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A Critical Edition of the Nalāṭa Dhātuvam̐sa

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Abstract

The Nalāṭa Dhātuvam̐sa (NDV) is a Pali chronicle composed in Ceylon that described the history of the sacred frontal relic of the Buddha and its enshrining at the Seru city by King Kākavaṇṇatissa in the 1st century BCE. Apparently, it is in a close relationship with the structure of the Thūpavam̐sa, which predominantly recoded the history of the Pagoda Ratnamālī. However, disagreements on dating both these two texts are raised among Sinhalese scholars and consequently it becomes difficult to conclude which the earliest work was. In any case, the NDV earns higher reputation as a historical record whilst it contains crucial literary and language features in Pali Prakaraṇa stage. Especially, insignificant consideration of the modern Pali scholars might have led to less famous of this chronicle among the beginners. On the other hand, non-existence of a reliable English edition of this text, except two Sinhalese editions and English transliterated works also make discourage researchers to study the NDV. This edition included an introductory note attempts to fill the academic gap related to the NDV.

Keywords: Nalāṭa Dhātuvam̐sa, King Kākavaṇṇatissa, frontal relic

I.

Introduction

Pāli Literature consists of four major divisions as in the canonical (*piṭaka*), commentarial (*aṭṭhakathā*), sub-commentarial (*tīkā*) and modern (*prakaraṇa*) texts.¹ The modern texts (*prakaraṇa*) cover an extensive range which include chronicles, grammar, lexicons, sandesa-s etc. *Vam̐sakathā* is the literature that records unbroken or continual² history of a person or a matter.³ The *Vam̐sakathā*, composed and compiled in verses or prose, *Campū* and *Ākhyāna* stand apart from other literary features in Pāli. *Nalāṭa (lalāṭa) dhātuvam̐sa* (hence forth *NDV*), chronicle of the sacred frontal relics of the Buddha is given less attention by modern Pāli and Buddhist scholars. The late Prof. Malalasekara is the only scholar to date who has given a considerable attention to the NDV⁴ in his book 'Pali Literature in Ceylon.' Other scholars in the history of Pāli Literature appeared not to have drawn their attention to this text as yet.⁵ *The NDV*, in actual fact is a useful source in historical studies of Buddhist relics, architecture of ancient Pagodas, Buddhist ceremonies in Ceylon and even the history of Ceylon itself. It is essential with significant literary features and for its role in the evolution of Pāli language in Ceylon (see section II).

¹ Vimalavamsa, B. (1983) p139

² Chunks of Bamboo are connected each other with a nodule. So, it appears as unbroken (linked) one. This unbroken nature is called as vam̐sa

³ The 'vam̐sa' literature in Pali can be academically divided into three as great biographies based, sacred materials based and incidents based chronicles. The *Mahāvam̐sa*, *Cūlavam̐sa* and *Buddhaghosuppatti* are character centered texts. The *Dīpavam̐sa*, *Mahābodhivam̐sa*, *Thūpavam̐sa*, *Hatthavanagallavihāravam̐sa*, *Dāṭhāvam̐sa*, *Chakesa dhātuvam̐sa*, *Nalāṭa dhātuvam̐sa* and *Gandhavam̐sa* are focused sacred materials. *Sāsanavam̐sa*, *Saṅgūtivam̐sa*, *Sandesakathā*, *Saddhammasaṅgaha* discuss on the incidents.

⁴ Malalasekara, G. P. (1958) p247

⁵ For instance, K. R Norman has not given any note with regard to this in his Pali literature. As well, B. C Law also passes by to afford any particular in his History of Pali literature. Still, Hinuber notes in his Hand Book of Pali literature that J. Filliozat had a plan to edit and publish the NDV (Hinuber, O. (1996) p95) But it was not possible to find it before finishing this edition.

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II

Text's title, Author and Date

'*Nalāṭa*,' the term for forehead in Pāli is used by South East Asians as '*Lalāṭa*.' As I understand it, the slight difference seen could be of grammatical assimilation; the second letter '*la*' being assimilated to the first letter '*na*.' It is to be noted here that this difference does not cause any change to the meaning at all.⁶ The authorship of this text is not given and neither is there any other literary or historical record,⁷ at least, Gandhavaṃsa, the text that gives historical records of Pāli Literature does not provide any relevant information on the author of NDV, too. Giger notes that it was written in the 19th century.⁸ However, Pāli works in the 19th century show a completely mixed language style that cannot be found in *the NDV*. On the other hand, the *Sandesakathā* and the *Rāma Sandesa*, written in the 19th century explicitly indicated how Pāli compilations in that period were "Sanskritized" and "Sinhialized". Thus, there is no concrete reason to agree with Giger at all. Comparing with the language of the *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa*, Bharatasīṅge suggests that the NDV could have been written not too long prior to the *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa*. It would appear that Giger's proposition could perhaps be a hypothesis instead. *Malalasekara* suggests that the style of NDV is also equal to the *Mahābodhivāṃsa*, which was written in later *Polonnaru* period. Consequently, he presumes that this text was written in the 10th or 11th century A. D.⁹ However, it is difficult to agree with his first assertion. The language style of *Mahābodhivāṃsa* is quite different from *NDV* and it apparently inclines towards Sanskrit instead. The *Mahābodhivāṃsa*, poetic, profuse in expressions and with long compounds attests that the NDV is far from such a format with its simple Pāli language syntax. Nevertheless, it does not mean that his second suggestion is incorrect. I would also agree that the *NDV* could be written in the 10th or 11th century. Sanskrit influence on both Pāli and Sinhalese literature came about either after or during later *Polonnaru* period.¹⁰ Therefore, I would like to propose tentatively that this text was most likely written during the 10-11th centuries A. D. (early *Polonnaru* period)

Venerable Nandarātana concurred with Gunapala Senadhira that the *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa* was written during *Dambadeṇi* Period.¹¹ Comparing the language and content of *Sinhala* and Pāli *NDVs*, he concluded with a chronological definition in line with that of Gunapala Senadhira's.¹² Interestingly, Prof. Wijerathne also gives the

⁶ These examples will be helpful to understand the real situation of this assimilation. Ex. *Mārga*>*magga*, *Karma*>*Kamma*

⁷ The author of the Pāli work and its date are unknown., *Malalasekara*, G. P. (1958) p255

⁸ Last of all a number of modern works will be mentioned which cannot be dated accurately, or were composed in the 19th century. Giger, W. (1956) p48

⁹ The similarity of treatment between the *Nalata dhatuvamsa* and the *Mahabodhi vamsa* leads me to assign both works to the same period of Pali literature, namely to the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. Ibid

¹⁰ Especially, in *Polonnaru* period, the Sinhalese literary works like *Amāvatura*, *Dharmapradīpikā*, *Butsaraṇa*, *Muvadevdāvata*, were influenced by Sanskrit language and literary criteria. *Hattavanagalla vihāravāṃsa*, *Bodhivāṃsa*, *Smantakūṭavāṃṇanā* were influenced by Sanskrit language and literature.

¹¹ Nandarātana, K. (1984) pXXIV

¹² Nandarātana, K. (1984) pXXIV

same date in his *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa* edition.¹³ Venerable Nandarātana, further discounted the *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa* as being a mere translation of the *Pali Dhātuvāṃsa*¹⁴ and he pointed out a few missing stanzas in the *Pali Dhātuvāṃsa*, which appears in the *Sinhalese Dhātuvāṃsa* instead. The stanzas by Ven. Kakusanda, the author of *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa*, come into sight in *Rasavāhinī*, the texts written in *Dambadeṇi* period. It is, however, not distinctive that the author had transposed the complete group of stanzas from *Rasavāhinī*. As I see, Ven. Kakusanda had used a few stanzas, four only to be exact.¹⁵ In the particular section surveyed, *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthupparāṇa* give another additional few stanzas describing the same point. This means that the *Sinhalese Dhātuvāṃsa* is older than *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthupparāṇa* or all these texts were based on a common source whereas *Rasavāhinī* might have been illustrated with additional verses. Thus, it is clear that the *Sinhalese Dhātuvāṃsa* was not a direct translation of the *Pali Dhātuvāṃsa*. As the language style of the *Sinhala Dhātuvāṃsa* can be matched with that of *Dambadeṇi* period, *Bharatasīṅha* as well as Giger's posits with reference to the chronology of the *NDV* would be disregarded.

In addition, Venerable Nandarātana is of the opinion that *NDV* was later than *Thūpavāṃsa*. Referring the language styles of the two texts, he argues that *Thūpavāṃsa* displays a more standardised language than the *NDV*. I, without a doubt do agree with this assertion. Nevertheless, this factor is not ample prove that *NDV* was later than the *Thup* (*Thūpavāṃsa*). For instance, the language style and format of *Dīpavāṃsa* substantiates that it was an earlier work than *Mahāvāṃsa*; *Mahāvāṃsa*, which reduced repetitions and grammatical errors thus presented us a well-edited work. It is self explanatory that later texts would reduce errors and present facts in a better organized manner. In relations to this point, I presume that the "sub-standard" language style and non-developed writing skill demonstrated in *NDV* implies that it was earlier than *Thup* and the later *Thup* author had rectified linguistic errors of earlier day works. On the other hand, it is also plausible to assume that the *NDV* was written by an author whose Pāli was imperfect and had lived in the Southern region of Ceylon. On the contrary, Venerable Vācissara, the author of *Thup* had a strong academic background from his lineage.¹⁶ Thus, he reduced the errors appeared in *NDV* and composed the *Thup* later on.

NDV omits the story of Sumedha. It records that the statues of King Kākavaṇṇatissa and Cūḷapīṇḍapātātissa there were kept inside the pagoda at Seru city.¹⁷ *Thup*, on the other hand, further extended that the Buddha statue was also enshrined inside the Mahāthūpa.¹⁸ Future birth accounts of Kākavaṇṇatissa's family members contained in both texts

¹³ Wijerathne W. (2012) p186

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ The *NDV* does not use any stanza. As Venerable Nandarātana pointed out, *Sinhalese Dhātuvāṃsa* uses different four stanzas, which are not coming in the *NDV*. But, according to present published *Rasavāhinī*, it is hard to see such stanzas referred by Ven. Nandarātana.

