

A Study of the *Sīhaḷavatthupparāṇa*¹⁾

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[I]

The *Sīhaḷavatthupparāṇa* in Pāli is a Buddhist narrative which contains plenty of historical accounts. In a broad sense it is a sort of Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature and is classified in the same group as the *Dasavatthupparāṇa*, *Sahassavattupparāṇa*, *Rasavāhinī*, etc., i. e. the so-called 'vaṃsakathā'.

Since the publication of the critical edition of the *Sīhaḷavattu* by Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta in 1959²⁾, scholars including myself have been interested in this text and have published some studies on it mainly in Japanese and its partial translations into Japanese³⁾. It was, however, the Romanized text with its introduction and full translation in French by Dr. Jacqueline Ver Eecke (now Filliozat) in 1980⁴⁾ that marked a new stage in this study. In 1983, I wrote a detailed review article in Japanese on this book⁵⁾ along with Ver Eecke's previous one, *le Dasavatthupparāṇa*.⁶⁾ In my first article on Sih in 1972,⁷⁾ I searched all the proper names which appear in the text, specifically the names of persons and places, and discussed chiefly the date (and place) in which this text was finally composed. Among many individuals referred to in the present text, King Mahāsena in ancient Sri Lanka (reigning: 276-303 A. D.)⁸⁾ was the last whose period could be identified. On the other hand, Buddhadatta stated, in the introduction to his edition mentioned above, that this work

seemed to have been compiled before the time of Buddhaghosa, and that as it was compiled in a period when the Pāli scholarship was not of a very high standard, we find here some grammatical mistakes and peculiar phrases. After this statement, he supplied several words as example. His opinion reminded me of the *Dīpavaṃsa* which is also regarded to have been written in 'poor Pāli', and which had definitely been compiled before the time of Buddhaghosa, i. e. before the first half of the fifth century, because this is quoted in Buddhaghosa's *Samāntapāsādikā* and *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*.⁹⁾ With the above two examples as evidence, I concluded at that time that the *Sīhaḷavatthu* was finally compiled in Sri Lanka in a certain period between King Mahāseṇa and Buddhaghosa, that is in the fourth century. This conclusion of mine is very similar to Parānavitana's view that the *Sīhaḷavatthu* appears to be earlier in date than the works of Buddhaghosa, as well as the *Dīpavaṃsa*.¹⁰⁾

Yet my above view was critically referred to in passing by Dr. Filliozat (: Ver Eecke)¹¹⁾ and Mr. K. R. Norman.¹²⁾ After having studied the *Sīhaḷavatthu*, I proceeded to a study of the main body of Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature as a whole,¹³⁾ and investigated for many years various philological aspects including chronological characteristics of the whole texts. I searched not only the chronology of the present Pāli commentaries, but also that of their original sources, especially of their 'Sihala Sources', and came to a reasonable conclusion.¹⁴⁾ In comparison with this conclusion explained later, I was considering, before being aware of the above two scholars' doubt, that it was necessary to alter my previous view about the date of compilation of the *Sīhaḷavatthu*: the reference to King Mahāseṇa in the text does not mean the lower limit of date of its compilation, but it means that of date of the original source materials from which the present *Sīhaḷavatthu* was derived. Consequently, I briefly expounded this view in my Japanese review article upon Ver Eecke's book already mentioned,¹⁵⁾ which seems to have drawn no particular attention from Ver Eecke and Norman. Such being the research

situation until now, I shall chiefly discuss in this article some chronological aspects of the *Sīhaḷavattḥu*.

[II]

As has already been known, the present *Sīhaḷavattḥu* consists of 77 stories in total. Nevertheless, according to the Table of Contents given on p. 135 in Buddhadatta's edition, the text seems to have originally had 82 stories at least. The majority of them are stories relating to Sri Lanka, while the rest (only 9 or so) are stories of India, in particular, of Surattḥa (Saurāṣṭra : present Katiyaward or Kathiawar district in West India). The first 45 stories distributed in 5 chapters (originally 50 stories in 5 chapters : each chapter had 10 stories) make up, so to speak, the principal part of the text, and the latter 32 stories form the so-called sequel part. In these stories, there appear plenty of names of persons, vihāras, etc. Some of them were already known as the names seen in such works as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*, Pāli commentaries in general and so on, but others had as yet been unknown. By examining all these known names, particularly those of persons whose living periods are traceable, some chronological features of the text will be made obvious. The examination is carried out by the following method.

