovereign was found sufficiently strong and powerful to hold them in check. [236]

Alarmed by this want of security, the influx of scholars from other lands gradually diminished and finally ceased, or perhaps they felt they had now obtained all the learning that Ceylon could give them. This diminution in the traffic of learning also may have been in some measure responsible for the adoption of Sinhalese in preference to Pali, and it is worth noticing that very few of the books written in Ceylon after the fourteenth century have gained currency in other lands. The golden age of Pali literature in Ceylon had ended perhaps never more to come back.

Several authors of eminence flourished during the time of Parākramabāhu IV, chief among whom was Śrī Parākrama-Bāhu Mahā Thera of the Vilgammūla fraternity, chief incumbent of the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi

1. For information about them reference should be made to such works as D’Alwis’ *Sīdat-saṅgarā*, Introduction; Wickremasinghe’s *Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS in the British Museum*, and De Zoysa’s *Catalogue* among others. In the present treatise mention will be made of Sinhalese works only in so far as they are translations or commentaries of Pali books or are in some way connected with them.

Temple. He made a Sinhalese translation of the *Mahā-Bodhi-vaṃsa* in twelve chapters. It is an amplified version of the Pali original, interspersed with numerous quotations from Pali works, both canonical and otherwise, and from Sanskrit works such as Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vaṃsa*.¹ In the colophon the author tells us that the translation was made at the request of the king himself. He was a Sanskrit scholar as well, and made a Sinhalese paraphrase of Mayūra's *Sūrya-śataka*.²

In the preface to the *Bodhi-vaṃsa* translation mention is made also of the following works in Sinhalese, composed during the same period: a translation of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Peta-vat* (*Peta-vatthu*), the *Viman-vat* (*Vimāna-vatthu*) and the *Buddha-vaṃsa*, which, judging from their titles, were either translations or compilations from the Pali works of the same names.

Turnour³ makes out that a portion of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* was written during the reign of this king, bringing the history down to his own times.

Mr. Wickremasinghe assigns also to this period a Pali [237] work called the *Dhātu-mañjūsā* ("Casket of Radicals"), or the *Kaccāyana-dhātu-mañjūsā*, as it is more often called, a compilation of verbal roots in Pali and founded on the *Kaccāyana*. It is a kind of metrical vocabulary on the same lines as the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*, but, unlike the latter, it contains only lists of verbal roots. The *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* did not contain any lists of verbs at all. The author of the *Mañjūsā* was a monk named *Sīlavaṃsa*. In the colophon he says: "The *Dhātu-mañjūsā*, rendered clear and easy by its alphabetical arrangement (*vaṇṇakkamā*, arranged according to letters), has been compiled for the edification of the uninitiated by the learned *Sīlavaṃsa*, a monk, who like a swan to the lotus of the Scriptures, resided in the Temple of *Yakkhaddi Lena*,⁴ with aspirations that Buddhism may continue long." In the introductory stanzas he acknowledges his obligation to various Pali grammars and lists of roots (*Dhātu-pāṭha*) which had been compiled earlier. No date of composition is given and as yet we have no clue which will enable us to determine the period with any definiteness. *Sīlavaṃsa* divided radicals into seven classes, each class typified by a single word (*bhū*, *rudha*, *diva*, *sū*, *ki*, *tanu*, and *cura*). The 148 stanzas contain over 400 radicals arranged in alphabetical order. Usually only

1. For a fuller description Wickremasinghe, pp. 22 and 23.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Epitome of the *History of Ceylon*, p. 47.

4. Probably *Yakdessāgala* in Kurunegala district (Wickremasinghe, p. xviii).

one meaning is assigned to each root. Thus “*kuṭa = chedana* (cutting)” (under the *bhvādi*).

The late Don A. de S. Baṭvantudāvē Paṇḍita, of Colombo, one of the foremost of orientalist in Ceylon in the last century, prepared and published a scholarly edition of the work with a Sinhalese and an English translation, giving an alphabetical list of the radicals, the class to which each belongs and the number of the stanza in which the particular radical occurs in the Pali original.¹ [238]

1. Colombo, 1872, pp. 1, 68.

CHAPTER XII

THE TWILIGHT GLOW

From the end of the thirteenth century up to the extinction of the Sinhalese dynasty in the eighteenth, Ceylon passed through one long period of unrest punctuated only by very short intervals of peace. During the whole of this time the island cannot be said to have been ever entirely freed from the presence of the Malabars. Even when temporarily subdued by some strong Sinhalese monarch, they continued to exercise their influence in diverse ways, and by frequent intermarriages the royal line was almost as closely allied to the ruling princes of South India as it was to the blood of the Sinhalese kings of old. The effects of their ever-present influence are to be seen today in every department of life among the Sinhalese, in their language, their domestic and social observances, and in their very national religion, so much so that to this day the *devālas* for Hindu worship are found either within the precincts of the Buddhist religious edifices (*vihāras*) themselves or in close contiguity with them. The Malabars now exercised undisputed dominion over the northern coasts on both sides of the island. The two ancient capitals, Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, with the rich fertile and well-watered plains surrounding them, fell into their hands; the country from Chilaw in the West to Batticaloa on the East owed allegiance to the foreigners, even adopting their language as the vernacular. In the thirteenth century, with the establishment of a Tamil colony in the sandy plains of Jaffnā-paṭṭanam at the northernmost extremity of the island, their power became firmly rooted, and it irresistibly extended itself. One after another, each capital city in the kingdom had to be abandoned to them, and the seat of government carried further and further south; from Anurādhapura it moved to Polonnaruva, thence to Dambadeniya in the thirteenth century; from there to Yāpahuva, Kurunegala, and Gampola, [239] thence to the lofty plateau of the Hill country, with its little town of Senkadagala and to lovely Peradeniya on the banks of the Mahāvāliḡaṅga, and finally in the fifteenth century to Jayavardhana-pura, now known as Kōṭṭē, 6 miles away from modern Colombo.

Occasionally the Sinhalese would make desperate attempts to regain their lost independence, with casual successes; but the odds were greatly against them; the Tamils could always rely for help on the

bands of marauding allies from the neighbouring continent and the Sinhalese were unable to offer effectual resistance to their overwhelming numbers. Whilst the north of the island was thus almost entirely abandoned to the Tamils, the Sinhalese provinces were subdivided into several petty kingdoms, the chiefs of which often acknowledged nominal supremacy to someone who held away over the capital city; but they were almost always involved in internecine struggles, because of their rivalry and jealousy and hostilities provoked by the withholding of tribute.¹

Amidst such conditions of alarm and despondency, when the power of the people was being steadily destroyed and foreign influence was gaining the ascendancy at the Court, there was little to fire the enthusiasm of men of letters. They depended for their encouragement not so much on the meritorious praise of their reading public as on the patronage extended to them by their rulers, who themselves were scholars and lovers of literature. The monks, who because of their dissociation from worldly interests had so far been able to devote their attention to literary pursuits, had to depend for their maintenance on the generosity of the lay community; that support was not always forthcoming; the people were too much engrossed in the protection of their property and persons to have time for anything else. Literature thus fell into decay: the fraternities of monks were disorganized, yet it was they who amidst all adversity kept alive the torch of learning in Ceylon—all honour to them, therefore—and, whenever a patron of [240] letters arose in the ranks of the princes or of their ministers, willing to extend to them a helping hand, they once more roused themselves to activity and produced works of merit, worthy of holding rank alongside with the productions of their predecessors.

One such prince was Bhuvaneka-Bāhu IV (circa 1347 CE), “a man of great wisdom and faith and a mine of excellent virtues,” who ruled at Gaṅgasiripura (now Gampola). He had an enlightened minister, Senālakādhikāra Senerat, born of the Meheṇavara-vaṃsa (the descendants of those who had accompanied Saṅghamittā and the branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree). With the consent of the king, he armed himself with royal authority and, in order to purge the Order of the misconduct among its members, held a council of monks under the leadership of the Great Elder Vanaratana of Amaragiri, and caused an inquisition to be held into the characters of those suspected of wrong living.²

1. Tennent, *History of Ceylon*, vol. I p. 416.

At this time a monk named Dhammakitti was Saṅgharāja (Primate). He lived in a monastery called Saddhamma-tilaka, in the village of Gaḍalādeṇiya.¹ According to the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* colophon,² he was the pupil of another Dhammakitti, who seems to have flourished during the latter part of the thirteenth century. He was a member of the Puṭabhatta-seḷa (Paḷābatgala) fraternity and lived at Gaṅgasiri-pura. Dhammakitti Saṅgharāja was evidently a man of great learning, considered quite worthy, as later events show, of the high office he held at the head of the Buddhist Church.

Bhuvaneka-Bāhu IV was succeeded by Parākrama-Bāhu V, and the latter (circa 1356 CE) by Vikrama-Bāhu III. His minister was Nissaṅka Alakeśvara, or Alagakkonār, as he is often called, who perhaps forms the most noteworthy figure in the days of the decline of the Sinhalese monarchy. He [241] belonged to a noble family in the hill tribes of South India, and was allied by marriage to Senālaṅkādhikāra Senarat mentioned above. He rose from power to power; a governor of the province of which Peradeniya formed the capital, he had already distinguished himself as a capable administrator; later in the reign of the next king we find him as the Viceroy of the Low Country, with his seat of government at Rayi-gama. Making that his headquarters, he built a fortification at Jayavardhana-pura, so that he might attack the Tamils when the time was ripe for such an enterprise. His noble patriotism would not brook allegiance to a foreigner; and as soon as his plans were ready he challenged the authority of the Tamil king at Jaffna by hanging his officers. War was immediately declared, and under the competent generalship of Alakeśvara the Tamil strongholds one after another fell before the onslaught of the mighty Sinhalese warriors. At the close of the campaign the Tamils, in spite of the aid they had received from India, were thoroughly beaten, and Alakeśvara, his triumph complete, was the hero of the day. He had dared to cross swords with the dreaded foe, and, what was more, had won in the fight. His achievement fired the imagination of his subjects as no other event had done for many a long year. Panegyrics were sung in his honour: "There flourishes that valiant lion, Alakeśvara, very strong in breaking open the frontal knobs of elephants, represented in the person of his enemies, and ever in his place on the grand, beautiful, golden rock of Laṅkā, the home of untold and fascinating wealth."³ The *Nikāya-saṅgraha*,

2. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 24.

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 31, and Wickremasinghe, p. xix.

2. Wickremasinghe, JRAS, 1896, p. 202.

written soon after this date, devotes several pages to a description of his exploits, and other works of the period bear witness to the importance of the place he occupied in the nation's esteem.

Alakeśvara was not only a great warrior, but also a wise statesman, and an enlightened ruler, devoted to the arts of peace. He was a devout Buddhist as well, and his attention was soon occupied by measures to be adopted for thorough [242] reform of the Saṅgha. "In the manner of the cultivators of paddy, who protect the corn by rooting out the tares and the weeds from amongst the corn blades,"¹ he held a synod of the church and empowered the pious monks to inquire into the state of religion in the land and disrobe all sinful members of the Order. The work of holding the inquiry was entrusted to the Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti, mentioned above, lineal representative of the Vanavāsi fraternity at Puṭabhatta-sela, "whose fame and glory were spread over the ten directions, and who was possessed of great virtue and influence, the home and abiding-place of a mountain of moral precepts."² Thus was tranquillity obtained, at least for a short while.

Dhammakitti composed a Pali poem called the *Pāramī-mahā-sataka*, and in the colophon he pays well-deserved tribute to the high-mindedness of Nissaṅka Alakeśvara of Amaragiri. The poem itself consists of a hundred verses, divided into ten sections, dealing with the ten *pāramitā* (perfections), which the Bodhisatta had fulfilled before he attained Enlightenment. The material for the poems derived from the *Jātakas* and from the *Cariyā-piṭaka*, and the verses are well-written in chaste and elegant language. Copies of the poem are rare in Ceylon.

Dhammakitti had a pupil and successor of the same name, who held the office of Saṅgharāja in the reigns of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V and Vīra-Bāhu II (circa 1372–1410 CE). In the reign of the latter king, in collaboration with his colleague Galaturumūla Maitri Mahā-Thera, he held a synod of Buddhist monks, and, by suppressing unorthodox doctrines, is said to have rendered great service to the purification of the religion.³ He was a man of great literary achievements, and is the celebrated author of several works in Pali and Sinhalese. In the colophon of his own *Nikāya-saṅgraha* he tells us that "This brief history of the religion was composed by the [243] learned monk, Devarakkhita, known and renowned over the world as Jaya-Bāhu and celebrated as the Mahā

3. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, pp. 26 foll.

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Thera Dhammakitti, who attained the rank of Saṅgharāja and glorified the religion.” A set of Pali verses in the *Saddharmālaṅkāra*¹ gives some more particulars: “Dhammakitti compiled this *Saddharmālaṅkāra*. He was the *atijāta* (more renowned) pupil of Dhammakitti, of the fraternity of monks at Puṭabhatta-sela, who lived in the reign of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu IV. He was also the *anuḷāta* (taking exactly after his master) pupil of the Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti, the author of *Pāramī-mahā-sataka*, who resided at Gaḍalādeṇi vihāra. He composed the works *Saṅkhepa*, *Nikāya-saṅgha*, *Bālāvatāra*,² and *Jina-bodhāvalī*.”

No information is available as to the nature and contents of two of these compilations, the *Saṅkhepa* and the *Jina-bodhāvalī*. The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* is a very important work, written in Sinhalese, containing the history of Buddhism from the time of its founder to the twentieth century of its existence. It gives much valuable information about schisms in the Buddhist church, and is an authentic record, especially of events which took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where the *Mahā-vaṃsa* accounts are often unreliable and seem to want supplementation.³

The *Bālāvatāra* is a work on Pali grammar, and is the most extensively used handbook in Ceylon on the subject. It is the smallest grammatical work extant, based on the *Kaccāyana*, and forms an extremely good summary of the older grammar. Though it closely follows the *Kaccāyana* in its method of treatment, yet the arrangement is somewhat different. The book is divided into seven chapters, dealing with *sandhi*, *nāma*, *samāsa*, *taddhita*, *ākhyāta*, *kitaka*, and *kāraka* (in two sections *uttānutta* and *vibhatti-bheda*) respectively. The section on *kāraka* or syntax, especially, [244] is here more clearly and comprehensively dealt with than in any other grammar, and the work thus forms an important addition to the *Sandhi-kappa* of the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. D’Alwis says⁴ that the author seems to have been familiar with the Sanskrit grammar *Laghu-Kaumudī*, as the arrangement of both works is

1. The *Saddharmālaṅkāra* has already been noticed in the discussion of Vedeha Thera’s *Rasa-vāhinī*, of which it is a translation.

2. S. Jayawardhana “This Dhammakitti was the author of the *Bālāvatāra-sannē*, a Sinhala paraphrase of the *Bālāvatāra*. The actual author of the *Bālāvatāra* is not known and some confusion in the editing of manuscripts has led to the unsupported assumption among several scholars that Dhammakitti was also the author of the *Bālāvatāra*.”

3. For a fuller description see Wickremasinghe, pp. 72–3.

4. *Catalogue*, p. 78.

largely similar. Neither the name of the author nor the date of its compilation is given in the book itself, but the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* colophon, quoted above, helps us to fix both with certainty. The Mandalay MSS in the India Office Library and the *Gandha-vam̐sa* assign its authorship to Vācissara,¹ but Forchhammer's *List*² agrees with the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* colophon in calling its author Dhammakitti. In 1824 the Rev. B. Clough, of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon, published an English translation, copies of which are unobtainable at present. Later, in 1892, L. Lee published an English translation with copious notes in the *Orientalist*, vol. II.

The *Bālāvatāra* forms the nucleus for a cluster of Sinhalese grammatical works on Pali.³ Best known amongst them is the *Gaḍalādeṇi-sannē* ("Gaḍalādeṇi paraphrase"), so called because it was compiled by an incumbent of the Gaḍalādeṇi-vihāra, who is sometimes identified with the author of the *Bālāvatāra* himself.⁴

It is a very large work, and is held in the same high esteem as the original of which it forms a paraphrase, adding many detailed explanations and examples, so that the short aphorisms of the *Bālāvatāra* may be more thoroughly understood.

Another well-known paraphrase is the *Liyana-sannē* or *Okandapala-sannē*, or *Pada-siddhi-sannē*, composed at Okandapala-vihāra by Diya-hunnatē Dhammajoti, pupil of Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara, in the eighteenth century. It contains explanations in Sinhalese of the examples given in the *Bālāvatāra*, chiefly in the chapter on compounds [245] (*samāsa*). In 1894 Hikkaḍuvē Siri Sumaṅgala published a scholarly edition of the *Bālāvatāra*, complete with a *ṭīkā* in Pali, which forms one of the most important works of that distinguished Orientalist.⁵

To Dhammakitti is usually assigned the authorship of another important work in Pali, the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*.⁶ I cannot agree to this ascription; the colophon of the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* is against it. There⁷ the author tells us: "There is a Thera named Dhammakitti, who shines like the moon in Sīhala in the sky of religion, causing to blossom by his rays of wisdom the lotuses, the people of Ceylon. He is a mine of

1. Fausböll, JPTS, 1896, pp. 45–6, and Gv p. 62.

2. Bode, p. 22, footnote.

3. De Zoysa, p. 22.

4. *Bālāvatāra*, printed ed., Colombo, 1885, preface. S. Jayawardhana disagrees with this assumption, see his note above.

5. Colombo, 1894.

6. Wickremasinghe p. xix, and De Zoysa, p. 20.

7. JPTS, 1890–3, p. 90.

good conduct and virtue and is famed in the land of the Sīhalas like the moon in the sky; thoroughly versed in the *piṭakas* and in all sciences, a man of wisdom, delighting the Island of Laṅkā. His pupil, known as the Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, desirous of coming to Laṅkā, having come to that beautiful country, amassed much merit. After receiving the higher Ordination of an Elder, he went back to his own land and there, having reached the city of Yodaya (Ayodhya?), while living in the great abode of Laṅkā-rāma, built by the King named Paramarāja, by him, Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, well controlled and wise, was composed this *Saddhamma-saṅgha*, complete in every way.” We are, I think, right in conjecturing that the work belongs to some time within or about the period under consideration. The Dhammakitti referred to as the author’s teacher¹ is very probably one of the two Saṅgharājas mentioned above, but the author is obviously a native of Thailand and wrote his work in that country.

It contains an account of Buddhism, its history and development in eleven chapters, commencing with the history of the three convocations. A fourth convocation is mentioned, it is interesting to note, where Mahinda held a synod [246] under the presidency of the first Sinhalese Thera, Mahārīṭṭha, on which occasion the latter recited the *Vinaya*² with great solemnity. We then pass on to the reign of Duṭṭhagāmuṇu and the writing of the scriptures under the patronage of King Valagambā. The author gives a long description, of Buddhaghosa’s labours and continues to the time of King Parākrama-Bāhu the Great, when the *ṭīkā*s were written by Kassapa and his colleagues. The ninth chapter is devoted to a notice of some of the principal works then known, giving the names of authors and their compilations. The next two chapters deal with the merits that accrue from setting down the *Piṭakas* in writing and from listening to the Doctrine. The author quotes from the *Kosala-bimba-vañṇanā* the merits of making images, and in his last chapter gives several illustrative stories, some of which are from Ceylon. The work is partly in prose and partly in verse, and is profusely interspersed with quotations from older compilations. The last chapter especially is a sort of anthology of odds and ends of old verses, of rare excellence and beauty. The historical sections, particularly the chapter (IX) on books and their authors, contain many imperfections,³ and the accounts given are not always reliable. Some of these have already been dealt with; but on the whole they aid us to some extent in our attempts to put

1. De Zoysa says that Dhammadinna was the teacher’s name (p. 20).

2. JPTS Ed., P. 44.

together whatever little information we have at present on the history of the religion and of the literature of Ceylon. The fact that the author was away from Ceylon when he wrote the work might possibly account for the deficiencies to be found therein. The chapter on *dhammānisaṃsa* has been the source of inspiration for several later-day works in Sinhalese on the same subject. The stanzas which it contains are frequently quoted, and the illustrative stories are quite well known. [247]

Two other works which probably belong to this period are the *Sādhu-caritodaya* and the *Anāpatti-dīpanī*. The first is a short work, written in Pali verse, containing selections of stories of pious Buddhists who obtained merit by worshipping and making offerings to the Buddha, the Cetiya, relics, etc. The author gives his name as Sumedha Thera, of Cūtagāma (Ambagamuva?).¹ The stories are taken from various sources, and some of them from the *Rasa-vāhinī*. Several of them are included in a Sinhalese didactic poem, *Lōvāḍa-saṅgarā*, composed by Vīdāgama Thera, in the fifteenth century.

The *Anāpatti-dīpanī* is a little tract, very rare, which, as its name implies, discusses cases where the infringement of Pātimokkha rules does not result in offence, because the actions are unintentional. The author does not give his name, but calls himself a pupil of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu Thera of the Paṃsu-pabbata-vihāra in Ceylon. There is a Bhuvaneka-Bāhu Thera mentioned in the *Vutta-mālā* (q.v.) written in the fifteenth century. He comes in a list of Buddhist monks of eminence whom the author praises for their learning and their services to the cause of religion, and his name appears between Dhammakitti and Saṅgharāja (possibly the Saṅgharāja Dhammakitti III).

About the year 1412 CE, Parākrama-Bāhu VI came to the throne. He was the son of Sunetrā Devī of the Giri-vaṃsa, and in his earlier years was befriended by an Elder named Vīdāgama Mahā Sāmi, who dwelt in a monastery at Rayi-gama. Legend has cast a halo round the youth of this hero-king, and many stories are told of his miraculous escapes from death at the hands of the dictator Alakeśvara, who was reigning at Jayavardhana-pura (Kōṭṭē),² and who sought to strengthen [248] his position by extirpating all possible claimants to the throne. When he was sixteen years old, the prince slew Alakeśvara and was crowned king at Kōṭṭē. His long and glorious reign, covering over half a century

3. E.g. the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* is attributed to Sāriputta and the *Sacca-saṅkhepa* to Ananda; the list given of Dhammapāla's work is incomplete. The names of authors follow no chronological order.

1. De Zoysa, p. 20.

(1412–67? CE) was the brightest period in the national annals nearest to the advent of the Portuguese; he was the last great monarch of a single Laṅkā; and his reign marks an epoch in Ceylon's island story; it was the last gleam before the darkness, which saw the Sinhalese engaged in a death struggle for their independent national existence, only to succumb to the sword of their invaders and bend their knee in subjection to foreign domination.

Alakeśvara had made of Kōṭṭē a magnificent city, with stone baths, spacious streets, and beautiful buildings. Parākrama embellished it with fine edifices of solid blue-stone, five-storied palaces and temples, shrine rooms and monasteries. He appointed as his Saṅgharāja Mahā Sāmi Vanaratana, and built for him a spacious monastery and a large ordination hall (*pōyage*).¹ In memory of his mother he built a magnificent shrine and a college for monks as Pāpiliyāna, called after her, the Sunetrādevī-pariveṇa. Here, by royal command, the Tipiṭaka with the *aṭṭhakathā* and *ṭikā* were inscribed, and lands allotted to the scribes who were daily engaged in the work. He made endowments for other educational establishments as well, and we hear of several ecclesiastical colleges during this period: the Padmāvati-pariveṇa at Kāragala, under the presidency of Rājaguru Vanaratana Saṅgharāja, the Woodland Cloister (Araṇyaka) at Paḷābatgala, the Vijaya-Bāhu-pariveṇa at Toṭagamuva under Śrī Rāhula, the Irugalkula-pariveṇa at Mulgirigala, the Sri Guṇānanda-pariveṇa at Rayi-gama under the Great Elder Maitreya Mahā Thera of the Mahā Netra-vihāra, and the Sunetrā Devī-pariveṇa, already mentioned, presided over by Maṅgala Saṅgharāja, learned in the Tipiṭaka.² With the help of his foster son, Sapumalkumāra, he was able to [249] drive the Tamils under Arya Cakravarti away from the island and to consolidate the kingdom: Soon afterwards we find him successfully organizing a punitive expedition against an insolent Malabar prince of South India in retaliation of an act of wanton aggression upon some Sinhalese merchants.³ By means of his skilful generalship, combined with rare administrative ability, by his far-

2. The history of the few years preceding the accession of Parākrama-Bāhu VI is a tangled web, difficult to unravel. Speculation is rife as to his ancestry and the identities of the Alakeśvara here referred to and the Elder Vidāgama Mahāsāmi. There seems to have been a Chinese invasion of Ceylon at this time, after which, for several years at least, the king of Ceylon paid tribute to China. For further detailed discussion see JRAS (Ceylon Branch), vol. XXII, Nos. 63 and 65.

1. *Rājāvaliya* (Gunasekara), p. 68.

2. E. W. Perera, JRAS (C.B.), No. 63, p. 18.

3. *Rājāvaliya*, p. 69.

reaching statemanship and great genius and capacity for organization, he made of Ceylon once more a united island, respected by her neighbours and inhabited by a people enjoying peace and tranquillity and well-earned prosperity.

Inspired by this feeling of security and contentment, men again turned their attention to the cultivation of the finer arts, and nowhere else do we see the benefits of his mild and beneficent sway more than in the great literary activity which he called forth among the people. They began to sing of the dawn of a new golden age, when the world would be ruled by righteousness and justice; they loved to dwell on the achievements of the king and extolled the beauties of the country over which he ruled; they told of the splendour of his court and the blessings the Gods had showered down upon them because of the piety of the rulers. The poems of Śrī Rāhula, for example, glow with an intense patriotism and a deep affection for the royal family whose patronage he enjoyed. It was an age of much literary productivity, and, fortunately for us, in spite of the Portuguese invasion and the fanatical vandalism which came along with it, much of that literature has come down to us undestroyed. The king himself was imbued with a deep scholarship and a great love for culture in all its variety. He possessed a wide knowledge of Sanskrit, and was probably much struck by the sacred works of the Hindus which he had read. These are unmistakable traces of the great influence which Hinduism exercised during this period, chiefly due no doubt to the close connection which existed between the courts of Ceylon and South India. [250]

Brahmans came thither in large numbers, and we find them studying under the monks and sometimes being converted to the Buddhist faith.¹ Temples were erected in the capital to Hindu Gods such as Nātha, Sumana, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, rivalling in excellence the Buddhist shrines. Śrī Rāhula Saṅgharāja was deeply skilled in all the lore of the Hindus and seems to have entertained very liberal notions on the question of religion. This epoch shows in a marked degree the compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism which existed from very early times.

Parākrama-Bāhu was patron of a brilliant band of men who shed the lustre of their learning upon this period. So were his daughter Ulakuḍaya Devī and her husband Nallūrutun. Unfortunately, little is known about their lives, except what we can gather from the records in their own works, and in the compilations of other contemporary writers. The king was the author of a Sinhalese metrical vocabulary, the

1. E.g., Śrī Rāmacandra Bhārati, author of the *Bhakti-śataka*.

Ruvan-mālā, composed on the model of the *Amarasimha*. His son-in-law Nallūrutun Minisanhas also made a similar compilation, the *Nāmāvaliya*, but not so complete as the king's work. But brightest in this constellation was Śrī Rāhula Vacissara, Saṅgharāja and President of the Vijaya-Bāhu-pariveṇa at Toṭagamuva, and probably a member of the royal family. He belonged to the Uttaramūla Nikāya, and tells us that at the age of fifteen he received a boon at the hands of the God Kārttikeya, which enabled him to become *Ṣaḍ-bhāsā-parameśvara* ("Supreme master of six languages"),¹ in addition to his own, Sinhalese. All his works are in Sinhalese, and he ranks among the highest of the poets of Ceylon. His *Kāvya-śekhara*, appropriately so-called ("Crown of Song"), brought him immortality, and to this day he is regarded as the chief exponent of rhymed verse, and his works are adopted by all Sinhalese poets as their model. It was during this time that the [251] Sinhalese *Sandesa* (message) poem came to the forefront as a work of art. Such a poem, as its name implies; is based on Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* ("Cloud Messenger"), and embodies a message to be conveyed by some bird to the shrine of a *deva*, invoking his blessings on the king or on some member of the royal family, or imploring the help of the divinity for the victory of the royal arms. The route taken by such a messenger-bird is described in the poem and the description affords ample opportunity for the poet to display his genius. Śrī Rāhula wrote two such *Sandesa* poems: the *Sāḷalihini-* and the *Paravi-sandesa*, and probably also the *Pārākumbā-sirita*, a panegyric on the king. Other works ascribed to him are the *Śimā-saṅkara-chedanī*, on the choice of boundaries for the performance of *Upasatha* ceremonies, the *Toṭagamu-nimitta*, a work similar to Napoleon's *Book of Fate*, and the *Catur-ārya-satya-kāvya*, a religious poem. He is also credited with having written several works on demonology.²

To students of Pali literature, however, interest in Śrī Rāhula's works lies chiefly in two very elaborate and important treatises which he wrote on Pali grammar, viz. the *Moggallāna Pañjikā-pradīpa* and the *Pada-sādhana-ṭīkā*.

The first of these, the *Pañjikā-pradīpa*, is one of the most comprehensive works on Pali grammar extant in Ceylon, or anywhere else. It is written partly in Pali and partly in Sinhalese, and is a commentary to the *Pañjikā* written by Moggallāna himself on the Pali grammar, which

1. *Sāḷa-lihini-sandesa* colophon; the six languages being Sanskrit, Māgadhī (Pali), Apabhraṃsa, Paisācī, Saurasenī, and Tamil.

2. Hugh Nevill's MS. *Catalogue* and JRAS (C.B.), passim.

bears his name. The author of the *Pradīpa* has made use of his extensive reading and profound scholarship to enrich the volume with detailed expositions of all Moggallāna's rules. It bristles with references to and quotations from numerous Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese, and Tamil works, many of which are no longer to be found in Ceylon. When the Moggallāna school differs from the older Kaccāyana and his commentators, Śrī Rāhula examines their claims to accuracy, and the conclusions he [252] arrives at show a great deal of critical acumen, unhampered by tradition and free from prejudices.

Subhūti, in his *Nāma-mālā*,¹ has drawn up a list of the works quoted by Rāhula, which I give below, because of its interest in enabling us to know at least the names of some of the works studied during this period. Subhūti's list includes: *Kaccāyana*, *Nyāsa*, *Nyāsa-pradīpa*, *Nirutti-mañjūsā*, *Rūpa-siddhi* and its *sannē* (paraphrase) and *gāṭapada* (glossary), *Bālāvatāra* and *sannē*, *Sadda-nīti*, *Cūla-nirutti*, *Nirutti-piṭaka*, *Sutta-niddesa*, *Sambandha-cintā*, *Pada-sādhana* and *sannē*, *Pañjikā-ṭīkā*, *Payoga-siddhi*, *Dik-saṅgi-ṭīkā* (*ṭīkā* on the *Dīgha-nikāya*), *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* and *sannē*, *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*, *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, *Mahā-bhāṣya*, *Bhāṣya-pradīpa*, *Laghu-vṛtti*, *Durgasiṃha-vṛtti-pañjikā*, *Pañjikālaṅkāra*, *Kātantra*, *Śabdārtha-cintā*, *Sārasvata*, *Kāśikā*, *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, *Vārtikā*, *Bhāgavitti*, *Sāra-saṅgraha*, *Padāvatāra*, *Śrīdhara*, *Vaijayanī*, *Abhidharma-koṣa*, *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, *Veda*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bāhaṭa*, *Bharata-sāstra*, *Amara-koṣa*, *Medinī-koṣa*, *Jātaka-sannē*, *Umandā-gāṭapada*, *Ratana-sutta-gāṭapada*, *Demala-jātaka-gāṭapada*, and *Virita-sannē*. This list gives some idea of the vast amount of trouble which the author must have spent in the production of his voluminous work, and the result has been a compilation in every way worthy of the active intellect of Śrī Rāhula.

For many years the work had been sadly neglected for want of authentic copies, and, when the late Siri Dhammārāma, Principal of the Vidyālaṅkāra-pariveṇa, Colombo, brought out his scholarly edition in 1896, he thereby did a distinct service to Pali learning in Ceylon.

Śrī Rāhula's other grammatical work, the *Pada-sādhana-ṭīkā*, is, as its name implies, a commentary on Piyadassi's *Pada-sādhana*. The *ṭīkā* is also called *Buddhi-ppasādanī*, and copies of it are very rare in Ceylon, the work having been, in fact, unknown to Pali scholars for many years until De Zoysa, in 1873, discovered a MS in the Rīdī-vihāra.² The [253] *Buddhi-ppasādanī* was evidently a production of the

1. Subhūti, *Nāma-mālā*, Colombo, 1876.

2. De Zoysa, *Catalogue*, p. 26.

latter part of Rāhula's life, because here he calls himself Saṅgharāja, while in the other works his name is mentioned only as the Head of the Vijayabāhu-pariveṇa. The work suffers very much by comparison with his masterpiece, the *Pañcīkā-pradīpa*, and that may have been the reason for its having gradually fallen into disuse at the hands of Pali students—the greater light had dimmed the less, and made it hide its head in shame.

Other authors who lived during this period or slightly posterior to it and composed work in Sinhalese, besides those mentioned above, are the President of the Irugalkula-pariveṇa at Mulgirigala, author of the *Kovul-sandesa*; Vāttāva Thera, author of the *Guttīla-jātakaya*; the anonymous writers of the *Girā-sandesa* and *Tisara-sandesa*—both evidently poets of Jayavardhana-pura (Kōṭṭē)—an anonymous pupil of Śrī Maitri Mahāsāmi of Rayigama, who made a Sinhalese paraphrase of the *Attanāgalu-vaṃsa* at the king's request Dhammadinna Vimalakitti Thera (also called Siddhattha), author of the *Saddharma-ratnakāra*; Mahā-Netra-prasādamūla-Vīdāgama Thera, a monk renowned for his piety, and a poet in the excellence of his composition almost equal to Śrī Rāhula, and author of the *Budu-guṇālankāra* (a poem in praise of the Buddha, composed in 2015 of the Buddhist Era), the didactic poem *Lōvāḍa-saṅgarā*, and of the *Kivilakuṇuṃiṇi-mālā*, a treatise on Sinhalese prosody; and Ranasgallē Thera of Toṭṭagamuvē-vihāra, author of an ethical poem, the *Lōkōpakāraya*.¹

To the Pali compilations of this time belongs the *Vutta-mālā*, or—to give it its full name—the *Vutta-mālā-sandesa-sataka*, a Pali poem of 102 stanzas in various elegant metres, composed by a monk named Gatārā-pariveṇa Upatapassī. In the colophon the author calls himself the nephew of Sarasi-gāma-mūla-mahā-sāmi, incumbent of [254] the Jāti-gāma monastery (*Sarasi-gāma-mūla-mahā-sāmino bhāgineyya-bhūtena racitāyaṃ*).

The *Sarasi-gāma-mūla* is the Sinhalese *Vilgam-mūla*, the *Vilgam* being *Seruvāvila*, the modern *Thōpur*. The author, therefore undoubtedly belonged to the Sarō-gāma fraternity, which counted many scholars of repute amongst its members. The work was evidently composed in the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu VI (1415–67?), for the writer first describes the beauty of a city styled Jāti-gāma,² and then extols King Parākrama and his mother Sunetrā Devī. This is followed by a description of the chief Buddhist monastery, and encomiums on several

1. For further description of these writers and their works see Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, *passim*.

monks, all of whom are scholars and probably belong to the same *Ācariya-paramparā* as the author. The monks so lauded are: (1) Upalantara-mūla Thera (Selantara- or Galaturu-mūla); (2) Senāpati-mūla Thera; (3) Mahā Netta-pāsāda-mūla Thera; (4) Sarō-gāma-mūla Thera; (5) Vanaratana Thera; (6) Dhammakitti Thera; (7) Bhuvaneka-Bāhu Thera (probably the teacher of the author of the *Anāpatti-dīpanī*); (8) the Saṅgha-rāja or Primate of the time; and (9) Gatārā-upatapassi Thera, pupil of the Saṅgharāja who, both Nevill and Wickremasinghe think, is probably identical with the author himself. Nevill takes *upatapassi* to mean the same as *anu-nāyaka*.

These laudatory verses are followed by a description of Kālaṅṅi and its presiding deity Vibhīṣana, whose blessings the author asks for Parākrama and his kingdom. The *Vutta-mālā* is supposed to have been composed for the purpose of teaching students the right pronunciation of sounds and the proper modulation of the voice in reciting verse,¹ and, as such, is largely used in temple schools. There exists a verbatim paraphrase (*sannē*) in Sinhalese by an anonymous writer, who perhaps is identical with the author of the poem itself. Both the poem and the paraphrase have been published.² [255]

Wickremasinghe assigns to this period the Sinhalese *Dhātu-vaṃsa*.³ The author, in the last strophe to his work, gives his name as the Thera Kakusandha, but no further particulars are available about him, nor does he say whether the Sinhalese version is an original composition or a translation from the Pali. I am inclined, however, to agree with Professor Geiger⁴ in considering that the *Dhātu-vaṃsa* is only a Sinhalese translation like the *Mahā-Bodhi-vaṃsa* and the *Thūpa-vaṃsa*, and that its Pali counterpart, to which, curiously enough, is given the fuller title of the *Lalāṭa-* (or *Nalāṭa-*) *dhātu-vaṃsa-*, or simply the *Lalāṭa-vaṃsa*, is an older compilation. The author of the Pali work and its date are unknown,⁵ and copies of it are difficult to obtain. There seems to have been a commentary on it, called the *Lalāṭa-dhātu-vaṃsa-vaṇṇanā*, but I do not know of any copies of it extant in Ceylon. Rhys Davids tells us that the Bibliothèque National at Paris possesses a copy written on

2. Probably Dedigama in Beligal-Korale, though the king is not known to have reigned there. See Bell's *Archaeological Report on the Kegalle District*, pp. 81–5.

1. D'Alwis, *Sidat-saṅgarā*, p. 225.

2. Colombo, 1871–96.

3. p. xx.

4. *Dīpa-vaṃsa and Mahā-vaṃsa*, p. 91.

5. The Gv, p. 62, mentions the *Nalāṭa-dhātu-vaṇṇanā*, but gives no author.

twenty-seven ola-leaves.¹ The *Lalāṭa-dhātu-vaṃsa* is a history, in five chapters, of the frontal bone relic of the Buddha. It is a work, undoubtedly, of great antiquity, and evidently belongs to the cycle of sagas and legends of Rohaṇa and Malaya. It therefore contains many popular traditions not found elsewhere, especially grouped round the family and the contemporaries of the Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa, father of Duṭṭhagāmuṇu. The work was unknown to the authors of the *Mahā-vaṃsa* and its *ṭīkā*, for we find no reference to it in their compilations.

The *Dhātu-vaṃsa* follows the general outline of all *vaṃsa* books in its mode of treatment, beginning with Dīpaṅkara, and passing on to the three visits of the Buddha, the Parinibbāna, and the distribution of the relics. The third chapter gives the history of the frontal bone relic, from the time of its falling to the share of the Mallas at the distribution to its arrival in Ceylon when Mahānāga reigned in Mahā-gāma. It was first honoured by a wealthy [256] man named Mahākāla, and then, later, by the king, when he heard of it. It seemed to have remained for a long time in the hands of the Rohaṇa princes who did honour to it in succession. The last two chapters contain accounts of Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa's family, the history of the erection of a special *dāgoba* at Sēruvila for the reception of the relic and its dedication and the enshrinement of the relics. The accounts in these two chapters were undoubtedly derived from popular sources and local traditions, and were, therefore, unknown to the *Mahā-vaṃsa* author, else he surely would have made mention of them. The descriptions of the erection of the *dāgoba*, etc., are entirely based on the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, and follow them almost word for word. The similarity of treatment between the *Lalāṭa-vaṃsa* and the *Mahā-Bodhi-vaṃsa* leads me to assign both works to the same period of Pali literature, namely to the tenth or the eleventh century CE.

The Sinhalese version of Kakusandha Thera is more or less a translation of the Pali, but contains several details not found in the Pali compilation, e.g. in the description of the third visit of the Buddha to Ceylon.² The Sinhalese work has already been published in Ceylon, edited by Gintoṭa Dhammakkhanda (Dodanduva, 1890), and I understand that the Pali version is in course of publication.

It was about this time, in the reign of King Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI (1464–71?) that Dhammaceti, or Rāmādhipati, King of Pegu, brought about a great religious revival in his own land. Dhammaceti reigned from 1460–91,³ and his regime was a memorable one for Burma. His

1. JRAS, N.S., vol. VII, p. 171.

2. For a fuller description see Geiger, op. cit., pp. 91–3.

fame for wise statesmanship and munificence has spread far beyond the confines of his own country, and he is renowned throughout the Buddhist world for his extreme piety. He was an ex-monk, and for some time was the minister of the famous Queen Shin-sau-bu. Later he became her son-in-law and successor. He was not only a high-minded monarch and a [257] protector of the Order he had quitted, but was an enthusiastic reformer as well. Emulating the example of such kings as Asoka and Parākrama-Bāhu, he made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. During the four centuries that preceded his accession, Burma had scarcely enjoyed peace for any length of time, and matters pertaining to religion had been greatly neglected. He found that, because of the violent political convulsions which the country had suffered, the succession of teachers (*Theravāda-paramparā*) had been interrupted in Rāmañña. In order, therefore, to secure for the Burmese monks direct continuity of apostolic succession from the spiritual descendants of Mahinda, and also to establish for the monks of Rāmañña a duly consecrated place for the performance of their ecclesiastical ceremonies, he sent a mission to Ceylon, consisting of two ministers and twenty-two monks and their pupils, with costly presents to the king of Ceylon and the chief monks and with a letter inscribed on a tablet of gold. They were welcomed with every mark of friendship and civility, and their request was granted. They received their *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the Mahā-vihāra fraternity within the consecrated boundaries (*sīmā*) of the Kaḷyāṇi river, near Colombo. On their return they consecrated the enclosure in Pegu, henceforth known as Kaḷyāṇi-sīmā. Dhammaceti, in the celebrated Kaḷyāṇi inscriptions at Zainganaing, near Pegu, set forth in detail the account of this mission and laid down for the use of future generations the proper ceremonial of consecrating a *sīmā*. The stone slabs containing the inscriptions were broken up by the vandalism of Portuguese adventurers, but have later been restored to some extent. The records in the inscriptions had been compiled in book form, copies of which are to be met with in many of the monasteries in Ceylon—especially those belonging to the Amarapura Sect, under the title of “*Kaḷyāṇi-ppakaraṇa*.” One point of literary interest in the *Kaḷyāṇi-ppakaraṇa* lies in the mention made in it of the standard authorities on Vinaya subjects at the time, such [258] as the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, *Sārattha-dīpanī*, *Vimativinodanī*, *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, *Vinaya-saṅgaha*, *Sīmālaṅkāra-saṅgaha*, and *Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā*, practically all of them of Sinhalese authorship.¹

3. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 290.

The *Kaḷyāṇi-ppakaraṇa* is noteworthy because of its significance in showing us to what degree a religious superiority over the rest of the community was claimed by those who had received their ordination direct from the monks of Ceylon. In spite of the many vicissitudes which the Saṅgha in Ceylon had passed through in their chequered career their claim to be the guardians of the genuine Theravāda was still recognized in the fifteenth century. [259]

1. For more information about the Kaḷyāṇi Inscriptions see *Preliminary Study* by Taw Sein Ko in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DARK AGE

The two centuries following the death of Parākrama-Bāhu VI constitute the darkest chapter in the history of Ceylon. The political condition of the country was at its lowest ebb, the whole of the sea coast was virtually in the hands of foreigners, chiefly Moors; the interior regions, including the remains of the ancient capitals, were divided into a number of petty fiefs uncontrolled by any paramount central authority and governed by chieftains holding mimic courts at various centres. These petty tyrants, even more degenerate in their character than they were humiliated in station, no longer manifested the patriotism and the zeal for the public welfare which had so significantly characterized the former sovereigns of Ceylon. They had ceased to occupy their attention with the advancement of religion or with the development of institutions calculated to benefit the people. The history of the period contains very little besides accounts of their feuds and jealousies, their ceaseless intrigues and insurrections. Even the food supply of the country, to the maintenance of which the earlier and more enlightened princes had devoted the greater part of their energies, had now failed, and Ceylon had become dependent on India for the very necessities of life.

Such was the sad plight of the country when, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the course of their discoveries and conquests in the East, and in the pursuit of their Eastern trade, the Portuguese came upon Ceylon.¹ Dharma Parākrama IX was then reigning at Kōṭṭē, a weak and irresolute prince, at the head of an insignificantly small extent of territory. By promising him military aid against any assaults by his ambitious relatives, and by holding out to him hopes of great riches to be derived [260] from the trade which they proposed to establish, the Portuguese first gained a foothold in Colombo and erected a fortress on the rocky beach. Once their guns were thus set up, and their formidable galleons had found shelter in the adjoining natural harbour, they were able to overawe the Sinhalese king, whose capital now lay almost within range of the Portuguese cannon. On the other hand, his own subjects, dissatisfied with the favour he had extended to the foreigners, threatened

1. For further particulars of the Portuguese period in Ceylon see Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. II, chap. 1, and that excellent book, Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese* (1920), *passim*.

him with revolt and invasion. The Portuguese, with characteristic duplicity, persevered in maintaining an internecine warfare in the country, which enabled them at last to make the king their vassal, and, finding him incapable of refusing any of their arrogant demands, they wrung from him every sort of concession. Within a short time after their arrival they had established permanent trading settlements in various parts of the island, and for one hundred and fifty years, till they were driven away by the Dutch, they carried on a ceaseless warfare against the Sinhalese people, who were now perforce compelled to abandon the maritime provinces to the hated foreigner. The capital of the Sinhalese king was kept in a state of almost incessant siege; to the minor chiefs who owed him allegiance were held out every inducement to break themselves off from their rightful sovereign; it was part of the Portuguese policy to inflame their apprehensions one against the other, and excite their jealousy. Thus for many years the maritime provinces were devastated by civil war in its most revolting form.

By 1540 CE treachery of the Portuguese had so far succeeded in estranging the Sinhalese monarch from the sympathies of his own countrymen, that the king found himself now entirely at the mercy of his foreign allies and appealed to them to ensure the succession of his family to the throne. To give solemnity to their acquiescence, an image of his grandson, Dharmapāla—who was the only male representative of the royal household—was made of ivory and gold and silver, and this statue was dispatched, with a jewelled crown studded with Ceylon's finest gems, to Lisbon, where a [261] coronation of the effigy was held by the Portuguese Emperor. In return for this recognition of Dharmapāla as heir to the Sinhalese kingdom, the prince himself eventually abjured the national faith and professed himself a baptized convert to Christianity under the name of Dom Joas Periya Bandāra.

The King of Portugal, who was a pronounced fanatic, controlled by peculiarly aggressive ecclesiastical advisers, exacted a further concession. A party of Franciscans accompanied the Sinhalese ambassadors back to Colombo from Lisbon, licence was claimed to preach the Gospel of Christ in all parts of the island, and the first Christian communities were organized in various places in the maritime districts.¹ Thus began the gradual destruction of Buddhism, the “only organization which existed for the spiritual and intellectual education of the people.”² Meanwhile the Portuguese had been busy extending their

1. Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, chap. I.

2. Pieris, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

power as far inland as possible; and by the beginning of the seventeenth century the territory under their direct government embraced the whole of the maritime circuit of the island, including the Peninsula of Jaffna, and extended inland right up to the base of the lofty zone which encircled the little kingdom of Kandy.¹

Every stage of their progress was marked by a rapacity, bigotry, cruelty, and an inhumanity unparalleled in the annals of any other European colonial power. Their ferocity and their utter indifference to all suffering increased with the success of their army; their inhuman barbarities were accompanied by a callousness which knew no distinction between man, woman, and child; no feeling of compassion was strong enough to stay their savage hands in their fell work. To terrify their subjects and to bring home to them the might of the Portuguese power, they committed atrocities which, had they not been found recorded in the decades of their own friendly historians, seem too revolting to be true. Babes were [262] spitted on the soldiers' pikes and held up that their parents might "hear the young cocks crow." Sometimes they were mashed to pulp between millstones, while their mothers were compelled to witness the pitiful sight before they themselves were tortured to death. Men were thrown over bridges for the amusement of the troops to feed the crocodiles in the river, which eventually grew so tame that at a whistle they would raise their heads above the water in anticipation of the welcome feast.²

The officials who acted as administrators had almost absolute power, and the people were ground down by oppressive taxation, and laws of terrible severity. The Sinhalese who remained loyal to their rightful sovereign were deprived of all their possessions, if they escaped with their lives, and refugees who by necessity or by choice joined the Portuguese ranks were received with open arms; wealth and rank and lands were conferred on them, and they were placed in positions of command over the rest. They thus obtained an undesirable influence over their countrymen, who became only too ready to rise in revolt at the bidding of every renegade. The success of any one chief-tain only served to arouse intense jealousy among his fellows; war to them was only an excuse for peculation; they were guilty of all manner of excesses, abuse of authority and exactions. The tenants of village lands were so oppressed that they were frequently obliged to sell their

1. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. II, p. 26.

2. Faria Y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1666–75), Stevens' translation, vol. III, pt. III, chap. XV. p. 279.

children to procure the necessaries of life. The Portuguese officials themselves were never better than brigands, bent on their own aggrandisement during their tenure of office, and their administration was a colossal failure. The whole of the country under their control suffered from their cruel oppression; whatever produce their soil was made to yield was misappropriated; the kingdom was thus depopulated, and the lands mostly left uncultivated; the Sinhalese were left entirely disorganized and decadent, without a proper king and without leaders of ability. But [263] worse than these were the results of the measures the Portuguese adopted to destroy the national religion of Ceylon.

Dom Joao III, who was Emperor of Portugal at this time, was a staunch supporter of the church, fanatical in his zeal for the conversion of his heathen subjects. The Church itself was in a particularly aggressive mood. In 1534 Ignatius of Loyola had founded the Society of Jesus at Paris, and two years later the Inquisition was established. The first *Auto da Fé* was held in Portugal, presided over by the king, in the very year when Bhuvaneka-Bāhu had sent the effigy of his grandson to be crowned at Lisbon. When Bhuvaneka-Bāhu's application for recognition of Dharmapāla as heir to the Sinhalese throne was granted, one of the conditions laid down was, as we saw above, that permission should be given to preach the Christian gospel anywhere in the Sinhalese king's dominions. A band of Franciscan monks accompanied the Ceylon ambassadors on their return from Lisbon to Colombo. They immediately set about their work of converting the Sinhalese, who had so far found consolation in Buddhism. The Portuguese had as their ostensible motto "Amity, Commerce, and Religion," and nowhere were they more zealous than in the propagation of the gospel. Their instructions were "to begin by preaching, but, that failing, to proceed to the decision of the sword."¹ In 1546 the King of Portugal sent a remarkable letter to his Viceroy in India: "We charge you to discover all idols by means of diligent officers, to reduce them to fragments and utterly to consume them, in whatever place they may be found, proclaiming rigorous penalties against such persona as shall dare to engrave, cast, sculpture, limn, paint, or bring to light any figure in metal, bronze, wood, clay, or any other substance, or shall introduce them from foreign parts; and against those who shall celebrate in public or in private any festivities which have any Gentile taint, or shall abet them..."² His instructions were carried [264] out to the very letter. Whosoever dared

1. Faria Y Souza, op. cit., vol. I pt. I ch. V, p. 53.

2. Pieris, op. cit., p. 58.

to interfere with the work of proselytization, action was to be taken against him without delay, so that the displeasure of the Emperor of Portugal upon those who had the impudence to hinder the conversion of the heathen might be made plain to all.

The success of the Franciscans reached its climax when Dharmapāla was baptized as a Christian along with his queen, who took the name of Donna Caterina, after the Queen of Portugal. Even the Pope found time to send the royal convert his Apostolic benediction, and to recommend him to the special protection of the King of Portugal.¹ Dharmapāla's thank-offering to the missionaries who had led him from out of the darkness into the light was a *sannas* (deed of gift) transferring to them the Daḷadā Māligāva (the holiest possession of the Ceylon kings), the two great shrines at Kāḷaṇiya, and all the temple revenues in the island for the maintenance of the missionary establishments. The strongest inducements were held out to the people to embrace the new religion; no office could be held by anyone who did not profess Christianity, and all civil rights were denied to the heathen. In the letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy mentioned above, he had added: "And, because the Gentiles submit themselves to the yoke of the Gospel, not alone through their conviction of the purity of the Faith and for that they are sustained by the hope of Eternal Life, they should also be encouraged to with some temporal favours, such as greatly mollify the hearts of those who receive them; and therefore you should earnestly set yourself to see that the new Christians from this time forward do obtain and enjoy all exemptions and freedom from tribute, and moreover that they hold the privileges and offices of honour which up till now the Gentiles have been wont to possess."²

This appeal to the baser side of human nature was eminently successful; it became the fashion to profess Christianity; the example set by the King Dharmapāla [265] was soon taken up; biblical names began to abound in the Sinhalese Court and outside it, while the language and manners of the Portuguese were rapidly adopted by those who wished to earn the goodwill of those in power.

When the Portuguese gradually gained complete ascendancy over the country below the Kandyan Hills, they replaced the gentler means of persuasion, inducement, temptation, and blandishments by more rigorous methods. The missionaries now applied themselves with reckless ardour to the task of pulling down the structures which it had taken

1. Pieris, op. cit., p. 77.

2. Ibid., pp. 58-9.

twenty centuries to build. "The missionary could see in Buddhism nothing but the abhorrent creation of the devil; he did not stop to inquire what were the principles which were taught by its sages, nor what the ideals after which its lofty philosophy struggled. Buddhism was not Christianity, and, since by Christianity alone could souls escape damnation and hell fire, it was his duty to God to destroy Buddhism by every means in his power. He did not ask whether the people were prepared to receive his new wine or whether the destruction of the ancient beliefs might not mean the destruction of all spiritual life; his every idea was centred on the one thought that Buddhism must be wiped out of existence."¹ No trouble was spared to achieve that object; monasteries were razed to the ground, and their priceless treasures looted; libraries were set fire to, or the leaves of the books they contained scattered to the winds; whosoever dared to worship in public or wear the yellow robe of the ascetic was visited with death; the great institutions at Toṭagamuva and Kāragala, which had long carried on the traditions of Taxilā and Nālanda, were destroyed and their incumbents put to the sword. The land groaned in agony as one after another there fell, before the fierce onslaughts of the fanatic missionaries and their dastardly colleagues, the Buddhist religious edifices, those lovely structures which the piety of generations had strewn broadcast over the country. Never was a glorious civilization and a noble culture more [266] brutally destroyed. The work of centuries was undone in a few years—all that was noblest and best in the heritage of Ceylon was lost, and the damage thus wrought was irreparable.

But it was not to be expected that the Sinhalese would accept tamely this subservience to a hateful foreign domination. More than once they made a stern struggle to win back their lost freedom and stem the tide of destruction that was sweeping over the land. The apostasy of Dharmapāla, who was a traitor alike to his country and to his faith, aroused the indignation of the people as no other single event of this period, and the first to organize armed obstruction to the intrusion of the European adventurers were the inhabitants of the forest-clad heights of Senkadagala (Kandy) and the neighbouring villages, who from the earliest times have been distinguished by their sturdy patriotism and ardent resistance to every foreign invader. Their determination to be rid of the enemy in their midst was such as no blandishments could divert and no reverses quench, and their efforts were never relaxed or suspended till the Portuguese were driven away from Ceylon, one hundred and fifty years after

1. Pieris, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

their first landing. Exasperated by the pusillanimity of their kings and their faithlessness to their country and the national religion, gallant leaders were forthcoming to guide the people in their insurrections of protest. Such was Māyāduṇṇē of Sitāvaka, himself of royal blood, and his youngest son, Tikiri Baṇḍāra; who first joined the forces at the age of thirteen. The exploits of the young prince soon won him fame, and his ability as a leader enabled him to gain the confidence of his followers, who saluted him on the field of battle with the title of Rāja-Siṃha (the Lion King), a name which for many years to come caused the blood of the Portuguese in Ceylon to run cold.¹ His fiery audacity and his iron will, coupled with the devoted courage of his men, won for him one victory after another, and by 1586 he was not only master of the lowlands, but was able to invade successfully the territory of Kandy, whose [267] king, Jayavīra, had invited Franciscan monks in his dominions, permitted a church in his capital and even expressed a desire openly to embrace Christianity.²

But Rāja-Siṃha's triumph was brief. The *Mahā-vaṃsa*³ tells us that "being puffed up with victory, this great fool, in the wickedness of his heart, slew his father with his own hand, and took possession of the kingdom." Later, being seized with the fear of his crime, he inquired of the great Buddhist Elders how he could absolve himself of his sin. When they explained to him that patricide was too great a sin for absolution, "he was provoked to anger, like unto a serpent full of poison, when it is beaten with a stick." Other accounts make no mention of the patricide;⁴ according to them some of the Buddhist monks were involved in a conspiracy against the king, whereby they sought to set up another in his place. The fact remains, however, that Rāja-Siṃha visited his anger in terrible measure against the priesthood. He abjured the Buddhist faith and became a follower of the Śaivites. The Chief Buddhist Elder was stoned to death, many of the monks were buried up to their necks in the earth and their heads ploughed off; many others were put to the sword; a large number of sacred edifices were pulled down; and he burnt whatever sacred books fell into his hands. Many valuable works were thus irretrievably lost. Just before this time. Vīra-Vikkama (in 1542) had caused copies to be made of religious books at great expense:⁵ they were now reduced to ashes. Most of the monks who

1. *Rājāvaliya* (Upham), p. 297.

2. Tennent, *Ceylon*, II, pp. 20-1.

3. Chapter XCIII.

4. See JRAS, C.B. vol. XVIII, No. 56, pp. 382 foll. and Pieris, op. cit., p. 94.

escaped death disrobed themselves and fled from the king's wrath. The lands which had been endowed in ancient times for the maintenance of the temples were taken away from them, and the king, to crown all his acts of impiety, deprived the Buddhists of all control of their most venerated spot, Śrīpāda, the graceful "Pinnacle of the Sacred Foot Print of the Buddha," and placed it in the hands of ash-daubed Indian fakirs. [268] Rāja-Siṃha died in 1592, deserted by all authority and success; the last part of his life was a series of reverses, where he lost all that he had gained for himself before.

In the hour of Rāja-Siṃha's triumph patriotism and the pride of their race once more revived in the hearts of the Sinhalese, and there was a brief interval of literary activity. From the king's capital at Sītāvaka arose the national poet Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla (or Mukavāṭi), son of the learned Dharmadhvaṃja Paṇḍita, a man of great scholarly attainments. He wrote (in Sinhalese) of the glory of Rāja-Siṃha's Court, and fired the imagination of his country in their fervour to rally round the monarch in his conquest of the Paraṅgis (foreigners). Alagiyavanna still remains one of Ceylon's most popular poets; his *Kusa jātaka* and the *Subhāṣitaya* (a didactic poem) are recited wherever the Sinhalese language is known, while his *Sāvul-sandesa*, in spite of its lack of originality, ranks in its elegance of diction along with the work of Śrī Rāhula. Others composed poems dealing with the exploits of the Sinhalese in their struggles with the Portuguese — *haṭana* poems, or poems of war, the language of which is a curious admixture of Sanskrit and Sinhalese. Most of them were panegyrics on Rāja-Siṃha. This period also saw the development of the erotic poem, its chief exponent being the half-Portuguese courtier and gallant Gascon Adigār.¹ Shortly before this period, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a monk named Dhammaratana wrote a Sinhalese verbatim paraphrase to the Mahāsu-dassana-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. In the colophon he tells that he completed it in the year 2048 after the death of the Buddha (CE 1505–6).²

Rāja-siṃha's successor at Kandy was Vimala-Dharma-Sūriya, who reigned for twelve years till 1604. He was originally known as Dom Joao, and had been a Christian, who lived amongst the Portuguese. When the hour for action came; [269] he discarded the faith, which

5. Mhv XCII.14–15.

1. See D'Alwis, *Sīdat-saṅgarā*, Introduction, and Wickremasinghe's *Catalogue* for details about these works.

2. Wickremasinghe, p. 4.

never seems to have appealed to him, and ascended the throne at Kandy under the name of Vimala Dharma Sūriya. Both he and his queen had strong European sympathies,¹ the influence of which soon began to be felt even in the court. Portuguese names were common among the nobility, and their manners soon prevailed over the simpler customs of the Sinhalese. The Portuguese language was freely used in all matters of state, the Portuguese jacket and the *barrette* (or cap) were adopted as the ceremonial dress, and still obtain as such in Kandy and the provinces. Portuguese ideas moulded the fashions at the Kandyan Court and their influence—not always for the best—has come down as a legacy even to the present day. But Vimala Dharma did not allow these external manifestations of sympathy to cloud his vision; he was ever responsive to the call of country and carried on an incessant warfare against her enemies. Whatever leisure was left to him he employed in repairing the damage done by Rāja-Siṃha. The attitude of hostility which the latter had adopted towards the Buddhist priesthood had resulted in there being hardly a single monk left in the country who had been properly ordained. Much grieved thereat, Vimala Dharma sent an embassy to the country of Rakkhaṅga (Arakkan) to bring a Chapter of monks ordained in the sacerdotal succession. The mission was successful and several monks led by the Elder Nandicakka came over to the island.²

In 1597 in the Udakukkhepa Sīmā at Gātambē on the Mahavāli-gaṅga, near Kandy, an ordination was held and many men of good family entered the Order, to the delight of the people. The Tooth Relic, which had suffered many vicissitudes, was once more installed at the capital in a three-storied edifice, and the control of Śrīpāda (Mount of the Sacred Foot Print) handed over to the Buddhists, its legitimate custodians. [270]

On the death of Vimala Dharma, his wife, Donna Caterina, as queen in her own right, assumed the sovereignty, but she was soon set aside by a shrewd man zealous in religious works and beloved by his followers, Senerat by name, who killed rival aspirants to the throne and married Donna Caterina. He was a ruler of strong personality, and under his regime the country enjoyed a brief interval of comparative tranquillity. But he did not cease to wage continual warfare against the Portuguese, and in August 1630, dealt a crushing blow to their forces,

1. Pieris, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

2. Mhv XCIV.15–21.

which resulted in the death of the Portuguese general, Don Constantine de Say Noroña, and in the slaughter of his army.

Senerat's son and successor was Rāja-Siṃha II, who was destined for the last time to kindle the smouldering fires of Sinhalese patriotism into a blaze. Portentous omens had attended his birth, which took place at Mahiyaṅgana, close to the spot where the Buddha had first touched ground in his visit to Ceylon. On the very night when he was born the commander of the Portuguese fort at Colombo had dreamed that he saw a tiny spark no bigger than a glow-worm, travelling towards him from the West and increasing in size as it reached him, until it flamed into a great fire over the fort of Colombo, destroying everything that lay there. Nor were these portents unjustified; for it was during his reign that the Portuguese were eventually driven from Ceylon, and the people were enabled to breathe a sigh of relief that the bloodstained land was entirely rid of their presence.

On the 28th March, 1638, amongst the mountain fortresses of Gannoruva, by the edge of the Mahaveliṅga, was fought the last great battle of the Sinhalese race. An anonymous poet has left us a Sinhalese description of the fight, as given by an eyewitness. This work, the *Paraṅgi-ḥaṭane* (the fight with the Paraṅgis or Portuguese), is the greatest martial poem in the Sinhalese language extant, the most spirited piece of literary composition. "It is no mere medley of tinkling bells and scented flowers, of lovely women and precious gems. It rings with the passion of Pindar; it is Miltonic in its resounding roll of names; it laughs with the [271] glee of Chevy-Chase."¹

The destruction of the Portuguese army was complete, and their power to menace the dominions of the Sinhalese King was finally taken away from them. From this time onwards till their expulsion from the island in June, 1658, they made but feeble attempts to win back their lost glory. The ensuing period of peace was a great comfort to the people, who were utterly weary of devastation and slaughter. They settled down once more to cultivate their fields and reconstruct the villages which had been destroyed during the war. Rāja-Siṃha II himself was more a man of martial prowess than a hero of peace. Of overbearing demeanour and haughty disposition, fastidious in his habits and studied in disdain, he spent his leisure hours in the wilds of Bintenna, delighting in the chase, hawking being one of his favourite forms of amusement.² His popularity among his subjects was due solely to his

1. Pieris, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

2. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. II, pp. 47 foll.

achievements on the field of battle; beyond confirming the grants of land made to the temples by his predecessors he did nothing else for the promotion of the national faith.¹ His thank-offering after the victory at Gannoruva was a gift to the god of war, who presided over Doḍanvala Devāla, of his headdress of gold and his sword of steel.² His rule often savoured of harshness. When (in 1664)³ the Kandyans, their endurance giving way, attempted a revolt and proclaimed as his successor his son, a lad of 12 years of age, he had no scruples in having the boy poisoned to prevent a recurrence of such treason.⁴ It is not surprising therefore that his reign was not productive of any literary works.

In order to effect the final expulsion of the Portuguese from the island, Rāja-Siṃha II had invited to his aid the Dutch, [272] who were then cruising near the shores of Ceylon.⁵ It was in 1595 that they had formed their “Het Maatschappij Van Verre Landes” (“Company for Distant Lands”), and in the same year Cornelius Houtman conducted the first fleet of merchantmen round the Cape of Good Hope, in order to capture the Portuguese monopoly of trade in the East. Other expeditions followed in rapid succession, and in the course of their travels, on the 30th May, 1602, the first Dutch ship commanded by Admiral Spilberg touched the Port of Batticaloa on the east coast of Ceylon. Vimala Dharma Sūriya was reigning at Kandy at this time. At first the strangers were given but a jealous and reluctant reception; but when Spilberg produced his credentials from the Prince of Orange, which contained the offer of an alliance, offensive and defensive, Vimala Dharma received him with a guard of honour of a thousand men. The proposal of an alliance was accepted with great ardour and alacrity, and permission was given to the Dutch to erect a fortress in any part of the king’s dominions. But it was not till 1612, when Senerat and Donna Caterina were on the throne of Kandy, that the terms of the treaty were fully agreed upon. Marcellus de Boschouwer brought a letter from Prince Maurice of Nassau, then King of the Low Countries, sending his friendship to the “Emperor of Ceylon.” The result was a treaty, whereby the Dutch undertook to assist the Sinhalese king with ships, forces, and munitions of war, in case of a renewal of Portuguese aggression by land or by sea. In return for the promised military aid

1. *Mahā-vaṃsa*, XCVI.41.

2. Pieris, op. cit., p. 225.

3. Tennent, op. cit., p. 49.

4. Knox, *History of Ceylon*, p. II, ch. 6, p. 58.

5. The following account of the Dutch is taken from various sources, chief among them being Tennent’s *Ceylon*, vol. II, chap. II.

they were given permission to erect a fort at Cottiar, on the Bay of Trincomali, and the monopoly of the trade in cinnamon, gems and pearls was secured for them. It was in pursuance of this agreement that Rāja-Siṃha, in his attempt to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon, addressed himself to the Dutch at Batavia and solicited their active co-operation. The invitation was promptly accepted, and in 1638 began the [273] conflict between the two European nations, which terminated, as we have already seen, twenty years later, in the complete retirement of the Portuguese from the island, and in the installation of the Dutch in the parts formerly occupied by the Portuguese.

The policy of the Dutch in Ceylon was in marked contrast to that of their predecessors. Throughout their regime their possession of the island was a military tenure, and not a civil colonization. They regarded it as an entrepot in East Indian trade; no attempts were made to leave a permanent impress of their influence on the people; they had no lust for conquest; the fanatical zeal of the Portuguese for the propagation of their faith gave way to the earnest efforts of the Dutch traders to secure their trading monopolies; extension of commerce was their only aim, and for this purpose peace was essential at any cost. Even when provocation was caused to them, as happened more than once by outrages on the part of the Sinhalese rulers, or by their bad faith, they attempted no retaliation; by blandishments and presents they allayed the irritation of their ally and endured with subdued humbleness and meek patience whatever insults and contumely were hurled at them, so long as they were able to extract the utmost possible amount of profit from their trade. The Sinhalese in the dominions of the King of Kandy were therefore left unmolested, and were free to follow their own pursuits in peace.

Rāja-Siṃha II was followed by his son Vimāla-Dharma-Sūriya, who ascended the throne in 1679 (?), and reigned for over twenty years. The *Mahā-vam̐sa*¹ tells us that “he was adorned with faith and the like virtues and regarded the Three Sacred Gems as his own.” In addition to the manifold honours paid to the Tooth Relic he made a pilgrimage on foot to Samanta-kūta (the Śrīpāda mountain), an act considered to be of great merit, even at the present day. Finding that the condition of the priesthood was very unsatisfactory, [274] he determined to hold a festival of ordination (*upasampadā*). And indeed the need was very pressing, for it was discovered that not more than five *upasampadā* monks were to be found in the whole of the island. He accordingly sent

1. Mhv XCVII, v, 1.

an embassy of his ministers to Rakkhaṅga (Arakkan), and obtained thence thirty-three monks, led by the Elder Santāna. The ordination ceremony was duly held, at which thirty-three persons of “good families” were ordained, and we are told also that he persuaded one hundred and twenty persons to be invested with the robe of the novitiate,¹ a significant contrast to the thousands who (under previous sovereigns) entered the order on such occasions.

This pious king was succeeded on his death by his son, Śrī Vīra Parākrama Narendra-Siṃha, surnamed Kuṇḍasāla, after the suburb of the city of Kandy which he built in a large coconut grove by the beautiful bank of the Mahāvāliḅaṅga. He ruled twenty-three years. Among his numerous acts of piety was the construction of a two-storeyed building for the Tooth Relic, on the walls of which were painted scenes from well-known *Jātakas*. But he was lukewarm in his supervision of the priesthood, and in his reign their old scandalous practices revived. “So far from begging from door to door, as they were expected to do,” says a chronicler who wrote a short while after this period,² “they regarded even the eating out of their alms-bowl a disgrace. Their food was cooked in the same fashion as that of the great nobles amongst the laity, and it was eaten out of plates! In fact, they were monks in nothing but the use of the name.”

Narendra-Siṃha’s successor was Sri Vijaya Rāja-Siṃha, a man “diligent and wise, who always loved to associate with good and virtuous men.” Following the custom of his predecessors, he obtained his consorts from the city of Madhurā. But, unlike the queens of the monarchs who immediately preceded him, they manifested great interest in the religion of the land of their adoption, and hearkening [275] unto the Good Law, became Buddhists. With the zeal of new converts they gave themselves up to continuous devotion and to ceaseless acts of merit, and vied with one another in their piety and generosity, “like mines of virtue, showing much kindness and affection towards the inhabitants of Laṅkā, bestowing upon them as much love as mothers do upon their children.”³ They joined the king in persuading young persons to be robed as novitiates and causing them to be properly instructed in the doctrine, and they spent money on getting religious books written.⁴

1. Mhv XCVII.8–15.

2. Translation of the *Vimāna-vatthu* (1770 CE), see below.

3. Mhv XCVIII.18.

4. Mhv XCVIII.13–17.

The king himself held many religious festivals, in one of which lamps were lit in all the shrines throughout the country. "Thus did the king make the face of the Island of Laṅkā look bright with shining lights, like the sky that is spangled with stars."¹ He caused preaching halls to be built in diverse places, and, we are told, procured "with great trouble" many preachers of the law. In such manner did he attempt to bring about a revival of the faith and to provide even a scanty measure of religious knowledge for his people, whose minds had been starved. When he discovered that the Order of the Saṅgha was almost extinct in the land, he was immensely grieved, and learning from the Dutch that Buddhism flourished in Pegu, Arakkan, and Siam, he sent an embassy to Ayodhyā in Siam to fetch a chapter of priests. The Dutch helped this mission by lending a ship for the voyage.² But the expedition proved disastrous, all except one person perishing in the sea. The survivor made his way to Pegu, whence he returned home to relate the sad news.³ But the king was not disheartened; he sent a second embassy, and this time too with the help of the Dutch. The ambassadors were provided with suitable presents to the Siamese monks. At Batavia they left behind the presents and proceeded to Siam to inquire if monks were available to be [276] taken to Ceylon; the answer was in the affirmative, but on their return to Batavia they were told by their Dutch hosts that their good king was dead. They were advised not to convey the monks without first ascertaining the wishes of the ruling sovereign. They were compelled, therefore, to set sail for Ceylon reluctantly, their purpose unaccomplished. Unfortunately, however, on the voyage they were overtaken by a storm in which the majority of them perished, and only a handful of survivors were left to tell the doleful tale.

Kīrti Śrī Rāja-Siṃha, who was now on the throne, was a man of great wisdom and ability, imbued with great enthusiasm for the reform of all abuses. He studied the Dhamma with great care and assiduity, and caused it to be preached throughout his dominion. So anxious was he that the knowledge of the religion should be broadcast, that, we are told, he gathered many scribes together and had the whole of the Dīghanikāya copied in one day.⁴ Whenever copies of books were brought to him accurately and neatly made, he bought them and distributed them amongst the various monasteries. But the crowning glory of his work in

1. Mhv XCVIII.64.

2. Tennent, vol. ii, p. 61.

3. Turnour's *Epitome*, pp. 53-5.

4. Mhv XLI.31.

the revival of Buddhism was the re-establishment of the *upasampadā* (ordination) in Ceylon.

At the time of his accession to the throne there was not even a single *upasampadā* monk in the whole of the island.¹ There were plenty of novices or *sāmaṇeras*, some of whom were good men and skilful, but owing to want of proper supervision the bulk of the priesthood were in a state of degeneracy. Ratanapāla Thera, who wrote a Sinhalese translation of the *Vimāna-vatthu* during the period (in the Śaka year 1692, i.e. 1770 CE), has left us a short sketch of the condition of the monks before Rāja-Simha carried out his reforms:²

“Ever since the time of Devānaṃpiyatissa, the faithful [277] and wise kings who have reigned from time to time—aided by their great ministers and the efforts of pious priests, learned in the Law—had carefully swept away all schisms that had sprung up and preserved the doctrine inviolate. But in recent times the disappearance of such kings and ministers, followed by the oppression of the unbelieving Paraṅgīs and Damiḷas, had robbed the pious priests of the Four Necessaries; and, as the religious young men of good families, who assumed the robe, had not the learning to study with care the three Piṭakas—which contain the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma, and to order their lives in consonance with the precepts contained therein, by degrees power fell into the hands of low-born priests of profane life, to the great injury of the Church. And, as for the priestly succession, beginning from Upāli Thera (whom the Buddha himself had named as the first in the knowledge of the Vinaya), and continued in the persons of Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggalīputta, Mahinda, etc., and recruited from all pious folk who assumed the robe without any distinction of family, in proper and perpetual succession of master and pupil, this they ignored. Confusing physical with spiritual kinship, they refused to allow pious young men of good family to assume the robe, and treated all the estates and wealth which generations of godly kings and ministers had dedicated to the service of the priesthood as if they had been dedicated to the use of their private families. Accordingly, for the sake of this wealth they had members of their own families ordained, so that, being robed, they might receive the due *rāja-kāriya*, pretending that this was the succes-

1. Mhv XLI.175.

2. This translation, with a few modifications, is taken from a paper on Kīrti Śrī's Embassy to Siam, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, by Dir. Paul E. Pieris, and published in their *Journal*, vol. XVIII, No. 54, pp. 17 foll.

sion appointed by the church. But indeed that succession—which was maintained immaculate by disrobing all priests who had violated their oaths and by the ordination of religious and well-born youths—was reduced to a mockery; and, save for a few holy priests, the majority were as men fouling themselves with hot ashes, while the gems lay before them. And, while the Dhamma and the Vinaya, subjects for unending study, lay in their path, they preferred the study [278] of such profane matters as astrology, medicine, and devil-worship, all of which they practised in unbecoming fashion within and without the capital; and, thus winning the goodwill of kings and powerful ministers, they obtained much wealth and high office. They led scandalous lives, and, ignoring the precepts of the Law, they betook themselves to cultivation and trade, accumulating jewellery and clothes, and making the support of their brothers and nephews an article of their faith. When, through the increase in the number of these shameless priests and the oppression of the unbelieving Paraṅgīs and Damilas, the Faith was on the brink of destruction, it came to pass that a valiant and powerful king of the name of Rāja-Siṃha succeeded to the throne of Laṅkā.”