¹⁶ See the introduction of Jayawickrama, N. A

¹⁷ *NDV* p52

¹⁸ *Thup* (other) p68

further clarifies and leads us to a differing view.¹⁹ While the *NDV* gave scant attention to King Kākavaṇṇatissa, his queen, and their two princes only; the *Thup* gives more details. This factor leads to a hypothesis which places *Thup* as a later work because it offers more details than the *NDV*. It could also be that the future birth accounts were added to *NDV* imitating from *Thup* giving future names for the king and queen. However, Venerable Nandaratana also presumes that the *NDV* was written by a monk who lived in *Rohaṇa*, Southern Ceylon; and he suggests divergently that the author had imitated the *Thup* but foiled by lesser linguistic skills.²⁰

Thirdly, Venerable Nandaratane draws our attention to two verses composed in two different meters: *Mālinī* and *Sandharā* (*Sragdharā*). Based on this point, he continues his view that *NDV* was written in a later period and emphasizes that this Sanskrit influence in Pāli literature was identified in later period. Nevertheless, this view is not strong enough to prove his hypothesis as Ceylon inherited Sanskrit metrical constructs and prosody during the 9-8th centuries.²¹ (If we admit that the *Jānakīharaṇa* was written by a King, who was contemporary to *Kālidāsa* in Ceylon²² even in the seven centuries, Sri Lankans were aware of such meters.)

If the author had limited himself to *Thup*, he would not have committed these grammatical errors at all. The errors found raised doubts whether this was based on a common *Sinhala Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* connected to *Rohaṇa* region.

The structural similarity of these two texts could be that both texts followed the same *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*. The *Thup*, mainly describes the incidents for the erection of *Mahāthūpa* and history. Nevertheless, the *Thup* author's intention to edify King *Duṭṭhagāmiṇī-abhaya* is clear with his extensive descriptions penned while the *NDV* gives priority to King *Kākavaṇṇatissa* who was the father of King *Duṭṭhagāmiṇī-abhaya*. In fact, Ceylonese history has it that King *Kākavaṇṇatissa*, laid the foundation for victory by organizing army, preparing weaponry extending land areas strategically, and reserving food in fighting with King *Elāra*.²³ The author of *Thup* does not convey the prowess of King *Kākavaṇṇatissa* enough and embodies the prudence of King *Duṭṭhagāmiṇī*. Therefore, it is clear that these two texts praised two different Kings. The authors might have referred to a common source in compiling the *NDV* and the *Thup* but *NDV* was earlier than the *Thup*.

III

The Five Chapters of *NDV*

The first chapter of *NDV* discusses the Buddha's three visits to Ceylon. Sources drawn in this chapter, especially were from the common *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* found in chronicles such as the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa*. Nevertheless, chapter one contains important facts about

King *Nāga Sumana*.²⁴ In addition to this, the author made no mention of King *Sumedha*, a common feature for all the chronicles. The second chapter details the demise of the Buddha and distribution of his sacred relics. In particular, it details the three tooth relics concealed by *Droṇa*²⁵ while distributing the sacred relics among the Kings assembled at *Pāvā* city. The third chapter discusses the succession of the sacred frontal relic. Initially, the frontal relic was obtained by *Mallas* and after *Arahant Mahākassapa* disclosed that the Buddha had already permitted to enshrine his frontal relic in Ceylon, the *Mallas* hastened to relinquish without any hesitation. This chapter further unfolds how the frontal relic was protected and brought over from its ancestry in India to Ceylon. The arrival of the frontal relic to *Kukkuṭa* rock and its journey to *Mahāgāma* in Ceylon is also described in the third chapter. In addition, the *Rohaṇa* region history and monasteries built by historical kings respectful of the frontal relic are also featured in this chapter. So, it would appear that the third chapter can be considered to be an important historical source for related accounts of the *Rohaṇa* region in ancient Ceylon. The fourth chapter narrates a unique account of King *Kākavaṇṇatissa*'s past lives. By presenting this narrative, the author tries to make out that King *Kākavaṇṇatissa* had accumulated immeasurable merits in his *Samāsāra*²⁶ and obtained a higher stature in that particular life consequently. Moreover, this chapter reveals the arrival of *Giri-abhaya* and *Somā* to Trincomalee region due to the bull-headed behavior of prince *Duṭṭhagāmiṇī*. Especially, it reports on the pagoda named *Somā*, which was erected by *Giri-abhaya*, having enshrined the right tooth relic of the Buddha for his queen *Somā* to worship.²⁷ It also describes how king *Kākavaṇṇatissa* and his queen *Vihāradevī* organized their journey to *Seru* from *Mahāgāma* city with the sacred frontal relic. The fifth chapter (the longest) in this text minutely explains how King *Kākavaṇṇatissa* had designated land to build the *Seru Pagoda*, how bricks were collected, in which form the relic receptacle was planned and how religious ceremonies were conducted commemorating the enshrinement of the sacred frontal relic.

IV

Language and Writing style

The history of Pāli Literature shows different language styles over different periods. Texts written in the 13th century such as the *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa* were compiled in its Sanskritized form. Pāli works in the 19th and 20th centuries, too demonstrate both Sinhalese and a Sanskrit mixed language style. Nonetheless, texts like the *Dāṭhāvamsa*, *Mahānāgākula sandesa* were compiled in simple Pāli language. *NDV*, the text belonging to modern Pāli Literature is compiled in simple Pāli language throughout the work; however, it does not mean that this text signifies an exceptional language style. Occasionally, it is shaded by Sinhalese language.

Firstly, I would like to put forth a hypothesis that the *NDV* was not a direct Pāli compilation. It might have been translated into Pāli from a Sinhalese source. Next, I would like to raise a question as to the nature of source used for

¹⁹ Ibid p88

²⁰ Nandaratane, K. (1984) pXXIX

²¹ See Introduction to *Siyabasakara*

²² Kumārādhatuseṇa (Kumārādāsa).-Son of Moggallāna I, and king of Ceylon (513-522 A.C.). His son was Kittisena (Cv.xli.1f). Tradition tells of his friendship with a poet Kālidāsa. The authorship of the *Jānakīharaṇa* is generally ascribed to him (Cv.Trs.i.51, n.1).

[http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/en/word/10024/kumaradhatuse%20\(kumaradasa\)](http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/en/word/10024/kumaradhatuse%20(kumaradasa))

²³ *Thup* (other) p47

²⁴ *NDV* p10

²⁵ Ibid p16

²⁶ Ibid p36

²⁷ Ibid p41

this work. It could be a *Sinhala Porāṇakathā* for one, but it could also be a *Sinhala Dhātuvaṃsa* (not what we have at present). Let me present the evidence accordingly. I could collect syntaxes in the *NDV* as follows: “*imassa thānassa ārakkhaṃ karohīti*”²⁸ This fragment, in fact, follows Sinhalese syntax “*me sthānayaṭa āraksāva karava/salasava*.” Likewise, the statement “*Janapadavāsī manussāpi therassa santike sīlāni gaṇhanti*”²⁹ should also be admitted as an outcome of Sinhalese syntax like “*Danav vesi maṇṣayoda terunge samīpayehi sil ganit*” Sinhalese influence in the *NDV* makes a bad reputation for the author as if he was less adept in Pāli. However, my viewpoint regarding this is different. In fact, the problem might not be with his Pāli skill. The less impressive language could be due to a direct translation from the Sinhalese source taken. The *NDV* author’s preference for Sinhalese sources might have led to his unintentional use of Sinhalese syntaxes and his committing of many grammatical errors throughout the text. Take for example the simple phrase, “*hatthe pupphita*”³⁰ Simple as it is, yet it carried differing implications. Venerable *Nandarātana* corrected this to be “*hatthesu thita*”³¹ But as I understand the reason for this usage is most likely Sinhalese influence. “*Hattha*” in Pāli means ‘hand’ however, in this context; it means “branches” though. In which way did the mixed up happen? Sinhalese classical texts use the preposition ‘at’ for both ‘hands’ and ‘branches.’ The author of *NDV* might have overlooked this and mistakenly translated the preposition ‘at’-‘hi’ in Pāli as ‘on the hands’, instead of ‘on the branches’ in this case. Consequently, I think, the less standardized language style existed in this text was due to its Sinhalese influence mainly. In Pāli, the usage of ‘dative’ or ‘possessive’ case in this phrase “*imassa thānassa ārakkhaṃ karohīti*” is uncommon. The proper usage would be in the accusative case. In Sinhala, “*sthānayaṭa* or *sthānayaṅe*” (dative or genitive) could be used. As a direct translation of a Sinhalese text, we see irregularities in the language style of *NDV*. Another error readily identified is “*Jambukolaṭaṭṭanaṃ patvā dijavarassa ācikkhitamaggena anurādhapuraṃ patvā*”³² Here, too, there is an irregular, mixed of cases used in the underlined words. “*dijavarassa*” is a dative form while *ācikkhitamaggena* being instrumental. This is likely to be another Sinhalese translation influence. It may be as in “*Dambakolaṭaṭṭanaṭa pemiṇa bamunāṭa pevasūmaga gena*.” The dative case in Sinhala had remained unchanged.

Except for the instances above, the *NDV* demonstrates some confusion made by unnecessary “Sinhalization”. For instance, the author time to time translates Sinhalese names, villages or places into Pāli: *Uttaravāna* (*Uturuvān*)³³, *Sigālapāsāna*³⁴ (*kenahilāgala*), *Macchaseḷa*³⁵ (*massala*), *paṭṭanamukhadvāre*³⁶ (*paṭṭanumuvadora*) *kota raṭṭhake*³⁷ (?), *vaḍḍhamāna pabbatapāde*³⁸ (?)

*ambaselavihāraṃ*³⁹ (*ambagala*), *Khīrasalasanupabbatavihāraṃ*⁴⁰ (?) *hatthoṭṭhajanapade*⁴¹ (*hatthoṭa*).

Structure

The structure of *NDV* can be studied in different manners. It was compiled in both prose and verses. According to the format of the text, this could be known as ‘*Ākhyāyāna*’⁴² The discussion in the prose is mostly repeated in verses. The author had intended this treatise as a poetic work, not merely a historical or religious text. A number of ornamented descriptions are found in the text. Occasionally, he employs some stories by merging the characters and incidents accordingly. Narratives, similes, metaphors and alliterations found especially convinced its poetic worth. Moreover, in a few places, I detected that the author uses commentarial hermeneutics too. I divided the text into two main parts according to my understanding. The first three chapters formed the first part. They discuss the general history on the life of the Buddha, Buddhist culture in India and the history of Buddha relic distribution. The second part (4-5 chapters) gives priority to historical incidents relating to the Rohaṇa region in Ceylon. On the outset, the last two chapters appear to give historical accounts on the sacred frontal relic too, however, after a careful analysis, the author’s intention to illustrate succession of King Kākavaṇṇatissa can be revealed.⁴³ Details on the history of the sacred frontal relic occurred are subsequent to that. First three chapters of the *NDV* are based on the common materials in commentaries and other chronicles. Nevertheless, it is obvious that its last two were based on a special source related to the Rohaṇa region. It should be noted that historical accounts in the last two chapters are not common to other Sri Lankan Pāli or historical works. It is the unique identity of *NDV*.