Explanatory Notes

1) Numbering of the Story

ANo. : the number shown at the head of each story in Buddhadatta's edition. The number in parentheses following ANo. indicates that which is given at the end of each story. Only in the case of these two kinds being different each other, is the latter shown in parentheses.¹⁶⁾

BNo. : the number given on p. 135 in Buddhadatta's edition for the stories from ANo. 1 to ANo. 50 (i. e. the principal part) ; thereafter it refers to the number given at the end of each story.

CNo. : the serial number of the story in the both editions.

2) Kind of Sentence (abbreviated as KS)

The whole text is composed of verse and prose, but some discriminations in this respect can be found among the stories.

A: a story composed of verse and prose; in particular it begins with a prose passage, "Evam anusuyyate". Yet only Story ANo. 9 starts with two lines of verse, which are followed with the prose, "Evam anusuyyate". Accordingly this story is regarded as an exceptionally varied type from 'A', and is marked as 'A'.

B: a story which begins with verse and most of the passages of which are in verse. Yet as only Story ANo. 28 starts with the prose, "Evam anusuyyate", which is followed with verses, this story is marked as 'B', being regarded as an exceptionally varied type from 'B'.

C: a story written in verse only.

D: a story written in prose only. Whereas some stories of this group uncommonly contain a few passages of verse: these are marked as 'D', which means a variant type of 'D'.

3) Country of Location (abbreviated as CL): the country as the location of a story, i. e. either Sri Lanka (abbreviated as Lanka) or India. As for Sri Lanka; Anurādhapura, Rohaṇa, Malaya, Mahāgāma, Nāgadīpa, and Piyaṅgudīpa are the names of places that often occur.

4) Clue Person to Dating (abbreviated as CPD): the kings whose reigning dates are clear and even some persons other than kings whose periods can be known by the investigation of their relations with kings are to be considered as the clue in the matter of dating the text. Principally, only one such clue person for each story will be shown with the necessary explanation. In the following three cases, however, no key person can be referred to for a story: (1) no name is concretely given to the persons who appear in the story, that is to say, only anonymous persons are described there; (2) the names of individuals are entirely un-

known; (3) as more than one person with the same name are known to living in ancient times, identification is quite impossible.

Principal Part

Chapter I

ANo. 1 (BNo. 3, CNo. 1) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa (reigning : 137-119 B. C.). As for the king, see DPPN (q. v.), SPC p. 373.

ANo. 2 (BNo. 4, CNo. 2) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Haritāla(gāma)-Tissa. As he again appears in Story ANo. 3 together with King Saddhātissa, he is sure to have been a contemporary of this king.

ANo. 3 (BNo. 5, CNo. 3) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 4 (6) (BNo. 6, CNo. 4) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissatthera, a contemporary of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The district as the location of this story is Rohaṇa in southern Sri Lanka. An elder named Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissa who resided in the Gāmendavālavihāra in Rohaṇa appears only once in AA.¹⁷⁾ According to this source, he ordained Milakkhatissa. From this one can deduce that he lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.¹⁸⁾ If this Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissa now in question was one and the same as the above Gāmendavālavihāravāsi-Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissatthera (quite probably identical), then he seems to have been contemporaneous with the same king.

ANo. 5 (7) (BNo. 7, CNo. 5) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Tissa (=Saddhātissa?). In this story, a Sinhalese king called Tissa features, who lived in the Tusita world. According to Mhv (chap. XXXII, v. 80) and Story ANo. 3 in this text as well, it is King Saddhātissa who was reborn, after death, in the Tusita. The Tissa under discussion must have been Saddhātissa. The belief that Saddhātissa was born again in the Tusita seems to have been very popular in ancient Sri Lanka.

ANo. 6 (BNo. 8, CNo. 8) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Phussadevatthera residing in the Kālakandharavihāra in the period of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Several Phussadevattheras whose residing vihāras are slightly varied in spelling can be found in various texts : Kaṭakanara (Sih), Kaṭa-andhakāra (or Kaṭa-antakāra, VA VII-1335, but 'Phussaratthera' in PTS edition), Kālandhakāra (*Sārasaṅgaha* p. 33), Kālakanda (*Saddharmaratnakāra*), Kaṭakandhakāra (JA, Vis; or Kaṭa-andhakāra and Kaṭakandara shown as variants in Vis). W. Rahula regarded all of them as identical, and in addition, to be a son of King Saddhātissa's sister (i. e. also Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's sister), based upon a statement available only in the *Sahassavatthu*.¹⁹⁾ By a thorough examination, I concluded that Phussadeva appearing at least in JA and Vis must have been a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.²⁰⁾ Therefore if Phussadeva in the present story was identifiable with the elder of the same name in the above JA and Vis (quite perhaps identifiable), then the former now in question can be a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

ANo. 7 (BNo. 9, CNo. 7) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (reigning : 161-137 B. C.).