Kīrti Śrī Rāja-Siṃha was determined to put an end to this state of affairs. In the third year of his reign he sent an embassy to Siam to bring a body of monks from there, that he might reinstitute ordination in the island. The Dutch helped the mission by a loan of one of their sailing ships. The embassy was eminently successful. The King of Siam at the time was Dhammika, “a wise man who had devoted his whole life to the support of religion.” He welcomed the Sinhalese ambassadors with all cordiality. Having heard their purpose, he held an assembly of monks, presided over by the Saṅgharāja (Hierarch) of Siam, and after due deliberation a chapter of more than ten monks was chosen for dispatch to Ceylon, at the head of them being Upāli Mahā-Thera. Along with them King Dhammika also sent copies of books on the Dhamma and the Vinaya, such as were not extant in Ceylon. Great were the rejoicings that attended the arrival of the Siamese monks in the Sinhalese capital. The king himself proceeded to greet them at the head of the whole army, with elephants and horses and other equipages. Thus in due time, 2,299 years¹ after the Parinibbāna (1756 CE), in the month of Āsāḷha, (July-August), the ceremony of *upasampadā* was held in Kandy amidst scenes of unparalleled pomp and ceremony. All the principal [279] *sāmaṇeras* (novices) received the higher ordination, and provision was made for their proper instruction by the monks who had

1. Mhv C.60 foll.

come from Ayodhyā. Very soon afterwards the king had drawn up a *Katikā-vata* or Code of Conduct for the guidance of the monks, so that they might live in conformity with the rules of the Vinaya.

In all these measures of reform Kīrti Śrī Rāja-Siṃha was assisted and inspired by the unflagging enthusiasm and most whole-hearted co-operation of a monk named Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara, who was destined to revive the glories of the faith for the benefit of future generations. Like a lonely star, he illumined this dark period of the history of the Ceylon Saṅgha, and the after-glow of his presence is felt even today. Born in the hamlet of Vālivita, near Kandy, in the Śaka year 1620 (1698–9 CE), he entered the Order as a *sāmaṇera* at the age of 16, as a pupil of Sūriyagoda Thera. With commendable energy he addressed himself to the study of the Pali language, so that he might learn and understand the sacred scriptures. But Pali learning was then at such low ebb that no person could be found competent enough to teach him; no complete copy of any Pali grammar was available in spite of diligent search. Making the best of his opportunities and unbaffled by the difficulties that beset his path, the young *sāmaṇera* travelled about from place to place, to allay his thirst for knowledge, collecting one drop of learning here and another there. Thus he studied the *Bālāvatāra* up to the chapter on nouns under a layman called Leuke Rāḷahāmi, and completed it under Palkumbure Atthadassi, himself a *sāmaṇera* and known as *sāmaṇera-guru* (novice teacher).

Cherishing a strong desire to re-establish the priesthood in its full vigour, Saraṇāṅkara wandered from place to place, preaching the Dhamma and exhorting his audience to rise up to their responsibilities. The fame of the young reformer spread like wildfire, and students flocked to him from all parts of the island. Always simple in his habits, he gave himself up to austerities, depending for sustenance only on what he received in his [280] begging rounds. He thus came to be known as Piṇḍapātika Saraṇāṅkara.

Already in the reign of Vimala-Dharma, the successor to Rāja-Siṃha II, he had received recognition at the hands of the king, who, we are told, caused to be made a gilt casket of one and a half cubits in height, and set it with seven hundred gems, and presented it to Saraṇāṅkara, together with many sacred books.¹ Later it was at his request that King Vijaya Rāja-Siṃha had sent two embassies to Siam to bring ordained monks from that country. And, when Kīrti Śrī Rāja-Siṃha came to the throne, it was the inspiration and the encouragement

1. Mhv XCVII.54–7.

of Saraṇāṅkara that guided him in his reform of the Saṅgha and enabled him to earn glory as a supreme benefactor of Buddhism in Ceylon. It was he that had written in Pali the message that was to be taken to the King of Siam and the letter addressed to the Saṅgharāja of that country. The ministers who were to constitute the embassy were chosen on his advice, and the success of the mission was mainly due to his exertions. And after the re-establishment of the *upasampadā* in Ceylon, when the king was conferring honour on those who had helped to achieve it, Saraṇāṅkara's services received their due recognition.

He stood pre-eminent among those who, according to the *Mahāvamsa*,¹ had striven to "maintain the religion of the Conqueror, and had endeavoured long to restore to its former splendour the religion of the sage, which had for a long time been often brought nigh unto the gate of destruction." He was regarded as the "one who was diligent by day and night, and according to the measure of his wisdom and ability threw light on the doctrines and the precepts of the religion of the Sage; one who shed light on religion by duly instructing many of his own pupils, and those of others also, in the doctrines and precepts of the religion; one who was engaged in doing good to himself and to others, and who earnestly wished to maintain the religion of the Buddha for a [281] long time; one who was constant in devotion to a life of purity; one who in virtue and piety and austerity was like unto a mirror to all the sons of Buddha in Ceylon who sought to improve themselves."

He was appointed Saṅgharāja of Laṅkā, the highest office that obtained amongst the priesthood. In that office; as the last representative of a long and glorious line of Hierarchs who had devoted their energies to the welfare of the national faith, he remained for many years leading a very active and useful life, till his death in 1778 at the ripe age of 81.² He was cremated on the grounds of the Ampitiya-vihāra, near Kandy, where a monument to his memory still exists.

The new lease of life thus given to the Saṅgha by the united efforts of Saraṇāṅkara and Kīrti Śrī Rāja-Siṃha resulted—as we might expect—in a renewal of literary activity as well. Saraṇāṅkara himself was the author of several important works. In order to facilitate the study of Pali, which, as we saw above, had been greatly neglected, he

1. Mhv C.102–8.

2. The materials for the above sketch of Saraṇāṅkara are drawn chiefly from the *Saṅgha-rāja-vata* (a poem) and *Saṅgha-rājottama-sādhu-caritaya* (in prose), both written in Sinhalese by two of his pupils. For details of their works see Wickremasinghe's *Catalogue* under these titles.

wrote the *Rūpa-mālā*, a short treatise on the declension of Pali nouns with numerous paradigms and examples; another of his original Pali works is the *Abhisambodhi-alāṅkāra*, a poem in 100 stanzas, treating of the life of the Buddha Gotama from the time of his birth as the hermit Sumedha during the regime of Dīpaṅkara to his last birth as Siddhattha, when he attained to Enlightenment. The language and form of the poem show that it was not the work of a master hand; the style is weak, the similes and metaphors are borrowed from older works, and there is little originality.

The following is the opening stanza:

*Buddhaṃ suddhaguṇākaraṃ dasabalaṃ devātidevaṃ jinam
Dhamman tena sudesitaṃ bhavanudaṃ dukkhāpahan
nimmalaṃ
Saṅghañ cā'pi niraṅgaṇam munisutaṃ vandāṃ'ahaṃ
muddhanā
Buddho Dhammagatā Tathāgatavarā pārentu te maṃ sadā.
[282]*

There is a verbatim Sinhalese paraphrase, written by Saraṇāṅkara himself.

His other works are in Sinhalese: the *Madhurārtha-prakāśinī*, a paraphrase, a commentary to the Pali *Mahā-Bodhi-vaṃsa* in the Sanskritized Sinhalese of this period; the *Sārārtha-saṅgraha*, a treatise on various doctrinal teachings in Buddhism; a paraphrase of several Suttas used in the *Paritta*; the *Muni-guṇālāṅkāra*, a Sinhalese poem in praise of the Buddha; and an exhaustive Sinhalese *sannē* to the *Bhesajja-mañjūsā*. The last was perhaps inspired by the measures adopted by King Kīrti Śrī to ensure the physical well-being of the monks. “For in this world,” says the *Mahā-vaṃsa*,¹ “there are two kinds of diseases to which novitiates and monks are liable, viz. those of the body and those of the mind. Of these, for the cure of diseases of the mind, the Buddha, the greater of men, has provided the Vinaya rules and the *Suttanta* discourses. But the monks, after they are instructed in the Vinaya and the *Suttanta*—remedies that are effectual in destroying lust and diseases of the mind—are liable to be afflicted with bodily diseases, by reason of which it is hard for them to practise the doctrines and precepts of religion.” And we are told that, thus reflecting, King Kīrti Śrī devised ways and means to combat disease amongst the priesthood. The new interest displayed in medicine may have prompted

1. Mhv XCIX.179 foll.

Saraṇāṅkara to revive a study of the *Bhesajja-mañjūsā*, the only book on the subject, so far as we know, written by a Ceylon monk. Saraṇāṅkara gathered round him a galaxy of brilliant scholars, both laymen and monks, who studied under him and continued the revival of learning which he had so well begun. They established Pariveṇas (or places of instruction) in various parts of the country and imparted knowledge to whoever was imbued with love for it. Thus did they rescue from destruction whatever little of Sinhalese Buddhist culture had escaped the ravages of foreign invaders. [283]

Of Saraṇāṅkara's pupils, Attaragama Baṇḍāra Rājaguru, a layman, wrote three works on Pali grammar. Of these the *Sudhīra-mukha-maṇḍana* is a short treatise dealing with *samāsa* or compounds. It is meant to be used as a handbook in studying this section of Pali grammar, and the rules are illustrated with copious examples. The *Kāraka-puppha-mañjarī* deals, as its name implies, with the *kāraka* (or case relations), i.e. Pali syntax. In the introductory stanza the author tells us:

*Kriyākāraśambandhaṃ ye na jānanti mānavā
pasūbhis saha te tulyā khurasīṅgavivajjitā.*

(“Those persons who do not know syntax are like beasts, without horns and hoofs”)—hence the purpose of this book, to give such knowledge.

The author quotes extensively from both Pali and Sanskrit grammars. The text is accompanied by a Sinhalese interpretation which was written by Baṇḍāra himself.¹ His other work, the *Sadda-mālā*, is a comprehensive Pali grammar, based on the *Kaccāyana*. The author follows closely the method adopted in the *Rūpa-siddhi*, and the work is divided into seven sections or *kāṇḍa*: *saññā* and *saṃhita*, *nāma*, *samāsa*, *taddhita*, *ākhyāta*, *kibbidhāna* (affixes), and *kāraka*. A section of *uṇādi* (prefixes) is amalgamated, as in the *Rūpa-siddhi*, with the *kibbidhāna*, and, whereas both in the *Rūpa-siddhi* and the *Kaccāyana* the *kāraka* section follows immediately after the chapter on *nāma*, in the *Sadda-mālā* it is placed last of all, probably because the author felt it was the most difficult of them all! The work contains, according to its colophon, 725 rules, and each of them is accompanied by a Sinhalese interpretation, written most probably by the author himself. The principal aphorisms are taken over from the *Kaccāyana*, while a number of secondary rules are also given to explain the aphorisms and sometimes to supply their defi-

1. See Subhūti, *Nāma-mālā*, p. xciv.

ciencies. These latter are mainly from the *Rūpa-siddhi*. Several references are made to the [284] grammatical works of Saṅgharakkhita—the *Sambandha-cintā* and the *Susadda-siddhi*. The Sinhalese colophon at the end of the work tells us that it was completed in the month of Āśleṣa in the year of Śaka, 1701 (July–August, 1779–80 CE). To Attaragama Baṇḍāra is sometimes assigned also the authorship of a medical work in Sanskrit stanzas, the *Sāra-saṅkṣepa*.¹

Of Saraṇaṅkara's other pupils Tibboṭuvāvē Siddhattha compiled, at the king's request, the *Mahā-vaṃsa* from the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu IV of Kurunegala down to his own day.² Sitināmaluvē Dhammajoti wrote the *Bālāvatāra-saṅgraha* and the *Bālāvatāra-liyana-sannē* (or the *Okaṇḍapola-sannē*), which have been referred to already in discussing the *Bālāvatāra*. Siddhattha Buddharakkhita compiled *Siyāmapasampadā-vata*, giving a description of the mission to Siam in search of the *upasampadā* (ordination), and the *Śrī Saddharmovāda-saṅgraha*, a popular work on Buddhism, exhorting men and women to lead the good life, that they may escape the round of rebirth. Nāṇarātana Thera, incumbent of the Attanagalla-vihāra, composed a poem based on the *Attanagalla-vaṃsa*. At the king's special request Hīnaṭikumburē Sumaṅgala made a Sinhalese version of the *Milinda-pañhā*, called *Śrī Dharmādāsaya* ("The Mirror of the Sacred Doctrine"). The author tells us in the colophon that he was the chief pupil of Attaragama Baṇḍāra, himself a pupil of Saraṇaṅkara, and that he wrote at the Uposatha Ārāma of the Mahā-vihāra at Sirivaddhana-pura (Kandy) in the year 2320 of the Buddhist era (1777–8 CE).³ The Sinhalese translation follows the Pali throughout, except that here and there it adds, by way of gloss, extracts from various Pali works. It also puts into the mouth of the Buddha a prophecy not found in the Pali original—that, as the Buddha lay on his deathbed, he saw by his power of clairvoyance that the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena would take place about five hundred years after the Parinibbāna. [285]

Daramiṭipola Dhammarakkhita wrote a Sinhalese *sannē* to the Mahā-Satipatṭhāna-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya, and several other writers produced numerous works in Sinhalese, some of which are still held in high esteem.⁴

1. Subhūti, *Nāma-mālā*, p. xciv.

2. Mhv XCIX.80–83, and Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, p. xxi.

3. Colombo Edition, 1878.

4. See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue*, p. xxii, introduction and text, *passim*.

Probably to this period belongs the *Akkhara-mālā*, a short treatise on Pali and Sinhalese alphabets. The author states that the alphabet which formed the basis of the Pali was composed by a certain teacher of men at the beginning of the Kalpa (aeon), and this consisted of the present Pali vowels and twenty-five consonants in five classes. The work is written in Pali stanzas, which are accompanied by a Sinhalese *sannē*. Nāgasena is given in the colophon as the name of the author, but nothing else is known about him.

To the same period I would also assign the *Kāya-virati-gāthā* and the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-ratna-mālā*. The former is a Pali poem of 274 verses by an anonymous writer, divided into two sections, the first describing the formation of the body, its foulness, and the folly of bestowing any care on so worthless an object, the second dealing with the mind and the advantages of developing it regardless of the body, so that man may attain the emancipation of Nibbāna.¹ A Sinhalese translation made by the author himself usually accompanies the Pali poem. Spence Hardy mentions the *Kāya-virati-gāthā-sannē* as one of the books which he consulted and translated in the preparation of his *Manual of Buddhism*, and tells us that it was read to condemned criminals “that they may not grieve at being obliged to leave a state that is connected with so many evils.”² The *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-ratna-mālā* is a treatise on the eight forms of dancing. It is written in Pali stanzas and is accompanied by a Sinhalese translation. It is the only work of its kind extant in Ceylon, written in Pali. The eight forms of dancing are *śṛṅgāra* or lascivious, *hāsya* or comic, *karuṇā* or mournful, *rudra* or passionate, *vīra* or athletic, *bhaya-ānaka* [286] or intimidating, *bībhatsa* or horrible, and *adbhuta* or extraordinary feats of skill. The author says that some have a ninth division called *śyānta* or diverting, but he thinks that this last is included in the eight already mentioned. It is written in several metres, and is a most interesting work, if for nothing else, at least for its uniqueness. [287]

1. Published in Colombo, 1881.

2. *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 540.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MODERN PERIOD

King Kīrti Śrī Rājasinghe was followed by his brother, Rājādhirāja-Siṃha. He evinced the same interest as his predecessor had shown in the cause of religion and of learning, and, finding that the *Katikā-vata* drawn up by his brother needed revision, he summoned an assembly of monks and formulated a new *Katikā-vata*.¹ He was a scholar, well-versed in Pali and Sanskrit and Sinhalese, and collected round him a band of brilliant literary men, whose *obiter dicta*, apart from their original compositions—uttered most often in extempore verses, form very interesting reading.² The king himself was a poet of great merit, and his beautiful Sinhalese poem, the *Asadisa-Jātaka*,³ is an elegant composition, full of melody and teeming with a wealth of poetic imagery.

It was during this reign that the British in 1782 first declared war against the Dutch in Ceylon, and in that very same year they captured Trincomali. British trade in India had grown during the preceding two centuries, and now the seizure of the Dutch possessions became essential to them, both for the protection of their own territory and also for the humiliation of the only formidable rival who then competed with Great Britain for the commerce of the Indian seas. Already in 1763 the English had sent an embassy to Kīrti Śrī in Kandy, to negotiate for an amicable treaty; the Sinhalese king received the overtures favourably, but nothing came of it.⁴ In 1795 Holland found herself helplessly involved in the great war which was then agitating Europe, and the English in India eagerly seized the opportunity to capture the Dutch dominions in Ceylon. Rājādhirāja-Siṃha entered into an alliance with the English Governor at Madras, and, when, [288] early in 1796, Colonel Stuart appeared before the Dutch garrison at Colombo and demanded their submission, they marched out without striking a blow. The capitulation of the Dutch was completed by a convention between the Dutch Governor and Colonel Stuart, and on the 16th of February, 1796, the British flag waved over the walls of Colombo.⁵

1. Wickremasinghe, p. xxii.

2. These have been published in various anthologies of Sinhalese poetry (*Kavi-saṅgara*)

3. Supplement to Mhv C.13–14.

4. Tennent, vol. II p. 46.

5. Tennent, II p. 68.

Two years later Rājādhirāja-Siṃha died, and the Adigār, or Prime Minister, nominated as his successor a nephew of the queen, an eighteen-year-old boy, who ascended the throne as Śrī Vikrama Rāja-Siṃha. The Adigār, whose name was Pilima Talauvē, was a traitor of the deepest dye, whose “vaulting ambition oft overleapt itself.” He was fired by a treacherous desire to procure the death or the dethronement of the king and ascend the throne himself. With this end in view he spared no pains to spread disaffection among the king’s subjects and ceaselessly plotted against his life. He entered into secret negotiations with Frederick North, who had come as the first British Governor of Ceylon, and the latter, instead of disclaiming any participation in the treacherous designs of Pilima Talauvē, disgracefully lent himself to “intrigues inconsistent with the dignity and the honour of his high office.”¹ When the Adigār disclosed his plans for the ruin of the young king, North did not consider it unbecoming to discuss with him a matter so revolting and to enter into a bargain with the traitor. From this time onwards the life of Śrī Vikrama was in continual danger; he was dimly aware of the plots that were being hatched against him, but found himself helpless to arrest their progress. He was deprived of all peace of mind; on the advice of his evil associates he had recourse to intoxicating drink, that he might thus drown his sorrows.

There is extant a Pali poem, written about this period, by a monk named Sumaṅgala of Kunkunāva, in the Kandyan district. The author calls himself a pupil of Rambukvellē [289] Thera, and mentions that he had studied under Saraṇāṅkara. The names of several of the eminent Elders of the time are given: Moratota Dhammānanda, Malvatte Sirinivāsa, Kaduvela Thera, Dhammapāla, Dhammānanda, Siddhattha, and Sunanda. The poem is called *Rāma-sandesa*, and is written in elegant Pali stanzas. It purports to be a letter (*sandesa*) addressed to the God Rāma (Viṣṇu) at Rāma Dēvāla in Haṅguranketa, praying to the god to shower his blessings on Sri Vikrama Rāja-Siṃha. The poet praises the beauty of the capital, its palace and temples, and the river at Kandy. He then goes on to eulogize the king. From this account of the king’s character, written before he began his downward career, which ended in sorrow both to himself and to his country, we gather that he was a man of artistic temperament—witness his efforts to beautify the capital with a lake, which yet remains its chief attraction—and that he was a great lover of learning.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–8.

But the feeling of insecurity and helplessness, which ceaselessly dogged his footsteps, hardened his heart against all finer emotions, and he gave himself up to savage excesses, unsurpassed by any recorded example of human depravity. North now openly began to assist Pilimat-alauvē in exciting insurrections all over the country, and in forcing the king to commit an act of “sufficient aggression” which would serve as a pretext for the British to declare war upon the Kandyans.

North left Ceylon in 1805 and was succeeded by Robert Brownrigg. The traitorous Pilamatalauvē was beheaded in 1812, detected in an attempt to assassinate the king. His nephew, Ehālepola, became Adigār, and, taking advantage of the universal horror with which the king’s atrocities were regarded by his subjects, organized a general rebellion. The attempt proved abortive, and the king’s vengeance knew no bounds. Ehālepola’s wife and children were tortured and put to death with appalling cruelty. This awful occurrence was followed by promiscuous executions of all who were [290] suspected of implication in the conspiracy; at length the limits of human endurance being passed, revolt became rife throughout the kingdom and Ehālepola again appealed to the British for help. In January, 1815, an army was on its march to the capital, and within a few weeks the king was taken captive. On the 2nd of March, 1815, “at a solemn assembly of the Kandyan chiefs, the king was deposed, and his dominions were vested in the British Crown—contrary to what Ehālepola was given to expect, when the English lent him their support.

In their helplessness the chiefs acquiesced in the British Rāj, and a convention was drawn up whereby the Kandyan dominions were ceded to Great Britain. The Sinhalese nation, which had remained free for 2,358 years, now finally lost their independence and became subject to a foreign power. It is significant that in the treaty by which the island was handed over to the British, one article laid down that the rites and ceremonies of the Buddhist religion should be declared sacred and inviolate, and that the Government should undertake to maintain and protect them. The safeguarding of the national religion was emphatically put forward as a condition of their voluntary submission. The unmitigated despotism of Śrī Vikrama had so dazed his subjects that they regarded the transfer of the kingdom to an alien power with almost perfect indifference. The chiefs had submitted to the inevitable force of circumstances with admirable grace, leaving to time the development of the result. It is not surprising, therefore, that before long attempts were made to regain their independence, as soon as they realized the

true state of affairs. But all such attempts ended in failure, the country was too disorganized for a general insurrection and the sudden and premature rebellions which broke out proved abortive. Within a few years tranquillity was restored, and the people, too tired to fight, were contented under a mild and indulgent government. They returned to their ordinary avocations, and there was peace in the land. [291]

Once the consummation of acquiring possession of the country had been achieved, the British Government applied with energy all its resources to develop the land. Roads were constructed, commerce encouraged in its utmost freedom, mountain forests felled to make way for the plantation of coffee, etc., civil organizations matured, revenue reformed, and measures adopted for the advancement of agriculture and industry.

Steps were also taken for the promotion of religion and education. The Portuguese had been freebooters and fanatics. Commerce was not their only object; they wished to convert the people to Christianity by every means in their power. For this power they had devised some sort of education, which though—proselytism was its chief aim—had served a useful purpose. The Dutch, though they occupied themselves less with conversion, manifested no disinterested concern at all for the elevation and happiness of their subjects, and, where care was bestowed upon the spread of education, their motives were such as to detract from the grace and the generosity of the act. The avowed object of their schools was to wean the young Sinhalese from their allegiance to the king and to impress upon them the might of Holland.¹ The great feature of their rule was the utter neglect of the country and its interests owing to the selfishness, egotism, folly, and want of energy of the general government.² Their religious policy was much more insidious than that of the Portuguese and much more useless. It was inspired more by a fury against the Church of Rome, which was in the island already, than by a desire for conversion. In 1658 a proclamation was issued, forbidding, on pain of death, the harbouring or concealing of a Roman Catholic priest.³ The Presbyterian converts whom [292] they themselves made were not looked after at all in regard to either elementary teaching or spiritual instruction. In Jaffna alone there were 180,000 “Christians” under three clergymen! Yet all the time baptism was being carried on apace at every village schoolhouse, where attendance was

1. Tennent, II; p. 57.

2. M. Burnand, “The Dutch in Ceylon,” *Asiatic Journal*, 1821, p. 444.

3. Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 41 foll.

compulsory. The amount of education given in these schools was infinitesimally small. It seldom went beyond teaching their pupils to read and write in the language of their district, and even this was discouraged by the authorities at Batavia. In a communication addressed to the missionaries of Ceylon they strongly expressed their opinion that “reading and writing are things not so absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches as teaching them the fundamentals of the religion which are contained in a very few points: and to pretend to propagate Christianity by reading and writing would be both tedious and chargeable to the Netherlands East India Company.”¹ And, in order to facilitate the work of conversion, proclamation was publicly made that no one could aspire to the rank of Modaliar (chief), or be even permitted to farm land or hold it under the Government, who had not first undergone baptism, become a member of the Protestant Church, and subscribed to the doctrines of the Helvetic confession of faith.² The number of nominal Christians was thus greatly increased. This system of political bribery, to encourage conversion, produced organized hypocrisy; whose results were pernicious and whose recoil and reaction, when it did come, was destructive of the object for the furtherance of which it had been resorted to unwisely. When the Dutch retired from Ceylon, they left behind them a superstructure of Christianity, prodigious in its outward dimensions, it is true, but so internally unsound and so unsubstantial, that within a few years it had disappeared almost from the memory of the people of Ceylon. A religion which [293] required coercion and persecution to enforce its adoption was doomed to failure.

During the early years of the British regime but little was done to remedy this lamentable state of affairs, brought about by the artifice and corrupt inducement of the Portuguese priesthood and the alternate bribery and persecution of the clergy of the Church of Holland.³ In 1806 Governor Maitland published a regulation abolishing the Roman Catholic disabilities imposed by the Dutch, and later an Act for the relief of the Roman Catholics was passed in 1829.⁴ But even as late as 1850 nothing had been done to remove the difficulties under which the Buddhists were labouring. Even at that time no child could be legally registered without previous baptism by a Christian minister, and the

1. Letter of the Governor-General of Batavia to Baldaeus, 18th Sept., 1662. See Baldaeus, *Description of Ceylon, etc.*, p. 811.

2. Tennent, loc. cit., p. 45.

3. Tennent, *ibid.*, p. 77.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 and 91.

clergy refused to solemnize the marriage of unbaptized individuals.¹ The people were made to understand that baptism conferred upon them some sort of civil distinction, and this resulted in the production of prodigious numbers of "Government "Christians," who ostensibly professed Christianity, and we are told that "in point of character and conduct they were notoriously the most abandoned and reckless class of the community."² They were made to see in Christianity not only happiness in the world which is to come, but, what was more important to them, the promise of this life as well!

With the proclamation of liberty of worship to all sects of the Christian faith the island soon became a busy scene of the activity of various missionary bodies. The Baptists had already formed a colony in 1792; they were followed by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1814, the Americans in 1816, and the Church of England in 1818. They received every encouragement from the Government, both in the island and at Whitehall. When in 1808 Sir Thomas Maitland attempted to remove [294] the regulation which had rendered Christianity an essential qualification for office, he was promptly censured by the Secretary of State, and the necessity was urged upon him of "devoting every energy to the promotion of education, as essential to the extension, if not ultimately identified with the existence, of Christianity itself."³

The missionaries soon realized that the mere sprinkling of water on the face and the repetition of the formula of the baptismal rite were not sufficient to make the Sinhalese a Christian and sever him from his deep and tenacious attachment to his own national traditions. They therefore busied themselves with establishing schools in various parts of the island, manned and managed by missionary bodies. There the children were instructed in the principles of Christianity and the rudiments of elementary knowledge. Hitherto the temple had been the village school as well, and the monks had acted as the national instructors both in secular learning and spiritual wisdom. But in the chaotic conditions that prevailed during the preceding two centuries this system of education had become disorganized; and, although here and there the temple-schools yet maintained a precarious existence, the missionaries now launched forth a campaign for superseding the Buddhist priesthood in the department of education. These schools were supported by mission funds and subsidized by Government grants. In most of them

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

3. Tennent, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

no formal declaration of Christian belief was insisted upon as a preliminary to admission, but each student was required to be present at the morning and evening devotions of the school, and go through a course of instruction in the Christian faith. They had no opportunity of participating in their own religious observances.

The instruction imparted to them in these schools was arranged with a view to undermining the superstitions of their beliefs (as the missionaries were pleased to call all religions except their own), “to destroy the polypus vitality of their [295] faith,” “to demonstrate the subtle errors of their idolatry, to expose the absurdities of their religion, and bring home to them the civilizing influences of Christian life.”¹ It was to be a gradual process; the mind of the student was to be stirred, his inert faculties set in motion, his previous habits of thought disturbed; doubts made to assail his spirit, the deception of his original faith pointed out, followed by a displacement of unsoundness, the rejection of error and the dawning of a desire for the substitution of truth. For this purpose men were imported with years of laborious experience amongst “heathens of every hue and in every quarter of the world.”² The establishment of vernacular schools was soon followed by the organization of schools and seminaries for the study of English, and these followed the same lines of policy. The education of girls was not neglected, and the earliest efforts of the missionaries were directed to the establishment of girls’ schools, especially of boarding schools, “where the girls could be domesticated in childhood, and kept pure and uncontaminated till married with the approbation of their Christian guardians.”³ Buddhism was held up to them as an object worthy of nothing else except ridicule and contumely, and every effort was made to defeat the influence of parents and relations in the matter of religion by condemning their idolatry and laughing to scorn their habits and pursuits of life.

As a result of all this, a cleavage and an estrangement, more deadly than had ever risen out of the institution of caste, began to creep in among the Sinhalese. The schools provided no access to their own literature; possibly it was recognized that national “superstitions” have ever found their surest allies in a national literature, with which their traditions and their tenets were almost imperceptibly blended. Instead their intellectual advancement was sought to be based [296] on books which

1. Tennent, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 276.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

were almost unavoidably adaptations from European literatures, abounding in ideas totally foreign to their customs and their habits of thought, and teeming with forms of expression neither familiar nor intelligible to them.

Other means were also adopted to ensure the grand consummation of the ultimate triumph of Christianity; the instrumentality of preaching and the printing press—education, exhortation, and the book. Padres went about preaching throughout the scattered villages, and the press looked after the universal distribution of the scriptures and scriptural tracts and publications designed to expose the delusions of the people's idolatrous faith “and to exhibit the “supremacy and the divine origin of Christianity.” The violence done to the Sinhalese language in these tracts and publications is extraordinary. The pliant dialect of the Sinhalese—so artistically inflected that by the variations of a single pronoun the speaker is enabled to supply it with delicate propriety, so as to convey no less than ten or twelve degrees of respect—is replaced in them by an artificial jargon lacking in nicety or tone or grace of style.

For the successful demonstration of their errors to the Buddhists, to assail their code of ethics and to point out to them the fallacies of the metaphysical subtleties of their faith, the missionaries now began to study Sinhalese and Pali and to read the Buddhist scriptures. Their researches soon convinced them that the subjects of their study were full of literary treasures, whose value had not so far been sufficiently realized; this added a new zest to their work, and scholars like Charter, Lambrick, Clough, Spence Hardy, and Gogerly began to devote their attention more and more to the task of mastering the books which they found in Ceylon. They wrote grammars for the systematic study of these languages, and compiled dictionaries for the benefit of future students.¹ [297]

They made translations of such books as would be useful to them in preaching against the Buddhists, and published them that they might be better known. Some of these books reached Europe and America, and there aroused in the hearts of various scholars a desire to learn more about the religion which the missionaries sought to condemn and the literature of which these books formed a part. The fervour which inspired the publication of such books was great. Spence Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism*, which is a compilation from the sacred books of the Sinhalese, said: “This Manual will be received, I doubt not, as a

1. E.g. Charter's *Sinhalese Grammar* (1815); Clough's *Pali Grammar* (1824) and *Sinhalese Dictionary* (1821); Lambrick's *Sinhalese Grammar* (1834).

boon; and it will enable them (the messengers of the cross) more readily to understand the system they are endeavouring to supersede by the establishment of Truth. I see before me, looming in the distance, a glorious vision, in which the lands of the East are presented in majesty; happy, holy, and free. I may not, I dare not, describe it; but it is the joy of my existence to have been an instrument, in degree, however feeble, to bring about this grand consummation.”¹

But the worm had already begun to turn. The bewildering variety of religious beliefs which had been presented to the Sinhalese for acceptance by the various missionary bodies, under the regimes of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and now the English, had left them dazed, and later produced in them a listlessness and an indifference to all religion. The ostensible connection which the churches had with the governments of the day was associated in their minds with patronage and power, and, being allured, as all ordinary men are, by the prospect of obtaining wealth and rank under the Government, they had changed from one faith to another as the expedience of circumstances had dictated to them. This had encouraged falsehood and brought about a certain debasement of character. They designated themselves the followers of the “Sopremād-āgama” (Government religion), and they formed a class “whose reputation and whose practice were alike an [298] outrage on the religion in which they were born and an insult to that which they professed to have adopted.”²

Education had, as we saw earlier, been neglected for several generations, and this had produced an obtuseness and a torpor of intellectual faculties; it had smothered all emotions of enterprise, emulation, and ambition, such as supply a stimulus to the intellect and organize the march of improvement. The Christianity which was imposed upon them was not made to appear as an institution of the land, to be cherished and supported as such; its exotic nature was patent; the missionary did not effectually accommodate his ministrations to the habits of his flock, so as to gain upon their confidence, or to exert a sufficiently strong influence over their opinions and habits of thought. The “civilization” which it had brought in its trail and which meant chiefly the adoption of European ways and modes of life created artificial needs; it is not surprising, therefore, that under its influence no art of any kind was developed, and no achievements of the mind, in the shape of literature, were produced.

1. *Manual of Buddhism*, Preface, p. x.

2. Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 90.

But half a century of British rule worked remarkable changes; it brought peace and tranquillity into the island, where strife and domestic discontent and despotism had reigned for nearly two centuries. British capital and enterprise helped in the development of the land and secured the enjoyment of certain personal comforts which had not been possible under the Portuguese or the Dutch; new careers of occupation were opened up, and new energies called into exertion; which resulted in the industrial and the material improvement of the people. The British followed a policy of general religious tolerance; and though, for quite a long time yet, the Buddhists suffered from many disabilities, the more courageous of them were now able to profess their faith without fear of being openly persecuted. Governor North, in spite of his ignominious participation in the conspiracy to depose the last King of Ceylon, was a man of broad views, and in a statesman-like [299] manner he adopted various measures to conciliate the people. Tennent tells us that his administration was characterized by signal success in the organization of civil government; the promotion of religion and education and commerce; the establishment of Courts of Justice; the reform of the revenue, and the advancement of native agriculture and industry.¹ In pursuance of this policy of the promotion of education he increased the number of parochial schools to 170 in various parts of the Island, and founded a "Seminary" at Colombo for the Sinhalese youths who wished to acquire a knowledge of English.² This "Seminary" was the first English school in Ceylon. Other schools soon followed, giving instructions, some in the vernacular and others in English, opened by various missionary bodies. Their avowed object was proselyzation; but, if the measure of their success be judged by the number of converts they have made, their efforts cannot be called productive of great results.

The grand consummation, which Hardy and his colleagues so devoutly prayed for, of Christianizing Ceylon seems yet as far off as ever. Apart from this, however, these schools served to diffuse over a wide area that general information which is the first essential of all knowledge. The English schools provided their students with facilities for the acquisition of English, and opened for them the door to a familiarization with the advances of modern science and modern education; these schools gave them the ability to investigate the problems that were put before them; the students learned, like the Jews of Beroea, to

1. Tennent, *Ceylon*, II, p. 86.

2. *Cey. Antiq. and Lit. Reg.*, ix, pt. ii, p. 145.

examine things for themselves and “search the Scriptures whether these things are so.” In many instances the *alumni* of these institutions, instead of returning the care expended on them by the missionaries by seeking conversion to Christianity, became devout Buddhists, whose desire was the propagation of their own faith. Their education had given them [300] exercise of thought and exertion of intellectual power sufficient to realize the value of their own national faith, and now, by a strange Nemesis, they came forward as its strong adherents against the onslaught of the missionaries.

Meanwhile the missionaries themselves, more especially the Methodists,¹ had been studying the doctrines of Buddhism and the literature connected with it. The information they thus acquired was sedulously used by them in the preparation of tracts in Sinhalese, demonstrative of the errors of the Buddhist religion and illustrative of the evidences and institutes of Christianity. They acquired a command over the Sinhalese language, and their preachers went from village to village, distributing these tracts by the thousands, and questioning the truth of Buddha’s teaching. The monks in their village temples, in the course of their sermons to the congregations that assembled at the Vihāra on the Uposatha days, attempted to refute the arguments adduced against Buddhism by the itinerant Christian preachers. Many of them, with characteristic broad-mindedness, invited the missionaries to their temples and gave them opportunities of addressing assemblies of monks, at the conclusion of which they would ask questions, relative to the proofs and principles of Christianity.²

The denunciation of Buddhism went on apace, till a young monk named Mohoṭṭivattē Guṇānanda, appeared on the scene and flung the gauntlet down in a challenge to the Christians to meet him in open debate. The Christian clergy at first treated him with indifference, even with contempt; but the young *sāmaṇera* (novice) assiduously studied the Christian scriptures and read with avidity such rationalist literature as he could obtain (printed in Europe) dealing with the fallacies of Christianity. He possessed [301] tremendous energy, and a masterful personality; his voice was compared to the roar of the ocean, deep and far-reaching; his flood of eloquence was unceasing. Well versed in the

1. The Methodists have at all times been the closest students of Buddhism and its sacred literature, and they produced men of great scholarship both in the classical and the modern languages of Ceylon, e.g. Clough, Gogerly, and Spence Hardy.

2. Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 307 and 312.

Buddha's teaching and armed with information against the Christians,¹ he went with meteoric rapidity from village to village, carrying the war into the enemy's camp, often at great personal risk. The fame of the young orator spread like wildfire, and his meetings, which were generally held in the open, were attended by thousands who flocked to hear him; he stormed several Christian strongholds, always throwing down his challenge to them to meet him in open debate, where the relative merits of the two religions could be discussed face to face. The challenge was at last accepted and debates took place at Udanvīṭa (in the Four Korales) in 1866 and at Gampola in 1871. But the culmination of his efforts was the great Pānadura Controversy in August, 1873, which lasted for a week. Against him were ranged the foremost missionaries of the day; at the end the victory naturally lay for the people with Mohoṭṭivattē. The orderliness of the assembly was a great credit to all concerned, and, when the Christians retired from the conflict discomfited, the enthusiasm of the Buddhist camp was unprecedented. It was an epoch-making event; the enthusiasm it awakened amongst the Buddhists was immense; festivities were held in every temple in the Island to mark Guṇānanda's triumph, his effigy was carried in procession in every village, and he was the hero of the hour. From 1873 began the Buddhist Renaissance movement. Now that the truth of their religion had been vindicated, the Buddhists were determined to fight their Christian adversaries with their own weapons—"education, exhortation, and the Press."

The attention of Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, President Founder of the Theosophical Society, was first drawn to [302] Buddhism by a report of the Pānadura Controversy, which he happened to come across in a public library in the United States. He was a seeker after the truth in all religions, and, realizing the importance of the teachings of the Buddha in the development of man's spiritual nature, he came over to Ceylon to study Buddhism at first hand. His researches soon convinced him of the sublimity of the Buddhist faith, and, avowing himself a follower of the Teacher, he thenceforward became a staunch friend of the Sinhalese Buddhists, and to the best of his ability helped them in the tasks that awaited their attention.

Under his guidance in 1880 was started the Buddhist Theosophical Society at Colombo. The presence of Colonel Olcott was an invaluable acquisition to the Buddhist forward movement; the Buddhist leaders

1. He was also an accomplished scholar in Sinhalese. *Vide*, his edition of the *Kāvya-śekhara* (Colombo, 1872).

rallied round him, and, acting under his counsel, they began establishing schools all over the Buddhist provinces. The enthusiasm thus awakened in the cause of Buddhist education still remains unabated; today the number of Buddhist schools in the Island, both English and vernacular, reaches nearly 500, and the instruction they impart compares favourably with that of schools maintained by missionary educational organizations in Ceylon.

Funds were wanted to carry on the campaign of educational propaganda. Volunteers were immediately forthcoming to act as itinerant preachers. They went from village to village, appealing for subscriptions to maintain the schools. The Buddhists, always generous in the support of religion, readily responded. Their devotion to the national faith, though submerged for a time under the flood of persecution, was inveterate, hereditary and insurmountable, and, as soon as their helplessness was removed, it found immediate expression. There are men and women still alive who have vivid memories of the tremendous enthusiasm that prevailed at these collection meetings,

The Christian Missions had been flooding the country with [303] many tracts¹ dealing with the fallacies they had discovered in Buddhism. To counteract their influence, and also to educate the Buddhists themselves in the knowledge of their own religion, the Buddhist leaders turned their attention to the publication of books. Printing was to them as yet quite a new art. It was unknown in Ceylon till about the year 1737, when the Dutch introduced printing in Sinhalese character for the purpose of translating and publishing Christian works in the language of the people. The Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society followed in the same lines about 1813; the Wesleyans established a press in 1815; the Church Missionary Society in 1822; the Baptist Mission in 1841; and the Roman Catholics in 1849. The Buddhists were too poor to afford a press of their own, and they appealed to the King of Siam, as the only Buddhist King of the time, for help in their enterprise. The king gladly responded, and the first printing press controlled by the Sinhalese Buddhists was established at Galle in 1862, under the name of the *Laṅkāpakāra Press*.²

1. It is a regrettable fact that the language used both in these tracts and in the rejoinders issued by the Buddhists was far from being refined or urbane. The vilest terms of abuse were sometimes employed in the discussion of the most sacred subjects of religious belief.

2. I am indebted for this information to the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, of Colombo.

Mohottivattē Guṇānanda, in his determination to fight the enemy in their own camp, had established his headquarters at Koṭahena, then, as now, a stronghold of the Roman Catholics; there, with the help of his lay-supporters, he established in 1862 the Sarvajña-sāsanābhivṛddhidāyaka Press. The example thus set was soon followed by others: the Lakrivikiraṇa Press in 1863 and the Laṅkābhinavaviśruta Press in 1864. The most important work, and the most considerable in the point of size, among the first publications of these printing establishments was the *Milinda-praśnaya* (the Sinhalese translation of the *Milinda-pāñhā*). It was felt that the book would be most useful in refuting the [304] arguments hurled at the Buddhists by their adversaries. The expenses of the publication were borne by five Buddhist gentlemen, whose names deserve to be mentioned here because their munificence paved the way for the right exercise of philanthropy later. They were Karolis Pieris, Abraham Livera, Luis Mendis, Nandis Mendis Amara-Sekara, and Charlis Arnolis Mendis Vijayaratna Amara-Sekara. The work was issued from the Buddhist Press at Koṭahena in 1877–8, under the editorship of Guṇānanda.¹

The Buddhist Renaissance movement, thus inaugurated, found its pioneers in the foremost scholars of the day. The system of temple education which existed in ancient Ceylon had gradually fallen into decay and disorganization, and was now being slowly superseded by the schools, manned and managed wholly by laymen. The monasteries confined their attention mainly to the education of the monks. Secluded in their cloisters, and now happily free from persecution, and supported by an ever generous laity, they had been sedulously devoting their energies to the study of the old books, both sacred and secular, still preserved in places where the ravages of the persecutors had not penetrated. When men of learning were required to guide the destinies of the new forward movement, they came forth and offered their services.

Foremost among them was Hikkaḍuvē Siri Sumaṅgala. Born in 1827 in a small village near Galle, he entered the Order while yet quite young. With remarkable assiduity he mastered the books of the Tipiṭaka along with their commentaries under various teachers, and made himself very proficient in Sanskrit as well. In his boyhood he had witnessed the disabilities under which his co-religionists were labouring at the time, and while yet a *sāmaṇera* he did all that he could to encourage their adherence to the national faith and to foster their devotion to it in adversity. His fame as a preacher and an erudite

1. *Milinda-praśnaya*, Koṭahena, B.E. 2420 (1877–8 CE) pp. 628, 12, iv, 80.

scholar with a vast wealth of knowledge soon [305] spread, and he was one of those that helped Guṇānanda at the Pānadura controversy, where, it is said, his speedy penmanship was especially of the greatest use in taking down the arguments addressed by the Christian spokesmen. Quite soon after that event some of the more prominent of the Buddhists in Colombo, impressed by his abilities and by his versatility, requested him to come over to the metropolis and found a place of learning where both monks and laymen could acquire a thorough knowledge of Sinhalese, Pali, and Sanskrit. The invitation was accepted, and in June, 1874, was started the Vidyodaya-pariveṇa, over whose destinies the Venerable Mahā-Thera presided till his death in May 1911.

The Vidyodaya-pariveṇa became a miniature of the old Mahā-vihāra at Anurādhapura, one of the foremost places of learning in the East. Students flocked to it from all parts of the Island, and after having gone through a course of residence there they carried back with them the torch of knowledge which they had kindled at the feet of the Great Elder. It was a matter of common belief that no one who had had the good fortune of being taught by the Venerable Mahā Thera would fail to achieve renown in the world, and amongst the last two generations of Ceylon Buddhists hardly a single person of eminence is to be found, either amongst the monks or amongst the laity, who, at some time or other in his life, had not received instruction at the hands of the President of the Vidyodaya-pariveṇa. Many of Siri Sumaṅgala's students established Pariveṇas in various parts of the country, and thus began once more the revival of learning which had remained in abeyance from Saraṇaṅkara's day. The fame of the Institution soon spread abroad, and thither came men in search of knowledge, not only from India, Burma, and Siam, but also from distant China and Japan and Europe and America.

Siri Sumaṅgala himself was a hardworking student to the end of his days, and it is said that besides many languages of Asia he was able to read and understand several [306] languages of Europe as well, and that at the time of his death, aged 80, he was studying Russian. On his death, in 1911, his chief pupil Mahagoda Siri Ñānissara¹ succeeded him as Principal of the Pariveṇa, and most ably continued the work which had been begun by his teacher. During his regime several improvements were effected in the courses of instruction, and English

1. Besides preparing scholarly editions of several Pali texts, Ñānissara made a Sinhalese translation of Vedeha's poem—*Samanta-kūṭa-vaṇṇanā*.

was made a regular subject of study. On Siri Nāṇissara's death, in 1922, the reins of office were taken over by its present Principal, the Venerable Kahāve Siri Sumaṅgala Ratanasarā, *Mahā-Nāyaka-Thera*, an Elder of wide scholarship, profound erudition and great ability.

This brief account of the literary revival in Ceylon during the last century would be incomplete without some reference, at least, to the exertions of the Europeans in the Island, missionaries, civil servants and others, whose researches it was that first brought home to the Ceylonese the glories of their own literature when many of them had begun to treat it with neglect. Besides clergymen like Clough, Gogerly, Hardy and Copleston, who always evinced a deep interest in the languages and the literatures of Ceylon, there has been a succession of civil servants, who, having sympathy with the institutions and the learning of the people among whom their lot was cast, found in the garnering in of the harvest of knowledge which lay at their doors, the greatest respite from the tedium of their official duties; men like Armour, Tolfrey, Turnour, Brodie, Tennent, Upham, Childers, D'Alwis and—greatest of them all—Rhys Davids, who realized the splendid opportunities they had of advancing their own inner and spiritual nature and at the same time being of immense service to the scholarship of the world. The results of their labours are too fresh in men's minds to need elaboration here. On the 7th February, 1845, was started the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, "to institute and promote inquiries [307] into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Natural Philosophy of Ceylon, together with the social condition of its present and former inhabitants," and the first number of the Society's *Journal* was published the same year.

Along with the restoration of learning and the introduction of the printing press, an impetus was given to fresh literary activity. The book-burning s and the persecutions of the preceding centuries had brought about a scarcity in the number of books available for study. The first labours of scholars, therefore, were directed to the task of editing and publishing such books as were of immediate necessity to students in the prosecution of their studies. The Sinhalese had long been accustomed to have the benefit of the patronage of their kings in matters of this kind, but it was found that no such help could be expected from their present rulers. Printing was to them quite a novel thing; they had no experience in the art of collating manuscripts and editing them in a scientific manner; often the copies of the manuscripts that were accessible to them were defective and full of errors made by

unlettered scribes. There was no proper organization, and the editors were not all men of learning. The result was that many of the books issued are replete with errors both of printing and of editing. The texts were often printed in parts of about eighty pages and published at irregular intervals, and several of them begun, perhaps, thirty years ago, yet remain to be completed!

In the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*¹ Mr. W. A. de Silva has given a list of the books issued by the Sinhalese Presses up to the year 1910. There we find, as he himself points out, that two classes of work have been published with a certain degree of abundance, namely grammars for the study of Pali and a large number of translations into Sinhalese of isolated suttas from the five Nikāyas of the Pali Canon. The reason for this preference is not far to seek. The study of Pali had [308] been long neglected, and when it was now revived, simple works on grammar were found necessary. The laity were more or less completely ignorant of Pali, and hence the contents of their Sacred Literature were mostly unknown to them, except for what little they heard from the expositions of the monks in the village temples. It was to remedy this latter disadvantage that the translations were made and issued of some of the more well-known Suttas.² Both in Mr de Silva's list and in the *Catalogue of the Temple Libraries of Ceylon*, prepared in 1885 at the request of the Ceylon Government by the late Louis De Zoysa,³ there is another feature worthy of notice—the large number of books from Burma and Siam which seem to have been introduced into Ceylon during the nineteenth century; we do not hear of the existence of many of them in the Island earlier. We have seen that from the time of Vijaya-Bāhu in the twelfth century, there had been frequent intercourse between the countries above-mentioned and Ceylon, and scholars were in the habit of paying visits to each other across the seas. There is no reason to doubt that one of the results of these visits was the exchange of books. But during the political upheavals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such intercourse had very largely ceased to exist, and the use of imported books does not seem to have at any time been prevalent to a large extent. With the re-establishment of the *Upasampadā* by Saraṇāṅkara and Kīrti Śrī Rājasimṅha, however, the connection with

1. 1910–12, pp. 135 ff.

2. It would be interesting to note, in view of what I have stated in an earlier chapter, that among the earliest of these translations was a compilation of the Suttas used in the chanting of *Paritta*.

3. Govt. Printing Office, Colombo, 1885.

Siam was revived. When the Sinhalese embassy returned to Ceylon with the *Upasampadā* monks, we are told that they brought with them as a present from the King of Siam “books of diverse kinds, which were not extant in the Island.”¹ [309] The friendship thus renewed with Siam has ever since been maintained, and we saw how, when the Ceylon Buddhists desired to establish a press of their own, they appealed to the King of Siam for funds, and received a generous response.

Early in the nineteenth century certain events took place which drew Burma and Ceylon close together once more and freshened their bonds of affection. The Kandyan Kings were all strongly imbued with the prejudices of the Brāhmins and upheld the doctrines of polytheism and caste, and, when King Kīrti Śrī Rājasim̃gha re-established the *Upasampadā* from Siam, he decreed that none but members of a particular caste, the Gahapati (Goigama) should be admitted to the higher order of monks. The monks of the maritime provinces, who belonged to the other castes, were justifiably indignant at this unrighteous exclusion and this maladministration of the religion. In 1798 therefore, as a protest, they organized an expedition to Burma to introduce the *Upasampadā* from that country. The embassy was led by Ambagahapitiyē Nāṇavimala-Tissa; he was accompanied by five *sāmaṇeras*. Their mission was eminently successful; the Saṅgharāja at Amarapura received them with singular favour. The Emperor caused their ordination to be celebrated with all the pageantry of royalty, and five Burmese monks accompanied them on their return in 1802 to Ceylon, where they became the founders of the Amarapura sect, which now forms a very influential body with a large number of adherents. Seven years later, in 1809, a second expedition was led by Daḍalle Dhammarakkhita, who with four colleagues received the *Upasampadā* in Burma.

As a result of this close association between the two countries, several of the Ceylon monks went over to Burma and there specialized in the study of the Abhidhamma. On their return they brought with them a large number of works written in Pali by Burmese authors. Many of

1. Mhv C.152–3. (The books imported with this delegation from Siam and the next one did not just include works written in Siam, but also Canonical texts such as the *Majjhima Nikāya* and many *aṭṭhakathās* and *ṭīkās* composed in Ceylon, which appear to have got completely or partially lost, or could not be found or made use of by Saraṇaṅkara and his followers. The same applies for the books imported from Burma. Cf. “Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th Century” by Oscar von Hinüber; JPTS XII (1988) p. 176ff. BPS ed.)

these they edited and published in Sinhalese characters, and some of the more important were translated into Sinhalese. [310]

Besides these translations, etc., to which reference has already been made, several original works have been written in Pali during the last century.

In 1835 the Wesleyan Mission Press issued a Pali translation of the New Testament. At the time of its publication there was a certain amount of misgiving in the minds of the Buddhists, because it was believed that one or two of the well known Buddhist monks had a share in the work of translation, and that their action was ill-advised. These fears were soon laid to rest. It was found that the language of the translation was sufficient evidence against any such assumption. The book was not favourably received by the Christians, because they could not understand a word of what it contained, nor by the Buddhists, who would have nothing to do with it!

In 1876 Vaskaḍuvē Siri Subhūti published the *Nāma-mālā*, a work on Pali grammar, compiled at the suggestion of his erstwhile pupil, R. C. Childers (Professor at University College, London, after leaving Ceylon, in the last few years of his short life), author of the well-known *Pali-English Dictionary*. The work was dedicated, by permission, to Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, who visited Ceylon. It is accompanied by prefaces in English and Sinhalese, the latter containing a most valuable historical account of works on Pali grammar either written in Ceylon itself or used there. Subhūti had already published in 1865 an edition made by him of Moggallāna's *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, with English and Sinhalese interpretations. Later, in 1893, he followed it up with a complete index of all the Pali words, giving their meanings in Sinhalese.

In 1877, at the request of the Governor, Sir William Henry Gregory, Siri Sumaṅgala, assisted by Paṇḍita Devarakkhita Baṭuvantuḍāvē, brought out the edition of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*, completed from the time of King Kīrti Śrī to the cession of the Island to the British in 1815. A few years later, in 1883, they made a Sinhalese translation of the whole [311] work, and published it in two volumes.¹ Siri Sumaṅgala also brought out an edition of the *Bālāvatāra*, accompanied by a comprehensive original *ṭikā* in Pali.

In 1880 Ācariya Vimalasāra Thera published the *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa*, a "history," as the author tells us, "of the Buddhist Church, written in Pali verse and compiled from Buddhist Holy Scriptures,

1. Sihala Samaya Press, Colombo, 1883.

Commentaries, Histories, etc.” He had published earlier another Pali work, the *Sīmā-lakkhaṇa-dīpanī*, dealing with the oft-disputed question of the consecration of *sīmā* or boundaries of ordination. The *Sāsana-vaṃsa-dīpa* is written in twelve chapters. It begins with the birth of the last Buddha as Sumedha, describes the twenty-four *vivaraṇas*, and gives a history of his last life up to the time of the Parinibbāna. Chapters V–VIII deal with the three convocations and the establishment of Buddhism in foreign lands; chapters IX and X deal with the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon and the writing down of the Piṭakas and the Commentaries. Chapter XI is by far the most important, because it gives the names of authors who lived from the time of Buddhaghosa to the reign of Paṇḍita Parākrama-Bāhu, together with the works they produced. In spite of its faulty arrangement—because it follows no chronological order—this chapter is of great value. The last chapter deals with the measures adopted by various monarchs to re-establish the Sāsana, when it died down at various periods of its history for want of proper care and attention. It ends with the introduction of the Amara-pura Nikāya into Ceylon. In 1893 Siri Siddhattha Dhammānanda, Principal of the Parama Dhamma Cetiya-pariveṇa at Ratmalāna, published the *Lokopakāra*, a didactic Pali poem of 107 stanzas, written in gāthā verse, accompanied by a Sinhalese translation by the author himself. It is based on the *Saddhammopāyana*, and deals with practically the same subjects.

In 1902 S. M. Burrows, Director of Public Instruction, [312] established the Committee on Oriental Studies to systematize the instruction given at the various Pariveṇas, make them conform to one common standard, if possible, and hold competitive examinations to encourage the students. The Government was to give an annual subsidy to such Pariveṇas as appeared to them to deserve it. The policy of the Committee was set forth as follows: “To make the Pariveṇas more attractive, progressive and useful, while zealously guarding their indigenous and independent character, without turning them into government-subsidized high schools.”

The examinations have not been an unmixed blessing. The encouragement of competition has produced cram-work in place of erudition, and it is a lamentable fact that, even among the monks the winning of a medal or diploma has proved a greater incentive to work than disinterested love of knowledge. Knowledge for its own sake has given way to knowledge for recognition. There is also noticeable a tendency to pay

far more attention to Sanskrit than to Pali, which is bound to have an adverse influence on the growth of Pali literature.

In 1909 there arose a bitter controversy among the Buddhists as to whether it was right for audiences to be seated on chairs or benches, while listening to the preaching of the Dhamma. The more educated among the Buddhists had found it more advantageous to adopt European costume, because it seemed to them to bring greater regard from their rulers. It was, however, discovered that European clothes did not conduce to comfort when the wearer sat on the floor—as had been the custom at the village temples for centuries—hence the controversy. Much rancour was shown on both sides and an appeal was made to the usage in Burma. One of the strongest opponents of the use of seats was Moraṭuvē Medhānanda Thera. He had been to Burma to study the Abhidhamma, and in 1910 he published a book called the *Dhamma-gārava-dīpanī*,¹ written in Pali *gāthā* verse, giving a history of the controversy and his own observations on the subject, together with the [313] opinions expressed to him by various eminent Theras of Burma whom he had consulted. The controversy gradually died down; a compromise seems to have been brought about whereby, if the preaching of the Dhamma was at the Vihāra itself, the audience should sit on the floor—while if the sermon be given at some place other than on the Vihāra precincts, the listeners may use seats at their option.

In 1911 Kodāgoda Upasena Thera wrote the *Sammoha-nāsanī*, on certain rules on the Vinaya connected with such subjects as the use of the begging-bowl, the modern umbrella, leather covering for the feet, etc. It is composed in Pali verse, and divided into seven chapters. Two other works remain to be mentioned, to bring this history up to date. In 1917 Moraṭuvē Medhānanda Thera, author of the *Dhamma-gārava-dīpanī* referred to above, published the *Jina-vaṃsa-dīpanī* (also called *Pabandha-siromaṇi*). It is an extensive Pali poem of two thousand verses in thirty chapters. The author declares in his preface² that it is his ambition to write a *mahā-kāvya* on the model of the Sanskrit *Raghu-vaṃsa* and *Kumāra-sambhava*, giving not only the life of the Buddha but also dealing with the cardinal points in his teaching. In this he has achieved remarkable success; the verses are written in several metres, some of them intricate and all of them composed with sedulous care. Medhānanda Thera has drunk deeply of the works of Sanskrit poets, and his composition abounds in metaphors and similes which bear

1. Moraṭuva, 1910.

2. P. ii (Colombo, 1917).

close resemblance to their best productions. The language of the poem shows the strong impress of Sanskrit influence, and it is significant of the times that the dedicatory verses are written in classical Sanskrit. There is a Sinhalese paraphrase to the whole work by the author himself, and the book is prefaced by a very valuable historical introduction, dealing with some of the salient points of the history of the Saṅgha in Ceylon. He also gives a brief survey of Ceylon authors and their works. The *Jina-vam̐sa-dīpanī* has brought the learned [314] author recognition for his scholarship in his own lifetime, and it was no insincere compliment that his lay supporters paid to him when, on the day of its publication, they carried the book in procession round the town in which the great Elder had taken his residence. They were, in their own humble way, attempting to pay their respects and express their gratitude to the distinguished author who had laboured in the cause of religion and literature, two things which have always been closest to their hearts.

The other work is the *Mahā-Kassapa-carita*, published in 1924 by Vidurupola Piya-Tissa Nāyaka Thera,¹ a Pali poem of 1,500 verses arranged in twenty cantos. The learned poet was born in 1880, and already at the age of thirty had distinguished himself as a brilliant scholar at the Final Examination of the Committee on Oriental Studies. This work from his pen has fulfilled the hopes of earlier years and holds out the promise of greater achievements in the future. The language of the *Kassapa-carita* is forceful and elegant, and the subject-matter is well arranged. The materials for the biography of the great Elder, who was held in esteem only second to the Buddha himself, has been taken from the Saṃyutta-Aṭṭhakathā and the Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.

In 1913 Sir Robert (now Lord) Chalmers came as Governor of Ceylon. He had for some time past evinced great interest in Pali literature, and had edited a portion of the Majjhima-nikāya for the Pali Text Society. His contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* on subjects connected with Buddhism had been read with interest, and his translation of a part of the *Jātakas* for the Cambridge University Press had been studied with avidity. The people awaited his coming with eagerness, and, when he arrived, he was greeted with the utmost cordiality. Soon after he assumed office he declared in the course of a public speech his desire to bring out an edition of the Ceylonese Commentaries, which he proposed to call the Alu-Vihāra Edition. "I have had the practical experience," [315] he said, "of collating for my edi-

1. Colombo, 1924, Grantha-prakāśa Press, iii, 124, 8°.

tion of the Majjhima-nikāya not only Sinhalese manuscripts, but also the Mandalay manuscripts from the Royal Library in Burma, and the King of Siam's printed edition, and, as a result of this experience, I have no hesitation in affirming—as I know the most distinguished of Pali scholars in Europe will also affirm—that it is in the best Sinhalese manuscripts that the soundest traditions of Pali scholarship will be found. ... It has always seemed to me that, with this unique tradition of scholarship on her part, Ceylon has failed in modern times to assert her historic claim to leadership in her own proper field. For instance, Siam, under the auspices of the late King, has taken the lead in issuing the Tipiṭaka, in the printed yellow-bound volumes which many of us know, and Siam has made at least a beginning with the printing of the Aṭṭhakathās in Siamese character.... Ceylon must follow, but in following ought to improve upon Siam's example. Here, in Ceylon, we must have in Sinhalese characters, an edition both of the Canon and of the Commentaries, which will be worthy of the pre-eminent tradition of Pali scholarship in Ceylon.”¹

It was with this noble ambition that the Alu-vihāra Edition was launched. But, alas! “the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley,” and Sir Robert's scheme was no exception. The Great War in Europe engaged all his attention, and later, in May, 1915, an unfortunate religious riot, which broke out between the Muslims and the Buddhists in Kandy, led to many a false move on the part of the officials, which plunged the country in gloom. Martial law was proclaimed, and under its regime many excesses were committed. All Sir Robert's constructive plans for the re-establishment of Ceylon's pre-eminence for Pali scholarship had to be abandoned, and, when he left the Island, only one book, the *Papañcasūdanī*, on the Majjhima, had been published. The work had been entrusted to the two foremost scholars of the [316] day, Ñāṇissara and Dhammārāma, and the result fulfilled all expectations.

But, fortunately, the work began under the inspiration of Sir Robert Chalmers was not destined to be left uncontinued, though by other hands and in other ways. On the 17th January, 1913, died Simon Alexander Hewāvitārne, member of the well-known Hewāvitārne family. He had been a pupil of the Ven. Siri Sumaṅgala, and was an earnest student of Abhidhamma. He had conceived the idea originally of printing the complete text of the Tipiṭaka, but, on the advice of Professor Lanman, of Harvard, later decided to bring out an edition of the Com-

1. Colombo, Public Hall, 27th February, 1915.

mentaries. Following this idea, he began, in 1911, to publish the Commentary on the Saṃyutta-nikāya. The work was in progress when he died. In his will he left ample provisions for his plans to be carried out in their entirety. "I give, devise, and bequeath," it ran, "all such monies as may be found necessary for printing the Pali text of the Commentaries which is being printed now, and all monies needful for bringing out a neat edition of the text of the Tipiṭaka." His executors have lost no time in carrying out his wishes. In 1917 appeared the first volume, Dhammapāla's *Commentary on the Petavatthu*.¹ Several others have appeared since then. The work of editing is in the hands of the most distinguished scholars of Ceylon, and the results of their labours have won unstinted approval from all quarters. It is a matter of great regret that no arrangements have so far been made to bring out carefully revised editions of the other Pali works of Ceylon and the numerous valuable works written in Sinhalese, which form the national heritage of the people. The rulers of Ceylon in ages past have always extended their munificent patronage in the cause of literature, and it, is to be hoped that the British Government will not fail to emulate the example of their predecessors in the sovereignty of the island. The incomes derived from the endowments made in former times for the [317] maintenance of the monasteries are being either wasted or misappropriated, for want of suitable legislation. If means are devised for the proper utilization of such funds as may be derived from them, the question of setting aside a sufficient yearly sum for the editing and publication of a literature of such great historical value as that of Ceylon, will be easily solved. A few hundreds a year for ten years would probably suffice—on the system followed by the Pali Text Society—for the editing and publication of the whole. The conclusion of the war has ushered in a new era of prosperity, and it is fervently hoped that attention will be paid to this matter of urgency for the reputation of Ceylon in the scholarship of the world. [318]



1. Mahā-Bodhi Press, Colombo, 1917.

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THE PALI LITERATURE
OF BURMA

By

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PREFACE

I wish to express my best thanks to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for giving this little work a place among the Society's publications. To Professor Rhys Davids I owe, once again, a grateful acknowledgment of inspiration to begin a task and encouragement throughout. To him also as Editor of the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* my thanks are due for permission to reprint in Chapters I and II some of the material appearing in my article, "Early Pali Grammarians in Burma" (JPTS, 1908). My obligations to many others, by whose labours I have profited, will be seen in the pages of the Essay. Finally, I can only thank Dr. Barnett for his untiring kindness by reminding him that there are very few of those pages which do not owe something to his advice and help.

M. H. B.
London, 1909

Preface to the BPS Reprint

This work on the history of Pali literature of Burma, is to be a useful complement to G.P. Malalasekera's *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*. The book is newly typeset, but no changes were made to the work except for a few minor spelling changes and a few additions to the footnotes to the appendix on the Taungdwin inscription, which was compared with the list in the article "A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma" by C. H. Luce and Tin Hiway (in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo, 1976, pp. 203–56). The abbreviations of Pali works were updated in accordance with the internationally accepted scheme as given in the *Epilogomena to Vol. I of the Critical Pali Dictionary* (Helmer Smith, Copenhagen, 1948).

Editor, BPS
Kandy, 2013

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Students may consult with advantage—

1. The whole of the Pali Text Society's publications (for the older Pali literature).
2. Translations of the same which have appeared in various languages.¹

Particularly interesting for comparison of Burmese versions with Pali are the translations of Jātakas from the Burmese, by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, years 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896. [Cf. the Jātaka, translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1895, etc.]

3. Bibliographies and Catalogues as follows:

1. *Bibliographies.*

- (a) General Scherman (Professor L.). *Oriental Bibliography*. (Quarterly.) Berlin, London, Paris, and New York.
- (b) Indo-China. Cordier (Henri). *Essai d'une bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à la presqu'île indo-chinoise. Première partie—Birmanie et Assam*. Toung Pao, série II, vol. vi.
- (c) Burma. Ireland (Alleyn). *The Province of Burma, a report prepared for the University of Chicago* (with extensive bibliography). Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Boston and New York, 1906.

2. *Catalogues.*

- (a) The catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS and printed books in the Oriental Department of the British Museum.
- (b) The same in the India Office Library.

1. Bode refers to the useful bibliography of works on Buddhism, by Mr. A. J. Edmunds, in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1902. A more modern and now much more useful resource is Russell Webb's *Analysis of the Pali Canon*, BPS, Kandy, 1991.

- (c) The alphabetical list of manuscripts and books in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon, by C. Duroiselle. This collection offers an excellent field for research, being under the care of Professor Duroiselle, who, in his large and intimate knowledge of Burmese literature, stands alone among Palists.
- (d) Catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
4. Finally, a few examples may be given from the mass of Pali and Burmese books in the British Museum. They consist chiefly of editions of celebrated Pali works, commentaries by Burmese authors, anthologies, and translations into the vernacular. The descriptions are borrowed from Dr. Barnett's catalogue.

Canonical Works

Suttapīṭaka (entire). Edited by Ko Aung Min Hsayā and others, 1904.

Cariyāpīṭaka, with Burmese exegetical commentary. Mandalay, 1899.

Milindapañhavatthu. Burmese translation from the *Milinda*. Rangoon, 1882.

Abhidhamma

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, of Anuruddha, followed by Sumaṅgalasāmi's *Ṭikā-Kyaw* or *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī* in elucidation thereof, and copious Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1898.

Maṇimedhajotaka Kyan. A Burmese treatise on Buddhist psychology, based on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and illustrated from Pali texts. Maulmein, 1882.

Saṅkhepavyākaraṇa. Burmese epitome of Abhidhamma doctrine as codified in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* illustrated from Pali texts. Rangoon, 1899.

Paramatthamedhanī Kyan. Treatise on the four conditions of the absolute. Illustrated from Pali Texts. Rangoon, 1895.

Grammar

Mahārūpasiddhi, with Burmese interpretation. Rangoon, 1906.

Ṇvādi-Moggallāna. Pali treatise on grammar, by Saṅgharakkhita, based on the grammar of Moggallāna, with Burmese *nissaya*. Rangoon, 1900.

Alaṅkāra-nissaya. Being the *Subodhālaṅkāra* of Saṅgharakkhita in Pali, with commentary. Rangoon, 1889.

Dhātvatthudīpaka. Treatise in Pali verse on the significations of Pali roots, by Aggadhammālaṅkāra, with Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1899.

Law

Navadhammasattha, by Hsin-pyu-mya-shin, king of Toungoo. A Pali digest of nine law-books. Law of Inheritance. Edited with Burmese translation. Akyab, 1894.

Veda

Makaranda-bedin-let-yo-ṭikā, commentary on the *Makaranda-bedin*, handbook of astrology. Mandalay, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

[ix] The Pali literature of Burma owes its existence to the Pali literature of India. It is many years since the latter was first explored by the great scholars and pioneers—Fausböll, Lassen, Rhys Davids, Trenckner, Childers, Oldenberg—whose reward has been a gain to Oriental learning vast enough to content even them. With time a part of the material discovered has been brought within the reach of students by critical editing. Buddhist literature is immense in quantity and bewildering in varied interest, and it was never more difficult than now to avoid being too much of the specialist. But the student of Buddhism who limits himself to one language or looks for solution of all questions in one literature risks slipping into an orthodoxy of his own. A sounder principle has long guided Buddhist studies; modern research has gone forth, like Aśoka's missionaries, to Further India, China, Japan, Tibet, Siam, and French Indo-China, armed with patience as they were with conviction, as resolutely determined to learn as they were to teach.

There is need nowadays to seek further in Burma, or rather, need to be better acquainted with what has already been found there. Among the countries in which the ideas and traditions of Buddhism are inseparably bound up with the Pali canon Burma possesses a special interest which we hardly feel in the case of Ceylon, for Burma shows how the leaven of Indian thought worked in a race and idiom having none of the close relationship with India which we recognize in all that is most characteristic of the literature of Ceylon. We may say that the essentially Indian genius, the psychological subtleties, and high thoughts of Buddhism have forced the Burmese language to grow, deepen, and expand continually. When Burmese was at last raised (in or about the fourteenth century) to the level of a literary language, it was by the addition of a great body of Indian words necessary to express ideas beyond the scope of that picturesque vernacular. [x] Being an agglutinative language, Burmese lacks the force, terseness, and delicacy that Pali owes to its nominal and verbal inflections and its power of forming elaborate compounds. Thus before the translating period, authors of Burmese race had studied Pali and learned to use it; ever since the twelfth century it has been a tradition of Burmese scholars to produce literary work in Pali, and it is with this work only that we are now concerned.

A survey of the Pali literature of Burma is not quite a new undertaking. In the year 1879 a report on the subject was drawn up for the Government of India by Dr. Emil Forchhammer, Professor of Pali at Rangoon, who had begun a thorough search for manuscripts in monasteries and private collections, and whose premature death cruelly cut short a work full of promise. This and other reports of Forchhammer, on the archaeological remains of Arakan and Burma, are Government publications; and his studies of Buddhist law (published by Sir John Jardine with his own valuable *Notes*, 1882–3, and in the *Jardine Prize Essay*) are now extremely rare books, and the stores of knowledge they contain are not available at every moment. And we ought also to profit by the labours of that brilliant and far-seeing scholar Minayeff, to whom we owe the discovery and publication (to mention only one work) of the *Gandhavaṃsa* ('Book History'), written in Burma, a short but interesting account of the earlier Pali literature of Ceylon and Burma. The *Gandhavaṃsa* is unfortunately very sparing of details, and gives us little information as to the period of the works it enumerates, but its help is most useful in settling some questions of authorship and place. Minayeff, who used this book for his *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, does not offer any conclusion as to its date, but from comparison with the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and a still more modern Burmese work, the *Piṭakatthamain*¹ (1906), it appears to be a seventeenth century production.

For both the early and modern periods (from the twelfth [xi] to the nineteenth centuries) we find great help in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*,² which, happily, observes the good traditions of Burmese chronicles and cares for chronology.³ It enables us at least to sketch in outline a connected story, while but for this record we could only enumerate works of doubtful date and mention authors without knowing what period in the

1. I have to thank Professor Barnett for bringing to my notice this useful Burmese bibliography of Buddhist works.

2. This text (edited for the Pali Text Society in 1897 by the present writer) has supplied much material for the following chapters. Other sources have been used to verify or correct where it has been possible. The whole of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*'s literary information, as far as it concerns Burma, is given in the course of the present work.

3. I have thought it best to adopt throughout this essay the chronology of my two principal Burmese authorities, Paññāsāmi and the author of the *Piṭakatthamain*. But I must remind the reader that their (traditional) starting-point, the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, is no longer placed by scholars at 544 B.C. but some sixty years later. See article by Dr. Fleet, JRAS, April, 1909, "The Origin of the Buddhavarsha."

growth of their country and Order had brought them forth. The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, though a very mine of interest as compared with the arid little *Gandhavaṃsa*, has its limitations. It is confused, rambling, and prejudiced. The author, a high ecclesiastic of Min-dōn-min's reign, belonged by all his convictions and traditions to the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, an important school or sect having, as the name shows, a close connection with the fraternity in Ceylon. As for the other communities, whose spiritual forefathers refused to look on the Mahāvihāra, that famous monastery of the old commentators, as the very centre and hearth of orthodoxy, they interest him only moderately. He will sometimes dismiss one of their authors with the driest, curtest mention of the man and his book, while he will delight us with details and anecdotes of more orthodox writers. It would be interesting to have the picture filled in for us by a biographer influenced by the old Talaing tradition, the tradition, that is, of Lower Burma. For this school, known as the Marammasaṅgha (fraternity of Burma), maintained that there was no need to have recourse to Ceylon for teachers in the unbroken 'line of descent' from the ancient missionaries. This question, almost impossible to settle with certainty, after the vicissitudes that the Buddhist Saṅgha had seen in both countries, divided the Order in Burma with a sharp line [xii] of partisanship. Therefore we must beware of considering the *Sāsanavaṃsa* a complete record of monastic work. Nevertheless the author's own point of view is instructive, and we have no right to say that he does not try to be impartial. And if we follow only his guidance in our choice of the books to explore we must arrive at some knowledge of what is, after all, of the most interest in such researches; we can see the intellectual development of Burma through Buddhism and the adaptation of the non-Indian mind to Indian culture, with the conception of science and the standard of literary art evolved in that adapting process.

We cannot, of course, do justice to these questions in a short sketch. The effect of Indian Buddhism on Burmese life and literature has many manifestations. We can instance some as widely apart as codified law and religious art. In the remote past we find both Brahmanical and Buddhist sources of Burmese written law. And the religious art of the country is by no means without its problems (for example, the extent of Mahāyāna or 'Northern' influence), which those who are masters of this subject are gradually solving for us.¹ So the subject spreads in its

1. See "Bibliographical Notes" on page vi.

fascinating complexity, if we will let it, far beyond our simpler theme; but it must suffice for this essay to follow (if with less serene confidence) the way marked out by the devout and simple scholars of Burma, who have left us a literature derived entirely from the Pali canon and representing almost invariably the Hinayāna¹ traditions of Buddhist belief.