Rhetoric

The *NDV* holds Buddha relics related facts on Buddhist history, rituals and ceremonies; narratives, occasionally doctrinal points, Indian and South Ceylonese historical information, too form part of its content. Although the author attempted to compose the text by preserving original (simple) Pāli style, time to time he used long compounds too. Composing verses, he applies alliterations in this piece of work. The author was adept at different but appropriate similes and metaphors in this compilation. In accordance with the above analysis, it is clear that the author had utilized poetic features to contrast his writing style. In this composition, long compounds similar in structure to Sanskrit prose literature or later Pāli literary texts such as the *Hatthavanagallavivihāravāṃsa* are used. For instance, “*Tadanantaram*”

²⁸ Ibid p10

²⁹ Ibid p26

³⁰ MS (Colombo)

³¹ *NDV* p9

³² Ibid p19

³³ Ibid p68

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid p48

³⁷ Ibid p38

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid p31

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid p25

⁴² A short narrative, metrically shortened in comp, SED, p129 / The *Ākhyāna* is different than ‘*Kathā*’ and ‘*Campu*.’ Especially, the structure of the *Ākhyāna* contains a few stanzas after prose.

Nevertheless, the contents of the verses also repeats the same discussion found in the prose. The structure of *Campu* is also equal to *Ākhyāna*. But, the verses in *Campu* do not continue the discussion that we see in the prose.

⁴³ *NDV* p32

*andhakalalapūritasetuppalamālāvibhūsitamanimayatthutta rasataghatapantiyo thapāpesi*⁴⁴”

These long compounds here are mere rhapsodic explanations; they do not interfere with one's understanding and the author's intent for the text. In other words, the compounds found in this writing are no more complex, they are, moreover substantiated.

“*Sihavyagghadīpicammehi-*

*asādhitasuvannāṅkārasuvannadhahajahemajālasaṅchanne.*⁴⁵”

Some times, the treatise implies a slight Sanskrit influence even in these compounds with the form in natural exaggerations. Particularly,

“*manikundalamekhalānūpuravalayādiviccitasabbāṅkārav ibhūsitāhi*⁴⁶”

In this fragment, I see a likely Sanskrit rhapsody.

Noticeably, the author used alliterations in both prose and verses. In the following quotation “*rattasetanīluppalakumudapadumapūṇḍarīkasatapattasahass apattajalajehi*⁴⁷” I should highlight it segment by segment to show where the underlined help to produce alliterations, e.g. as in [*rattasetanīluppala*]. Additionally, two different vowels placed in close proximity also produce alliteration. In the second segment of, [*kumudapadumapūṇḍarīka*], it is easy to recognize how the vowel ‘u’ is applied with small poses or gap and it produces alliteration rhythmically. In the next part, the sound of the vowel (short and long) is gradually increased. In its first part, it contains short vowels and at the end, a double consonant. By using the double consonant, it breaks the stereotyped utterance of short vowels. In the following part [*satapattasahassapatta*], it is very simple to find the alliteration. ‘s’ and ‘t’ sounds are used here and double consonant is also applied at the same time to produce alliteration in this instance too. Further instances of alliteration in the text can be discussed by referring to this:

“*suphullapupphaphaladhārita*

*nānāvīdhaviccitasālasalacampakāsokarukkhānāgarukkhā dīhi.*⁴⁸”

I select here the first segment - [*suphullapupphaphaladhārita*]. In this fragment, ‘p’ and ‘ph’ sounds are used to produce alliteration. And, the vowel ‘u’ too rhymes in this sentence. Next, in [*nānāvīdhaviccita*] a different alliteration can be seen. By using double ‘n’, it creates alliteration again. Usage of ‘l’ in three places also gives rhythm, ‘dha’ and ‘tt’ stress the sound and produce pauses for melody. Finally, [*sālasalacampakā*] applies ‘s’ and ‘l’ sounds combined produce alliterations. Moreover, in [*campakāsokarukkhānāgarukkhā*] above, ‘k’ a consonant and ‘ā’ vowel create alliterations. So, with the few examples given, one can clearly find the effort made by the author to use alliterations in his work.

On top of the examples above in prose, the text displays even verses composed with alliterations.

“*Uruvelam tato gantvā uruvelāya saññitam*

*Uruvelenanuññāto uruvelanāgam dami*⁴⁹”

‘Uruvela’ the word used in a four-lined verse signify

⁴⁴ Ibid p51

⁴⁵ Ibid p54

⁴⁶ Ibid p53

⁴⁷ Ibid p7

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Ibid p5

‘yamakāṅkāra’ - one of the theories in Sanskrit literary rules. This does not limit to Sanskrit literature use only, such poetic slant can be found even in the Buddhist canon, for instance, “*punappunam ceva vapanti bījam*⁵⁰” The alliteration in this text again comes in the same chapter⁵¹ as follows:-

“*Atisayamatisāro sārādānam karonto*

Ati adhiramaṇiyo sabbalokekanetto

Atigunadharaṇiyo sabbasatte tamaggaṃ

*Ativipuladayo tānetumāgā sudīpaṃ*⁵²”

Note that the first part of all four lines starts with ‘ati.’ And the first two lines trail off; end with ‘to’ in rhyme. The last two lines, however, rhyme with ‘m’, a different ending instead. Usage of rhyme in Pāli is very rare; this stanza holds significance from its literary perspective.

Our next attention to another stanza from chapter two as below:-

“*Sumanamakuḷasabhāvā ca dhotamuttābhameva ca*

*Suvannavannasamkāsā avasissamsu dhātuyo*⁵³”

In the first two lines, the emphasis goes to the ‘m’ sound. Additionally, in the first line, the ‘s’ sound also helps to produce rhythm here. Analyzing in a different way, the first line is formed with the dental + labial + dental + labial + guttural + cerebral + dental + labial sounds. In this analysis, it is easy to understand that by introducing the guttural + cerebral, the author created an uncommon rhythm by breaking the stereotyped sounds. By using the ‘s’ and double consonant ‘mm’ in last two lines, again alliteration was created in a simple manner.

“*Soḷasanāliyo āsuṃ sabbā tā sesadhātuyo*

*Ekekapuravāsīnam dve dve doṇo adā tadā*⁵⁴”

This stanza also contains features of alliterations. In the first line ‘soḷasanāliyo’ the consonant ‘l’ occurred twice and it gives rhythm to the word. Moreover, ‘o’ and ‘ā’ in this word also produce rhythmic sounds. In the third and fourth lines ‘ekeka’, ‘dve dve’, ‘adā tadā’ occurred in pairs to produce alliterations repeatedly in ‘yamakāṅkāra.’

In addition to the above, we find rhyming of all lines in a stanza of NDV chapter two.⁵⁵ In another stanza, the rhyme appeared not in the tail end of the lines but in the first caesura.⁵⁶ The following stanza especially implies a rare poetic expression in the first two lines.

“*Jātarūpamaye kumbhe kumbhe ca ratanāmaye*

*Pañca pañca sateyeva thapāpesi samantato*⁵⁷”

This is called ‘sandatṭha-yamaka’ which is more familiar in complex Sanskrit poetry rules.

The meters in this text are very limited in numbers. Among simple meters, two meters, especially, familiar to secular Sanskrit literary criteria are found. We find mostly a very simple and common meter to Pāli canonical literature, called ‘anuṭṭhubha’ which was also used in Vedic texts too. In addition to that ‘upajāti’⁵⁸, a more commonly found

⁵⁰ Th p55

⁵¹ Mahāpañño mahāsaddho mahāvīro mahā isi

Mahābalena sampanno mahantagunabhūsito, NDV p10

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ibid p14

⁵⁴ Ibid p17

⁵⁵ Ibid p23

⁵⁶ Ibid p44

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ A mixed meter of ‘indavajirā’ and ‘upendra vajirā’. This meter is very familiar with Theragāthā and some other Pāli canonical texts.

meter in the Pāli canon is also seen in the *NDV*. (6p, 2-1, 2-2⁵⁹, 22p, 30p, 31p, 32p, 36p, 70p,). Apart from these, one unknown meter is found⁶⁰ in chapter V. In addition, secular poetic meters are also shown, ‘*Mālinī*’ for one, (10) and *Sandharā* (*Sragdharā*), the other. (22)

Simile is a significant communication strategy used in every literature. It is a common technique even in the Pāli Suttantas. The *NDV* also contains a number of similes. They can be categorized into physical and metaphysical similes. The following similes - ‘like a golden rock touched by rays of sun’⁶¹ ‘like *Kailās* mountain shaped of a bubble of water’⁶² ‘like a poorer obtained glory of Universal monarch’⁶³ ‘like a time raised thousand of suns and moons’⁶⁴ ‘like a silver bubble placed on the golden wall’⁶⁵ all demonstrate metaphysical objects. On the other hand, some other similes imply physical material as ‘like the sound produced in the mouth of sugar cane machine.’⁶⁶ ‘shines like a sun’⁶⁷ ‘like a full moon’⁶⁸ ‘like a heap of jasmine buds and pearl’⁶⁹ ‘like Ven. Ānandatthero the treasurer of *Dhamma*’⁷⁰ ‘like tenders very red’⁷¹

Throughout the text, a few metaphors are thus found: ‘the relic range of seed of mustard’⁷² ‘ear ring of sea’⁷³ ‘blue rays collected neck of peacock.’⁷⁴

Analyzing the literary features of *NDV*, some narratives are found too. The story of King Nāga Sumana in the first chapter clearly indicates history and narration. In the fifth chapter, again we find a narrative disclosing the previous life or lives (?) of King Kākavaṇṇatissa. The format of this narrative is apparently equal to that of the *Jātaka* stories.

Investigating further, the *NDV* takes in some stanzas and prose which were either directly or indirectly cited from other Pāli texts. For instance, direct quotations are taken from the *Buddhavaṃsa*,⁷⁵ *Mahāvaṃsa*,⁷⁶ and *Dhammapada*⁷⁷. And indirectly, it throws open some prose paragraphs which are equal to *Thup*, too. These similarities might probably be due to the usage of the same *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*.

The author appeared to have applied some commentarial features in his writing in a few instances. Mentioning the way of respect by laying down in five places, he illustrated the five places and the reasons to avoid them. This indicates that the author was sometimes influenced by

contemporary literature: Pāli commentaries or sub-commentaries. In other words, the *NDV* demonstrates a mixed of traditional Pāli literary works and some of poetic characteristics.