ANo. 8 (BNo. 10, CNo. 8) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

Chapter II

ANo. 9 (11) (BNo. 11, CNo. 9) KS : A' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 10 (12) (BNo. 12, CNo. 10) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 13 (BNo. 13, CNo. 11) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 14 (BNo. 14, CNo. 12) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 15 (BNo. 15, CNo. 13) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 16 (BNo. 16, CNo. 14) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 17 (BNo. 17, CNo. 15) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 18 (BNo. 18, CNo. 16) KS : A ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 19 (BNo. 19, CNo. 17) KS : A ; CL : Surāṭṭha in India ; CPD :

none.

ANo. 20 (BNo. 20, CNo. 18) KS : A ; CL : Suratt̥ha in India ; CPD : Siggavatthera in the period of King Asoka. Siggava was the master of Moggaliputta-Tissatthera.²¹⁾ The latter was well-known as an elder in the time of King Asoka : the former was certainly contemporaneous with the same king.

Chapter III

ANo. 21 (BNo. 21, CNo. 19) KS : A ; CL : Suratt̥ha in India ; CPD : none.

ANo. 22 (BNo. 22, CNo. 20) KS : A ; CL : Suratt̥ha in India ; CPD : none.

ANo. 23 (BNo. 23, CNo. 21) KS : A ; CL : Suratt̥ha in India ; CPD : none.

ANo. 24 (BNo. 24, CNo. 22) KS : A ; CL : Suratt̥ha in India ; CPD : Dhammarāja = King Asoka (?). There is a possibility that 'Dhammarāja' here in this story refers to King Asoka, because we find in Story ANo. 27 King Asoka to be called 'Asoka Dhammarāja' : so that 'Dhammarāja' now in question can be regarded as an abridged name of 'Asoka Dhammarāja'.

ANo. 25 (BNo. 25, CNo. 23) KS : A ; CL : India (?) ; CPD : none.

ANo. 26 (BNo. 26, CNo. 24) KS : A ; CL : Gandhāra in India ; CPD : none.

ANo. 27 (30) (BNo. 30, CNo. 25) KS : A ; CL : India ; CPD : Asoka Dhammarāja (reigning : 268-233 B. C.).

Chapter IV

ANo. 28 (31) (BNo. 31, CNo. 26) KS : B' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 29 (32) (BNo. 32, CNo. 27) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 33 (BNo. 33, CNo. 28) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 34 (BNo. 34, CNo. 29) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Kuṭumbiyaputtatissatthera in the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. As to his date see my article.²²⁾

ANo. 35 (BNo. 35, CNo. 30) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Saddhātissa-mahārāja : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 36 (BNo. 36, CNo. 31) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Saddhātissa-mahārāja.

ANo. 37 (BNo. 37, CNo. 32) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 38 (BNo. 38, CNo. 33) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 39 (BNo. 39, CNo. 34) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 40 (BNo. 40, CNo. 35) KS : B ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Saddhātissa-mahārāja.

Chapter V

ANo. 41 (BNo. 41, CNo. 36) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Māleyya-devatthera in the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Piyaṅgudipavāsi-Tissatthera in the reign of King Saddhātissa. As for Māleyyadeva whose spelling varies as Maliya(Mahā)deva, etc. in Pāli commentaries, see my article.²³⁾ He again occurs in the next story of this text together with Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. In addition, the above Piyaṅgudipavāsi-Tissa also appears in Story ANo. 8 along with Saddhātissa : he must have lived in this king's reign. Accordingly, the date concerning this story is regarded as during the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his successor, Saddhātissa.

ANo. 42 (BNo. 42, CNo. 37) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya.