Beginning with the study of the language consecrated in Ceylon as the instrument of the highest teaching, then commenting and composing in Pali and at last interpreting that teaching in their native tongue, the Burmese monks have left us a complete revelation of their mind. Neither the sculpture, painting, legends, plays, customs, nor law-codes of the Burmese, [xiii] significant as they are, could serve to show us what their religious literature alone unfolds—their manner of grappling with an abstract subject.

Buddhism, as any other Indian system would have done, gave them a large opportunity. They did their best with it. But Buddhist theories demanded an effort of abstraction doubly severe for learners whose first lesson in philosophy was learned with those theories.² In India, where certain of the Upaniṣads belonged to a yet earlier phase of thought than the doctrines of Gotama, men's minds were prepared for Buddhist conceptions. A philosophical language was already formed in which the teacher or the disputant could lead his hearers step by step in an idiom they knew to conclusions not unfamiliar to their minds. But in Burma the grammar of the Buddhist texts first had to be studied, and when the great legend of the Founder was learned and the code of the Order had grown familiar, there was still a new world to conquer, a new science to master. After the Sutta and Vinaya there was the Abhidhamma to interpret. Here perhaps we shall find the Pali compositions of Burmese authors less interesting than their translations into Burmese.

The Sanskrit commentaries composed in India on Buddhist texts are enlightening in proportion as the student is familiar with all Indian philosophies and can point out parallels and contrasts; the Pali

1. This Buddhist phrase, 'the lesser vehicle,' may be employed as a convenient term for the tradition as observed in the southern countries early won to Buddhism, a tradition more sober in its legend and somewhat more austere and practical in its morality than the Mahāyāna (or school of the 'greater vehicle').

2. A friend has suggested to me a comparison between these studies in Burma and the gradual mastery by Bede and Alfred and their followers in England of the philosophy of Paul and John. It was not until Wyclif's time, six centuries after Bede, that these abstract questions were discussed in English.

commentaries of Burma naturally only lead us back to the Sinhalese and Indian models they faithfully copy. When we leave Pali and come to Burmese interpretations of Abhidhamma texts, we feel that we follow our commentators in a (to us) somewhat dark adventure; but yet the effort of these authors in their own vernacular is interesting as an effort to do more than recite the consecrated words of their ancient masters. Here is the key to the sense really given by the Burmese to Indian abstractions, the key not to be found where they use the exotic and traditional Pali form. [xiv]

By it we have access to some curious treasure, rewarding the search of the scholar familiar with the Burmese tongue, provided he be a Palist and (be it said without impiety) endowed with two of the Buddhist 'perfections'—the power to spend himself and be very patient. Knowledge of the Pali commentaries of Burma is the natural beginning of this attractive enterprise, but by no means the end.

The commentaries, though the most important part, are not the whole of the Pali literature. The technicalities of Indian grammar have attracted Burmese authors from an early period. The work of the famous Kaccāyana is all but canonical among them, and the procession of his followers and commentators stretches through eight centuries of literary history. The qualities of mind innate in the quick-witted Burmese race were lent to the service of the word so religiously respected. The Pali scriptures had not been a hundred years in Upper Burma before a grammar—the *Saddanīti*—was composed in Pali that called forth the wondering admiration of the scholars of Ceylon, though Ceylon was certainly the forerunner and model of Burma in exegesis.

Again, the practical side of monastic life was a subject well within the scope of the Palists of Burma. We have very numerous examples of work in this field, from the time of their first controversy on ordination in Narapati's reign (A.D. 1167–1104) till the present day. In the secular domain the Pali language has been employed (as we should expect) where solemnity was called for or the sense of an antique tradition was needed to support authority; for instance, some important law-codes exist, and others probably existed, in Pali versions. Pali is also the language chosen for the collections of maxims known as the '*Nīti*' literature, and for various chronicles (we can instance the *Rājavaṃsa*, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, and *Gandhavaṃsa*).

Finally we come to the very limited province of Pali verse in Burma. Here and there among our authors we catch a glimpse of scholars who have a touch of the poet in them and some of the poet's ambition. We do not know that they ever approached the favourite theme of the poets of all ages. [xv]

If they did, the chronicles have passed it over in silence. A love story sometimes forms part of an edifying narrative from Pali sources; but the love lyric is the undisputed realm of the poets of the vernacular. Jātakas and other moral legends were the material usually chosen for the Palist to work upon. Sometimes the beauties of a city or the glory of the reigning king were extolled with all the author's resources of prosody and imagery. But scholarship in Burma has not produced poets worthy to rank with those of Ceylon.

The following pages are but a sketch, and perhaps a sketch without colour. Our purpose is not to describe again the outward aspect of the temple, the monastery, and the village, very vividly presented to Western readers by learned and sympathetic writers from Bishop Bigandet onwards. So many Europeans have come under the charm of Burma—of the Burmese people, their life and religion—that there is no need to do more than recall to readers the names of the writers¹ who have made that charm a familiar thing to us. We have chosen for our study the less well-known subject of the Pali books of Burma. The authors were the ancestors and masters of the monks of today, through whom we know those old-time scholars and can still see, as it were, a far-off picture of their lives, their schools, and their work.



1. See "Bibliographical Notes" on page vi.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA

Note: Numbers in brackets refer to the page numbers in the 1909 and 1966 editions.

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CHAPTER I

THE CLASSICAL PALI LITERATURE—ARRIVAL OF THE PALI TIPĪTAKA IN BURMA

Burma, under which name we may conveniently, if not quite accurately, include Pegu, Arakan, and Martaban, has been the home of Buddhism for many centuries. No Buddhist country has kept the antique faith more sheltered from change. Yet even the chronicles of monasteries and such strictly ecclesiastical works as the *Sāsanavamsa*¹ cannot unfold their quiet tale without a necessary mention of rivalries and wars between these neighbouring states, when the balance went down first on the side of Burma, then of Pegu, when Mongol armies marched on the Burmese capital, or the Burmese king marched into Siam. Rulers changed and the fortunes of the Fraternity with them, but the doctrine and the tradition suffered hardly any alteration, and the countries of Further India developed an intellectual life which was before all the product of Buddhist ideas and the work of Buddhist monks. For Burma the first language of abstract thought was an Indian language; the rational and moral force which, for a large body of the Burmese people, broke down the thraldom of ancient superstitions, was inspired by India. By the predominance of Buddhist influence in Burmese culture, Burmese studies belong rightfully to the great field of Indology.

We must, though the subject has already been fully and admirably treated by others, remind the reader here of the form in which the Buddhist doctrine, enshrined in a canon of scripture, was conveyed to Further India.

The language was Pali, the literary dialect closely allied to Sanskrit. Pali is usually called by the Burmese the *māgadhabhāsā* [2] (“idiom of Magadha”)² or *mūlabhāsā* (“the original language”),³ but this

1. See Introduction.

2. The ancient kingdom of Magadha was the region now called Bihar.

3. The late lamented Professor Pischel (in a valuable paper on fragments of the Buddhist canon found in Chinese Turkestan) speaks of the tradition that the Māgadhi was the language of the first age of the world and spoken by the Buddhas: “*Es ist begreiflich dass man später die Māgadhi mit dem Pāli identifizierte. Dass aber der Palikanon Spuren eines älteren Māgadhiikanons aufweist is längst erkannt worden*” (R. Pischel, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904, p. 807). See also Oldenberg’s edition of the *Vinayapiṭakam*, Introduction, and the Preface to Professor E. Müller’s *Pali Grammar*.

identification of Pali with the spoken dialect of Magadha is now known to be incorrect. It seems needless to add any remarks about the Pali literature, since its capacities have been described and, better still, proved by the authors of scholarly and beautiful translations which everyone nowadays has an opportunity of reading.¹ But a few words on the classical books may be in place.

The Tripīṭaka

The Tripīṭaka (Pali, Tipīṭaka), to use the now familiar Buddhist name for the three great groups of canonical texts, the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma *piṭakas* (“baskets”), is known in Burma in the Pali recension consecrated in Sri Lanka.

The Abhidhamma and Sutta Piṭakas

For some remarks on the last of the three collections, the Abhidhamma, the reader is referred to Chapter IV of this essay. As to the Suttapiṭaka, the first thing we observe on looking into characteristic collections of Pali–Burmese MSS and books is that of the great Nikāyas claiming to be the word of the Buddha (the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka) the Dīghanikāya is the best known, the most studied, the most frequently to be found.² On the reason for this preference we can only risk a guess. The Dīghanikāya, though containing the long (*dīgha*) discourses, is the smallest of the collections and hence the easiest to study. It is a principle of the Burmese to avoid all unnecessary pains [3] and trouble. Without any disrespect to Burmese Buddhists, it is natural to suppose that they have chosen the shortest task especially when we remember that the Dīghanikāya contains suttas of great importance.³ For example, we find there the Brahmajāla Suttanta, dealing with the sixty-two wrong views; the Sāmaññaphala, on the fruits of the ascetic life; the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna, on self-mastery; and, chief of all, the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, on the Buddha’s last discourses and death, that is, on the supreme moment in the history of the Order, since

1. See Bibliography.

2. This is confirmed by information Mr. Shwe Zan Aung has kindly sent me.

3. The Dīghanikāya was chosen by Professor Rhys Davids for his selection of typical suttas translated under the title *Dialogues of the Buddha*. The suttas instanced above have also been translated elsewhere. See the useful bibliography by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1902–3.

it was then that the Buddhist saṅgha became the guardian of the departed Master's teaching. On the whole the essential doctrines, as the Burmese Buddhist conceives them, are to be found in this collection and the commentaries.

The Khuddakanikāya calls for a word of notice here. This collection contains among other texts the Dhammapada, the Suttanipāta, and the immortal Jātaka book, which, as might be expected from its character, has become part of the popular as well as the scholarly literature of Burma. Very nearly connected with it is the *Paritta*, a good example of ancient wisdom and piety crystallized into a talisman.

Mahāparitta

The *Paritta* or *Mahāparitta*, a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttaṭṭaka, is, to this day, more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The *Paritta*, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils physical and moral. It has naturally come to have the usual value of charms and exorcisms, a value hardly religious in the Buddhist sense of the word. But some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of a purely religious and ethical tone. The best example of these is the famous [4] Maṅgalasutta¹ of the Suttanipāta, verses in praise of the holy life, uttered by a *devatā* (local divinity), who came to pay homage to the Buddha in the Jetavana.

The use of the *Paritta* is said to have had the Buddha's sanction.² There is an example of this practice (by acknowledged saints) in the well-known legend of Soṇa and Uttara, Aśoka's missionaries to Lower Burma. Their first act on arriving was to vanquish the demoness (*yakkhinī*) who spread terror in the land by devouring at their birth all boys born in the king's palace. The victory of the holy men was accomplished by the *Paritta*.³ We find another illustration in an interesting little incident related of Jetavana, a Burmese monk and famous teacher of the sixteenth century. When Jetavana believed himself at the point of death he thought of one whom he considered fit to be his successor. At

1. See Fausböll's edition of the Suttanipāta, p. 45 (P.T.S. edition, 1884; Glossary, 1894), and translation, SBE., vol. x, pt. ii.

2. See *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 150ff., and Rhys Davids' translation (*Questions of King Milinda*), SBE., xxxv, pp. 213ff.

3. See Sās p. 38.

that moment the monk on whom his thoughts were fixed dreamed a strange dream of a dead man, which, on waking, he related to the novice lying near him. A *Paritta* was then pronounced by one of the monks to avert any evil foreshadowed by the dream.¹

In the days of Anorata,² the first notable king in authentic Burmese history (who reigned in the eleventh century), we hear of the *Paritta* turned to a dangerous use. Corrupt and cynical monks proclaimed it an easy means of disembarassing man's guilty conscience from all wrongdoing even to matricide. But Burmese Buddhism has, on the whole, kept exorcism within the bounds of a superstition, contrary no doubt to the true doctrine, but not grossly transgressing the ethical code of the religion.

Burmese tradition adds to the fifteen ancient texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya³ four other works—the *Milindapañha*,⁴ [5] the *Suttasaṅgha*,⁵ the *Peṭakopadesa*, and the *Netti* or *Nettipakaraṇa*.⁶ This last is studied in Burma for its analysis and explanation of passages from the sacred

1. Sās p. 101.

2. See below, p. 13.

3. Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Mahāniddeśa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka.

4. See above.

5. See the *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 12, 13. The *Suttasaṅgha* was written at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka by a thera whose name is not recorded.

6. In Buddhist tradition the *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettipakaraṇa* are both ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. The *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 66) and *Piṭakatthamain* (p. 13) speak of Kaccāyana, author of the *Netti*, as chaplain to Candapajjota of Ujjeni in the Avanti country (see Introduction to the late Professor Hardy's Introduction to the *Netti*, p. ix, note; also pp. viii and xix). Professor Hardy's conclusion was that the work was composed at an early date, perhaps about the first century of our era, and put into its present form by the commentator Dhammapāla, and that the author's name may have been Kaccāyana, considered by posterity to have been Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. "He is, however, altogether different from the grammarian Kaccāyana, who likewise was regarded as identical with Mahākaccāyana" (*Netti*. Introd., p. xxxii). On Candapajjota see Vinaya I 276 ff.

[Duroiselle, JBRs, I.1. (1911), p. 121, criticizes Bode's statement about the canonicity of these 4 works: "No educated Burman, lay or monk, ever included these four works among the Piṭaka books of the Khuddakanikāya..." Peter Jackson ("The Canonicity of the *Netti* and Other Works," JPTS XXVIII, 2006, p. 61–62), however, points out that Nāṇābhivāṃsa Saṅgharāja, in his discussion of the section on the works included in the Khuddakanikāya in the introduction of D-a, states that *Nett*, *Peṭ*, etc, come under the *Niddeśa* and *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (*Sīlakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭṭikā*, intro, section 17). Tha Do Aung ("Buddhistic Literature in Burmah," *The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World*, Vol. X, no. 6 (Oct. 1901), pp. 56–58) also includes the *Nett* and *Peṭ* under the Khuddaka Nikāya. (BPS ed.)]

writings, with which, as the learned editor has said, “the author possessed great familiarity.”

We now turn to the Vinaya Piṭaka.

The Vinaya, as known in Burma, is the monastic code handed down by the Theravādin sect in Sri Lanka, that is, the sect professing the doctrine (*vāda*) of the theras or ancients. The name was assumed by the strictest sect at the time of the celebrated schisms beginning, according to tradition, in the second century after the Buddha’s death. The influence of Sri Lanka on Burma has been, as we shall see, paramount in questions of monastic discipline, and the code drawn up by the ancient Sinhalese theras has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in the letter and the spirit ever since its arrival in Burma in the eleventh century. A great deal of Vinaya literature, mostly explanatory and sometimes controversial, has grown up round the code from the time of the early commentators to the present day. The important works by Sinhalese authors on this subject formed the base of Burmese studies, and on the other hand orthodoxy in Sri Lanka has often been reinforced at a later period by teachers and texts from Burma.

The complete Vinaya is rather voluminous,¹ but¹ Footnote an epitome of the Discipline in the form of two short metrical texts, [6] the *Mūlasikkhā* and *Khuddasikkhā*, was composed at an early period,² and these with the *Dvemātikā*, consisting of the *Bhikkhupātimokkha* and *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha* (the ancient resume of the code for monks and nuns respectively) and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (commentary on the *Pātimokkha*), were recognised as sufficient Vinaya knowledge for those who could not study more.³ In modern times the above are called the “Four Smaller Vinayas,” and are studied by those who have not time for the complete Vinaya.⁴

In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the *Paritta* of the laity the *Kammavācā* of the mendicant order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use, though it would be a mistake to call them “ritual.” The first work of the first Buddhist mission to Burma

1. It has been critically edited by H. Oldenberg in five volumes (1879–83).

2. They were written in Sri Lanka. See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum*, Introduction.

3. Professor Barnett has pointed out to me that the compilation most recently re-edited in Burma (by Hsayā Ū Pye) as the *Dvemātikā* contains the *Bhikkhu-* and *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha*, the *Kammākammavinicchaya*, extracts from the *Parivāra* and other Vinaya texts, and a *Pātimokkhuddesa*, Burmese notes on the *Pātimokkha*.

4. I owe this information to Mr. Shwe Zan Aung’s kindness.

was undoubtedly to receive into the Saṅgha believers wishing to renounce the world. For those, before they entered on further studies, a knowledge of the sacred word in Pali would probably begin with the formal and rigid language of the *Kammavācā*, and this association lends a touch of interest to some extremely wearisome matter. First, the formulas of the *pabbajjā* (renunciation) and *upasampadā* (ordination) must have become familiar. Then the ordinary course of monastic life included various ceremonies, each of which had its prescribed form for the presiding theras. The bhikkhus taking part were silent, unless dissenting from what was proposed, but in cases where they had offended, acknowledged transgression of the rules aloud.

The *Kammavācā* cannot, of course, be called literature, but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. The ceremonies of admission to the Saṅgha and so forth have continued to modern times, [7] accompanied by the ancient formulas; and in the history of the Order we find that some lively movements in literature and one most important mission to Sri Lanka were due to ceremonial questions, particularly the question of consecrating boundaries (*sīmā*).¹ For this last was a formality on which the validity of ordination and thence the "legitimate descent" of teachers depended, and such consecration has always been considered in Burma of great importance to religion and the religious reputation of a region or community.

In all these texts we find the same conventional character and monotonous repetition.² Even the MSS in which the *Kammavācās* are handed down suit the texts. The thick, square lettering, pompous and decorative, the shining lacquer, and heavily gilded, silvered, or ivory-plated leaves, bear a likeness to church-property wherever found. Yet we should not forget that they are the texts of a religion that has known neither altar nor sacrifice, and if in Burma the system has developed clerics and a hierarchy, it has never had a privileged priesthood.

The Vinaya has led to mention of—

The *Commentaries* —The Burmese tradition as to the great commentators follows the Sinhalese, which places Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Buddhadatta, Ñāṇagambhīra, Kassapa, and Ānanda in the fourth, fifth,

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1. The boundaries in question mark the enclosure within which ceremonies such as ordination can be properly performed. The observance of these bounds is very strict, and a ceremony carried out in a place unfitted for consecration is not valid.
 2. "As in law-books all the world over," says Professor Rhys Davids, who has, in his wide experience, plumbed the depths of Vinaya and law both.

and sixth centuries A.D.¹ The earliest *aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries) and *ṭīkā*s (sub-commentaries or glosses) on the three *piṭakas* are associated with these names. Equally famous and authoritative is the compendium of doctrine known as the *Visuddhimagga* (“Path of Purity”) by Buddhaghosa. As for the familiar story of Buddhaghosa’s career,² the Burmese adhere closely to the Sinhalese version, but though the scene of this almost incredibly prolific [8] writer’s great commenting feats is always considered to be Sri Lanka, he has been claimed by the Talaings as a native of Thatōn.³

Dhammapāla⁴ wrote at Kañcipura (Conjeveram) in the Dekkhan, the region with which, according to their ancient records, the Talaings kept up active communication. Knowledge of Buddhist texts in Lower Burma was derived, Forchhammer thinks, from Dhammapāla’s country.⁵ We do not know of any works written in the Talaing country itself during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, a period of great literary activity in Sri Lanka and South India.

Most of the well-known *ṭīkā*s were written in Sri Lanka,⁶ and works such as the commentary on the *Nettipakarāṇa* and another entitled *Saccasaṅkhepa* (“Compendium of the Truth”).⁷ Better known, perhaps, than any other in Burma is the twelfth century compendium of the Abhidhamma known as the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, also of Sinhalese origin. These old exegetical books, which we shall find again and again in our progress through Burmese literature, must be known at least by name before we can discuss the work of the scholars of Burma.

Some obscurity hangs over the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. According to a well-established tradition Indian Buddhism moved from the south coast—that is, from the region called in the ancient chronicles *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*—northwards, while some archaeological and linguistic evidence allows us to suppose that it also

1. Sās pp. 33, 34; *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 21 ff.

2. See the article on Buddhaghosa by T. Foulkes, *Ind. Ant.* vol. xix, pp. 105–22.

3. Modern Burmese scholars have abandoned this belief. See Foulkes’ “Buddhaghosa” (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xix, pp. 113, 114).

4. *Gandhavamsa*, pp. 60, 69; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. vi, vii.

5. Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 27.

6. Sās p. 33. *Vide* Minayeff, *Recherches*, pp. 273, 274. The *ṭīkā*s are sometimes mentioned in Burmese lists under collective titles. The most important *ṭīkā*s of Dhammapāla are known as the *Linatthappakāsani* (see *Gv* pp. 60, 69). *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 32, 33.

7. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 25. See also Sās-dīp (*Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, verses 1194 and 1220).

found its way through the mountain passes of the North.¹ But it was certainly not [9] in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy that the Pali literature of Burma had its origin. This gift the Burmese owe to their more advanced neighbours, the Talaings of Rāmaññadesa, now called Lower Burma.

The origin and history of the Mōn or Talaing people, who were to be (unwillingly as it happened) the messengers of the purer Buddhism, need not be discussed here.² The point from which we start is their acceptance of Buddhist teaching from India and the rise of a body of learned monks in Rāmañña who preserved the ancient Doctrine and Discipline and conveyed them to Upper Burma, where both had long been forgotten. We say forgotten, for Burmese authors will not admit that they were newcomers.³ But the tradition that no less than three out of the nine missions sent out by Aśoka went to Upper Burma in the third century B.C.⁴ looks like a piece [10] of the national pride that is so inventive in these matters, and can only be quoted as an “uncorroborated legend.”⁵

1. See Taw Sein Ko, “The Origin of the Burmese Race” (*Buddhism*, vol. i, No. 3, p. 445); also “Preliminary Study of the PO: U: Daung Inscription” (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xxii, p. 7); Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp.: 3, 4, 14; R. C. Temple, “Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa” (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xxii, pp. 37 ff); A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 132, 136, 738.

2. For views of different authorities on this subject see *Reports on the Census of Burma*, 1891 (Eales) and 1901 (Lowin). The Talaing chronicles and inscriptions are rich in material for study, material which we are less and less likely to unearth as time goes on, for this ancient language is fast disappearing from Burma, and students of it are unfortunately very few.

3. It is certain that the accounts of Burmese chroniclers do not support Forchhammer’s belief that there was no Burmese civilization to speak of till the Talaings conquered the upper country. Neither Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.* xxiii, p. 258) nor Phayre (*History of Burma*, p. 3) take this view. I have not yet discovered Forchhammer’s reason for concluding that there was so great a difference between the two countries, though the southern provinces were more easily accessible from India than Upper Burma.

4. The well-known names of the regions visited by the missions are carefully displaced by the Burmese, to cover regions in Further India. See *Sāsanavamsa*, Introduction, pp. 3 ff., and note by Dr. Burgess, “Fabricated Geography” (*Ind. Ant.* 1901, vol. xxx, p. 387). As an example of the sources from which we may hope to add much to our knowledge see the *Maunggun Gold Plates*, by Tun Nyein, an account of two gold plates found in a brick in the year 1897 at the village of Maunggun in the Prome district. The inscriptions on the plates consist of quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. “They are in the Pali language, and are written in characters which it is believed were in vogue in the first century A.D., when the kingdom of Prome (Sirikhetarā) was in the zenith of its power. The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions of Pagan in the fourth and fifth centuries, and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets” (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v, p. 101). The two plates are now in the British Museum.

We must seek a safe starting-point for our history of the Pali literature, and we find it in the eleventh century A.D. At that time the Pali scriptures were introduced to Upper Burma by Talaing teachers. The existence of a strong Buddhist community in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa) long before this date is very probable. It has been supposed that Indian colonies were already flourishing in Talaing territory, from Chittagong to the Straits (Forchhammer), at the time of the Aśokan mission. If so, the early missionaries brought the teaching of Gotama to a country where Indian religion and customs had already made a home, and whether they were opposed or not¹ they could be understood; and in time the doctrine of the Buddha prevailed.

There is no elaborated ancient Pali chronicle for Further India to be compared with the *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa* of Sri Lanka,² but there are allusions in these works which throw some light on the religious history of Pegu and Arakan. The Burmese chronicles are of more recent date, and help must be sought from monuments which do not always yield up their secret readily. But we may safely say that events in India and Sri Lanka greatly affected religion in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa). Refugees from the countries where Buddhism was persecuted or declining, as in India after the eighth century, without doubt strengthened the Buddhist element [11] in the Talaing country.³ Captain Forbes, who follows the Talaing record, says of the early days following the Indian mission: "Gradually the new doctrines gained ground, pagodas arose, and the faith of Buddha or Gaudama established

5. Forbes, *Legendary History of Burma and Arakan*, p. 10. The researches of Forchhammer and other scholars who have followed him in this subject since 1890 have been summed up lately (1908) by Mr. C. C. Lewis in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He says: "A close study of the inscriptions and native histories has revealed the fact that as the religion, letters, and civilization of Upper Burma were influenced by Magadha, Nepāl, Tibet, and China, so those of the Talains of Lower Burma were affected by Sri Lanka, South India, and Cambodia." (Article "Burma", in vol. i, p. 28, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908*).

1. According to the Talaing legend the Buddhist missionaries on their arrival met with great opposition from the local teachers—probably Brahmins—being denounced and reviled by them as heretics."—Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

2. See on these chronicles Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, *The Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa* (translated by Ethel Coomaraswamy), Colombo, 1908.

3. Sir R. C. Temple pointed out some years ago that "Suvarṇadvīpa" was the "headquarters of Buddhism in the East" in the tenth century. He gives a reference to a passage in Sarat Chandra Das' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, where we find mention of an Indian "Northern" Buddhist's visit to Chandrakirti, head of the Order at Suvarṇadvīpa. The visitor was Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atira (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xxii, p. 358).

itself in Thatōn, to flourish amid all vicissitudes for over two thousand years to the present day, on the spot where the great Thagya pagoda lifts its worn and ancient head, probably the oldest architectural monument of Buddhism in Burma.¹

When a religious reform in the eleventh century drew Sri Lanka and Burma together Anorata,² king of Burma, fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country, agreed with Vijayabāhu, king of Sri Lanka, on the Pali texts which were to be accepted as representing the true teaching of the Buddha. Afterwards, in the reign of Parākkambāhu I, a council was held (A.D. 1165) in Sri Lanka to revise this agreement and settle all such questions.³

We shall see that from the eleventh century onwards new recruits press into Pali scholarship. And whence? Not only from the Talaing country but from Upper Burma, an advance which was directly due to the action of the strenuous Burmese king. The reforms with which Anorata's name is associated were greatly needed,⁴ and had important results. [12]

A religion⁵ which a Buddhist from the South would have scorned to call "religion" completely possessed the region over which Anorata ruled, and the Burmese king himself, with mistaken piety, supported it

1. Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

2. The Anawrata of Forbes' History. "The date of the commencement of his reign is uncertain, as the chronicles differ from each other" (*Legendary History*, p. 221; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 22). Cf. Duroiselle, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome v, p. 150.

3. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 132 (*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthunskunde*, vol. iii, pt. viii). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 61) says: "Jinacakke ekasattādhike pañcasate sahasse ca sampatte kaliyuge ekasattādhike tisate sampatte Anuruddharājā rajjam pāpuṇi." Anuruddha became king in the year 1571 of religion (lit. of the Buddha cycle) and the year 371 of the *kaliyuga* (the common era, beginning 638 A.D.).

4. See Sās p. 56. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* agrees in certain details with the Burmese chronicles from which Forbes drew his account, which is as follows: "It would be difficult to decide what the system of religion that at this time prevailed in Burma can be termed. It was certainly not Brahmanism. The native records state that King Sawlahan built five hollow temples. In each temple was placed an image resembling neither *nat* nor *para*. To these, morning and evening, food and spirits were offered, and so they were worshipped and propitiated. The priests or teachers of this religion are called the thirty great Arees and their disciples. Their doctrines are represented as a complete subversion of all moral law. They taught, it is said, whosoever shall commit murder he is freed from his sins by repeating a prayer or invocation; whosoever shall kill his parents, by repeating a prayer he is freed from the punishment due to the five greatest sins. These teachers also were addicted to the practice of gross immorality." (Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 22; see also Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 33.)

in default of a better. A community numbering many thousands of monks with their disciples flourished on the popularity of their debased doctrine, teaching the laity that the worst crimes need bring no retribution if the guilty man recited (or engaged someone to recite) an appropriate *paritta*.¹ The tyranny of these monks went so far as to exact from parents the handing over of either sons or daughters “to the teacher” before giving them in marriage.²

But in course of time a Buddhist from the South was in Anorata’s counsels, and a sweeping change was brought about. Arahanta, a Talaing monk from Thatōn (the Sudhammapura of the Pali chronicles), became the king’s preceptor and adviser, and used all his great influence to break up the supposed order of *samaṇas* (ascetics). In spite of the credulity of the people, he succeeded, for he had convinced the king. But even when [13] the communities were dissolved and the “false *samaṇas*”³ reduced to the state of “ownerless dogs,” confusion, heresy, and ignorance still reigned in the land, and Arahanta pointed earnestly to the only means of putting religion beyond all danger.

The true doctrine must be obtained and guarded (he preached) with the sacred texts. They were not to be had in Burma, but existed in abundance at Sudhammapura, besides relics of the Buddha. Anorata was full of faith, and he was not a man to believe passively. He sent an embassy to the Talaing king reigning at Thatōn, Manohari, to ask, as a believer having the right to ask, for relics and copies of the scriptures.

But Manohari was, or chose to appear, too strict a Buddhist to allow holy relics and texts to go to a country with the indifferent religious reputation that disgraced Burma. He refused Anorata’s request, and refused in wounding and contemptuous terms.⁴ The King of Burma,

5. A form of Nāga-worship according to Burmese histories, had already prevailed for some five centuries in Pagan before Anorata’s accession, while “Buddhism itself had been corrupted by the Tantric system, which is a mixture of magic, witchcraft, and Siva-worship; and this Tantric Buddhism apparently percolated into Burma through Bengal, Assam, and Manipur, and allied itself with the northern school prevailing at Pagan” (Taw Sein Ko, “Introduction of Buddhism into Burma”: *Buddhism*, vol. i, No. 4, p. 589). The statements of the Burmese histories are a help, but the chronology needs careful sifting.

1. See above.

2. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives no further explanation. The mention of sons as well as daughters prevents our concluding the custom mentioned to be that prevailing in Cambodia, where marriageable virgins were yielded up to a *bonze* before the marriage ceremony (see article by P. Pelliot, *Mémoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge*: *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient*, tome ii, p. 153).

3. Pali, *samaṇakuttakā*.

4. Sās Introduction, p. 18.

outraged and furious, descended the Irrawaddy River with his armies and laid siege to Sudhammapura. In the year 1058 the Talaing capital fell before the besiegers. Spoils and prisoners, among whom were Manohari and a number of learned monks, were carried off to Pagan. Anorata's end was gained and the Pali Tipiṭaka came to Burma. [14]

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF PALI SCHOLARSHIP IN UPPER BURMA—THE SADDANĪ—CHAPATA AND THE SĪHALASANGHA—LEARNING AT PAGAN (ARIMADDANA) IN THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Though the Burmese began their literary history by borrowing from their conquered neighbours, the Talaings—and not before the eleventh century—the growth of Pali scholarship among them was so rapid that the epoch following close on this tardy beginning is considered one of the best that Burma has seen. The works then produced supplied the material or afforded the favourite models for much of the Pali–Burmese literature of later times.

The causes of this speedy maturity are easy to trace. Rāmañña was conquered. Relics, books, and teachers had been forcibly carried to Burma. Instead of suffering by transplantation, the religion of the Buddha seems to have flourished more vigorously in its new centre. The Burmese king had conveyed the whole state and dignity of the conquered Sudhampapura to his own capital, and even his captive Manohari helped to add to the religious splendour of Pagan.¹ About Manohari a curious little legend is related,² perhaps to show that his religion needed purifying, notwithstanding that he had scorned the Burmese as heretics. It is said that he possessed a magical power by which fire issued from his mouth when he spoke. Thus, whenever he came to pay a vassal's duty to Anorata, the flames burst forth, to the great terror of his liege, who anxiously applied a religious cure to the dreadful prodigy. Food was taken from a holy shrine, and after due homage it was given to Manohari to eat. [15] The flames appeared no more. Manohari, filled with awe at the loss of his magical attribute, sold one of his royal gems and devoted the price to two great images of the Buddha, which are said to exist to the present day.³

Anorata, mindful of Arahanta's counsels, was, above all, eager to enrich his city with the sacred texts. Those brought from Thatōn had

1. Called Arimaddana in the Pali chronicles. A temple exists at Myin Pagan, 2 miles south of Pagan, built by Manohari (or Manuha) in 1059 A.D. See Taw Sein Ko in *Archaeological, Survey of Burma* (quoted in *Bulletin de l'École Française*, tome iii, p. 677).

2. Sās p. 64.

3. Sās p. 64.

been stored in a splendid pavilion¹ and placed at the disposal of the Saṅgha for study. Not content with his large spoils, the king sent to Sri Lanka for more copies of the Tipiṭaka, which Arahanta afterwards examined and compared with the Thatōn collection.² So the ground was prepared for the harvest that soon followed. Anorata did not live to see the first fruits of his husbandry,³ but, if we can accept the date of the *Piṭakatthamain*, the first essay of a Burmese author in Pali scholarship was made in the year 1064 A.D., during the reign of Kyansitthā, a son of Anorata.⁴

Kyansitthā was the founder of the celebrated Nanda⁵ or Ānanda temple and vihāra (monastery) at Pagan. The legend goes that the temple was designed from a vision of the Nandamūla cave in the Himalaya granted to the king by eight saints of that region, who journeyed through the air daily to receive Kyansitthā's hospitality. These miraculous visits are of smaller interest to us than another, less sensational tradition of the holy place. At this monastery [16] Dhammasenāpati wrote the *Kārikā*, a grammatical work, in Pali.⁶ This modest little metrical treatise has lived bravely through some eight centuries and was last republished a few years ago.

Dhammasenāpati composed two other works, the *Etimāsamidīpanī* (or *Etimāsamidīpikā*) and the *Manohāra*.⁷ Beyond the bare mention of these last two titles, and the statement that the author wrote the *Kārikā* at the request of the monk Ñāṅagambhīra, the *Gandhavamsa* leaves us

1. Pali, *Ratanamaye pāsāde* (Sās p. 63). The libraries of the ancient monasteries were mostly buildings apart.
2. Sās p. 64. The Sinhalese chronicles say that a common canon for Burma and Sri Lanka was arranged by Anorata and Vijayabāhu the Great (see appendix to Mr. Nevill's manuscript catalogue of his collection, made in Sri Lanka and now at the British Museum).
3. M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions which establish 1059 A.D. as the year of Anorata's death ("Notes sur la Géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie," *Bulletin de l'École Française*, tome v, p. 150).
4. Some religious foundations of Kyansitthā are dated 1059 A.D. (*Bulletin*, tome iii, p. 676). His Pali name is Chattaguhinda (Sās p. 75; Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 23; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 39, 281; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 68). M. Duroiselle expresses some doubt as to the exactness of Phayre's dates for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
5. Described in Sir Henry Yule's *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 36, and Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, p. 114.
6. Gv pp. 63, 73. Dhammasenāpati is called an *ācariya* (teacher) in *Gandhavamsa*, but in Forchhammer's *List* the author of *Kārikā* and *Kārikāṭṭikā*, is put down as a Burmese nobleman of Pagan bearing the honorary title of Dhammasenāpati. It is likely that he was known as a man of rank and importance before he entered the Order, and perhaps he threw himself into serious studies while still a layman. We shall find such cases later.

without information. Nāṅagambhīra of Pagan is perhaps the thera mentioned in the *Piṭakatthamain* as the author of the religious work *Tathāgatupatti*.

During the reigns of Anorata's immediate successors learning took firm root at Pagan, and in the year 1154 the monk Aggavaṃsa completed the *Saddanīti*, a grammar of the Tipiṭaka, described as "the most comprehensive in existence."¹ It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and the fame of the author to the present day, for the *Saddanīti* is still republished in Burma as a classic. It consists of aphorisms on Pali grammar divided into twenty-five *paricchedas* or sections. It is very interesting to see that in the second part of the work, the *Dhātumālā* ("Garland of Roots"), the grammarian gives the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms.

Aggavaṃsa was tutor to King Narapatisithu (A.D. 1167–1202), a powerful and peaceable monarch, whose reign was the most prosperous epoch in the history of the kingdom of Pagan.² According to the *Gandhavaṃsa*, Aggavaṃsa was of Jambudīpa [17] (strictly meaning India, but with Burmese writers often Burma).³ Forchhammer mentions him among the famous residents in the retired monastery on the northern plateau above Pagan, "the cradle of Pali–Burmese literature."⁴

The *Saddanīti* was the first return gift of Burma to Sri Lanka. A few years after its completion the thera ("elder") Uttarājīva left Pagan and crossed the sea to visit the celebrated Mahāvihāra,⁵ taking with him a copy of the *Saddanīti*, which was received with enthusiastic admiration, and declared superior to any work of the kind written by Sinhalese scholars.

Uttarājīva was accompanied by his pupil the novice Chapaṭa,⁶

7. The *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 64, 73) is my only authority here. The curious title *Etimāsamidīpanī* appears to have no meaning whatever and may be wrongly copied (perhaps for *Ehimāyasaṃdīpanī*).

1. C. Duroiselle, *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 147, note. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* mentions another learned monk of Pagan, sometimes called Aggapaṇḍita and sometimes Aggavaṃsa, with whom our author might be confused. Aggapaṇḍita, who lived in the thirteenth century, wrote the *Lokuppattipakāsanī* see *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 60, 66).

2. Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 24.

3. Gv pp. 67, 72; see also SVD, verse 1238; Fausböhl, *Cat. Ind. MSS.*, p. 49.

4. Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

5. This famous and ancient monastery is said to have been founded by the King of Sri Lanka, Devānampiyatissa, for the thera Mahinda, Aśoka's son.

6. Or Chapaḍa so called after the village where he was born, near Bassein (Pali, Kusimanagara). In religion his name was Saddhammajotipāla (Sās p. 74).

whose name was destined to eclipse, for a time at least, even that of Aggavaṃsa. He received ordination from the Saṅgha in Sri Lanka, and lived in its midst for some years, ardently studying the doctrine as handed down in the Mahāvihāra, and, we may suppose, mastering many ancient texts of high authority which had not yet found their way to Burma. His talents and forcible personality were just the other elements needed to make his stay in the sacred island important for the literary history of Burma.

The works usually ascribed to Saddhammajotipāla, otherwise Chapaṭa, represent the second stage in the monastic scholarship of his time and country.

The *Suttaniddesa* or *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* is a grammatical treatise explaining the “sūtras” (aphorisms) of the Indian grammarian Kaccāyana.¹ Forchhammer² mentions the *Suttaniddesa* as a work, originally ascribed to Kaccāyana, introduced [18] by Chapaṭa into Burma. The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, *Gandhavaṃsa*, and *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* give Chapaṭa as the author, and say that he wrote at Arimaddana (Pagan).³ The *Gandhavaṃsa* adds that he composed the *Suttaniddesa* “at the request of his pupil Dhammacāri.

His other well-known work is the *San̄khepavaṇṇanā*. According to Forchhammer’s sources⁴ Chapaṭa introduced the *San̄khepavaṇṇanā* from Sri Lanka and transcribed it from the Sinhalese into the Burmese–Talaing alphabet, but the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, and *Gandhavaṃsa* state that he composed it. According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* it was the only one of his eight works that was written in Sri Lanka. As to the basis of this work, it appears, from the title given in the MSS, to be a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, then recently written by a Sinhalese thera, Anuruddha. In arrangement the *San̄khepavaṇṇanā* follows the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, being divided into nine *paricchedas*.⁵

1. For Kaccāyana see the edition of E. Senart, Paris, 1871; for MSS consult Fausböll’s *Catalogue of Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library*, hp. 45–8; cf. Forchhammer, List, pp. xx, xxi. For editions produced in Burma and Sri Lanka, see *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Printed Books*, 1892–1906.

2. *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 34.

3. Sās p. 74; Gv pp. 64, 74; *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, verses 1247–8; cf. *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 66.

4. *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 35.

5. Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office*, JPTS, 1882, p. 85; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, JPTS, 1896, p. 39. The *Piṭakatthamain* mentions *San̄khepavaṇṇanā* under the heading *Abhidhamma* (Piṭ-sm p. 50).

The *Śimālaṅkāra* or *Śimālaṅkāraṭṭhikā*, a treatise on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, is a commentary on a work by the Sinhalese thera Vācissara.¹ Another work on monastic topics is the *Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī*, written, as the favourite formula has it, “at the request of Chapaṭa’s preceptor.”² The *Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī*, again, is an explanation of difficult passages in the *Vinayaṭīka*.³ The *Nāmacāradīpanī* (“on ethics,” according to Forchhammer, but classed by the *Ṗiṭakatthamain* as “Abhidhamma”) may be of Chapaṭa’s composition. It was, at all events, introduced by him into Burma.⁴

The *Gandhisāra* or *Gaṇṭhisāra*⁵ is evidently an anthology or manual for study condensed from important texts. The [19] remaining works ascribed to Chapaṭa, the *Māṭikatthadīpanī* and *Paṭṭhānagaṇānaya*, treat of Abhidhamma subjects.⁶

It would be rash to say, without careful comparison of the literature of the two countries, that, even at that early period, the Burmese Saṅgha showed a keener interest in the Abhidhamma than the Sinhalese, but this was certainly the case later.⁷ The school or sect founded by Chapaṭa and known as the *Sīhaḷasaṅgha* (or *Sri Lanka Saṅgha*) of Burma was probably absorbed in monastic questions. For Chapaṭa had returned to Pagan, a missionary of Sinhalese orthodoxy. Deeply imbued with the belief that the Mahāvihāra alone had kept the legitimate “line of descent”⁸ unbroken from teacher to teacher, and that valid ordination could only be received in Sri Lanka, he wished to confer the *upasampadā* on the Pagan brethren who, never having visited the sacred precincts, were still outside the pale. To fulfil all conditions required by the *Vinaya* he brought with him four companions⁹ qualified

1. *Ṗiṭakatthamain*, pp. 43, 49; Gv p. 62; Sās-dīp verses 12, 13.

2. Gv pp. 64, 74.

3. *Ṗiṭ-sm* p. 44.

4. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 35; *Ṗiṭ-sm* p. 45.

5. *Gaṇṭhisāra* in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 74.

6. The *Ṗiṭakatthamain* (p. 37) mentions another, the *Visuddhimaggagaṇṭhi*, on difficult passages in Buddhaghosa’s *Visuddhimagga*.

7. An observation to this effect is made by Mr. Nevill, whose information was supplied, for the most part, by Sinhalese monks well versed in the Pali literature of their country.

8. This line is established by the learning of “right doctrine”, from the teacher and director chosen by the novice; the teacher must be duly ordained and himself a pupil of another such, and so on in direct ascent to one of the disciples of the Buddha.

9. Rāhula, Ānanda, Sīvali, and Tāmalinda (Sās p. 65). Five was the smallest number of which a Chapter (for the *upasampadā* act of the Saṅgha) could consist, according to the *Vinaya*.

like himself. The little group was to be the nucleus of the new Order in Burma, the rightful heirs of the one tradition.

But this claim was stoutly opposed in some of the monasteries of Pagan. The traditions of the South country and of Anorata's great Talaing teacher were still flourishing. Arahanta, it was claimed, had been in the "direct line" from the ancient missionaries Soṇa and Uttara; his disciples had been qualified to receive and hand on the *upasampadā*, and the Mahāvihāra itself could confer no better title. The older community therefore declined to be drawn into Chapaṭa's fold, and he, having the then reigning king on his side, was powerful enough to make them appear the seceders, while his followers refused all [20] association with them in ceremonies.¹ But King Narapati-sithu was a Buddhist of the old magnificent school, and though he believed devoutly in Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, he neither persecuted nor neglected the communities that denied it. The ruins of old Pagan still witness to his bounty towards the different Saṅghas,² of which the Arahanta sect (called, to distinguish it from Chapaṭa's Sri Lanka school, the Maramma or Burma Saṅgha) was the most important.

Names of grammarians follow close on one another at this period. Schisms had indeed arisen, but the time had not yet come for works of polemic, and the good monks of Pagan were busy enriching the new store of learning in the country. In the work of Saddhammasiri, the author of the grammatical treatise *Saddatthabhedacintā*,³ we catch a glimpse of a culture that recalls Aggavaṃsa. Saddhammasiri's grammar is based partly on Kaccāyana's Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us that Saddhammasiri also translated the *Brhaja* (?) into the Burmese language.⁴ He was probably among the first to use Burmese as a literary instrument.⁵ If the work mentioned is the astrological *Brīhajātaka*,⁶ it could not have put a

1. See the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (edited by Taw Sein Ko), *Ind. Ant.* vols. xxii and xxiii.

2. Fraternities from Sri Lanka, from the conquered Haṃsāvati, from Siam, Cambodia, and probably Nepal and China, sojourned in Pagan."—Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

3. Gv pp. 62, 72; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 47, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xix.

4. Sm., p. 75: "So yeva therā Brīhajaṃ nāma Vedasattha m pi marammahāsāya parivattesi" Cf. *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 68.

5. M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions in Burmese of the tenth and eleventh centuries, containing words of Sanskrit derivation, and he expresses the belief that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pali, which, so shortly after its importation from Thatōn (at the epoch of the inscriptions), "n'était connu que de l'élite des moines" (*Bulletin*, tome v, p. 154)

great strain on the resources of the Burmese idiom (even before the immense body of Pali words added later had come to the aid of the vernacular), so the feat was not a surprising one. But the thera's knowledge of Sanskrit is an interesting point. [21] It is curious, too, to find him busied with one of the Brahmanic works known as "Vedas" in Burma.¹ Another grammatical work of some importance is the commentary generally known as *Nyāsa*, but sometimes as *Mukhamattadīpanī*, on the *Kaccāyana*. The author was Vimalabuddhi,² who is claimed by the *Sāsanavaṃsa* as a thera of Pagan, but is said by some authorities to be of Sri Lanka. A *ṭīkā* or gloss on the *Nyāsa* was written by Vimalabuddhi,³ to whom an *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā* is also ascribed.⁴

The *Nyāsa* was glossed by another commentator in the reign of Narapati-sithu. The scholiast this time was a man of high rank who addressed himself to the task for love of one of the king's daughters. At least, the story, as related by the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, is that Narapati, knowing this nobleman to be violently in love with one of the princesses, promised him her hand on condition that he should produce a work of profound learning.⁵ He undertook a scholium on the *Nyāsa*. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* does not make it clear whether he was an official at the Court first and entered the Order on purpose to write his book, or whether he was already of the Order when he fell in love. We are only told that when he "returned to the lay life" the king conferred on him the title *rājjuggāhāmacca*. The Burmese title by which his work is sometimes mentioned is *Thanbyin*.⁶

A treatise entitled *Lokuppatti by Aggapaṇḍita*⁷ was written at Pagan.

6. Of Varāha-Mihira; see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 277–78.

1. For this term applied to the miscellaneous learning of Brahman immigrants to Burma, see below, Chapter IV.

2. Called Mahā-Vimalabuddhi to distinguish him from a later writer (Sās p. 75; Piṭ-sm p. 63; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 47–48).

3. Gv pp. 63, 73.

4. See Sās-dīp verse 1223.

5. It seems that the king's request was not out of the way, for the nobleman was a learned grammarian according to the Sās-dīp verse 1240, where it is said that the *Nyāsappadīpaṭīkā* was written "*ekena amaccena saddatthana-yaññunā*." Cf. P.M., p. 64. There is a *ṭīkā* called *Nyāsappadīpa* (incomplete) at the India Office. The author's name is missing. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 48.

6. Sās p. 75; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii. *Thanbyin* (*rājjuggāhāmacca*) was a title given to revenue officers, nearly corresponding to the *thugyi* of modern times. See *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, p. 128, note.

7. Gv pp. 64, 67; Sās p. 74; Piṭ-sm p. 60.

The author was a native of Burma. [22] He was apparently one of the few Palists of his time who was not chiefly devoted to the study of the language.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* mentions a grammar, *Liṅgaththavivaraṇa* by Subhūtacandana, who was followed by Ñāṇasāgara with *Liṅgaththavivaraṇappakāsaka* and Uttama with *Liṅgaththavivaraṇaṭīkā*. These three doctors were all of Pagan.¹ A *Liṅgaththavivaraṇavinichaya*,² by an author whose name is not mentioned, is apparently based on Subhūtacandana's treatise, or explains difficult passages in it. Uttama, the author of the *Liṅgaththavivaraṇaṭīkā*,³ also wrote a scholium on *Bālāvātāra*, the well-known grammar by Vācissara of Sri Lanka.⁴

Another of the Pagan grammarians, whose work has been studied for centuries and republished in recent times, was Dhammadassi, a novice (*sāmaṇera*) in the Order⁵ when he composed his well-known treatise *Vācavācaka* or *Vaccavācaka*. A commentary on it was written by Saddhammanandi.⁶

From the *Saddatthabhedacintā* of Saddhammasiri sprang a number of commentaries of which the best known is the *Mahāṭīkā*⁷ by the thera Abhaya of Pagan. Abhaya's name reappears as the author of the *Sambandhacintaṭīkā*,⁸ a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṅgharakkhita.⁹ Forchhammer places both Saddhammasiri and Abhaya in the [23] fourteenth century.¹⁰ Unfortunately the *Sāsana-*

1. Gv pp. 63, 67, 72, 73. The Piṭ-sm p. 72, ascribes *Liṅgaththavivaraṇa* and the ṭīkā to Saddhammakitti of Sagaing.

2. Gv pp. 65, 75.

3. Gv pp. 63, 67; Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii; Piṭ-sm p. 70.

4. Dhammakitti in Forchhammer's *List*; Vācissara in *India Office MS.*, etc. See *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 46.

5. Sās p. 75.

6. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 50, for commentary and ṭīkā on *Vaccavācaka*. They are entitled *Vaccavācakaṇṇanā*, *Vaccavācakaṭīkā*, and *Vaccavācakaḍḍipāṇī*. Saddhammanandi is the only author mentioned. In Forchhammer's *List* (p. xxii) these works appear without names of authors; cf. Piṭ-sm p. 71, according to which the *Vaccavācaka* was written at Pagan by a thera, "name unknown," and the ṭīkā by Saddhammanandi.

7. Gv pp. 63, 73; Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan); p. 2; *List*, p. xix. The commentary in the Mandalay Collection at the India Office is called *Saddatthabhedacintāḍḍipāṇī*; v. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 50.

8. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 50; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi; Piṭ-sm pp. 69, 71.

9. The *Sambandhacintā*, on syntactical relation, is probably of the thirteenth century. The author was a scholar of Sri Lanka, better known by his famous *Subodhālaṅkāra*, on the art of poetry, and the *Vuttodaya*, on prosody.

10. Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 36.

vaṃsa and *Gandhavaṃsa*, usually careful to give us the birthplace or residence of our authors, rarely give us their exact date. Without a close comparison of the texts one with another, or a minute study of the chronicles of monasteries, we must be content with conjectures as to the order in which the scholars of Pagan should appear in literary history. But we may perhaps venture to place most of those just mentioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Before passing on to the later period of Pali literature at Pagan it will be well to look for a moment at the state of the Burmese Saṅgha, or rather Saṅghas.

Narapati's impartial benevolence had secured a peaceful life and means of study for all those who sought them, but it could not prevent discord between the communities; and when Chapaṭa died, his school—the Sīhaḷasaṅgha—split into four factions, each following one of the four theras who had come with Chapaṭa from Sri Lanka.

The dissensions (for they can hardly be called schisms in the usual sense of the word) that arose within the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, once stronger and more united than the other sects in Pagan, were not, it seems, caused by questions of dogma. At all events, the *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us only of the personal reasons for which Rāhula separated himself first from his colleagues and they in their turn parted company.

Rāhula's defection was the gravest matter. The story is that he fell desperately in love with an actress at one of the festivals given by King Narapati. His brother-theras entreated and reasoned with him in vain. Finally, they prayed him to leave the country, and spare his community the scandal of his "return to the lower life." He then took ship and went to Malayadīpa,¹ and in that country became preceptor [24] to the king, who wished to be instructed in the Vinaya. The end of Rāhula's story is curious. Under him the king studied the *Khuddasikkhā*² and the *ṭīkā* on the same; afterwards, with the largess that his grateful pupil bestowed on him, the thera abandoned the Order and lived as a layman.

This little history is no doubt told for edification more than for its

1. Sās p. 66. The reading chosen by Minayeff in his transcript of the text, and, after some hesitation, by the present writer in editing the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, was "*Mal-larudīpa*." The MS corrects to *Malayadīpa*. The episode is interesting. The reading *Malaya* is confirmed by the Kalyāṇi inscriptions. See Taw Sein Ko, "Remarks on the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions," *Ind. Ant.* xxiv, p. 301. The ancient Malayadeśa (an Indian colony) was in the Malay Peninsula (v. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, p. 52).

2. A compendium of the Vinaya written in Sri Lanka, edited by Professor E. Müller (JPTS, 1883). *Ṭīkā*s on this text were composed by Revata and Saṅgharakkhita, both of Sri Lanka (vide Piṭ-sm p. 48).

human interest, like the story of Ānanda, whose transgression, less dramatic than Rāhula's, was also against monastic discipline. Narapati had presented the three theras, Sīvali, Tāmalinda, and Ānanda, each with an elephant. Ānanda, wishing to give his to his relations in Kañcipura, was preparing to ship it from Bassein (Kusimanagara), when the others remonstrated with him, pointing out that they, in a spirit more becoming to followers of the Buddha, had turned their elephants loose in the forest. Ānanda argued that kindness to kinsfolk was also preached by the Master. Neither side would be persuaded, and Ānanda was cut off from the community.

Sīvali and Tāmalinda afterwards disagreed on another question of conduct. Tāmalinda had recommended his disciples to the pious laity for gifts and other marks of consideration, an action of which the Buddha had strongly disapproved.¹ After some useless admonishing, Sīvali refused to have any further intercourse with Tāmalinda, and formed a sect of his own. This very simple account of the origin of the four factions in the Sihaḷasaṅgha is not quite satisfying, but as an example of monastic traditions in Burma it has a certain interest. Besides, even such fragments of the personal history of theras sometimes give us a glimpse into the course of studies and scholarship in their day.

In the meantime, as our list of authors shows, literary work went on at Pagan. After Narapati, the next keen patron of learning was Kyocvā or Kyaswa.² [25] The works produced under his auspices were chiefly grammatical, but the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha* was also one of the principal subjects of study.³ We should expect to hear that the students of Pali grammar were chiefly monks, eager not only to understand the ancient, texts thoroughly, but to master the classic language, in order to compose in it themselves. But grammatical knowledge was by no means limited to the monasteries. We have already heard of the learning of Narapati's minister. In the time of Kyocvā, too, there were grammarians at the king's court.⁴ Indeed, Kyocvā is said to have

1. Sās p. 67. It is here called by a technical name, *vacīvīññatti*. For pronouncements in the Vinaya on this subject, see Vinaya, v, p. 125 (Oldenberg's edition), and compare iii, pp. 227, 256, etc.

2. Kyaswa succeeded Jeyyasinkha A.D. 1227 (Phayre), or A.D. 1234 (Barnett). Pagan is described in a florid thirteenth-century poem, the *Manavulu-Sandesaya*, written in Sri Lanka, ed. L. D. Barnett (JRAS, April, 1905, p. 265).

3. For an example of studies, see the pathetic little story of the monk Disāpāmokkha, who pursued knowledge so fervently in his old age (beginning with *Kaccāyana* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha* that in time he astonished the chief theras by his learning, and was chosen by the King to be his *ācariya* (Sās p. 77).

insisted on general diligence around him, while he himself set the example by writing the *Saddabindu* and *Paramatthabindu*, both grammatical works.¹ A little work on Pali cases, entitled *Vibhattyattha*, is ascribed to his daughter.²

The *Mukhamattasāra*,³ another grammatical work of this epoch, was written by Sāgara, called Guṇasāgara in the *Gandhavaṃsa*,⁴ which states that Sāgara wrote a *ṭīkā* on his own work, at the request of the Saṅgharāja (Head of the whole Order), who was King Kyocvā's preceptor.[26]

A *Vibhattyattha* was written, probably at Pagan, by the thera Saddhammañāṇa early in the fourteenth century.⁵ Saddhammañāṇa was the author of a more important work on metrics, the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī*⁶ (or *Vuttodayapañcikā*, being a commentary on *Vuttodaya*),⁷ and the *Chapaccayadīpanī*, also on prosody.⁸ Saddhammañāṇa was not only a Palist, but a Sanskrit scholar, and translated the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra* (*Kalāpa*) into Pali.⁹

The *Gandhatthi*, by Maṅgala, is a grammatical work, probably of the fourteenth century, and written at Pagan. At a somewhat later period, but also at Pagan, Sirisaddhammavilāsa composed a *Kaccāyana-ṭīkā*, entitled *Saddhammanāsīnī*.¹⁰

4. Pali grammar was a popular study at that time even among women and young girls. A quaint and interesting passage in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, reproduced by Minayeff in the *Recherches* (Sās p. 78; *Recherches*, p. 69), describes how busy mothers of families in Arimaddana (Pagan) snatched time to learn.

1. *Saddabindu* is ascribed to Kyaswa, and dated 1234 in the *Ṭīkatthamain*, pp. 45, 70. See also Gv pp. 64, 73; Sās p. 76. *Saddabindu* has been ascribed to Kyocvā's preceptor. A commentary entitled *Līnatthavisodhanī* was written by Nāṇavilāsa of Pagan (Nevill). The *ṭīkā* on *Saddabindu*, called *Saddabinduviniścaya*, in the India Office, is by Sirisaddhammakittimahāphussadeva (vide Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50). A *ṭīkā* on *Paramatthabindu* was written at Pagan by the thera Mahākassapa (*Ṭīkatthamain*, p. 51).

2. Sās p. 77 (see Preface to Subhūti's edition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1883). There seems to be a confusion, because two paragraphs further Bode ascribes it to Saddhammañāṇa.

3. Sās p. 76; Gv pp. 63, 67, 73.

4. Guṇasāra in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxiii.

5. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

6. Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; *Essay*, p. 36; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 51, 52; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii; *Ṭīkatthamain*, p. 74.

7. *Vuttodaya*, a thirteenth-century work by Saṅgharakkhita, written in Sri Lanka; published by Fryer in *JAS. Bengal*, 1877.

8. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36.

9. For remarks on the *Kātantra* of Śarvavarman and the connection between this system and that of Kaccāyana, see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 243, and Kuhn.

So far, the production of learned works in the communities of Burma seems to have gone on steadily, in spite of sectarian differences, which, after all, would affect grammarians less than experts in the Vinaya. But a change had come over the fortunes of the Order in the thirteenth century. The Pagan dynasty fell in 1277¹ under the assaults of Mongol invaders from the north, while nearly at the same time a successful revolt in the south completed the overthrow of the Burmese power. Shān rulers established their capital at Myinzaing (Khandhapura in Pali), and the glory of Pagan, where the very temples had been torn down to fortify the city against the enemy, was never restored. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us that many monks settled at Myinzaing, but no books were written there. [27]

In 1312 a Shān king Sīhasūra founded Panyā (Pali, Vijayapura), where, with a new era of peace and safety for the Order, came a revival of literary activity. In Sīhasūra's reign Sirimaṅgala or Sirisumaṅgala, one of the most diligent of his fraternity, busied himself with commentaries explaining the grammatical construction of the *Samantapāsādikā* (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya) and the Abhidhamma commentaries, also ascribed to Buddhaghosa, *Atthasālinī*, and *Sammo-havinodanī*.² This is a good example of reviving monastic industry in that day. And it is quite curious to see in the new court and under the new dynasty a return to the traditions of Narapati and Kyocvā. An important officer of state (a *caturaṅgabalamacca*, to give him his Pali title) under King Kittisīhasūra³ wrote a *samvaṇṇanā* (commentary) on Moggallāna's well-known Pali dictionary, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.⁴ The same official wrote ṭīkā's on the *Koladdhaja* at the request of the thera Pāsādika, and on the *Daṇḍīppakaraṇa*.⁵

Another essay on Pali grammar, written at Panyā under Kittisīhasūra's patronage, was the much-studied *Saddasāratthajālinī* (or

10. Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2, and *List*, p. xx. The manuscript of Sirisaddhammavilāsa's work in the Mandalay collection is called *Kaccāyanasāra -ṭīkā* (Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 48). The *Kaccāyanasāra* was composed in the Talaing country (see below, pp. 34, 35).

1. Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 25; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 51, 53, 54; Colonel Burney's translations from *Rājavaṃsa*, JAS Bengal, vol. iv, pp. 400 ff.

2. Piṭ-sm p. 40.

3. Came to the throne A.D. 1351 (Kyaswa IV in Phayre's *History of Burma*, pp. 60, 282); Sās p. 88.

4. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 46, 51.

5. Gv pp. 63, 73; Sās p. 88. The titles last mentioned do not suggest grammar or Buddhist doctrine, but other branches of learning—astrology and poetics. (See Appendix.)

Jālinī) of Nāgita, otherwise Khaṇṭakakhipa, a monk of Sagu.¹

A *ṭikā* on the *Vuttodaya* of Saṅgharakkhita² was written (at Pagan according to Forchhammer,³ at Panyā according to the *Gandhavaṃsa*)⁴ by Navavimalabuddhi, otherwise Cullavimalabuddhi, [28] author of a work called *Abhidhammapaññarasatṭhāna*,⁵ explaining some passages of the Abhidhamma. In the *Gandhavaṃsa* a *Vuttodayaṭikā* is ascribed to a Vepullabuddhi of Pagan, who appears again⁶ as the author of (a) a *ṭikā* on *Saddasāratthajālinī*; (b) a *Paramatthamañjūsā* (metaphysical); (c) a *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, called *Dasagaṇṭhivañṇanā* (or *Dasagaṇḍhivañṇanā*); and (d) a *ṭikā* on *Vidadhimukhamaṇḍana*.⁷

Another treatise, the *Atthabyākḅhyāna* (exegetical or grammatical), is mentioned as the work of a Cullavajirabuddhi on one page of the *Gandhavaṃsa*, and put down to Cullavimalabuddhi in another. Now, among the Sinhalese authors enumerated in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*⁸ we find a Navavimalabuddhi, author of an early *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and a Cūlabuddhi, author of the *Atthabyākḅhyāna*, whereas the only work allowed by the *Sāsanavaṃsa* to the Burmese Cullavimalabuddhi is the *Vuttodayaṭikā*, and to Vepulla the *Vacanatthajotikā*.⁹

Possibly the confusion in the *Gandhavaṃsa* arises from the author's ignoring the Sinhalese thera Vimalabuddhi (carefully mentioned by the *Sāsanavaṃsa* in a passage referring also to Vimalabuddhi of Pagan). The name is absent from the *Gandhavaṃsa* of Sri Lanka,¹⁰ while the three, Navavajirabuddhi, Vepullabuddhi, and Navavimalabuddhi, are

1. The quaint nickname Khaṇṭakakhipa came from a little adventure of Nāgita's boyhood, when he was not more serious than most boys. He was so unwilling to be taken to the monastery, and resisted so obstinately, that his father lost patience with him, and threw him bodily into a thorny bush. See Sās p. 88; Gv p. 74; Sās-dīp verse 1249; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xx. There is a commentary on this work at the India Office entitled *Sāramañjūsā*; Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library* p. 102.

2. Sās pp. 34, 75.

3. *Report* (Pagan), p.2; *List*, p. xxiii.

4. Gv p. 67; the *Pītakatthamain* (p. 74) says at Pagan.

5. Gv pp. 64, 74, not mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*

6. There is an alternative reading, Vimalabuddhi, but the editor (Minayeff), following no doubt the best MSS, has preferred Vepulla in these passages of the *Gandhavaṃsa*.

7. Apparently the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* (on riddles) of Dharmadāsa (see Appendix).

8. Sās p. 34.

9. Sās p. 75; the *Vacanatthajotikā*, gloss on *Vuttodaya* ascribed to Vepullabuddhi, is probably a fourteenth-century work. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 51.

10. Gv p. 67.

all put down as Jambudīpikā (i.e. belonging to Burma) and their work as composed at Pagan, except in the case of Navavimalabuddhi, who wrote, according to this account, at Panyā.

These small bibliographical puzzles, which we are not willing [29] to leave unsolved but must waste much time in solving, result sometimes from the choice of well-known or well-sounding Pali names by thesaurists of different epochs and their pupils, commentators and copyists, sometimes from the renaming of distinguished teachers by their royal admirers. It would be well to have all such details exact, but when dealing with this early period of Pali–Burmese literature it is difficult to avoid confusing Burmese with Sinhalese authors.

The *Saddavutti*, or *Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsaka*, by Saddhammapāla, a grammatical treatise, probably belongs to the fourteenth century.¹ If so, it was written when the great importance of Pagan as a religious centre had declined, though the author is mentioned by Forchhammer as one of those who worked in the famous retreat of the “Maramma” fraternity near the old capital. Here also the *ṭīkā* on the *Saddavutti* was composed by Sāriputta (also called Sāriputtara).² The *Sāsanavaṃsa*³ calls the author of *Saddavutti* Saddhammaguru, and states that he wrote at Panyā; in the *Gandhavaṃsa*,⁴ however, Saddhammaguru is among the *ācariyas* who wrote at Pagan.

The *Niruttisāramañjūsā*, a *ṭīkā* on the *Nirutti*,⁵ ascribed to Kaccāyana, is by a Saddhammaguru,⁶ perhaps the author of the *Saddavutti*.

A grammatical work entitled *Sambandhamālīnī* was, according to the *Piṭakatthamain*,⁷ composed at Pagan. Neither the date nor the author’s name is given.

Our list of grammarians does not end even here. But those to be mentioned later belong to the new period beginning with the foundation of Ava (Pali, Ratanapura) by the Burmese [30] Prince Sativa or Thadomin-byā in the year 1364, after the fall of the Shān rulers of Panyā and Sagaing.⁸

1. Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36; *Piṭ-sm* p. 71.

2. Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2; *List*, p. xix. A later *ṭīkā* and a *Saddavutti-varaṇa* are mentioned in *Gv* (pp. 65, 75), without names of authors. The *ṭīkā* in the India Office collection is by Jāgara. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 50.

3. *Sās* p. 90.

4. *Gv* p. 67.

5. Also called the *Niruttipiṭaka* a grammatical treatise. See *Sās-dīp* verses 1233, 1234.

6. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 49.

7. *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 73.

As the delta region had not been without a literary history after the Burmese conquest in the eleventh century, we must now turn back to earlier times, before following the progress of learning in both Lower and Upper Burma from the fifteenth century onwards. [31]

8. Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 63, 64; *Ind. Ant.* xxii, p. 8.

CHAPTER III

BUDDHISM AND PALI LITERATURE IN MARTABAN (MUTTIMA) AND AT PEGU CITY (HAMSĀVATĪ) FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—DHAMMACETI AND THE KALYĀṆĪ INSCRIPTIONS—LITERATURE IN UPPER BURMA FROM THE FOUNDATION OF AVA (RATANAPURA) TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. Pegu (*Rāmaññadesa*)

Buddhist learning in Rāmaññadesa, the Talaing country, may have been greatly impoverished by the carrying away of texts and scholars from Sudhammapura at the time of Anorata's successful raid, but we do not positively know that it was so. Indeed, a country so easy of access from India; Sri Lanka, and Indo-China must have continued to receive new contributions to its intellectual store; the northern rulers, professing Buddhism themselves, could have no motive for discouraging students or pilgrims from abroad, and it is not likely that the Order suffered in any way from the Burmese power established in the south after the fall of Thatōn.

However, the first literary personage of Rāmañña that we meet in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is Sāriputta, afterwards named Dhammavilāsa, a twelfth century author.¹ Sāriputta was born at Padīpajeyya, near Dala (opposite Rangoon), and entered the Order late in life. He was still a novice (*sāmaṇera*) when he went to Pagan² in the reign of Narapatisithu and received the *upasampadā* ordination from the thera Ānanda, one of the four who had accompanied Chapaṭa returning from Sri Lanka. Being thus inducted into the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, Sāriputta could claim to be in the direct "line of descent," to use the ecclesiastical phrase, from the ancient teachers of the Mahāvihāra. He became one of the leaders of the sect. [32]

It is said that the king heard of the aged monk's learning and holiness and thought of appointing him royal preceptor, but before summoning Sāriputta he sent some court officials to find out what manner of man he was. When they returned and described him as extremely old and feeble (some say, with a slight deformity as well), Narapa-

1. See Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, iv; Preface to Forchhammer's translation of the *Wagaru Dhammathatha*, p. 5; Forchhammer, *Essay*, pp. 29, 35.

2. Sās p. 41.

tisithu was unwilling to put on him the labour and fatigue of being the king's *ācariya*, and contented himself with honouring the therā in other ways.

Sāriputta was afterwards sent to his native country to "purify religion" there, which (in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*) means that he was to represent the Sīhaḷasaṅgha in the south. This was duly done by Sāriputta, who settled at Dala and handed on the Mahāvihāra tradition to his pupils. The establishment of the Sri Lanka school in the Talaing country is said to date from that time. It is interesting to remember in this connection that, according to the *Mahāvāṃsa*, an earlier generation of scholars in Rāmañña had supplied teachers to the Sinhalese fraternity, when theras of Sāriputta's country were called upon, in Vijayabāhu's reign (A.D. 1071–1123), to come over to Sri Lanka and restore learning there.¹ Sāriputta probably lived till the year 1246. It is difficult to distinguish his religious works (if he composed any) from those of the other Sāriputtas of that epoch.² His most interesting work, from the historical point of view, was neither in grammar, Vinaya, nor Abhidhamma, and is not mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* or in the *Gandhavaṃsa*. Sāriputta, or Dhammavilāsa (to call him by the name conferred on him as a title of honour by Narapati), is known to be the author of one of the earliest law codes of Burma [33].³

Dhammavilāsa's code stands at the beginning of a series of Pali and Burmese Buddhist law texts, which are of the greatest interest as disclosing, to quote Forchhammer's words, "the practical effect of a religious system upon the social and political growth of the Talaings and Burmans."⁴ The question of the remote origin of these codes is a fascinating and difficult one.

Whether the Brahmanical (caste and sacerdotal) element was elimi-

1. Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.* p. 132, note (reference to Mahāv., lx, 5).

2. See Sās p. 33; Gv pp. 61, 66, 67, 71; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. v, viii. Two Sāriputtas are mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* list of doctors of Sri Lanka, one among those of Burma. Ṭikās on the Aṅguttaranikāya, Majjhimanikāya, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and a ṭikā on it were written in Sri Lanka by a Sāriputta of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153–84), a contemporary therefore of Sāriputta of Dala.

3. Taw Sein Ko says: "The dates of birth and death of Dhammavilāsa as well as of the completion of his *Dhammathat* are unknown. Even the *Sāsanālankāra*, compiled as late as 1832 A.D. by the learned monk Maung Daung sa dō, Archbishop of King Bodōpayā at Amarapura, is silent on these points" (*Ind. Ant.* xxiv, p. 302).

4. See the *Jardine Prize Essay* (Forchhammer) and translations of legal texts, accompanied by valuable introductory remarks and notes published in Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Rangoon, 1882–83.

nated from them by later Buddhist lawgivers, or whether they, with all their essential Buddhist features, go back to the law of Manu as it existed in India prior to the ascendancy of Brahmanism, cannot be decided without a complete knowledge of the oldest law-codes of India. And for our present purpose it must be enough (however unsatisfactory an “enough”) to say that the Talaing monk Sāriputta or Dhammavilāsa was the author of the oldest *dharmasattha* known by name to future generations in Burma.

The *Dhammavilāsa Dhammathata*¹ was the basis of later codes, Pali and Burmese, which took this title; and the Talaing influence,² to be recognized by the presence of a Hindu element, is visible in the Pali codes till the eighteenth century.

While Dhammavilāsa and his pupils were establishing the “succession of theras” at Dala, a like movement took place in Martaban (Muttima). The opposition between the Sīhaḷasaṅgha and the other sects, which had been manifested so keenly at Pagan, was thus continued in the south. The queen’s two preceptors, Buddhavaṃsa and Mahānāga, had [34] visited Sri Lanka, had gone through a course of instruction, and received re-ordination at the Mahāvihāra.³ On their return to Martaban they separated themselves from the other communities, and a Sri Lanka sect was formed.

Afterwards, for many generations, a scholarly rivalry existed between Pegu and Burma, of which we shall hear something in the later history of their literature. Possibly Talaing authors may have been drawn together then by a bond of nationality stronger than the ties of sect, but the *Sāsanavaṃsa* makes the distinction chiefly between the Sīhaḷasaṅgha theras and the members of the Arahantagaṇa, whose “direct descent” was denied by those of the Mahāvihāra tradition.

Our Pali chronicle says little about Martaban and nothing about Wagaru, who, however, reigned wisely for twenty-two years. We can only suppose that he did not protect the Sīhaḷasaṅgha with any particular zeal. A historian of the Talaing country and the old tradition could fill

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1. Forchhammer did not succeed in finding the original Pali *Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat*. He mentions a commentary composed about 1656 A.D., and a Burmese version by Nandamāla, made at Amarapura in 1768. *Essay*, p. 29; see also *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv; Preface to translation of the *Wagaru-dhammathat* on marriage and divorce, p. 3.
 2. Another example is the *Wagaru-dhammathat*, an important code drawn up in Talaing by Wagaru, king of Martaban (A.D. 1281–1306). The Pali translation was made at the end of the fifteenth century. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, vol. iii, p. xi.
 3. Sās p. 42.

the gap and give us more details of the progress of learning in the south. But we know that the well-being of the Order depended on the state of the country, and it is probable that the *Sāsanavaṃsa* leaves out very little that is of importance in the list, though a singularly short one, of works written in Rāmañña during the two centuries between Dharmavilāsa's long life and the revival of religion connected with the name of Dharmaceti in the fifteenth century. The Shāns, whose growing power in Burma had broken down the old Pagan dynasty, were not disposed to leave Martaban and Pegu in peace.¹ The Zimmé Shāns had also pushed westward. Changes of rulers and the skirmishing warfare around the unstable thrones of the small southern kingdoms must have deprived the monasteries of much valuable patronage, even if the monks were left undisturbed. For nearly every mention of important literary work in chronicles like the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is accompanied by mention of some royal or wealthy patron. And this need not surprise us or force us to conclude that the Order [35] was at any time in slavish dependence on royalty and riches. Literary work required a more spacious, convenient vihāra than was needed for the simple round of the mendicant's ordinary life, besides a whole library of sacred texts. To supply all these and other necessities of scholarship was a highly meritorious act, and rich laymen were as eager to acquire merit in such ways as the monks were content to accept their gifts. But, still, there were times when, as the chronicles say, "religion was dimmed."

The briefer a literary history is, the more we need to be clear as to the chronology of the works chosen to illustrate it. But often this is only placing together fragments by guesswork. We are glad to meet any evidence of the state of scholarship at a given period, such as the Talaing inscriptions found by Forchhammer near the Kumāraceti pagoda in Pegu. Forchhammer observed that these inscriptions (which record the contributions of pious people to the rebuilding of the cetiya and a vihāra) are in more ancient lettering than those of the Kelasa pagoda in the same region. These latter can be dated with certainty as fifteenth-century, and Forchhammer believed the older writing to belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century, "when with the rise of Wagaru, King of Martaban, a new impulse had been given to native learning, and Buddhism again had attained to exclusive predominance on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban."²

1. See Forbes, *Legendary History*, pp. 26, 27; Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 65 ff.

A south-country author who doubtless belongs to the fourteenth century is Medhaṃkara, who wrote the well-known *Lokadīpasāra*. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us that he was the preceptor of Queen Bhaddā, the mother of Setibhinda, the king reigning at Muttimanagara (Martaban).¹ Medhaṃkara had gone through a course of study in Sri Lanka, and lived afterwards [36] at Martaban.² The *Lokadīpasāra* is described by Oldenberg as a collection of chapters on different subjects, arranged according to a cosmological scheme." The chapters deal with different stages of existence—in hell, in the animal kingdom, among the *pretas* (ghosts), and so forth, and the subjects are illustrated by legends.