V

Historical Significance

The first chapter discusses the life of the Buddha from a historical aspect as we find in the canonical literature. It also indicates a historical record for the three visits of the Buddha to Ceylon. This description is common to all the chronicles and some Pāli commentaries. Nevertheless, detailing of Nāga Sumana found in this chapter is uncommon for Pāli literature. The second chapter gives accounts on the demise of the Exalted One and distribution of his relics. Pertaining to relic distribution, this chapter discloses the unpublished behaviour of Brahmin Droṇa, too. As the text says, Droṇa had found three tooth relics on that occasion. But, later on, they were all taken by Nāgas and deities.⁷⁸ This additional detail cannot be seen in any other source of Pāli literature. The third chapter portrays substantial historical facts for the sacred frontal relic to Ceylon. The chapter details, especially on the succession of relics. In addition, the *NDV* throws light unto the unknown history of the *Rohaṇa* region. For instance, this text records that king Goṭṭābhaya killed ten brothers who lived in *Kācaragāma* and built five hundred temples as atonement for the evil Kamma committed.⁷⁹ Ceylonese history traced the bloodline of these ten brothers right up to the period of King Vijaya as original *Aryans*. Goṭṭābhaya was a King of the Mahānāga clan who emigrated from Anurādhapura and built his kingdom near the kingdom of the ten brothers of Kalyāṇitissa clan.⁸⁰ For this historical account, the *NDV* offers us vital contribution. Besides, historians are doubtful and do not concur about the time gap between king Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmiṇī, and they suggest that Kākavaṇṇatissa and Goṭṭābhaya were brothers.⁸¹ The *NDV* notes that Kākavaṇṇatissa was the son of Goṭṭābhaya instead. Nevertheless, historians do contend on the point that Sinhalese used ‘*bata*’ > ‘*puta*’⁸² for brother. To them, although the Sinhalese based *NDV* uses the Pāli term ‘*putta*’, it does not substantially attest to its claim of the two kings being father and son.⁸³ Having painstakingly analyzed the language style of this text, I, too, am not of a different opinion from the historians.

From *NDV*, History indicates that King Kākavaṇṇatissa had a long term plan and he was not hasty in warring with the Tamil King, Elara in *Anurādhapura*. Nonetheless, Prince Gāmiṇī wanted to start the war and plotted a clash with his uncle, Giri-abhaya in the mean time. However, King Kākavaṇṇatissa planned to mediate the conflict instead because country peace was more important before starting the war with King *Elara*. As a result, he erected the frontal relic shrine north of the *Mahaveli* River. This plan was not acknowledged by prince Gāmiṇī because he had a quarrel with his uncle Giri-abhaya. In this sense, to study

⁵⁹ The editions note a different term at the end of the first line.

The word ‘mahissaro’ is proposed because it helps to preserve meter and does not affect even the meaning.

⁶⁰ *NDV* p23

⁶¹ *Ibid* p7

⁶² *Ibid* p8

⁶³ *Ibid* p19

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p26

⁶⁵ *Ibid* p51

⁶⁶ *Ibid* p8

⁶⁷ *Ibid* p12

⁶⁸ *Ibid* p14

⁶⁹ *Ibid* [this is a simile comes in the commentary: *vippakinnattā sarirānūti vuttaṃ sumanamakuḷasadisā ca dhotamuttasadisā ca suvaṇṇasadisā ca dhātuyo avasissimsūti attho*. (D-a II p603)]

⁷⁰ *NDV* p28

⁷¹ *Ibid* p33

⁷² *Ibid* p14

⁷³ *Ibid* p55

⁷⁴ *Ibid* p61

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p17, p18 and p19

⁷⁶ *Ibid* p5

⁷⁷ *Ibid* p35

⁷⁸ *Ibid* p20

⁷⁹ *Ibid* p31

⁸⁰ See *The History of Ceylon*.

⁸¹ *Ibid*

⁸² In Sinhalese ‘*marā*’ means ‘having beaten.’ But, in general usage, it means ‘having killed’

⁸³ In Sinhalese ‘*marā*’ means ‘having beaten.’ But, in general usage it means ‘having killed’

this unseen history of Ceylon, the NDV becomes a very useful source.

Moreover, significant accounts of the fifth chapter bring forth this text as a key source to gather information for the history of Ceylon. It seems that King Kākavaṇṇatissa was very intelligent and he planned wisely to defeat King Elāra. Consequently, he decided to enshrine the frontal relic strategically at *Seru* city and befriended Kings Giri-abhaya and *Siva*, who ruled north to *Mahaveli* River, near the Kingdom of Elāra.

VI

Current Edition

In this edition, I intend to use four sources indicated as in Cm, Ne, We and Be below:-

Cm: The original manuscript found at Colombo Museum is of 69 folios and of readable condition currently.

Ne: Kamburupitiye Nandarathane Thera's edition is the first ever printed edition of NDV found. He edited this chronicle for his Masters degree at the University of Ceylon (later, University of Peradeniya) in 1984. For this piece of work, he assessed three palm leaf manuscripts from Colombo museum, Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena at Demaṭaḡoḡa and Medavala temple in Kandy. The Romanized version of his work is available in the Gretil electronic library.⁸⁴

We: a recently published "*Sinhala Dhātuvaṃsa* (2012) [Sinhalese *Dhātuvaṃsa*]" a work of Prof. Wimal Wijerathne, contains an edition of the Pāli NDV too. He had referred four (4) direct manuscripts and Venerable Nandarathane's work in this edition.

Be: The fourth version of Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā electronic source also presents an edition of the NDV. But, upon closer investigation, this is found to be just a transliterated work of Nandarathane's edition. The Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā edition (henceforth Be) is frequently found to mix up 'i' and 'ī', 'u' and 'ū', 'ta' and 'na', 'ca' and 'va', 'tha' and 'tha', 'bha' and 'ha'. In addition 'Be' also occasionally omitted some fragments from the Sinhalese edition.⁸⁵ Another problem found with this 'Be' edition is that there is not any difference between the work of Gretil and 'Be.' The Gretil transcription indicates even foot notes of Nandarathane's edition and it is clear that it was the original transcription. Accordingly, the 'Be' should be known as a direct copy of the Gretil transliteration. In this case, I was initially hesitant to refer the 'Be' as an legitimate edition. However, finally, I decided to use 'Be' because it does not indicate any hint that it is a transliterary work.

Yet, it should be noted here that both the published Sinhalese editions do manifest a number of errors in their works. Anyway, on some occasions, I do agree with the terms of MSS and see pointless suggestions by Sinhalese editor. In the meantime, the only English edition by Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā has indications of transliterated Nandarathane's work. This means that there is no dependable English edition except for the two Sinhalese versions. This academic gap motivated me to produce a new edition of NDV in English. I appreciate the commendable discipline and worth of Sinhalese editors,

especially, venerable Nandarathane throughout his work. He does not correct some grammatical errors appeared in original MSS. His practice is very important because this text implies different language styles in the history of Pāli Literature. We should preserve the original form of the terms to understand the real language form of a text. In keeping with this, I too attempted to maintain the original but suitable term throughout the text. Besides, I checked the meters used by the author and edited a few places in the treatise accordingly.

Chapter 01

Dhātuvaṃso⁸⁶

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa

Tathāgatassāgamanakathā

Sambuddhamatulam suddham dhammam saṅgham anuttaram

Namassitvā⁸⁷ pavakkhāmi dhātuvaṃsappakāsanam.⁸⁸ (1)

Tikkhattumagamā⁸⁹ nātho laṅkāḍīpaṃ manoramam
Sattānam hitamicchanto sāsanassa ciraṭṭhitim. (2)

1. Tattha tikkhattumagamā⁴ nātho'ti anamatagge
saṃsāraṇaṭṭe parināmetvā appaṭṭisaraṇabhāvasattānam⁹⁰
lokiyalokuttarasukhanipphādanabhāvena nātho
paṭṭisaraṇabhūto⁹¹ bhagavā
buddhadhammasaṅgharatanattayamaggaṃ⁹² ācikkhanto
laṅkāḍīpaṃ tikkhattum āgato.⁹³ Tattha paṭhamagamane
tāva bodhimaṇḍam āruya puratthimābhimukho⁹⁴ nisīditvā
suriyo⁹⁵ atthaṅgamiteyeva⁹⁶ mārabalam vidhametvā,
paṭhamayāme pubbenivāsāṇaṃ anussaritvā
majjhimayāme cutūpapātaṇaṃ⁹⁷ patvā
pacchimayāmāvasāne paccayākāreṇaṃ otāretvā
dasabalacatuvesārajjādi guṇapatimaṇḍitam
sabbāññutaṇaṃ paṭivijjhitvā* bodhimaṇḍappadesa
anukkamena⁹⁸ sattasattāham** vītināmetvā atṭhame sattāhe
ajāpālanigrodhamūle nisinnō dhammagambhīratam⁹⁹
paccavekkhanena¹⁰⁰ appossukkatam āpajjamāno

⁸⁶ nalāṭadhātuvaṃso We

⁸⁷ namassitvā Ne] namassetvā Cm We

⁸⁸ dhātuvaṃsappakāsanam Ne] dhātuvaṃsapakāsakam Cm We

⁸⁹ tikkhattumagamā Ne] tikkhattumāgamā Cm We

⁹⁰ appaṭṭisaraṇabhāvasattānam Cm] appanisaṇaṇabhāvappattānam
We appaṭṭisaraṇabhāvappattānam Ne

⁹¹ paṭṭisaraṇabhūto Ne] paṭṭisaraṇabhūto Cm We

⁹² ratanattayamaggaṃ Ne] ratanattayam maggaṃ Cm We

⁹³ āgato Cm We] gato Ne

⁹⁴ puratthimābhimukho Cm Ne We] puratthimābhimukho Be

⁹⁵ suriyo Cm] suriye Ne We Be

⁹⁶ atthaṅgamiteyeva Cm We] anattamiteyeva'va Ne Be

⁹⁷ cutūpapātaṇaṃ Cm Ne We] cutupapātaṇaṃ Be

* Comp. nisīditvā-sūriye anattamiteyeva mārabalam vidhametvā
paṭhamayāme pubbe nivāsāṇaṃ majjhimayāme
cutūpapātaṇaṃ patvā pacchimayāmāvasāne dasabala
catuvesārajjādi guṇapatimaṇḍitam sabbāññutaṇaṃ paṭivijjhitvā.
Thūp

⁹⁸ anukkamena Cm Ne Be] anukkamena We

** Comp. Eteneva upāyena sattasattāham bodhimaṇḍe viharitvā
rājāyatanamūle madhupiṇḍikabhojanam paribhuñjitvā puna
ajāpālanigrodhamūlam āgantvā tattha nisinnō

dhammagambhīratam paccavekkhitvā appossukkatāya citte

namante mahābrahmunā yācīto buddhacakkhunā lokam volokento
A-a I 146

⁹⁹ dhammagambhīratam Cm Ne We] dhammagambhīratam Be

¹⁰⁰ paccavekkhanena Cm Ne Be] paccavekkhanena We

⁸⁴ See: http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/2_pali/3_chron/dhaturau.htm