ANo. 43 (BNo. 43, CNo. 38) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 44 (BNo. 44, CNo. 39) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Tambasumanatthera in the period of Saddhātissa. According to Ras, he was once a minister of this king.²⁴⁾

ANo. 45 (BNo. 45, CNo. 40) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 46 (BNo. 46, CNo. 41) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 47 (BNo. 47, CNo. 42) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 48 (BNo. 48, CNo. 43) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Kāka-vaṇṇatissa (reigning : —161 B. C.) and Vihāradevī. They were

the parents of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa. He was not a king of the whole of Sri Lanka, but a local ruler in the Southern area only : he is usually not listed in the list of Sinhalese kings.²⁵⁾

ANo. 49 (BNo. 49, CNo. 44) KS : C ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Sālikumāra, the only son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.²⁶⁾

ANo. 50 (BNo. 50, CNo. 45) KS : C, CL : Lanka (?) ; CPD : none.

Sequel Part

ANo. 51 (BNo. 1, CNo. 46) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 52 (BNo. 2, CNo. 47) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 53 (BNo. 3, CNo. 48) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 54 (BNo. 4, CNo. 49) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 55 (BNo. 5, CNo. 50) KS : D ; CL : Pāṭaliputta in India ; CPD : none.

ANo. 56 (BNo. 6, CNo. 51) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Tissa-mahārāja, i. e. King Saddhātissa.²⁷⁾

ANo. 57 (BNo. 7, CNo. 52) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 58 (BNo. 8, CNo. 53) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : nothing clear.

However, the time of this story was during a famine. If this famine was the one in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī like that described in Story ANo. 59 (probably quite so), then the time of this story can be the reign of the same king.

ANo. 59 (BNo. 9, CNo. 54) KS : D' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitatthera in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Two elders with this name lived in ancient India. One was a disciple of Assaguttatthera as well as the master of Tissatthera, younger brother of King Asoka, who was sent by the king to Aparantaka on a Buddhist mission ; and the other was the elder who attended the completion ceremony for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka, in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. This story under consideration begins with the following passage :

“Sihaḷadipe dubbhikkhe ekamhi seṭṭhikule sabbe janā Malayam gacchanti.”

This passage clearly shows the time of this story to be a time of famine (*dubbhikkha*) in Sri Lanka. While altogether four serious famines are well-known in ancient Sri Lanka, only one took place in Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's reign, the others being in the reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, Kuñcanāga, and Siri Saṅghabodhi. When we consider the above three facts together, we are able to conclude that Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita described in the present story was a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.²⁸⁾

ANo. 60 (BNo. 10, CNo. 55) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 61 (BNo. 11, CNo. 56) KS : D' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 62 (BNo. 12, CNo. 57) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 63 (BNo. 13, CNo. 58) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 64 (BNo. 14, CNo. 59) KS : D' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : nothing clear. But as in the case of Story ANo. 58, the time of this story was also during a famine. If this famine was again the one in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, then the time of this story can be the reign of the same king.

ANo. 65 (BNo. 15, CNo. 60) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Brāhmaṇatīya (or Brāmaṇatissa) in the period of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (reigning : 103-102, 89-77 B. C.). Brāhmaṇatīya was a robber who became infamous during the time of confusion and famine under five Dravidian rulers dominating Anurādhapura between the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, i. e. 102-89 B. C. This period is also called the 'Mahā-bhaya' (great peril) or 'Brāhmaṇatīya-bhaya' (Brāhmaṇatissa-bhaya, Caṇḍāla-tissa-bhaya)²⁹⁾ : the first name itself appears in the present story.

ANo. 66 (BNo. 16, CNo. 61) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Mahāsena (reigning : 276-303 A. D.).

ANo. 67 (BNo. 17, CNo. 62) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none. In-

cidentally, this is a story of a young elder who was named Aṭavivāsi (forest-dweller)-Khuddakatissa. He was apparently different from an elder called Maṅgana(vihāra)vāsi-Khudda(ka)tissa (or Kujjatissa) who lived in the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa.³⁰⁾ Story ANo. 82 is a story of the latter.

ANo. 68 (BNo. 18, CNo. 63) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Saddhātissa.

ANo. 69 (BNo. 19, CNo. 64) KS : D' ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Mahāpadumatthera as a contemporary of King Iḷanāga (reigning : 35-44 A. D.). There lived several Mahāpadumattheras in ancient Sri Lanka.³¹⁾ Of these elders with the identical basic name, the one who appears in this story was Rohaṇavāsi-Mahāpadumatthera. According to Mhv (chap. XXXV, vv. 29 ff.), he was active in the period of Iḷanāga.