Haṃsāvātī (Pegu city), the capital of the kingdom of Pegu from the middle of the fourteenth century, also had its learned theras; the *Apheggusāra*, written at Haṃsāvātī by a scholar whose name is not mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, deals with Abhidhamma topics.³

Some important grammatical work was also done in the south—and at the ill-fated Thatōn—by the thera Mahāyasa of that city. Neither the thera nor his books are mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, though the *Kaccāyanabheda* and *Kaccāyanasāra* not only became standard texts for commentators and students in Burma, but have since been better known in Sri Lanka than works of Burmese grammarians usually are.

The *Kaccāyanabheda*, also called the *Kaccāyanabhedadīpikā*, deals with the grammatical terminology of Kaccāyana; the *Kaccāyanasāra*, as the title shows, is a resume of or textbook on the teaching of that great grammatical authority.

2. Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History*, etc., ii, p. 8. Forchhammer mentions elsewhere an important sect founded in the south by Buddhavaṃsa (afterwards known, for the confusion of future Burmese chroniclers, as Culla-Buddhaghosa). He also had sojourned in Sri Lanka and held Sinhalese views of orthodoxy. *Jardine Prize Essay*; pp. 64, 65.

1. Sās p. 42. Setibhinda, or Bingā-û, began to reign A.D. 1348, and assumed the title Hsin-hpyu-shin (possessor of a white elephant). He made Martaban his capital.

2. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 42; Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. at India Office*, p. 126. The *Gandhavaṃsa* calls the author of *Lokadīpasāra*, Navamedhaṃkara (Medhaṃkara, the younger). The Medhaṃkara who appears in the list of the theras who worked at Pagan is probably not the same.

3. See Sās p. 48; also Forchhammer, *List*, p. xviii, where *Apheggupāṭho* and *Apheggusāradīpanīpāṭho* are mentioned. The *Gandhavaṃsa* is silent about this work. In Nevill's manuscript Catalogue, *Apheggusāradīpanī* is described as an *anuṭṭikā* dealing with matter in the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*. Cf. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 39, where the author proposes to give the subtle and profound *sāra* (essence) of "all the books." The *Apheggusāradīpanī*, according to the Mandalay manuscript, was composed at Haṃsāvātī by the *ācāriya* of Queen Sīvalī. He was Mahāsuvaṇṇadīpa, the son of Parakkamabalarājā.

A *ṭikā* on *Kaccāyanasāra* was written by Mahāyasa himself;¹ [37] another by Saddhammavilāsa of Pagan,² whose *ṭikā* on *Kaccāyanasāra* is known as the *Sammohavināsinī*. Yasa's later commentators were scholars of Burma. Among them we shall find the well-known names of Ariyālaṅkāra and Tipiṭakālaṅkāra of Ava.³

As to the date of *Kaccāyanasāra*, we may say that it probably was not written before the thirteenth century, as it contains quotations from the twelfth century treatises *Bālāvatāra*, *Rūpasiddhi*, *Cūlanirutti*, and *Sambandhacintā*.⁴ On the other hand, it was known not only in Pegu but in Upper Burma by the middle of the fifteenth century, as we know from the fact that a copy was presented to a monastery at Pagan in 1442.⁵

Probably Mahāyasa belongs to the reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin (Pali: Setibhinda), who established his capital at Pegu in 1370. Hsin-hpyu-shin finished his reign in comparative calm,⁶ and was, after his manner, religious. There was even a temporary peace between Pegu and Burma, but when Setibhinda died, his successors plunged into war, and a state of things grievously unfriendly to scholarship began again. But in the fifteenth century came a great revival of religion under Dhammaceti, King of Pegu, who reigned 822–53 B.E. (A.D. 1460–91).⁷

Dhammaceti's reign was doubly memorable. He was famous far beyond the limits of his own country for his statesmanship and magnificence, and renowned in the whole Buddhist world for his piety. The story of his elevation to the throne gives us the impression of a very unusual personality. He was not [38] of the blood royal, and came first

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1. For *Kaccāyanabheda* and *Kaccāyanasāra* see Sās-dīp verse 1250; Gv p. 74; Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xx and xxi., where the author is called Rasa of Thatone. The name Mahāyasa is given by Nevill on Sinhalese authority. In Fausböll's *Catalogue*, p. 47, the name is Rassa; in Gv p. 74, Dhammānanda; the *Ṭiṭakathamain* (p. 69) says that Mahāyasa was the author.
 2. Forchhammer, *Report*, Pagan, p. 2.
 3. Ariyālaṅkāra's *ṭikā* on *Kaccāyanabheda* is entitled *Sāraththavikāsinī*.
 4. Written in Sri Lanka; see above, p. 22.
 5. See Appendix to this chapter.
 6. Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 27; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 67.
 7. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 290. Forbes remarks (*Legendary History*, p. 31) that the various copies of the Talaing histories differ as to the dates of the several monarchs reigning in Pegu "between 710 and 900 A.D. or 1370–1538. The Burmese era quoted here is the *Kaliyuga* (as the word is usually employed in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*), reckoning from 638 A.D. (See Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 14.) The date given in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* for Dhammaceti's accession is A.B. 2002, which corresponds to A.D. 1458. I must correct here a blunder in my edition, where 202 (*divisate*) should be 2002 (*divisahasse*). (Sās p. 43.)

from Burma as a simple monk, one of two who had aided the flight of a Peguan princess from the Burmese Court. This princess, married against her will to the King of Ava, was afterwards the famous Queen Shin-sau-bu. When she assumed the sovereignty in Pegu (1453 A.D.), the sometime monk Dhammaceti, who had so devotedly befriended her, became her chief minister and later her son-in-law and successor.¹ Dhammaceti was not only a protector of the Order he had quitted, but a reformer in the orthodox sense. Something of the ecclesiastic reappears in the monarch's attachment to the *Sīhaḷasaṅgha*, an attachment to which the celebrated *Kalyāṇi* inscriptions bear witness. These inscriptions, found in a suburb of Pegu city, were carved on stone tablets by order of Dhammaceti, and are a very interesting chapter in the Pali records of Buddhism. They relate how the king determined to give the Order in *Rāmañña* a duly consecrated place for ceremonies, and how, after earnest study of authoritative texts, he sent a mission to Sri Lanka with this object. The monks sent by him received the *upasampadā* ordination afresh from the *Mahāvihāra* fraternity within consecrated boundaries on the *Kalyāṇi* River, near Colombo, and on their return consecrated the enclosure in Pegu, henceforth known as the *Kalyāṇisīmā*.² Within these boundaries the *upasampadā* could be conferred as from the direct spiritual successors of Mahinda, the great missionary to Sri Lanka, and thus the link was restored in the "succession of teachers" broken (said the *Sīhaḷasaṅgha* doctors) in *Rāmañña*. [39]

We must not forget how vital this matter appeared to Burmese Buddhists. The Order, in so far as such questions had gained importance for it, was somewhat less of a free fraternity and more of a "church," and the point of view taken by the monks was an ecclesiastical one. The part taken by the king is worthy of notice.

1. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 84; Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 32.

2. See Taw Sein Ko's *Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Dhammaceti, 1476 A.D.* "The ceremonial [for consecration of a *sīmā*] has been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia or the *Mahāvagga*, such as the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, *Sāratthadīpanī*, *Vimativinodanī*, *Vinayaṭṭhikā* by Vajirabuddhi therā, *Kaṅkhāvitaranī*, *Vinayavinicchayapakaraṇa*, *Vinayasamṅghapakaraṇa*, and the *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgha*; and the object of the *Kalyāṇi* inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a *sīmā* which shall be in accordance with what is laid down by Gautama Buddha, and which at the same time shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators" (*Ind. Ant.* xxii, p. 11). The *sīmā* is described in this article as a boundary formed by pits filled with water; the appropriate *kammavācā* are chanted as the consecrating ceremony."

In the case of the Kalyāṇisīmā, Dhammaceti used his royal authority to support his own deep conviction, and, as often happened in its history, the orthodox Saṅgha had the temporal power to some extent at its service. Not that the Saṅgha in Burma has ever claimed authority over consciences (i.e. the right to persecute). It has been as all other truly free associations, and, with time, has known divisions and developed factions, and a sect has sometimes had powerful supporters who were not content to stop short at a moral ascendancy over man. The perfect tolerance inculcated by the religion was hard for some of these strenuous minds to accept, and even Dhammaceti, though he was far indeed from being a despot in religion, was anxious to establish orthodoxy in his kingdom. The Kalyāṇi inscriptions show us to what degree a religious superiority over the rest of the community was claimed by those who had received the Sri Lanka ordination and were called the Sīhaḷasaṅgha.

An interesting literary point is the mention of the standard authorities on Vinaya subjects at the time,¹ and details as to the instruction required for novices and monks. These treatises are mostly of Sinhalese authorship.

Besides those of an older period we hear of the well-known *Vajira-buddhi-ṭīkā* (sometimes called the *Vinayagandhi* or *Vinayagaṇṭhi*), a ṭīkā or explanation of difficult passages [40] in the Vinaya commentaries. The author, Mahāvajirabuddhi of Sri Lanka, was a contemporary of Dhammaceti, to whom he sent a copy of his work.

2. Panyā, Ava, Taungu, and Laos

We must now follow the rather faint track of Burmese literary history from the time of the revolt and separation of the Southern provinces.

The chronicles of Burma tell us of a continual struggle between different dynasties and the hostile races they represented—Burmese, Talaing, and Shān. The Shāns, forced southward and westward by the

1. E.g. the *Sāratthadīpanī* mostly by Sāriputta, of Sri Lanka (Sās p. 33; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 12), the *Vimativinodanī* by ?Kassapa, of the Tamil country [*Damilaraṭṭha*] (Sās p. 33; *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 13), the *Vinaya-ṭīkā* by Vajirabuddhi (Sās p. 33; Gv p. 60), the *Vinayavinicchaya* by Buddhadatta of Sri Lanka (Sās p. 33; Gv p. 59; *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 18), the *Vinayasamṅgaha* by Sāriputta of Sri Lanka (Sās p. 33; *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 7). The *Simālaṅkārapakaraṇa* of Chapaṭa was a result of the Talaing therā's studies in Sri Lanka. Two Vinaya treatises (the *Pātimokkhavisodhanī* and *Simābandhanī-ṭīkā*) may belong to this period, but neither dates nor authors are mentioned. See Piṭ-sm p. 44.

Mongol armies of Kublai Khan, had become a powerful element in Burma in the thirteenth century.¹ They had penetrated to the south, and the Talaing population had accepted in Wagaru a ruler who was probably of half-Shān extraction. In Burma the King of Pagan (Kyaswa) was deposed in 1298 by the three Shān governors whose territories surrounded his diminished and enfeebled kingdom. The three, being brothers, held together and founded the dynasty that reigned at Myinzaing (Khandhapura),² Panyā (Vijayapura), and Sagaing (Jeyyapura) till the Prince Thadominbya, who was believed to be of Burmese royal race, made himself master of Upper Burma and founded Ava in 1364.³

Ava (Ratanapura), though not always of great importance as a capital, remained a religious and literary centre for many generations of authors. It is not necessary for our present purpose to look further into the records of war, revolts, counter revolts, marriages, and murders of those times, except when such events are connected with religious history and, by a rare chance, the name of a saintly celebrity or the title of a book [41] can be rescued from the tangle. The city of Ratanapura did not entirely supersede Pagan, Panyā, and Sagaing in religious importance. From all we can learn about the place and date of the Pali works possible to place between the founding of Ava and the middle of the sixteenth century, it seems that scholars were always to be found busy in the monasteries near the chief cities. However turbulent the times may have been, the reigning families protected the Order and loaded it with bounty. Their example was followed by men and women of rank and wealth.⁴

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives us a glimpse into the life of a monastic scholar of those days in the story of Ariyavaṃsa, a celebrated teacher and author of the fifteenth century.⁵ Ariyavaṃsa, who was of Pagan and a member of the Chapaṭa sect, settled in Ava in the reign of Narapati (1442–68).⁶ Before he became famous he went to Sagaing to study

1. Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 28; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 52.

2. Sās 81. "The three brothers, having deposed Kittitara in the year 664 of the Kaliyuga, set up their rule in Khandhapura."

3. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 62. Sās p. 90, "in the year 722 of the *Kaliyuga*."

4. See the very interesting collection, *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinyā, and Ava*, edited by Taw Sein Ko and translated by Tun Nyein of the Burma Secretariat; Rangoon, 1899. The list of works mentioned in an inscription of 1442 A.D. is very valuable for the chronology of works that we could not otherwise date. See Appendix to this chapter.

5. Sās pp. 95 ff.

6. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 285.

grammar with the learned therā known as Ye-din (“the water-carrier”). The chronicler tells us how Ye-din came by his name. Either to restrain his own inclination for talk or because he found the brethren too talkative, he was in the habit of keeping his mouth filled with water when others were present. When the young monk from Pagan first arrived at his monastery there seemed little hope that the silent Water-carrier would discourse to him on grammar. But Ariyavaṃsa was not to be discouraged. He came daily to the vihāra, performing all the services of a disciple for Ye-din, till the latter broke his silence to ask the reason of the therā’s visit. Ariyavaṃsa craved leave to study with the famous *ācariya*, since, though he had studied many texts, he had not grasped their meaning, and, till then, *upadesa* (exposition) of other masters had not helped him. Ye-din was touched and consented to give some of his time to the inquirer, and then explained the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*¹ [42] to him with “various methods of exposition.” Ariyavaṃsa was soon able to tell his preceptor that, thanks to his teaching, his pupil had grasped all the knowledge he had missed till then. The *ācariya* then charged him to do his part in helping others by writing a commentary on the text he felt best fitted to expound. Ariyavaṃsa chose the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*, and composed a commentary on it entitled *Maṇisāramañjūsā*. While writing it he submitted it, chapter by chapter, to the criticism of his fellow-monks, reading it aloud to them as they sat assembled on *uposatha* days in the courtyard of the Puññacetiya.

A very charming little anecdote is told of his readiness to accept correction. On one occasion a monk seated in the assembly twice uttered a loud sound of disapproval during the reading. Ariyavaṃsa noted the passages that had called forth these protests, and also found out where the objector lived. Returned to his own vihāra he carefully reviewed his work and found two things to correct—a fault of composition (repeating the same explanation twice) and a fault of grammar (a mistake in the gender of a word). He corrected them, sent for the other monk, and mildly asked him what fault he found with the work that had cost the writer the intense labour of long days and nights to compose. The other replied bluntly that there was little fault to find; the book was perfect as to its words and sense, but he had observed two faults, an unnecessary repetition and a wrong gender, and he would not let them pass without protest. And Ariyavaṃsa rejoiced in his heart and took off his garment

1. Commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*

of fine cloth and gave it to the other, saying, "With this do I pay reverence to thy knowledge." Few as the words are, there shines through them the scholar's clear and simple soul.

Ariyavaṃsa lived and wrote for some time at Sagaing, but taught afterwards at Ava, where the king was sometimes among his hearers. One of his most important later works was another Abhidhamma study entitled *Maṇidīpa*, a ṭīkā on the *Atthasālinī*¹ [43] of Buddhaghosa. He also composed a grammatical treatise, the *Gandhābharāṇa*,² and a study of the Jātaka, *Jātakavisodhana*. These works were composed, according to the old scholarly tradition, in Pali; but Ariyavaṃsa was a teacher not content to write only for the learned. He stands out in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*'s record of literary theas as the first name connected with a metaphysical work in the vernacular. He composed an *atthayojanā* or interpretation in Burmese of a commentary called the *Anuṭīkā* on the Abhidhamma.³ The *Gandhavaṃsa* attributes another work entitled *Mahānissara*⁴ to Ariyavaṃsa, but there is no mention of it in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.

Ariyavaṃsa may have been still living when a new writer came to Ava whose talents gained him the favour of the king.⁵ This was Sīlavaṃsa, of Taung-dwin-gyī, who had already composed a poetical version of the *Sumedhakathā*,⁶ a poem entitled *Buddhālāṅkāra*, and another, apparently on his native city, dignified by its Pali name *Pabbatabbhantara*. Sīlavaṃsa was thirty years of age when he came to the capital. The king, after the manner of royal patrons of religion, established him in a vihāra where other honoured teachers had lived before him, and there he lectured on the sacred texts. He, like Ariyavaṃsa, laboured to spread religious learning by interpreting Pali texts in the vernacular. A

1. Commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani* of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. See Forchhammer, *List*, p. xviii; Gv pp. 65, 67, 75; Sās p. 98; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 34. Piṭ-sm (p. 40) gives 1442 A.D. as the date of the *Maṇidīpa*.

2. The *Gandhābharāṇa* (otherwise *Ganthābharāṇa* or *Gaṇḍābharāṇa*) was studied and glossed by well-known Burmese scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and re-edited among standard works recently.

3. The work generally known as the *Anuṭīkā*, was written by Dhammapāla to supplement the original ṭīkā (of Ānanda) on the Abhidhamma. See the *Sāsanavaṃsa*'s list of commentaries composed in Sri Lanka (Sās p. 33).

4. I am not sure that this word should not be *Mahānissaya* (chief commentary or gloss in Burmese); the work would probably be the *atthayojanā*, of which mention has been made above.

5. Dutīya-min-khaung or ?Sirisudhammarājādhipati, who began to reign A.D. 1470. Sās p. 98, "the year 842 of the *Kaliyuga*." Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 285.

6. The story of the ascetic Sumedha forms part of the Introduction (*Nidāna*) to the Jātaka commentary. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. i, pp. 2-28.

Burmese *atthayojanā* of the *Nettipakaraṇa*,¹ and another edifying work, the *Pārāyanavatthu*, prove that he was not merely a poet, though the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* seems rather inclined to reproach him for his attachment to verse. [44]

Another poet of Ava, Raṭṭhasāra,² born in 1468, composed metrical versions of the Bhūridattajātaka,³ Hatthipālajātaka,⁴ and Saṃvarajātaka,⁵ besides a number of other poems. He may have been a good verse-maker and the tone of his poems religious, but he comes under the same mild censure as his brother-poet. In fact, the old-time chroniclers (*porāṇā*) exclude these two from the succession of theras precisely because they not only wrote verses but recited them, and instructed their pupils in the same art of recitation. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gravely explains that this is a question of discipline too large to be treated in the chronicle, and we are referred to a modern Vinaya treatise, the *Uposathavinicchaya*, for details. The composing and reciting of poems was apparently a transgression of the religious rule (*sikkhāpada*) concerning singing and dancing. Taking part in or looking on at such performances is forbidden to monks (*samaṇā*) and all those under temporary vows (*uposathikā*), who have undertaken a stricter self-denial than the ordinary layman.⁶

Sīlavaṃsa and Raṭṭhasāra were probably not the only poets of the monasteries in those days, but unfortunately such authors are far less likely to find mention, at least in religious chronicles, than the grammarians and expounders of Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

The *Kāyaviratigāthā* mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa*,⁷ but not in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, perhaps belongs to this epoch. It is described as a beautiful Pali poem of 274 verses on the subjection of sensuality.⁸ [45]

1. See pp. 6, 9.

2. Sās p. 99, "in the year 830 of the *Kaliyuga*."

3. Jātaka, No. 543. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka with its commentary, vol. vi, pp. 157–219.

4. Jātaka, No. 509. Fausböll, iv, pp. 473–91.

5. Jātaka, No. 462. Fausböll, iv, pp. 130–6.

6. The Buddhist laity is only bound to observe five fundamental rules of conduct, whereas the Order observes 220. A layman may bind himself to keep eight of the ten on the Uposatha days (occurring four times a month). See Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 70; Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* (articles "Sīlaṇ" and "Uposatho").

7. Gv pp. 65, 75.

8. A *ṭīkā* on it is ascribed to a monk of Pakudhanagara (Pegu city). See the *British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS.* and Mr. Nevill's note on the copy in his collection.

Till the beginning of the sixteenth century religion seems to have been respected in the Burmese kingdoms notwithstanding their chronic state of disturbance and change. But when the Shān chief of Monyin, after years of raiding and plundering, overthrew the King of Ava¹ and placed his own son Thohanbwā on the throne, even the Buddhist Order was cruelly persecuted. To Thohanbwā any community of monks meant a body of unmarried, disciplined men, far more dangerous to a despotic and hated government than fathers of families, and he deliberately set about exterminating the hapless mendicants. In the massacres that followed pagodas and monasteries went up in flames and precious libraries were destroyed.² But even in the terror and desolation around him the thera Saddhammakitti, a pupil of Ariyavaṃsa, was faithful to the cause of scholarship. He believed, as Arahanta had believed and preached to the Burmese conqueror of Pegu centuries before, that the fate of religion was bound up with the right understanding of the sacred texts, and that this must rest on a right knowledge of their language. And he did the best he could for the faith in those calamitous days by compiling the famous vocabulary *Ekakkharakosa*.³

Saddhammakitti died at Taungu (Ketumatī), then the capital of an independent kingdom⁴ and a refuge for great numbers of the Burmese who had fled from the cruel tyranny of Thohanbwā. The King of Taungu, Mahāsiriḷḷeyyasūra,⁵ protected religion and built cetiyas and vihāras.⁶ Thus, in Taungu, where the Order was safe and in peace, not, as in Ava, barely surviving a relentless persecution, it was possible to discuss points of discipline. And a controversy arose on the use of fermented drinks. Intoxicants are forbidden [46] to the Order, but the commentaries on the Vinaya (for example, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* of Buddhaghosa) left it doubtful whether the juice of the palm and coconut trees could lawfully be drunk by the religious or not. Some maintained that such juices were lawful if drunk as they flowed from the tree, others denied it, as some commentaries spoke of the “elements of

1. Mahārājādhipati (1501–26). Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 87, 92, 93

2. 2 Sās pp. 76, 100. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives the date of these dire events as “the year 887 of the *Kaliyuga*” (= A.D. 1525).

3. The *Ekakkharakosa* is not mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa*. (In the Mandalay collection at the India Office there is a work entitled *Siriviccittālaṅkāra* by a Saddhammakitti, but whether by the author of the *Ekakkharakosa* I cannot say. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 52.)

4. Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 90 ff.

5. Came to the throne in 1485 and reigned forty-five years.

6. Sās p. 80.

intoxication” latent in the seed, and the dispute continued till the thera Mahāparakkama, “seated in the midst,” settled the question. According to his judgment, which was accepted by the disputants, the juices in question might be drunk, but only fresh from the tree. Mahāparakkama afterwards treated the whole subject in a work entitled *Surāvinicchaya*¹ (Decisions concerning Intoxicants).

It would seem that religion was not long or greatly in danger at Panyā, as the *Sāsanavaṃsa* assures us that many authors wrote there.² Only two names are given, however—Saddhammaguru, the author of *Saddavutti*, and Vijitāvī, celebrated for two grammatical treatises, a *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā*, or commentary on the *Sandhikappa* (section treating of euphonic combination of letters) of Kaccāyana’s grammar,³ and the *Vācakopadesa*, still recognized by Burmese scholars. The *Vācakopadesa* treats the grammatical categories “from a logical point of view” (Oldenberg). These familiar names are missing from the *Gandhavaṃsa*. The manuscript of a *ṭīkā* on *Vācakopadesa* in the India Office⁴ gives the date of this treatise as A.D. 1606. In 1530 began a more auspicious epoch for the Order. A warlike and able ruler, Ta-bin-shwe-hti, succeeded Mahāsiriḷḷeyyasūra as King of Taungu.⁵

Ta-bin-shwe-hti conquered Pegu, where he not only protected religion but added to his own glory by his magnificent foundations. In his reign a revolution overthrew the Shān [47] prince reigning at Ava, who had cruelly persecuted the monks, and before many years the Shān rule succumbed before Bayin Naung. Ava was taken by the Burmese under this famous soldier’s command in 1555.

Bayin Naung,⁶ one of the most striking figures in the history of Burma, the sometime general and vice-regent of Ta-bin-shwe-hti and successor to the throne, united Burma and Pegu into one empire and carried his conquests into the Northern Shān States, Laos and Siam. He was a zealous Buddhist, zealous, indeed, to intolerance, and forced an outward profession of Buddhism on all his subjects, native or foreign.⁷

1. Sās p. 81.

2. Sās p. 90.

3. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 45; Sās-dīp verse 1242. The *Vācakopadesa* is mentioned without the author’s name in Forchhammer’s *List*, p. xxii.

4. Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 104. The commentary on *Vācakopadesa*, by another Vijitāvī, was written at Sagaing. The two works and the author are mentioned Piṭ-sm p. 71.

5. 1530 A.D., Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 93.

6. The ” “Branginoco” of the Portuguese. We have not only Oriental but European testimony to the magnificence of his reign.

Nevertheless, all we hear of him in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is that in 1578 “the Lord of many white elephants,”¹ then at the height of his power but near his end, appointed his son regent of Laos and sent the thera Saddhammacakkaśāmi with him to “purify religion” in the conquered province. A few names of scholarly monks and their works are associated with Laos in this period. Nāṇavilāsa wrote the *San̄khyāpakāsaka*,² and Sirimaṅgala a ṭīkā on that work and the commentary *Maṅgaladīpanī*. A thera whose name is not mentioned wrote the *Uppātasanti*.³

At Haṃsāvati some work was done in the way of commenting on the Abhidhamma. The thera Saddhammālaṅkāra wrote the *Paṭṭhānasārādīpanī*, and Mahānāma a ṭīkā entitled *Madhusārattadīpanī*.⁴ These works are mentioned without any date in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which by the way, differing from the *Piṭakatthamāin*, gives Ānanda as the [48] author of the last-named, a ṭīkā on the Abhidhamma. The *Piṭakatthamāin* places both in the reign of Bayin Naung.

The Order never again suffered from a ruler in Burma as in the evil days under Thohanbwā. From the time when the Shān rule was finally demolished by Burmese kings, more favourable days began for religion. The seventeenth century saw some further changes, which we shall note as we proceed; a religious literature in the vernacular, in the Burmese language itself, grew up round the older texts, but the earlier traditions of Pali scholarship always found faithful followers. [49]

7. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 108 ff.

1. Sās p. 51.

2. Nāṇavilāsa wrote the *San̄khyāpakāsaka* at Ayuddha, Piṭ-sm p. 61.

3. A work consulted by Minayeff and mentioned in his *Recherches*. As Dr. Barnett has pointed out to me, from this title (Sanskrit : *Utpātasānti*) the work would appear to treat of rites or charms for averting evil omens or public calamities. For *sānti*, in the sense of expiatory rite, see *Sadvim̄śa-brāhmaṇa* (Prap. v), edited by H. F. Eelsingh, Leiden, 1908, cf. p. 51 below and Appendix.

4. Sās p. 48: Piṭ-sm pp. 40, 41. In the latest edition (by Hsayā U Hpye, Rangoon, 1908) the author's name appears as Mahānanda.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—PEGU AND UPPER BURMA—THE SCHOLARS OF AVA AND SAGAING—TĪPĪTAKĀLANKĀRA, ARI- YĀLANKĀRA, AND OTHERS

By the year 1617 Burma and Pegu, welded into one empire by Bayin Naungs conquests, had already been separated once and forced into a second union by the conqueror's grandson Mahādhammarāja.¹

Pegu city (Haṃsāvātī), as in Bayin Naung's time, was the capital, and we can understand the Burmese king's popularity in the south when we learn (but not from the *Sāsanavaṃsa*) that he had succeeded in breaking up the audacious rule of the Portuguese adventurer Philip de Brito, whose government of Pegu had been carried on with the methods of a brutal buccaneer. De Brito, with wanton disrespect for the country's religion, had destroyed pagodas, and we cannot suppose that he spared monasteries or libraries. We do not know if even the Buddhist monks interceded for him when he was vanquished by their champion, taken prisoner, and condemned to an agonizing death.

There is no record in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* of Pali works produced in this reign. The doings, literary or otherwise, of the Saṅgha of Pegu are probably not well known to the author of our Burmese chronicle. Perhaps, too, he is influenced by a certain rivalry in scholarship which made the Talaing monks unwilling to believe in the learning of Burma, while those of the upper country were equally sure of their own superiority.²

It is almost touching to read in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* the reason (as it first appeared to the good monks of the south) why the kings of Bayin Naung's dynasty preferred Pegu as the royal residence, even after union with Burma: "As for the monks in Burma, there are none expert in the sacred texts and learned in the *Vedasatthas*. Therefore, hearing this, [50] the King³ sent a message to the thera dwelling at the Four storied Vihāra,⁴ saying: "Send hither to Rāmañña some mendicants, from thirty to forty years of age, expert in the sacred texts and learned in the

1. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 128.

2. Sās p. 106.

3. Ukkamaṃsika, otherwise Thadodhammarāja, succeeded Mahādhamma-rāja 1629 A.D.

4. A royal foundation at Sagaing on the Irrawaddy.

Vedasatthas.” So the thera sent Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, Tilokālaṅkāra, and Tisāsanālaṅkāra, with thirty Bhikkhus. When they arrived at Pegu, the King built a vihāra for them on the Eastern side of the Mōdho Cetiya, and gave it to them. And on *uposatha* days he summoned those monks of Rāmañña who were expert in the sacred texts and learned in the *Vedasatthas*, and commanded them to hold a discussion with the three theras. And the monks of Rāmañña said: “Formerly, indeed, we thought there were no monks in Burma expert in the sacred texts and learned in the *Vedasatthas*. But lo! these Burmese monks are exceedingly expert and learned.” It seems to have been a triumph for Burma.

An interesting point in the little story is the mention of the *Vedaśāstras* side by side with the Buddhist sacred texts. It is clear, from the list of works given to the libraries of Burmese monasteries¹ and from various allusions in the Pali literature, that Brahmanic works were studied in the vihāras, and we know that some were translated into Burmese. But this branch of learning was considered inferior. There is a mention in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* of two monks living in the reign of Mahādhammarāja² who gained the king’s favour by their aptitude for state affairs. They were *vedasatthakovidā* too—expert in the *Vedasatthas*—and therefore, no doubt, acute and useful advisers; but the Order disapproved of them. They are *pariyattipaṭipattisu mandā*—weak in the sacred doctrine and practice. They journey to Pegu and disappear at once from our sight. They have no place in the “succession of theras.”

But the *Vedasattha* experts were probably innocent enough of any religious interest in the hymns and sacrifices of the Brahmanic cult, and they were certainly not Vedic scholars [51] in the Indian pandit’s sense of the words; for the Vedas of the Burmese, as Forchhammer explains, are a collection of Brahmanic texts on astrology, medicine, and “science” generally, such as the *Sūryasiddhānta* (astronomy), *Laghugraha* (astrology), *Dravyagūṇa* (medicine), besides *Tantraśāstras* (manuals of magic) and *Kāmaśāstras* (manuals treating of love).³ Some of these, especially the last, cannot by the greatest stretch of liberality be fitted into any scheme of monastic learning; and, indeed, we do not hear that the Buddhist monks ever made use of them or the Brahmanical texts composed for the practice of magic. That, in all its branches, was the

1. See Appendix.

2. Came to the throne A.D. 1606.

3. See Jardine’s *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introduction by E. Forchhammer, p. 17. Also Forchhammer, *Report* (1879–80), pp. 6 ff.

province of the professional Brahmans, of whom there were always some, said to be experts in the *Atharvaveda*, in the service of the king.¹ But there are works reckoned as *Vedasatthas* in which the monks found food for study, and “Veda” subjects which they themselves delighted to handle, either in Pali or the vernacular. For a king’s *ācariya* must be able to discourse on ethics and polity, pronounce moral maxims, and give advice. The *Rājanīti*, *Lokanīti*, and *Dhammanīti* represent this sort of literature² modelled on Sanskrit originals. The wise fables of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* have also found favour with Buddhists. Again, certain Sanskrit grammatical works became famous in Further India, and lexicons such as the *Amarakośa*. We have seen how stoutly the theas grappled with Pali grammar, and we can imagine the sober joy with which a copy of the *Amarakośa*³ would be welcomed in a vihāra library. [52]

We shall have to return presently to the question of the Brahmanical element in Buddhist Law.⁴ As for other Brahmanical contributions to the literature of Burma, they were naturally accepted by the fathers of Burmese scholarship, as there could be no reason for cultivating Buddhist medicine or Buddhist arithmetic. As far as we know at present the fathers were sage enough not to study the gems of Sanskrit poetry.

Let us now glance at certain features in the seventeenth century literature, features which may be traced clearly enough for our purpose in a brief notice of the best-known authors.

First, we find that many of the distinguished teachers of that time wrote in both Pali and Burmese. Some, for instance, Varabhisāṅghanātha author of the *Maṇikuṅḍalavatthu*, and one of his contemporaries, author of the *Sattarājadhammavatthu*, wrote their

1. For instance, when Anorata was baffled in his attempt to take Thatōn, the charm which rendered the city impregnable was found out by the king’s attendant Brahmans.

2. See James Gray, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims: The Nīti Literature of Burma*, pp. 119, 141, and R.C. Temple, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlvi (1898), pp. 239 ff.

3. On the famous dictionary of Amarasimha see Zachariae, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*. “Amara,” says Zachariae, “war ohne Zweifel ein Buddhist,” though this can be inferred only from his dedication and his placing of the names of Buddhas before the Brahmanical divinities, and not from any specially Buddhist matter in the rest of the work, v. *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, Grundriss, Band i, Heft iiiB, p. 18. The *Piṭakatthamain* (p. 73) is cautious on the subject, and only states that the *Amarakośa* was composed at Benares by Amarasimha.

4. Vide J. Jardine and Forchhammer, *Notes on Buddhist Law*; also Introductory Remarks, Notes, pt. iii, p. ix, for the supposed prevalence of Sanskrit learning in the courts of the early kings of Prome and Pagan.

edifying tales only in the vernacular, or at least produced nothing noteworthy in Pali.¹ Secondly, the devotion of the Burmese scholars to the study of Pali grammar, style, and prosody bore fruit in works of which the *Rājindarājābhidheyadīpanī* is an instance. It would not be quite fair to call any therā a court poet, but on certain occasions theras composed Pali verses adorned with the traditional compliment and eulogy of royal patrons. Thus, when Ukkāṃsika was consecrated and took the title Sirisu Ratanākaraḍḍhammarājamahādhipati, the therā wrote the *Rājindarājābhidheyadīpanī* (on the naming of kings) to commemorate the ceremony.² Mahādhammarāja and Ukkāṃsika were both generous to the Order, and mention of monasteries founded by them occurs often in the religious history of the seventeenth century. Some of these foundations were associated with well-known [53] and venerable names, such as Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, Ariyālaṅkāra, his pupil Ariyālaṅkāra the younger, and Aggadhammālaṅkāra, who were among the deepest students of their time. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* mentions Tipiṭakālaṅkāra and the elder Ariyālaṅkāra together as equally great examples of learning. Tipiṭakālaṅkāra was a man of wide erudition, says the chronicle, but Ariyālaṅkāra excelled in *dhātupaccayavibhaṅga*, in other words, was an accomplished grammarian.³

Tipiṭakālaṅkāra was born in 1578 A.D., and went, while still a boy, to Prome. He entered the Order at the age of thirteen, and his literary career soon began. He studied with passionate zeal, and we next hear that the fifteen-year-old novice has composed in Pali a poetical version of the Vessantarājātaka,⁴ that the Burmese love most to hear, the tale of the Bodhisat's last birth as a man and his supreme acts of merit.

Tipiṭakālaṅkāra received the *upasampadā* ordination in his twentieth year. His studious life underwent a great change when Prome, then an almost independent State, fell into the hands of Surakitti,⁵ King of Burma. Tipiṭakālaṅkāra was invited or compelled to come to the capital, and on the banks of the Irrawaddy near Ava the king built a vihāra for him. Afterwards, weary perhaps of royal vihāras, Tipiṭakālaṅkāra withdrew to the Tiriyaḍabbata to live in the quiet of the forest. However, in 1602 we again hear that he is in residence in a monastery

1. Sās p. 105. These authors belong to the time of Mahādhammarāja, 1606–29.

2. Sās p. 102; Piṭ-sm p. 58. Ratanākara was acquainted with Sanskrit rhetoric and poetics.

3. Sās p. 106.

4. Sās p. 105; see Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. vi, pp. 479 ff

5. Eldest son of Bayin Naung.

built by the king,¹ and is famed far and wide for his learning and piety.

While living at the Four-storied Vihāra built by Surakitti, Tipiṭakālaṅkāra given up to Abhidhamma studies, wrote a commentary on the introductory verses of the *Atthasālinī*. Later, at the request of Nyaung Ram Min, he composed a lighter work, the *Yasavaḍḍhanavathu*. When in retreat in the quiet of the Tiriyapabbata he had some occasion [54] to take up Vinaya questions, and the result was the *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā*, one of those numerous works composed by theas of high authority to keep the old traditional “discipline” pure.

The list of Tipiṭakālaṅkāra’s works shows varied learning, but he is remembered chiefly as an Abhidhamma scholar and a saint. He was a chosen adviser of Ukkāṃsika, and one of his works is called “Responses” to the king’s questions.²

The theas of Sagaing at this period seem to have taken the lead in Abhidhamma studies. One of these, the thera Tilokaguru, toiled for many years at ṭīkāś and supplementary ṭīkāś (*anuṭṭīkā*) on various texts. After dealing very thoroughly with the Dhātukathā³ he composed a ṭīkā on the Yamaka. But his great feat was a ṭīkā on the Paṭṭhāna, the most important book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.⁴

Tilokaguru is but one example. The Sagaing monasteries also produced a number of Burmese *nissayas* (interpretations or paraphrases) on Abhidhamma texts during the seventeenth century. But it is not easy to distribute these works aright among their several authors, whose Pali names are but an indifferent help to accuracy. There were at least four Ariyālaṅkāras noted for scholarship. The monk mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* as the second Ariyālaṅkāra (pupil of the great thera who was “equal to Tipiṭakālaṅkāra”) is probably the scholar of whom Oldenberg remarks that the Burmese are indebted to him for the version of a great number of Pali works. Those ascribed to this Ariyālaṅkāra are:

1. Nyaung Ram Min (1599–1605), son of Bayin Naung. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 286; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 42.

2. See *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 167.

3. See the *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 41.

4. The most important, that is, if we place ourselves at the point of view of the Burmese Abhidhamma students of that day. Mrs. Rhys Davids, to whose rare ability and patience we owe a scholarly edition of a part of this text, remarks, “the aim of the work seems to have been more a series of exercises in a logic of terms and relations than any attempt to enunciate metaphysical propositions” (see Introduction to the *Dukapaṭṭhāna*, edited for the Pali Text Society by Caroline F. Rhys Davids, pp. x–xiv). The Paṭṭhāna is also called the *Mahāpakaraṇa* (Great Treatise). It consists of twenty-four sections, and in manuscript amounts to over a thousand leaves. See Forchhammer’s *List*, p. xv.

(1) Interpretations of the *Atthasālinī* of Buddhaghosa, the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* of Saddhammajotipāla,¹ the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* of Sumaṅgala,² [55] and the *Vibhaṅga* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.³ (2) A Pali *ṭikā* on the *Kaccāyanabheda*, entitled *SārattHAVIKāsinī*. (3) Ariyālaṅkāra was careful to add a Burmese version to what we should nowadays call his revised edition of Kaccāyana's grammar.

This work was done mostly in the Dakkhiṇavana Vihāra, or Monastery of the Southern Grove, near the Rājamaṇicūla cetiya at Sagaing. Ukkamaṣika had built four monasteries, one on each side of his famous pagoda,⁴ and presented them to theas learned in the sacred texts. Another grammarian in residence on the west side produced an edition of the *Nyāsa*,⁵ "adorned" (as the Pali phrase goes), and set forth with various methods of explanation.⁶

The *Nyāsa* was taken up again in the reign of Sirinandadhammarājapavarādhipatirāja (A.D. 1648) by the king's preceptor, Dāthanāga of Sagaing. His commentary is entitled *NiruttiSāramañjūsā*.⁷

We here come across a mention of Pagan, once the flourishing centre of grammatical studies. The thera Jambudhaja (or Jambudīpadhaja), as the king named him) was one whom Ukkamaṣika had delighted to honour. He was of Pagan, and was first brought to the king's notice by Tipiṭakālaṅkāra.⁸ The works ascribed to him are *Samvaṇṇanāyadīpanī*, *NiruttiSaṅgraha* (grammar), and *Sarvajñānyāyadīpanī* (grammar and philology).⁹ Jambudhaja, author of the little grammatical [56] treatise called *Rūpabhedapakāsanī*, is probably this same *Jambudīpadhaja*.¹⁰

1. See above, p. 18, Chap. II.

2. See Oldenberg's *Catalogue of Pali MSS. at the India Office*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 85, 88–90, 12:3, 124. Sumaṅgala is also known as Sumaṅgalasāmi and his work as the *Ṭikā-kyaw*.

3. The *Vibhaṅga* is second in order of the seven *Abhidhamma* books. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that it may be considered a sequel of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, and was probably used, like the latter, as a manual for study. For other remarks on these studies see the valuable introduction to the Pali Text Society's edition of the *Vibhaṅga* (ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids), 1904.

4. The Kaung-mhu-daw pagoda, five miles from Sagaing.

5. See above, p. 21.

6. Sās pp. 106, 110; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 124.

7. See p. 111, Sās-dīp verse 1241; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 65. A work with a nearly similar title (*NiruttiMañjūsā*), mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 60 and 70), is a *ṭikā* on the *Cullanirutti* of Kaccāyana.

8. Sās pp. 115, 116.

9. These works are mentioned by Nevill, who saw them in Sri Lanka. He dates them 1652 A.D.

10. Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 50.

The Abhidhamma seems to have had less attraction for him than for most of his noted contemporaries, and he devoted himself to the Vinaya, of which he translated text and commentary into Burmese. But Mañiratana, a writer of the same period, is an example of a life spent in interpreting the abstruser side of sacred learning to those who were only capable of reading the vernacular. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* mentions translations by him of the following works—the *Atthasālinī* and *Sam-mohavinodanī* (Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī and the Vibhaṅga) and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī* (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Pātimokkha of the Vinaya); this last seems to have been Mañiratana's only departure from metaphysical studies. Then, turning to the later exponents of the Abhidhamma, he translated the ṭikās *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* and *Saṅkhepaṅṅanā* into Burmese.

Another therā, Sāradassi, of the same place (Nayyinyua, in the Ava district), was the author of some works equally characteristic of the time. His *Gūḷhatthadīpanī* (explaining difficult passages in the seven books of the Abhidhamma)¹ and the *Visuddhimaggagaṇṭhipadattha*, a book of the same nature on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, are in Pali. He also translated the *Nettipakaraṇa* into Burmese, not to shirk his part in opening up the Pali texts to readers without learning. If he is a little less shadowy to us than some of his fellow-authors it is because, with all his grasp of abstruse questions, he had, for a time at least, leanings that greatly displeased the stricter brethren. He lived in the village itself, and indulged in luxuries such as a head-covering and a fan. But we are told that he afterwards renounced all those practices "contrary to the discipline" and went into retreat in the forest.

The middle and latter part of the seventeenth century were not peaceful times for Burma. The country was harassed by Chinese raiders, rumours and evil omens troubled the people, [57] the tutelary *devatā* of the towns were said to be departing, and "religion was dimmed." Great efforts were made to conjure these and other ills by the practice of religion; the local gods were conciliated with offerings, and "merit," in the Buddhist sense, was acquired by new religious foundations. When Mahāpavaradhammarājālokādhipati came to the throne in 1651 he built some monasteries, according to the custom of his predecessors, and presented them to distinguished theras. The most eminent

1. Sās p. 116; see Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxvi, and Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 35; *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 39, 40.

among these was the Aggadhammālaṅkāra, already mentioned, who translated several Pali texts into the vernacular.

He first paid the usual homage to Kaccāyana, but by writing a Burmese translation instead of a Pali commentary; afterwards he translated the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, and then, as if continually seeking heavier and heavier tasks, the patient scholar toiled through translations of the *Mātikā* (of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī), the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka, and the Paṭṭhāna.¹ The last task alone would have served a less diligent man for a lifetime, but Aggadhammālaṅkāra probably had earnest students to satisfy. There is no doubt about his real devotion to his subject.

This prodigious worker was not entirely given up to the sacred texts. Circumstances made him a court historian. He came of a family of officials, and no doubt was better fitted than most Palists of his day to carry out certain royal commissions. The last of his works that we find mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is a *Rājavaṃsasankhepa*, a summary of the official *Rājavaṃsa*, or a short chronicle of the kings. This he undertook at the request of his protector, Mahāpavaradhammarājalokādhīpati.²

Under the auspices of the next king, Naravara,³ the thera Tejodīpa, disciple of Tilokaguru, composed a ṭīkā on the *Paritta*.⁴ It is the only literary event noticed by the *Sāsanavaṃsa* in this reign, which, in fact, only lasted a few months. Under Naravara's successor Siripavaramahādhammarāja⁵ a thera named Devacakkobhāsa comes upon the scene, whose [58] influence with the king was evidently great, for the usual reason—he was learned in the *Vedasatthas*. The usual mild reproach follows—he was “weak” in the knowledge of the sacred texts.⁶ Nevertheless, his system of Abhidhamma teaching was recommended to the Order by the king. Devacakkobhāsa made his pupils study and recite the Paṭṭhāna (we suppose in Pali). Not only the monks of Burma but those of Pegu were made to study the Paṭṭhāna. By the king's order great religious festivals were held, and the people were called upon to honour the Order in every way.

We have now reached the year 1698, and can pause to glance at

1. Sās p. 111.

2. Sās p. 112; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 220.

3. Mahāsihasūradhammarāja.

4. Sās p. 115.

5. A.D. 1672.

6. Sās p. 117. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us by the way that the well known Burmese method of preparing and decorating palm-leaf manuscripts was first put into practice in this reign. See Symes, *Account of an Embassy to the kingdom of Ava*, p. 339.

those features of the Pali–Burmese literature which have come into clear relief during the seventeenth century.

Our attention is arrested by a new tendency. The zeal for Pali grammar seems to be fainter than in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a more abstract study, the Abhidhamma, is occupying the learned among the monks, or at least those of whom we hear, those whom we may call the official scholars, the *theras* who have the title *rājaguru* (king's preceptor) and work in monasteries endowed by the kings. We do not know much of the lives of these teachers, but their choice of subjects throws a certain light on what was demanded of them, even by the less learned among their students, or, at least, what they, the most influential scholars of their time, insisted that their students should attempt. We have seen how the several books of the Abhidhamma were interpreted and paraphrased in Burmese during the seventeenth century, and we cannot doubt that the disciples living near their venerable masters in the monasteries by the Irrawaddy persevered in studying the third Piṭaka. And that tradition of the seventeenth century has come down to later generations, as the most casual survey of modern Burmese literature will show.

Everyone who has seen a collection of Buddhist manuscripts from Burma must have noticed the numerous copies of Abhidhamma [59] texts with vernacular interpretations. The descriptions we read of Burmese life and character might lead us to expect a preference for something less arid, more picturesque, more human, more adapted to the native genius. But there is not really an anomaly here. In this particular case the Burmese remember what was said in old days about the *Buddhavacana*, the word of the Buddha.

The classic fifth century commentaries, for instance the *Atthasālinī*¹ make an interesting distinction between the three great divisions of the *Buddhavacana*—the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma. The Vinaya, they say, contains the teaching of rules of conduct, prohibitions, and prescriptions (*āṇādesanā*), the Sutta that of the current practice or experience of men (*voḥāradesanā*), the Abhidhamma that of the highest or absolute truth (*paramatthadesanā*).

Let us see how these three collections have fared in Burmese Buddhism.

The Pali Vinaya took root quickly and profoundly in Burma. All stu-

1. See *Atthasālinī*, E. Müller's edition (Pali Text Society), p. 21.

dents of the subject are agreed on the constancy with which later Vinaya literature reflects the ancient form and spirit. Buddhism has a lengthy and minute code for the mendicant Order. That code has been prodigiously commented and glossed in the course of centuries, but the novice learns the discipline from his preceptor in the monastery by example and habit, rather than from books, and by everyday practice the observance of the rules becomes second nature without much mental effort. Of course, some book-study is required, but the essential knowledge is easy for the young monk to master even in Pali. And then there is that old and kindly institution "The Smaller Vinayas",¹ containing the essential precepts and formulas of the Discipline.

Controversial works have been written from time to time on matters of discipline, but to know them is not a fundamental part of Vinaya study. Occasionally disputes on questions of discipline arose in the Burmese Saṅgha at times when the word [60] of the Buddha was, it seems, not very well known to most of the monks; and we read that the king intervened in such cases to command research in the ancient texts, or appoint teachers whose decision was to be final. The king's privilege, however, was particular; the attitude of the Burmese laity in general towards the Order and its discipline has been one of unquestioning reverence. The Vinaya itself, being a code of prohibitions concerning the monastic life, has not of course had a great influence on culture. Not that it has remained altogether without its bearing on the lay life, for there is a Vinaya element in the Burmese law codes. This we might expect, as religion and law are inseparable in Oriental polity. But when we look for the influence of Pali literature on Burmese culture it is in the Sutta that we find it.

Through the immense variety of discourses, verses, and legends that make up the Sutta piṭaka the path of the saint is traced for us in every stage, from the first moment of religious effort to the summit of achievement—arahatship. And the Sutta Piṭaka has abundance of human nature in it. So in widening and widening circles it has sent a moral impulse through the life of the whole Burmese people. To give two instances: the *Paritta*² is a common treasury of good words to ward off the evils of everyday life and keep the great maxims of religion in memory, and the Jātaka has found its way everywhere, from

1. See above, p. 6, Chap. I.

2. See above, p. 3, Chap. I.

law codes and chronicles to popular plays. The Burmese child grows up steeped in beliefs, practices, and notions of “merit” and “demerit” drawn from the Sutta. He has nothing new to learn about this part of his faith when he forsakes the world and enters on the monastic life. What the earnest novice from generation to generation has set himself to study in the calm of the vihāra is the *paramatthadhamma*, “the highest” of the Master’s teaching, the Abhidhamma.

If the Burmese student is cheerfully at home in the Sutta, he approaches the Abhidhamma with awed respect, like his brother Buddhist in Siam and Cambodia. The Buddhist of [61] Indo-China is by no means enamoured, as the Indian Buddhists were, of speculation for its own sake. He reads in Buddhaghosa that there is an exalted religious joy to be found in only considering the vastness of the Paṭṭhāna. The mind of the believer, launched upon that ocean, may allow itself to be rocked to a contemplative calm. The virtue of this passive reception of the *Buddhavacana* can never have been doubted in ease-loving Burma. The Burmese “Abhidhammikā” Buddhists had little in common with the keen disputants of the north who thought in Sanskrit, and from whom sprang the great champions of the Mahāyāna system—Aśvaghōṣa, Aśaṅga, and Śāntideva.

The greater number of Burmese students of metaphysics have depended from early times on compendiums and manuals. The most successful of these, after the canonical Dhammasaṅgaṇī,¹ has been the twelfth-century textbook *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*.² This little treatise is a summary of Buddhist theories on mental processes, on existence and annihilation. It is a mass of technical terms needing an extensive commentary. Commentators, of course, were forthcoming. The Sinhalese theras Vimalabuddhi and Sumaṅgala both composed ṭīkāṣ and the second, the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*, is part of the usual course of (Abhidhamma) study in Burma.³ Two ancient and authoritative treatises from Sri Lanka, the *Abhidhammāvatāra*⁴ by Buddhadatta and the *Saccasāṅkhepa*⁵ by Culladhammapāla, were studied more in the early

1. Edited in JPTS, 1844, with introduction by Rhys Davids, See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 38, 46, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii.

2. Edited by E. Müller, trans. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids.

3. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 38, 48; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; GV, pp. 59, 62, 69. Sās p. 34.

4. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 35, 37; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; *Gandhavamsa*, pp. 62, 72.

5. See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 35–37; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xvii; Gv pp. 60, 70; Sās p. 34.

period of Burmese scholarship than in later times.

Probably no Pali work on the Abhidhamma has been more often translated and paraphrased than the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, of which the *Piṭakatthamain* alone mentions twenty-three different Burmese *nis-sayas*. All the most noted theras [62] of the seventeenth century took it in hand, and it has been carefully edited by modern *hsayā-daws*. A close analysis of the principal translations of this single little text would be an explanation, incomplete of course, but very interesting and instructive, of the true Burmese view of Abhidhamma theories, such as we find in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, also a manual,¹ and we must not forget that these theories are as much a part of the Buddhism of Burma as the human and touching spirit of the Sutta.

Some curious elements have straggled in under the accommodating title *Paramattha*, and sometimes in research we may think we have come on a metaphysical dissertation and find a guide to Buddhist cosmogony.² Such productions, however, are not characteristic enough of the Pali literature to need more than a mention.³

To return to the seventeenth century. We have seen that some of the most eminent scholars spent their time making Burmese versions of Pali texts. Either there was a much wider public, as we should now say, for religious works at that period than in earlier times, or Pali scholarship was at a low ebb in the Order. There is some ground for this last supposition. Burma had been in an almost continual state of change and disturbance since the Shān element had become first troublesome and then powerful; and Lower Burma, annexed, separated, and annexed again, suffered no less.

It would be interesting to know something about the numerical strength of the Order at different times during that period. It probably diminished greatly when even monasteries [63] were insecure, and the young men of the population were more likely to be fighting than for-

1. See the learned introduction of Mrs. Rhys Davids to her translation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*.

2. An example is the Pali-Burmese *Paramatthamañjūsā*, described by M. l'Abbé Chevrillon in the list of Burmese MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

3. I do not mean to imply that these matters are included in Abhidhamma literature without an antique and scriptural warrant for their presence. Mrs. Rhys Davids has pointed out that the last book of the *Vibhaṅga*, "suggesting by its fine title, the Heart of the Dhamma, more than it contains, gives a number of summaries and a good deal of affirmation, much of it mythological, about the conditions of life in this and other spheres—in human beings and other beings" (Introduction to the *Vibhaṅga*, ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, p. xix).

saking the world.¹ Those were not times for study to prosper. And, as the *Sāsanavaṃsa* says, “religion was dimmed” from time to time. But the Burmese kings were sufficiently good Buddhists to build vihāras and encourage learning, and the great theras were indefatigable workers. It is told of Tipiṭakālānkāra that he once said in jest to Aggadhammālānkāra, “When I am dead you will be the only learned man left in the world.” And perhaps the scholarly tradition did at one time seem likely to perish out of Burma. But there were always workers to keep it alive, some of whom we shall only find in the local chronicles (*thamain*) of temples and vihāras, and in the eighteenth century, when another national crisis had come and passed, a literary revival began under Alaungpayā and his descendants. [64]

1. In Ukkamsika's reign a very curious situation was brought about. The king, who had fled from the capital in consequence of a conspiracy headed by one of his sons, took refuge in a monastery, where the Bhikkhus formed themselves into an armed guard to protect him. See *Sās* p. 108.

CHAPTER V

PALI LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—THE PĀRUPANA/ EKAMSIKA CONTROVERSY—FOUNDATION OF AMARAPURA—BOD- ĀPAYĀ'S EULOGIST—THE RĀJĀDHIRĀJAVILĀSINĪ—THE JĀTAKA IN BURMA

As the eighteenth century opens, the religious life of the country seems to have passed under a cloud, and we may be fairly certain that there was no intellectual advance in the Order. Perhaps there was even some reaction, if we can judge from the uninteresting controversy that drags through nearly a hundred years in the chronicle.¹

Even without studying in detail the literature of the time, we notice the absence of work such as Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, Ariyālaṅkāra, and Aggadhammālaṅkāra had produced in Upper Burma. In Rāmañña the Order lacked support. Since the removal of the capital to Ava in 1634, the south had gradually sunk into misery and ruin.² Towards the middle of the century, as we shall see, a revolt against Burma was successful for a time, but the final result was that a later conqueror, Alaungpayā, broke down the Talaing nationality completely and finally. Thus, though Alaungpayā was really a better Buddhist than his milder predecessors, the fortune of war went against scholarship in the ancient home of Buddhism from the end of the seventeenth century till the time when the Burmese conqueror's power was firmly established.

And at the moment when, leaving the seventeenth century, we have our next glimpse of literary history, there was not only a state of gloom and listlessness in Pegu but in Burma also. The country was no longer ruled by kings of the energetic and aggressive type,³ who were usually active benefactors of religion and therefore of Pali literature. [65]

If we turn to the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, we come straightway upon a picture already familiar. The long, inglorious reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin⁴ (in Pali, Setibhinda) has begun; the inner history of the Order seems to be qui-

1. See Sās pp. 118 ff., and Introduction, p. 37.

2. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 141, 142.

3. Phayre says of this period, "Though the monarchy suffered no great disaster its powers gradually declined." The raids of the Chinese in the previous century had been followed by an invasion from Manipur, and some territory in the north was lost (Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 140 ff.).

4. A.D. 1714–33 (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 286). In Sās, 1074 Kaliyuga (= 1712 A.D.).

ely repeating itself. In a monastery at Ava, built by a high military official, the learned monk Ukkāṃsamāla is finishing the second of his treatises *Vañṇabodhana* and *Likhananaya*¹ (dealing, as the titles show, with the Pali language). The chronicle says of him that he was versed in the texts, the commentaries, the *ṭīkā*s and the “other books” (*gandhantarā*), by which is meant, works not strictly doctrinal but necessary to a complete Buddhist education.²

Ukkāṃsamāla, fortunately for him, was peacefully occupied with words and not with practices, but we cannot separate the history of Pali literature in the eighteenth century from a controversy which went on, with only a few intervals of forced truce, for nearly a century between the sects known as the Pārūpanas and Ekāṃsikas. Their differences were on matters of monastic discipline, but certainly affected studies.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, in which we find a fairly full account,³ tells us that a monk named Guṇābhilaṅkāra in or about the year 1698 A.D. introduced, and the followers who gathered round him quickly adopted, the custom of wearing the mendicant’s upper robe over one shoulder only, leaving the other bare. But, according to the rules for dress laid down in the Pali Vinaya, both shoulders should be draped, except when the right was uncovered as a mark of respect in addressing a superior; and here at once was a doubtful and ostentatious change which put the simpler, old-school Pārūpanas (or “clothed” sect as they were named) up in arms. This was not all. The Ekāṃsika (“one-shoulder”) party carried fans when making their begging-rounds [66] in the villages. These and one or two other innovations, which may seem to outsiders a small matter, roused very strong feeling in the Order.

Guṇābhilaṅkāra and his following were not considered strong in the sacred texts, and their opponents of the strict school defied them to bring forward a canonical text, commentary, or *ṭīkā* that authorized their practices. Here was their difficulty, and the *Sāsanavaṃsa* assures us that they were put to the miserable expedient of producing a work forged for them by a “lay disciple of immoral life who had quitted the Order.”⁴ They maintained that they held the views of the orthodox therā Saddhammacāri of Sri Lanka. The severe language of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*

1. Sās p. 120.

2. E.g., the *Piṭakatthamain* (p. 52) gives under the heading *gandhantarā* the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Dīpavaṃsa*, and their *ṭīkā*s.

3. Sās pp. 117 ff.

4. Sās p. 119.

would lead us to think that some moral laxity, unworthy of true “sons of the Sakya,”¹ went with these affectations of dress and habits in the new party. At all events, the question whether any given monk was a Pārūpana or Ekamsika was, for long years, the one by which his fellow-monks would judge him. It is interesting to see the part played by the temporal power in all this. The hierarchy of the Buddhist Church was not so firmly established that the Saṅgharāja or Supreme Head could impose his will on the fraternity without the king’s support, and we shall see that when the struggle became very acute the sect that was losing ground usually tried to bring the matter directly before the king.

In 1733 Mahārājādhipati came to the throne.² He was an ineffectual king and, as events showed, a very poor arbiter in religious matters. The *Sāsana vaṃsa* records only one of his acts with approval; this was the appointing of the thera Ñāṇavara as his *ācariya* (tutor or, more exactly, spiritual adviser). Ñāṇavara was originally of Pagan. When he came to the capital he threw himself zealously into the work of teaching, and the first of his works mentioned in the chronicle³ was composed for the benefit of his many hearers. [67]

Mindful of their difficulties in the study of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, probably then, as later, the text most in use, he prepared a *gaṇṭhipadattha* or gloss on the difficult words in that famous work. Ñāṇavara then glossed the ancient commentary *Atthasālinī* (of Buddhaghosa) in the same way. He also composed a work entitled *Surāvinicchaya*, a name suggesting Vinaya rather than Abhidhamma,⁴ and another work for Vinaya students entitled *Pātimokkhalekhana*.⁵ Afterwards, at the king’s request, as we are told, the *ācariya* continued the work his predecessors had begun in the seventeenth century, and translated the *Adhidhānappadīpikā*⁶ into the vernacular. His contemporary Sārādassi, also of Pagan, is mentioned as the author of a

1. A stock phrase of the ancient Vinaya, where unseemly conduct of monks and novices is described as *asakyaputtiya*.

2. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 140. Sās 1095 K.Y.

3. Sās p. 121.

4. See above, p. 46, and Sās p. 81. The title is perplexing here, as it recalls Mahāparakkama’s *Decisions concerning Intoxicants*, written at Taungu in the sixteenth century.

5. Piṭ-sm p. 43. The Pātimokkha, it will be remembered, is the fundamental code of rules, the whole duty of the monastic life, in a concise form. The ceremony of the uposatha days is a solemn undertaking of this rule of life by the assembled Saṅgha.

6. See Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 105.

Dhātukathāyojanā,¹ either a grammatical commentary or a translation of the Dhātukathā of the Abhidhammapīṭaka.

Ñāṇavara's next work, the *Rājādhirājanāmattappakāsinī*, seems to have been written not so much to instruct the unlearned as to please a royal patron. Its subject, "the naming of kings," with the reigning king's name as an example, was not important to the students in the monasteries. The purpose of the book was served, so far as we can see, when it had shown Ñāṇavara's scholarship and interested Mahārājādhipati himself. There is a sort of unconscious irony in the thera's essay when we see, as the gentle monk did not see, the approaching fate of the "Lord of Kings," and know how ill he succeeded not only as king but as supporter of the faith. A ruler of quite different mettle was needed even to deal with the affairs of the Saṅgha now in a state of acute disaccord. Mahārājādhipati made mistake upon mistake. When his tutor Ñāṇavara, who held to the Pārupana practice, and the thera Paṣaṃsa, of the Ekamsika sect, were [68] engaged in vigorous controversy, the king set an incompetent monk, a favourite of his own, over both the learned doctors. This monk is described as ignorant and incapable, "knowing only enough to turn a plough's head to the east or the west," yet the king, as the chronicle says, "not knowing that this man was thus and so," trusted him to regulate all matters of religion. The favourite proved unable to judge which of the two opposed views was false and which was true. "He was," says the chronicler, growing more and more indignant, "like a buffalo, who knows no difference between the music of a celestial lute played by a *Gandharva*² and the striking of a bamboo stick by a village lad." The situation was beyond Mahārājādhipati's own powers of arbitrating. He wished for peace, and sought for a compromise which might perchance last during his own lifetime. A royal decree was therefore issued, the substance of which was that every *bhikkhu* was to observe whatever practices he wished. Only one result could be expected. As the chronicler drily observes, "their dispute did not subside then."

But this was a time for graver preoccupations. The old discontent and hatred of Burma, that had been seething in Pegu for many years,

1. Piṭ-sm p. 41.

2. The *Gandharvas* (Pali, *Gandhabba*) are demigods attendant on Dhataratṭha, one of the four "guardian gods" of the earth. The expression "playing a lute near a buffalo" is quoted among the "Burmese Proverbs, aphorisms, and quaint sayings" in Judson & Stevenson's excellent *Burmese Dictionary*, Appendix, p. 3.

had gradually mounted to the point of rebellion, while the Burmese were harassed by Manipuri invaders. In 1740 a king was elected in Pegu and the revolt became serious.¹ Prome was taken by the Talaings, and though their first king abdicated, another, Binya Dala, a brave soldier and able leader, was solemnly consecrated at Pegu city (Haṃsāvati) in 1746.

From this time till the end of the eventful campaign that followed there is no literary history to record. A life-and death struggle had begun between Talaing and Burman, and for some time the Order disappears from view in the people.

At first the Talaings were successful, and the Burmese lost [69] their capital and their king. But the fall of Ava in 1752 was a turning-point. With the first attempt to exact general submission to the new rulers and payment of taxes there arose an obscure captain determined to resist, a man with indomitable faith in himself and his countrymen. This man was the future king of Burma, Alaungpayā,

Our subject does not lead us far into the history of the national hero and his astonishing success, from the moment he collected his first little army till the day when, anointed king of Burma, he triumphantly gave his southern capital the name Rangoon (in commemoration of the war). Here we may be permitted to follow the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which sums up Alaungpayā's campaigns and victories in a few words of homely imagery: "he drove the armies of the King of Pegu forth from Burma as one might a famished bird from a field of grain."²

For our chronicler the great feature of Alaungpayā's reign was the religious revival. Monks and laymen rejoiced in peace and safety under a king who was popularly believed to be the Bodhisatta.³ Alaungpayā was active in pious works, and determined that all his family, ministers, and nobles should follow his example. Great companies of the brethren were invited to the palace every uposatha day, and the members of the royal household had even opportunities for study. Whether zealous or not for Pali learning, they probably found it expedient to be studious.⁴

In this prosperous state of religion the Pārupana/Ekaṃsika controversy revived, and the Ekaṃsika school now had a good chance of

1. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 142 ff.

2. Sās p. 123; these events came about in the year 1113 of the *Kaliyuga* (= 1751 A.D.) and the two years following.

3. A future Buddha.

4. Alaungpayā is remembered in the secular chronicles as a patron of literature. See J. Gray's *Dynasty of Alaungprā*, p. 13.

making their practice prevail in the whole community. For the king's *ācariya*, Atula Yasadhamma, whose influence with Alaungpayā was great, was opposed to the stricter sect. The *Sāsanaṅgaṃsa* assures us that Alaungpayā wished to go into the question thoroughly for himself, but, being too much absorbed in state affairs, he put off hearing [70] the two parties till graver matters were dispatched. In the meantime he decreed that the whole Order should follow the ruling of his own *ācariya*.

This command put the Pārūpanas in a difficulty. They must either renounce what they held to be the only practice warranted by the scriptures or resist the king's authority. Most of them submitted, but a few stood firm. The most notable of the resisters was the thera Munindaghosa of Pagan,¹ who not only continued to observe the stricter rule but had a large following.

He is said to have declared in a full assembly of senior brethren that he was willing to die rather than forsake the precepts of his master. Alaungpayā was too much the Oriental despot to bear insubordination even from a *mahāthera*, and Munindaghosa was banished, as far as possible, from the region where his influence was felt. Quite undaunted he continued his teaching, and again a group of followers gathered round him. But in his banishment he was ready to turn from controversy and instruct his pupils in more abstract matters, for it was at this time that he translated the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* into Burmese. He seems to have gone on for awhile unmolested, but was afterwards summoned to Alaungpayā's presence to answer for his defiance, a summons which he obeyed with a full expectation of receiving the death sentence. So sure was he of the fate awaiting him that he put off his monastic habit before the encounter, with the magnanimous wish to lighten, in some sense, the guilt of the man who would shed his blood. The courageous monk's life was spared, but what happened to him we do not know. All that the chronicle adds to this strange incident is the fact that when Alaungpayā left for his last campaign in Siam, Munindaghosa was in prison.

Alaungpayā never found the leisure from state affairs that would allow him to master Vinaya questions. Disease was already undermining his wonderful vigour when he reached his forty-sixth year, and his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Siam in 1760 was the last undertaking of his life. When the [71] Burmese army returned from the expedition,

1. Sās p. 125.

they bore with them the dead body of their hero.

Alaungpayā was succeeded by his eldest son, Siripavaramahādhammarājā,¹ who rebuilt Sagaing² (Pali, Jeyyapura), while the old capital, Ava, was occupied by a rebel force. During this king's short reign an attempt was made by the Pārūpana sect to convince the king that right was on their side. They had hoped much from the fact that Ñāṇa, or Ñāṇālāṅkāra, the royal preceptor,³ was a Pārūpana. But the astute Atula⁴ was still leading the Ekāṃsika party, and his counter-tactics were successful enough to prevent unsettled points of discipline from being discussed before the king.

In the meantime Ñāṇa, who seems to have had little taste for controversy, won a reputation for profound knowledge. We are told, as a testimony to his untiring diligence, that he was capable of mastering or teaching nine or ten chapters⁵ of Pali in a day. He had been a passionate student from his youth up. In the first year of his monastic life he composed a grammatical work called the *Padavibhāga*. It was followed by a series of commentaries, in Burmese, on the *Nyāsa*⁶ and two Abhidhamma texts, the Yamaka and Mahāpaṭṭhāna (or Paṭṭhāna).

In 1763 Naung-doa-gyī died and was succeeded by his brother, who is usually known as Hsin-hpyu-shin (Pali, Setibhinda).⁷ His accession gave promise of better times; among other [72] auspicious changes for the Order was the rebuilding of Ava (Ratanapura), which was reoccupied as the capital in 1766.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* passes over this reign very briefly, and we must look to other sources for mention of the literary work done. The king's tutor, Jambudīpa-Anantadhaja, is merely named, and we may guess from this that he was either of the Ekāṃsika sect or took no interest in

1. Naung-doa-gyī, 1760–3. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 184. (Sās, the year 1122 K.Y.)

2. Sās p. 127.

3. The king had brought this learned thera from Taungdwin to the capital (Sās p. 127).

4. Atula had been appointed Head of the Order by Alaungpayā. See "A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription," by Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xxii, p. 8).

5. Literally, *bhāṇavāra* "section for recitation;" see Sās p. 127.

6. See above, p. 21.

7. Sās p. 128; *Kaliyuga* 1125 (the date is given incorrectly in the printed text *kaliyuge pañcavassādhiḱe dvisate sahasse sampatte*); Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 186. See also Taw Sein Ko, "A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription" (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xxii, pp. 1 ff.). The Po: U: Daung inscription, engraved in a cave near Prome, is interesting as commemorating the consolidation of the Burmese power in Further India at this period.

establishing the Pārupana practices. He was the author of a grammatical commentary (composed in 1768) on the *Vinayavinicchaya*.¹ Either Setibhinda or his *ācariya* (the wording of the chronicle leaves it in doubt which of the two) did nevertheless take strong measures against some doctrinal heresy which began to spread in Burma about this time. The heretics were summoned before the head of the Saṅgha and “made to accept” the true doctrine—how, we are not told.²

Hsin-hpyu-shin is said to have been a generous patron of literature, and, though a good Buddhist, he showed a certain enthusiasm for Brahmanical learning and had a number of Sanskrit works translated into Burmese. The list of these books, according to Forchhammer, begins with Vopadeva’s Sanskrit Grammar,³ and contains, besides, works on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotics⁴

In 1776 Mahādhammarājādhirāja (otherwise Sing-gu-sā),⁵ the nineteen-year-old son of Hsin-hpyu-shin, succeeded and reigned for a few years. He had but little time or peace for religious works, but it happened that, coming under the influence of Nandamāla, a monk of great learning and authority on monastic questions, he became deeply interested in the Pārupana/Ekaṃsika dispute. The chronicle tells us that the young king dreamed a strange dream. [73] The great god Sakra, clothed in white and adorned with white blossoms, came to him and told him how, on the bank of the “Nammada River in the Aparanta Country,”⁶ the sacred footprints of the Buddha were concealed by the wild growth of the jungle, “root bound up with root, trunk with trunk, and leaf with leaf.” Former kings in their ignorance had left the place overgrown and neglected, but on him whom the god had enlightened fell the duty of clearing it. The dream was explained to the king by a monk, who no doubt told him of Nandamāla, the eminent teacher. The king at once

1. There is, I believe, a MS of this work in the Nevill Collection at the British Museum. The *Vinayavinicchaya* was by Buddhadatta of Sri Lanka. Sās p. 33; Piṭ-sm p. 43; Gv p. 59.

2. Sās p. 128.

3. The *Mugdhabodha*, written in the thirteenth century; see A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 243.

4. See Forchhammer in Jardine’s *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv, Introductory Remarks, pp. ix, xiv; also J. Gray, *Dynasty of Alaungprā*, p. 24, and *Nīti Literature of Burma*, pp. 6 and 134.

5. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209.

6. See C. Duroiselle’s *Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie à propos de la Légende de Pūrṇa*, BEFEO, tome v, pp. 146 ff. A cetiya had been built in the seventeenth century to mark the place of these footprints, first rediscovered by the saintly *ācariya* of Salvan-min-tara (1629–48).

sent for Nandamāla and thenceforth kept the thera near him. Nandamāla seized the opportunity of explaining the Pārupana/Ekaṃsika controversy, and convinced Mahādhammarājādhirāja that only the Pārupanas had the authority of the sacred texts on their side. The king summoned both parties to hold a debate before him, in which the Ekaṃsikas were hopelessly defeated, and a royal decree was issued imposing the Pārupana discipline on the whole Order. Nandamāla was appointed Supreme Head.¹ It was probably at this time that he wrote the *Sāsanasuddhidīpikā* (expounding “the purity of religion,” or “religious reform”).

When a young man, shortly after his ordination, he had translated some ancient and authoritative Pali works, the *Vinayavinicchaya*,² *Suttasaṅgaha*,³ and *Mahāvaggaṭṭhakathā*,⁴ into Burmese. Nandamāla’s name is not associated with any work on the Abhidhamma. Perhaps his preference for Vinaya [74] studies⁵ influenced his pupils, and had the effect of bringing under discussion questions which had been less prominent in the last reign. We might suppose, too, that his authority would have sufficed for a settlement of the Pārupana/Ekaṃsika dispute, but this, as we shall see, was yet to be delayed awhile.

We can now go on to the reign of the famous Bodōpayā,⁶ concerning ourselves chiefly, as the *Sāsanavaṃsa* does, with its religious events, and passing over its sinister beginning, in the midst of conspiracy and murder. Alaungpayā’s fifth son was soon established firmly on the throne. The opening years of his reign showed the peculiarities that were to distinguish it to the end—reckless shedding of blood and lavish building of pagodas. His benefactions to the Order—those of the royal family and nobles are recorded in the chronicle as coming from him—

1. His official name thenceforth was Narindābhidhajahamahādhammarājādhirājaguru.

2. See above, p. 38.

3. See Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 80. The *Suttasaṅgaha* is an anthology from the Suttas, the *Vimānavatthu* (Legends of the Celestial Abodes), etc.

4. Probably Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Mahāvagga section of the *Dīghanikāya*. The text of the Mahāvagga had been interpreted by Ariyālaṅkāra; see Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 69. The Mahāvagga mentioned may, however, be the section of the Vinaya called by that name.

5. The *Piṭakatthamain* (p. 43) mentions a commentary on the *Vinayasaṅgaha* written by the *ācariya* of King Sin-gu at Ratanapura (Ava). The *Vinayasaṅgaha* was one of the famous treatises consulted by Dhammaceti, see above, p. 38, and of *Sās* pp. 33, 43.

6. Bodōpayā came to the throne in 1782: Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209; *Sās* p. 130 (1143 *Kaliyuga*).

were enormous. The chronicler writing in the nineteenth century and the learned Nāṇa, who held the post of Supreme Head of the Order in Bodōpayā's own time, both paint the king in colours through which we can see but a dim outline of the truth. Bodōpayā's personality has not lacked describers, and surely has never had one more indulgent than the good Saṅgharājā, to whom was given the task of commemorating the king's *abhiseka* (consecration, literally anointing) in his new capital, Amarapura.¹ Nāṇa, or Nāṇābhivaṃsa, had only been ordained seven years when he was summoned to live near the king and officiate as *rājaguru*. Naturally he soon had a royal commission to fulfil, and his learning was brought to bear on the subject of the consecration ceremony. He translated a treatise on the subject, the *Rājābhisekagandha*, into Burmese.² He was probably not the author of the original work, but revised it after consulting ancient authorities. [75]

The thera then received the sonorous name Nāṇābhisāsanarā-jamahādhammarājaguru as a further token of the royal favour.