⁸⁵ NDV p43

dasasahassa brahmaparivārena¹⁰¹
 sahapati mahābrahmūnā¹⁰² āyācitadhammadesako¹⁰³ hutvā
 buddhacakkhunā lokam olokento¹⁰⁴ pañcavaggiyānaṃ
 bhikkhūnaṃ¹⁰⁵ bahūpakāraṃ¹⁰⁶ anussarivā utthāyāsānā
 kāsinam¹⁰⁷ puram¹⁰⁸ gantvā āsālhi puñnamidivase tesam
 vasaṇṇānaṃ gantvā¹⁰⁹ aññakoṇḍaṇṇappamukhe*
 aṭṭhārasa brahmakotiyo amatam pāyento dhammacakkaṃ
 pavattetvā pakkhassa pañcamiyam pañcavaggiye sabbepi te
 arahatte¹¹⁰ patiṭṭhāpetvā tam divasameva yasakulaputtassa
 rattibhāge sotāpatti phalaṃ datvā punadivase arahattam¹¹¹
 datvā tassa sahāyake catupañāsajane arahattam²⁶ pāpetvā
 ** evam loke ekasatthi¹¹² arahantesu jātesu vutthavasso
 pavāretvā, ‘cārikam bhikkhave carathāti’¹¹³ bhikkhū¹¹⁴
 disāsu pesetvā sayam uruvelam gacchanto antarāmagge
 kappāsikavanasaṇḍe bhaddavaggiye kumāre timsajane
 vinetvā ehibhikkhubhāvena pabbājetvā uruvelam gantvā
 aḍḍhuḍḍhāni pāṭihāriyasahasāni dassento
 uruvelakassapādayo sahasajāṭilaparivāre tebhātikajāṭile¹¹⁵
 vinento tatttheva vihāsi.

2. Aparabhāge aṅgamagadharatthavāsino
 uruvelakassapassa mahāyaññam upaṭṭhāpesuṃ. So pana
 icchācārābhībhūto¹¹⁶ cintesi, “sacāyam mahāsamaṇo
 imassa samāgamassa majjhe pāṭihāriyam kareyya
 lābhasakkāro me pariḥāyissati” ti. Tassevam
 pavattajjhāsayam¹¹⁷ ṇatvā pātova uttarakuruto bhikkham
 āharitvā anotatte āhāram paribhuñjitvā sāyaṇhasamaye
 phussapūṇamī uposathdivase laṅkāḍīpassatthāya
 laṅkāḍīpamupāgami.

3. Tassa pana dīpassa mahāgaṅgāya dakkhiṇapasse¹¹⁸

¹⁰¹ brahmaparivārena Cm Ne Be] brahmaparivāreṇa We

¹⁰² sahapatimahābrahmūnā Cm Ne Be]

sahampatimahābrahmūnā We

¹⁰³ āyācitadhammadesano Cm Ne We Be

¹⁰⁴ olokento Ne We Be] volokento Cm

¹⁰⁵ bhikkhūnaṃ Cm Ne We] bhikkhunam Be

¹⁰⁶ bahūpakāraṃ Cm] bahūpakāratam Ne We Be

¹⁰⁷ kāsinam Ne Be] kāsikam Cm We

¹⁰⁸ Comp. satta sattāham bodhisamīpeyeva vītināmetvā aṭṭhame
 sattāhe ajapāla nigrodhamūle nisinnō dhammagambhīratā
 paccavekkhanena apposukkatam āpajjamāno dasadahasā
 mahābrahma parivāreṇa sahapati mahābrahmūnā āyācita
 dhammadesano buddhacakkhunā lokam olokento brahmuno
 ajjhessanaṃ ādāya kassa nu kho paṭhamam dhammam deseयanti
 olokento ālāruddakānaṃ kālakatabhāvam ṇatvā pañcavaggiyānaṃ
 bhikkhunam bahūpakāratam anussarivā utthāyāsānā kāsipuram.
 Thūp

¹⁰⁹ Comp. āsālhi puñnamidivase tesam vasaṇṇānaṃ gantvā, Cm
 We] omit Ne Be

* Comp. aññākoṇḍaṇṇappamukhe aṭṭhārasa brahmakotiyo
 amatapānaṃ pāyento dhammacakkaṃ pavattetvā
 pavattitavaradhammacakko pañcamiyam pakkhassa sabbepi te
 bhikkhū arahatte patiṭṭhāpetvā Dh-p-a I 86

¹¹⁰ arahatte Cm Ne We] arahante Be

¹¹¹ arahattam Cm Ne We] arahantam Be

** Comp. Evam loke ekasatthiyā arahantesu jātesu vutthavasso
 pavāretvā, “caratha, bhikkhave, cārika” nti satthi bhikkhū disāsu
 pesetvā sayam uruvelam gacchanto antarāmagge
 kappāsikavanasaṇḍe timsa jane bhaddavaggiyakumāre vinesi
 Dh-p-a I 86

¹¹² ekasatthi Cm We] ekasatthiyā Ne Be

¹¹³ ‘cārikam bhikkhave carathāt Cm We] “caratha bhikkhave
 cārikam” ti Ne Be

¹¹⁴ bhikkhū Cm Ne We] bhikkhu Be

¹¹⁵ tebhātikajāṭile Ne Be] tibhātikajāṭile Cm We

¹¹⁶ icchācārābhībhūto Ne We Be] icchāmārābhībhūto Cm

¹¹⁷ pavatta ajjhāsayam Cm Ne We Be

¹¹⁸ dakkhiṇaphasse We] dakkhiṇapasse Cm Ne Be

āyāmato¹¹⁹ tiyojane puthulato ekayojanappamāṇe
 mahānāgavanuyyāne yakkhasamāgamassa majjhe tassa
 upari mayhaṅgaṇathūpassa¹²⁰ patiṭṭhānaṭṭhāne¹²¹ ākāseyeva
 ṭhito¹²² vuṭṭhivātandhakāraṃ dassetvā tesam bhayam
 uppādesi. Te bhayena¹²³ upaddutā “kassa nu kho imam
 kamman” ti ito cito olokento addasamsu¹²⁴ bhagavantam
 ākāse nisinnam disvā,¹²⁵ bhagavantam abhayam yācimsu.
 Tesam bhagavā āha: “sace tumhe abhayam icchatha
 mayham nisajjattānassa okāsam dethā” ti. Sabbepi te tassa
 nisajjattānaṃ adamsu. Bhagavā nisajjāya okāsam gahetvā
 tesam bhayam vinodetvā tehi dinne bhūmibhāge¹²⁶
 cammakhaṇḍam pattharivā nisīdi. Nisinnova¹²⁷ pana
 bhagavā cammakhaṇḍam pasāresi.¹²⁸

4. Te yakkhā bhītatasiṭā aññattha gantum asahamānā
 samantato sāgaratīre rāsibhūtā¹²⁹ ahesuṃ. Sathā
 giridīpaṃ¹³⁰ iddhānubhāvena āharitvā dassesi. Tesu tattha
 patiṭṭhitesu puna yathāṭṭhāneva ṭhapetvā
 pattharitacammakhaṇḍampi saṅkhipi. Tasmim khaṇe tato
 tato devā sannipatiṃsu. Sathā¹³¹ tesam samāgame
 dhammam desesi. Anekam pānakoṭīnam
 dhammābhisamayo ahoṣi. Saraṇesu ca sīlesu ca patiṭṭhitā
 asaṅkheyyā ahesuṃ. Sumanakūte pana mahāsumanadevo
 sotāpatti phalaṃ patvā attano pūjanīyam bhagavantam yāci.
 Bhagavā tena yācito sīsam pāṇinā parāmasesi.¹³² Pāṇinā
 parāmasanena¹³³ kesadhātū¹³⁴ gahetvā tassa adāsi. Datvā ca
 pana laṅkāḍīpaṃ tikkhattuṃ padakkhinam katvā
 tikkhattuṃ vicāretvā¹³⁵ [parittam katvā]¹³⁶ ārakham
 samvidhāya puna uruvelameva āgato.*

5. So pana kesadhātuyo suvaṇṇacaṅgaṭakenādāya sattu
 nisinnatthāne nānāratanehi vicittam thūpaṃ patiṭṭhāpetvā
 upari indanīlamanīthūpikāhi pidahitvā gandhamālādīhi
 pūjento vihāsi. Parinibbute* pana bhagavati sāriputtassa
 antevāsiko sarabhū nāma thero khīṇāsavo citakato¹³⁷
 iddhiyā tathāgatassa gīvatthim ādāya tasmim

¹¹⁹ āyāmato Ne] omit We Cm Be

¹²⁰ mayhaṅgaṇathūpassa Cm. mahiyaṅgaṇathūpassa Ne We Be

¹²¹ patiṭṭhānaṭṭhāne Ne Be] patiṭṭhitaṭṭhāne Cm We

¹²² ṭhito Cm We Ne] ṭhīto Be

¹²³ bhayena Ne Be] bhayehi Cm We

¹²⁴ addasamsu Ne Be] addasiṃsu We adasiṃsu Cm

¹²⁵ disvā Cm] disvāna Ne Be

¹²⁶ bhūmibhāge Cm Ne We] bhūmibhāge Be

¹²⁷ nisinnova Be] nisinnō ca Cm Ne We

¹²⁸ samantato ādimantaṃ sakalalaṅkāḍīpaṃ pasāresi. We.

samantato ādimantaṃ sakalalaṅkāḍīpaṃ pasādesi. Cm “samantato
 ādimantaṃ sakalalaṅkāḍīpaṃ” omit Ne Be

¹²⁹ rāsibhūtā Cm Ne] rāsibhūtā We Be

¹³⁰ giridīpaṃ Cm Ne Be] yakkhagiridīpaṃ We

¹³¹ sathā We] omit Cm Ne Be

¹³² parāmasesi Cm] parāmasi We omit Ne Be

¹³³ pāṇinā parāmasanena Cm We] parāmasitvā Ne Be

¹³⁴ kesadhātū Cm Ne We Be] kesadhātu Cm

¹³⁵ tikkhattuṃ vicāretvā Cm We] omit Ne Be

¹³⁶ parittam katvā Ne Be] omit Cm We

* similar with Vin-t, Thūp, Dāthā, and Mhv.