ANo. 70 (BNo. 20, CNo. 65) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 71 (BNo. 21, CNo. 66) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 72 (BNo. 22, CNo. 67) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none. The date for this story is unclear. Yet the names of Malayavāsi-Mahāsaṅgharakkhitatthera and Cittalapabbatavāsi-Dīghabhāṇaka-abhayatthera are referred to in the story. They both lived in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.³²⁾ Accordingly the date for this story can be regarded as being closely connected with this king's reign.

ANo. 73 (BNo. 23, CNo. 68) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 74 (BNo. 24, CNo. 69) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Rohaṇatthera in the period of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (?). In this story, an elder named Rohaṇa is described as having worked to attain Arahantship. On the other hand, Mhv³³⁾ records a person with the same name who was the father of Theraputta-abhaya, one of the main retainers of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,³⁴⁾ and who joined the Order and also gained Arahantship. If these two Rohaṇas are identical, then the thera in the present story can be concluded to have been contemporaneous with the above king.

ANo. 75 (BNo. 25, CNo. 70) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Brāhmaṇa-

tiya in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. This story starts with the following passage: “Sīhaḷadīpe Brāhmaṇatīyaṃ nāma Dvādasa-vassāni dubbhikkhaṃ³⁵⁾ ahoṣi.”

He is surely to be identified with the person of the same name in Story ANo. 65.

ANo. 76 (BNo. 26, CNo. 71) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 77 (BNo. 27, CNo. 72) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

ANo. 78 (BNo. 28, CNo. 73) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 79 (BNo. 29, CNo. 74) KS : D ; CL : Lanka (or India ?) ; CPD : none. With regard to the country of location for this story, the name of Dakkhiṇāgiri(mahā)vihāra is the only key: a vihāra with this name existed both in India and Sri Lanka. The one in India was in a place named Ekanālā in Dakkhiṇāgiri district, the southern area from Rājagaha³⁶⁾; and the other³⁷⁾ in Sri Lanka was established in Anurādhapura by Saddhātissa. I consider that the vihāra of the present story was the one in Sri Lanka.

ANo. 80 (BNo. 30, CNo. 75) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Brāhmaṇatīya Abhaya in the time of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

ANo. 81 (BNo. 31, CNo. 76) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : none.

ANo. 82 (BNo. 32, CNo. 77) KS : D ; CL : Lanka ; CPD : Khuddakattissa in the successive reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Saddhātissa. As has been touched on in the explanation of Story ANo. 67, he was an inhabitant of Maṅganavihāra and was active in the reigns of the above two kings.³⁸⁾ Incidentally, another elder named Vyaggatthera also occurs in this story. He must be one and the same person called Mahāvyaggatthera who can be regarded as having lived in the same two reigns as stated above.³⁹⁾

[III]

From the above investigation of all the stories of the *Sihalavatthu*, we are able to make the following remarks:

(1) It appears that this text is derived from several kinds of

oral or written sources: as to the kind of sentence, Story ANos. 1-27, i. e. all the 25 stories of Chapters I-III in the Principal Part are marked as 'A'. The story marked as 'A' means, needless to say, that which is composed of verse and prose starting with a passage, "Evam anusuyyate"; and the story marked as 'A' is its varied type. All the 10 stories of Chapter IV (Story ANos. 28-40) which are marked as 'B', are composed mostly (but not entirely) of verse. The 'B' is of course an exceptional variant from 'B'. All the stories of Chapter V being marked as 'C' are entirely written in verse only. All the remaining 32 stories belonging to the Sequel Part only are marked as 'D' or 'D''. Mark 'D' shows the story written in prose only, and Mark 'D'' is its variant. Thus all the 77 stories in the present text can be classified into four types of sentence, which are not mixed in grouping, but are well arranged principally chapter by chapter or part by part. This classification (A-D) cannot be regarded as merely coincidental, but it clearly suggests that these four groups of story were derived from respectively original transmissions.

(2) With respect to the country as the location of the story so far confirmed, the great majority are Sri Lanka; in particular the locations in the Sequel Part are all in this country with only one exception (ANo. 55). This suggests that the *Sihālavatthu* was finally compiled in Sri Lanka. The Indian stories as a minority are almost all collected in the last part of Chapter II and also in the whole of Chapter III, i. e. in the last part of the group of the stories marked as 'A' (or 'A''). The main area in India as the location of these stories is Surātṭha district in West India as has already been mentioned (ANos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24), the remainder being Gandhāra district (ANo. 26) and Pāṭaliputta, the capital of Asokan Kingdom (ANos. 27, 55). In addition, it is to be noted that the name of Andhakarajja in South East India is only once referred to in a story (ANo. 65), the locatishn of which is Sri Lanka.