In a few years he became the leading personage in the Burmese fraternity. Bodōpayā bestowed monasteries, built by different members of his family, upon several theras renowned for learning, gave to four aged and eminent theras the title *saṅgharāja* (sometimes translated "bishop"), and afterwards appointed four others with the same title to help them in their charge. Nāṇābhivaṃsa was then placed at the head of all, and entrusted with the reforming (or, to use the chronicler's expression, the "purifying") of the religious world. This was a decisive moment for the controversy that had so long divided the Order. As we have seen in other reigns, the views of the king's chief *ācariya* were most important in those vexed questions which were usually settled by the king, and which, under a ruler of Bodōpayā's temperament, would certainly be settled without much discussion. And now the Ekāṃsikas saw that they had not much to hope from their old leader Atula. He had been passed over by Bodōpayā after holding the post of king's *ācariya* since the reign of Alaungpayā. But before Nāṇa arrived at the height of his honours and dignities, Atula made another determined attempt to win the king over. He wrote a memoir to show that the practices of the

1. Amarapura, about 6 miles from Ava, was occupied as the capital in 1783 (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 211; Sās p. 132).

2. Sās p. 131. Nāṇa is said to have "purified" the *Rājābhisekagandha*. The Pali word used (*parisodhetvā*) applied to a text means correcting and clearing away interpolations.

Ekamsika sect had been taught by no less an authority than the great Moggallāna,¹ who, he maintained, had composed a text called the *Cūḷaganṭhipada*. How might all this be known, Atula's opponents inquired. It was explained, he replied, in a text known as the *Piṭakattaya-lakkhaṇagandha*, brought to Burma from Sri Lanka by Buddhaghosa. But the Pārūpana theras had only waited long enough to let their adversary involve himself thus far to this point, and in a few words they denounced the fraud to the assembly. The text on which the Ekamsikas depended, said they, was a treatise called *Vinayaḡanṭhipada*,² [76] of the twelfth century, written in Sri Lanka by a thera Moggallāna living in the reign of Parakkamabāhu,³ therefore centuries later than the time of Buddhaghosa, not to speak of the ancient days of the Arahat Moggallāna.

The story of the debate is brief, except in the description of the dramatic moment when the feeble fraud was brought home to Atula. He was, says the chronicler, like a wild animal caught in the hunter's trap. But the Pārūpanas pressed him with more questions: was the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* mentioned in the three great Vinaya ṭikās (the *Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and the *Vimativinodanī*)?⁴ The unwary Atula replied that it was. How comes it then, said his opponents, that in your *Cūḷaganṭhipada* we find the words "thus says the *Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, thus says the *Vimativinodanī*"? Another pitiable defeat for the champion of the Ekamsikas. As the Pārūpanas said, the text he had chosen as his refuge had proved to be a peril, and the quaint story of the singer Pāṭali is told to illustrate the case.⁵

This was the end of the Pārūpana/Ekamsika controversy. The partisans of the *Cūḷaganṭhipada* might perhaps have made another stand, but Bodōpayā was in no mind for long debates. He promptly issued a decree that the Pārūpana practices were to be considered orthodox and

1. The Arahat Moggallāna, one of the Buddha's chief disciples; see Sās p. 136.

2. There is a *Vinayaḡanṭhipada* in Forchhammer's List, p. v. The author given is the Sinhalese priest Joti.

3. The Parakkamabāhu mentioned is probably the Saṅghabodhi-Parākkamabāhu, 1153–81, who summoned a council at Anurādhapura; see Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 132.

4. For these three works see Sās pp. 33, 34; Gv pp. 60, 61; Piṭ-sm pp. 28, 29. The *Sāratthadīpanī*, according to Sinhalese and Burmese tradition, was written by Sāriputta at the request of Parakkamabāhu. Vajirabuddhi and Kassapa, the author of *Vimativinodanī*, also represent Sri Lanka tradition, so greatly venerated in Burma.

observed by the whole Order; and he was obeyed. [77]

Bodōpayā had a good share of his father's energy, but a cruelty and inhumanity, on which all accounts agree,¹ outweighed in him the qualities that make a leader of men. His belief in his own greatness amounted almost to mania, yet he could not, inspire others with that belief as Alaungpayā had done. His attempts at foreign conquest and schemes for religious monuments, such as the world had never seen, failed, partly from the deep hostility and discontent his cruelty had aroused among his subjects. A few complacent scholars covered his name with eulogies during his lifetime, but the Order, as a body, refused to recognize his claim to be the future Buddha, and in this was consistent with the old tradition of monastic independence.

The story of Bodōpayā's unfortunate campaign in Siam in the years 1785 and 1786 does not much concern us. An interval of peace followed. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the oppressions of the government brought about a revolt in Arakan, and this led indirectly to the King of Burma's first relations with British India, the Burmese general having pursued the leaders of the rebellion into British territory.² One result of the Arakan rebellion was the awakening of a new ambition in Bodōpayā, namely, to annex that part of Eastern Bengal which had once belonged to Arakan,³ He needed a pretext to send secret envoys to some of the native princes of India, and in his character of patron of literature he was able to make his negotiations with these possible allies appear to be missions to procure Sanskrit books.

Literature, at all events, gained by these schemes, for a considerable number of Sanskrit works were brought to the capital and some were translated.⁴

5. Pāṭali (Nāṭapāṭali), excited by drink after a successful performance, was swept away by the current of the Ganges while attempting to cross. His wife, certainly with unusual presence of mind, cried out to him from the river-bank to teach her a song before he should perish, as she must need earn her own living thenceforth. The luckless actor, whose lute, as it filled with water, was rapidly weighing him down, had only time for a few words of lament—that which was the refuge of the sick and afflicted, the water of Gaṅga, must, alas! be his death. (The story of Pāṭali occurs in the commentary on the Jātaka. See Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. iii, p. 507.)

1. Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 230, 231.

2. Phayre, pp. 220 ff.

3. The King of Arakan extended his territory to Dacca about 1620, "profiting by the confusion which then existed in the Mogul Empire." Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 177.

4. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 224.

In the latter part of Bodōpayā's reign there was active intercourse between the Saṅghas of Sri Lanka and Burma. Probably no ecclesiastic in Sri Lanka was more respected by the strictly [78] orthodox Sinhalese monks than Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, the Saṅgharāja of Burma. He is said to have been a "great benefactor" to the group known as the "Amarapura sect" or school, and the Amarapura school did in fact convey to Sri Lanka a number of Pali texts either of Burmese authorship or better known to the Burmese fraternity than to the Sinhalese.¹ A large number of these imported treatises deal with Abhidhamma subjects. Ñāṇābhivaṃsa himself was very active in Vinaya teaching. He lived in turn at each of the several monasteries bestowed on him by the king, directing the studies of the Order in "the two Vibhaṅgas" (the Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, sections of the ancient Vinaya text treating, in detail the code for monks and nuns).² He was the author of several works, in some of which we see the teacher and guardian of the doctrine, in others the royal preceptor, whose duties included writing edifying books at the king's request. Examples of Ñāṇa's more strictly religious works are (1) a ṭīkā entitled *Peṭālaṅkāra*³ on the Nettipakaraṇa⁴ and (2) a ṭīkā entitled *Sādhujjanavilāsini*⁵ on the Dīghanikāya. At the request of the king he undertook a Burmese translation of the Pali commentary on the Jātaka (the *Jātakatṭhakathā*). He is also the author of some short Pali works of the Jātaka type, narratives containing religious and moral teaching, the *Catusāmaṇeravatthu*, the *Rājovādavatthu*, the *Chaddantanāgarājuppattikathā*, and the *Tigumbhathomana*.⁶ Last on the list comes the *Rājādhirājavilāsini*, which deserves a few words of description. In the case of this particular work the king himself supplied the subject and some of the materials, and [79] the royal command to put these into becoming shape was conveyed by an important official to the Saṅgharāja's monastery. The Brethren, as the rule or etiquette of the Order demanded, laid the charge on their Principal, who forthwith car-

1. This is the case with many of the texts found in Sri Lanka and described by Mr. Nevill with the aid of Sinhalese scholars.

2. Ñāṇa himself gave the example of the stricter rule of life. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us that he continually observed at least one of the thirteen rules (technically called *dhutaṅga*) particular to the more ascetic among the recluses.

3. Sās p. 134; Piṭ-sm p. 36.

4. See above pp. 5, 8.

5. Sās p. 134; Piṭ-sm p. 33.

6. Lit. "Praise of the Tigumbha," (Sās p. 135). The Tikumbha or Tigumbha Cetiya is the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. See Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, part i, p. 17.

ried it out. How far Bodōpayā's eulogists flattered him is a question for impartial chroniclers of events to answer. In literary history the *Rājā-dhirājavilāsini* is precious as a specimen of the "elegant scholarship" of the time. This curious little Pali work, written, as explained above, on the occasion of Bodōpayā's consecration, is in prose, the prose of the school that had forgotten Buddhaghosa's lessons, or was determined to better them. It staggers under a weight of adjectives that seem meant to bewilder the reader with the display of the author's resources as each sentence brings its load along. An Indian model has been copied, and copied faithfully, except that there is little of the true Indian fantasy in all the decoration, while allusions to Buddhist legends are brought in with a curious sober carefulness, as precedents might be cited in a legal document.

Royal heroes of old days are called in as examples; Mahāsammata, the first king and the ancestor of the Sakya race, comes first, and after him a series of dim, mythical figures, whose presence in the prologue is the indispensable compliment to the *rājā-dhirāja* enthroned in Amara-pura. With Aśoka begin historical allusions, and then come quotations from the Suttas, from the commentaries, from the *ṭikās* from the *Mahāvamsa*, from the *Rājāsikkhāpada*,¹ even a definition from the *Saddanīti*,² to bring forward all that traditional learning might have to say on the anointing (*abhiseka*) ceremony and its sacramental virtue. Launched upon this theme the author finds occasion to speak of everything that could shed glory on the "righteous king" as a benefactor of his people and of religion. Ancient maxims are cited from Jātakas (for example, the Saṅkicca and Tesakuṇa Jātakas, in which the hero of the story, the future Buddha, discourses on the duties of kings). In the matter of religion, Bodōpayā's achievements are all [80] recorded: he had settled the Pārupana/Ekaṃsika dispute, instituted reforms in all parts of his dominions,³ he had received and returned a mission to Sri Lanka, he had brought images of the Buddha from conquered Arakan to his capital and received others from China, he had built cetiyas and celebrated great festivals of adoration. He had, indeed, done everything that befitted a monarch who aspired to be the Aśoka or the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi of Burma.

To this man, of all men, the symbols of power and the external show

1. Obviously a well-known manual of the duties of kings.

2. See above, pp. 17, 17.

3. The "five regions," Rāmañña, Kasmīra, Yonaka, Yavana, and Rakkhaṅga are mentioned.

of magnificence were important, and it so happened that he had acquired an auspicious possession that exalted his more than normal self-satisfaction beyond measure. This was a white elephant, captured in the forests of Pegu, named Nibbānapaccaya, and conveyed afterwards with great pomp to the capital, where, if we judge from the *Rājādhirājavilāsini*, it was the real hero of the *abhiseka* festival.

Bodōpayā's eulogist, obliged to say at least as much about the elephant as about the king, attacks the task with courage. He brings forward the traditional elephant lore embodied in the *Hatthisutta*¹ to show that every kingly quality and auspicious mark was possessed by Nibbānapaccaya. Perhaps we have no right to judge it all from our own point of view, but as we read we cannot but picture Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, after the sumptuous festival, sighing over his weary task.

For us the interest of the *Rājādhirājavilāsini* is rather in the literary references than the matter or style, which are both tiresome. The author is very careful to show that he has not neglected secular any more than religious authorities on his subject. He draws from the literature of various periods and from many branches of learning. We pass from the ancient suttas to the fifth-century commentaries and to the later *ṭīkā*s, from these to twelfth-century grammar, from the famous Elephant-book to the royal chronicle of Sri Lanka, from the *Jātaka* glossary, *Jātakābhidhāna*, to Sanskrit etymology and [81] Brahmanical astrology and chiromancy.² But the author's favourite source is the Pali *Jātaka* itself. His work is adorned with verses and passages of the commentary on certain tales of this famous collection. In the tales selected the hero is almost invariably a righteous king or an elephant perfect in all points; among them the *Alīnacitta*,³ the *Sīlavanāga*,⁴ and *Vessantara*⁵ *Jātakas* occur most frequently. The *Tesakuṇajātaka*,⁶ the *Dummedha*,⁷ *Culapaduma*,⁸ and *Ummagga*⁹ *Jātakas* also provide illustrations.

In this respect the *Rājādhirājavilāsini* is of Burmese literature, and charms us, a typical piece in the end, for all its tediousness. For the

1. Lit. elephant-suttas (aphorisms), a well-known manual for elephant trainers.

2. The Sanskrit *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Sānudrikalakṣana* are quoted.

3. See *Jātaka*, Fausböll's edition, vol. i, pp. 21 ff.

4. *Jātaka* (Nidāna, p. 45), vol. i, p. 319.

5. *Jātaka*, vol. vi, p. 479.

6. *Jātaka*, vol. v, p. 109. In this charming tale the king's duties are expounded to him by the three birds he has adopted as his children.

7. *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 444.

8. *Jātaka*, vol. ii, p. 115.

9. *Jātaka*, vol. vi, p. 329.

Jātakas are a possession common to the religious community and the lay-world, the learned and the unlettered. From the days when they were rudely pictured on Taruk-pye-min's temple walls at Pagan¹ to the date of the latest editions we find in the British Government's *Official List of Publications*, the Jātakas have been a Bible to the Burmese. This comparison applies most aptly to the Jātakas of the Mahānipāta or Great Section (the last) of the Jātaka book, containing the longest narratives of the Bodhisat, and relating his deeds and golden sayings in his later existences either as a man or a god.² Their art is the old art of the Oriental tale-teller, with its mingling of unbridled fantasy and minute realism; their wisdom is the wisdom of old proverbs and maxims of the Indian people; their lesson the praise of the Teacher, the supremely gifted among men, the Bodhisat, playing many [82] parts. The author of the *Rājādhirājavilāsini* might be thought (by Bodōpayā) to be pointing to the virtues of the king who founded Amarapura, but Nāñābhivaṃsa knew that his readers would see in all a homage to the Lord Buddha. What these edifying legends are to the Burmese to-day, they were when Nāñābhivaṃsa wrote, and to many generations before his. To understand the literature, "serious" or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well. [83]

1. 1248–79 A.D. See A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, 1897, Band v, pp. 128–31.

2. In passing we may mention the titles most familiar to every Burmese Buddhist from his childhood onward—the Temi, the Janaka, Suvannasama, Nimi, Mahosadha, Bhūridatta, Candakumāra, Nārada, Vidhura, and Vessantara Jātakas.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALI LAW TEXTS OF BURMA—PALI LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—MIN-DŌN-MIN AND THE FIFTH COUNCIL—THE ERA OF THE PRINTING PRESS—CONCLUSION

Alaungpayā's conquest of the Talaings had been more than a feat of arms and establishing of military supremacy. He had set himself to crush the Talaing language and nationality. If the consequent inequality in culture between Upper and Lower Burma was, after all, less than we should expect,¹ the reason is to be sought in the past religious history of both provinces. The equalizing and unifying element in the states so often at war or in rivalry was, and had always been, the Buddhist religion and the Pali language. The kings who had ruled over the widest territory—Anorata, Dhammaceti, Bayin Naung, Ukkāṃsika, Alaungpayā, Hsin-hpyu-shin, Bodōpayā—each in his turn and in his own way, had lent his power to the service of religion and encouraged scholarship. And even in the worst times of disorder and change there had been centres of learning where the Order could be comparatively at peace; there were always remote or protected monasteries here and there where old texts could be copied and new commentaries and treatises composed. The stream of learning flowed wherever a channel offered itself, and, whether in the north or the south, was often reinforced from Sri Lanka.

We have seen how the vigour and influence of the school named, after the place of its origin, the Sīhaḷasaṅgha, continued in Burma from generation to generation. On the other hand, the abundant vitality of the schools of Further India at the time of the eighteenth-century revival reacted on Sri Lanka, where the Burmese school known as the Amara-pura sect [84] introduced a number of texts either new to the Sinhalese brethren or long fallen out of mind. The intimate connection, religious and literary, between Sri Lanka and Burma from the eleventh century onwards needs no further illustration. Though the Buddhists of Indo-China have attempted to appropriate Buddhaghosa, they have always, in all their literary chronicles, done ample and painstaking justice to

1. It must be admitted that the last *Census Report* judges Upper Burma decidedly superior to Lower Burma in the matter of "literacy", and mentions the Upper Burman *pongyi* for his "share in the labours of the past" (E. Lowin, *Report on the Census of Burma*, 1901, p. 65).

Sinhalese scholarship and honoured Sinhalese names. Sinhalese influence is seen at its strongest in the earlier periods. When we come to the end of the eighteenth century we find that a branch of Pali literature has developed in Burma owing nothing or very little to Sri Lanka and bearing deep traces of a purely Indian origin. We come, that is, to the period of redaction of Pali *Dhammasatthas* (Sanskrit *dharmaśāstra*) or law-codes, of which some were first drawn up after Alaungpayā's conquest of Pegu and during the reorganization of the greatly extended kingdom of Burma. Others, as we shall see, were more ancient and had been the patrimony of the Talaings.

These ancient codes of Burma, and, with certain differences, the Pali law-texts of later times, are based on Hindu *Dharmaśāstras*, *Manu*,¹ and others. This has become clear from the researches of various scholars whose opinions are given by Sir John Jardine, formerly chief Judicial Commissioner for Burma, in his *Notes on Buddhist Law*, where he adds much precious material from his own stores of learning and experience of Indian and Burmese law.²

His collaborator, Dr. Forchhammer, came to the conclusion that the Talaing States became political dependencies of powerful Hindu colonies existing in Pegu before the eleventh century, and adopted Hindu codes from them.³ We cannot venture here to do more than record the Burmese tradition. [85] The vexed question of ancient origins is a subject for a more elaborate study and more competent treatment than is possible in the present essay. We will now touch very briefly on the main points in the history of the Pali law-texts of Burma, as traced by the two learned authors mentioned.

We have already spoken⁴ of the ancient *Dhammavilāsa* compiled in Pali by the Talaing monk Sāriputta of Patūppajeyya near Dala⁵ about the year 1174 A.D., when Narapatisithu reigned at Pagan.

We come next to the *Wagaru-dhammasattha*,⁶ compiled by the king of that name reigning at Martaban in 1280. It is typical and important.

1. See *The Laws of Manu*, translation by G. Bühler with introduction, SBE, vol. xxv, and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Grundriss, ii, 8.

2. The Burmese *Dhammathats* are the base of Buddhist law as now administered in Burma. "The Pali scholar," says Sir John Jardine, "ought to have preceded the judge." Sir John Jardine himself called the Pali scholar to the judge's aid, most fortunately for those interested in the Pali literature.

3. *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 38, 62, 63.

4. See above, p. 33.

5. Opposite Rangoon. See J. Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introductory Preface by E. Forchhammer, p. 5; and *Notes*, pt. vii, Preface by J. Jardine, p. 1.

Forchhammer in his learned study of this text makes a careful comparison between the *Wagaru* and the Hindu *Manu* and other ancient codes, chiefly *Yājñavalkya*¹ and *Nārada*.² The comparison brings out clearly the pervading Indian element in the code; at the same time the translator finds material for some very interesting observations on the radical difference between the Buddhist law, of which this is the first noteworthy document, and the Brahmanical law, from which the Talaing code takes its form and most of its provisions. This difference is in the spirit. The Vedic, sacerdotal element has vanished from the *Wagaru*. For instance, sacraments (such as marriage), the efficacy of sacrifice, the possibility of expiation by penance, are all an essential part of Brahmanic law. But the Buddhist lawgivers ignored the sacramental view of marriage, and based their theory of punishment on the doctrine of karma, which, as will be remembered, takes the past and future existences of the individual into account. With this doctrine in mind, they thought out a system of legislation to defend the social order without inflicting what must be, according to their theory, unjustified, [86] useless, illogical penalties. Their system is described as a civil code punishing every crime or offence with fines, demanding "compensation which is proportionate to the amount of damage occasioned by one person to another." "Morally no punishment can be inflicted," says Forchhammer, "because in the Buddhist's belief every deed will with unerring certainty bring its own definite reward or punishment, which cannot be increased or diminished by the appreciation or condemnation of other beings."³ Forchhammer's study of the *Wagaru* led him to believe that the Talaing law-code, Indian in origin, reflects the social and religious conditions of ancient India during the supremacy of Buddhism,⁴ and can claim to belong to a Buddhist Māṇava school earlier than the well-known Brahmanical recension of *Manu*.⁵ The translator of the *Wagaru*, unhappily, did not live to follow up the researches he had begun, and by which he might have found a firm foundation for this theory. It remains an interesting conjecture. We must leave it for the

6. Translated by E. Forchhammer as part of the *Jardine Prize Essay* in 1885; Rangoon, Government Printing Press.

1. A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 267, 299.

2. A. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

3. See *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 61, 62.

4. For a description of these conditions see Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* ("Story of the Nations" series), 1903.

5. See *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 38.

present where he left it, to trace the stages of development through which the Pali and Burmese *Dhammasatthas* passed, from the predominance of the Hindu institutes preserved by the Talaings to the victory of the Buddhist tradition embodied in the later codes, where the Vinaya- and Suttapiṭaka are the authority and the Jātaka supplies precedents and examples.

The *Wagaru* was translated into Pali in the sixteenth century by a Talaing jurist with the auspicious name of Buddhaghosa.¹ “With him,” Forchhammer says, “begins the authenticated history of Burmese *Dhammathats*.” Buddhaghosa’s *Manusāra* is a Pali translation of the *Wagaru-dhammasattha*, till then only known in the Talaing language.² In the seventeenth century another code, the *Manu-Yin*,³ [87] was compiled in verse. It is in substance the *Wagaru-dhammasattha*, but contains additional matter from the *hpyatton* or “decisions,” that is, Burmese ancient customary law, purely Buddhist and founded chiefly on certain Jātakas.⁴ A seventeenth-century version of the *Dhammavilāsa-dhammasattha*, dated 1650⁵ and drawn up by a second Dhammavilāsa, is also called a *Manu-dhammasattha*; very characteristic of the later period is the introduction of a Buddhist element, absent in the Talaing original, for instance, quotations from the Dhammapada.

The next stage in the history of the law-texts is one of marked change and development. Alaungpayā had proved himself a pitiless destroyer, but he proposed to build up a sound administration for his new kingdom. Some law-codes were compiled at his command: a *Manu-Yin* in 1756, the important *Manu-Kyay* in 1758–60,⁶ and a third, the *Darajjavitaranī*. The *Manu-Kyay* exists only in the Burmese version,⁷ but belongs to Pali literature by the fact that it is largely grounded on canonical Pali texts, namely, Jātakas (the Mahosadha and Vidhura

1. Needless to say, the Buddhaghosa of commentary fame profits by the coincidence. The Talaing tradition makes the indefatigable sage the bearer of Hindu law-books to Rāmañña in the fifth century (*Notes*, pt. iii, p. x).

2. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. viii, p. 2.

3. Manoo Reng. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Introd. Remarks, p. xii.

4. The Vidhura and Mahosadha Jātakas are examples of Jātakas dear to the Buddhist lawgiver. See, for the Burmese version of the famous Vidhura Jātaka, the translation by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John in *JRAS*, 1896.

5. *Notes*, pt. iv, p. 5, and pt. vii, p. 2.

6. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introd. Preface, p. 4. The author was Bhummajeyya Mahāsiri Uttamajeyya. Sir John Jardine points out resemblances between the law of marriage and divorce in the *Manu-Kyay* and the Hindu code, *Vyavaharamayukha*, in force in the Dekkhan (*Notes*, pt. iv, p. 10).

7. Published at Moulmein and translated into English by Dr. Richardson in 1847.

and other extracts from the Suttapiṭaka), the *Milindapañha*, the *Saman-tapāsādikā* (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya), the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (commentary on the Pātimokkha), the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Sāratthadīpanī-ṭīkā*.¹ By the time Burmese law is crystallized into this famous code and the hardly less famous *Manuvaṇṇanā*,² we can see how [88] the spirit of Buddhist ethics has permeated the *Dham-masatthas* and supplied the place of those religious sanctions which we can hardly imagine absent from an Indian legal text. The *Manu-Kyay* professes a respect for learning; only such men, it says, should be made judges who are acquainted with the Piṭakas and the Vedas.³

Hsin-hpyu-shin followed the example of his father, and by his order several law-books were written between 1766 and 1774; among these were the *Manusāra-shwe-myin*, the *Manuvaṇṇanā*,⁴ and the *Vinicchaya-pakāsani*. The author, Vanna-kyaw-din, was a pupil of the Saṅgharāja Jambudīpa-Anantadhaja. He is said to have been still a member of the Order when he wrote the first-named work. A poetical version of the *Manu-Yin* mentioned above, known as the *Manu-yin-laṅkā*, is ascribed to him. The aid of theas learned in the Tipiṭaka was thought necessary by this time, and we are told that the monks Tejosāra, Chandapaññā, and Toungdwin Kyaw assisted the council of jurists called together at Ava by Hsin-hpyu-shin.⁵

An example of a modern law-text is the *Mohavicchedanī*,⁶ written in the year 1832 by Rājabala-kyaw-din. It is composed in Pali verses (*gāthā*). Forchhammer has an interesting note on this work, in which he says: "It differs in one important point from all other Burmese law-

1. Ṭīkā on the Vinaya, by Sāriputtara, written in the reign of Narapati-si-thu. Piṭ-sm p. 38; Forchhammer, *List*, p. iv. See also *Notes*, pt. iii, *Introd. Remarks*, p. 12, and pt. iv, *Introd. Preface*, pp. 4 and 5.

2. The *Manuvaṇṇanā Dhammasattha* was published in 1898 by Colonel Horace Brown. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. ii, p. 1.

3. *Notes*, pt. iv, *Introd. Preface*, p. 7; on the Vedas, see above, pp. 50, 51

4. There is a rather significant difference between the Burmese and Pali versions of the *Manuvaṇṇanā*. In the former there are frequent allusions to the *Vyākaraṇas* and other works translated by the king's command from the Sanskrit (on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotics). These references are absent from the Pali version, which, composed by a monk, shows the influence of the author's monastic traditions.

5. At this council was prepared the *Laṅkāśāra* (the collective name by which the *Manuvaṇṇanā* and *Manusāra* are known). See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, *Introd. Preface*, p. 5.

6. See *Notes or Buddhist Law*, pt. vi, p. 1. Note by Forchhammer and translation by Maung Theka Phyo of the Law of Inheritance according to the *Mohavicchedanī Dhammathat*.

books. Manu the Rishi [i.e. sage] has entirely disappeared. Rājabala-kyaw-din, aware probably of the incongruity of placing Manu in the Buddhist pantheon, as had been done by the jurists of the Alompraic period, and not finding any reference in the Buddhist scriptures that could support Manu in the dignity [89] of a lawgiver to a Buddhist community, broke with the past traditional history of the law-books of his country; he says, in the introduction that, obedient to the request of his king, he proceeds to unfold the law, as it was preached by the all-wise Buddha in his great compassion for the ignorance of men and recorded originally in the Magadha language, the first of all languages, the mother of all other tongues (*mūlabhāsā*)... The text of the *Mohavichedanī* is the somewhat rearranged but otherwise identical material of the *Manu Dhammathats*.”

Pali has never become to any great degree the language of things secular; its destiny seems to be to return to the service of religion. In the legal texts we notice the use of the Pali language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings, (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language, naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code, is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism. An excellent example of Buddhist influence is the change in the wife's legal position. But the Pali law-texts are full of other interesting matter. The few above mentioned could not be left out of an account, however summary, of the Pali books of the Burmese. The place due to them has of necessity been curtailed in this sketch. In leaving them, however, to pass on to the religious literature of the nineteenth century the writer dares to hope that this branch of Oriental history and its problems will attract scholars again as they fortunately did some years ago, with the results only too briefly indicated above.

We must now return to the history of monastic scholarship in Burma.

Bodōpayā died in 1819. He was succeeded by his grandson Hpa-gyī-doa.¹ “He commenced his reign well,” says Phayre.² “He remitted some taxes for three years, and in a speech to his courtiers promised to rule justly and to follow the precepts [90] of religion.” The *Sāsanavaṃsa* is at pains to show that he consulted learned monks and

1. *Sivitribhavanādityapavarapaṇḍitamahādhammarājā*, Sās p. 142.

2. *History of Burma*, p. 232.

ministers on various questions concerning the king's duty to the fraternity, the perpetuity of grants of land for religious purposes, and so forth. These discussions led to much research in ancient texts. On one of those occasions a minister, who was an authority on the Vinaya, laid down the principle that lands granted by kings in former times, for the building of cetiyas and vihāras, should be perpetually reserved to the Order. He fearlessly sought a precedent as far back as the time of the Buddha Sujāta, and the king was entirely satisfied.¹

Hpa-gyī-doa was a respecter of tradition. Under his auspices the modern *Rājavaṃsa* (chronicle of the kings) was compiled at Pagan.² His preceptor Paññāsīha³ was appointed Supreme Head of the Order (*saṅgharāja*). There is no mention in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* of any books written by him.

Hpa-gyī-doa's time, either as a patron of the Order or as "lord of kings," was very short. In 1824 war was formally declared by the British Government against Burma, and two years of desperate fighting followed. The death of his general Mahābandula broke the Burmese king's courage. The queen and other partisans of war had perhaps inspired him till then with some hopes of victory, but the British occupation of Rangoon, Pegu City, and Arakan dealt these hopes a mortal blow. In 1826 the Burmese submitted, and the treaty of Yandabō was signed.

Hpa-gyī-doa saw his kingdom reduced and his power crippled. Something in this man failed then, where his forerunners Alaungpayā and Bodōpayā would have risen up in another effort. He sank into listless melancholy and inefficiency, and in 1837 was deposed by his younger brother Tharāwadi-min.⁴ Tharāwadi-min, who died insane, showed in his earlier days [91] great respect for the Order. His first preceptor, Suriyavaṃsa, was proclaimed Supreme Head by a royal decree. When this thera died, he received, the *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us, extraordinary funeral honours. His pupil Ñeyyadhamma was then appointed Saṅgharāja; it was he who received at Amarapura an important Sinhalese mission, including the learned Paññātissa and some others. Ñeyyadhamma's pupils were numerous, and he was an enthusiastic

1. Sās p. 145.

2. In 1830. It was printed in the reign of Min-dōn-min. See E. Huber, BEFEO, tome iv, pp. 494 seq.

3. Of Salin-myo, afterwards Muniudābhisirisaddhammadhajamahādhammarājā-dhirājaguru.

4. Siripavarādityalokādhpati, 1837. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 287; Sās p. 146.

teacher. As the chronicler says,¹ “in order that religion might long endure and that his hearers might easily arrive at full comprehension, he, with the aid of various books, revised the text of the *Saddhammapajjotikā*, commentary on the Mahānidessa, and made a translation thereof into Burmese.”²

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* does not mention any other scholars of this reign.

Tharāwadi-min’s son and successor, Pagan-min,³ only appears in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* to mark the date of some eminent scholars of the time, among whom Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa is mentioned as the author of a Burmese translation of the *Saddhammavilāsini*,⁴ the commentary on Paṭisambhidāmagga (of the Khuddakanikāya). Ñeyyadhammābhivaṃsa’s chief pupil, Paññāsāmi, a young monk of five years’ standing, began his scholarly career at this time. His work as a chronicler (he was the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*) is of special interest for us. His first essay was a translation into Burmese of a commentary on difficult passages (*Gaṇṭhipadattavaṇṇanā*) of the venerable grammatical work *Saddatthabhedacintā*.⁵ Ten years later, after much labour and comparison of texts, he produced a revised edition of the commentary on the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*⁶ and translated it into Burmese. [92]

Paññāsāmi succeeded his master as Saṅgharāja in the following reign. It is rather curious that not a single Pali composition is mentioned by him as belonging to this decade. His colleagues were nevertheless very active, especially in translating from the Pali. The Aṅguttara-, Saṃyutta-, and Dīghanikāyas were translated with their commentaries. The authors of these translations were respectively Paññājotābhidhaja, Mañijotasaddhammālaṅkāra, and Medhābhivaṃsa.⁷

We now come to the closing scene of the old Order in Burma. The last of the pious and zealous Burmese kings, perhaps the most sincere of all and the most single-minded in his support of religion, came to the throne. This was Min-dōn-min, whose reign, lasting from 1852 to 1877, was a period of peace, good government, and general content, while

1. Sās p. 148.

2. The commentary on the Mahānidessa (the eleventh book of the Khuddakanikāya) was composed in Sri Lanka by Upasena. Sās p. 33; Gv p. 70.

3. Siripavarādityavijayānantayasamahādhammarājadhīrājā, 1846, Sās p. 148. He is described briefly but so drastically by Yule, in the Mission to the Court of Ava, that we can hardly be surprised at the silence of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.

4. By Mahānāma of Sri Lanka. Sās p. 33.

5. See above, pp. 20, 22..

6. See above, p. 22.

7. Sās p. 148.

religion, we are told, was practised with a new enthusiasm not only in the monasteries but in every rank of the laity. The king's command and example, as of old, were all-powerful; and Min-dōn-min was not like Bodōpayā. His tutor and eulogist, the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, says less of cetiyas and monasteries presented to the Saṅgha than of the vigour with which religious studies were carried on and the precepts of the Buddha observed.

These were golden days, if they are rightly reflected in the verses quoted by Paññāsāmi from his own poem, the *Nāgarājuppattikathā*,¹ written to commemorate the founding of the new capital Mandalay (Pali: Ratanapuṇṇa).² Paññāsāmi's *Nāgarājuppatti* has rather more artistic pretensions than the *Rājādhirājavilāsini*, being composed in couplets (*ślokas*) throughout, whereas Ñāṇābhivaṃsa ventures into verse at the beginning and end of his work merely to give a few specimens of metres. The tone of the two works, however, is the same conventional eulogy, with quotations from the Jātaka and references to legendary and historic kings, Mahāsudassana, Mandhātu, Aśoka. Needless to say, this was an auspicious time for scholarship. Paññāsāmi, himself a prolific writer, [93] mentions the work of some of his contemporaries.³ The Saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamma composed "at the king's request" a work entitled *Surājamaggadīpanī*. Meanwhile the old traditional learning was not neglected. The Saṅgharāja had been expounding the commentary on the Majjhimanikāya to his pupils. Under his direction a Burmese translation of the commentary was prepared, embodying his interpretation of the text.

The original text of the Jātaka tales was also translated at this time by the thera Medhābhivaṃsa.

Finally, we have a list of Paññāsāmi's own works with their dedications. "At the request of the Queen-Consort" he composed two works entitled *Sīlakathā* and *Upāyakathā*, evidently of an ethical character. At the request of the king's tutor (a layman) he then wrote the *Akkhara-visodhanī*, a treatise on Pali orthography, and the *Āpattivinicchaya*, on morality. Paññāsāmi's own preceptor, the Saṅgharāja, urged him, he tells us, to compose the *Nāgarājuppattikathā* above mentioned, the *Vohāratthabheda* and *Vivādavinicchaya* dealing with monastic discipline. For the edification of certain ministers, the *lekhakāmacca* and

1. Sās pp. 149, 153.

2. Founded in 1857.

3. Sās p. 514.

ārocanalekhakāmacca,¹ he wrote the *Rājasevakadīpanī* (on serving the king). Another work, the *Nirayakathādīpaka*,² was undertaken to please another high official. A distinguished layman requested him to write on the *uposatha* rules, and the monk composed the *Uposathavinicchaya*. Lastly, at the request of “many of his hearers,” he wrote a Pali commentary on the first Pali work that had brought honour to Burmese scholarship, the *Saddanīti*.

Thus the nineteenth century is linked with the twelfth, the history of Pali literature in Burma repeats itself. Perhaps the desire of these modern theras was before all to revive the ancient tradition as faithfully as possible. That certainly was Min-dōn-min’s own ambition, and when he had gained for himself the title “Convener of the Fifth Council” he treasured it thenceforth beyond all others. [94]

In 1868–71³ a great assembly of learned monks and teachers was summoned together at the capital, where, the king presiding, they read or recited the sacred texts to restore the best readings. By the royal order a complete text of the Tipiṭaka was then engraved on stone tablets and placed in shrines. This traditional act duly recorded, we come to another of an importance perhaps little suspected by Min-dōn-min’s counsellors—the inauguration of the first printing press in Upper Burma.

In 1885 Min-dōn-min’s successor lost his throne and the British Army occupied Mandalay. The palace and even the monastery libraries paid their tribute to the conquerors, who, fortunately, were careful (like Anorata) to bear their treasure to safe places, house it with honour, and keep it within the reach of inquiring scholars.

Of the changes brought about in Burma by the annexation we have no occasion to speak here. They affected the Buddhist religion and the Order very little. The author of *A People at School*⁴ points out that the monks of Burma have ceased of late years to exert that direct influence in the affairs of the community which they are known to have used for good while Buddhist kings ruled, and that they have withdrawn more strictly into the cloistered religious life. But their spiritual authority with the people is by no means lessened, and of their literary activity we have abundant evidence in the multitude of modern Pali and Bur-

1. Secretaries and officials charged with drafting and issuing royal decrees.

2. Edifying stories of punishments in hell.

3. *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i, p. 66; Buddhism, 1905, p. 425.

4. See Fielding Hall, *A People at School*, pp. 255, 257.

mese works now printed in Burma. The elaborate official lists of publications in Burma issued by the Indian Government are also instructive and interesting from this point of view.

We cannot conclude our brief survey without a glance at this latest period, the era of the printing press.

We must begin with Lower Burma, where, in consequence of the British occupation, printing was introduced earlier than in Mandalay. Here we find works by modern Burmese authors and reprints of ancient classics published in increasing numbers from 1870 onwards. [95]

There is little to be said about these works. We notice a number of new editions of short texts that have become household words with the laity, such as the *Paritta* and the famous *Maṅgalasutta*,¹ Burmese translations of these and popular works such as the *Lokaṇīti*, *Namakkāra*, and *Ratanapañjara*, the last two of which are devotional poems.²

Then we come to vocabularies, works of grammar and rhetoric, among which should be noticed the *Kāvyaśāratthasaṅgaha* (1872), by a learned and prolific author, *Chakkindābhisiri*, and the *Alaṅkāranissaya*, of the Yaw-mya-sā Atwin-wun (written in 1880). This latter is an example of that care to preserve the old traditions of scholarship which we have already noticed, and which is still characteristic of the Burmese Palists. The *Alaṅkāranissaya* is an edition of Saṅgharakkhita's *Subodhālaṅkāra*,³ with a commentary.

In 1882 appeared the *Lokaṇīti* of Chakkindābhisiri, an ethical poem in Pali, published with a Burmese version. A characteristic little work of the same date is the *Upāsakavinicchaya*, a collection of Pali quotations on the religious duties of laymen. The collection was translated and commented in Burmese by a monk of Prome, Paññāraṃsi. A work bearing the Pali title *Kammavinicchaya*, but written in Burmese, may be mentioned here, as, fortunately for us, it has been studied and expounded in English by a Burmese scholar, Shwe Zan Aung.⁴ The author's name is Sāgaravaṃsābhidhaja.

Modern works dealing with that standard work of metaphysic, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, are very numerous. To take an example, a summary of this important text, with commentary by U Tin, was pub-

1. See above, pp. 3, 4.

2. These poems reappear in several modern collections, such as the *Hyauk saung twè*, *Hsay saung twè*, etc.

3. On rhetoric (see JPTS, 1882, p. 55).

4. *Buddhism*, October, 1905, vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 58 ff.

lished at Maulmein in 1883 under the title *Sarūpatthadīpanī*; the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaparitta*, by Maung Tun Aung, in 1897; the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahagaṇṭhi-thit* in 1898 (by U Tissa and U Janinda); and several issues of the text itself at various times. [96]

Jagarābhīdhaja is a modern author who has written both grammatical and religious treatises. His works include the *Dhammapāda-shu-bwè* (moral and philosophical stanzas in Pali with Burmese interpretation, published in 1894), the *Upāsakovāda* (edifying discourses to the laity, 1894), the *Ovādakathā*, the *Navaniyamadīpanī* (254 aphorisms on Pali grammar), and the *Saddamedhanī* (an essay on various terms of Pali grammar). The same author edited later (1903) the Pārājika and Pācittiya sections of the Vinaya, with Burmese interpretation. It is interesting to see that Jagarābhīdhaja edited a passage from the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* called the *Kāmādinakathā*.

A rather curious specimen of a modern work in another branch of Pali–Burmese literature is the *Atthasālinī-gaṇṭhi* (or *Atthasālinī-gaṇṭhi-thit*), published in Rangoon in 1900. This work, described as “Notes on difficult points in Buddhist philosophy,” is briefly analyzed as follows for the guidance of readers: “A book of expositions on various subjects, namely, on the grammatical construction of the Tipiṭaka or the Buddhist scriptures; on the account of Kathāvattu or book of controverted points; on the thirty events which always take place on the conception of an embryo Buddha; on the threefold divisions of the religion; on the six kinds of divine effulgence; on the relative heights of the Bodhi-tree and Buddha’s throne; on the thirty-two signs manifested on the birth of embryo Buddha and on the promulgation of his law; on the solicitation of a divine communication of the hermit Sumedha at the hands of Dīpaṅkara Buddha regarding his future Buddhahood; on the principal causes of existence; on the derivation of the names of Sāriputta and Moggallāna; on the four kinds of lions; on the six *paññattis* or manifestations; on the ten *pāramis* or virtues; on the *catupārisuddhisīla* or four precepts of purity; on the four castes of the Brahmins; on the attributes of Buddhist Trinity; on the list of Rahans who convened the Buddhist councils; on the law of abstruseness; on the numerousness of existences; on the three kinds of *pahānas* or getting rid of one’s lust; on evil acts; on the three methods of teaching Buddhist scriptures; on the four [97] kinds of *acinteyya* or incomprehensibles; on the names of the *pañcavaggi* or the first five disciples of Buddha; and other matters.”

Treatises on *nirvāṇa*, arahatship, and the practice of meditation in its various stages leading to these ends, are numerous, for example: (1) the *Visuddhimaggadīpanī-kyan* (on the nature of religious meditation and methods of practising it, e.g., the *Samathakammaṭṭhāna*, *Bhāvanākammaṭṭhāna*, and *Vipassanākammaṭṭhāna*), 1900; (2) the *Asaṅkhatadhammapakāsanī-kyan*, by U Pyin-nya-thika, 1899, on the nature of *nirvāṇa* and the *upasamānussati* form of meditation leading thereto; (3) *Sati we-bōn-la-shu-bwè*, which explains the three kinds of death—*khaṇikamarāṇa* or the “momentary death,” which consists in the continual wearing away of the body and soul, *samuttimaraṇa* or “so-called death,” the visible death to which all beings are subject, and the *samucchedarāṇa* or “cessation of existence,” said of the death of Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, and arahats.

We turn back with relief to the less perplexing points treated by the authors who confine themselves to Vinaya and grammar. The learned Visuddhācāra is an example. Among his works are the *Kaccāyanaṇṇanācakkā-kyan*, a treatise under six heads upon the introductory stanzas to Kaccāyana’s grammar (published in 1896); the *Dhātvatthasaṅgaha*, an alphabetical digest of Pali roots and their meanings, in verse, with a Burmese translation; the *Chandomañjari*, a Pali treatise on metre, followed by a *nissaya* in Burmese (1897); and, departing to another subject, the *Viṣuṃgāmasīmāvinicchaya*, a treatise on the determination of village boundaries (1899).

Scholarship in the twentieth century followed the lines first traced as long ago as the twelfth century in Burma. Let us take as an example a learned monk of the most recent times, the venerable Ledi Hsayā-daw, and observe the subjects treated by him in various works published in Rangoon in 1905 and 1906. The list of the Ledi Hsayā-daw’s works is long: *Niruttidīpanī* (a Pali grammar, and afterwards a Burmese *nissaya* on the same work), *Nibbānadīpanī* (a discourse on *nirvāṇa*), *Rūpadīpanī* (a treatise on form), *Bodhipakkhiyadīpanī*, *Ānāpānadīpanī*, and *Ovāda* (the way [98] to arahatship, treatise on meditation, and book of instruction), *Pāramīdīpanī* (on virtue), *Saddasaṅkhepa* (a manual of Pali grammar), *Pabbājaniya Kammavācā* (legal announcement for the novice ordination), *Dhammadīpanī* (exposition of the Law), *Maggāṅgadīpanī* (the “Eightfold Path” explained), *Paṭiccasamuppādadīpanī* (reflections on the causes of transmigration), *Paramatthasaṅkhepa* (manual of Abhidhamma), *Saccatthadīpanī* (the

four Sublime Truths explained), *Vijjāmaggadīpanī*, *Lakkhaṇadīpanī* (the way to enlightenment, the three characteristics), *Āhāradīpanī*, *Sīlavinicchaya* (on food and the precepts of morality), *Anattadīpanī* (on mutability), *Dānadīpanī* (on charity), and *Dhammadesanā* (religious teaching).

These works represent fairly well the fields where Pali flourishes today—dissertations on points of doctrine, homilies and exhortations, verses which may be called either charms or prayers, decisions on points of discipline, manuals of metaphysics, treatises on Pali grammar. To the abundance of new works of this kind, modern scholars now add a pious and most useful contribution: careful editions of the Tipiṭaka texts and commentaries.

A group of writings very insignificant in size, but interesting, or rather curious, from the mere fact of the Pali language being found in such a connection, is the class of little works headed “science” in the Pali–Burmese lists. The sciences in question are chiefly astrology and cosmography,¹ but medical treatises occur here and there. And this reminds us again of a field in Burma which merits diligent exploration. While the Pali literature represents vastly more than any other the influence of India on Further India, we should not pass over the fact that a store of Sanskrit learning by no means negligible has existed from time immemorial in that outlying country. This store was always held strictly in Brahmanical keeping. The kings of Burma were generally not only the nominal, but real and energetic patrons of learning, and the Brahmans, at all times counsellors and soothsayers in the royal palaces, had an indirect influence on culture. Forchhammer encountered an extreme [99] reserve in the Hindu guardians of Brahmanical lore which baffled even his determination and patience as an inquirer. But his conclusion was that “there exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma written on paper like in India, with Nāgarī and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu colonists, who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country.” He adds: “Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made.”² And an eminent epigraphist has said very lately, “we are

1. Examples are the *Itthipurisa-aṅgavijjā-pakiṇṇaka-kyan*, a handbook of divination on the formation of the hands and other parts of the body, and a *ṭikā* on the *Makarandaveda*, a handbook of astrology.

2. Forchhammer, *Report on Literary Work*, 1879–80, p. 13.

beginning to obtain valuable records in Burma.”¹ Ancient links connect India with Burma; we can only hope to restore them gradually, and there are many questions which, with all its wealth of legend and chronicle, the Pali literature does not answer fully.²

The great historical service of the Pali literature is to show the peculiarly Buddhist character of Burmese civilization. History in the modern and critical sense we cannot, demand of it any more than we demand philology or biology treated with European methods. We need not consider here the possibility of adapting the Pali language to modern knowledge or critical discussion. The true Pali literature is traditional. We may read now, as in old days, of differences of doctrine or opposed schools in the Southern Buddhist community.³ But these seem, from our far-off point of observation, to be a hardly perceptible eddy here and there in the calm main stream of Buddhist belief, as we see it in [100] the religious and scholarly literature of Burma. Having followed that stream back to its mediaeval sources, and yet further to its remote Indian origin, we cannot but feel impressed by the continuity of its progress, the force of its unbroken tradition. Buddhism in Burma has suffered nothing parallel to the Mohammedan invasion of India, but the history of Further India has been tempestuous enough. When we follow in the chronicles the struggle of those neighbour states, we must needs wonder at the Law that never failed, in the end, to dominate barbarism, to make customs milder and laws more just, to do away with barriers by raising men above them. Of that “Righteous Law” as a social and intellectual influence the Pali literature is an almost complete embodiment. Thus, to use the ancient metaphor, India conquered Burma. Of all the conquests in history none has been more enduring or more beneficent. [101]

1. J. F. Fleet in *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 63: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*; Oxford, 1907.

2. To take one instance: the chronicles hand on an ancient tradition that a royal Kṣatriya tribe came from India at a very early period and founded an Indian dynasty in Upper Burma. European scholars cautiously admit that there was an Indian immigration by the northern route, but at what date and for what reason we do not know. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 3. Phayre points out that in Lassen’s opinion the legend of an Indian dynasty is not quite without foundation. See Forchhammer, “On the ancient Mahāmuni Pagoda in Arakan”: *Report on Arakan*, p. 1.

3. Differences in the sects are “largely academic.” See *Burma*, vol. i, p. 41, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

An Inscription of A.D. 1442¹

The inscription mentioned on p. 33 is among those collected by Forchhammer at Pagan.² It is dated B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.), and commemorates the bestowal of various gifts on the Order by the Governor of Taungdwin and his wife. Together with a monastery, garden, paddy-lands, and slaves, the pious donors offered a collection of texts, of which a list is given. The following list, copied from the inscription, is extremely interesting for more than one reason. Besides helping to fix the chronology of many Pali works and giving some indication of their importance, it gives us another clue well worth following up. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but still recognizable. These will aid us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the fifteenth century. We are not obliged to believe that each monastery contained students of Sanskrit, but we have at least some ground for supposing that certain famous works on grammar, prosody, medicine, and so forth were treasured in Upper Burma.

The discovery that the “Vedas” found in Burmese, Talaing, and Siamese versions “do not contain a trace of Vedic texts” inclined Forchhammer³ to some scepticism as to the contents of palm-leaf MSS bearing the titles of famous old treatises (e.g. the *Suśruta*). I think, however, that he is speaking of MSS of a later date. I do not see any reason to doubt that the gift recorded in the Pagan inscription was a collection really containing the works mentioned and not their titles only. References to Forchhammer’s *List* indicate that MS copies [102] of the works in question are in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. A few notes are added, but there is obviously room for many more suggestions

1. A new translation of this inscription and a description of its history, etc. was made by Luce, C. H. and Tin Hiway, “A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma.” *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, pp. 203–56 Colombo, 1976. (BPS editor.)
2. *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*. Deciphered from the ink impressions found among Forchhammer’s papers. Printed at Rangoon, 1902. Translated with notes by Tun Nyein, Government Printing Press, Rangoon, 1899. The inscription containing the list is mentioned by M. Pelliot in the article “Deux itinéraires”, BEFEO, vol. v, p. 183.
3. Report, 1879–80, p. 11.

and conjectures.

List Copied from the Inscription

1. Pārājikakaṇḍa.¹
2. Pācittiyā.
3. Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga.
4. Vinayamahāvagga.
5. Vinayacūlavagga.
6. Vinayaparivāra.
7. Pārājikakaṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā.
8. Pācittiyādi-aṭṭhakathā.
9. Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭīkā.
10. Terasakaṇḍa-ṭīkā.
11. Vinayaśaṅgraha-aṭṭhakathā (the greater).
12. Vinayaśaṅgraha-aṭṭhakathā (the lesser).
13. Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī-aṭṭhakathā.
14. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (ancient).
15. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (new).
16. Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī-ṭīkā (new).
17. Vinayaḅaṅṅhipada.
18. Vinaya-uttarasiṅcaya-aṭṭhakathā.²
19. Vinayaśiṅcaya-ṭīkā (later).
20. Vinayakhandhaniddesa.
21. Dhammasaṅgaṇī.³
22. Vibhaṅga.
23. Dhātukathā.
24. Puggalapaṅṅatti.
25. Kathāvatthu.
26. Mūlayamaka.
27. Indriyayamaka.

1. Nos. 1-20 are works belonging to or commenting on the Vinaya. (Edited by Hermann Oldenberg. Vinayaṅṅtakam, 5 vols., 1879, etc. Khuddasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā. See edition of E. Müller, JPTS, 1883.)

2. *Sic* text of inscription. Read *śaṅcaya*, anthology or collection. (= *Vinaya-vinichaya & Uttara-vinichaya*, see Luce. [BPS editor.])

3. Abhidhamma (Nos. 21-37). See *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, ed. E. Müller, Pali Text Society, 1885; *Vibhaṅga*, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS, 1904; *Dhātukathā*, ed. Edmund Gooneratne, PTS, 1892 (with comm.); *Puggalapaṅṅatti*, ed. Richard Morris, PTS, 1883; *Dukapaṅṅhāna* and *Tikapaṅṅhāna*, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS, 1906; *Kathāvatthu*, ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS, 1894-7, 2 vols.; *Atthasālinī* (comm. on *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*), ed. E. Müller, PTS, 1897.

28. Tikapaṭṭhāna.
29. Dukatikaṭṭhāna.
30. Dukapaṭṭhāna.
31. Atthasālinī-aṭṭhakathā.
32. Sammohavinodanī-aṭṭhakathā.
33. Pañcapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā.
34. Abhidhamma-anuṭṭikā.¹
35. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā.
36. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-ṭṭikā.
37. Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī-ṭṭikā.
38. Sīlakkhandha.²
39. Mahāvagga.²
40. Pātheyya.²
41. Sīlakkhandha-aṭṭhakathā.
42. Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā.
43. Pātheyya-aṭṭhakathā. [103]
44. Sīlakkhandha-ṭṭikā.
45. Mahāvagga-ṭṭikā.
46. Pātheyya-ṭṭikā.
47. Mūlapaṇṇāsa.³
48. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
49. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭṭikā.
50. Majjhimapāṇṇāsa.³
51. Majjhimapāṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
52. Majjhimapāṇṇāsa-ṭṭikā.
53. Uparipaṇṇāsa.
54. Uparipaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā.
55. Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭṭikā.
56. Sāgāthavaggasaṃyutta.⁴
57. Sāgāthavaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
58. Sāgāthavaggasaṃyutta-ṭṭikā.
59. Nidānavaggasaṃyutta.
60. Nidānavaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
61. Khandhavaggasaṃyutta.

1. By Dhammapāla of Sri Lanka. Sās p. 33.

2. See *Dīghanikāya* (Nos. 38–46), ed. Rhys Davids and Estlin Carpenter, PTS, 1889, etc., 3 vols.

3. See *Majjhimanikāya* (Nos. 47–55), ed. V. Trenckner (vol. i) and Robert Chalmers (vols. ii and iii), PTS, 1888–1902.

4. See *Samyuttanikāya* (Nos. 66–65), ed. Léon Feer. 5 vols. Vol. vi indices. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. PTS, 1884–98.

62. Khandhavaggasamyutta-ṭīkā.
63. Saḷāyatanavaggasamyutta.
64. Saḷāyatanavaggasamyutta-aṭṭhakathā.
65. Mahāvaggasamyutta.
66. Ekadukatikanipāta-aṅguttara.¹
67. Catukanipāta-aṅguttara.
68. Pañcanipāta-aṅguttara.
69. Cha-sattanipāta-aṅguttara.
70. Aṭṭha-navanipāta-aṅguttara.
71. Dasa-ekādasanipāta-aṅguttara
72. Ekanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
73. Dukatikatukanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
74. Pañcādi-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā.
75. Aṅguttara-ṭīkā. (1)
76. Aṅguttara-ṭīkā. (2)
77. Khuddakapāṭha text and aṭṭhakathā.²
78. Dhammapada text and aṭṭhakathā.
79. Udāna text and aṭṭhakathā.
80. Itivuttaka text and aṭṭhakathā.
81. Suttanipāta text and aṭṭhakathā.
82. Vimānavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā.
83. Petavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā. [104]
84. Thera(gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā.
85. Therī(gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā.
86. Pāṭhacariya.³
87. Ekanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
88. Dukaniipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
89. Tikanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
90. Catuka-pañca-chanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
91. Satta-aṭṭha-navanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.

1. See *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Nos. 66–76), ed. R. Morris (vols. i and ii) and Edmund Hardy (vols. iii–v), PTS, 1885–1900.

2. See *Khuddakanikāya* and commentaries (Nos. 77–110); *Khuddakapāṭha*, ed. R. C. Childers, JRAS, 1870; *Dhammapada*, ed. V. Fausböll (1st ed., 1855; 2nd ed., 1900); *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. R. Morris, PTS, 1882; *Udāna*, ed. Paul Steinthal, PTS, 1885; *Itivuttaka*, ed. E. Windisch, PTS, 1889; *Sutta-nipāta*, ed. V. Fausböll, PTS, 1884; *Vimānavatthu*, ed. E. K. Gooneratne, PTS, 1886; *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. Hardy, PTS, 7901; *Petavatthu*, ed. J. P. Minayeff, PTS, 1889; *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. Hardy, PTS, 1894; *The Theragāthā and Therīgāthā*, ed. H. Oldenberg & R. Pischel, PTS, 1883; *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. Müller, PTS, 1893; *Jātaka and aṭṭhakathā*, ed. V. Fausböll, 7 vols. Other texts are in course of publication by the Pali Text Society.

3. Text of *Cariyāpiṭaka* (?).

92. Dasa-ekādasanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
93. Dvādasa-terasa-pakiṇṇaka-nipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
94. Vīsati-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
95. Jātattakī-sotattakī-nidāna-aṭṭhakathā.¹
96. Cūlaniddesa.²
97. Cūlaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā.
98. Mahāniddesa.
99. Mahāniddesa.²
100. Jātaka-ṭīkā.
101. Dumajātika-aṭṭhakathā.
102. Apadāna.
103. Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā.
104. Paṭisambhidāmagga.³
105. Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā.
106. Paṭisambhidāmagga-gaṇṭhipada.
107. Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathā.
108. Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā.
109. Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā.
110. Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā.
111. Nāmarūpa-ṭīkā. (new).⁴
112. Paramatthavinicchaya (new).⁵
113. Mohavicchedanī
114. Lokapaññatti.⁶
115. Mohanayana.
116. Lokuppatti.
117. Aruṇavatī.
118. Chagatidīpanī.⁷
119. Sahassaraṃsimālinī.⁸

1. A *Sotatthakī* written in Sri Lanka, is mentioned in the *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 58.

2. Mahāniddesa, a part of the Khuddakanikāya, "being an exposition by Sāriputta of sixteen suttas which compose the fourth book or Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta" (see *Catalogue of Pali-Burmese MSS.* in the British Museum). The Cūlaniddesa is the second part of the Niddesa.

3. Ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS. (1905–1907).

4. *Nāmarūpapariccheda* [*ppakaraṇa*] is "a treatise belonging to the literature on the Abhidhamma, being an exposition of the Buddhist philosophical term *nāmarūpa*, or "name and form," by Anuruddhācariya" (*B.M.Pali and Burmese Catalogue*). The terms "new" (or modern) and "old" (ancient) are translated here from Burmese *thit* and *houng*.

5. On the Abhidhamma. This work (by Anuruddha) is in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xviii.

6. By Saddhammaghosa of Thatōn.

7. By Saddhammaghosa of Thatōn. See Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxvi.

120. Dasavatthu. [105]⁸
121. Sahassavatthu.⁸
122. Sīhaḷavatthu.⁸
123. Peṭakopadesa.
124. Tathāgatuppatti.¹
125. Dhammacakka [? pavattanasutta].
126. Dhammacakka-ṭīkā.
127. Dāṭṭhādihātuvamsa.²
128. Dāṭṭhādihātuvamsa-ṭīkā.
129. Cūlavamsa.²
130. Dīpavamsa.²
131. Thūpavamsa.²
132. Anāgatavamsa.²
133. Bodhivamsa.²
134. Mahāvamsa.²
135. Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā.²
136. Dhammadāna [? in text dhammandan].³
137. Mahākaccāyana.
138. Nyāsa.⁴
139. Than-byin-ṭīkā.⁴
140. Mahāthera-ṭīkā.
141. Rūpasiddhi-aṭṭhakathā.⁵
142. Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā.
143. Bālāvātāra.⁶
144. Vuttimoggallāna.⁷
145. Pañcika-Moggallāna.
146. Pañcika-Moggallāna-ṭīkā.
147. Kārikā.⁸

8. *Sahassaramsī*, mentioned in Piṭ-sm p. 55, is a ṭīkā on the Mahābodhivamsa, It was written at Pagan in the reign of Narapati, A.D. 1174 (B.E. 536). Dasavatthu, Sahassavatthu, and Sīhalavatthu were composed in Sri Lanka. The authors are unknown to the Piṭ-sm (p. 57). On *Peṭakopadesa* see Dissertation by Rudolf Fuchs, Berlin, 1908.

1. By Nāṇagambhīra (?). Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxv; P.M., p. 60.

2. Written in Sri Lanka. P.M., pp. 53, 55-7.

3. Probably dealing with the *dhammadānānisamsa*, the advantage or merit of preaching the law to others.

4. See above, p. 21.

5. *Rūpasiddhi* the well-known Pali grammar composed in Sri Lanka by Dīpaṅkāra, otherwise Buddhapiya.

6. By Dhammakitti or Saddhammakitti. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii. A Pali grammar of the Kaccāyana school.

7. The *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* is accompanied with the *vutti* or explanation. See Devamitta's edition, Colombo, 1890.

148. Kārikā-ṭikā.
149. Liṅgatthavivarāṇa.¹
150. Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-ṭikā.
151. Mukhamattasāra.²
152. Mukhamattasāra-ṭikā.
153. Mahāgaṇa.
154. Cūḷagaṇa.
155. Abhidhāna.³
156. Abhidhāna-ṭikā.
157. Saddanīti.⁴
158. Cūḷanirutti.⁵
159. Cūḷasandhivisoḍhana.
160. Saddatthabhedacintā.⁶
161. Saddatthabhedacintā-ṭikā.
162. Padasoḍhana.⁷ [106]
163. Sambandhacintā-ṭikā.⁸
164. Rūpāvatāra.⁹
165. Saddāvatāra.
166. Saddhammadīpaka.
167. Sotamālinī.¹⁰
168. Sambandhamālinī.¹¹
169. Padāvahāmahācakka [Padāvatāra?].
170. Nvādi [Moggallāna].¹²
171. Katacā [Kṛt-cakra?].
172. Mahākā [°kappa or °kaccāyana?].
173. Bālattajana [Bālāvatāra ?]
174. Suttāvali.¹³

8. See above, p. 16.

1. See above, p. 22.

2. See above, p. 25.

3. *Abhidhāna*, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* of Moggallāna, about 1153 A.D., “the only dictionary of synonyms in the Pali language” (Subhūti). The text was edited in 1883 by the thera Subhūti and a complete index (*Abhidhānappadīpakāsūci*) in 1893.

4. See above, pp. 17f.

5. *Cūḷanirutti*, a grammar of the Kaccāyana school.

6. See above, p. 20, 22.

7. *Padasādhana* (?). The *Padasādhana* is a Pali grammar composed in Sri Lanka.

8. See above, p. 22, and Piṭ-sm p. 67.

9. A treatise on inflection (?).

10. *Sotabbamālinī* (?). The work of that name is a collection of edifying tales.

11. A treatise on syntactical relation (?).

12. *Nvādi Moggallāna*, a treatise on gender by Saṅgharakkhita based on *Moggallāna*.

175. Akkharasammohacchedanī.¹
176. Cetiddhīnemiparigāthā [*sic*] [?].
177. Samāsataddhitadīhanī.²
178. Bījakkhyam.³
179. Kaccāyanasāra.⁴
180. Bālappabodhana.⁵
181. Atthasālinī.
182. Atthasālinī-nissaya.
183. Kaccāyana-nissaya.
184. Rūpasiddhi-nissaya.
185. Jātaka-nissaya.
186. Jātaka-gaṇṭhi.
187. Dhammapadagaṇṭhi-nissaya.
188. Kammavācā.⁶
189. Dhammasattha.⁷
190. Kalāpapañcīkā [pañjikā].⁸
191. Kalāpapañcīkā-ṭīkā.
192. Kmalāpasutta-pratīññasaku [°patiññapaka] ṭīkā.
193. Priṇḍo-ṭīkā.⁹
194. Rattamālā.¹⁰
195. Rattamālā-ṭīkā.
196. Roganidāna.¹¹ [107]

13. *Suttāvali* = Sūtras of Kaccāyana.

1. On analysis of words or correct division of syllables.

2. On compounds and suffixes.

3. *Bījakkhyam*, on algebra (?).

4. See above, pp. 34, 35.

5. Written at Vijayapura (Panyā), author not known. Piṭ-sm p. 72.

6. See above, pp. 6, 7.

7. *Dharmaśāstra* (Law code). See above, pp. 33, 84.

8. Commentary on the *Kātantra* grammar (see above, p. 26); Forchhammer, *Report*, 1879–80, p. 12 (“The *Kātantra* seems to have been the most influential of these later grammars [not belonging to the Pāṇinian system], having served as a model for the standard Pali grammar of Kaccāyana and for the native grammars of the Tibetans and Dravidians’); A.A. Macdonell, article *Sanskrit Literature* in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India (The Indian Empire*, vol. ii, p. 251); see also Weber, *Ind. Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 243, 336; also the text *Kātantra* of Śarvavarman with the commentary of Durgasiṃha, ed. J. Eggeling, *Bibl. Indica*, vol. lxxxi.

9. Probably *Vṛnda* the medical treatise by the author of that name. See Jolly, *Medicin*, pp. 4 and 6 (*Grundriss*, iii, 10).

10. Perhaps *Ratnamālā*. Possibly the famous dictionary *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, of Halāyudha, about the middle of the tenth century. See Zachariae, *Die Indischen Wörterbücher (Grundriss*, i, 33), p. 5, and Ludwig Heller’s *Halāyudha’s Kavirahasya* (Göttingen, 1894).

11. Medicine, possibly the *Mādhavanidāna* or a work based on that *Hauptwerk*. See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 7.

197. Dabraguṇa.¹
198. Dabraguṇa-ṭīkā.
199. Chandoviciti.²
200. Candaprutti³ [Cāndra-vṛtti].
201. Candrapañcikara³ [pañjikā].
202. Kāmandakī.⁴
203. Dhammapaññāpakaraṇa.
204. Mahosaṭṭhi [Mahosadha?]⁵
205. Subodhālaṅkāra.⁶
206. Subodhālaṅkāra-ṭīkā.
207. Tanogabuddhi [?].
208. Taṇḍi [Daṇḍin?].⁷
209. Taṇḍi-ṭīkā.
210. Caṅkadāsa.⁸
211. Ariyasaccāvātara.
212. Vicitragandha.
213. Saddhammupāya.⁹
214. Sārasaṅgaha.¹⁰
215. Sāraṇiṇḍa.
216. Paṭipattisaṅgaha.
217. Sūlachāraka.¹¹
218. Pālatacca [Bālatarka?, logic for beginners?].
219. Trakkabhāsā¹² [Tarkabhāsā].

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1. *Dravyaguṇasaṃgraha* (pharmacology). See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 6. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxxv.
 2. Explanation of metres.
 3. On the *Cāndra* grammar and its relation to the Pali grammar of Moggallāna see articles by O. Franke, JPTS, 1902–3; also A.C. Burnell, on *The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, Mangalore, 1875.
 4. For Kāmandakī's *Nīṭisāra* (elements of Polity) see the edition of S. Venkātārāma Sāstry, Madras, 1895, and studies by Carlo Formichi, *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, Florence, 1887.
 5. See the *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka* (in which Mahosadha is the Bodhisatta). Fausböll, *Jātaka*; vol. vi, pp. 329–478.
 6. *Subodhālaṅkāra* on rhetoric was composed in Sri Lanka by Saṅgharakkhita. Piṭṭsm p. 75. See edition of G. E. Fryer (under title *Pali Studies*, 1875).
 7. The work inscribed is probably Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarṣa*.
 8. Evidently Caṅgadāsa author of the *Caṅgakārikā*, aphorisms" grammar (*Kātantra* school). See edition of Jagannadhasvāmiy, Vizagapatam, 1896.
 9. *Saddhammopāyana* by Ānanda, ed. Richard Morris, JPTS, 1887.
 10. *Sārasaṅgaha*, "a compilation of important points in Buddhism" (so described in the *British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS.*).
 11. Presumably an abridged version of the famous medical work *Cārakasamhitā*. See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 11.
 12. The *Tarkabhāsā*, on logic, of Keṣavamiṣra (?).

220. Saddakārikā.
221. Kāsikāpruttipalini.¹
222. Saddhammaḍḍipaka.
223. Satyatatvavabodha [?].
224. Bālappabodhanavṛttikaraṇa.
225. Atthabyākhyam.²
226. Cūḷaniruttimañjūsa.²
227. Mañjūsāṭīkābyākhyam.²
228. Anuṭīkābyākhyam,
229. Pakiṇṇakanikāya.
230. Catthapayoga [?]. [108]
231. Matthapayoga [?].
232. Rogayātrā [on medicine?].³
233. Rogayātrā-ṭīkā.
234. Satthekavipasvaprakāsa [?].
235. Rājamattanta.⁴
236. Parāsava.⁵
237. Koladdhaja.⁶
238. Bṛhājātaka.⁷
239. Bṛhājātaka-ṭīkā.
240. Dāṭhadhātuvamsa and ṭīkā.⁸
241. Patigaviveka-ṭīkā [?].⁹
242. Alaṃkāra-ṭīkā [on Subodhālaṅkāra?].
243. Calindapañcīkā [commentary on Calinda?].
244. Vedavidhinimittaniruttivaṇṇanā.¹⁰
245. Niruttibyākhyam.
246. Vuttodaya.¹¹
247. Vuttodaya-ṭīkā.

1. A commentary on the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana, on Pāṇinī (?). See *Zwei Kapitel der Kāśikā übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung versehen*, von Bruno Liebich, Breslau, 1892.

2. Grammatical commentaries or glosses.

3. Luce: Correct to *Yogayātra* of Varāhamihira. (BPS Ed.)

4. Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xxxvii and xxxviii, *Rājamattam* and *Rājamattanisayo*. Probably the (astrological) *Rājamartaṇḍa*.

5. *Laghupārāśaryam* (on astrology) (?).

6. This may be the *Goḷādhyāya* of the astronomical treatise *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, by Bhāskaračārya, A.D. 1114. See Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 435; other references see Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 139.

7. The *Bṛjjātaka* of Varāhamihira, a well-known work on astrology. See above, p. 108. Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxxvii.

8. Piṭ-sm p. 55.

9. Luce suggests *Pathyāpathya-viveka [nighaṇṭu]* (BPS Ed.)

10. An exposition of rules of divination (?).

248. Milindapañha [in text Malinapañña].
 249. Sāratthasaṅgaha.¹
 250. Amarakoṣanissaya.
 251. Piṇḍonissaya.
 252. Kalāpanissaya.
 253. Roganidānabyākhyam.
 254. Dabbragaṇa-ṭīkā.
 255. Amarakosa.
 256. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
 257. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
 258. Daṇḍī-ṭīkā.
 259. Koladhvaja-ṭīkā.
 260. Alamkāra.
 261. Alamkāra-ṭīkā.
 262. Bhesajjamañjūsā.²
 263. Yuddhajeyya [Yuddhādhyāya?].
 264. Yatanaprabhā-ṭīkā [Ratana].³
 265. Viragdha.⁴
 266. Viragdha-ṭīkā.
 267. Cūḷamaṇisāra.
 268. Rājamattanta-ṭīkā.⁵
 269. Mrtyuvañcana.⁶
 270. Mahākālacakka.⁶
 271. Mahākālacakka-ṭīkā.⁶ [109]
 272. Paraviveka [commentary on Parahita?].
 273. Kaccāyana-rūpavatāra.
 274. Pumbharasārī [Puṣkarasārī in text] [?].
 275. Taktāvatāra [Tattvāvatāra ?]
 276. Taktāvatāra-ṭīkā.
 277. Nyāyabindu.⁷

11. The *Vuttodaya* a standard Pali work on prosody, was written in Sri Lanka in the twelfth century by Saṅgharakkhita. See edition of Major Fryer, JASB, 1877. See in Mr. Tha Do Oung's Pali grammar (published 1902) the section on metrics.

1. A medical work so called was written by Buddhādāsa, king of Sri Lanka, in the fourth century (Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 15).

2. On medicine.

3. A medical work called *Ratnaprabhā* is mentioned by R. Hoernle in JRAS, 1906, p. 289 (*Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine*).

4. Probably a copyist's mistake for *Vidagdha* (= *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* on riddles), by Dharmadāsa. See above, p. 27.

5. Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xxxv ff., section v, the medical, astronomical, astrological works, etc.; and *Report*, 1879–80, pp. 10 ff.

6. Are 269, 270, and 271 Śaiva works?

278. Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā.
 279. Hetubindu.¹
 280. Hetubindu-ṭīkā.
 281. Rikkaṇiya-yātrā [?].
 282. Rikkaṇiya-yātrā-ṭīkā.
 283. Bṛttaratākara [Vṛttaratnākara?]²
 284. Shyārāmitikabya [?].
 285. Yuttisaṅgaha.
 286. Yuttisaṅgaha-ṭīkā.
 287. Sārasaṅgaha-nissaya.
 288. Rogayātrā-nissaya.
 289. Roganidāna-nissaya.
 290. Saddatthabhedacintā-nissaya.
 291. Pārānissaya.
 292. Shyārāmitikabya-nissaya [?].
 293. Bṛhājġātaka-nissaya.
 294. Rattamālā.
 295. Narayuttisaṅgaha. [110]



7. The ancient collection of Sūtras on logic called *Nyāyabindu*. See Peterson's preface to his edition of Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, Calcutta, 1889 (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

1. On logic (?).

2. The *Vṛttaratnākara* (on metres), by Kedara Bhaṭṭa.

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1. The text distinguishes between monks who were direct disciples of the Buddha and later members of the Sangha (and laymen) as follows: *Mahāthera* refers to a member of the original Sangha of Bhikkhus who were direct disciples of the Buddha. *Thera* refers to a later monk. If no other appellation is applied, the name indicates a lay person.

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PALI LITERATURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By

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(Edited by Venerable Pesala)

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Preface

In the heyday of the peace and prosperity of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, these countries also had a flourishing cultural and intellectual life. Unfortunately, from time to time, invaders swooped down upon Cambodia and Laos, plundering their wealth and cultural treasures. Many manuscripts in Khmer, Laotian and Pali, and historical records were destroyed. During the modern period, under French rule, many manuscripts were removed to France where they are well preserved in libraries such as the Bibliothèque de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient. Others are to be found in the Vajirañāṇa Library, National Library, and Royal Library in Bangkok.

There are two well-known books on the Pali Literature of Sri Lanka and Burma; viz. *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* by G.P. Malalasekera, and *The Pali Literature of Burma*, by Mabel Bode. But so far there is no such work on Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, where Pali studies flourished for many centuries.

My friends and colleagues suggested that I should collate, in one volume, some of the relevant articles which I have contributed from time to time to scholarly journals, commemorative volumes and Festschriften. Since these articles were written intermittently, there are certain repetitions for which I apologise to my readers. I wish to express my thanks to the well-known historian, Professor Lakshman S. Perera M.A. Ph.D. for carefully reading this work and correcting some errors. I am deeply obliged to Venerable Pesala for much help and assistance in the preparation of this work for the Press.

Hammalawa Saddhātissa
London, 1990

Editor's Note

It was with some reluctance that I undertook to prepare this work for the press, since it is a scholarly work quite beyond my knowledge. However, with the advice and help of Mr K.R. Norman of the Pali Text Society in preparing the indexes and correcting the proofs, I was able to complete it to my satisfaction. I hope the readers will excuse any errors.