* Comp. Parinibbute pana bhagavati dhammasenāpati sāri
 puttatherassa antevāsiko sarabhū nāmeko thero citakato
 gīvatthidhātu gahetvā bhikkhu saṅghaparivuto āgantvā
 tasmimyeva cetiye patiṭṭhāpetvā meghavaṇṇapāsāṇehi chādetvā
 dvādasa hatthubbedham thūpaṃ kāretvā pakkāmi. Atha
 devānampiyatissa rañño bhātā cūlābhayo nāma tam abhūtam
 cetiyam disvā timsahatthubbedham cetiyam kāresi. Idāni
 duṭṭhagāmaṇīpi abhayarājā mahiyaṅgaṇam āgantvā tattha damiḷe
 maddanto asitihatthubbedham kaṅcukacetiyaṃ kāretvā
 pūjamakāsi Thūp
¹³⁷ citakato Ne We Be] citakato Cm

indanīlamanīhūpe patiṭṭhāpetvā meghavaṇṇapāsānehi
dvādasahattham thūpaṃ kārāpetvā [gato].¹³⁸ Tato
devānāmpiyaṭissaraṇṇo bhātā cūlābhayo nāma kumāro
tamabbhutaṃ cetiyaṃ disvā abhippasanno taṃ
paṭicchādentō timsahattham cetiyaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi. Puna
duṭṭhagāmaṇī abhayamahārājā taṃ paṭicchādetvā
asītīhattham kañcukacetiyaṃ¹³⁹ kārāpesi. Mahiyaṅgaṇa
thūpassa patiṭṭhānādhikāro evaṃ vitthāro¹⁴⁰ veditabbo:
Bodhiṃ patvāna sambuddho bodhimūle narāsabho
Nisīditvāna sattāhaṃ pāṭihīraṃ¹⁴¹ tato akā. (3)

Tato pubbuttare tṭatvā pallānā īsake jino
Animisena¹⁴² nettēna sattāhaṃ taṃ udikkhayi.¹⁴³ (4)

Caṅkamitvāna sattāhaṃ caṅkame¹⁴⁴ ratanāmaye
Vicinitvā¹⁴⁵ jino dhammaṃ varaṃ so ratanāghare. (5)

Ajapālamhi sattāhaṃ anubhosi samādhijam
Rame ca mucalindasmiṃ vimuttisukhamuttamaṃ. (6)

Rājāyatanamūlamhi sattarattindivaṃ vaṣī
Dantaponodakaṃ sakko adāsi satthuno tadā. (7)

Catūhi¹⁴⁶ lokapālehi silāpattaṃ samāhatam¹⁴⁷
Catukkamekakaṃ katvā adhiṭṭhānena nāyako. (8)

Vāṇijehi tadā dinnam manthaṅca¹⁴⁸ madhupiṇḍikam
Tahiṃ pana gahetvāna bhattakiccaṃ akā jino. (9)

Gaṇhiṃsu saraṇam tassa tapussabhallikā¹⁴⁹ ubho
Saraṇam agamaṃ tesam¹⁵⁰ satthu dinnasiroruhā.¹⁵¹ (10)

Gantvāna te sakaraṭṭham¹⁵² thūpaṃ katvā manoramam
Nisiṅciṃsu¹⁵³ ca pūjesum¹⁵⁴ dvebhātuka-upāsakā.¹⁵⁵ (11)

Iti so sattaṣattāhaṃ vītināmesi nāyako
Brahmunā yācīto satthā dhammacakkaṃ pavattitum. (12)

Tato bārāṇasiṃ gantvā dhammacakkaṃ pavattayi¹⁵⁶
Koṇḍaṇṇo desito dhammo¹⁵⁷ sotāpattiṭṭhalaṃ labhi. (13)

Brahmaṭṭhārasakoṭī ca¹⁵⁸ devatā ca asaṅkhiyā¹⁵⁹
Sotāpattiṭṭhalaṃ pattā dhammacakke pavattite. (14)

¹³⁸ gato Ne Be] kārāpesi We
¹³⁹ kañcukacetiyaṃ Mhv Ne Be] kanakacetiyaṃ Cm cetiyaṃ We
¹⁴⁰ vitthāro Cm We] vitthārato Be Ne
¹⁴¹ pāṭihīraṃ Ne We Be] pāṭihāraṃ Cm
¹⁴² animisena Ne We Be] animissena Cm
¹⁴³ udikkhayi Ne Be] udikkhasi Cm We
¹⁴⁴ caṅkame Cm We] cakkhame Ne Be
¹⁴⁵ vicinitvā Ne We Be] vicinetvā Cm
¹⁴⁶ catūhi Cm Ne We] catuhi Be
¹⁴⁷ samāhatam Cm We] samāhaṭam Ne Be
¹⁴⁸ manthaṅca Ne We Be] maṭṭhaṅca Cm
¹⁴⁹ tapussabhallikā Cm Ne Be] tapassubhallikā We
¹⁵⁰ tesam Cm We] te taṃ Ne Be
¹⁵¹ dinnasiroruhā Ne Be] dinnasiroruham Cm We
¹⁵² sakaraṭṭham Cm We] sakam raṭṭham Ne Be
¹⁵³ nisiṅciṃsu Cm] namassīṃsu Ne We Be
¹⁵⁴ pūjesum Ne We Be] pūjīṃsu Cm
¹⁵⁵ dvebhātuka upāsakā Cm We] dvebhātikaupāsakā Ne Be
¹⁵⁶ pavattayi Ne Be] pavattiyam We pavattiya Cm
¹⁵⁷ desito dhammo Cm We] desite dhamme Ne Be
¹⁵⁸ brahmaṭṭhārasakoṭī Cm We] brahmaṇo' ṭṭhārasakoṭī Ne Be
¹⁵⁹ asaṅkhiyā Ne We Be] asaṅkhiyā Cm

Patto pāṭipade vappo bhaddiyo dutiyaṃ¹⁶⁰ phalaṃ
Tatiyaṅca¹⁶¹ mahānāmo assajī ca catutthiyaṃ. (15)
Te sabbe sannipātetvā pañcame¹⁶² pañcavaggiye
Anattasuttam desetvā bodhiyagga¹⁶³ phalena te. (16)
Bodhiṃ pāpetva¹⁶⁴ pañcāhe yasattherādike jane
Tato maggantare timsakumāre bhaddavaggiye. (17)
Uruvelaṃ tato gantvā uruvelena sampaya¹⁶⁵
Uruvela-anuññāto¹⁶⁶ uruvelanāgamā dami. (18)
Taṃ taṃ dami¹⁶⁷ jino nāgamā dāmanena urādhīpaṃ¹⁶⁸
Tathāgataṃ nimantīṃsu disvā te pāṭihāriyaṃ. (19)
Idheva vanasaṅgasmīṃ vihāretvā^{169*} mahāmuni¹⁷⁰
Upaṭṭhahāmaṣe¹⁷¹ sabbe niccabhātēna taṃ mayaṃ. (20)
Uruvelakassapassa mahāyaṇṇe upaṭṭhite
Tassa' ttano nāgamane icchācāraṃ vijāniya. ** (21)
Uttarakuruto bhikkham haritvā dipaduttamo¹⁷²
Anotattadahe bhutvā sāyanhasamaye sayam. *** (22)
Bodhito navame māse phussapunnamiyaṃ jino
Laṅkādhīpaṃ visodhetum laṅkādhīpamupāgami. **** (23)
Yakkhe damitvā sambuddho dhātuṃ datvāna nāyako
Gantvāna uruvelaṃ so vaṣī tatha vane jino. (24)

Paṭhamagamanakathā samattā.

6. Dutiyagamaṇe^f pana bodhito pañcame vasse
jetavanamahāvīhāre vasanto cūlodara¹⁷³ mahodarānaṃ
mātulabhāgineyyānaṃ nāgānaṃ maṇipallaṅkaṃ nissāya
saṅgāmaṃ paccupaṭṭhitam disvā sayam pattacīvaramādāya
cittamāsassa kāla¹⁷⁴ pakkhe uposathadivase nāgadīpaṃ
gantvā tesam saṅgāmamajjhe¹⁷⁵ ākāse nisīno andhakāraṃ
akāsi. Te andhakārabhibhūte¹⁷⁶ samassāsetvā¹⁷⁷ ālokaṃ
dassetvā attano saraṇabhūtānaṃ tesam sāmaggikaraṇattham
phalabharitarukkham¹⁷⁸ cāleno viya dhammaṃ desesi. Te
ubhopi dhamme paṣīditvā tampi pallānkaṃ tathāgatassa
adaṃsu. Bhagavā pallānke nisīno dibbannapānehi
santappito bhattānumodanaṃ¹⁷⁹ katvā asītikoṭiyo nāge
saraṇesu ca sīlesu ca patiṭṭhāpesi. Tasmīṃ samāgame
mahodarassa mātulo maṇiakkhiko nāma nāgarājā

¹⁶⁰ dutiyaṅca Cm We] dutiye Ne Be

¹⁶¹ tatiyaṅca Cm We] tatiye Ne Be

¹⁶² pañcame Cm We] pañca' me Ne Be

¹⁶³ bodhiyagga Ne Be] bodhiyaṅga Cm We

¹⁶⁴ pāpetva Ne Be] patvā ca Cm We

¹⁶⁵ uruvela sampaya Cm We] uruvelāya saññītam Ne Be

¹⁶⁶ uruvela-anuññāto Cm We] uruvelanānuññāto Ne Be

¹⁶⁷ dami Cm Ne Be] dami We

¹⁶⁸ urādhīpaṃ We] urādhīgam Cm Ne Be

¹⁶⁹ vihāretvā Cm We Ne Be

* It is inferable that “vihāretvā” might be a mistranslation from Sinhala “vesetvā” in the time of imperative. Otherwise it is impossible to apply as a past participle in this context.

¹⁷⁰ mahāmuni Cm We] mahāmuni Ne Be

¹⁷¹ upaṭṭhahāmaṣe Cm Ne We upaṭṭhāhāmaṣe Be

** Mhv 1-17

¹⁷² āharitvārimaddano Mhv1-18

*** Mhv1-18

**** Mhv 1-19

^f same with Vin-ṭ and Mhv

¹⁷³ cūlodara Ne We Be] culodara Cm

¹⁷⁴ kāla Cm We] kāla Ne Be

¹⁷⁵ saṅgāmamajjhe Ne We Be] gāmamajjhe Cm

¹⁷⁶ andhakārabhibhūte Ne We Be] andhakārbhibhūte Cm

¹⁷⁷ samassāsetvā Ne We Be] samasāsetvā Cm

¹⁷⁸ phalabharitarukkham Ne We Be] phalahāritarukkham Cm

¹⁷⁹ bhattānumodanaṃ Ne We Be] attānumodanaṃ Cm

bhagavantam puna kalyāñidesamāgamanattham¹⁸⁰ āyāci.¹⁸¹
Bhagavā pana tuñhībāhvena adhiṅvāsetvā jetavanameva
gato.