West India is commonly regarded as the area where the Pāli

language originated, and from where Theravāda Buddhism and its Pāli scripture were transmitted into early Sri Lanka for the first time. But Mr. K. R. Norman recently discussed the following :⁴⁰⁾

It has been claimed in the case of Pāli that as there are resemblances between it and Girnar dialect of the Asokan inscriptions, and also between it and the language of the Hathigumpha inscriptions, Pāli must have been the language of one or other of these two areas. A careful examination of the language of these inscriptions shows that Pāli is not identical with either of them,....

His discussion, however, does not deny a possibility that Pāli originated in West India, but only shows that any adequate evidence from a linguistic point of view concerning the question of the original area of Pāli has as yet been unobtainable. On the other hand, it goes without saying that we have plenty of historical and legendary evidence that a Theravādin Buddhism with Pāli as its scriptural language originated in West India, and was transmitted from this area to ancient Sri Lanka. The present *Sīhalavatthu* consisting of stories of Sri Lanka as the first major work, and those of Surāṭṭha district in West India as the second major work, is able to present itself as a new important textual evidence that proves the very close Buddhist relation between these two regions in those days. I do not think this textual fact a result of simple coincidence. It really suggests that the Girnar Inscription stated above does in fact exist within Surāṭṭha district (Kathiyaward Peninsula) now in question.

(3) As for the Indian people in the stories, so far identified, there appear only King Asoka (ANo. 27, 24?) and his contemporary, Siggavatthera (ANo. 20).

(4) As for the Sri Lankan people found in the text, it has so far been made clear that in 42 Sri Lankan stories out of the total of 45 stories of the Principal Part, Sri Lankans from 22 stories can be identified. All of them are either King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (ANos. 7, 42)

or King Saddhātissa (ANos. 1, 3, 5?, 8, 15, 29, 33, 35, 36, 40, 43, 45) or contemporaries of either king or of both kings, such as their parents, son, retainers, elders, etc. (ANos. 2, 4, 6, 34, 41, 44, 48, 49). In particular Saddhātissa appears himself in 11 or 12 stories, which constitutes the largest number of references to one individual. As has been explained several times, these two kings were brothers having lived in the same period, and enthroned successively. Therefore their two reigns should be regarded as one period, i. e. about half a century from the middle of the second century B. C. Thus all the Sri Lankans identified in the Principal Part are persons who belonged to the above period only.

For the Sequel Part consisting of 32 stories in total, Sri Lankans from 18 stories can be identified (of these 18, those of 3 stories <ANos. 58, 64, 74> are more or less vague). Among these identified persons, Saddhātissa again occurs most frequently (ANos. 53, 54, 56, 60, 61, 68). He and his elder brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (ANo. 77) together with their contemporaries (ANos. 58?, 59, 64?, 74?, 82) make up the great majority as in the case of the Principal Part. The second largest number concerns Brāhmaṇatiya as a contemporary of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (ANos. 65, 75, 80, cf. 72). Besides them, a contemporary of King ḷanāga and King Mahāsenā himself appear once only (ANo. 66, 69). All these individuals other than Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Saddhātissa and their contemporaries mentioned above, do not occur in the Principal Part, and they are all later persons than Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and so on. In particular King Mahāsenā is the latest of all in the text, who stands for the lower limit of date for the whole text.

Next, comparison of the above aspects with those of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts as a whole leads to very interesting and suggestive remarks. I had examined all the Sri Lankan people (including here some Indians who were active in Sri Lanka) occurring in all the Aṭṭhakathā texts,⁴¹⁾ and had tried to pinpoint their dates as exactly as possible. Although on the one hand there are many persons who were identical to those with different names, and on the other hand

many persons who were different from those with the same names, identification of these individuals was able to be carried out fairly successfully. Their dates were made clear despite many difficulties by searching for direct and indirect connections with Sinhalese kings, whose reigning dates are generally reliable. To my knowledge, the Sri Lankan people appearing in the Pāli commentaries amount to 188 in total, of which 128 people were able to be dated, the remaining 60 people being left undated. The above 128 datable Sri Lankans can be classified basically by reign during which they lived. A few continuous or parallel reigns which were isolated from others should be considered as one period, which were jointed together here. The following list is the result of the above analysis; the dates in parentheses refer to the reigning dates of respective kings.