Venerable U Pesala



CHAPTER 1

THE ADVENT OF PALI LITERATURE IN THAILAND¹

From time immemorial, peoples in Asia have migrated from their original homelands and sought places where they could live in peace and security, far from the strife and enmity of neighbouring tribes and this is also true of the people we know today as the Thais. The word *Thai* means *free* and at the beginning of the second century BCE their long migration from the valleys between the Huang Ho and the Yangtze Kiang in China began in earnest.² They moved ever southwards because of conflicts with neighbouring tribes and one group called *Thai Yai* (literally *Big Thai*) moved to what are now the Shan States, to the plains of the Salween River and other areas and as far afield as modern Assam. The *Thai Noi* (which means Small Thai) reached present-day Thailand. It is quite easy to trace the language affinity of the Thais who now live in Assam, Upper Burma, Southern China, Laos and North Vietnam, the Shan States and Thailand itself.

Archaeological finds show that Buddhism first reached Thailand when it was inhabited by the Mon-Khmer, whose capital, Dvārāvati, (now called Nakon Pathom, or in Sanskrit, Nagara Prathama) was about fifty kilometres to the west of Bangkok. There was a vast pagoda which was called Phra Pathom Chedi, (Paṭhama Cetiya) and other archaeological finds have been discovered nearby. Some scholars say that Buddhism was brought to Thailand by missionaries of the Emperor Asoka, two of whom were the theras Soṇa and Uttara who went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Golden Land or Land of Gold).³ According to the Pali Chronicles, this had been decided at the end of the Third Council, held in the seventeenth year of Asoka's reign, under the presidency of the Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa. The chronicles mention that each of the missions was to consist of five theras so that it would be possible to perform the *Upasampadā* ceremony.⁴ Some identify Suvaṇṇabhūmi

1. This article was first published in *Vidyodaya*, Vol. 12, Colombo, 1984, pp. 418–224.

2. See: Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Volume III London, 1971, p. 79: "The Siamese claim to have assumed the name Thai (free) after they threw off the yoke of the Cambojans, but this derivation is more acceptable to politics than to ethnology."

3. See Chapter Three, p. 33

with Burma and others with the Hiranyavati district along the Sona river. But the many artefacts found in Thailand around Nakon Pathom show that it was almost certainly modern-day Thailand.

The conversion of Asoka to Buddhism, as now acknowledged by the world of scholarship, was a tremendous help to the *Buddhasāsana*. Some scholars, however, maintain that Buddhism came to Thailand much later than Asoka's missionaries did.

The first form of Buddhism to reach Thailand was that of the Theravada and this is borne out by the many historical remains which were found at Nakon Pathom. Among these were rock inscriptions in Pali, the Buddha footprints and seats and the *Dharma-Chakra* or Wheel of Law. All of these had, of course, existed in India before images of the Buddha were introduced as a result of Greek influence.¹ It is highly likely from archaeological evidence that Buddhism reached Thailand in the third century BCE. in more or less the same form as that propagated by Asoka. Many Buddha images were found in Nakon Pathom's ruins and in other cities and on looking at their styles, it can be assumed that early missionaries went there from Magadha in Bihar.² The Great Stūpa (Phra Pathom Chedi) can be compared with Sanchi.

The name Pathom Chedi, which in Pali is *Paṭhama Cetiya*, means "First Pagoda" which could mean that it was in fact the first pagoda to be built in Suvannabhūmi and would corroborate the fact that the theras Soṇa and Uttara established Buddhism in Thailand under Emperor Asoka's direction. The Mauryan Emperor Asoka reigned from circa 269 to 237 BCE and during this period through his emissaries and traders, Indian culture with languages and religious works gradually started to spread to South-East Asia. The epigraphic records often contain the Emperor's willingness to establish a righteous empire. Evidently the earliest Buddhist scriptures must have reached Asian kingdoms from India in the third century BCE.

Mahayana or Northern Buddhism was also spreading, and it flourished in Northern India under King Kaṇishka in the second half of the first century C.E., notably, and went to Sumatra, Java and Kambuja (Cambodia). Possibly it went from Magadha in Bihar to Burma and

4. *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Part I Ceylon University Press, Colombo, p. 131: "The principal missionary to each country was attended by four others, for the purpose of missionaries was to recruit members to the Sangha."

1. Raven-Hart, *Where the Buddha Trod*, Colombo, 1956, p. 105.

2. See Chapter Two, pp. 19 foll.

Pegu (Lower Burma) and to West Thailand as well as to Malaya. Many Mahayana Buddhist missionaries went to Sumatra from Kashmir and by 757 C.E. the Śrīvijaya king spread his large empire throughout the Malay peninsula and islands as well as to Southern Thailand from Surāsthani southwards.

Today, in Southern Thailand, there is much evidence showing that Mahayana Buddhism was established there and the cetiyas in Chaiya (Jaya) and Nakon Sri Thammarath (Nagara Sri Dharmarāja) indicate this. Many other *stūpas* and cetiyas were found with votive tablets of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (*Phra Phim*) and all are of the same type as those found in Java and Sumatra. Some scholars think that as Mahayana Buddhism had spread to China by the beginning of the Christian era, the Thais in their original home (in China) may have already come into contact with it there. From 1002 to 1182 in Cambodia, there ruled the Sūryavarman dynasty of kings who were Mahayana Buddhists and they also propagated this with a strong admixture of Brahminism. A rock inscription tells of a king in Nakon Sri Thammarath in around 1017 who traced his ancestry back to the Śrīvijaya rulers and this inscription is now in the National Museum at Bangkok. He ruled at Lopburi in central Thailand and his son became king of Cambodia.

An inscription was found in the Cambodian language in a Brahmanic Temple near Lopburi and this Brahmanic culture survives in Thailand today with evidence that the religions and cultures of Thailand and Cambodia intermingled for a very considerable time. Sanskrit became deeply rooted from about 1020, and Thai scripts, based on Cambodian scripts, which derived their origins from India, were invented by King Ram Kamhaeng of Sukhothai (Sukhodaya in Northern Thailand), when, after considerable struggles, that independent state was founded in 1257 C.E. (B.E.1800).

King Anawrata (Anuruddha) of Burma had his capital in central Burma at Pagan in 1057 and he invaded northern Thailand, his kingdom covering Chiangmai, Lopburi and Nakon Pathom.¹ Unfortunately, contact between India and Burma was rather poor and Buddhism in India was in decline, so the doctrine underwent some changes and became what is known in Thailand as Pagan Buddhism. This was strongest in the north, and relics found there show strong Theravada

1. *Ibid.*, p. 20

influence, whereas in the south the Burmese were content to leave their Khmer (Cambodian) vassals, who made Lopburi their capital city, as its rulers. As the Thais on their long migration southwards grew in numbers and strength, they finally gained control of the land after Anawrata's death when his kingdom declined. Le May says, "We have a definite contact between the Burmese in the west and the Thai in the east and north, and, with the growth and spread of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Burma it is most probably from the middle of the eleventh century that the Thai of northern Siam and the intervening region began to be influenced by the form of religion introduced at this time into upper Burma."¹

During King Anawrata's reign, the king of Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu I (1055–1110) asked for Buddhist monks to come and bring Buddhist scriptures with them, to revive the pure form of Higher Ordination in Ceylon. King Anawrata agreed to the Sinhalese king's request and sent both monks and scriptures to Ceylon, in return receiving a duplicate of the Tooth Relic.² There were close relations with North and West Thailand and this led to exchanges of art and culture and matters concerned with religion. In Ceylon under King Parākrama-Bāhu (circa 1165) there was a great revival of Buddhism and a Council was called. Monks from Thailand went to Ceylon to study Theravada literature and ceremonies and in the next century monks like these returned to Sri Thammarat, where they built a cetiya in the Sinhalese style. Upon this news reaching Sukhothai (Sukhodaya) these monks were asked to come to that northern capital to establish Theravada Buddhism as the state religion. There is a stone inscription of King Ram Kamhaeng (1292 C.E.) which records the introduction of Sinhalese Buddhism and the existence of the old school which came by way of Burma and the new school of *Araññavāsī* monks from Ceylon. King Parākrama-Bāhu the Great of Sri Lanka (1164–1197) had accomplished the important task of purifying the *Sāsana* and of re-organising the Buddhist Order and, as a result of this, Theravada Buddhism reached the apex of its glory in the island.³ Le May states that Ceylon was twice unsuccessfully invaded in 1230 and 1256 during the reign of King Parākrama-Bāhu II, by a King called

1. Reginald le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1954, p. 95.

2. *Cūlavamsa*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger, Pali Text Society, London, Vol I 1925; Vol. II 1927, lx, vV 4–8; *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II p. 253; G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, pp. 32 foll., *History of Ceylon*, pp. 563–65.

3. Reginald le May, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 171; *History of Ceylon*, pp. 58, 473 foll.

Chandrabhānu who tried to obtain possession of a miraculous statue of the Buddha to take to Thailand. It is recorded that Buddhism from Sri Lanka spread to northern and central Thailand during the reign of King Maha-dharmarāja Lithai, the fifth monarch of the Sukhodaya dynasty (1347–1376) and in the reign of King Kuna (1367–1388) Buddhism from Sri Lanka spread to the northern kingdom too.¹ It is thus quite clear that by the middle of the fourteenth century, the books of Pali literature with Sinhalese Buddhist traditions and practices were firmly established in the heart of Siam and it received a number of new impulses direct from Ceylon up to the sixteenth century.

After King Ram Kamhaeng, the political power of Sukhothai (Sukhodaya) declined and it succumbed to the might of Ayudhya.² But Sukhodayan monks went to study at Ayudhyā and Ayudhyan monks went to Sukhodaya. Finally Sukhodaya was annexed to Ayudhya in the reign of King Boromarāja I (1370–1388). Ayudhya remained the centre of Buddhism in Thailand for over 400 years until 1767.

In 1423 C.E., seven theras and other monks went from Thailand to Sri Lanka and stayed there for several years, returning to their homeland with some Sinhalese monks to establish a *nikāi* or fraternity which was later held in high regard for its strict rules and observances.³ In 1750, King Kienti (Kirthi) Sri Rājasingha of Sri Lanka asked King Baromakot and the Patriarch for some Thai monks to come and correct the rites and ceremonies of the Sinhalese monks and Sangha and to establish a valid Ordination service. Eighteen monks went to Sri Lanka and ordained seven hundred monks and three thousand novices in a period of under three years, and established the still existing Siamese fraternity or sect.⁴

The Ninth Buddhist Council was held in 1788 in Bangkok and its purpose was to collect and amend the existing Buddhist texts.⁵ Ayudhya had been captured by the Burmese in 1767 and the libraries of temples and palaces had been destroyed in the subsequent fire and pillage. Countless thousands of Buddhist texts and manuscripts and historical documents were burnt and destroyed. Phya Tak Sin liberated Thailand from the Burmese, establishing his capital at Thonburi, across

1. Reginald le May, *op. cit.*, p. 171 foll.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 160; see also Chapter Two, page 27.

3. See Chapter Two, page 20.

4. R.S Copleston, *Buddhism, Primitive and Present in Magadha and Ceylon*, London, 1892 and 1908, p. 405.

5. See Chapter Three, p. 38.

the river from Bangkok, and in 1769 his army captured Srīhammarat in southern Thailand which the Burmese had not touched. He managed to collect many Buddhist texts and brought them to his capital as he wanted to restore the Tipiṭaka to its entirety. Unfortunately, he died long before the work could be completed and his wish fulfilled. Every effort has been made since then to obtain a pure text for the Thai version of the Pali Tipiṭaka.

King Rāma I or Phra Buddha Yot Fa succeeded him and continued the labour of collecting the Tipiṭaka and he called a Council of two hundred and thirty monks and thirty [?] royal pundits who were to edit the texts which had been assembled. They all met for the first time at Wat Mahadhatu in Bangkok on November 12th, 1788 and it took them five months to complete the task. The work was entitled “The Council edition of the Tipiṭaka” or “The Edition of the First Masters” and it consisted of a total of 3,568 packets of palm-leaves which were sorted into 157 books of the Suttanta, forty books of the Vinaya, fifty-six books of the Abhidhamma, and thirty-five books of the *Saddavisesa*. The last was a dictionary of Pali terms which were used in studying the three sections of the Piṭaka. During the reign of King Rāma I, two additional copies were made for examination purposes and so that temples would be able to make copies for their own students and for their libraries as well as for teaching and disseminating the Dhamma.¹ King Rāma I was the first king of the present Thai dynasty called the Chakri Dynasty. The present king, Phumipol Adulyadet, has reigned from 1946.

Later on, a further seven copies were made in the reign of Rāma III Phra Nang Klao (1824–1851). These editions were made when King Mongkut (King Rāma IV—Phra Chom Klao) was then Prince Buddha-vajirañāṇa and was in the robe. He was able to undertake supervision of the revision of the texts and he secured forty volumes of sacred writings from Sri Lanka for use in making recensions of existing Thai texts in 1843. In 1844, these were then returned and a further thirty volumes were borrowed for the same reason. The king, Rāma III wanted to have a Thai translation made of the Tipiṭaka (which was in Pali) and he started on the task by having all those who preached from the Dhamma translate into Thai the parts which they used in their sermons when teaching. But it was not until much later on that the Tipiṭaka was

1. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

printed. The Ninth Council had been held in 1788 and about a hundred years later, the king, Chulalongkorn (1868–1910), proposed that the Tipiṭaka be put into print for the first time ever.¹

Before this huge commission was started, the higher Sangha members made a final version of the Tipiṭaka in its entirety.

A full comparison was also made of Sinhalese, Cambodian and Mon manuscripts in order to make a true text in as pure a form as possible, and in 1893, the complete Tipiṭaka was printed in Pali, using Thai characters. This took place during the twenty-fifth year of the king's reign.

One thousand monks took part in a three-day religious festival to celebrate the occasion and the edition was of a thousand copies. Each royal temple in the country received a set and many were sent abroad and the rest sold. Thailand thus printed the very first standard and complete edition of the Tipiṭaka in the Pali language. King Rāma VI also wanted a Buddhist book to be distributed as his memorial at his cremation. King Prajādhīpok (Phra Pok Klan 1925–1935), chose the Tipiṭaka and entrusted the task of reprinting it to the Prince Patriarch. Subscriptions poured in and 590,514 baht were collected. In fact, it cost only 237,449 baht, so the balance was set aside for future editions. On 26th November, 1930, a special service was held to commemorate the printing of this forty-five-volume set of the Tipiṭaka in an edition of 1,500 copies and in the Royal Library there are now 15 editions or recensions of the Tipiṭaka, thirteen of which are on palm-leaves whilst two are on paper. These are the printed editions of 1893 and 1928.

For many centuries, as we have seen, Buddhism has been firmly entrenched in the hearts and minds of the vast majority of the people of Thailand and it has deeply enriched their lives. It may indeed be said that, without it, life in Thailand would not be as it is today. It is probably the only country where the king is constitutionally a Buddhist and an upholder of Buddhism and it is one of the countries where Buddhism remains a living and dynamic force for the well-being and happiness of the world.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

CHAPTER 2

PALI LITERATURE OF THAILAND¹

Background to the Pali Tradition

The Buddhism enunciated in the Pali Canon, better known as the Theravada (Teaching of the Elders), spread beyond the confines of its native land during the reign of Emperor Asoka in the third century BCE.

As a direct result of the third Buddhist Council, convened by him, monk-teachers were despatched to the neighbouring countries. Very little definite information is recorded of the fate of those missions with the supreme exception of that to Ceylon where no less a person than the emperor's own son, Mahinda, was chosen to promulgate the Dhamma.

Although Buddhism was soon well established in Ceylon, there are very few historical references to Buddhist contact with mainland South-East Asia. In fact it was the Mahayana form of Buddhism that first penetrated the mainland kingdoms direct from India. However, the first contact with the Theravada was made before 1000 C.E. The powerful Burmese dominion of Anuruddha had been converted to the Theravada through contacts with Ceylon and, as a result, northern Thailand, which formed part of his kingdom, was similarly influenced.

Two centuries later the independent kingdom of Lānnā was established in the north, the southern half of the Thai country forming the expansionist kingdom of Ayodhya (1350–1767). The capital of Lānnā was founded in 1296 in Chiangmai which much later gave its name to the whole province.

In 1423, twenty-five monks from Chiangmai, eight from Cambodia and six from the Burmese Mon kingdom received the upasampadā ordination in Ceylon. They returned two years later, those from Chiangmai finally arriving in the Lānnā capital in 1430. The monks established themselves in the Pā Deng temple, two miles west of Chiangmai, and soon embarked on a *Dhammadūta* tour of the towns of Chiengrai, Lam-poon, Lampāng and Chiengsan.

1. This article was first published in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Spuiboulevard 50. P.O. Box 17, 3300 AA Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

Thus was founded the Sīhaḷa (Ceylon) sect or the Laṅkāvaṃsa (Ceylon tradition) which gave rise to a great revival of Pali literature and learning. This movement was accentuated in 1442 with the accession of Tilok, one of the most renowned kings of Lānnā, who, in 1475, convened a Council for the revision of the canonical texts.¹

Pali Orthography in Thailand

During the 15th and 16th centuries the northern Thai capital of Chiang-mai boasted the presence of several Pali scholars whose names have come down to us through the works composed by them. In the southern capital of Ayodhya (or Ayuthia), however, it would appear that the only scholars present were those who could translate Pali texts into Thai and no original Pali studies from this region are known to us. It is possible, however, that such manuscripts were destroyed when Ayodhya was sacked by the Burmese in 1767.

As far as the texts were concerned the script generally used would have been Thai which was, in fact, based upon the Khmer alphabet. During the early part of the Laṅkāvaṃsa period, however, the Sinhala script was employed but doubtless this was confined to monk-scholars. During the early 19th century, Mongkut (Rāma IV) invented a new script, the ariyaka, which was based upon the Roman alphabet. This was intended to facilitate the actual printing of Pali texts as opposed to their traditional dissemination by means of palm-leaves on which the Khmer characters were inscribed. However, this innovation failed to gain popular acceptance and it died a natural death.

As mentioned above, the Pali texts and other sacred writings were inscribed in Khmer letters whereas the Thai script, which had been introduced in 1283, was employed for secular works and translations only. It was not until the reign of Chulalongkorn (Rāma V, 1868–1911) that the entire Pali Canon was published in Thai script.² Copies of this edition, which he himself had sponsored, were distributed to all known Pali institutes.

1. Reginald le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1954, p. 187.

2. In 39 volumes in 1893. (Soon thereafter he established in Bangkok the Vajirañāna National Library of Thailand.) Another complete edition was published by the King Mongkut Pali Academy, Bangkok, in 45 volumes between 1925 and 1928; it was dedicated to the memory of his brother, Rāma VI by King Prajādhīpok.

Thai Pali Texts

Now follows a survey of all known original Pali compositions in chronological sequence. As will be seen, few texts of any originality or importance were composed after the eighteenth century.

The *Saddhammasaṅgaha*¹ is more or less a history of Buddhism in Ceylon in eleven chapters including the first three Councils (*Saṅgāyanā*). It is interesting to note that a fourth Council, held by the Arahant Mahinda under the presidency of Mahāriṭṭha in Ceylon, is mentioned.

The author gives a description of the writing of the Tipiṭaka under the patronage of Vaṭṭhagāminī Abhaya (101–77 B.C), Buddhaghosa's works and the writing of the *ṭīkā*s by Kassapa and his colleagues during the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu I (1153–1186 C.E.). The ninth chapter deals with the names of the authors of the principal works then known. The tenth and eleventh chapters are devoted to the accounts of merits that accrue from writing Piṭakas and from listening to the Dhamma respectively. Malalasekera has rightly said that the account given of books and their authors (in the ninth chapter) contains several inaccuracies.²

The author of this important work was Dhammakitti who probably lived at the end of the fourteenth century. Both he and his teacher, also named Dhammakitti, were theras of Thai nationality. The colophon³ states that a thera called Dhammakitti of good conduct and well versed in the Piṭakas lived in Ceylon. His pupil, also known as Dhammakitti, went to Ceylon to receive the upasampadā ordination. Thereafter, the latter returned to his native Ayodhya (*punāgato sakaṃ desaṃ sampatto Yodayaṃ puram*) and whilst residing in the Laṅkārama, built by King Paramarāja, he composed this treatise. Malalasekera was, however, mistaken in thinking the author to be a native of India and that he wrote the work in that country.

The *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*,⁴ a history of Buddhism in the Lānnā kingdom,⁵ and the *Sīhiṅganidāna*,⁶ the history of the image from Sīhaḷa (i.e.

1. Ed. N. Saddhānanda, *JPTS*, 1980.

2. G.P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1928; MD Gunasena & Co., Colombo, 1958, pp. 10, 246.

3. For the complete translation of the colophon see: Malalasekera, *op. cit.* p. 245.

4. Published in Bangkok, 1920. See: "The History of Muang Maribhunei" in the Siamese Society's *15th Anniversary Commemorative Publication*, Vol. I 1904-1929, Bangkok, 1954, p. 82.

Ceylon), were written by Bodhiramsi of Chiengmai. The latter relates how in the late thirteenth century, Ruang, King of Sukhodaya (in central Thailand), acquired this Buddha image. When his mission returned from Ceylon the image was displayed in several towns.

The author does not, however, mention when these works were composed. It is a well-known fact that Pali literature and Buddhist culture flourished in Chiengmai during the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century and Prince Damrong¹ maintains, therefore, that these two historical works were written between 1460 and 1530. Cœdès however, places them at the beginning of the fifteenth century but in any case no great historical value can be placed on these chronicles.

The *Ratanabimbavamsa*,² the history of the Emerald Buddha ('Phra Keo'), was written by Brahmarājapāñña in the Mahādhammarājapabbata monastery at Sirijanālaya. The *Amarakatabuddharūpanidāna*, an account of the origin of this famous Buddha statue made by gods, was written by Ariyavamsa of Burma. Both works draw on materials from Indian sources and were presumably composed at the end of the fifteenth century.

A number of authors flourished in the famous city of Navapura (or Paramenda).³ A *thera* named Ñāṇakitti was one such who appeared during the last years of the fifteenth century. He wrote a series of grammatical exegeses of Buddhaghosa's commentaries (aṭṭhakathās). An *atthayojanā* of the *Samantapāsādikā*, for example, was composed by him in 1492 or 1493. Besides this he wrote a glossary to the Pātimokkha called *Gaṇṭhidīpanī* and the *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī*, a commentary on the

5. The Lānnā kingdom consisted of seven towns in northern Thailand: Chiengrai Chiengmai Mae-hongsorn, Lampon, Lampāng, Prae and Nān.

6. Published in Bangkok, 1913; cf. "The History of the Statue of the Buddha named Phra Sihing," The Siamese Society, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81. Also, *P'ra Buddha Sihinga* (tr. by Camille Notton), The Bangkok Times Press, 1933. (The translator states that this was written in 1947).

1. Chulalongkorn's brother.

2. Published in Bangkok, 1912; cf. *The Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*, tr. Camille Notton, Bangkok Times Press, 1933.

3. Navapura or Abhinavapura (New City) was the name given to modern Chiengmai but elsewhere Nabbisi and Lakunna have been mentioned. There, a king called Laṅkā lived according to the *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā*. Since the god Indra (P'ra In) is regarded as the protector of the *Buddhasāsana* in Thailand, the name Paramenda ('Great Indra') may have been used for "New City" during this period as well.

famous late thirteenth century grammar of Coḷiya Buddhappiya, the *Rūpasiddhi*.

Ñāṇakitti's best-known composition is a treatise on Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālinī*, written in 1495 whilst he was living in a monastery called Panasārāma in the jak grove situated to the north-east of Chiangmai. In the opening stanzas the author clearly states the object of undertaking this work: "Having saluted the noble and widely famed teacher, Buddhaghosa, I shall compose this small work for the easy understanding of the Commentary on the Abhidhamma written by Buddhaghosa who himself with difficulty crossed the deep ocean of Abhidhamma, subtle and full of meaning and which clarifies the text."

In the colophon of the *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā*,¹ moreover, we find a copious account of the monastery where the author lived and wrote: "There was a noble city called Abhinavapura, to the north-east of which was located a monastery called Panasārāma, where jak fruits were in abundance, which was attractive to many people. There was a king² of lion-like nature who could not be dominated. Wise, with great merit, he was the owner of four white elephants. That monarch of great fame was born of a noble dynasty, was a king of kings, compassionate, bearing the epithet of Laṅkā, he built this monastery which radiated beauty. The wise therā, Ñāṇakitti, who was living in this monastery, composed this exegesis to the *Atthasālinī* which was well produced." In addition to the foregoing it has been mentioned at the end as follows: "This exegesis to the *Atthasālinī*, written by the therā Ñāṇakitti who was well-versed in the Tipiṭaka together with the Commentaries, who had deep knowledge in all the grammars, living in the monastery known as Panasārāma which was situated to the north-east of the city of Abhinavapura, is ended."

The *Sammohavinodanī-atthayojanā*,³ the exegesis of the *Sammohavinodanī*, was also written by the same therā in 1495. Although we are unable to find any trace, Ñāṇakitti may well have written an exegesis of the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, too but he is definitely credited with a biographical work, the *Buddhaghosanidāna*.⁴

1. Ed. Paññāsekhara Mahāthera, Ranvelle Vihāra, Kataluwa, Lokopakāra Press, 1849.

2. He may be Tilok, the ruler of the Lānnā kingdom which covered northern Thailand. His dates are 1442–1487 and it is conjectured that he was responsible for building the Panasārāma.

3. Ed. Paññāsekhara, *op. cit.*, 1852.

4. Published in Bangkok, 1913.

Bode ascribes the *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā* and *Sammohavinodanī-atthayojanā* to Sumaṅgala who lived in the reign of a Shan king, Sīhasūra, the founder of Pin-ya (Pali: Vijayapura) in 1312,¹ according to the *Piṭakatthamaing*,² a Burmese history of Pali literature. But the colophon of the *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā* categorically mentions the author's name as Ñāṇakitti along with the name of the monastery where he resided. The internal evidence is much more authentic than the external evidence but possibly the *Piṭakatthamaing* is referring to two different exegeses written on the *Atthasālinī* and *Sammohavinodanī*, namely, the *Atthasālinī-aṭṭhakathāyojanā* and the *Sammohavinodanī-aṭṭhakathāyojanā*.³

The *Pañcika-nāma-atthayojanā*⁴ is a kind of sub-commentary written on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, a twelfth century treatise composed in Ceylon by Anuruddha, and on its *ṭīkā*, the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, whose author, Sumaṅgala, also lived in the twelfth century in Ceylon. As Ñāṇakitti wrote *Atthayojanās* on the *Atthasālinī* and the *Sammohavinodanī*, he could well be the author of this *atthayojanā* too.

There is an *abhinavaṭṭikā* entitled *Ganthesāra*⁵ written on the *Saddabindu*,⁶ which was composed by King Dhammarāja Kyaswa (1234–1250)⁷ who built the Prassada cetiya⁸ in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Burma. According to the opening stanzas, it was written at the request of Ñāṇakitti by Dhammakitti Mahāphussadeva who lived at Haripuñjaya.⁹

Some consider the Pali work called *Māleyyatherasutta* (*Māleyya-devanidāna*) to have been written in Ceylon but *The Story of Phra Mālai* is a popular Thai poem adapted from this work. The Thai metrical version was composed in 1736¹⁰ whilst the original

1. Mabel Haynes Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, RAS, London, 1909, repr. 1966, p. 27.

2. *Piṭakatthamaing*, Sudhammavati Press, Rangoon, 1905, p. 40.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35, N^{os} 250, 251.

4. Printed in Bangkok in two volumes with an index.

5. *Piṭakatthamaing*, p. 62, no. 410; *Gandhasāra*, published in Burma.

6. *Piṭakatthamaing*, p. 62, no. 409.

7. Another book written by the king was the *Paramatthabindu*, *ibid.*, p. 40.

8. For the account of the building of this cetiya, see *ibid.*, p. 41.

9. Another name for Lampoon.

10. cf. "Les ouvrages pali composés en pays thai," by George Cœdès in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*, Vol. 18 (1918)40.

Māleyyatherasutta is among those apocryphal Pali suttas which were perhaps forged in Thailand.

The Pali original was probably written in Chiangmai *circa* 1500. The author, whoever he was, is obviously indebted to Jātakas such as the *Lohakumbhijātaka*, *Saṃkiccajātaka*, *Mahānārada-kassapajātaka* and especially the *Nimijātaka*, but he does not adhere to his sources very faithfully. It is probable that the story in brief was originally composed in Ceylon but rewritten in greater detail in northern Thailand.

The sutta tells how Māleyyathera, born in Ceylon and ordained as a monk while still young, eventually becomes an arahant possessing the power to travel instantly to any part of the universe. On a visit to a hell he sees a great number of his former acquaintances undergoing frightful tortures.¹

One of the most important historical works written in Thailand is the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa*,² whose author was Ratanapañña Thera of northern Thailand. In his preface to the work, Damrong says that Ratanapañña was one of two monks of the same name, one lived in Lampāng and the other in Phujao. Saeng Manavidura is of the opinion that the author living in Wat Sihaḷārāma or Wat Mahābodhārāma.³ We can, however, maintain that the work was composed in 1516 (and subsequently extended to 1528 by an addendum) by Ratanapañña whilst residing in the Rattavana monastery (Patanamahāvihāra) of Chiangmai, as stated in the colophon.

This is a late study of outstanding events in Buddhist history from its origin in India, subsequent spread to Ceylon and the establishment of "Sinhalese Buddhism" (*Sīhaḷa-sāsana*) of the Mahāvihāra school located at Anurādhapura, Ceylon. As such, this work compares well with the Pali chronicles of Ceylon (*vaṃsa-kāvya*) or *avadānas* of Thailand; also with *praśasti-kāvya* as some chapters towards the end of the

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1. The protagonist, Māleyyathera (= Thai Pra Malai), may be identical to the celebrated Sinhalese *arahant*, Maliyadeva (*v.l.* Malaya-Mahādeva, Maliya-Mahādeva) born in the 2nd century AD See: G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (DPPN), PTS, London, 1960, Vol. II p. 450 foll.
 2. Ed. AP. Buddhadatta Mahāthera, PTS, London, 1962; his Sinhalese edition, Laṅkā Bauddha Maṅḍalaya, Colombo, 1956; Cœdès' transcript of pp. 104 ff. of Damrong's Thai edition and his monograph, "Documents sur l'histoire politique du Laos occidental," *BEFEO*, Vol 25 (1925); Damrong's edition, Bangkok, 1909; *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror* (translated by N.A. Jayawickrama), 1968.
 3. Dr. Saeng Manavidura's observations on the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa* in *The Sheaf of Garlands*, p. xlvi.

book exalt King Tilok and his great-grandson, Phra Maung Keo, together with the Mengrai dynasty in general, to which they belonged. It includes a religious history of Lampoon and Chiengmai together with accounts of neighbouring kingdoms—viz. Cambodia, Yonaratt̃ha, Sukhodaya (or Sukhothai), etc. It also contains information on the intercourse between Ceylon and South-East Asia, especially prior to the introduction of the Kalyāṇi *upasampadā* from Lower Burma during Dhammaceti's reign. However, legends are also included which do not ensure the reliability of this as an historical work.

There are six main topics: (1) The sixfold antecedent (*Chabbidhanidāna*) deals with the life of the Buddha commencing with the mental resolve (*manopaniḍhāna*) of the Bodhisatta and ending with the *Parinibbāna*. A description of relics is included together with a summary of the twenty-four Buddhas preceding Gotama. (2) A brief description of the first three Councils (*Saṅgītikālakathā*) (3) The history of Buddhism in Ceylon (*Laṅkāśāsanapavatti*) from its introduction up to the arrival of the Tooth Relic in circa 256 C.E. (4) The political and religious history of Haripuñjaya (Haripuñjayappavatti) from its establishment by Cāmadevī up to its annexation by Mengrai in 1292. (5) The history of the Lānnā kingdom, Lāva dynasty and kings from Mengrai, who became “sole ruler of Yonaratt̃ha and Haripuñjaya”, and founded Chiengmai. It deals also with Chiengmai's role as a centre of Buddhism and the introduction of the *Sīhaḷa-sāsana* into Thailand and neighbouring countries. (6) The arrival of the *Sīhaḷa* Dispensation (*Sīhaḷa-sāsanāgamana*) and the account of its establishment (*Sīhaḷa-sāsanajotanakathā*)—these last two sections comprising, in effect, a political and religious history of Chiengmai.

The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*¹ was also composed by Ratanapañña. Eighteen months after completing the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa*, he compiled a summary of the Buddha's teaching, highlighting its essence. The author was residing in the Mahāvanārāma whilst writing this work but it is recorded that he compiled the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa* whilst living in the Mahārattavanārāma. It is possible that the two monasteries are identical.

Finally, a Thai chronicle dealing with the origins of Buddhism was translated into Pali by Ratanapañña under the title, *Mūlasāsana*, in the

1. There is a MS of the work in Colombo Museum. It consists of fourteen palm-leaves.

early sixteenth century. The author of the original work is unknown. This work has made a special reference to the history of Buddhism in the Lännā kingdom.

Attention should now be drawn to one of the most well-known and beloved Pali authors in the history of Thailand.

Sirimaṅgala lived, with many famous contemporaries, in the new city of Chiengmai during the golden age of Thai scholarship at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of his earliest treatises is the *Vessantaradīpanī*. Written in 1517, it is based on the original *Vesantara Jātaka*.

The *Cakkavāladīpanī*¹ is another treatise, this time to explain Buddhist cosmology. In one of the opening verses the author states: "Having brought together the essentials which have been taken from the different books, I shall expound the *Cakkavāladīpanī* for ease of comprehension."²

The colophon states: "The *Cakkavāladīpanī* consists of six chapters written by a *mahāthera* who was exceedingly energetic, master of the Tipiṭaka, endowed with confidence, wisdom and vigour, desirous of his own and others" prosperity, known as Sirimaṅgala, the name given to him by his teachers; dwelling in the *vihāra* known as "Savaṇakhaṃ" in the Deyya³ (= Thai) language, situated to the south-east of the Sihaḷārāma,⁴ in 1520, during the reign of the king who was a nephew of the lord of the new city of Paramenda (= Chiengmai) who was above all kings, royal, nobly devout, aspiring to Buddhahood, delighted with the Dispensation of the Buddha, is thus ended."⁵

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1. There is a MS of the work in Colombo Museum. It consists of ninety-seven leaves, each 22" long.
 2. Nānāganthesu sāraththaṃ gahetabbaṃ samādiya karissāhaṃ subodhatthaṃ Cakkavāṇakadīpaniṃ.
 3. Perhaps "Deyya" is derived from "Yodaya" (< Ayodhyā or Ayuthia) or it may be the Pali form of "Thai". "Deyye" or "Dai" was an ancient name for Thailand and its language seems to have been Deyyabhāsā according to the colophon.
 4. Very probably Sihaḷārāma is identical with Laṅkārama built by King Paramarāja. Dhammakitti *mahāsāmi* wrote the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* whilst living in the Laṅkārama. cf. the colophon of this work.
 5. *Iccayayaṃ navapure patiṭṭhita-Sihalārāmassa dakkhiṇa-pacchimadisāyaṃ patiṭṭhite Deyyabhāsāya "Savaṇakhaṃ" ti pākāṭanāme vihāre vasantena mahug-gāheṇa tipiṭakadharena saddhābuddhiviriyaapatimaṇḍitena sakaparesaṃ ko sallaṃ icchantena Sirimaṅgalo ti garūhi gahitanāmena mahātherena Paramende navapure issarassa Laṅkāvhayassa rājanattuno rājādhirājassa manuḷindassa sabbarājūnaṃ tilakabhūṭassa paramasaddhassa patthitasabbaññutañāṇassa bud-dhasāne paṇanassa kāle dvāsīyādhikaṭṭhasatasakarāje mahāsamvavasse katā chakaṇḍapatimaṇḍitā Cakkavāladīpanī niṭṭhitā.*

Another cosmological treatise is the *Lokadīpanī* which is based on the account of the beginnings of life and the world as given in the Aggañña Sutta (Dīgha Nikāya) and on similar descriptions contained elsewhere.

The *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*,¹ which consists of 505 pages, is the best and most extensive exposition of the Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta-Nipāta) so far written in the Pali language. It occupies a unique place among the works written on various suttas. The learned author, Sirimaṅgala, has written (in 1524) collecting and summing up in brief the relevant details from the Commentaries, sub-commentaries, exegeses such as the *Visuddhimagga*, and including anecdotes and parables. It seems it was especially composed for the benefit of preachers (*dhammakathikas*).

The colophon says: “The energetic mahāthera by the name of Maṅgala prefixed Siri who had critical knowledge in the Sutta, Abhidhamma and Vinaya and who was the pupil of Buddhavara composed this *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* which was delightful to the senses.”²

According to the colophon this was written during the reign of the emperor who was the nephew of the king who possessed the epithet Laṅkā.

A contemporary of Sirimaṅgala, Ñāṇavilāsa, wrote the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka*; but its sub-commentary was composed by Sirimaṅgala in circa 1520 during the reign of Bilakapanathādhirāja, who ascended the throne of Chiangmai in 1495. According to the colophon, the author lived in Chiangmai in the south-west part of the Sīhālarāma.

During the same period, a forest-dwelling therā named Uttarārāma composed the *Visuddhimaggadīpanī*, a treatise on Buddhaghosa’s fifth century *magnum opus* on the threefold scheme of Buddhist training—morality (*sīla*), meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). Another therā³ wrote the *Uppātasanti*.⁴ This latter work contains verses in

1. Published in Bangkok, 1912. It is also known as the *Maṅgaladīpanī*. *Sāsanavaṃsa* (ed. by Bode), PTS, 1897; (tr. by B.C. Law), PTS, 1952, p. 51. Bode, *op. cit.*, p. 47, DPPN, II p. 411, ed. Vajirañāṇa, Mahāmaṅgala-Rājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 1962. Today, this book is used as a standard text in the fourth and seventh grades of the official Pali examinations in Thailand.

2. *Suttābhidhammavinayesu vicārañāṇo siriyādimaṅgalabhidhānayutoruthero usāhavā racayi Buddhavarassa sisso Maṅgaladīpanimihattarasābhirāmaṃ.*

3. *Silavaṃsa* of Chiangmai; 271 verses.

4. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 51. See: Bode, *op. cit.*, footnote no. 5 on p. 47.

praise of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha which should be chanted to avoid dangerous accidents. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* maintains that the army of the Emperor of China was defeated by the chanting of these verses.¹

The *Ganthābharāṇa-ṭīkā* is an important sub-commentary on a grammatical treatise, the *Ganthābharāṇa*,² of the celebrated Burmese teacher and author, Ariyavaṃsa, who settled in Ava during the reign of Narapati (1442–1468). This *ṭīkā* was written in 1584 by the wise Saṅgharāja, named Suvāṇṇaraṃsi, the head of the Vijayārāma (now Wat Vijai in Viengchan district).³

It might be worth bearing in mind that in 1558 Chiengmai was conquered by the king of Pegu and remained a vassal state of Burma until near the end of the 18th century. With the aid of the king of Bangkok, Chiengmai regained her freedom only to become inextricably linked with the fortunes of the southern kingdom. Thereafter, with the founding of the Chakri dynasty in 1782 by Chao Phaya Chakri (Rāma I), the history of the modern kingdom of Thailand begins. In fact the last link with the past was only broken as late as 1949 when the old designation for the country, Siam, was officially changed to Thailand.

The *Saṅkhepa*, the annals of Ayodhya,⁴ was written in précis form in 1680 at the request of Phra Narai. It is an enumeration of the historical facts regarding this kingdom from its foundation up to 1604.

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* is a traditional life of the Buddha. Both the name of the author and the date of the work are unknown. However, this work has been cited in a 17th century chronicle called the *Gandhavaṃsa*⁵ and therefore it must be of an earlier date. In 1844 Rāma III (Phra Nang Klao, 1824–51) asked Krom Somdet Phra Paramānujī Jin-norot, who was then head of Wat Jetuphon in Bangkok under the name of Suvāṇṇaraṃsi, to collect the fragments of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in

1. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

2. v.l. *Gandhābharāṇa*, *Gaṇḍābharāṇa*. This Burmese author's work was extensively studied by scholars in Burma in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3. We read in the colophon:

Ganthābharāṇaṭīkā "yaṃ Vijayārāmasāminā
Suvāṇṇaraṃsināmena saṅgharājena dhimatā
Sakyasiḥassa nibbānā vassesu atitesu hi
aṭṭhavīsasatādhīsu dvisahassesu racitā.

4. A copy of the manuscript of the *Saṅkhepa* (= "concise") was discovered and published by Damrong in 1907. The manuscript is now preserved in the National Library and has been translated by Dr. Frankfurter under the title, "Events in Ayuddhya from Chola-Sakarāj 686–966," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 6 (1909) 3. See: Cœdès "Une recension Palie des annales d'Ayuthia," *BEFEO* 14 (1914).

5. *Gandhavaṃsa*, *JPTS*, 1886, p. 65.

order to compile a complete text. The prince-monk executed this request in the first six months of 1845 and edited the present recension in thirty chapters.¹

The *Sankhepatthajotani*,² a treatise on the *Visuddhimagga*, was written by an anonymous scholar.

The *Sotabbamālini*³ is a text of 130 pages which was composed especially to outline the advantages of listening to the Dhamma. It is said that this work was brought over from Thailand by the party of monks headed by UPali Thera that came to re-establish the *upasampadā* ordination in Ceylon during the reign of Kīrti Srī Rājasimha in 1756.

This book is illustrated with various anecdotes. There is the summary of a story which is not found anywhere else in Buddhist literature: Once upon a time a band of traders with various commodities boarded a ship bound for Tambapaṇṇi (an ancient name for Ceylon). A Buddhist monk accompanied them and during the voyage he started to recite the chapter of the uprising of the consciousness from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* beginning with “wholesome states” (*kusalā dhammā*). A fish, attracted by the sweet sound of the Dhamma, followed the ship until it docked. The crowd assembled near the harbour saw the fish and killed it with arrows. This fish was reborn in a rich family in Rohaṇa province in the Sīhaḷadīpa (the main name given to Ceylon at that time) and was known as Sumana. Many monks visited his house for alms and the boy, who was much pleased with the monks, eventually renounced his home and joined the Sangha, although his parents tearfully tried to prevent this happening. He soon mastered the entire Tipiṭaka and became known as Saddhāsamana.

This story may have been composed to illustrate the contemporary regard that Thailand showed towards Ceylon as the centre of Dhamma. The author is unknown but obviously it was written by a thera towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The most detailed and best known historical chronicle in Thailand is undoubtedly the *Saṅgītivamsa*,⁴ the history of the Councils, which was compiled by Bhadanta Vanaratana Vimaladhamma (Somdej Phra Vanarat) during the reign of Rāma I in 1789. As many as nine Councils

1. Bangkok, 1962.

2. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the National Library.

3. Ed. Vimalasiri Thera, Samudrārāma, Ahungalla, Nirṇayasādhaka Press, Ben-tota, 1911.

are recorded: of them, the first three were held in India, the next four in Ceylon and the last two in Thailand. The eighth was convened in Chiangmai by King Śrīdharmacakravarti Tilaka (Tilok) in 1475. It lasted a year and established Buddhism on a firm basis; all the learned monks in the country participated. The ninth was held under Rāma I in 1788 in the new capital of a unified Thailand, Bangkok, following the destruction of Ayodhya by the Burmese. 218 theras and 32 lay scholars assembled to recite the Tipiṭaka for a year, the records of which had been depleted by the recent invasions. The Sangha was completely reorganised and Buddhism experienced a revival with new vihāras and the like.

This work is divided into chapters, the first one being called *Jambudīpasāṅgūtiniddesa*. It begins with the prediction of Dīpaṅkara, describes the birth and youth of the Bodhisatta Gotama and quotes from the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Following the inclusion of verses on the Enlightenment and *Parinibbāna*, the author relates the tradition of the first Council. Quoting relevant stanzas from the *Mahāvam̐sa* and *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, he relates the history of the second Council in India. The accounts of the conversion of Asoka, the third Council at Pāṭalīputta, the mission of Mahinda to Ceylon are inspired by the records of the *Samantapāsādikā*, *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, *Mahāvam̐sa* and *Dīpavam̐sa*. The second chapter is known as *Laṅkādīpacatutthavārasaṅgahaniddesa* which contains the account of the Council in Ceylon and a general record of Buddhism in the island. It also provides a genealogy of Asoka and the first kings of Ceylon. The following four chapters reproduce two sections of the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa*. The seventh chapter is called *Anukkamachatīmsarājaniddesa*, the history of thirty-six kings of Ayodhya. The eighth chapter is called *Navadhammasaṅgahaniddesa* and gives an account of the ninth Council. The final chapter is miscellaneous in character.¹

The history of the Ayodhya period can be more easily examined than that of the Sukhodaya in view of the plentiful documentary records still extant. The most familiar version of this history is generally held to be

4. Two manuscripts of this book are preserved in the National Library. It was published under the royal decree of Rāma VI in 1923 to commemorate the cremation of Prince Chudhadhadjartiloka Kromkhum Bejboon Indrajaya, a son of Rāma V Tr. Phimthi Press, Bangkok, 1924. See: Cœdès article, *BEFEO* 15 (1915); B. Jinānanda's article on the Councils in *2,500 Years of Buddhism* (ed. P.V Bapat), Government of India, Delhi 1956, pp. 51-53.

1. See Cœdès' article, *BEFEO* 14 (1914).

the work of Krom Somdet Phra Paramānujī who flourished in the mid-nineteenth century. In compiling it he made use of Vanaratana's history in Pali, one part of which was called the *Mahāyuddhakāravamsa* and the other *Cūlayuddhakāravamsa*. The two volumes were thus ascribed to Paramānujī and were generally considered to be the only books in existence relating to the history of Ayodhya.

These two Pali chronicles related the wars fought against neighbouring kingdoms with a view to exalting the personality of the kings involved. Thus, if certain conflicts resulted in defeat for the forces of Ayodhya they were simply omitted from the records! As their titles suggest, the two chronicles describe "great" and "minor" wars respectively. An example of the former was the one waged against Pegu from the time of Somdet Phra Mahā Chakrabat to the time of Somdet Phra Naresuan when the Peguans were finally defeated and their realm came under the jurisdiction of Ayodhya.¹

The *Mukhamatthakathā*,² a commentary to Anuruddha's *Paramatthavinicchaya*, was written by a thera called Mahābodhi who lived in the city of Vabra³ in the Devoya⁴ country (*Devoyaraṭṭhe vipule Vabrapure*), at the request of the Sangha (*Saṅghenajjhesisitēnāyaṃ mukhamatthakathā katā*) according to the colophon. The author was so named due to his having worshipped the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya. Embellished with *sīla* and other good qualities, he was the younger brother of Dhammasenāpati, an erudite scholar honoured by the king (*Dhammasenāpati nāma paṇḍito rājapūjito, tassa bhātā kaniṭṭho yo sīladiguṇabhūsito*). According to the city and country mentioned in the colophon above, it would seem that the author was a Thai.

There exists a work in Thailand dealing with iconography called the *Buddhalakkaṇa*. It describes the peculiarities of the marks and characteristics of the Buddha image⁵ which are, however, not strictly

1. The Siamese Society, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–95. *Cūlayuddhakāravamsa*, published in Thai Bangkok, 1920.

2. *Mukhamatthakathā*, copied by the late Ven. AP. Buddhadatta from a Burmese manuscript, consists of thirty-six foolscap pages.

3. It may be the Pali equivalent or corruption of Wat Phra and the city may have been called after the monastery situated there.

4. Devoya may be a derivation from Dvāravati. *cf.* note 3 on p. 21.

5. It is interesting to note that a paper written by Paramānujī (the son of King Phra Buddha Lot La who died in 1824) which has been translated into English by Frankfurter throws considerable light on the Buddha image in Thailand. See: "The Attitude of Buddha," *Journal of The Siam Society* X, (1913) 11.

followed by Thai artists. The author as well as the date of this treatise is unknown but the latter may have been brought to Thailand by Indian artists.

Finally, there are two Pali texts of which little is known: The *Rāmaññasamaṇavaṃsa*¹—an account of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions which were recorded by order of the King of Pegu in 1476. Correspondence with the Sinhalese Sangha²—by Rāma IV (1851–68), better known as Mongkut, who himself spent twenty-seven years as a monk prior to ascending the throne. During that valuable training period he founded the Dhammayuttanikāya which has long distinguished itself for intensive practice of the Dhamma and conscientious adherence to the Vinaya.

Mongkut will also be remembered for reforming the teaching of Pali which resulted in a minor renaissance in this field of study. One product of this concern for the language of the texts was his *Collected Works on Buddhism in Pali*.³ Another result is to be heard in the stanzas which he composed for chanting in Dhammayuttanikāya vihāras.⁴ At least two collections⁵ have been published in this century in addition to six devotional tracts.⁶

*Lao Pali Texts*⁷

In Laos (where Buddhism was established *circa* 1375) there are many *nissayas*, which are word-for-word commentaries or paraphrases of the original Pali texts. On the hill, Vat Phra Ouak, in Luang Prabang (the ancient royal and religious capital), there is a temple library which contains manuscripts of Lao *nissayas* including one on the *Visuddhimagga*.

1. Published in Bangkok, 1913.

2. Published in Bangkok, 1925.

3. Pali and Thai texts, Mahāmakūṭa-Rājavidyālaya, 1968.

4. See: *King Rāma the Fourth Mongkut*, ed. Sāsasanobhana, Mahāmakūṭa-Rājavidyālaya, 1968, pp. 5–35; *Ordination Procedure*, Prince Vajirañāṇavarovasa, Mahāmakūṭa-R., 1963, pp. 72–89.

5. See: “*Buddhist Recitations for Various Occasions*” (Pali and Thai texts), Mahāmakūṭa-R., 1968; *Pali and Siamese stanzas recited during the Visākhapūjā*, Bangkok, 1919.

6. Works by Mongkut with Prefaces by Damrong Rājanubhab: *Pali Gāthā in Praise of the Holy Discipline*, 1921. *Pali stanzas composed on the names of his children*, 1924. *Pali stanzas based on the formula “Itipiso Bhagavā,”* 1924. *Gāthā Dhammapariyāya*, 1925. *Religious Instruction in Pali* 1925. *Pali Gāthā used in connection with the Bija Maṅgala Royal Ceremony*, 1925.

7. Laos is included in this survey by virtue of the close ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinities with Thailand. See also Chapter Eight.

The Jātakas are the most popular literature, however, although the order differs from the accepted Pali text and we find a collection of ten Jātakas is very popular in this country.¹ There is also a collection of fifty apocryphal Jātakas² under the collective title of *Lokipaṇṇāsajātaka*.³ These were composed in hybrid Pali during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by an anonymous *sāmaṇera* (novice monk) resident in Chiangmai.⁴ Each Jātaka is longer than the original story from which it is adapted but each contains local folklore in addition to Dhamma. Not only do these fifty Jātakas enjoy great popularity in Laos but also in the neighbouring Theravada countries as well.⁵ Twenty-seven stories are, however, peculiar to the Lao version and are not found anywhere else.⁶

There is an apocryphal sutta called the *Jambupatti Sutta*, peculiar to Laos, that narrates the story of King Jambupatti who visited the Buddha in the dazzling robes of royalty in order to impress him. The Buddha, however, was found sitting on a throne dressed in the apparel of a Cakkavatti (universal king), shining as a god. Seeing him, Jambupatti's pride diminished. This story has been portrayed in a mural painting of

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1. Namely, 1) Temiyakumāra, 2) Janakakumāra, 3) Suvanṇasyāma, 4) Nimirāja, 5) Mahosadha, 6) Bhūridatta, 7) Candakumāra, 8) Nārada, 9) Vidhura-panḍita, 10) Vessantara.
 2. Namely, 1) *Samuddaghosakumāra*, 2) *Suddhammakumāra* or *Sutarājakumāra*, 3) *Sudhanakumāra*, 4) *Sirisakumāra*, 5) *Subhamittarāja*, 6) *Suvanṇasaṅkha*, 7) *Candaghātaka*, 8) *Suvanṇamiga*, 9) *Suvanṇakuruṅga*, 10) *Setamūsika*, 11) *Tulakapaṇḍita*, 12) *Maghamāṇava*, 13) *Ariṭṭhakumāra*, 14) *Ratanapajjota*, 15) *Sunadakumāra*, 16) *Bārāṇasī*, 17) *Dhammadhajapaṇḍita*, 18) *Dukkammakumāra*, 19) *Dabbasiddhikumāra*, 20) *Paññābalakumāra*, 21) *Dadhivāhana*, 23) *Mahisakumāra*, 23) *Chaddanta*, 24) *Campeyyanāgarāja*, 25) *Bahalāgāvī*, 26) *Kapila*, 27) *Narajivakumāra*, 28) *Siddhisārakumāra*, 29) *Kusarāja*, 30) *Jeṭṭhakumāra*, 31) *Duṭṭharājakumāra*, 32) *Vaṭṭakarāja*, 33) *Nārada*, 34) *Mahāsutasoma*, 35) *Mahābalarāja*, 36) *Brahmaghosarāja*, 37) *Sādirāja*, 38) *Siridharaseṭṭhi*, 39) *Māṭuposaka* or *Ajitarāja*, 40) *Vimalarāja*, 41) *Arindumarāja*, 42) *Viriyaṇḍita*, 43) *Ādittarāja*, 44) *Surūparāja*, 45) *Suvanṇabrahmadattarāja*, 46) *Mahāpadumakumāra*, 47) *Sūrasenarāja*, 48) *Siricundamanirāja*, 49) *Kapirāja*, 50) *Kukkura*. See *Paññāsa Jātaka* (= *Zimmé Paññāsa*), ed. P.S. Jaini Vol. I 1–25, 1981, Vol. II 26–50, 1983, PTS; Apocryphal Birth Stories Vol. I tr. I.B. Horner and P.S. Jaini, PTS, 1985, Vol. II tr. P.S. Jaini PTS, 1985.
 3. In Burma called *Chiangmai Paññāsa*. One Burmese king ordered it to be burnt because it was not from the Tipiṭaka. It was written by a Chiangmai Sāmaṇera of unknown name.
 4. *Piṭakatthamaing*, p. 54. no. 369.
 5. The collection was rendered into Thai in 25 volumes and can be seen in the National Library.
 6. cf. Henry Deydier, *Introduction à la Connaissance du Laos*, Saigon, 1952, p. 29.

the temple library in Luang Prabang. In the scene the Buddha is depicted as pointing out to Jambupatti the torments he must suffer if he fails to follow the principles of his teaching.¹

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1. P.V Bapat's article on Laos in *2,500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 432.

CHAPTER 3

THE DAWN OF PALI LITERATURE IN THAILAND¹

According to some traditional Thai chronicles Buddhism was introduced into Thailand by the missionaries sent by Emperor Asoka and according to other historians it was introduced at a much later date. However, the archaeological remains and other historical evidence reveal that Buddhism was introduced when part of the country was occupied by the Lāva people whose capital was Nakon Pathom—then known as Dvāravatī. Clear evidence of this fact still exists in the shape of the Phra Pathom Cetiya and other monuments.

Buddhist monuments in other parts of the country, with their different characteristics, show that the introduction of Buddhism took place gradually in four phases; (i) when the capital was at Nakon Pathom, (ii) when the Mahayana became popular (iii) when the Theravada spread through the influence of King Anuruddha of Burma, and (iv) with the introduction of the *Laṅkāvaṃsa* (the Sinhalese form of Buddhism).

The archaeological and other remains referred to above include a Dhammacakka (Wheel of the Law) found near the Phra Pathom Cetiya, the Buddha's seat and the Buddha's footprint—the latter two being venerated in India prior to the innovation of the Buddha image. The inscriptions found therein were in Pali. All this points to the fact that the Theravada form of Buddhism was first introduced into Thailand by Dhammadūtas from India prior to the turn of the millenium. The archaeological remains at Rajburi, Supanburi, Lopburi and Nakon Rajasima are similar to those found at Nakon Pathom.

A group of monks from Magadha made an unsuccessful attempt to disseminate Mahāyānist teachings in Burma and the Mon Kingdoms right down to Dvāravatī. However, although the Malay peninsula eventually became a stronghold of the Mahayana during the 11th century C.E., lands further north were still under the influence of the Theravada.

Following his accession to the Burmese throne in 1044, having Pagan as his capital, Anuruddha conquered all the Mon states and extended his territory from Lānnā in the north right down to Lopburi

1. This article was first published in the *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo, 1976.

and Dvāravatī. At the same time as extending his political control, he also extended the influence of Buddhism of the Theravada form. Thai monks who had been ordained in Ceylon returned to start a new sect. At that time the Ruang dynasty was in power and the king himself became interested in the Sīhaḷasaṅgha (as the “Ceylon sect” was known). This is stated in a stone inscription of his dated 1377: “King Ram Kamhaeng gave donations to the Supreme Patriarch, to very senior monks and to wise monks learned in the Tipiṭaka—all of whom are greater than any previous teachers of old in the city. Every one of these monks came from Nakon Sridhamraj.”¹

After the establishment of the Sīhaḷasaṅgha² the Mahayana gradually declined. Thailand, in fact, claimed two sects belonging to the Theravada which were eventually united; but there were certain differences of religious practices between them: members of the old sect recited the scriptures in Sanskrit (a custom dating from the period of Khmer rule), whereas members of the Sīhaḷasaṅgha used Pali. It may still be noticed that the two compromised on certain practices. In the *Pabbajjā* ordination service, for example, the candidate takes the Three Refuges first in Pali and then in Sanskrit. In order to complete the ordination to the satisfaction of both sects, therefore, the candidate was required to take the Refuges in both languages.

As the Sīhaḷasaṅgha grew powerful in Thailand, Buddhist monuments were erected according to Ceylonese style and Sanskrit was replaced by Pali with the result that Pali studies became very popular both in Thailand and in the two neighbouring countries of Cambodia and Laos. Moreover, the Thai inscribed the Pali texts in Khmer letters. It may be seen in a book called *The Three Worlds*, written by King Mahādhammarāja (Phya Luthai) of Sukhodaya (or Sukhothai), that the introduction contains references to many texts of the Pali Tipiṭaka and mentions the names of numerous Pali scholars—both monks and laymen—whom the king consulted.

When the Sīhaḷasaṅgha was flourishing, monks from Lānnā went to Ceylon for study and returned with a deeper knowledge of Pali in order to teach it in their own country. These included the Pali scholar-monk authors of the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇa* and the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*.

1. Thai monks who had been ordained in Ceylon returned to establish their group (*gana*) in Nakon Sridhamraj, circa 1250.

2. The Sīhaḷasaṅgha existed at the same time in Burma, the Mon states and Cambodia.

There still exist in manuscript form more than ten Pali works written by those learned monks. It is also recorded in chronicles such as the *Jinakālamālī* and *Ponāsvadān Yonok* that during the reign of King Tilok, a Council was convened in 1475 in Chiangmai, the capital of Lānnā. Pali scholarship was at its peak between 1400 and 1650 and thereafter gradually declined following wars with neighbouring countries.

When Buddhism in India declined almost to extinction there were no educational links between India and other Buddhist countries. The teaching was understood according to the interpretation of the Pali texts and Commentaries taught by teachers from neighbouring Buddhist lands. However, the texts, collectively known as the Tipiṭaka, were regarded by all Buddhists as containing the most orthodox teachings. The Mahāyānists in Tibet, China and Japan translated them into their languages and paid no great attention to the ancient Pali and Sanskrit texts as such. However, Ceylon, Burma and the Mon states which belonged to the Theravada, still studied the texts in the original Pali; Cambodia for some time professed the Mahayana and regarded the Sanskrit Canon from India as her guide.

Thailand was situated between the Mon states and Cambodia and at first belonged to the Theravada but for a short period followed Cambodia in her Mahayana outlook. Therefore, there were not only Pali but probably also Sanskrit texts available to scholars. However, all these canonical texts were almost certainly imperfect in some way or another as a result of their having been copied over and over again by local scribes who lacked knowledge of their meaning and were using scripts rather unfamiliar to them. The local inhabitants relied on their local teachers and their own interpretation as opposed to the near perfect textual instruction in Ceylon where the whole Pali Canon had already been committed to writing.

As indicated above, Sanskrit was completely displaced by Pali which became the vehicle for all subsequent exegetical works. During the Sukhodaya period (*circa* 1350–1450), most of the Canon was introduced to Thailand and *The Three Worlds* (Phya Luthai) records the following thirty texts: 1) *Aṭṭhakathā-Caturāga*,¹ 2) *Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā-*

1. Presumably the ending “*ma*” has been lost. Therefore the title of the text here appears to be incorrect; it should be read as *Aṭṭhakathā-Caturāgama*. Perhaps it may be a concise commentary written on the four *Āgamas* (= *Nikāyas*, viz. *Aṅgutara*, *Samyutta*, *Majjhima* and *Dīgha*).

Abhidhammāvatāra, 3) *Abhidhammasaṅgaha*,¹ 4) *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, 5) *Papañcasūdanī*, 6) *Sāratthapakāsini*, 7) *Manorathapūraṇī*, 8) *Sinnorathapakāsini*,² 9) *Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā-vinaya*, 10) *Dhammapada*, 11) *Dhamma-mahākathā*, 12) *Madhurattha-purāṇa-vilāsini*, 13) *Dhamma-Jātaka*, 14) *Jinālaṅkāra*, 15) *Sāratthadīpanī*, 16) *Buddhavamsa*, 17) *Sārasaṅgaha*, 18) *Milindapañha*, 19) *Pāleyayaka*,³ 20) *Mahānidāna*, 21) *Anāgata-vamsa*, 22) *Cariyāpiṭaka*, 23) *Lokapaññatti*, 24) *Mahākālpā*, 25) *Aruṇavattī*, 26) *Samantapāsādikā*, 27) *Jakkhaṇabhidhamma*, 28) *Anuṭṭikā Hīṅgadhama*,⁴ 29) *Sārīkavinicchaya*, 30) *Lokūpapatti*. Presumably N^{OS} 11, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29 and 30 were written in Thailand. However, some of these texts have completely disappeared. The Canon brought from Ceylon was written in Sinhalese script and was copied out in Khmer characters. Although Ramkhamhaeng had invented the Thai alphabet it was employed for secular purposes only, perhaps because of its unsuitability for the transliteration of Pali at this early stage, and the Khmer alphabet was used for the most part in writing religious works right down to the Bangkok period.

The fall of Ayudhyā, the capital of the (southern) Thai kingdom, in 1767 was due to the attacks of the Burmese who had long been enemies of the Thai. The burning of the ancient capital in that year resulted in the destruction of a considerable number of old documents including Pali texts anterior to that date.⁵

After this calamity, a Thai leader of Chinese origin, Phya Tak Sin, rallied the scattered Thai forces, drove out the Burmese invaders and re-established the country's independence which comprised virtually all of what is now present-day Thailand together with the vassal states of Cambodia and Laos. The new capital was established at Thonburi,

1. Identical with the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*.

2. In the Khmer alphabet *li* and *si* are almost the same; and *r* and *th* are also somewhat similar if written quickly. I therefore, incline to think that the title *Līn-atthappakāsini* has been incorrectly copied by a Thai scribe. There is another possibility: some of these texts were brought to Thailand from Ceylon written in Sinhalese characters. Perhaps the Pali title in this instance may have been written in Sinhalese as *Līnārthapakāsini* in hybrid form.

3. It may be a corruption of *Pārīleyyaka* or *Palīleyyaka*.

4. In Khmer *a* and *hi bhi* and *ṅa* are similar. I therefore think that it may be a corruption of *Abhidhamma*.

5. Some of the Pali manuscripts written in Thailand were collected by French missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries and are to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The National Library of Thailand also possesses a considerable collection of old manuscripts. The Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University contains the following manuscripts: 30 Pali-Lao, 5 Pali-Lao-Shan, 2 Pali-Thai and 3 Pali-Cambodian.

situated on the west bank of the Menam, opposite Bangkok. Phya Tak made an effort to restore the royal collection of sacred scriptures although he was the ruler for only a few years. He brought a certain number of Pali manuscripts back from his campaign against Nakon Sri Thammarat and also some from neighbouring territories, including Cambodia.¹

With the fall of Ayudhyā, the monks had become disorganised and corruption was prevalent in the Sangha. The new king would not tolerate such a state of affairs and accordingly introduced drastic reforms in the Sangha. However, they were so resented by many that he was deposed in 1782.

In the same year another dynasty was established at Bangkok by Chao Phaya Chakri who became Rāma I.² During the first year of his reign he had edited anew the complete set of the Tipiṭaka financed from his privy purse. It was soon found, however, that this edition had been made from unreliable texts, since more authentic ones were not available, having perished in Ayudhyā. Since this edition was discovered to be full of errors and, in order to produce a revised edition, apart from reforming the Sangha, the king summoned a Council³ in 1788. Two hundred and eighteen competent scholar-monks together with 32 laymen participated under the presidency of Somdet Phra Sangharat Si and Rājapaṇḍita. To revise and collate texts that were available in Thailand or the neighbouring countries, the Council began its work in the precincts of Wat Mahādhātu. The 250 members of the Council sat for over five months reciting, revising and correcting the Tipiṭaka edition made by Rāma I. Formerly, the corrected edition was called “Edition of the Council” (*Chabab Saṅgāyanā*).⁴ Today it is known as the “Edition of the Old Masters” (*Chabab Grū Doem*). It consisted originally of 288 volumes making a total number of 3,568 bundles of palm-leaf (*phūk*). A good portion of this first royal edition of the Bangkok dynasty is still preserved and kept in the library of Wat Phra Keo (the Temple of the Emerald Buddha).

1. In 1922 about 100 manuscripts belonging to Phya Tak’s royal library were discovered at Wat Rakhang and were removed to the National Library.
2. The present king of Thailand claims descent from this new dynasty, being the seventh in the Chakrin line.
3. Earlier and similar Councils were held in India and Ceylon.
4. The magnitude of the work may be gauged by referring to the latest edition (1925–1928) which consists of 45 volumes with an average of 500 octavo pages. It was sponsored by King Prajathipok and dedicated to the memory of his royal brother and predecessor, Rāma VI.

Immediately after the Council was brought to a close, a clear and accurate set of the Tipiṭaka as settled by the Council was made by order of the king and placed in a pavilion specially erected in the precincts of Wat Phra Keo. This pavilion was destroyed by fire on the very day of its inauguration but fortunately the books were rescued. This recension, which originally comprised 354 MSS. (3,686 phūk, some of them now missing) is still kept in the library of Wat Phra Keo. As the opening leaves of each bundle were entirely gilt on the outside this edition was called the "General Gilt Edition" (*Chabab Thong Yai*).

A subsequent copy of the "Gilt Edition," composed of 305 MSS. (3,649 phūk), was also made during the reign of Rāma I. It was called "Secondary" (*Chabab Rong Song*) and is characterised by the gilt and red lacquer designs which cover the margins of each MS.

To make the list complete, one must not forget to mention another fragmentary edition written with ink in a special form of Cambodian writing (*Khom yō*). The covering palm-leaves are adorned with a gilt and black lacquer design. Of this edition, which is called *Jup yō*, only 35 MSS. are known to exist.

Such are the copies of the Pali Tipiṭaka known to have made by order of Rāma I. It may justifiably be assumed that, besides these "Royal Editions," many Pali MSS. were copied by order of the king and presented to various monasteries. A considerable number of copies were also copied by private individuals during his reign, many of which are preserved in the Vajirañāṇa National Library of Thailand, Bangkok.

Apart from this work, Rāma I established a code of moral rules acceptable to his lay subjects, thus ensuring that lay Buddhists as well as monks conducted themselves in accordance with the Dhamma. The latter is evidenced by the decrees issued by him according to the records kept by the Sangha which, incidentally, have never received adequate attention in foreign works on the country. For example, it was said that the king governed as if he was the actual ruler of the Sangha rather than its defender. The sovereign is, in fact, nothing more than the "Upholder of the Religion" (which thus includes any faith professed by his subjects). The title is, of course, far broader than the Western one "Defender of the Faith," for a Buddhist monarch, like every good Buddhist must be tolerant of all religions of his subjects. Moreover, the traditional "King of Righteousness"¹ is expected to encourage any moral code that will benefit his subjects. Hence the sovereign not only

tolerates but also gives material support to other religions without discrimination.

What the king was expected to do for the Sangha was to afford protection in the exercise of its jurisdiction over the large number of monks throughout the kingdom. This protection was not so much against external ills as against the monks' own failings. It was in this line of activity that Rāma I energetically applied himself immediately upon ascending the throne. Within two years of his accession he had already issued seven of the series of ten royal decrees intended to purify the Sangha of moral depravity to which a period of political tumult had brought it. One decree, for instance, required that every bhikkhu or sāmaṇera on leaving his preceptor should have an identity card. Another required every abbot to keep a register of all monks under his jurisdiction and to be responsible for their conduct. In support of these decrees government officials were enjoined to see that they were strictly observed by everyone concerned. The climax came later when, according to the tenth decree, dated 1801, some 128 profligate monks were rounded up, made to disrobe and conscripted for hard labour as a punishment for their offences.

During the reign of Rāma II only one copy of the Tipiṭaka was made. It was not actually completed when he died and was finished by his successors. It is now known as the "Red Lacquer Edition" (*Chabab Rot Nam Daeng*), because the title page of each phūk bears a gilt and red lacquer design representing *garuḍas* and other mystical beings.

Rāma III was responsible for seven different editions, the exact dates of which are not known and some of them were still unfinished at the time of his demise. The "First Gilt and Black Lacquer Edition" (*Chabab Rot Nam Ek*) is the most beautiful of his editions and perhaps of all the Bangkok "Royal Editions". It was so called because the cover of each phūk bears a beautiful ornamental design in gold on black. Every care was taken to secure a first-class copy; the palm-leaves were specially selected, the copyists were chosen amongst the best calligraphers of the kingdom, the frames were made of precious materials and Indian brocade was used for wrapping the MSS. However, no great care was taken to ensure the preservation of this magnificent collection

1. The theory of the "King of Righteousness" is dealt with in "The Old Siamese Conception of the Monarchy," *JSS*, 36 2, 1947.

with the result that it suffered badly from humidity and attacks of white ants.

Another copy of the same type but less elaborate is known as the "Second Gilt and Black Lacquer Edition" (*Chabab Rot Nam Tho*).

The "Little Gilt Edition" (*Chabab Thong Noi*), similar to Rāma I's "Gilt Edition" but on smaller palm-leaves, was written exclusively by female copyists.

The *Deb Jumnum* edition, especially made for Wat Phra Jetubon (Wat Po), has on the cover of each phūk a pleasing design in gold on black lacquer, representing an assembly of *devas* (= *Deb Jumnum*).

Another edition, made for Wat Rajaoros, is known as the *Kammolo* edition because the frames of each MS. have an ornamental design on Chinese lacquer (*Kammolo*) of a uniform pattern.

During Rāma III's reign the *Jub yō* edition, begun by Rāma I, was continued on somewhat smaller leaves and a copy of the Pali scriptures in Mon characters was also started (Mongkut—Rāma IV, 1851–1868—completing it).

Mongkut's reign was chiefly devoted to the completion of the various sets of scriptures which had been left unfinished by his predecessors. However, a new edition called the "Vermilion Edition" (*Chabab Lon Jat*) was also made, the margins of which were covered with red and gold paintings.

Chulalongkorn, Mongkut's successor, also ordered a new copy of the scriptures to be made. It is called the "Gilt Edition" (*Chubab Thong Thūp*) because the covering leaves of each bundle are entirely gilt, as with the *Thong Yai* edition of Rāma I. This was the last royal copy on palm-leaves as Chulalongkorn initiated the printing of the Tipiṭaka by publishing the famous Jubilee Edition on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne in 1893.

All the "Royal Editions," with the exception of the first two ("Council" and "General Gilt Editions") which are kept in Wat Phra Keo, are now carefully preserved in the National Library. Many MSS. having been misplaced in the course of time, they are, unfortunately, more or less incomplete. Besides the "Royal Editions," the National Library has in its possession several collections of Pali MSS., the most interesting of which are a collection of the MSS. which had belonged to renowned scholars and still bear their annotations. Of the Pali works which are

extant, only a few are not represented in the Library by one or more copies.

Those works which were not originally included in the Thai collection of Pali scriptures have been carefully noted down and copies recently purchased either in Ceylon or Burma. The reverse has also happened at times when Thai MSS. are occasionally borrowed from the National Library by Sinhalese and European scholars for the purpose of preparing new editions.

The National Library continues to acquire interesting MSS. from various monasteries in Thailand. There are numerous monasteries that possess important collections of MSS. which are in a state of decay due either to the lack of care or to the absence of a scholar-monk who could make good use of them. More often than not the abbot sends the collection to the Library where the MSS. are classified by a special body of experts. After being properly wrapped in new cloth covers they are then returned to the temple with a catalogue. If any rare MS. is discovered amongst the collection it is retained by the Library. Many scattered MSS. from the "Royal Editions" and remnants of Phya Tak's library were discovered in this way.

CHAPTER 4

PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THAILAND TODAY¹

The revival of Pali and Buddhist studies and literature in Thailand may rightly be dated from the era of Phra Chom Klao (King Mongkut, 1804–1868) who reigned as Rāma IV from 1851 until his death.²

Mongkut spent no less than twenty-seven years as a bhikkhu, under the title Phra Buddhavajirañāṇa. He studied Pali and passed the (oral) examination so brilliantly that his elder half-brother, King Phra Nang Klao (Rāma III, 1824–1851), bestowed on him the title Phra Rāja Khana and put him in charge of the Pali examination for the Sangha. In 1833 Mongkut founded the Dhammayuttikanikāya which distinguished itself for intensive practice of the Dhamma and conscientious adherence to the Vinaya. He insisted that his pupils both speak and write in Pali, although he did not radically amend the existing system of oral teaching. This was left to his successor, Chulalongkorn (see below), who introduced written examinations in Thai, as opposed to the archaic Khom (Khmer) script.

Whilst Mongkut was abbot, Wat Bovaranivesin Bangkok became the main centre of religious studies in the Siamese kingdom. He raised the standards of scholarship and textual revision. In 1843, for example, he was instrumental in borrowing forty volumes of the Tipiṭaka from Ceylon in order to compare these with the Thai texts which were then corrected. A further thirty volumes were borrowed in the following year. During this period he engaged in (Pali) “Correspondence with the Sinhalese Sangha”.³

In the field of Pali composition Mongkut made notable contributions even if these were confined, for the most part, to devotional stanzas. He composed *gāthā* for use in the morning and evening liturgy in Dhammayuttikanikāya Wats⁴ as well as for general and special occasions on

1. This article was first published in *Nyānātiloka Centenary Volume*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1978.

2. The main biographical works in English are: A B. Griswold, *King Mongkut of Siam* (Asia Society, New York 1961); A L. Moffat, *Mongkut, the King of Siam* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 1961); Phra Sāsana Sobhāṇa (ed.), *King Rāma the Fourth Mongkut* (Mahāmakut, Bangkok 1968); John Blofeld, *King Mahā Mongkut of Siam* (Asia Pacific Press, Singapore 1972).

3. Published in Bangkok, 1925.

the religious calendar.¹ A further six devotional tracts, prefaced by his youngest son, Prince Damrong Rājanubhab (1864–1943), were also published in this century.²

The pioneer endeavours of Mongkut bore ample fruit when his eldest son, Chulalongkorn, succeeded him as Rāma V (1868–1911) and a younger son, Manussanāga, eventually became the Saṅgharāja under the name, Vajirañāṇavarorasa.

Chulalongkorn³ brought the Thai educational system more in line with Western patterns. Until 1884, for example, Pali was a compulsory subject for those seeking higher education beyond primary level. Under the influence of his half-brother, Vajirañāṇavarorasa, he decreed that written Pali examinations should replace the unsatisfactory oral versions. The king also established higher education for bhikkhus on a firm footing with the establishment of the Mahādhātu Rājavidyālaya at Wat Mahādhātu in 1890. Six years later it changed its name to Mahāchulalongkornrājavidyālaya and has remained the chief college for the *Mahānikāya* section of the Sangha ever since. (It was officially designated a Buddhist University in 1947).

Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1859–1921) was, with the king, one of the first royal children to learn English under their father's tutor, Francis George Patterson. He entered the Sangha at 20 and continued the reforms of Mongkut. Under the prevailing system of Pali examinations, for example, equivalents to the B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees had been awarded to those bhikkhus who had proved their proficiency in the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma Piṭakas respectively. He reconstituted the syllabus in Thai and Pali which was divided into nine grades (*parien*) spread over so many years. The details of this system will be discussed later but basically it entailed a knowledge of the traditional

4. See: *King Rāma the Fourth Mongkut*, pp.5–35; *Ordination Procedure*, Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa (Mahāmakut, 1963, pp. 72–89).

1. See: *Pali and Siamese stanzas recited during the Visākhapūjā*, (Bangkok 1919); *Suat Manta Chabab Luang* ('Royal Book of Chants'), ed. Pussadeva, Bangkok 1928; *Buddhist Recitations for Various Occasions*, Mahāmakut, 1968.

2. *Pali Gāthā in Praise of the Holy Discipline*, (1921), *Pali stanzas composed on the names of his children*, (1924), *Pali stanzas based on the formula Itipiso Bhagavā*, (1924), *Gāthā Dhammapariyāya*, (1925), and *Pali Gāthā used in connection with the Bija Maṅgala Royal Ceremony*, (1925).

3. The only detailed biography in English I can trace is *Chulalongkorn the Great*, ed. and tr. by Prachoom Chomchai East Asian Cultural Studies Series no. 8, Tokyo, 1965. A separate chapter is devoted to him (as for all the kings of the Chakri dynasty) in *Lords of Life* by the late Prince Chula Chakrabongse, Alvin Redman, London, 1960.

Commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) and indigenous treatises (especially the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*).

In 1893 he founded the Mahāmakuṭa-Rājavidyālaya at Wat Bovoranives, of which he was abbot (1892–1910). This second Buddhist University (recognised as such in 1945) was intended primarily for the higher education of bhikkhus belonging to the Dhammayuttikanikāya who only formed a separate fraternity as late as 1894. The textbooks and courses prepared by his group were subsequently adopted as standard works by both nikāyas. In 1910 he created Nak Dhamma (*Nāgtham*) schools in three grades as distinct from the earlier Pali centres. (Equivalent classes for the laity—*Dhamma-sukśa* or “Dhamma education”—were established in 1929 with the omission of the Vinaya texts.)

A brilliant scholar and good organiser, Vajirañāṇavarorasa was appointed Saṅgharāja in 1910 under the full title of Somdech Phra Mahā Samaṇa Chao Kromaphrayā Vajiraṇavarorasa. He was also a prodigious writer, composing original commentaries and textbooks, preparing sermons and translating Pali texts into Thai. Several of his works have, in recent years, been translated into English and published by Mahāmakuṭa University.¹

As mentioned above, the bhikkhus’ formal education was divided into nine grades, sub-divided into two sections—Dhamma and Pali—which have remained substantially unchanged since their inception under Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa. (A modern Pali course, for example, was introduced by the Sangha in 1964 which was intended to provide a general academic education in conjunction with practical training, allied to formal tuition in the Pali language. However, only a small

1. *Buddhasāsanasubhāsita*—“Buddhist Proverbs”: I—1967 (33 chapters, 500 verses), II—1958 (20 chapters, 201 verses), III—1960 (17 chapters, 218 verses). Pali verses mainly from the *Khuddaka Nikāya* with English translation by one bhikkhu and four laymen led by Phra Mahā Prayang Kittidharo. *Anubuddhapavatti*—“Biographies of Some of the Noble Disciples”: I—1974, II—1975, life sketches of seventeen bhikkhus and one bhikkhunī. *Atthasāsana*—“The First and Second Steps of Advantage” (1963). *Dhammavicāraṇa*—“The Third Step of Advantage” (1963). *Ordination Procedure* (1963, 1973). *Pañcasīlapañcadhamma*—“Five Precepts and Five Ennoblers” (1963). *Dhammavibhāga*—“Numerical Sayings of Dhamma”: I—1968, II—1970. All these were translated into English by Siri Buddhasukh. *Vinayamukha*—“The Entrance to the Vinaya”: I—1969, II—1973. Translated by Phra Khantipālo, Phra Mahā Feun Thitayogo and Nai Suchin. Vol. III awaits translation. “Life of Buddha” (1972). Translated by a team of thirteen bhikkhus and two laymen, all lecturers at Mahāmakuṭa.

number of institutions have in fact incorporated this schema into the existing curriculum.)

The Nak Dhamma schools, which currently total nearly 7,000, staffed by 14,500 bhikkhu teachers and attended by 30,000 students, impart tuition in the three grades of Dhamma examinations. The three most important textbooks (all composed by Prince Vajirañāṇavararasa) prescribed for the final examination are: *Navakovāda*¹—a commentary on selected parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka with special reference to the Pātimokkha, with the second half of the book devoted to sīla; *Buddhasāsanasubhāsita*²—a book of 500 stanzas mainly from the Khuddaka Nikāya in Pali and Thai; and *Life of the Buddha*,³—a biography of the Buddha based on canonical materials (the third part having been compiled by another Saṅgharāja, Pussadeva).

The Pali schools, which currently total 615, staffed by nearly 2,000 teachers and attended by 10,000 students, give instruction according to seven levels of Pali examination. Each level is designated *parien* (from the Pali *pariṭṭā*, “penetrative knowledge”) but very few candidates qualify in the final examination. The *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, *Samantapāsādikā* and *Visuddhimagga* are constantly used as the main textbooks for studying the Vinaya, Dhamma, Abhidhamma, Buddhist history and Pali composition.

There are three main provincial monastic colleges: Chittabhawan Vidyālaya (Banglamung, Chonburi), Kamphangsae Vidyālaya (Nakon Pathom) and one in Chomthang District (near Chiangmai), but higher Buddhist education continues to be centred on the twin universities in the capital.

Mahāchulalongkorn (Rector: Phra Dhammavoranayok or Somboon Candako) is the larger of the two, incorporating a six-year Pali Demonstration School, two-year Pali Introductory School, two-year Pali Pre-University School and two-year Ecclesiastical Teacher Training College. Successful completion of the basic six-year course (four years as a student and two years of teaching practice) results in being awarded the Buddha-sastr Paṇḍit (or B.A. in Buddhist Studies).

There are three Faculties: Buddhism (divided into Departments of Buddhism, Pali, Religion and Philosophy, and Indology), Education, and Humanities and Social Welfare (both of which include compulsory

1. *Nawakowaad* (Mahāmakut, Bangkok 1968)
2. *Phudthasaanasuphaasid* (Mahāmakut, Bangkok, 1969).
3. *Phudthaprawad* Mahāmakut, Bangkok.

courses in Buddhism and Pali.) Apart from these, there also exist a Department of Research on Buddhism and a Tipiṭaka Revision and Publication Committee.

In the Department of Buddhism, the following courses are prescribed: “History of Buddhism in India,” “~ in Ceylon,” “~ in Thailand,” “~ in Southeast Asia,” “Asoka and Buddhism,” “Buddhism in Northern Asia,” “Mahayana Buddhism,” “Yogācāra and Madhyamika Philosophies,” “Lamaism,” “Zen Buddhism,” “Buddhist Sects in Japan and China,” “Comparative Study of Theravada and Mahayana,” “Selected Pali Suttas,” “Visuddhimagga,” “Buddhist path of Freedom” (a study of canonical texts classified into *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*), “Mahayana Sūtras,” “Concentration and Insight Development,” “Applied Buddhism,” “Buddhism and Society,” “English Readings in Buddhism” (3) and “Seminar in Buddhism”.¹

In the Department of Pali, the following courses are prescribed: “Advanced Pali Grammar” (4—using the books of Kaccāyana and Moggallāna together with the *Saddanīti* and *Rūpasiddhi*), “Pali Composition and Translation” (2—using the *Milindapañha* and *Visuddhimagga*), “History of Pali Literature” (2) “Pali Rhetoric and Prosody” (2—using the *Subodhālaṅkāra* and *Vuttodaya*), “Development of Pali Language,” “Pali Linguistic Literature” (using the *Dhātumañjūsā*, *Dhātupāṭha* and *Abhidhānappadīpakā*), “Selected Discourses, from the Pali Suttanta Piṭaka” (4—divided into studies of all five Nikāyas, with detailed analysis of the Brahmajāla and Mahāpari “Buddhist Teaching in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka” (2—using the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, *Paṭṭhāna*, *Vibhaṅga* and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*), “Abhidhamma Literature,” “Jātaka Literature,” “Pali Chronicle Literature” and “Great Non-Canonical Works”.²

The university library contains over 10,000 books in Thai and English, including the Burmese and Chinese editions of the Tipiṭaka.

Mahāmakuṭa (or “Mahāmakut Buddhist University”) used to include a one-year Elementary, two year Pre-University Course and four-year University Course. After the basic seven-year course, the successful students was awarded the Sāsanasastr Paṇḍit (or B.A. in Buddhist Studies).

1. For full details, see: *Mahāchulalongkornrājavidyālaya Catalogue 1967–68*, pp. 39–41.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–56

There were seven Departments of Philosophy, Psychology, Social Science, Linguistics, Pali and Sanskrit, Archaeology and History, and Education. The course on Buddhism included a study of suttas in all five Nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka together with the Abhidhamma literature. In addition, there were extra-mural Programmes on Research and Textbooks, Librarianship, Programmes on Research and Textbooks, Librarianship, Pali Studies, and *Dhammadūta*, with a “Special Department of Buddhism” geared to the needs of foreigners domiciled in Thailand.¹

Today, however, Mahāmakūṭa would appear to offer just the basic four-year University Course conducted through four Departments of Liberal Arts, Religion and Philosophy, Social Sciences, and Education. Compulsory courses for all students comprise the following: First Year—“Buddhist Discipline (Vinaya)” (2), “Buddhist Suttas” (2) “History of Buddhism” (2) “Principles of Propagation and Rhetoric,” “Meditation Practice,” “Thai,” “Elementary English” (2), “Elementary Sanskrit” (2) “Primary French” (2) “Introduction to Sociology,” “~to Economics,” “~ to Philosophy,” “~ to Psychology,” “General Science” and “Basic Statistics”. Second Year—“Buddhist Suttas” (2), “Abhidhamma” (2), “Mahayana Buddhism,” “Meditation Practice,” “Other Religions” (2), “English Reading and Comprehension” (2), “Listening and Conversation” (2), “Essay writing” (2), “Sanskrit Reading and Translation” (2), “Sanskrit Usage” (2), “French Reading and Comprehension,” “French Expression,” “General Law” and “Introduction to Logic”. Third Year—“Buddhist Suttas” (2), “Dhamma in English,” “Meditation Practice,” “Comparative Religion,” together with a continuation of the specific courses in each Department.

Buddhist subjects, assigned during the third and fourth years of study, are allocated between the following Departments: Liberal Arts—“Pali, Sanskrit and Khmer in Thai,” “Thai Literature related to Buddhism,” “Pali Reading and Translation,” “Pali Advanced Grammar and Composition,” “History of Pali Literature,” “Pali Literature (Tipiṭaka)—(Commentary)—(Buddhaghosa period)—(Thai Writers),” “Pali Conversation,” “Pali v. Sanskrit,” “Sanskrit Reading and Translation” (2), “Sanskrit Advanced Grammar and Composition,” “History of Sanskrit Literature” and “Sanskrit Literature” (4) Religion and Philosophy—

1. See: *International Seminar on Higher Education in Buddhism*, WFB Books Series no. 17 (Bangkok 1968).

“Sutta Commentary,” “Abhidhamma Commentary,” “*Visuddhimagga*,” “Buddhist Logic,” “Buddhism v. Science,” “Buddha’s Eloquence,” “Milinda’s Conversation,” “Buddhism in the Modern World” and “Buddhist Philosophy (Theravada/Mahayana)”. Social Sciences—“Buddhism and Society,” “History of Buddhist Arts,” “Various Buddhist Arts in Thailand” and “History of Buddhist Shrines in South-East Asia”. Education—“Buddhism and Education,” “Buddhist Psychology” and “Buddhist Essay Writing”.¹

Finally, only a brief mention need be made of those relevant courses at the secular universities:

Chiengmai—courses on Buddhist history and thought in the Division of Religions, Department of Human Relations, Faculty of Humanities.

Chulalongkorn (Bangkok)—course on Buddhist philosophy, a related course on Indian Philosophy in the Philosophy Section of the Faculty of Arts; and a course—‘Religion and Society’—in the Department of Social Studies, Faculty of Political Science.

Thammasat (Bangkok)—‘Comparative Religion’ course in the Faculty of Liberal Arts.

College of Education (Bangkok)—a course on Thai Literature related to Buddhism in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences.

University library collections of Buddhist materials are meagre and cannot compare with those of other Asian Buddhist centres outside Thailand. That of Mahāmakuta is larger and better organised than that of its main rival and there are similar collections (which principally consist of Thai and English language publications) in the Siam Society and the headquarters of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, with manuscripts in the National Museum and the Royal Institute. All these centres are situated in Bangkok.

The National Library of Thailand, also located in the capital, was established in 1905 on the basis of three existing institutions: the Mandira Dhamma Library (founded in 1783 in Wat Phra Keo), Vajirañāṇa Library (founded in 1882 in memory of King Mongkut who bore this name whilst a bhikkhu) and Buddhasāsanasāṅgaha Library (founded in 1900 by King Chulalongkorn in Wat Benchamabopit). For some years between the World Wars, the French epigraphist and sometime Director

1. See: “Mahāmakut Buddhist University: A brief History,” *Prospectus—Syllabus* (Bangkok 1975).

of the then Hanoi-based École Française d'Extrême-Orient, George Cœdès (1886–1969), was Chief Librarian. It was probably due to his pioneer efforts that the Library was fully developed.¹

As with all such libraries, there are two Departments of Manuscripts and Printed Books. From the outset the emphasis was laid on acquiring copies of all known Thai/Pali manuscripts (few of which had survived the total destruction of the city-state of Ayodhya in 1767). The majority of Pali MSS.² found in Thailand are written in *khom* letters and only date from the foundation of the present capital in 1782. Very few are extant which were composed prior to this date, although the earliest known text—a commentary to the Saṃyutta Nikāya—is dated *circa* 1440.

Tradition ascribes the collection of the twenty-two *parittas* (protective discourses from the Sutta Piṭaka) into a *bhāṇavāra*, to Revata Thera and his colleagues in Ceylon in 357 C.E. During the course of centuries, however, and following the export of the Sīhaḷavaṃsa to mainland south-east Asia, introductory verses, forming a résumé, were added to the canonical texts. Moreover, if time was limited, these same verses formed a substitute text for chanting purposes. Such a summary (*roem*) was, at least in Thailand, regarded as a *paritta* in its own right. The number of *parittas* subsequently increased in volume until two collections were formally codified at an unknown date. These are the *cuḷaparitta*—the older and more traditional collection which consists of seven *tamnān* (lit. “account,” “tradition,” “history”) for common use; and the *Mahārājaparitta*—which incorporates the seven *tamnān* (albeit in a different order) but with enlarged stanzas composed by Mongkut, Vajirañāṇavararasa, *et al.*, which results in twelve *tamnān* and is reserved for royal and state ceremonies.

The *Royal Book of Chants*³ is, in effect, the main liturgical handbook and comprises Pali stanzas with Thai rubrics. Apart from the *parittas* it includes four other sections: the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta (which is recited at funerals and memorial services); *Tharai Pon Phra* (six “Offering blessings” used at morning worship in the *wat* and prior to consuming the *dāna*); twenty *anumodanā* (benedictory stanzas transferring merit) used

1. See his survey, *The Vajirañāna National Library*, Bangkok 1924.

2. See: Montgomery Schuyler, *Notes on the making of (corypha) palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam* (1908).

3. See: Sāsana Sobhana, *Suat Manta Plae* and *A Book of Recitations for the Order of Bhikkhus of Thailand*, Mahāmakut, Bangkok 1957.

at the completion of the *dāna* or after receiving gifts from the laity; and *Suat Chaeng*—a dramatisation of the First Buddhist Council with three bhikkhus assuming the roles of Upali, Ānanda and Mahākassapa. In addition, there are eighty-nine other recitations, jātakas, stock sermons and miscellaneous devotional items in Thai (including apocryphal “sut-tas,” such as the *Devorahana*, *Jambubodhi*, *Māleyya* or *Mālaya*, *Nibbāna* and *Uṇahisavijaya Suttas*).¹

Public rehearsals of certain well-known Pali texts, particularly where royal patronage is in evidence, take place on monastic and state occasions, but normally only in a *wat* belonging to the Mahānikāya fraternity. One such ceremony is especially renowned, that of the *Thet Mahā Ch’at* or “Great Birth Exposition” (i.e. of the Vessantara Jātaka and its commentary).

Concerned at the prophecy that the Dhamma (especially this jātaka) would eventually disappear (see *Anāgatavaṃsa*) Phra Chao (i.e. King) Song Tham composed in 1627 an epic poem, *Mahā Ch’at Kham Luang*, which recounted the story of the last birth of the Bodhisatta (i.e. as Prince Vessantara) and which is regarded as one of the most accomplished examples of classical Thai literature. The 1,000 verses of the original jātaka alternate with an enlarged poetical version consisting of thirteen cantos (*kaṇḍas*). However, because the latter was originally composed in a uniform metre and proved to be tedious at public recitals, it was subsequently superseded by more varied editions.²

The foregoing composition is subject to collective recitation (*Suet Vetsandon Ch’ādok*) and takes place in the Royal Chapel in Bangkok for three consecutive days, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the *vassa* retreat. Incidentally, such public rehearsals were encouraged in the *Māleyya Sutta*.

Of modern indigenous Pali compositions, relatively little information has been published in English or indeed any other Western language. Hence, a brief summary will here have to suffice on what data have become available.

1. For this section I am indebted to Kenneth E. Wells’ comprehensive manual, *Thai Buddhism, its Rites and Activities*, repr. by Suriyalun Publishers, Church of Christ, Bangkok 1975). See the Appendix, “Notes on the Development of Buddhist Literature in Thailand.”

2. See: G.E. Gerini *A Retrospective View and Account of the Origin of the Thet Mahā Ch’at Ceremony (Mahā Jāti Desanā)*,—Bangkok 1892; Sathirakoses-Nag-apradipa Foundation, Bangkok 1976.

Bhikkhu Paññāwongsa (1871–1956) composed in 1900 a text entitled *Bhāvanā*. As its name suggests, it is a treatise primarily connected with *samatha* meditation and represents a traditional method of instruction from northern Thailand. It was translated in 1974 by Donald K. Swearer.¹ The only other known compositions are the *Dasapāramī Gāthā* or “Stanzas on the Ten Perfections”² and a life of the Buddha in *gāthas*, by Bunyen Limsawaddi.

Mom Chao Upalisan Jumbala (1899–1974) was the son of Prince Sanpasit and Mom Chiangkam. Although he devoted himself to service in the royal household and sat on various boards, he was able to find time to translate two anthologies from Pali: *The Soḷasapañha* (the sixteen *puccā* or dialogues in the Pārāyanavagga of the Sutta Nipāta)³ and *The Raft* (comprising the Sampasādaniya, Mahākammavibhaṅga, Dvedhāvitakka, Dhātuvibhaṅga, Mahāpuṇṇama, Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya, Veludvāreyya, Dhammacakkappavattana, Khemaka, Siṃsapa, Kālāma and Sīha Suttas).⁴

Other translations, mainly by Thai laymen, include:

Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta. Phra Dhammaviravichita (Bangkok 1963).

Khuddakapāṭha: “*Short Buddhist Recitations*”. Bhadragaka (Mahāmakut, Bangkok, 1953).

Udāna: “*80 Inspiring Words of the Buddha*” (verses only). *Ibid.* (1954).

Dhammapada: “*Collection of Verses on the Doctrine of the Buddha*”. Bhadragaka (published by Mrs Chamras Ongcharit, Bangkok, 1965).

Pāyāsi, *Mahāhatthipadopama and Jīvaka Suttas included in Buddhism in the Light of Modern Scientific Ideas*, (Mahāmakut, Bangkok, 1954).

A Buddhist Anthology also compiled by Dr. Luang Suriyabongs (Bangkok, 1956). This contains extracts from the *Vinaya* and *Sutta*

1. *Buddhist Text Information*, no. 1 (IASWR, New York, November 1974), announced that Prof. Swearer was “utilizing this text in his current study of Buddhist doctrine in northern Thailand, and plans to publish it separately as an article, perhaps in *The Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok).”

2. Included in the anthology, *The Wisdom Gone Beyond*, Social Science Association Press, Bangkok 1966.

3. Mahāmakut, Bangkok circa 1960.

4. Mahāmakut, Bangkok, 1974.

Piṭakas arranged under the headings of “The Buddha,” “The Dhamma,” “The Sangha” and “The Lay-Disciple”.

Prince Chandaburinarunath compiled a *Pali-Thai-Sanskrit-English Dictionary* in 1969.

The late Saṅgharāja, Prince Jinavarasirivaḍḍhana, compiled *Sāmaṇerasikkhā*—“*The Novice’s Training*”.¹ This comprises a biography of Rāhula, the first *sāmaṇera*, based on canonical sources, followed by rules of training in Pali and English.

Phra Mahā Boowa Nāṇasampanno is the Abbot of Wat Pa-barn-tard, near Udorn, in north-east Thailand, and is one of the most highly respected meditation teachers today. Some of his talks, based on personal experience of the Dhamma have been translated by his pre-eminent English Disciple, Paññāvaḍḍho Mahāthera, and published as *Forest Dhamma*.²

His biography of his own teacher, Ācariya Mun (Bhūridatto, 1871–1949), has also been translated and was serially published in the *WFB Review* (1974–1976).

Somdet Phra Nyānasamvara was, until his promotion in the Sangha, widely known as Phra Sāsana Sobhaṇa (Suvaḍḍhano), the Abbot of Wat Bovoranives and Director of Mahāmakuṭa University. He contributed the lengthy introduction to the translation of *The Pātimokkha*,³ whilst two articles, “*What did the Buddha Teach?*” and “*Sīla*,” were reprinted in brochure form in 1975.⁴ A series of nineteen talks that he gave on the first *satipaṭṭhāna*, illustrated by relevant texts from the Pali Canon, was published as *Contemplation of the Body*.⁵

Phra Mahā Singhathon Narāsabho was the first bhikkhu graduate of Mahāchulalongkorn University to be awarded, in 1970, a Ph.D. at the Visvabharati University, Shantiniketan. His thesis dealt with *samādhi* and *vipassanā* and was subsequently published under the title, *Buddhism: A Guide to a Happy Life*.⁶

Prof. Sujib Punyanubhab, a lecturer on Buddhism and Comparative Religion at Mahāmakuṭa, compiled *A People’s Tripiṭaka* (a Thai summary in five volumes) and a general work dealing with *Some Prominent Characteristics of Buddhism*.⁷ The English translation was

1. Mahāmakuṭ, Bangkok, 1966.
2. Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, Bangkok 1973.
3. Mahāmakuṭ, 1966, 1969.
4. Public Relations Department, Bangkok.
5. Mahāmakuṭ, 1974.
6. Mahāchulalongkorn, Bangkok 1971.

rendered by Siri Buddhasukh, the Editor of the *WFB Review*, and Lecturer in English and Buddhism at Mahāmakuta.

Siddhi Butr-Indr, a lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University, obtained his doctorate from Utrecht University for his dissertation on *The Social Philosophy of Buddhism*.¹ This is one of the few original studies that discusses in some detail the nature of society and man's place in it as conceived in the Pali textual tradition.

Collections of *desanā* (sermons) abound in Thai but these are usually based on Pali passages or *gāthā*. *Forest Dhamma* (above) represents one of the very few translations but another collection that warrants mention is that of the late Chao Khun UPaligunūpamācariya (or Chan Chandūpamo). He was a contemporary and close friend of Ācariya Mun. Normally resident in Wat Bovoranives, he was renowned for his knowledge and insight.

Chao Khun Buddhādāsa² is a controversial bhikkhu who resides at the hermitage of Suan Mok (Garden of Liberation), just outside Chaiya in southern Thailand. He is opposed to many of the popular manifestations of Buddhist practice and has even adopted non-Buddhist ideas and terminology to emphasise his radical interpretation of the Dhamma. Of his writings, those that accord more closely with the Pali canonical tradition include: *Life of the Buddha from his own Lips*, (in Thai), *Ānāpānasati*³ and *Teaching Dhamma by Pictures*.⁴ The last-named comprises forty-seven pictures illustrating various aspects of the Teaching which were reproduced from a mid-19th century manuscript found in Chaiya.

Prince Dhani Nivat has composed a volume on the *History of Buddhism in Siam*,⁵ Karuna Kusalasaya contributed a detailed paper on *Buddhism in Thailand*,⁶ M.L. Manich Jumsai (ex-bhikkhu Kulamanito) has written on *Understanding Thai Buddhism*,⁷ whilst Rear Admiral (and formerly Surgeon General) Lek Sumitra wrote *Theravada Buddhism of Thailand*.⁸

7. Mahāmakut, 1964.

1. Mahāmakut, 1973.

2. See: Donald K. Swearer, "Two Portraits of Thai Buddhism" in *Buddhism in Transition* (Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1970).

3. *Mindfulness of Breathing*, Vol. 1. tr. Nāgasena (Sublime Life Mission, Bangkok 1971, 1976).

4. Social Science Association Press, Bangkok 1968.

5. The Siam Society, Bangkok 1965.

6. Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy 1965.

7. Bangkok 1971.

Mahāmakūṭa University produced (*circa* 1975) a special booklet for the benefit of Western enquirers: *Buddhism, the Religion of Thailand*. This short work is entirely based on the Nikāyas.

Finally, in this survey of Buddhist literature from Thailand, mention should be made of two compilations published by the Thai Embassy in London. The first was made up of two essays by Prince Damrong Rājanubhab (“Buddhism in Thailand”) and Dr. Luang Suriyabongs” (“The Three Gems of Buddhism”),¹ whilst the second, *About Buddhism*,² comprises eleven essays, seven by Thai scholars (including Prince Damrong’s paper—published anonymously—and M.C.M. Jum-bala’s translation of the Kālāma Sutta).

8. Buddhist Association of Thailand, Bangkok 1970.

1. Public Relations Attaché Office, Royal Thai Embassy, London 1963.

2. Information Service of Thailand, London 1975.

CHAPTER 5

A SURVEY OF THE PALI LITERATURE OF THAILAND

Of the early documents relating to the beginning of Pali literature, the earliest of all are commonly supposed to be the Buddhist Canon of sacred writings, known collectively as the Tipiṭaka, recorded in the Pali language. The Pali Tipiṭaka, with its Commentaries, was taken by the Buddhist monks when propagating the Dhamma in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos where such documents remained a dominant cultural influence in the life of the people. In those countries the Tipiṭaka was a serious subject of study and scholar monks wrote numerous manuscripts in Pali in Ceylon and Burma.¹

Although there was a considerable development of Pali literature in Siam and its neighbouring countries, the history of it has not yet been studied sufficiently either in detail or as a whole. The very fact that it includes many masterpieces such as sub-commentaries, grammars and chronicles suggests that several dedicated monks renounced worldly pursuits to play a large part in the development of Pali literature. In this present survey many important problems remain unsolved and invite further research into the historical data accessible only to indigenous scholars. It is with this thought in mind that I have undertaken to describe the following works.

Exegeses

The following eleven treatises—*Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā*,² *Bhikkhupātimokkhagaṇṭhidīpanī*, *Sīmāsaṅkaravinicchaya*, *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā*, *Sammohavinodanī-atthayojanā*, *Dhātukathā-atthayojanā*, *Puggalapaññatti-atthayojanā*, *Kathāvattu-atthayojanā*, *Yamaka-atthayojanā*, *Paṭṭhāna-atthayojanā* and *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-pañcīkā-atthayojanā*—are attributed to Ñāṇakitti, a teacher (*Rājaguru*) of King Tiloka (1442–87), who lived in the Panasārāma (Jack-fruit Grove) situated north-west of the capital, Chiangmai. It is

1. G.P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1928; repr. MD Gunasena, Colombo 1958. Mabel Haynes Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, RAS, London, 1909, repr. 1966.

2. An alternative term to the more common *aṭṭhakathā*.

conjectured that this prolific writer studied Pali in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1412–67).

The date of the first sub-commentary (to Buddhaghosa's Commentary to the Vinaya Piṭaka) is confirmed in the colophon of the second which, in addition, states that the former was composed at the request of the thera Mahāratanaṇḍa. The second work, an *Exposition of the Pātimokkha*, was written in 1492 whilst the third treatise, which deals with the formation of ecclesiastical boundaries (*sīmā*), was composed slightly later.

As their titles suggest, the next two sub-commentaries (to the *Atthasālinī* and *Sammohavinodanī*) follow Buddhaghosa's commentaries to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and *Vibhaṅga*. The latter's composite *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* covers the remaining five books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka whereas, as can be seen above, Ñāṇakitti composed separate descriptive works for each of these books.

The *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī Pañcīkā Atthayojanā* represents a sub-commentary to Sumaṅgala's *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* which was, in turn, a *ṭīkā* to Anuruddha's classic exposition, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. These all describe and clarify the four subjects of Abhidhamma: consciousness (*citta*), mental concomitants (*cetasika*), matter (*rūpa*), and (*nibbāna*).

Three works—*Vessantaradīpanī*, *Saṅkhyāpakāsakadīpanī* and *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*—are attributed to Ācariya Sirimaṅgala, a reputed scholar monk who lived in Wat Suankhvan, near Chiangmai, in the latter part of the 15th century and who possibly studied in Ceylon. He was a preceptor of King Muangkesaklao (1543–1546) who built a monastery called Ratanamahāvihāra for him.

As its title suggests, the first work is an exposition of the canonical Vessantara Jātaka, whilst the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*,¹ composed in 1524, provides a detailed exposition of the Maṅgala Sutta in the Suttanipāta. The latter treatise is still popular in Thailand and ensured the author's reputation in neighbouring Theravādin countries.

The authorship of a treatise called *Sāratthasaṅgaha* is ascribed to a scholar monk called Nandācariya. Presumably, he also lived in Chiangmai.

1. See MH. Bode, ed. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, PTS, London 1897, p. 51; and P.N. Bose, *The Indian Colony of Siam*, Lahore 1927, p. 127.

The *Mātikatthasarūpa-Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, a treatise on the *mātikās* of the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, is attributed to Ratanapañña, a contemporary of Sirimaṅgala in Chiangmai.

The *Visuddhimaggadīpanī*, a sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, was written by a monk named Uttārāma of the Lānnā Kingdom (or Yonaka country)¹ who belonged to the forest fraternity.²

Grammars

A Pali grammar entitled *Padakkamayojanāsaddatthabhedacintā*³ was written by the thera Dhammasenāpati, a native of Chiengsen (modern Chiangmai Province).

The *Saddatthabhedacintā-padakkamayojanā* was, according to the *Jinakālamālī*,⁴ composed by the thera Dhammasenāpati also in the second half of the 15th century. It is a commentary on the *Saddatthabhedacintā* which was written by the thera Saddhammasiri of Burma during the 14th century.⁵ The colophon of the former states that it was written whilst Dhammasenāpati was living in the Panasārāma at the request of the thera Mahāratanaṭṭhapa.

The *Saddabindu-abhinava-ṭīkā* was written by the thera Saddhammakitti Mahāphussadeva, a native of Haribhuñjaya who is supposed to be a contemporary of Nānakitti. He also wrote another sub-commentary to the *Saddabindu*⁶ entitled *Ganthasāra*, again during the early 16th century. All of them follow the principles of Kaccāyana of Ceylon.

The *Ganthābharāṇa-ṭīkā*, a sub-commentary on the *Ganthābharāṇa*, a grammatical work of Ariyavaṃsa of Ava (Burma) who flourished in the 15th century, was written by Suvanṇaraṃsi of Chiangmai⁷ in the next century. It is thought that he later went to Viengchen (Vientiane, the administrative capital of Laos) to become the head of the Vijayārāma. There is another short sub-commentary called the

1. Yonakaraṭṭha was the ancient name given to northern Siam. See *Sāsanavaṃsa*, pp. 48 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

3. Also called the *Saddhatthabhedacintāpadakkamayojanā*.

4. Ed. AP. Buddhadatta, PTS, London 1962, pp. 137 foll. and 180 foll.

5. *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 20 and 23.

6. See AP. Buddhadatta, *Palisāhityaya*, 2 vols, Colombo 1956–7, p. 495.

7. *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 41 and 43.

Ganthābharaṇasaṅkhepa-ṭīkā but its author, provenance and date are unknown.

Ñāṇakitti also wrote the *Mūlakaccāyanayojanā*, another treatise that follows Kaccāyana.

The *Vajirasārasaṅgaha* was (according to the colophon) written by Sirimaṅgala in 1535 whilst he was living in the Mahāvanārāma.

The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā*, a sub-commentary on the above, was written by the thera Ratanapañña¹ whilst living in the Jetavana monastery near Ratanapura (Ava).

Chronicles

The thera Bodhiramsi, yet another native of Chiangmai, was the author of two chronicles—the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*² and the *Sihīṅganidāna*³—both composed in the 15th century. The former contains the legend of Buddha's visit to Siam and his prophecy that the *Sāsana* would flourish there, the story of the establishment of the city of Haribhuñjaya and its Queen Cāmadevī, a daughter of King Lavapura, her zealous work to propagate the Dhamma, and the reign of King Ādicca. It also contains the history of the kingdom of Lavapura and the development of Buddhism therein.

The story of the Buddha image called Sihīṅga has been narrated in the latter chronicle which describes the history up to the period of King Ādicca of Haribhuñjaya who reigned in the middle of the 11th century. This majestic image, cast in gold and silver, was brought from Ceylon by the envoys sent by the kings of Sukhodaya and Nakon Sṛīdharmā. En route, the ship was wrecked and the image floated to the territory of the latter kingdom. From thence it was taken to Sukhodaya by its king. Later it was taken to Ayodhya, Kamphaengphet, Chiengrai and Chiangmai.⁴

1. See *Piṭakatthamaṅg*, Rangoon 1959, pp. 132 and 194.

2. See romanised Pali text with French translation by George Cœdès, 'Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental,' *BEFEO* 25 1–2, Hanoi 1925, pp. 141–171; Camille Notton, *Annales du Siam II Chronique de Lamp'un. Histoire de la Dynastie Cham't'eva*, Paris 1930; and Chapter Two, note 3, p. 14.

3. tr. Camille Notton as *P'ra Buddha Sihinga*, Bangkok Times Press, 1933. See also *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 60, 1, Bangkok, 1972, p. 53.

4. In 1795 the image was brought by Prince Surasihanuth from Chiangmai to Bangkok where it remains in the Buddhaisāvāya Palace.

The *Ratanabimbavamsapakaraṇavaṇṇanākathā*¹ was composed by the thera Brahmarājapañña who lived in the Mahādhammarāja monastery in Sukhodaya² during the reign of King Boroma II of Ayodhya (14th century). This short work was written in prose and verse to describe the famous Emerald Buddha image which was believed to possess supernatural power. This miraculous statue was brought from India to Ceylon and thence to Cambodia and Ayodhya. Thence it was taken to such important cities as Lopburi, Kamphaengphet, Chiengrai, Lampang and Viengchen. Thereafter, to Thonburi and, at last, in 1882, to Wat Phra Keo, Bangkok, where it remains to this day.

Another work describing the origin and history of the Emerald Buddha is the *Amarakatabuddharūpanidāna* which was compiled by the thera Ariyavaṃsa. He also wrote the *Addhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna* which describes the origin of a statue of the Buddha which has not yet been identified.³

The *Jinakālamāli*⁴ was compiled by the thera Ratanapañña who lived first at Wat Pakeo in Chiengrai and later at the Sīhaḷārāma in Chiengmai.⁵ (During the time he was writing this the author lived in the Ratanamahāvihāra in Chiengmai).⁶ It deals with the life and teaching of the Buddha, details of the Councils (*Saṅgāyanā*) and the Buddhist history of Ceylon and Siam.⁷

The *Saṅgītiyaṃsa* (also called *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*) which describes the Buddhist ecclesiastical convocations (especially the 8th Council) was written by Rājaguru Bimaladhamma who lived in the Jetabon monastery, Bangkok, during the 18th century. The 8th *Saṅgāyanā* was held in the Mahābodhārāma, Chiengmai, by several hundred monks presided over by Dhammadinna Mahāthera under the patronage of King Siridhammacakkavattilaka for the purpose of correcting the script and

1. tr. Camille Notton as *The Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*, Bangkok, 1933 and in Thai by Saeng Manavidhun, Bangkok, 1967.
2. Bose says it was written at Sirijanālaya in Mahādhammarājapabbata, *The Indian Colony of Siam*, P.N. Bose, Lahore, 1927, p. 132.
3. *Ibid.* See also Chapter Two, p. 15.
4. Ed. AP. Buddhadatta, PTS, London 1962. Translated by N.A Jayawickrama as *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, PTS, 1968.
5. In 1425 a group of twenty-five *sāmaṇeras* from Chiengmai eight from Cambodia and six from the Mon region of Burma obtained their higher ordination (*upasampadā*) in Ceylon. On their return to the mainland they established the *Sīhaḷa Nikāya* (fraternity) on Chom Kitti mountain in Siam. See Reginald le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1954, p. 187.
6. *The Indian Colony of Siam*, p. 131.
7. Prince Dhanimivat, *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, Bangkok, 1960, p. 13.

orthography of the Siamese recension of the Tipiṭaka. The Council was thereafter referred to as the *Aṭṭhamasaṅgīti-akharasamsodhana*.¹ The *Saṅgītivamsa* also describes the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon and Siam and generally in South-East Asia.

The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (*Collection of the Good Law*)² was compiled by Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi during the reign of King Boroma II. According to the colophon the author studied Pali and received his higher ordination in Ceylon. On his return the King built Wat Pakeo for him. He was a wise and erudite teacher who completed this work while residing in that monastery. In this chronicle, the author, who flourished at the end of the 14th century, has succinctly provided a vivid account of the Buddhist Councils and the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

The *Cūlasaddhammasaṅgaha*, a summary of the foregoing chronicle, is believed to have been written at the beginning of the 15th century, but the author is unknown.

Miscellaneous Works

The *Paṭhamasambodhi*, a biography of the Buddha, is attributed to Suvannaramsi who lived at the end of the 16th century. Although the provenance and date are still unknown, since it is mentioned in the *Gandhavamsa* it must be earlier than the 17th century.³

The *Uppātasanti* is a book of protection (*paritta*) composed by an anonymous monk of Chiengmai. The *Sāsanavamsa* states that the army recited it and successfully defeated the Chinese invaders.⁴ The stanzas describe the benedictive powers of Buddhas, Paccakabuddhas, Arahants and deities.

The description of the cosmos as found in Pali literature has been represented by the *Cakkavāḍadīpanī* which deals with natural and supernatural phenomena. This is another work of Sirimaṅgala written in Chiengmai in 1520.

The *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka* is attributed to Ñāṇavilāsa of Lānnā, a contemporary of celebrated authors like Sirimaṅgala and Ratanapañña who

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1. *Saṅgītyavamsa*, Bangkok 1923, p. 342. See also P.V Bapat (ed.), *2,500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi 1956, p. 52.
 2. Ed. N. Saddhānanda, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, London 1890, repr. 1978. Translated by B.C. Law as *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, University of Calcutta, 1941, repr. 1980. See also Chapter Two, note 2, p. 13.
 3. *The Indian Colony of Siam*, pp. 129–130.
 4. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 51.

flourished in the latter part of the 15th century. This fact has been confirmed in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*¹ and the *Piṭakatthamaing*.² The treatise in question deals with the calculations of time, measurement of scales, weights, distances, seasons etc.

A commentary to the foregoing, entitled *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka-ṭīkā*,³ was written by Sumaṅgala in 1520 whilst residing at Suankhvan monastery near Chiangmai.

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1. Ibid.
 2. *Piṭakatthamaing*, pp. 134 and 194.
 3. *Ibid.*; *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 51; *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 47.

CHAPTER 6

PALI STUDIES IN CAMBODIA¹

The Introduction of Buddhism

A legend says that the Kambojas, who played an important role in the Mahābhārata War,² migrated (after victory) eastwards across the Bay of Bengal and settled down in modern Cambodia, then known as Indapata.³ A learned brahmin, Koṇḍañña by name, who accompanied them, introduced Brahmanism. Later, he married a local princess called Lieu-Yi and became the ruler of Indapata.

According to the legend, Ādityavaṃśa, king of Indraprastha (Delhi), being displeased with one of his sons, Prah Thong, drove him out of his kingdom. The prince arrived in the country of Kok Thlok (the Khmer name of Kambuja, meaning the land of the Thlok tree) where ruled a Cham prince who was soon dispossessed of his throne by the newcomer. One evening, caught unawares by the tide on the sea-shore, he was obliged to spend the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the beach; the prince fell in love with her and was married to her. The Nāgarāja, father of the Nāgī, expanded the kingdom of his son-in-law by drinking off the water which covered the country, built for him a capital and changed the name of the country to Kambuja.

“It may be suggested that this legend passed from Kambuja to Champā (Vietnam) after the marriage of the princess of Kambuja, Śrī Sarvani, daughter of King Īśānavarman, to the prince of Champā, Śrī

1. This article was first published in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, Gordon Fraser, London, 1980.

2. The great war of the Bhārats in the kingdom of Kurukṣetra, in the neighbourhood of Hastināpura near modern Delhi.

This great civil war has been written about in Sanskrit under the title of the *Mahābhārata*. This is one of the two great epic poems of Hindu literature (the other being the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmikī) ascribed to the legendary Vyāsa. The main bulk of the *Mahābhārata* was completed by the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, although the *Bhagavadgītā* and other interpolations may be rather later. In all, the poem contains about 90,000 stanzas. It has been translated into English by Kisori Mohan Ganguli (Calcutta, 1884–1896); Manmatha Nath Dutt (Calcutta, 1895–1905); and P.C. Roy, 2nd ed., 11 vols., (Calcutta, 1919–1935).

3. Indraprastha (Sanskrit). The capital of Kambuja, Angkor (Sanskrit Nagar) was also known as Indraprastha or Indraprastapura. Aymonier, “Une notice sur le Cambodge,” the introduction to his *Dictionnaire Français-Cambodgien* (Saigon, 1874).

Jagadharmā (afterwards king of Champā with the title of Vikrāntavarman). The legend reproduces, therefore, the genealogical tradition officially accepted at the Kambuja court in the 7th century.”¹

Although there is insufficient historical evidence, it was believed that Soṇa and Uttara were the two Buddhist monks from India who introduced Buddhism to Cambodia during the time of Emperor Asoka (3rd century BCE) But the art, architecture, bas-reliefs and other archaeological remains at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom show that the Mahayana form of Buddhism influenced the country before the advent of the Theravada. In this connection it is interesting to note the statement made by Tāranātha in his *History of Buddhism* that the Dharma was introduced into Indo-China by a disciple of Vasubandhu² at the end of the 5th century C.E. Furthermore, it has been said that the first Buddhist text to be taken there was the *Madhyantavibhāgaśāstra*, composed by Vasubandhu himself.³

From the end of the 8th century there is proof of the powerful influence of Buddhism in the country. The manifestation of the Mahayana was to be seen in the foundation of monasteries during the following century. A Buddhist minister, Kīrtipaṇḍita, has engraved the rapid progress of Buddhism and zeal in restoring Buddhist studies during the reign of his king, Jayavarman V (968–1001), in an inscription at Srei Santhor: “He lighted again the torch of the true law, the *Madhyantavibhāgaśāstra*, and others, which the evils of the world had extinguished. He brought a large number of books on philosophy and treatises like the commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* from foreign lands so that their study might spread.”⁴

1. Louis Finot, “Sur quelques tradition Indo-Chinoises,” *Bulletin de C. Arch. de l’Indo-Chine*, 1910, p. 32; Bijan Raj Chatterji *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, University of Calcutta, 1964, p. 3f, Appendix I pp. 262–272.
2. Vasubandhu (circa 499–560 AD) the brother of Asaṅga, was the preceptor of King Vikramāditya Candagupta according to *Paramārtha* (circa 499–560 AD). Whilst Asaṅga wrote over thirteen books on the Yogācāra School, Vasubandhu wrote over thirty-two books on both the Yogācāra and Sarvāstivāda Schools.
3. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III London, 1922, 1971, pp. 122–123.
4. “Une inscription bouddhique du Cambodge” by Émile Senart, *Révue Archéologique*, Paris, 1883, pp. 182–192. (Stanzas 50–100 of this inscription contain the king’s instructions on moral principles laid down in the teaching of the Buddha.) The *Tattvasaṅgraha* is an encyclopaedic work written by Śāntarakṣita in the 8th century. In this work the author has criticised numerous philosophical systems of his day, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, from the standpoint of the Svātantrika Yogācāra School.

The first king of Cambodia, Koṇḍaṅga, had become an ardent follower of Buddhism and he had despatched a monk called Nāgasena to Vo Ti, Emperor of China, in 484, to propagate Buddhism there. However, it was mainly due to the efforts of King Jayavarman VII (1181–1201) that Buddhism took deep root in Cambodia. He was so devoted to the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara that he caused his serene face to be carved on images which were then installed in each of the king's palaces. Jayavarman also installed many artistic works in the magnificent temples of Angkor Wat in addition to a hospital (*ārogyasālā*).

Although Buddhism had taken root, it was the Brahmanical faith, especially the cult of Śiva, which made a deep impression on the Khmer people. During the reign of Bhavavarman II (639 C.E.), for example, a learned brahmin, Somaśarman, erected a temple with an image of Viṣṇu and made splendid offerings which included sacred books, such as the Indian epics (the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) and the *Purāṇas*. Somaśarman instituted the continuous recitation of these texts, copies of which were distributed among the people. Consequently the literary culture afforded by these epics provided a rich source of mythological material for Khmer authors and poets. Indeed, most Khmer poems comprise romances based on the Rāmāyaṇa or on the (much later) fifty Pali *Jātakas* peculiar to Indo-China. Khmer drama, also closely linked to these romances, draws from the same source.

The Development of Pali Literature

With the fall of the ancient Khmer Empire, Hinduism rapidly declined. Siam (or Thailand), which already professed Theravada Buddhism, began to rise and conquer a large part of Cambodia. The Theravada, which received a vital impetus from Ceylon, gradually spread from Siam over Cambodia until it became the national religion. Pali literature penetrated the country at the same time, most manuscripts being copied from Thai originals.¹ Thus, the two countries became closely related in the fields of Buddhist customs, practices and literature.

In the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century Indian culture was thriving, and literature in both Sanskrit and Pali became popular, in addition to a vernacular enriched with a vocabulary borrowed from these languages. The reformed type of Buddhism from Ceylon, introduced into

Siam at the end of the 12th century by the Mons of Burma.¹ was gradually gaining ground to parallel this upsurge in literary activity.

By the end of the 14th century the use of Sanskrit was declining. In Champā (modern Vietnam) the last Sanskrit inscription dates from 1253 and in Cambodia from 1330. In the Mekong and Menam valleys the remnants of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism were replaced by the Theravada during the 12–14th centuries. The earliest Pali inscription dates from 1309 and was composed by Srindravarman who had become king two years earlier on the abdication of his brother-in-law.²

The main contribution of Pali scholarship in Cambodia would appear to lie in the field of transliteration and translation. A large collection of unedited Khmer Pali manuscripts is to be found in Paris.³ The Cambodian *Mahāvamsa*, a recension of the *Mahāvamsa*, was discovered in Cambodia when the original classic, written in Ceylon by Mahānāma in the 5th century C.E., was edited by Wilhelm Geiger and published for the Pali Text Society in 1908. G.P. Malalasekera edited this recension and published it in 1937 under the title of the *Extended Mahāvamsa*. Considering its style and language, it could not have been compiled in Ceylon. There are 2,915 verses in Mahānāma's *Mahāvamsa* whereas the *Extended Mahāvamsa* consists of 5,772

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1. Prof. Phanindranath Bose has said: "In 1912 Mon. George Cœdès was deputed to search for the Buddhist manuscripts available in Cambodian pagodas. For the purpose, he came to Phnom Penh, the modern capital of Cambodia. The French Resident Superior had issued a circular to Samdech Prah Mohasañkhrac and Somdech Prah Monkol, respective chiefs of the Mohanikay and Thommayut sects, to make a catalogue of their Sāstras following a given model indicating the number of fascicules, language employed and contents of each text. The monks responded enthusiastically to this appeal and the *École Française* has now in its possession 1,200 Cambodian manuscripts." *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Adyar, Madras, 1927, p. 402.
 1. The *Sāsana* was purged whilst uniting the three fraternities of the Sangha in Ceylon by King Parākrama Bāhu I (1153–1186) under the presidency of Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri. When the news of this reformation reached the other Buddhist countries, a number of monks from Indo-China were sent to the Island for training and study. We learn that one of the learned monks, Chapaṭa, returned to Burma and led a reformation in the Sangha there in 1190 which led to the adoption of the Sinhalese form of the reformed Sangha throughout Burma. This form then passed to Thailand and thence to Cambodia, and to Laos in 1353. Ever since the 14th century, therefore, the peoples of South-East Asia have shared the fundamental ideas of the orthodox form of Sinhalese Buddhism. Certainly, great changes in the social system and culture occurred when existing Hindu beliefs and the earlier forms of Buddhism were thus supplanted.
 2. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 36 fasc. 14, Hanoi 1936.
 3. See the Appendix to this article, p. 81, for a complete list.

verses. It is evident that the original work has been extended by adding more episodes and other historical materials borrowed from works such as the Mahāvagga (*Vinaya*), Jātaka and Buddhavaṃsa commentaries, *Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā*, *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, *Thūpavaṃsa* and *Saman-tapāsādikā*. The language and metre of the new verses added to the old chronicle are not at all elegant. Beginning with the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, the predictions made by the 24 Buddhas have been given in only six verses in the old *Mahāvāṃsa* whilst in the more recent work the same theme has been dealt with in 126 verses. According to the old chronicle, King Duṭṭhagāmiṇī invited and worshipped the Sangha prior to laying the foundation stone for the Ratanamāli Cetiya. However, according to the *Extended Mahāvāṃsa*, the king not only invited the bhikkhus but worshipped each one by calling out their names. Although the number of verses is greater in the more recent composition the number of chapters is the same, namely, thirty-seven. At the end of the work the author has, in a number of verses, made various aspirations including one to become a Buddha (*Buddho bhaveyyaṃ*). According to the following, albeit ambiguous, verse, the author might have been a Khmer monk called Moggallāna living somewhere in Cambodia in either the 9th or 10th century:

*Moggallāno ti nāmāhaṃ kataṃ puññaṃ idaṃ pure;
yaṃ yaṃ sukhaṃ mahantaṃ vā sabbam eva samijjhātu.*¹

The Influence of Pali Literature

Khmer prose and the language used in poetry are so full of archaic words and the words themselves derived either from Pali or Sanskrit that Cambodians often have difficulty in understanding their own classical literature. The authorship and date of most of these poems are unknown. Those that are known are the collections of gnomic stanzas: the *Chbap Kram* or code of etiquette, the *Chbap Pros* (“Moral Advice for Men”), the *Chbap Srei* (“Moral Advice for Women”), and so on. These precepts come from the Tipiṭaka and are combined with traditional codes of behaviour and rules of conduct. The authorship of these and other similar works, like the *Ker Kal*, *Kon Chau*, etc., is attributed

1. See E. Hardy: “Notes on the Enlarged Text of the *Mahāvāṃsa* extant in a Kambodian MS,” *JPTS*, 1902–3, p. 61; *JRAS*, 1902, p. 171. Malalasekara: *Extended Mahāvāṃsa*, Vol. III Aluvihāra Series, RAS (Ceylon Branch)—The Times of Ceylon, 1937, repr. PTS, 1988.

to King Ang Duong and dated to quite early times. The vocabulary of the above and the other works of a religious nature were considerably enriched by Pali and Sanskrit. The inscriptions show that the cultured élite were well acquainted, first with Sanskrit and later with Pali.

A large part of Khmer prose literature dealing with good and bad *kamma* has been influenced by Pali literature, either through translations of canonical texts or treatises and exegeses. The *Jātakas*, especially the last ten in the canonical collection, were successfully adapted and they were greatly enjoyed by Khmer writers and the reading public. Of all of them, the Vessantara *Jātaka* has won the greatest popularity. As in Thailand and Laos, the apocryphal fifty *Jātakas* have provided the themes for a number of novels in the Khmer language. Most Khmer poetry—ornate, didactic, devotional, together with dramatic works—has been based on either the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the fifty *Jātakas*.

The Revival of Pali Studies

Nearly a hundred years ago, King Prah Ang Duong ordered the collection of documents relating to Buddhism and the books of the *Tipiṭaka*. Under his patronage the teaching of Pali was organised throughout the country. Twenty years later King Phra Norodom issued a decree that the *Tipiṭaka* should be taught in the Royal Palace at Phnom Penh. Following in the footsteps of his father, Prince Sihanouk (ex-King Norodom Suramarit) took a keen interest in the study of Pali texts and did much to extend it.

The Institut Bouddhique of Phnom Penh was established in 1930 as a direct result of the Royal Library which had been created in 1925 by King Sisowath Monivong. Although the Institute was constituted to develop science and technology, a special department (*Buddha Sāsana-panḍitya*) was organised for cultural activities and the study of Theravada Buddhism. This department was made responsible for the conservation of ancient documents, research into Buddhist history and publication of Pali works.

On 14th December 1929, King Sisowath signed a Royal ordinance for the setting up of the *Tipiṭaka* Commission for translating and editing the Pali texts in Khmer.¹ Accordingly, eminent Khmer scholars embarked on this stupendous *magnum opus* which comprised 110 volumes. Each volume ranges from 400 to 900 pages. Entitled *Preah Trey*

Beydak, this bilingual corpus comprises: (i) thirteen volumes of the *Preah Viney Beydak* (Vinaya Piṭaka), (ii) sixty-four volumes of the *Sottan Tak Beydak* (Sutta Piṭaka), and (iii) thirty-three volumes of the *Apkphithommak Beydak* (Abhidhamma Piṭaka). The completion of this great literary undertaking was celebrated on 1st and 2nd April 1969 in the capital on a grand scale. Thus, the Khmer Republic enjoyed the possession of the whole Tipiṭaka in Pali along with their own language, Khmer.

The members of the Commission had decided to compare the editions of the Tipiṭaka published in Ceylon, Burma and England. The variants were noted in the footnotes as follows: “M” for Burmese (Maramma), “Si” for Sinhalese and “O” for the Pali Text Society’s edition.¹ To maintain the accuracy of their sources, the members of the Commission used the *aṭṭhakathās*, *ṭīkās* and *yojanās* (commentaries, sub-commentaries, and grammatical construction exegeses respectively) in translating the Tipiṭaka into Khmer. The translation was not, however, made in the colloquial language but, in order to preserve the original meaning in Pali, it was rendered in a literary style. The Commission made arrangements to print Pali on one page and Khmer on the opposite page. Sets of this edition were sent to Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Japan, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, England, France, Germany and the United States on the basis of donations, exchange or subscriptions.

In the field of Buddhist monastic education, the first modern Pali High School (*lycée*) was founded in 1909 by the Saṅgharāja, Tieng, and established at Angkor Wat. In 1914 the school was transferred to the capital of Phnom Penh where it was housed in the Keo-Marakat (“Golden Pagoda”), adjoining the Preah Vihear (“Royal Temple”). Termed *l’École Supérieure de Pali*, it offered courses in Pali grammar in conjunction with the art of translating, together with a study of such commentarial works as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, *Paṭhamasamantapāsādikā-ṭīkā* and the *Visuddhimagga*. After moving to larger premises, the School expanded its curriculum to

1. The members of this Commission, in the early stages, included such luminaries as Prince Norodom Sutharot, Samdech Preah Sanghareach [= Somdech Phra Saṅgharaj] Chuon-Nath, of the Mahānikāya (fraternity) and Samdech Preah Pothiveangs (Rector of the Buddhist University and President of the Tipiṭaka Commission).

1. The Pali Text Society was founded in London in 1881 by Prof. T.W. Rhys Davids for the express purpose of promoting and fostering the study of Pali primarily by means of editing and publishing the texts in Roman script and then translating them into English.

include Sanskrit, French, mathematics, and geography. On the completion of four years' study, an examination was held and the successful candidate was awarded the title, *Mahāpariyatti-Udām-Vichea*.

The increasing number of applicants demanded an expansion of facilities and in 1933 a royal decree authorised the establishment of elementary Pali schools. These were attached to the rural *wats* (monasteries) and, by 1975, nearly 600 such centres were offering over 10,000 bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras studies in Pali, mathematics, science, history, geography, civics and agriculture. Buddhism was taught in the form of translating the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* into Khmer, the life of the Buddha, elementary Dhamma and the necessary Vinaya. After three years' study, the candidate would receive the title of *Mahā* if he passed the state examination which would enable him to enter the High School.

Apart from one in Battambang, the main High School or Buddhist College (later prefixed with the name Preah Suramarit) was re-established in Phnom Penh in 1955. The renowned bhikkhu, Pon Sompheach Dhammārāma (with the rank of Preak Gru Sanghasattha), was a professor at this college. Among other writings, he translated the *Dhammapada* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* into French in 1963 for the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. To the maximum intake of 150 students per annum, the following subjects were taught in addition to those made available at primary level (above): Sanskrit, Khmer, French, English, Hygiene, Physics, Chemistry, History of Buddhism, Khmer Art and Civilisation. After four years, the entrance examination to the "Buddhist University" was held (although this was abolished in 1972) and a diploma of matriculation (equivalent to B.A.) awarded to the successful candidates.

The *Université Bouddhique Preah Sihanouk Raj* was founded in the capital in 1954 by Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Head of State from 1941 to 1970). Although it was only able to accept forty students from the High Schools each year, by 1972 there were 200 first-year students divided into four classes. There were three levels of study spread over ten years: at the first level (lasting three years) the bhikkhu-student had to master fourteen subjects; at the end of the second level (another four years) he could qualify for an "M.A.," and at the completion of a further three years he could obtain a "doctorate" on submission of a thesis. The "degrees" so awarded were recognised in 1963 as being on a par

with those issued by a secular college—and thereby ensured a continuing recruitment to the Sangha! The prescribed subjects were allocated as follows:

First Level: Religion (History of Buddhism, Comparative Religion, Buddhist Doctrines, Meditation), Philosophy (Psychology, Sociology, Logic, Ethics, General and Comparative Philosophy), Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese (or Hindi or Thai), French (or English), History or Geography (Eastern or Western), Mathematics, Physics, Natural Science (Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Anatomy), Chemistry, Hygiene and Elementary Medicine, General Studies (Civics and Civilisation, Pedagogy, Cosmography).

Second Level: (a) Compulsory: Buddhist Doctrine, Philosophy, Linguistics, Pali and Sanskrit, Living Languages, Khmer Civilisation; (B) Subsidiary Subjects; Law (Constitutional, Civil, Administrative, Criminal, International), History and Geography, Elementary Cosmography, Political Economy and State Organisation, Ethnology, Archaeology, Educational Pedagogy.

Third Level (alternative disciplines):

- (i) Licence d'études religieuses: Buddhist doctrine, History of Buddhism, Comparative philosophy, Comparative religion.
- (ii) Licence de Philosophies Comparées: General Philosophy, Western Philosophy, Oriental Philosophy, Comparative Religion.
- (iii) Licence de Linguistique: General Phonetics, Phonology, General Linguistics, Comparative Religion.
- (iv) Licence de civilisation Khmère: General Linguistics, Khmer Civilisation (Art and Literature), Comparative Civilisation, Comparative Religion.
- (v) Licence de Langues Classique et de Langues Anciennes: Pali, Sanskrit, General Linguistics, Comparative Religion.
- (vi) Licence de Langues Vivantes: English or French (or another western language), Hindi or Thai (or another eastern language), General linguistics, Comparative Religion.¹

In addition to the foregoing centres, there were Dhamma-Vinaya schools attached to the temples for both monks and laymen (after three years' study, the title *Dhamma Kosala* would be awarded); and three *Dhammadūta* colleges—two in Phnom Penh and one in Battambang—

1. For details of higher education in Cambodia, I am indebted to Huot Tath, *L'Enseignement du Bouddhisme des origines à nos jours* (Phnom Penh, 1962).

where the teaching was conducted by unpaid volunteers (mainly university students).

Few relevant literary works have appeared from Khmer authors in other than the Cambodian language. The *Série de Culture et Civilisation Khmères* was almost the sole exception to this rule. Initiated by the “Buddhist Institute” (under its Director, Leang Hap An) in 1962, this series of brochures, mainly in French, was subsequently continued under the auspices of the “Buddhist University”. Examples include:

no. 1 (1962) *L’Enseignement du Bouddhisme des origines à nos jours*—Huot Tath (Vajirappano, born 1891; the Head of the Mahānikāya since 1969 with the rank of Preah Bodhivaṃsa).

no. 2 *Initiation Pratique au Bouddhisme*—P.S. Dhammārāma.

no. 3 (? , 1962) *L’Organisation Bouddhique au Cambodge*—Chau-Seng.

no. 6 *Le Bouddhisme au Cambodge à l’Époque du Nikor Phnom Preah Pang Khatt* (Viriyapaṇḍito)

no. 7 (1970) *Biographie de Samdech Preah Sanghareach Chuon-Nath, supérieur de l’Ordre Mahānikāya*—Leang Hap An.

no. 9 (1970) *Le Bouddhisme au Cambodge Preah Pang Khatt* (Viriyapaṇḍito)

The “Biography of Chuan-Nath” (1883–1969) describes the life and achievements of one of the greatest Buddhist scholar-monks of this century. With this, the survey of Pali Buddhist studies in Cambodia may fittingly be concluded since all reports indicate the brutal elimination of Buddhism following the Communist accession to power in 1975.

Chuon-Nath entered the Sangha at an early age and was ordained as Bhikkhu Jotaññāṇo. He became a professor of the Pali High School in Phnom Penh in 1915 and its Joint-Director in 1930. At the same time he was appointed as a member of the Tipiṭaka Commission which edited the Pali Canon in Khmer script and translated it into the Khmer language. Thereafter, he was appointed as Professor of Pali, Sanskrit, Lao and Khmer at the High School (1935), its Director (1942), Head of Unnalom Wat (1944) and President of the Saṅgha Sabhā (1945). He successively held the following ranks: Preah Gru Sanghasattha (1912), Preah Sāsanasobhana (1931), Preah Buddhaghosācāriya (1940), Preah Bodhivaṃsa (1944), Preah Mahāsamedhādhipati (1948), Samdech (1950) and Samdech Preah Saṅghareach (1963). He is credited with

about twenty works in Khmer and Pali, including a grammar of Pali in two volumes, a Cambodian dictionary and even the words and music of the national anthem (composed in 1941). He was also conversant in French, English, Thai, and Vietnamese.

Appendix—Some Khmer Pali MSS.

Some Khmer Pali MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (The library of l'École Française contains N^{os} 1 to 18) are listed below.¹

- (1) *Mahāvessantara Aṭṭhakathā*, 203–210, 418, 420
- (2) *Ādikamma*, 619
- (3) *Suddhantaparivāsa*, 375, 376, 606
- (4) *Bahuṃsā (Bāhuṃsahassa)*, *Bahuṃsa-cintāmaṇiratana*, 557
- (5) *Paṭṭhamasambodhi*, 300–320
- (6) *Amatarasadhārā*, *Amatarasadhārānāgata-Buddha-*
vamsavaṇṇanā, *Amatarasadhārā-ṭikā*, 322, 323, 620
- (7) *Aṭṭhakathā-suttasaṅgaha*, 626
- (8) *Dasavatthu*, 344
- (9) *Dasapuñṇakiriyavatthu*, 404
- (10) *Sivijaya*, *Sivijayajātaka*, 328, 329
- (11) *Sīlajātaka*, 212, 213
- (12) *Tiṇṇapālakavatthu*, 404
- (13) *Vijādhara-jātaka*, 211
- (14) *Lokaneyya-Dhanañjaya*, 330–336
- (15) *Palipaṅcagati*, 346
- (16) *Suttajātakanidānānisamṣa*
- (17) *Sakkapabbaṃ*
- (18) *Mahārājapabbaṃ*
- (19) *Gāthālokaneyya*, 338
- (20) *Paṅcagatidīpaniyaṭṭhakathā*, 347
- (21) *Caturārakkhā*, 348
- (22) *Caturārakkhā Aṭṭhakathā*, 349
- (23) *Sāsanāyupakaraṇa*, 374
- (24) *Upāsakavinicchaya*, 380, 382
- (25) *Indasāva*, 383
- (26) *Mahābuddhagūṇa*, 385–387
- (27) *Vivāha*, 389
- (28) *Maṅgalavivāha*, 390

1. The numbers at the end of each title denote the reference in *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Sanscrits et Palis, II*, Paris, 1908.

- (29) *Maṅgala-aṭṭharasa-aṭṭhakathā*, 391
 (30) *Buddhaghosaniḍāna*, 392–394
 (31) *Trailokavinicchaya*, 395
 (32) *Trailokavinicchayakathā*, 396
 (33) *Bimbābhilāyāsutta*, 397
 (34) *Bimbābhilābhavaṇṇanā*, 398, 399
 (35) *Jambūdīpavaṇṇanā*, 402
 (36) *Ovādānusāsana*, 403
 (37) *Mahāvīpāka*, 405
 (38) *Mahāratanaḥimbavaṃsa*, 407
 (39) *Paramatthadīpanī*, 410
 (40) *Yassasassati*, 411
 (41) *Suddhakammajātaka-vaṇṇanā*, 412
 (42) *Mahā-jātaka*, 413
 (43) *Mahosatha-jātaka*, 414, 415
 (44) *Bhūridatta-jātaka*, 416
 (45) *Suvaṇṇasoma-jātaka*, 417
 (46) *Mahāvessantara-jātaka*, 418, 419

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CHAPTER 7

PALI LITERATURE IN CAMBODIA¹

The Khmer Empire, for which historians over the centuries searched, cradled the most brilliant cultured and advanced civilization of South-East Asia, and stretched from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Siam, including modern Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand.

The Khmer capital of Angkor was founded by Jayavarman II in 802 C.E. and reached the zenith of its development between the tenth and twelfth centuries, a period during which the temples to the gods of the Hindu trinity: Brahma, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, and later to the Buddha, were built. Cambodia had been subject to strong Indian religious and cultural influences from Fu-nan between the second and sixth centuries C.E. In 503 C.E. King Jayavarman of Fu-nan sent an embassy to China with valuable presents, including an image of the Buddha. An inscription by his son, Rudravarman, begins with an invocation to the Buddha and from this time onward the prevalence of Buddhism is proved by it, although a setback occurred in the seventh century when the epigraphic records indicate that Śaivism, not Buddhism, was the predominant religion of the country. This is borne out by the fact that very few kings of Cambodia of whom we possess any epigraphical records were followers of Buddhism. However, the Emperor Yaśovarman, who ruled at the end of the ninth century, established a large monastery called Sugatāśrama for the Buddhist monks and elaborate regulations were laid down for its smooth running. Sūryavarman I, in the eleventh century, was a Buddhist, because he held the posthumous title *Nirvāṇapada*, but his inscription on a temple in Prahkhan² begins with an invocation to Śiva in the first verse and to the Buddha in the second.

Several inscriptions on the temple known as Prasat Ta Keo³ in honour of Yogīśvara Paṇḍita, the guru of King Sūryavarman, begin by invoking Śiva and Viṣṇu and refer to offerings made to those gods. Jayavarman VII (1181–1201), perhaps the greatest king of Cambodia,

1. This article was first published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, Vol. 9, 1981.

2. R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953, p. 360.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 351 foll.

was a Buddhist and the Ta Prohm inscription, dated 1186, gives a detailed list of his magnificent donations to this Vihāra.¹ The merits of these wholesome deeds were transferred to the king's mother so that she might benefit from the power of the blessings of the Buddha.² In addition to the kings mentioned above, ministers like Kavīndrārimathana and Kīrtipaṇḍita both belonged to the tenth century and were ardent Buddhists. The latter claimed to have "lighted again the torch of the True Law ... which the evils of the world had extinguished". The form of Buddhism referred to is early Mahayana, but if we take the epigraphic data as a whole, it is clear that Buddhism never became a dominant religion until the time of Jayavarman VII. He was a devout Buddhist who received the posthumous title *Mahāparamasa-ugata* and who held a record for the founding of religious institutions.³

During the reign of King Śrīndravāmadeva in an inscription dated 1308 and written in Pali,⁴ reference is made to the Theravada form of Buddhism. The state of religion in Cambodia is described by Cheu Takun who visited the country in 1296 and recorded that Theravada Buddhism was in a flourishing state at this time. This position directly resulted from the influence of Siam that gradually transformed the Buddhism of Cambodia. Although the Mahayana continued as a powerful sect up to the end of the thirteenth century, the political dominance of the Siamese in Cambodia established the supremacy of the Theravada which remained the only religion of the people until the Vietnamese-backed invasion in 1975.

Cambodian Theravada Buddhism was sustained and influenced by Burma, Ceylon, and Siam and became inseparable from Pali literature. Although Buddhism had first been introduced to Indo-China in the fifth century, literary works in both Sanskrit and Pali did not penetrate into Cambodia until the twelfth century. The Khmer brought books and copied from their former subjects, the Siamese, who had already adopted Pali as their religious language. In addition to these works, indigenous scholars began to compose original treatises or produce local recensions of traditional Pali books. A large collection of such works and some of their translations are now preserved in Paris⁵ and my intention

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 469 foll.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

3. 439 erudite paṇḍits were appointed and 970 scholars studied under them. The food and other necessities of life were supplied for educational and similar institutions. *Ibid.*, pp. 460 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 533.

is to elucidate some of them in this paper. Without precise details of their provenance, however, it is impossible to ascribe these works to wholly Khmer authors. A majority of them may well have been composed in Siam, but we must await more ample information to enable any doubts regarding their origins to be resolved.

Biography

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* describes the life of the Buddha in considerable detail from the time of hermit Sumedha when he received the first “prediction” (*vyākaraṇa*) from the Buddha Dīpaṅkara until his last birth as Prince Siddhattha when he attained to enlightenment (*sambodhi*), carried on his preaching ministry for 45 years and entered *parinibbāna* at the age of 80. The work has been divided into fourteen chapters beginning with the *Tusitavagga* which describes how the Bodhisatta was invited to take birth in the human world when he was in the Tusita (“contented”) heaven, and ends with the *Parinibbānakathā*, which describes how the Exalted One attained to *parinibbāna*. It has further explained how the Elder Upagupta obtained release from the spell of Māra.

The style is weak and the materials have been borrowed from the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha nikāya. The authorship has been ascribed to a thera named Suvannaramsi, although the text was substantially revised by the seventh Saṅgharāja of Siam, Phra Paramānujī Jinoros (d. 1853). An alternative title is *Paṭhamābhisambodhivithārakathā*.

The *Vivādhamāṅgala*, also called *Maṅgalavivāha* or *Vivāhamāṅgala*, though a work in itself, appears as the first chapter of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*. It opens with the life of the Buddha with special reference to the wedding of Prince Siddhattha and Princess Yasodharā. Then follows a copious description of the First Council (*saṅgāyanā*) which was held at Rājagaha immediately after the Buddha’s demise, for the settlement of Dhamma and Vinaya. The last section deals with an apocryphal story of two kings, Janādhipati and Sīhatanu by name, who accompanied their queens on a pleasure-trip to the great kingdom of

5. e.g. in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the library of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient, Paris, where I consulted the following catalogues: A Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits en Sanscrits et Palis*, II Paris, 1908; Au Chieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer*, 1953.

Devasaṅkara. The author's name has been given at the end as Mahāsenā.

The *Sampiṇḍita-Mahānidāna*,¹ which is known in Sri Lanka as *Mahāsampiṇḍitanidāna*, deals with the inception in the remote past (*dūrenidāna*), the inception in the near past (*avidūrenidāna*), and the inception in the present (*santikenidāna*) of the life of the Buddha. This work is based on the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. The biography continues until the *Mahāparinibbāna*, followed by an account of the distribution of the Buddha's relics. The author then describes how the Arahant Mahākassapa passed away at the age of 120 and how his body will remain lying in the Kukkuṭasampāta mountain until its cremation at the time of the future Buddha Metteyya. This story is not extant anywhere else in Theravada literature.²

The *Bimbābhilāyasutta* (*Bimbābhilābhavaṇṇanā*) relates the story of Bimbādevī,³ the consort of Prince Siddhattha. It says that the Buddha paid a first visit to Kapilavatthu, mainly for the purpose of discoursing with Bimbādevī on the dangers of harbouring selfish desire (*lobha*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). It further tells how Prince Siddhattha was so loving to Princess Bimbādevī that he renounced his palace in order to search for the truth, which was regarded as the true gift for her. Having found it, he presented it to her (in the form of this "sutta") through which she finally experienced supramundane happiness.

The *Amatarasadhārā*⁴ (Bearing the Stream of Nectar, i.e., Nibbāna) is a *ṭikā* on Thera Kassapa's *Anāgatavaṃsa*,⁵ a poem of about 150 stanzas giving an account of the future Buddha Metteyya.⁶ The *Gandhavaṃsa* (Gv 67; 72.) mentions an Upatissa, a monk from Ceylon, as the author of the *Anāgatavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*; Malalasekera has identi-

1. Ven. Dr. H. Nāṇāvāsa of Sri Lanka is in the course of editing this text for the PTS.
2. See *The Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattuppat-tikathā* (= Dasab), ed. and tr. H. Saddhātissa, London, PTS, 1975, pp. 43–45.
3. Bimbādevī: J-a II 392 ff.; Sv 422. She was also called by descriptive epithets which were regarded as her names: Rāhulamātā (Vin I 82); Bhaddakaccānā (Bv xxvi. 15; Mhv II 24); Yasodharā (BvA 245, Divy 253); Bimbāsundarī (J-a VI 478), etc. See DPPN.
4. In Thailand this is called *Amatadhārānāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*. An alternative title is *Amatarasadhārānāgata-Buddhavaṃsa-vaṇṇanā*.
5. Kassapa was a poet who lived in the Cola country according to the *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* (Vol. V 204). The *Mohavicchedanī*, *Vimaticchedanī* and *Bud-dhavaṃsa* (which is different from the canonical work with the same name) have been ascribed to him. According to the Burmese tradition, he was a native of Ceylon. See *JPTS*, 1910, p. 126, and *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 76, note 2.
6. For details of the Metteyya cult, see Dasab 27–44.

fied this Upatissa with the author of the *Bodhivaṃsa*¹ until more evidence is forthcoming.² The colophon of the *Amatasadhārā* states: "The *Amatarasadhārā*, the commentary on the *Anāgata-Buddhavaṃsa* written by Upatissa, is ended."³ This statement leads us to the conclusion that the author of this work is definitely the author of the *Bodhivaṃsa*, which has been assigned to the tenth century.⁴ Possibly what we have here is a different version of the same *Anāgata-vaṃsaṭṭhakathā* prepared in Cambodia under the title of *Amatarasadhārā* based on Upatissa's commentary.

The *Mahāratanaḥimbavaṃsa* (Epoch of the Great Jewel Image) begins with a short biography of the *thera* Nāgasena who was born 500 years after the Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāna*.⁵ It is disclosed in this history that a Cambodian emerald (*marakata*) Buddha image (at present in Thailand)⁶ was made by Nāgasena, a celebrated Buddhist teacher whose famous discussion with the Greek king Menandros (Milinda) is recorded in the *Milindapañha*. This chronicle states that the image was first brought to Ayodhya, thence to the city of Pakar, from there to the city of Jirāya or Jamrāya, and then eventually taken to the city of Puriya or Puñjaya. The work ends with Nāgasena's prediction regarding the *marakata* Buddha image.