Evam hi so nāgadīpaṃ upeto
Mārābhībhū¹⁸² sabbavidū¹⁸³ sumedho
Dametva¹⁸⁴ nāge karuṇāvutṭhito¹⁸⁵
Gantvā vaṣī jetavane munindo. (25)

Dutiyagamanakathā samattā.

7. Tatiyagamane pana bodhito atṭhame vasse
jetavanamahāvīhāre viharanto bhagavā: “Mama
parinibbānato pacchā tambapañnidīpe sāsanam
patiṭṭhahissati, [so dīpo]¹⁸⁶ bahu bhikkhubhikkhunī
Upāsaka-upāsikādi ariyagaṇasevito kāsāvapajjoto
bhavissati, mayham catunnam dāthādhātunam¹⁸⁷ antare ekā
dāthā ca dakkhiṇākkhakhadhātu¹⁸⁸ ca nalādhātu ca
rāmāgāmavāsīhi laddho ekakoṭṭhāso ca aññe
bahusārīradhātū¹⁸⁹ ca kesadhātuyo ca tattheva
patiṭṭhahissanti anekāni saṅghārāmasahassāni ca,
Buddhadhammasaṅgharatane patiṭṭhitasaddho mahājano
bhavissati. Tasmā lañkādīpaṃ gantvā tattha samāpattim
samāpajjitvā āgantum vaṭṭati¹⁹⁰ ti cintetvā ānandattheram
āmantesi: “Ānanda catupaṭṭisambhidappattānam
pañcasatamahākhiṇāsavānam bhikkhūnam paṭivedhi.¹⁹⁰
Amhehi saddhim gantabban¹⁹¹ ti. Ānandatthero
kapilavattukoliya¹⁹¹ nagaravāsīnam
pañcasatamahākhiṇāsavānam bhikkhūnam paṭivedesi. Te
paṭiveditā pañcasatakhīṇāsavā pattaṭṭavaradharā¹⁹² hutvā
satthāram vanditvā añjaliṃ paggayha namassamānā
atṭhamsu. Satthuno pana salala¹⁹³ nāma gandhakuṭiyā
avidūre
rattasetanīluppalakumudapadumapuñḍarīkasatapattasahassa
pattajalajehi sogandhika nānāpupphehi sañchannā,
subhasopāna¹⁹⁴ pasādītasamatittikakāpeyya¹⁹⁵ suramañīya
¹⁹⁶ sītalamadhurodakā suphulla¹⁹⁷ pupphaphaladhārīta
nānāvīdhaviccita¹⁹⁸ sālāsālacampakāsokarukkhanāgarukkh
ādīhi susajjitabhūmipadesā accantaramaṇiyā pokkharānī
atthi. Tattha adhiṅvatto mahānubhāvo sumano nāma
nāgarājā soḷasasahassamattāhi nāgamānavikāhi parivuto
mahantaṃ sirisampattim anubhavamāno tathāgatassa
rūpasobhaggappattam atabhāvaṃ oloketvā mahantaṃ
sukhasomanassaṃ anubhavamāno¹⁹⁹ attano mātaram
nandanāgamānavikaṃ garuṭṭhāne ṭhapetvā tassā

¹⁸⁰ kalyāñidesamāgamanattham Ne Be] kalyāñidesa-
āgamanattham Cm We

¹⁸¹ āyāci Cm We] ayāci Ne Be

¹⁸² mārābhībhū Cm Ne We] mārābhībhū Be

¹⁸³ sabbavidū Ne We] sabbavidū Be sabbavidūsu Cm

¹⁸⁴ dametva Ne We Be] dametvā Cm

¹⁸⁵ karuṇāvutṭhito Cm We] karuṇāyupeto Ne Be

¹⁸⁶ so dīpo Ne Be] omit Cm We

¹⁸⁷ dāthādhātunam Cm Ne We] dāthādhātunam Be

¹⁸⁸ dakkhiṇākkhakhadhātu Cm We] dakkhiṇa-akkhadhātu Ne Be

¹⁸⁹ bahusārīradhātu We Be] bahūsārīradhātu Cm Ne

¹⁹⁰ paṭivedhi We] paṭivedesi Cm Ne Be

¹⁹¹ koliya Cm Ne Be] koliya We

¹⁹² pattaṭṭavaradharā Ne We] pattaṭṭavaradharā Be pattaṭṭavararājā
Cm

¹⁹³ salala Cm We] salalāya Ne Be

¹⁹⁴ subhasopāna Cm] subhasopānā Be We subhasopānā Ne

¹⁹⁵ kākaeṇya Ne Be] kākaeṇya We kālapeyyā Cm

¹⁹⁶ suramañīya Ne Be] suramañīyā Cm We

¹⁹⁷ suphulla Ne Be] suphullita Cm We

¹⁹⁸ vicitta Ne Be] vicitra Cm We

¹⁹⁹ anubhavamāno Cm Ne Be] anubhavamānam We

veyyāvaccam kurumāno tasmimyeva pokkharānim²⁰⁰
ajjhāvasati. Satthā pana attano gamanam
samvidhānānantare sumanam nāgarājānam avidure ṭhitam
āmantetvā saparivāro va²⁰¹ āgacchā hīti āha. So sādhiṭi²⁰²
sampaṭicchitvā attano parivāre chakoṭimatte nāge gahetvā
supupphita²⁰³ campakarukkham tathāgatassa
suriya²⁰⁴ ramsinivāraṇattham chattam katvā gaṇhi.

8. Atha bhagavā ravirasmi²⁰⁵ pattaṭṭavaradharā viya
virocamāno attano pattaṭṭivarāmādayā ākāsam
abhuggaṇchi.²⁰⁶ Satthāram parivāretvā ṭhitā²⁰⁷ te
pañcasatakhīṇāsavāpi sakam sakam pattaṭṭivarāmādayā
ākāsam uggantvā satthāram parivārayimsu. Satthā
pañcasatakhīṇāsavaparivuto visākhapunnāmuposathadivase
kalyāṇiyam gantvā mahārahe maṇḍapamajjhe
paññattavarabuddhāsane pañcasatakhīṇāsavaparivuto hutvā
nisīdi.

9. Atha mañiakkhiko nāma nāgarājā buddhapamukham
bhikkhusaṅgham anekehi dibbehi khajjabhojjehi
santappetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Satthā tassa
bhātānumodanam katvā sumanakūṭe^{208*} padalañchanam
dassetvā tasmim pabbatapāde
anekapādapākinṇabhūmippadesa nisinnō divāvīhāram
katvā tato vutṭhāya dīghavāpicetiyatṭhāne samāpattim²⁰⁹
samāpajji. Mahāpaṭhavi²¹⁰ udakapariyantam katvā
satavāram sahasavāram saṅkampi. Tattha mahāsenam
nāma devaputtam ārakkhatthāya²¹¹ niyyādetvā²¹² tato
vutṭhāya mahāthūpaṭṭhāne tatheva samāpattim samāpajji.²¹³
Mahāpaṭhavi²¹⁷ tatheva kampi. Tatrāpi visārūpa²¹⁴
devaputtam ārakkham gaṇhanatthāya ṭhapetvā tato vutṭhāya
thūpārāma cetiyatṭhāne tatheva nirodhasamāpattim
samāpajji. Mahāpaṭhavi tatheva kampi. Tattha ca
paṭhavipāla²¹⁵ devaputtam ārakkhatthāya²¹⁶ niyyādetvā²¹⁷
tato vutṭhāya maricavaṭṭicetiyatṭhānam gantvā pañcahi
bhikkhusatehi²¹⁸ saddhim samāpattim appayi.²¹⁹ Paṭhavi²²⁰
tatheva kampi. Tasmim ṭhāne indakadevaputtam ārakkham
gaṇhanatthāya ṭhapesi. Tato vutṭhāya gāmacetiyatṭhāne²²¹
tatheva samāpattim samāpajji. Paṭhavi¹³⁶ tatheva kampi.
[Tasmim ṭhāne gandha²²² devaputtam ārakkham
gaṇhanatthāya niyyādesi]²²³ etasmim mahācetiyatṭhāne