- | | | |
|--|------------|------|
| (0. the first five kings before Devānampiyatissa : | 5 persons) | |
| 1. Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B. C.) | : | 19 |
| 2. Eḷāra | : | 1 |
| (Kākavaṇṇatissa in the South -161 B. C.) | : | 4 |
| Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B. C.) | : | 37 |
| Saddhātissa (137-119 B. C.) | : | 3 |
| | | }—45 |
| 3. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (103-102, 89-77 B. C.) | : | 32 |
| (including the five Dravidian rulers) | | |
| 4. Coranāga (62-50 B. C.) | : | 1 |
| 5. Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa (41-19 B. C.) | : | 7 |
| Bhātika Abhaya (19 B. C.-9 A. D.) | : | 5 |
| Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (9-21 A. D.) | : | 4 |
| | | }—16 |
| 6. Candamukha Siva (44-52 A. D.) | : | 1 |
| 7. Vasabha (65-109 A. D.) | : | 8 |
| 8. Mahāsena (276-303 A. D.) | : | 1 |

Of the above list, as has been expounded in the Conclusion of my article,⁴²⁾ the first five persons should not be treated on the same level as the others, because they are only once referred to

together in a single passage describing the legendary origin of the Sinhalese dynasty and its royal descendants, in the *Bāhīranidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā*.⁴³⁾ In addition, their deeds and sayings are not recorded unlike those of almost all of the other persons. The *Bāhīranidāna* is, needless to say, a specific section which states the earliest history of this dynasty as well as that of Theravādin Buddhism in Lanka, based upon the same common source as that of such chronicles as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. Incidentally, the dates of these five kings' reigns are left entirely blank in Parānavitana's list of the kings, which shows them to be uncertain.

On the basis of the remaining part of the list, the following remarks are to be noted.

(1) The upper date limit is the reign of King Devānampiyatissa, which is nothing here but the upper date limit of the Sihāla Sources (the so-called Sihāla Aṭṭhakathā literature) for the Pāli commentaries. It was, without doubt, in the reign of this king that Buddhism was officially and firstly imported from West India into ancient Sri Lanka by Mahinda and his party.

(2) The lower date limit is the reign of King Mahāsena, which is also nothing but the lower date limit of the same sources, although the main body of them seems to have been composed by the time of King Vasabha, and to have ceased developing afterwards.

(3) As regards some intermediate aspects of these sources between the above two limiting periods, the largest number of persons, that is 45, belongs to the period of the four successive or parallel reigns of kings: Eḷāra, Kākavaṇṇatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa, of which Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's reign claims the largest figure. The second largest number, i. e. 32 concentrates on the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī; and the third, i. e. 16 concentrates on the time of the successive reigns of the three kings headed by Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa.⁴⁴⁾ It is agreed that in these periods, Buddhism was generally prosperous in this country and very active in every respect, and the nation was well governed in peace. On the other hand, the periods of the kings

whose names disappear in the above list, can be considered as ones in which Buddhism was on the decline, and the nation suffered disturbances. About these miserable days Pāli chronicles describe almost nothing. It need scarcely be said that the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts were composed by Pāli commentators headed by Buddhaghosa who were active in the first half of the fifth century A. D. and afterwards. Therefore it is quite obvious that the chronological aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās shown above do not mean those of the Aṭṭhakathās themselves, but they mean those of their original source materials based upon, i. e. the “Sihāla Sources” or “Sihālaṭṭhakathā literature”.

[IV]

To return to the matter of the *Sihālavatthu*, when we compare the features of this text with those of the Sihāla Sources for the Aṭṭhakathā literature discussed above, we are easily able to identify some common or similar aspects between the two.

(1) The upper date limits are identical: the upper date limit of the former is Asoka’s reign (268–232 B. C.); whereas that of the latter is Devānampiyatissa’s reign (250–210 B. C.). Nevertheless these two kings are of course contemporaneous.

(2) The lower limits of date also match up: they correspond with the reign of King Mahāsenā.

(3) Some intermediate aspects between the two date limits above also show certain similarities:

(a) The respective periods to which the largest number of persons belonged are the 50–60 years centred upon the successive reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa.

(b) The respective periods in which the second largest number of persons is concentrated also correspond: these are the duration of the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī including the intervening period of the five Dravidian rulers, when Brāhmaṇatiya became infamous.