Works on Vinaya

The *Ādikamma*⁷ (Original Offences), the provenance and authorship of which are unknown, is concerned with the gravest offences (*garukāpatti*) of the *pārājikās*⁸ beginning with the story of the monk Sudinna. Duly ordained, Sudinna returned to his former wife and, in

1. G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London, RAS, 1928, repr. MD Gunasena & Co., Colombo, 1958, pp. 143, 160.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

3. *Iti Upatissattherena racitā Amatarasadhārānāgata-Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā*.

4. *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 143.

5. It is said in the *Milindapañha* but nowhere else in Pali literature, that the Buddha on his death-bed prophesied that the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena would take place about 500 years after his *parinibbāna*, Mil p. 3.

6. Cf. *Jinakālamālipakaraṇa*, pp. 105 ff.

7. Over 50 years ago (circa 1930) the *Ādikamma* was translated into Khmer and published by the Khmer Tipiṭaka Translation Committee. See *Khmer Vinaya-piṭaka*, Vols. I and II. In Thailand this is called *Ādikamma Pali*.

8. This offence causes whoever commits it to fall from the state of a bhikkhu by making him defeated, the penalty being expulsion from the Sangha. For details see BD I pp. xxv ff.

order to fulfil her eagerness to procure a child for their inheritance, at her request he had intimate relations with her. In due course a son was born called Bijaka. Thus Sudinna committed this *pārājika* offence for the first time in the Sangha. Sudinna, however, was not considered to be guilty of the offence because he was an *ādikammika*.¹ The topic of one of the dilemmas in the *Milindapañha* is the Buddha's censure of Sudinna (Mil 170 ff.). The *Ādikamma* deals extensively with this first and foremost Vinaya rule and also with other stories related to the subject.

The *Catupārisuddhasīla* is a short work which gives an exposition of the four purificatory virtues: i. those of the Pātimokkha² restraint (*pātimokkhasīla*); ii. restraint of sense faculties (*indriyasamvarasīla*); iii. purification of livelihood (*ājīvapārisuddhisīla*); and iv. those concerning the requisites (*paccayasannissitasīla*). The author has taken his materials mainly from the *Sīlaniddesa* of the *Visuddhimagga* (Vism 1–58.).

The *Mahāvīpāka* begins with an explanation of the four purificatory virtues (*catupārisuddhisīla*) one by one, and ends with an interpretation of the monastic rules (*āpattis*) illustrated in the Pātimokkha. The title of the book was so called because banishment from the monastery by its supporters would be another grave consequence of transgressing the rules.

The *Ovādānusāsana* deals with basic advice and admonitions for newly-ordained novices (*sāmaṇeras*) and bhikkhus as a *memoria technica* of the Vinaya. It vividly explains how to use the necessary requisites (*paccaya*), such as robes, begging bowl, etc., and how to perform the *Kaṭhina* ceremony. In the colophon it is said that this was written at the request of Phra Vanarat, the Saṅgharāja of Siam (fl. 1720). Although the author is not known he must have been a member of the Order well-versed in the Vinaya-ṭīka.

The *Suddhantaparivāsa*³ is a concise manual composed by a monk presumably well-versed in the Vinaya-ṭīka for the benefit of the

1. Vin III 11–21; See Vin-a 270. *Ādikammika*: the original doer of the offence of defeat (*pārājikāpatti*), who was instrumental in causing the Buddha to enjoin this rule. As such he was not guilty of the *pārājikā* of the act of intercourse (*methunadhamma*).
2. Rules of the Community of monks. The Suttavibhaṅga contains 227 rules for bhikkhus and a further 84 rules for bhikkhunīs. They are known as the “Two Codes” (*dve mātikā*) or the Pātimokkha. The Pātimokkha is recited by bhikkhus on Uposatha days of the full and new-moon.
3. Translated into Cambodian by Prah Dhammalikkhita Mung-Ses. In Thailand this work has been incorporated into the *Vuṭṭhānavidhi* as a separate section.

monk who remembered neither the number of days he had concealed the *saṅghādisesa*¹ nor the number of *saṅghādisesas* he had committed, but wished to purify (*suddha*) himself by undergoing probation (*parivāsa*)² and rehabilitation (*mānatta*).³ The text formulates the ecclesiastical “acts” necessary for the rehabilitation of the monk, and ends with the following aspiration: “In case I have, today, wronged in aught through eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, speech or mind, I will never do it again. May all offences be vanquished.”

The *Sāsanāyuppakaraṇa* deals with the disciplinary code (Vinaya) of monks and the duration of the Buddha’s dispensation (*sāsana*). It consists of two parts, the first written in Pali, and the second having the same text with a literal paraphrase⁴ in Burmese. It also explains the method of dividing property: when the Sangha receives a field, estate, bequest or garden, it should be divided into three portions, one for the Sangha, one for the head of the Sangha and one for the *cetiya*.

The *Saṅgītikathā* throws light on the first Council (*Saṅgāyanā*) held near the Sattapaṇṇi Cave in Rājagaha immediately after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. It met under the presidency of Mahākassapa, with the full patronage of King Ajātasattu. A detailed description is given in the book as to how five hundred monks, competent in the Dhamma and Vinaya, were selected for the Council. The work ends with the following maxim: “So long as Vinaya remains, the Sāsana will last.”

Doctrinal Works

The *Bojjhaṅgapāṭhabhāvanā*, which deals with the seven factors of enlightenment, is based on the Mahākassapabojjhaṅga Sutta.⁵ It is greatly influenced by the commentary on the *Sārattha-samuccaya*

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1. The second grade offence in order of gravity. There are altogether thirteen *saṅghādisesas*. The infliction of penalties such as *parivāsa* and *mānatta* and revocation (*abbhāna*) requires the Sangha both in the beginning (*ādi*) and the end (*sesa*) to administer the stages of penalty and ultimately rehabilitation. Hence it is called *saṅghādisesa*.
 2. In the case where a monk conceals the offence of *saṅghādisesa* for some time, he is required to undergo probation (*parivāsa*) for the period he has concealed it in addition to six nights of *mānatta*.
 3. For rehabilitation, the monk who commits an offence of *saṅghādisesa* should inform the Sangha and undergo a penance which debars him from enjoying the usual privileges of a monk for a period of six nights. This penance is called *mānatta*.
 4. This kind of verbatim translation is called *sanne* in Sinhalese and *nissaya* in Burmese.

which in turn is a commentary on the *Catubhāṇavāra*.¹ After elucidating the seven factors the Cullahatthipadopama Sutta (M I 175, Sutta no. 27.) is quoted. The text ends with a narrative describing how Emperor Asoka listened to the Buddha's teaching as discoursed by sāmaṇera Nigrodha and how, as a consequence, he became a Buddhist.²

The *Caturārakkhā*³ is a short Pali poem of twenty-nine stanzas describing those meditational exercises which are known as the four protections, as the title precisely denotes: i. the recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*); ii. loving-kindness (*mettā*); iii. the impurities of the body (*asubha*); iv. mindfulness of death (*maraṇānussati*).⁴ Although these stanzas, along with some other suttas, are recited daily by monks in Sri Lanka, neither the author of the poem nor its date is known. In Cambodia and Thailand, however, and although unsubstantiated, it has been attributed to Buddhaghosācariya, the celebrated commentator on the Pali Canon, who lived in the fifth century C.E. Undoubtedly, the author was a member of the Order—probably a Sinhalese monk well-versed in the Piṭakas. The stanzas show a great depth of religious and metaphysical learning. They also constitute an earnest exhortation to monks, encouraging them to lead a pious and contemplative life. Their setting is exquisite and the style of the poem is clear. I give below the first couple of verses which exemplify the style and subject-matter of the poem:

*Buddhānussati mettā ca asubhaṃ maraṇassati,
iti imā caturārakkhā bhikkhu bhāveyya sīlavā.
Anantavitthāraguṇaṃ guṇato "nuttaraṃ munim
bhāveyya buddhimā bhikkhu Buddhānussatim ādito.*

The *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* is a short commentary on the the *Caturārakkhā*, possible originating in Cambodia. The author commences by paying homage to the Buddha with four verses and states

5. S V 79 ff. This is called *Mahākassapatherabojjhaṅga* in the *Catubhāṇavāra* which is known in Sri Lanka as *Parittapothaka* or *Piruvānāpota*, ed. Kotmalē Dhammānanda, Colombo, 1930, pp. 30 ff.

1. Ed. Doranāgoda Nāpasena, Colombo, 1929.

2. See Mhv V 37–172; Dīp. VI 34 ff.; VII 12, 31; Vin-a 45 ff.

3. This is given in the anthology called *Katikāvata saha Baṇadāhampota*, ed. by Maḍugalle Sidhattha, Kandy, 1921, reprinted Colombo, MD Gunasena, 1959, pp. 27–29.

4. In Sinhalese these are called *Satarakamaṭṭahan*, i.e. four meditation subjects (*kammaṭṭhāna*). For a detailed study see Vism ch. VII., *Buddhānussati*; ch. IX, *Mettā*; ch. VI *Asubha*; ch. VIII *Maraṇānussati*.

that he will explain the four protections (*caturārakkhā*) in brief which should be listened to attentively by good people. At the conclusion of the explanation, the author aspires thus: "By the diligent practice of these four protections one may renounce the world and embark on fulfilling the perfections (*pāramitā*)." An exposition of the ten perfections immediately follows. The style and language are not at all elegant and the authorship of the work has been attributed to Ñāṇamaṅgala.

In the *Dasapuññakiriyavatthu* the author, so far unidentified, presents the tenfold group of meritorious deeds (*dasakusalakamma*). This group is explained under ten headings as follows: i. charity (*dāna*); ii. morality (*sīla*); iii. mental culture (*bhāvanā*); iv. reverence (*apacāyana*); v. service (*veyyāvacca*); vi. transference of merit (*pattidāna*); vii. rejoicing in others' merits (*anumodanā*); viii. listening to the doctrine (*dhammasavaṇa*); ix. teaching the doctrine (*dhamma-desanā*); x. straightening one's views (*diṭṭhijjukamma*).¹

The *Dasavatthu*² is a long metrical work divided into ten sections dealing with the good results (*ānisaṃsa*) of generously giving the following ten things: i. food (*anna*); ii. drink (*pāna*); iii. clothes (*vattha*); iv. seats and vehicles (*yāna*); v. garlands and flowers (*mālā*); vi. unguents (*vilepana*); vii. perfumed smoke (*dhūpagandha*); viii. beds (*sayana*); ix. residences (*āvāsa*); x. lights (*padīpa*). The unknown author opens the work by saluting the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha with three elegant verses, of which the first runs as follows: "I salute the Buddha of infinite knowledge who is supreme in the world and who attained complete enlightenment, defeating Māra with his great army."³ This text sheds considerable light on the merits of practising generosity (*dāna*), based on the Nikāyas and is illustrated with a number of stories from the commentaries.

The *Ānisaṃsa*⁴ is a short work which illustrates the efficacy of chanting *paritta*, especially the Maṅgala Sutta, and describes Mahā-moggallāna's visits to the Avīci Hell and the Devalokas by means of his miraculous powers, the results of chanting, preaching and practising

1. For a similar study of these ten see the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, ed. H. Saddhatissa, London, PTS, 1965, pp. 12–15, 285–310.

2. Briefly mentioned in the Gv., another Burmese text, the *Piṭakatthamaing*, states that this work was composed in Ceylon by the 15th century. See *Le Dasavatthupparāṇa*, ed. and tr. by J. Ver Eecke, Paris, Publ. de l'EFEO, vol. CVIII 1976. Notwithstanding the foregoing, this text is still claimed to be of Khmer or Siamese origin in certain quarters.

3. *Yo sammisīno varabodhimūle/Mārassa senaṃ mahatiṃ vijeyya/Sambodhim āgañchi anantañño/Lokuttamo taṃ paṇamāmi Buddhāṃ.*

the Dhamma, the results of wholesome and unwholesome deeds. It ends with an interpretation of the eight miseries of life (*aṭṭha saṃvejanīyavatthu*).¹

The *Indasāva*² is a kind of short *dhāraṇī*³ which consists of a number of lines beginning with *Indasāva*. It concludes with an explanation of the ten perfections (*dasapāramitā*).

The *Kāyanagara*, sometimes called *Kāyanagara Sutta*, is a treatise dealing with some teachings of the Buddha. To begin with, the author compares the body to a city, hence the title *Kāyanagara* (City of the Body). The threefold training (*tividhasikkhā*); higher virtue (*adhisīla*), higher consciousness (*adhicitta*), higher understanding (*adhipaññā*) are also set forth together with mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*), the movement of the wind in the body, such as pain in the limbs, pain in the stomach, pain in the back etc. After explaining the defilements (*kilesas*), the author next shows how to overcome them by practising charity (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*) and meditation (*bhāvanā*). The defilements are compared to formidable warriors and the nineteen “beautiful-common” mental states (*sobhanasādhāraṇa*) to wise men. The text concludes with an explanation of mind (*citta*) according to the Abhidhamma.

The *Mahābuddhagaṇa* is a short work in praise of nine great virtues of the Buddha.⁴ The second part is devoted to an exposition of the ten perfections (*dasapāramitā*).

The first part of the text entitled *Mahākappalokasaṅṭhānapanāñatti* explains that the Exalted One expounded the impermanence (*anicca*) of conditioned things in the world while he was dwelling in a pavilion in the Mango Grove near the city of Vesāli. The second part deals with the threefold division of the sphere of the Buddha (*Buddhakkhetta*).⁵

4. According to J. Ver Eecke, *op. cit.*, this is a *type* of popular Buddhist literature peculiar to Sri Lanka and SE. Asia. For detailed examples of “advantages” accruing to meritorious deeds, see entry in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, fasc. 4, Colombo, Govt. of Ceylon, 1965, pp. 67–78, where details of the *Ānisaṃsa Sutta* and (two) *vaggas* from the *Aṅguttaranikāya* are also given. The *Suttaṅgātakanidānānisaṃsa*, an anthology of such literature, is of unknown authorship.

1. i. Birth; ii. old age; iii. disease; iv. death; v. misery of the *apāyas*; vi. misery caused by *samsāra* in the past; vii. misery in the present and in the future stages; viii. search for food. *cf.* Mhv I 4; 23; 62; Pv-a 1; 22; 32; 39; 76.

2. *Sāva* means a letter, syllable or historic document in Cambodian.

3. A mnemonic formula composed of the salient syllables of a recited *sutta* enabling the devotee to remember its essence (from *dharati* “to bear in mind,” “to know by heart”).

4. M I 37; A III 285. For details see *Vism* ch. VII.

The *Maṅgala-aṭṭhatthasāra-aṭṭhakathā* is a short commentary on the Lakkhaṇa Sutta of the Dīghanikāya which deals with the thirty-two marks on the body of the superman which were possessed by the Buddha. Following this the author gives an exposition of the seven noble treasures (*sattāriyadhāna*).¹ The third section of the book deals with the seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjhaṅga*).² In the colophon the author calls himself a king, *Buddhapādamaṅgalamahādeva* by name, who wrote it with the aspiration to become a Buddha.³ At the end, the name of the scribe of the present manuscript is given as Mahāsuvanna.

The *Pañcatidīpanī*,⁴ also known as *Pālīpañcagati*, is a description, with relevant quotations from the Tipiṭaka, of the five destinies (*pañcagati*) of sentient beings after death: i. purgatory (*niraya*); ii. animal kingdom (*tiracchānayoṇi*); iii. ghost realm (*pettivisaya*); iv. human world (*manussaloka*); v. heavenly world (*devaloka*).⁵ It consists of five chapters (*khaṇḍas*), such as *nirayakhaṇḍa*, etc. Neither the date of composition nor the author's name is given.

The *Pañcatidīpaniyaṭṭhakathā*, also known as the *Pañcagati-ṭīkā*, is a commentary on the *Pañcatidīpanī* which gives a vivid account of the five destinies. The work ends with an explanation of wholesome (*kusala*) and unwholesome (*akusala*) deeds.

The *Tiṇṇakavatthu*, also called *Tiṇṇapālakavatthu*, deals with the "privileges" (*ānisaṃsa*) bestowed on the giver of *kaṭhina*, which is a special robe (*cīvara*) offered to a monk in an ecclesiastical ceremony held at the end of the rainy season (*vassāvāsa*). This offering is regarded as a supremely meritorious deed (*puñṇakamma*). The

5. Threefold division: i. the sphere extending to 10,000 world-systems (*cakkavāla*) which quakes at the moments of conception, birth, enlightenment, first sermon and *parinibbāna* of the Buddha is called the realm of origin (*jāṅkikhetta*); ii. the region extending to a billion world-spheres where the power of the Buddha and his discourses, specially the *paritta-suttas*, prevails is called the realm of influence (*āṇākkhetta*); and iii. the Buddha's mass of sublime teaching which pervades his omniscience (*sabbāññutañāṇa*) is called the realm of object (*visayakkhetta*).

1. i. Confidence (*saddhā*); ii. morality (*sīla*); iii. shame (*hiri*); iv. fear of evil consequences (*ottappa*); v. learning (*suta*); vi. Charity (*cāga*); vii. wisdom (*paññā*). See A IV 4–5; 6 ff..

2. i. Mindfulness (*sati*); ii. investigation of phenomena (*dhammavicaya*) iii. energy (*virīya*); iv. joy (*pīti*); v. calm (*passaddhi*); vi. concentration (*samādhi*); vii. equanimity (*upekkhā*). A IV 148; S V 71 ff.; 86.

3. Idam Buddhapādamaṅgalamahādevaṛajena likhitam Buddhabhāvam patthentena.

4. Ed. L. Feer, *JPTS*, 1884, pp. 152 ff.

5. See M I 73; D III 234; A IV 459; Nidd II 550; cf. S V 474–477; Vism 552.

“privileges” are illustrated with the story of a devotee named Tiṇṇaka who was a weaver at the time of the Buddha Kassapa and who was fortunate enough to be able to offer a *kaṭhina-cīvara* to the Buddha whenever he wished. Hence the work is called *Tiṇṇakavatthu*, and ends thus: *Kaṭhinānisamsakathā niṭṭhitā*.

The *Trailokaviniścaya* is now extant in Khmer as well as Thai. However it is conjectured by some scholars that it is a translation of an original work entitled *Tilokavinicchaya* which was composed in Pali by pandits called Phraya, Prijā and others in 1790 at the command of Rāma I of Siam. It opens with a description of Buddha’s virtues, his teaching and the Order of monks. Then follows a cosmic interpretation of the three worlds: the world of form (*rūpaloka*) or earth (*bhūmiloka*), the world of beings (*sattaloka*) and the world of space (*ākāsaloka*). The author then describes the havoc in the world (*lokavināsa*) resulting from the gradual appearance of seven subsequent suns at the end of the aeon (*kappa*). This section is presumably based on the Sattasuriya Sutta.¹ At the end of the work, the results (*vipāka*) of good and bad *kammas* are given.

The *Yasasassatha* opens with a *dhāraṇī* including syllables such as *paṭhamam dānapāramim, dutiyam silapāramim* and so on, referring to the ten perfections. This text concludes with an explanation of the Three Refuges (*tisaraṇa*).

The *Cullaṭṭikā-Visuddhimagga* is an explanatory annotation of difficult words and passages in Buddhaghosa’s encyclopaedic work, the *Visuddhimagga*. In Thailand, this ṭṭikā is called *Sanḅkhepatthajotanī-Visuddhimagga-Cūlaṭṭikā*, and the title of this work is *Sanḅkhepatthajotanī* according to the following verse, which comes at the beginning of the colophon:

*Yāyam Visuddhimaggassa āraddhā atthavaṇṇanā
ettāvataṭṭā gatā niṭṭham sā Sanḅkhepatthajotanī.*

The text ends with a line which also refers to the title, as follows: *Iti Sanḅkhepatthajotanī Visuddhimaggaṭṭikā samattā*. Here the unknown author says: “Just as I have accomplished this work at the request made by fellow-monks, may all beings fulfil aspirations in their minds!”

The *Samāsarūpadīpanī*, also known as *Yojanāsamāsa*, is a grammar dealing with nominal compounds (*samāsa*).

1. This sutta is also called Sattasuriyuggamana Sutta, A IV 100 ff.

Jātaka Literature

The Jātaka stories from the Khuddakanikāya of the Pali Canon were very popular in Cambodia after the establishment of the *Theravada Sāsana*. Some of them were presented in dramatic form, thereby impressing upon the people the importance of a moral life and the exemplary career of the Bodhisatta in his previous births, while offering entertainment by means of music and dancing. Examples of such jātakas included the Bhūridatta (no. 543), Mahosadha (or Mahā-Ummaga, no. 546) and Vessantara (no. 547). Some monks even wrote commentaries in order to elucidate the original stories, one example having been preserved in the form of the *Mahāveśantara-aṭṭhakathā*.¹

A collection of fifty apocryphal jātakas called *Paṇṇāsajātaka*,² composed in Pali in northern Siam (15th and 16th centuries), was published with a Cambodian translation (Phnom Penh 1953). The original text of the first twenty-five stories was subsequently printed by the Siam Society (five vols, 1952–62), which also produced parallel booklets containing the Cambodian translation.³ Apart from these, a number of popular jātakas were also composed in Siam, Laos or Cambodia, e.g. *Silajātaka* (= *Silavimamsaka*~ or *Silavanāga*~), *Suddhakamma*~ and the *Vijādhara*~ (or *Vijjādhamma*~) *jātaka*.

The *Dhanañjayajātaka* describes the former life of the Bodhisatta when he was a king called Dhanañjaya, a tale which also occurs in the Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka (Jā no. 545.). On the basis of this prose work, a Pali poem in ten chapters has been composed entitled the *Gāthālokaneyya*. It begins with the chapter called “Entering the city” (*nagarapavesakhaṇḍa*) and ends with a chapter on the “twelve questions” (*dvādasapañhakhaṇḍa*). The last chapter contains a copious description of the norm of kingship, usually given as a set of ten undertakings (*dasarājadhamma*); i. generosity (*dāna*); ii. morality (*sīla*); iii. liberality (*pariccāga*); iv. straightforwardness (*ajjava*); v. gentleness (*maddava*); vi. self-restraint (*tapa*); vii. non-anger (*akkodha*); viii. non-violence (*avihiṃsā*); ix. patience (*khanti*); and x. non-aggression (*avirodhitā*).⁴

1. A. Cabaton, *op. cit.*

2. See Chapter Two, note 2, p. 30.

3. Letter from Dorothy H. Fickle in *Buddhist Text Information*, (Inst. for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York), no. 4 March 1978, p. 9.

4. Cf. J-a I 260; 399; II 400; III 320; V 119; 378; A I 159; II 33; III 108; Vin III 89 *passim*. Another set of three mentioned at J-a V 112.

The *Mahāvessantara-aṭṭhakathā* (or *Mahāvessantara-Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*) is a commentary on the Vessantara Jātaka (Jā no. 545), the final and most popular jātika in the canonical collection. Dated 1351, the commentary follows the original thirteen sections, beginning with the *Dasavaragāthā*, and was used when preaching sermons. Chapters ten and eleven, *Sakkapabbaṃ* and *Mahārājapabbaṃ*, were often employed as separate texts.

The *Sivijayajātaka* is a biography of King Sivijaya, divided into fifteen chapters, which comprise a certain number of questions dealing with the “perfection of charity” (*dānapāramitā*). The first chapter tells of the search for a wife (*dārapariyesana*) and shows Sivijaya’s exemplary life. This work was written either at the latter end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth. It seems that in the eighteenth century an abridged version was written as a drama by some foreign missionaries.¹ At the close of the work there is mention of the *devadhamma*,² whilst it ends with the following words: *Sivijayanātakam niṭṭhitam*.

The *Mahājambupatisarājā*, also called *Jambupati Sutta* in Thailand,³ is an apocryphal story about a king named Jambupati. Its gist is as follows: Once the Exalted One was dwelling in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha. Then there was a king called Jambupati. At the time of his birth a golden pillar eighteen hands high arose. On the day when he was taken out of the chamber where he was born pots of treasures arose from the earth. One day he went with his royal retinue to the Buddha and, by listening to his discourse, all of them attained to the four paths and fruitions, and the members of his army who were guarding the palace learnt of the five powers (*pañcabala*)⁴ and followed them.

A manuscript of the *Milinda-tīkā*,⁵ also known as the *Madhurathapakāsini*, was acquired by the Danish scholar, Poul Tuxen, during his visit to Thailand in 1922–24 and subsequently deposited in the

1. According to another source, however, the Cambodian version, *Lboek Srivijaya*, is attributed to a writer named Srī (1858).

2. Shame (*hiri*) and fear (*ottappa*) are the divine nature. See *Devadhamma Jātaka*, Jā I 126 ff. (no. 6); C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Stories of the Buddha*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1929, p. 8: “Those who are modest and discreet/ On things that are pure intent/ The holy men, the lovely men./ These the world calls divine”. For “Divine natured” (*devadhammiko*), see A III 277.

3. Possibly related to the *Jambudīpavaṇṇanā*.

4. i. Confidence born of knowledge (*saddhā*); ii. energy (*virīya*); iii. mindfulness (*sati*); iv. concentration (*samādhi*); v. wisdom (*paññā*).

5. Ed. P.S. Jaini PTS 1961.

Royal Library, Copenhagen. Of the 188 leaves in Khmer script, only 46 actually comment upon the post-canonical text, *Milindapañha*. The remaining leaves concentrate on the jātakas and have no special value. That section referring directly to the *Milindapañha*, however, resolves a number of problems concerning canonical sources utilized by the unknown compiler of the latter and, significantly, is the only Pali work to enumerate the 80 minor marks of the Buddha apart from the *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā*.¹ The author is mentioned as being Mahāṭīpīṭaka Cūlābhayathera. The place and date of composition are difficult to determine but, from internal evidence, it might just possibly have been written in Ceylon in either 1250 or 1328. In view of a specific location being mentioned, i.e. Bingaraṭṭha, identified with Chiangmai, it is more likely to have been composed there, in 1474, under the influence of the *Sīhaḷasāsana*. What does remain in doubt is whether the author was Cambodian or Siamese since the latter would have used Khmer script at the time.

Devotional Texts

Apart from the traditional collection,² there is a different kind of “book of protection” (*paritta*)³ intended to be recited for the purpose of obtaining protection from all misfortunes and dangers. It contains a collection of apocryphal suttas such as *Mahākumāsān-phalaparitta*, *Mahācakkavālaparitta*, *Soḷasamaṅgalaparitta* and so on, composed by teachers of old in Cambodia and neighbouring countries. The work comes to an end with a *dhāraṇī* invoking the names of certain deities.

The *Bāhuṃsa*, *Bāhuṃsa-cintāmaṇiratana* or *Bāhuṃ-ṭīkā* is an invocatory work in ten chapters: i. Māra; ii. Yakkha Aḷavaka; iii. Nālāgiri Elephant; iv. Aṅgulimāla Thera; v. Ciñcā; vi. Sundarī; vii. Saccaka; viii. Nandopananda; ix. Brahmanimantanika; x. Conclusion.

Possibly connected with the foregoing is the *Bāhuṃsahassa*, the first word of the first stanza among eight collectively entitled *Buddha-*

1. See *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 110–12.

2. This is an anthology of twenty suttas from the Suttaṭīpaka known as *CatubhāṇavāraPali* by the teachers of old. It is known to Sinhalese Buddhists as the *Pirit Pota*, Book of Protection, ed. Kotmalē Dhammānanda, Colombo, Mahābodhi Press, 1950; tr. Piyadassi Thera, Kandy, BPS, 1975.

3. This has been listed under the title of *Choix de Paritta*, see Au Chieng, *op. cit.*

jayamaṅgala. This describes the Bodhisatta sitting on the jewelled seat (*ratanaṭṭhāṅka*) under the Bodhi tree where he defeated Māra.

The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahādibbamanta*¹ was located by P.S. Jaini in the National Museum, Bangkok in 1961, and it is worth recalling that this text is no longer used in either Cambodia or Thailand. Consisting of 108 verses on 48 folios, all in Khmer script, it is undated with no mention of author or scribe. Its title is indicated only once in the colophon whilst *dibbamanta* occurs in the text on only a single occasion. The language is corrupt with the addition of unusual spellings, Sanskrit and hybrid words. The metre is *anuṣṭubh* with a single verse in *upajāti*. The verses are divided into the following themes: 1–4: salutations to the Triple Gem; 5–9: proclaiming victory to arahants, paccakabuddhas and (named) gods including the four Guardians of the Quarters; 10–13: glorification of the Buddha's 108 auspicious marks; 14–17: glorification of the ten perfections and the Buddha's victory under the Bodhi tree; 18–20: description of a *maṅḍala* consisting of the Buddha and eight chief disciples; 21–26: the same but comprising ten Buddhas; 27–33: the *Candaparitta*; 34–37: the *Suriyaparitta*; 38–39: a mantra made up of the words *hulu hulu hulu svāhā*; 40–52: enumeration of the nine planets (*grahas*), twelve Indian months (*māsas*), twelve animals indicating the Chinese twelve-year cycle (*nakṣatras*), twenty-seven constellations (*nakṣatras*) and the twelve signs of the zodiac (*rāśis*)—the only complete list to appear in a Pali text; 53–55: invocation to eight *devīs* occupying the eight points of the universe; 56–62: a prayer for the rain of wealth that benefitted Jotika, Meṅḍaka, Dhanañjaya, Uggata, Jaṭila, Cittaka and Mandhātu (who were renowned for their wealth and merit); 63–77: miscellanea; 78–89: invocation to certain gods (including Hara, Harihara and Rāma); 90–98: description of the efficacy of the *dibbamanta* resulting from its recitation, particularly when marching into battle or in counteracting the enemy's magical devices; 99–108: concluding valedictory verses.

The Cambodian origin of this text can be inferred from such facts as the popularity of the cult of Harihara in Cambodia prior to the introduction of Buddhism; the similar popularity of Dharaṇī (Earth Goddess), current only in Cambodia and Siam, in the former of which she was known as Phra Thorni and was often depicted on Buddhist sculpture—

1. See P.S. Jaini "Mahādibbamanta: a Paritta manuscript from Cambodia," *BSOAS*, 28, 1965, pp. 61 ff.

this is the only Pali text to refer not only to her but also to Venateyya (Garuḍa) whose cult was particularly important in imperial Angkor; the reference to the Chinese twelve-year cycle, the earliest evidence of which practice is found in a Khmer inscription by Sūryavarman I (1039) and which was subsequently adopted by the Siamese (where the earliest evidence is found in an inscription of 1183, again in Khmer). The text may be ascribed to the late mediaeval period in view of the incorporation of six verses (17, 21–23 and 107–108) discovered in a collection of non-canonical *paritta* texts popular in Burma and Ceylon.¹

Further research needs to be undertaken before we can have a complete picture of the Buddhist literature of Indo-China. In this connection it is worth recalling the meagre researches that have been made by French nationals, virtually the only scholars to have taken any interest in classical Khmer studies. The “Résident Supérieur” in Cambodia, Adhémard Leclère (1853–1917) collected indigenous lives of the Buddha and Devadatta (*Préas Paṭhama Sāmphothian* and *Le Sūtra de Tévaṭat*) and local recensions of the *Mahā-Jinaka* (*Préas Moha-Chiṇok*), Nimarāja (*Niméa-Réach-Chéadak*) jātakas and translated these under the title *Les Livres sacrés du Cambodge*.²

The late François Martini was Lecturer in Cambodian at l'École des langues orientales vivantes in Paris. Specialising in non-canonical or apocryphal Buddhist literature, he translated the *Dasabodhisattva-uddesa* and *Anāgatabuddhavamsa*.³ Until her retirement, his wife, Ginette Terral-Martini, taught Pali at l'École pratique des hautes études (the Sorbonne) and continued in his footsteps by translating the *Velā-majātaka*,⁴ *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa*⁵ and *Pamsukūladānānisamsa-kathā*.⁶

1. V 17 = V 2 of the *Mahājayamaṅgalagāthā*; vV 21–3 = vV 2b–5a of the *Cūlajinapañjara*; vV 107–8 = the final two verses of the *Jaya-paritta*. These *paritta* texts appear in the appendix, *Upagranthaya*, of the *Pali-Sinhala Piripota*, ed. K. Śri Prajñāsāra, Colombo, 1956. This composition is based on the *Sāraṭha-samuccaya* (see Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series, vol. 27), a commentary on the *Catubhānavāra* where twenty *paritta-suttas* are enumerated, as opposed to only six in Mil (150–54). The fourteen apocryphal *suttas* probably originated in 15th century Ceylon and were thence introduced to the mainland by Sinhalese *dhammadūtas*.

2. *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Bibliothèque d'Études), Paris, 1906.

3. *BEFEO*, Hanoi 1936.

4. *BEFEO*, Saigon, 1959.

5. *BEFEO*, Paris, 1969.

6. ‘Un Jātaka concernant le dernier repas du Buddha,’ *BEFEO*, 1972.

L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (now situated in Paris) encouraged general research in the field of Indo-Chinese studies. Its Bulletin (*BEFEO*) continues to reflect this interest, although Buddhist texts have rarely attracted the attention of scholars. There is an urgent need to conduct such an investigation. Indo-China is virtually forbidden territory to outside scholars, whilst little interest has been evinced in Thailand. However, the facilities exist in Paris and other western European university libraries (and possibly in private collections). I earnestly hope that the present paper will encourage the pursuit of research into this fascinating, but hitherto unknown, sphere.

CHAPTER 8

PALI LITERATURE FROM LAOS¹

Compared to Burma and Ceylon (which have been adequately covered by Bode and Malalasekera), relatively few Pali compositions are known to have originated in the remaining countries belonging to the Theravada persuasion. George Cœdès, however, catalogued a surprisingly large number of manuscripts found in Laos by his predecessors² and it is upon his pioneer, but little recognised, work, that the present paper is mainly based.

Apart from reproductions of canonical texts, the majority of Lao compositions are either *nissayas* (word-for-word commentaries/translations) of existing Pali works, or indigenous, extra-canonical *jātakas*, which characterise the synthesis of Buddhism and folklore in South-East Asia. Let me begin my tabulated description of the non-canonical texts with an appropriate introduction to a commentary on the *Suttaniddesa*, a grammar of the Kaccāyana school by the Burmese monk, Chapaṭa: “Having paid respect to the Buddha, who has destroyed the obscurity of delusion, to the venerable Law, to the Community which destroys the stains, I am going to expound the *Niddesanyāsaṅgaha*, based on the explanations of the masters, bringing light for the benefit of pupils.”

The *Porāṇasaṅgaha* (literally, “Old Collection”) is an anthology of suttas from the Nikāyas and was probably so named to distinguish it from the better known *Suttasaṅgaha* (“Collection of Suttas”), which originated in Ceylon.³ It is composed of abridged versions, often simple outlines, of the following twenty-five canonical texts, with the use of the Commentaries to explain the circumstances of their exposition: *Subhasutta* or *Cūlakammavibhaṅga* (M III 202–206), *Mahānāmasutta* (S V 395), *Upāsakavagga* (A III 203–204, 206–208.), *Visākhuposathasutta*

1. This article was first published in *Jagdish Kashyap Memorial Volume*, ed. AK. Narain, B.R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

2. Cœdès, George, *Catalogue des manuscrits en Pali laotienne et siamoise provenant de la Thaïlande*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1966. “La littérature laotienne en Indochine,” *L’Indochine*, ed. by Sylvain Lévi Paris, 1931.

3. H. Oldenberg, “Pali MSS in the India Office Library,” *JPTS*, 1882, p. 80 and MH. Bode, *Pali literature of Burma*, RAS, London, 1909; reprinted, 1966, pp. 5 and 73.

(A I 205–215.), Dhammahadayavibhaṅgasutta (Vibh 422–426.), Chatamānavakavimāna (Vv 53, 229–243.), Revatīvimāna (Vv 52, 220–229.), Guttilavimāna (Vv 33, 137–148.), Anekavaṇṇavimāna (Vv 82, 318–322.), Mahādukkhakkhandhasutta (M I 83–90.), Aṭṭhipuñjasutta (S II 185–86.), Mahārāhulovādasutta (M I 420–426.), Pāveyyakasutta (S II 187–189.), Sūkarapotikāvattu (DhA IV 46–51.), Jarāmarāṇasutta (S I 71.), Piyasutta (S I 71–72.), Appamādasutta (S I 86–87.), Aputtakasutta (S I 91–93.), Tamotamaparāyanasutta (S I 93–95.), Pabbatūpamasutta (S I 100–102.), Lokavicaraṇasutta (A I 142–143.), Supubbaṅhasutta (A I 294.) and Dhammavihārīsutta (A III 86–89.).

In the majority of cases, its place in the Pali Canon is clearly indicated at the end of each section.

Another collection of suttas, entitled *Suttasaṅgha*—which is not to be confused with the Sinhala version—is completely different from the above and comprises translations of five canonical suttas: Sumana (A III 32–34.), Velāma (A IV 392–396), Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga (M III 253–59.), Uposatha (A I 205–215.), and Kasībhāradvāja (Sn vv 76–82.). The anthology begins with a verse of invocation thus: “I bow to the Saviour, with superior eloquence, who has attained to the other shore of the ocean of knowledge, and who reveals the abstruse Law, profound and wonderfully ornate.”

The *Vāmadantadhātusutta* is the story of the relic of the Buddha’s left tooth.¹ The work begins with the following verse: “The Saviour, having come to take refuge three times in the charming island of Laṅkā and desiring the lasting good of the Dispensation. ...”

The *Buddhāpadāna*, although constituting a homogeneous unity, in fact comprises translations of the *Buddhāpadāna*² and *Metteyyasutta*, together with two Laotian texts, the *Mūlakammaṭṭhāna* and *Sappurisasutta*.

The *Metteyyasutta*, concerns the future Buddha, Metteyya.³ This extra-canonical *sutta* shows itself as having been pronounced by the Buddha Gotama in the presence of Sāriputta and was subsequently related by the latter. It begins thus: “The Master was once dwelling at Kapilavatthu in the Nigrodhārāma, on the banks of the Rohinī. The

1. L. Finot, *BEFEO*, XVII 5, p. 213, no. 1052; Hanoi 1917.

2. The Laotian translation, which effectively follows the text, was composed at the request of the King of Khelaga (or Khelaṅga, the ancient Lāmpān) at an unknown date.

3. Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 192, no. 408, published in Bangkok by Dharmabhakti.

Bodhisatta Metteyya took birth in the womb of Kañcānā Devī, the queen of the King of Magadha.” It further describes the progressive deterioration of the Dispensation of the Buddha and the scriptures, and the general recollection of the relics after 5,000 years. After describing this recollection in the form of a Buddha image, the text dilates on the misfortunes of the universe in general and of man in particular, and continues with the preliminaries of the birth of Metteyya at Ketumatī and describes his youth through to his renunciation of the world. After mentioning the ordination of those people surrounding Metteyya, and his own enlightenment, the text finishes with the praises of Metteyya and the exhortations of the Buddha Gotama to Sāriputta and other disciples.¹

The *Sappurisasud* or *Sappurisan* (The Offering of Good People) enumerates the twenty-eight Buddhas from Tañhañkara to Gotama and describes for each of them the time of preparation, the place of birth, the names of the parents, the duration of the lay life, the name of the tree under which each obtains enlightenment and the length of existence. For Gotama, the text relates his previous births and vows pronounced by him before the previous Buddhas, the fulfilling of the Ten Perfections, his conception in the womb of Māyā, the date of the enlightenment, and the Parinibbāna.

The second part, which begins like a sutta,² is effectively an apocryphal *sutta* relating how, at the time of the Buddha Sikhi, a certain brahman called Saddeyya, in recompense for the offerings made to the Sangha, came to be reborn as a universal monarch owning the seven gems and subsequently took birth as a monk named Bāhula.

The *Mūlakammaṭṭhāna* is probably based on a lost Pali version and constitutes a manual of meditation for use by *yogāvacaras*.³ It begins with a description of preliminary practices and culminates in the traditional forty subjects of meditation (*samatha-kammaṭṭhāna*) which calm the mind. This manual finally deals with *vipassanā* or insight meditation.

1. The *Sāriputtasutta*, which follows, is a text entirely in Laotian divided into two parts.

2. *Evaṃ me sutam* (“Thus have I heard”).

3. “The Yogāvacara’s Manual,” PTS, 1896, translated by F.L. Woodward as *Manual of a Mystic*, PTS, 1916; reprinted 1970.

The *Abhidhamma cet kambī* is a short work which describes some of the contents of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī (the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka). The *Tilakkhaṇasuttasaṅgaha* is a text of which the complete title is *Dhammapadasuttasaṅgahatilakkhaṇavinicchayakathā*.¹ The translation is divided into five chapters: (i) unfortunate births; (ii) misfortunes in the world of men, the truth of suffering and its origin and the ten meritorious deeds; (iii) the cessation of suffering and the way to nibbāna; (iv) the superior stages of the universe; and (v) the virtues of the Buddha, the three characteristics of *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*. This work quotes several passages from canonical texts, such as the Dhammapada.

The *Sudhanajātaka* is the second in the collection of fifty apocryphal jātakas (*Paññāsajātaka*).² The legend contained therein is famous in Laos and Thailand and was outlined by R. Nicolas under the title of “Histoire de Nang Manorā” in his study, *Le Lakhon Nora ou Lakhon Chatri, et les origines du théâtre classique siamois*.³

The *Dukammajātaka*⁴ is an illustration of the common saying which dissuades a man from marrying a woman who has already had three husbands; from forming a friendship with a man who has taken and left the monastic robe three times; or from entering a town where the king imprisons people without preliminary hearings. Having suffered several misfortunes for having ignored such advice given by his father, and having put to the test his wife (who is the future Cīncamānavikā) and his friend (the future Devadatta), the hero (i.e. the Bodhisatta) becomes Dukamma, the King of Taxila. The text begins in the usual style of a jātaka Commentary⁵ stating that it was pronounced by the Buddha while he was dwelling at Jetavana.

The *Nandakumāra*⁶ is also known under the title of *Mātikā*, the name of one of the protagonists of this history that begins like a sutta

1. Under its abridged title, it is mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 212, no. 1017.
2. Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–50. His Pali text was published at Phnom Penh in 1944 in Vol. I of the *Paññāsajātaka* (= 10 of the *Ganthamālā* collection, edited by the Buddhist Institute). A Siamese version, of which Laotian texts bear a close resemblance to the Pali text, appeared in Vol. I of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1924.
3. *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 18 Bangkok, 1924, pp. 106–110.
4. This is the 18th jātaka of the Luang Prabang recension of the *Paññāsajātaka*. See Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
5. *Kudesaṅ ca ti idaṃ satthā jetavane vihāranto ekaṃ pitu ovādāgahaṇaṃ purisaṃ ārabha kathesi*.
6. Analysed by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 50, no. 1.

but is, in fact, a *jātaka* designed to illustrate the benefits of meritorious deeds fulfilled in previous births.

The *Candagādhajātaka*¹ is yet another of the apocryphal *jātakas* popular in Laos, Thailand and Cambodia and relates the adventures of the Bodhisatta when he assumed the personality of Candagādhā, the son of a poor man in the country of Campānagara. Following a famine, he leaves his native country accompanied by his elder brother, Suriyagādhā. The latter, at Kāsinagara, resuscitates, by means of a medical plant furnished by Indra (the king of the gods), the daughter of the king and subsequently marries her. At Indapatta, Candagādhā marries Princess Devatāsāṅkhā, the daughter of the king. During a pleasure trip, the man and his wife find themselves separated as a result of a tempest and the wife, having been able to escape the unwelcome attentions of Prince Sudassanakumāra, becomes a nun. As for Candagādhā, equipped with a jewel and a pair of magic sandals, he flies to Saṅkhanagara where he weds the daughters of three rich merchants. Thence he searches for his first wife and meets the young brahmacārī (Mālikā) whom he also marries. Having at last arrived at the kingdom of his parents-in-law, he is obliged to fight against them to secure the throne which he then occupies for the next 300 years.

Suriyagādhā, Devatāsāṅkhā and Prince Sudassanakumāra are identified as Sāriputta, Yasodhārā and Devadatta respectively. The work commences with a verse in poor Pali, in which the name Gambhīrapañña appears, and he could well be the author of this story, which illustrates the gratitude of the Buddha to his parents.²

The *Sambhamittajātaka* is also one of the fifty *jātakas* and appears more often under the title, *Subhamittajātaka*.³ This text relates the story of the Bodhisatta as Subhamitta, the king of Campaka. His brother, Asubhamitta, having plotted his overthrow and seized power, the Bodhisatta leaves the capital with his wife, Kesinī, and two sons to avoid bloodshed. In crossing a river, he is separated from his family but arrives in Taxila whose king dies soon after. He is proclaimed king in

1. The 7th in the Luang Prabang recension and the 49th in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions. See Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46. The translation in Siamese with a reproduction of the verses in Pali was published in Vol. 27 of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1930.

2. The Laotian version differs appreciably from the Siamese printed translation.

3. The 5th in the Laotian and Burmese recensions and 9th in the Cambodian and Siamese, *BEFEO*, XVII 5, p. 45. A Siamese version was published in Vol. 4 of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1933.

his place and receives, as a gift, two young slaves who are none other than his (unrecognised) sons. Later, he lets them guard a boat wherein their mother is living. She recognises them and displays her maternal affection. Denounced by the boat owner, who is vainly in love with her, they are accused and condemned to death by the king, but an investigation reveals the truth of the situation and the king is reunited with his family. He then abdicates in favour of Jayasena, whose younger brother, Māyādatta, becomes his viceroy. Subhamitta, Asubhamitta, Jayasena, Māyādatta and Kesenī are identified with the Buddha, Devadatta, Ānanda, Rāhula and Yasodharā respectively.

The *Suvaṇṇahaṃsa or Dvesīsajātaka*¹ is the story of the golden swan with two heads. According to the beginning of the story, the incident occurred during the time of the Buddha Kassapa. A united couple, having aspired to be reborn in the form of a swan with golden feathers and two heads, is captured by order of the King of Benares.² The bird is put in a cage and, to satisfy the desire of the queen to divide the bird, a minister whispers slanderous remarks to each head. Each head vainly endeavours to learn the nature of these remarks, until mistrust, discord and quarrels result in each half of the swan physically pulling itself apart from the other. The king makes enquiries of the stratagem employed for obtaining this result and realises the evil power of slander. The Buddha concludes the jātaka with moral exhortations supported by examples.

The *Arindamajātaka*, another post-canonical jātaka,³ was expounded by the Buddha, dwelling at the Jetavana, on the subject of the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*). The Bodhisatta takes birth in the form of King Arindama, whilst Indra, disguised as a brahman, obtains from him all his wealth including his own person. Indra then makes him a doorkeeper with his wife as a slave. She gives birth to a child but the doorkeeper Arindama, adhering strictly to an order from Indra, refuses to open the door to let her into the house and thus allows the child to die of cold. At the cemetery, where the couple go to bury

1. The 16th in the Luang Prabang recension and 32nd or 33rd in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions. Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 45, gives it the erroneous name of *Sorassa*. One translation in Siamese was published in Vol. 9 of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1925.

2. Hence the alternative title of this jātaka, *Bārāṇasīrājajātaka*.

3. The 41st in the Luang Prabang recension and the 46th in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions. Its translation in Siamese was published in Vol. 13 of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1927.

their child, the wife implores the gods to show their pity as a result of all the offerings made by her and her husband in the past (which she enumerates). As a consequence, the child revives, Indra returns the wealth to Arindama and restores him to his throne.

The *Suvaṇṇajātaka*¹ is a story of the Bodhisatta in the form of Suvaṇṇa. Only a fragment of this text has survived. It relates the garbled story of a child having a head but no body.

The *Lokavinaya*² is a work, in the form of a *jātaka*, expounded by the Buddha at the Jetavana concerning King Pasenadi (or Aṅgulimāla). Following the words of Ānanda, who praises the teachings of the Master regarding the mundane (*lokiya*), as opposed to the supramundane (*lokuttara*), plane, the text relates the adventures of the Bodhisatta in the form of Dhanañjaya during the reign of King Dhanañjayakoravya of Indapatta. This long tale, which is impossible to summarise, describes Dhanañjaya's scientific accomplishments, which resolve the most complicated problems, how he saves the king from all sorts of difficulties, and ends with his becoming king. His discourses form a compendium of lay discipline, which justifies the title of the work. It is divided into several chapters of which the headings give an idea of the variety of adventures and the diversity of the subjects treated. The text begins with a passage in incorrect Pali; forming, without doubt, two verses of which a single coherent translation is impossible and of which all that we can say is that they pay respect to the Buddha's intelligence.

Here are the colophons of these chapters: 1) Birth of Dhanañjayakumāra (*Uppattinidānakathā*); 2) The four mental distractions (*Vitakapañha*); 3) The questions of impurity (*Malataladhammapaṭhā*); 4) The questions of the doors (*Dvārapaṭhā*); 5) The questions of judgement (*Vinicchayapaṭhā*); 6) The characteristics of the scientist (*Purohitalakkhaṇavaṇṇanā*); 7) The teaching of the Doctrine (*Dhammovādakathā*); 8) The questions of anger (*Kodhapaṭhā*); 9) Chapter on doubts (*Sanṅkitakaṇḍa*); 10) Chapter of ingratitude (*Akataṭṭukathā*); 11) Chapter of conversation (*Sallāpakathā*); 12) The Bodhisatta leaves his

1. The 48th in the Cambodian and Siamese recensions. See Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 46. A Siamese translation of this latter *jātaka* (known as the *Suvaṇṇasirasājātaka*) was published in Vol. 14 of the *Paññāsajātaka*, Bangkok, 1927, and an outline in French from the Cambodian version, kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, was quoted by Au Chieng in his *Catalogue du fonds khmer*, no. 196, pp. 162-164.

2. This is a literal translation, replete with Pali words, from the Pali text entitled *Dhanañjaya*, published by Dharmabhakti in Bangkok.

parents (*Viyogakaṇḍa*); 13) Chapter of residence (*Adhivatthakaṇḍa*); 14) Chapter of marriage (*Āvāhakaṇḍa*); 15) Chapter of the teaching of the Bodhisatta at Kappāsīgāma (*Dhammadesanākaṇḍa*); 16) The Bodhisatta returns to his parents' country (*Pācīnagāmānupattavaṇṇanā*); 17) Dhanañjayapaṇḍita arrives at the capital (*Nagarapattakaṇḍa*); 18) Significance of the sound of the four drums (*Bherisaddatthavicāraṇakaṇḍa*); 19) The story of the young Ratanakalyāṇi (*Ratanakalyāṇikaṇḍa*); 20) The Bodhisatta arrives in the Aṅga country (*Aṅgaratthagamanakaṇḍa*); 21) The story of the four male factors (*Catupuggaladuccaritakaṇḍa*); 22) The Bodhisatta brings back King Damiḷa Abhaṅgiya (*Karaṇakaṇḍa*); 23) King Abhaṅgiya listens to the exposition of the Doctrine (*Abhaṅgiyadhamma[sav]ṇanakathā*); 24) Dhanañjayapaṇḍita, the Bodhisatta, becomes viceroy (*Uparājakaṇḍapāricchedakathā*); 25) The story of the competition according to the Doctrine (without weapons) (*Dhammayuddhakaṇḍa*).

The work finishes with the usual identification of the personages involved in the story.

The *Bālasaṅkhyājātaka*¹ relates the story of the conversation of a proud monarch, similar to King Jambupati. The monks are discussing the latter incident amongst themselves at the Bamboo Grove in Rājagaha when the Buddha arrives to relate the present story. The titles of the chapters from the colophons of each file are as follows: 1) The meeting of Bālasaṅkhyā (*Paṭhamasamāgama*); 2) Bālasaṅkhyā comes to find Varakithikā and demonstrates his virtues to his elder brother (*Bhātāriḡuṇa*); 3) End of the third file (*Bālasaṅkhyā*); 4) End of the fourth file (*Sumittakaṇḍa*); 5) Fifth file of the *Bālasaṅkhyā*, going into the fifth chapter, called *Sallapanta* (*Sallapantapāricchedo pañcama*); 6) Chapter on the victorious meeting (*Jayasamāgama*); 7) Entry to the capital (*Nagarapavesakaṇḍa*); 8) Chapter on Paduma (*Padumakaṇḍa*).

The *Suriyavaṃsahaṃsajātaka*² is also known as the *Pavaravana-haṃsajātaka* but is not included in any list of the apocryphal fifty jātakas. Whilst dwelling at the Jetavana, the Buddha mentions a previous existence of Devadatta.

1. See Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 and 178, no. 29.

2. See Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 209, no. 294. It was incorporated into the Siamese translation of this collection under the title of *Varavaṃsajātaka* (no. 45) and published in Vol. 12 Bangkok, 1927. The story bears a close affinity to its counterpart in Cambodian literature, known under the name of *Vorvoñ Sörvoñ*, translated by A Pavie in *Mission Pavie, Études diverse* I pp. 55–153.

The story of the prince with the golden tongue (*Suvaṇṇajivha*) forms the subject of one of the most famous and popular novels in Laos.¹ The present work is substantially the same story but in a simpler and more concise form and also in the frame of a *jātaka*—the Prince Lin Gām being none other than the Bodhisatta in a previous existence.

Suvaṇṇameghajātaka (*Jātaka of the Golden Cloud*).² The incorrect Pali verse beginning this text cites the Buddha as having expounded this story at the Jetavana. In this supposed extract from the *Samyutta-nikāya*, the Bodhisatta comes to the world in the form of Prince *Suvaṇṇamegha*, the son of King *Sudassana* of Benares and of his first queen. From birth he was exposed to the jealousy of his half-brother, *Jayarājakumāra* and his mother, a wife of second rank. At three years old, when his own mother died, he was thrown over a precipice but was saved by the virtue of his merits. Led by his dog with golden hair, which had been born on the same day as himself, *Suvaṇṇamegha* visited a hermit who offered him some magic weapons and a wife. Then, having defeated a *yakkha* who devoured girls, he obtained his victim's enchanted stick. Having heard that *Suvaṇṇamegha* and his dog were still alive, *Jayarājakumāra* and his mother advised the king to leave Benares for a new town near the sea, and, on his death, they persuaded the people to accept the succession of *Jayarājakumāra*'s sister to the throne.

The dog with the golden hair, having exhausted his bad *kamma*, was metamorphosed by *Indra* into a handsome young man with the name of *Suvaṇṇa Hān Gām*, who, after several changes, persuaded the King of *Sāvatti* to give his daughter as wife. Meanwhile, *Suvaṇṇamegha* had ascended the throne of Benares but *Jayarājakumāra* organised a coalition of the neighbouring kings and surrounded the town. But *Suvaṇṇa Hān Gām* hastened to his friend's aid, the rival army was vanquished and the ground opened up and swallowed *Jayarājakumāra* and his mother, who descended to the *Avīci* hell.

1. Analysed by *Finot op. cit.*, pp. 117–121.

2. Mentioned by *M Meillier* in his *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Royale de Luang Prabang*, Hanoi 1918, as items N^{os} 340 and 419—and the 8th in the local recension of the *Paññāsajātaka*, p. 24. In the same list, *Finot, op. cit.*, p. 45 refers to no. 8—the *Suvaṇṇamiga* which is almost identical to the canonical *jātaka* of that name (no. 359, ed. *V Fausböll*, III pp. 182–87; PTS, 1883, repr. 1963) and quotes the *Suvaṇṇameghajātaka* as being among the extra-canonical *jātakas* not incorporated in the collection of the *Paññāsajātaka*, p. 50. The confusion between the two names, “golden stag” (*Suvaṇṇamiga*) and “golden cloud” (*Suvaṇṇamegha*) is understandable.

The *Suvaṇṇahaṃsajātaka* is mentioned by Finot as being among the extra-canonical jātakas outside the collection of the apocryphal fifty.¹ It begins with the Pali text of the Vijaya Sutta of the Suttanipāta.² It relates the story of the Bodhisatta as the son of King Brahmadata of Benares and of his adventures in India, which include a trip in a flying machine in the form of a golden swan.

The *Nibbāna Sutta*, which begins like a canonical sutta,³ consists of a discourse of the Buddha on the ineluctable nature of death and the necessity to accumulate meritorious deeds with a view to attaining Nibbāna. (See the story of Visākha therā⁴ and the Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta [M III 99, sutta no. 120.]). The hearing of the *Nibbāna Sutta* delivers from the *Petaloka* (the world of hungry spirits) and causes the ascent to a *devaloka*, of a family of rich merchants guilty of adultery. Their two daughters, after having heard this *sutta* from the Buddha, made their parents profit from it and in later births became the nuns, Ummaddantī and Uppalavaṇṇā.

The *Lohagoṇajātaka*, or the “Ox with Coppered Horns,” bears a similarity to the above but is not to be found in any known list of the *Paññāsajātaka*. Finot quotes it for the first time under the title, “The Ox with Golden Horns,”⁵ and a second time⁶ under the title, “The Ox with Coppered Horns,” without any other explanation.

This jāataka which, as the preamble says, was told by the Buddha whilst dwelling at the Jetavana, relates the story of an ox with coppered horns (to become Anuruddha in a future birth) and of his younger brother (an early incarnation of the Bodhisatta). After all kinds of adventures, during which the younger ox manifests its inability to play and the elder his strength to fight buffaloes, the latter dies during a fight with a *nāga* and the Bodhisatta becomes a captive of the king of Kāsikanagara. At the death of the king, he is designated by lot as successor and takes his place on the throne under the name of Indacakkavaṃsarāja.⁷

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 210, no. 955. Only the name “golden swan,” links it with the canonical *jātaka* (no. 136, ed. Fausböll, I pp. 474–77; PTS, 1877, repr. 1962).
2. Ed. D. Andersen and H. Smith, PTS, 1913, repr. 1965, p. 34.
3. *Evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ vihāreti.*
4. *Visuddhimagga*, ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, PTS, 1920, I p. 312 foll.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 195, no. 484.
7. There seems to some confusion as to the status of the Bodhisatta as king, whether animal or man!

The *Gandhaghātakajātaka*, which literally signifies the destroyer of perfume, is the story of a frog. Again, this extra-canonical jātaka is not mentioned in the collection of the fifty jātakas.¹

From the preamble, conceived in the style of a canonical jātaka, the story is expounded by the Buddha whilst dwelling at the Jetavana. The Bodhisatta was born as the son of Sudassana, king of Indapattanagara, in the form of a frog for which the brahmans had predicted a bright future. At the age of 20, he was metamorphosed by Indra into a charming prince to whom all the kings of the universe offered their daughters, and who himself became a powerful monarch. He had reigned fifty years when a great drought occurred which no ceremony could terminate. Having descended to the *nāga* kingdom, he learnt from their king that this drought had been provoked by the hunger of Indra. The king thereupon went to fight Indra, made him prisoner and did not free him until he promised to give each year an enormous amount of rice of which the grain would fall by itself into the baskets of the inhabitants. As soon as Indra was set free, the rain began to fall.

Next, the king had to deliver the earth from suffocation by an enormous liana which had been produced during a fight between Indra and the asura Vepacitti. Thereafter, the king ruled his people with justice and persuaded them to respect the Buddhist precepts. Meanwhile, Indra allowed the *nāga* to swim in a pond so that the rain fell and the population contented itself by making baskets for receiving the harvest of rice.

The *Mūlakittijātaka*² begins, after a short invocation to the Triple Gem, in the manner of a canonical jātaka, by indicating that it was told by the Buddha whilst dwelling at the Jetavana and concerned a monk devoted to his parents. The Bodhisatta, in the form of Prince Mūlakitti, sacrificed his life for his father, Yasakitti.

The *Sunandarājasutta*, also called *Nandasutta*, has no connection with the canonical suttas of this name. Opening in the form of a sutta, however, it tells of the visit of King Sunanda to the Buddha, whom he asks some questions on the future prospects of the Dhamma. The Buddha gives a reassurance by exhorting him to preserve it by making a copy of it which will certainly produce much merit.

1. Under this Laotian title, *Bryā Gaṅgāk*, it is mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 and 199, no. 632.

2. Corresponding to the *Mullakūt* mentioned, without explanation, by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 193, no. 425.

The *Cakkhānavuttipāpasutta* is also known under the title of *Cakkhānavuttijātaka*,¹ but the exact title is uncertain. The preamble unskilfully combines the formulas of introduction of both a sutta and a jātaka. The text relates the story of the Bodhisatta at the time of the Buddha Padumuttara. Born as Prince Cakkhānavutti, the second son of Sararāja, King of Benares, and of Queen Vimaladevī, the story is used as a pretext for imparting moral exhortations.

The *Cundasūkarikasutta* or *Dhammikapaṇḍitajātaka*.² In spite of its title, this text has no connection with the story contained in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. The *Cundasūkarikasutta* comprises two parts: (i) the formula of “*Iti pi so*,” and (ii) a eulogy of the sutta in the form of a story. Under the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, four monks from the country of Suvannabhūmi arrive in the Siviraṭṭha, where King Surūpa reigns. He has a minister, reputed for his generosity, called Dhammikapaṇḍita, who asks the monks the purpose of their journey. They reply that they are going to the country of Tambapaṇṇeyadīpa (or Laṅkāḍīpa, i.e. Ceylon) to obtain from King Sudassana Cakkavatti the *Cundasūkarikasutta*. Thereupon they are allowed to continue on their journey and acquire a copy of this *sutta*, after making some offering to the latter king. They expound the text on their return to Siviraṭṭha. Indra, desiring to hear it, sends his coachman Mātali, to obtain it from Dhammikapaṇḍita and thereafter preaches it to his fellow *devas*. After his death, the pious minister is reborn in a devaloka and, after a number of existences, eventually becomes the Buddha Gotama. Anyone who recites this sutta is supposed to acquire much merit and go to a heavenly world. The text begins with a verse of invocation in Pali to the previous Buddhas.

The *Lokavidū*³ is derived from one of the words in the formula, “*Iti pi so*,” although in fact the major part of this text is taken up with a description of the universe as cognised by the Buddha. It ends with a eulogy of the Triple Gem.

The *Dasavaraṇāṅgabuddhābhiseka*⁴ is a compilation of verses in praise of the Buddha, designed to procure happiness and to invite the

1. Mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 180, no. 79, under the title of *Cakkhānavuttipāpasut*.

2. Analysed by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

3. The manuscript gives the translation of one text mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 190, no. 330.

4. Mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 179, no. 59. One Pali manuscript of this work is kept at the National Library, Bangkok.

power of the Buddha to enter his image. It is particularly recited at the time of making images of the Buddha.

The present manuscript begins with an invocation to the Triple Gem and continues with a word-for-word translation of a text which, after a very succinct outline of the Buddha's life from his coming down from the Tusita heaven to his victory over Māra, illustrates the essence of the knowledge acquired by the Buddha during the night of the Enlightenment.¹ In the form of litanies, the text then expresses the vow that each quality of the Buddha will come to reside in his image. After this, it briefly recalls the biography of the Buddha up to the teaching of the Abhidhamma in the world of the thirty-three gods.

The *Buddhābhiseka* enumerates, in the form of litanies, the several kinds of knowledge (*ñāṇa*) which are supposed to reside in the Buddha image. It continues in the same manner to relate examples taken from the ten great jātakas and other texts of the good fortunes or blessings (*jayamaṅgala*) which the reciter hopes to acquire. This text gives the impression of being a developed version of another manuscript with the same title² although both are incomplete.

The *Ākāravattasutta*³ is the translation of the recollection of the Buddha beginning "*Iti pi so,*" following the verses in his honour found in the analysis of the *Buddhābhiseka*.

The *Cetanābheda* is the classification of psychological states.⁴ It is a treatise on *kammavipāka* in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha and Anuruddha. This explains why, in the two colophons, it is presented as an extract from an *Anuruddhasutta* which corresponds to none of the canonical suttas bearing this name.⁵

The *Mahāvīpāka* is an abridged version of a work on the resultants of kamma, which has been amply described in canonical texts. It begins

1. From the beginning of the *Mahāvagga* (Vinaya I ed. H. Oldenberg, PTS, 1879, repr. 1964); together with the two *Satipaṭṭhāna Suttas* (M I pp. 55-63; ed. V Trenckner, PTS, 1887, repr. 1964; and D II pp. 291-315 ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, PTS, 1903, repr. 1967).

2. It begins; *evaṃ kate buddhaṃ viya buddharūpaṃ api mahātejaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ hou yeva*—"having so done may the Buddha image be, like the Buddha, endowed with great splendour and great power."

3. Mentioned by Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 58, no. 2.

4. See Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 and 181, no. 198.

5. One Cambodian version in fifteen files of a developed version of this treatise is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under the title, *Cetanābhedavaṇṇana* (Khmer 223).

like a *jātaka*: “Thus, the Master dwelling at Sāvatti told it about a rich banker named Putta. ...”

The *Devadhitapaṭhā* is a short text which contains the reasons for the racial and social differences of human beings.

The *Pabbajjānisamsa* is another short treatise on the fruit of entering the Sangha. It begins like a *sutta*: “The Blessed One was once dwelling at Sāvatti in the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika. ...”

The *Caturārakkhā* is a fragmentary translation of the Pali text of the same name describing the familiar meditative recollection of the Buddha: *mettā*, impurity and death.

The *Yokappakko Ācāriya* represents a list of instructions from the Buddha to the *yogāvacara*. It is susceptible to several explanations from which it is not easy to make an accurate choice. Explanations given of the practice of recalling the impurity of the body, meditation in general and the different kinds of knowledge.

The *Uṇhassaviḍḍijayājātaka* is a poem¹ which recounts the story of a disciple of Sāriputta who predicts his death. He succeeds, however, in escaping its ill effects by means of several meritorious acts. Sāriputta goes to find the Buddha, who explains to him the effect of good deeds that generate such merit but says that there is yet something superior in actually knowing the meaning of the verses in question.

The *Salākarivijjasutta*² begins like a *sutta*: “Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling at Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭa hill. At that time the Venerable Ānanda fell ill. ...” However, this text is almost wholly taken up with describing the magical import of six words: *duṭṭhulā*, *uṭṭhulā*, *taṇḍulā*, *madhulā*, *pupphālā* and *kalatā*.

The *Paṭhamamūlamūli*³ is a book dealing with cosmogony, known also in the Mon and Burmese languages from which its contents have been analysed in detail in two articles.⁴ It begins with an incorrect Pali

1. See Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

2. Finot mentions, *op. cit.*, p. 202, without explanation, a work with the same title but equates it with the *Sarākarivijāsutta* (no. 749). He also refers to the *Dibbamantasutta* or *Sut Tippamon* (p. 210, no. 236) from which the present work, in its colophon, is alleged to be extracted. But the *Tippamon*, described by Finot (p. 59) cannot be other than the *Khandaparitta* with which the *Salākarivijāsutta* has nothing in common. (This text was published by Dharmabhakti in Bangkok).

3. See Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

4. F. Mason, “Mūlamūli or the Buddhist Genesis of Eastern India from the Shan through the Talaing and Burman,” *JAOS*, IV pp. 103–116, 1854. San Win and D Win, “Mula Muloi a Talaing account of the Creation,” *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1912, pp. 218–224.

verse: "Having paid respect to the Blessed One, owning the triple omniscience, the ten powers and infinite virtue, the realisation of his vow for the perfection of his gifts, and integral purity, the characteristic marks of success, to the saviour of the three worlds, excellent, supreme, ..."

The *Aruṇavatī*¹ is a kind of cosmological treatise which includes a description of the universe. It begins with the visit of the Buddha Sikhi and of his disciple Abhibhū, to the realm of Brahmā and thus incorporates the same theme as the canonical sutta, which apparently explains the name chosen for this work. It deals with several subjects, viz. (i) the Buddha's characteristics, (ii) the thirty-three heavens, (iii) the ocean and the ranges of mountains, (iv) previous Buddhas, (v) the courses of the sun, moon and stars, (vi) men dwelling in the four continents, (vii) animals and petas, (viii) hells, (ix) vimānas or celestial palaces, (x) the creation and destruction of the universe at the beginning and end of each kalpa or cosmic period. (This work is cited in the introduction to the *Traibhūmikathā* as being the sources of the Siamese cosmology composed in 1345 by King Lū dai of Sukhodaya. It is, therefore, anterior to this date and is largely made up of extracts from the canonical texts.)

The *Sodattakimāhānidāna* is the translation of a Pali text widely known in the Indochinese peninsula, and which almost certainly originated in Ceylon.² It presents some close affinities to the *Mahānidāna*³ and the *Sampīṇḍitamāhānidāna*⁴ and probably served as a source book for the *Jinakālamālinī*,⁵ where one finds similar phrases and verses. All these texts, after general considerations on the successive *kalpas*,

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1. See the canonical sutta (S I 155; ed. L. Feer, PTS, 1884, repr. 1973) of the same name which Finot incorrectly identifies, (*BEFEO*, XVII 5, p. 178, note 21) as the translation of a Pali text, popular in Indochina, of which an extract, accompanied by his commentary, is kept at the National Library, Bangkok. A Cambodian version is to be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris (no. 342).
 2. The National Library, Bangkok, in addition to some fragments in Cambodian characters, possesses a version in Sinhala script. A Cambodian translation is also kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This work is similar to the *Jātattagīnidāna* attributed by the *Gandhavaṃsa*, *JPTS* 1886, p. 63, to Culla Buddhaghosa, a contemporary of the great commentator. See G.P. Malalasekara, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 126.
 3. R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development*, London, 1860; repr. in Varanasi 1967, pp. 89–97.
 4. George Cœdès, "Documents sur le Laos Occidental," *BEFEO*, 25 no. 1, Hanoi 1925, p. 6. no. 1.
 5. *Ibid.*

review the *nidānas* of the six divisions—*bāhira-*, *mahā-*, *atidūra-*, *dūra-*, *avidūra-*, and *santika-nidāna*—between which are classified the previous lives of the Buddha. They relate the circumstances in which the Bodhisatta made the resolution to become a Buddha. The text begins with a passage in Pali followed by its translation, in which appears the name of the author, Buddhaghosa (which is obviously incorrect).

The *Kusaladhammavinicchayakathā* is based on the *mātikā* or contents of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It begins with an invocation to the Triple Gem in incorrect Pali.

The *Tiṃsāpāramī* is a work of which the title does not appear among those that Finot mentions as being treatises on the perfections (*pāramī*).¹ It gives illustrations of the thirty perfections² by describing those births during which the Bodhisatta practised them. It refers to the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, which contains fifteen of the stories reported here, but the true source is the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*.

The work begins with an exposition of the first desired manifestations for enlightenment conceived by the Bodhisatta, e.g. (i) the son who saves his mother from a wreck; and (ii) the king of Dhañṇavātī; (iii) relates the meetings with the previous Buddhas from Taṇhaṅkara to Dīpaṅkara, whilst (iv) enumerates the Ten Perfections in three degrees—simple perfection (*pāramī*), secondary perfection (*upapāramī*) and supreme perfection (*paramatthapāramī*).

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* is quoted in the *Gandhavaṃsa*³ and constitutes a life of the Buddha which formed the material for the biography penned by Alabaster.⁴ The most ancient manuscripts, which go back to the 17th century, include about fifteen chapters and tell the life of the Buddha up to the Parinibbāna. They are composed in great part of extracts from the *Nidānakathā* (the introduction to the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*) but also include some original passages.⁵

The present text (dating from the 19th century) has been reconstituted in nine chapters: 1) Birth (*Gabbhābhinnikkhamaṇa*), 2) Horoscope

1. BEFEO, XVII 5, pp. 72 and 196, N^{os} 536–544.

2. Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 foll.

3. JPTS, 1886, pp. 67, 75. Although it was supposed to have been composed in Ceylon, in fact it is known only in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. Several manuscripts of the Pali text are kept in Paris, Bangkok, Phnom Penh and Luang Prabang, together with translations in Siamese, Laotian and Cambodian.

4. *The Wheel of the Law, Buddhism illustrated from Siamese sources*, London, 1871; repr. in Taipei 1971, and Varanasi 1972.

(*Lakkhaṇa*), 3) Coronation (*Rājābhiseka*), 4) The Great Renunciation (*Mahābhiniikkhamaṇa*), 5) Ascetic Practices (*Dukkaracariya*), 6) Victory over Māra (*Māravijaya*), 7) The Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*), 8) The invitation of Brahmā (*Brahmajjesana*), and 9) The First Sermon (*Dhammacakkappavattana*).¹

A copy of the *Tilokadīpanī* (or *Lokadvīpa*) is kept in the National Library in Bangkok. The theme of this work is similar to the beginning of the *Mūlasāsana* (a Lao history of Buddhism up to the 16th century) and of the *Jinakālamālinī*. It treats of the three categories of Bodhisatta, predominating in wisdom (*paññādhika*), confidence (*saddhādhika*), or energy (*viriyādhika*), and relates the previous births of the Buddha from the most ancient time until the period of the Buddha Vessabhū.

The *Mahākassapaṭṭheraparinibbānakathā* is the account of the demise of the disciple, Mahākassapa. It begins: “The Venerable Mahākassapa was dwelling in the Veḷuvana Garden ...”

The *Mahāsāriputtaparinibbānasutta* is the account of the demise of the disciple, Sāriputta. The text begins like a *sutta*: “Thus have I heard. One day the Exalted One was dwelling at Sāvatti in the Jetavana, the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika.”

The *Mahāmoggallānaparinibbānavatthu* is the account of the demise of the disciple, Mahāmoggallāna. The text begins like a *jātaka*: “The exposition of the Law beginning by those words was pronounced by the Master at the Veḷuvana about the therā Mahāmoggallāna.”

The *Asokadhammarājanibbāna* is the account of the death of the Emperor Asoka and begins with a passage in incorrect Pali: “Kuṇḍalātissa and Byāghatthera had acquired meritorious deeds in the presence of previous Buddhas. After having been reborn in the world of gods and men, 218 years after the Nibbāna of the Exalted One they were born in Jambudīpa (i.e. India) and Lanikādīpa respectively, where they received the names of Mahā-Dhammāsoka and Devānampiyātissa, and accumulated further merits in the Dispensation of the Buddha.”

5. *Mémoire concernant l'Asie orientale*, II 1916, pp. 107–22. The text has gradually grown with developments and new chapters, and the last recension—the Siamese translation of Prince Paramunjita Jinorasa (Bangkok, 1845)—contained thirty chapters.

1. The Cambodian and Siamese manuscripts of the 17th century already included about fifteen chapters, with the Laotian tradition represented by the present translation, corresponding to a much shorter recension, apparently ending at the ninth chapter.

The *Dasa-anāgatabuddhavaṃsa*¹ gives the translation of an account of the ten future Buddhas which does not correspond to any of the *Anāgatavaṃsa* texts enumerated by Minayeff. However the subject is the same—about a discourse of the Buddha to Sāriputta showing the progressive decline of the Dispensation, then the rebirth of humanity and the successive appearance of ten Buddhas, each separated by the periodic destruction of the universe. The last few pages of this work are devoted to an analysis of the terms *kappa* (*kalpa*) and *asaṅkheyya* in relation to the future Buddhas.

The *Caturāsītīdhammakhandhasahasasamvannaṇā*² is, as with the foregoing, a composite work in Pali and Lao. A fragment of it, the *Akkharaṅgaṇṭhi*, constitutes a grammar, including a chapter on *sadda*. The bulk of the manuscript, however, is taken up with an explanation of the traditional division of the canonical texts into 84,000 sections.



1. *JPTS*, 1886, pp. 33–40.
2. See Finot's description, *BEFEO*, XVII 5, p. 76.

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1. The text distinguishes between monks who were direct disciples of the Buddha and later members of the Sangha (and laymen) as follows: *Mahāthera* refers to a member of the original Sangha of Bhikkhus who were direct disciples of the Buddha. *Thera* refers to a later monk. If no other appellation is applied, the name indicates a lay person.

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