²⁰⁰ pokkharānim Ne Be] pokkharāniyam Cm We

²⁰¹ saparivāro va Cm] saparivāro Ne We Be

²⁰² sādhiṭi Cm Ne We] sādhiṭi Be

²⁰³ supupphita Cm Ne We] supupphita Be

²⁰⁴ suriya Cm Ne We] sūriya Be

²⁰⁵ ravirasmi Ne Be] ravirasimim Cm We

²⁰⁶ abhuggaṇchi Ne We] abhūggaṇchi Be abhuggacchi Cm

²⁰⁷ ṭhitā Cm Ne We] ṭhitā Be

²⁰⁸ sumanakūṭe Cm Ne We] sumanakūṭe Be

* same the content with Vin-ṭ, Mhv and Thūp

²⁰⁹ samāpattim Ne We Be] samāpattī Cm

²¹⁰ mahāpaṭhavi Ne We] mahāpathavī Be

²¹¹ ārakkhatthāya Ne Be] ārakkhanatthāya Cm We

²¹² niyyādetvā We] nivattetvā Ne Be niyyādetvā Cm

²¹³ samāpajji Ne We Be] samāpajjitvā Cm

²¹⁴ visārūpa Cm We] visālarūpa Ne Be

²¹⁵ paṭhavipāla Cm Ne We] pathavipāla Be

²¹⁶ ārakkhatthāya Ne Be] ārakkhanatthāya Cm ārakkhanatthāya
We

²¹⁷ niyyādetvā Cm We] nivattetvā Ne Be

²¹⁸ bhikkhusatehi Ne Be] bhikkhusaṅghasatehi We

²¹⁹ appayi Ne Be] samāpajji We apeti Cm

²²⁰ paṭhavi Cm Ne We] pathavi Be

²²¹ gāmacetiyatṭhāne Cm We] kācaragāmacetiyatṭhāne Ne Be

²²² mahāghosa Ne Be] gandha Cm

²²³ niyyādesi Cm] omit Ne We Be

mahāmegha²²⁴ nāma devaputtam ārakkham gaṇhanatthāya niyyādetvā²²⁵ tato vuṭṭhāya tissamahāvihāracetiyaṭṭhāne tatheva samāpattim samāpajji. Paṭhavi¹³⁶ tatheva kampi. Tattha maṇimekhalam nāma devadhītarām ārakkham gāhāpetvā tato nāgamahāvihāracetiyaṭṭhāne tatheva samāpattim samāpajji. Paṭhavi¹³⁶ tatheva kampi. Tasmimpi mahindaṃ nāma devaputtam ārakkham gaṇhanatthāya²²⁶ ṭhapesi. Tato vuṭṭhāya mahāgaṅgāya dakkhiṇadisābhāge seru nāma dahassa ante²²⁷ varāha nāma soṇḍimattake atimanoramam udakabubbulaḷakāsakūṭapaṭibhāgam cetiyam patiṭṭhahissati⁷ti pañcasatakhīṇāsavehi saddhim nirodhasamāpattim samāpajji. Bahalaghanamahāpaṭhavi¹³⁶ paribbhamitakumbhakāracakkam viya pabhinnamadamahānāgo²²⁸ kuñcanādakaraṇam²²⁹ viya ucchukoṭṭana²³⁰ yanta-mukhasaddo viya [ca]²³¹ satavāram sahasavāram nadamānā²³² somanassappattā²³³ viya sakalalaṅkāḍīpam unnādam kurumānā saṃkampī. Tato vuṭṭhāya sumananāgaraṇṇo hatthe pupphita²³⁴ campakarukkhatto pupphāni²³⁵ āḍāya tattha pūjetvā punappunam tam olokesi. So satthāram vanditvā mayā bhante kiṃ kattabbanti²³⁶ pucchi. Imassa ṭhānassa ārakkham karohīti āha. So tam sutvā bhante tumhākam gandhakuṭim²³⁷ mama ārakkham karontassa rūpasobhaggappattam asīṭyanubyañjana²³⁸ byāmapabhād vattim samahāpurisalakk haṇavicittam dassanānuttariyabhūtam passantassa manosilātale sīhanādam nadanto taruṇasīho viya vijambhitvā gajjanto²³⁹ pāvussakamahāmegho viya ākāsaṅgaṅgam otaranto viya ratanadāmaṅgam gandhento²⁴⁰ viya ca aṭṭhaṅgasamānāgatam savanīyasaram²⁴¹ vissajjitvā²⁴² bramhaghosam nicchārento nānāyehi vicitta²⁴³ katham kathayamānaṃ²⁴⁴ savanānuttariyabhūtam²⁴⁵ saṃsāraṇṇavanimuggānaṃ tārāṇasamattham madhura dhammadesanaṃ suṇantassa, ṇāṇiddhiyā koṭippatte²⁴⁶ sārīputtamoggallānādayo²⁴⁷ asītimahāsāvake passantassa, tattheva mayham vasanaṃ ruccati. Na sakkomi aññattha tumhehi vinā vasitunti āha. Bhagavā tassa katham sutvā nāgarāja,²⁴⁸ imaṃ padesaṃ tayā ciraṃ vasitaṭṭhānaṃ. Kakusandhassa bhagavato dhātu imasmimyeva ṭhāne patiṭṭhitā, tvameva tasmim kāle varaniddo nāma nāgarājā

²²⁴ mahāmegham Cm We] mahāghosaṃ Ne Be

²²⁵ niyyādetvā Cm We] nivattetvā Ne Be

²²⁶ ārakkham gaṇhanatthāya We] ārakkham Cm ārakkham gahaṇatthāya Ne Be

²²⁷ ante Ne Be] anto Cm We

²²⁸ hatthināgo Cm We] hatthināgassa Ne Be

²²⁹ kuñcanādakaraṇam Ne Be] kuñcanādakaraṇam Cm We

²³⁰ ucchukoṭṭana Ne Be] ucchukoṭṭita Cm We

²³¹ [ca] Ne Be] omit Cm We

²³² nadamānā Ne Be] nadamāno Cm We

²³³ somanassappattā Ne We Be] somanassappatto Cm

²³⁴ hatthe pupphita Cm We] hatthesu ṭhita Ne Be

²³⁵ pupphāni Ne Be] puppham Cm We

²³⁶ kattabbanti Ne Be] kāttabbanti Cm We

²³⁷ gandhakuṭim Ne Be] gandhakuṭiyam Cm We

²³⁸ asīṭyanubyañjana Cm Ne We] asīṭyanubyañjana Be

²³⁹ gajjanto Ne Be] vijambhitvā gajjanto Cm We

²⁴⁰ gandhento We] ganthento Ne Be gandhanto Cm

²⁴¹ savanīyasaram Cm Ne Be] savanīyasaram We

²⁴² vissajjitvā Cm We] vissajjetvā Ne Be

²⁴³ vicitta Ne Be] vicitra Cm We

²⁴⁴ kathayamānaṃ Cm We] kathayamānaṃ Ne Be

²⁴⁵ savanānuttariya Cm Ne Be] savanānuttariya We

²⁴⁶ koṭippatte Ne We Be] koṭippatto Cm

²⁴⁷ moggallānādayo Cm Ne Be] moggallānādaye We

²⁴⁸ nāgarāja Ne Be] nāgarājā Cm We

huvā tassā dhātuyā ārakkham gahetvā gandhamālādīhi pūjam karonto²⁴⁹ ciraṃ vihāsi. Puna koṇāgamanassa bhagavato dhātu imasmimyeva ṭhāne patiṭṭhitā tvameva tasmim kāle jayaseno nāma devaputto huvā tassā dhātuyā ārakkham gahetvā gandhamālādīhi pūjam katvā tattheva ciraṃ vihāsi. Puna kassapassa bhagavato dhātu imasmimyeva ṭhāne patiṭṭhitā. Tvameva tasmim kāle dīghasālo nāma nāgarājā huvā tāya dhātuyā ārakkham gahetvā gandhamālādīhi pūjam karonto vihāsi. Mayi pana parinibbute kākavaṇṇatissamahārājā mayham nalāṭadhātum imasmimyeva ṭhāne patiṭṭhāpessati,²⁵⁰ tasmā tvam imassa ṭhānassa ārakkham karohīti vatvā pañcasīlesu patiṭṭhāpetvā pañcasatakhīṇāsavehi²⁵¹ saddhim cetiyaṭṭhānaṃ padakkhiṇam katvā tvam appamatto hohīti vatvā ākāsam uppatitvā jetavanameva gato.

10. Tassa pana nāgaraṇṇo mātā indamānavikā nāma[nāgakaṇṇā]²⁵² āgantvā tathāgataṃ vanditvā ekamantaṃ ṭhitā, bhante mama putto sumano nāma nāgarājā kuhinti āha. Tava putto tambapaṇṇidīpe mahāvālukagaṅgāya dakkhiṇabhāge seru nāma dahassa samīpe varāha²⁵³ nāma soṇḍiyam samādhi appitattā attano parivāre chakoṭimatte nāge gahetvā ārakkham gaṇhātī⁷ti āha. [sā]²⁵⁴ indamānavikā [tam sutvā tasseva santikam gamissāmīti vatvā]²⁵⁵ saparivārā tā²⁵⁶ soḷasahassanāgakaṇṇāyo gahetvā satthāram vanditvā²⁵⁷ bhante ito paṭṭhāya tumhākam dassanaṃ dullabham, khamatha meti accayam dassetvā²⁵⁸ mahatiṃ nāgasampattim gahetvā puttassa sumananāgarājassa santikam gantvā mahatiṃ issariyasampattim anubhavanti²⁵⁹ tattheva ārakkham gahetvā ciraṃ vihāsi.

Mahāpaṇṇo mahāsaddho mahāvīro mahā isi Mahābalena sampanno mahantaḡuṇabhūsito.²⁶⁰ (26)

Gantvāna tambapaṇṇim so sattānuddayamānaso Gantvā nāgavaram dīpam agā jetavanam vidū.²⁶¹ (27)

Atisayamatisāro sārādānaṃ karonto Ati adhiramaṇiyo sabbalokekanetto Atiḡuṇadharaṇiyo²⁶² sabbasatte hitāvaho²⁶³

ativipuladassano²⁶⁴ satthā nāgadīpam agā.²⁶⁵ * (28)

²⁴⁹ karonto Cm Ne Be] katvā We

²⁵⁰ patiṭṭhāpessati Ne Be] patiṭṭhahissati Cm patiṭṭhessati We

²⁵¹ pañcasatakhīṇāsavehi Ne Be] pañcasatamahākhiṇāsavehi Cm We

²⁵² nāgakaṇṇā Cm We] omit Ne Be

²⁵³ varāha Ne We Be] varabhaya Cm

²⁵⁴ sā Ne We Be] omit Cm

²⁵⁵ tam sutvā tasseva santikam gamissāmīti vatvā Cm] omit Ne We Be

²⁵⁶ saparivārā tā Cm Ne Be] saparivārātā We

²⁵⁷ [saparivārā tā soḷasahassanāgakaṇṇāyo gahetvā satthāram vanditvā] omit Be

²⁵⁸ dassetvā Cm We] desetvā Ne Be

²⁵⁹ anubhavanti Cm Ne We] anubhavanti Be

²⁶⁰ mahantaḡuṇabhūsito Cm Ne We] mahantaḡuṇabhūsito Be

²⁶¹ vidū Cm Ne We] vidu Be

²⁶² atigunadharaṇiyo Cm Ne Be] atigunaramaṇiyo We

²⁶³ sabbasatte hitāvaho Cm] sabbasattekamaggam We sabbasatte tamaggam Ne Be

²⁶⁴ ativipuladassano Cm] ativipuladayattā We ativipuladayo Ne Be

²⁶⁵ satthā nāgadīpam agā Cm] netumāgā sudīpam We tānetumāgā sudīpam Ne Be

*Mahāpaṇṇo mahāvīro mahesī munisattamo Mahābalehi sampanno mahāthiragūṇe ṭhito

Āgantvā tambapaṇṇim so sattānuddayamānaso Puna gantvā nāgadīpam agā jetavanam varam

Tatīyagamanakathā samattā.

Iti ariyaJanapasādanatthāya kate dhātuvamse tathāgatassa gamanaṃ²⁶⁶ nāma paṭhamo paricchēdo.

Abbreviations

Ne	Nandarathana edition
We	Wijerathne edition
Be	Burmese edition
Cm	Colombo Museum (palm leaf manuscript)
Thūp	Thūpavaṃso
A-a	Āṅguttara-nikāya- aṭṭhakathā
Dhp-a	Dhammapada- aṭṭhakathā
Vin-ṭ	Vinaya-tīkā
Dāṭhā	Dāṭhāvaṃso
Mhv	Mahāvaṃso
Comp	Compare
abs	Absent

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Atisayamatisāro sārādāneka ratto
Atidhitiramaṇiyo sabbalokekanetto
Atiguṇaramaṇiyaṃ sabbasantekamaggam
Ativipuladayattā laṅkamāgā sudīpaṃ

Iti sīhalaḥhāsāya kate dhātuvamse dissate.