Thus some chronological aspects of the *Sihālavatthu* and those of

the Sihāḷa Sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature designate many commonalities or similarities. Moreover as to the lower date limit, i. e. the reign of King Mahāsenā, we recognize further identification with Sri Lanka's chronicles which can be regarded as a part of the Aṭṭhakathā literature in a wider sense: the *Dīpavaṃsa* ends with the reign of the same king, and the first part of the *Mahāvāṃsa* which is so named even in a narrow sense (its latter part is usually named the *Cūlavāṃsa*) also ends with the record of the same period, although these two works (especially the latter) were compiled in much later periods than the above reign. Therefore the time of King Mahāsenā (273-303 A. D.) forms the latest lower date limit for the final formation of the Sihāḷa Sources for the whole Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature that here refers to the Pāli commentarial texts including the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Sihālavatthu*, some chronicles, etc. The agreement of this date limit cannot be a mere coincidence. As previously stated in the beginning of this article, the appearance of Mahāsenā as the latest datable individual in the *Sihālavatthu* does not date the composition of this text by Dhammanandi, but rather it dates the final formation of the source materials for the text by unknown person(s). These materials must have been preserved unchanged after the above period until the time when the author composed the present *Sihālavatthu* in Pāli making use of them.

I have mainly compared in the present article some of the chronologically common or similar features between the *Sihālavatthu* and the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts in general. This comparison is made possible on the premise that these two kinds of text originated, in part at least, from common sources, and contain certain similar or parallel passages and contexts. Therefore it is necessary as a next step to seek out such textual relations existing between these two. In fact the above premise could be fully proved. As this task requires, however, ample space to be assigned to it, I would like to take up this problem in another article along with some other remarks on the text under consideration as early as possible.⁴⁵⁾

ABBREVIATIONS :

- AA : Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūraṇī
 DA : Dīghaṭṭhakathā, Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇī
 Das : Dasavatthupparāṇa
 DhsA : Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā
 Dpv : Dīpavaṃsa
 DPPN : Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (G. P. Malalasekera, London 1960 <first published 1937-38> 2 vols.)
 EHBC : Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (E. W. Adikaram, Colombo 1953 <first impression 1946>)
 HBC : History of Buddhism in Ceylon (W. Rahula, Colombo 1956)
 IBK : Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū, or Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo)
 JA : Jātakatṭhakathā
 JBFKU : Journal of the Buddhist Faculty of Komazawa University (Tokyo)
 JBS : Journal of Buddhist Studies (Hamamatsu, Japan)
 JSH : Jōsai Studies in the Humanities (Saitama, Japan)
 JSSR : Journal of the Sōtō Sect Researchers (Tokyo)
 KvA : Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā
 MA : Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, Papañcasūdaṇī
 Mhv : Mahāvaṃsa
 MhvṬ : Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā, Vaṃsatthappakāsini
 PEFEO : Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
 PL : Pāli Literature (K. R. Norman, A History of Indian Literature, ed. by Jan Gonda, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2, Wiesbaden 1983)
 PTS : Pāli Text Society
 Ras : Rasavāhini
 SA : Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsini
 Sih : Sihālavatthupparāṇa
 Smp : Samantapāsādikā, Vinayaṭṭhakathā
 SN : Saṃyutta Nikāya

- SnA : Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā, Paramatthajotikā
 SPC : A Study of the Pāli Commentaries : Theravādic aspects of
 the Aṭṭhakathās (S. Mori, Tokyo 1984)
 UC, HC : University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon (H. C. Roy, &c.
 Colombo 1959-)
 VA : Vinayaṭṭhakathā, Samantapāsādikā
 VibhA : Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī
 Vin : Vinaya Piṭaka
 Vis : Visuddhimagga

NOTES :

(The references to Pāli texts are to PTS editions unless specified otherwise.)

- 1) I am grateful to Miss B. A. Scott, a British Visiting Professor, Women's Junior College of Jōsai University, Japan, for having looked over my English in this article.
- 2) A. P. Buddhadatta, ed : *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa*, Colombo 1959.
- 3) (1) S. Paranavitana : *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo 1966, pp. 3-6, etc. ; (2) M. Kitsudo : "On the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* (1)" (IBK Vol. XVIII No. 1 <1969> pp. 142-43) ; (3) M. Kitsudo : "*Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* and *Lokappadīpakasāra*" (IBK Vol. IXX No. 2 <1971> pp. 330-32) ; (4) S. Mori : "On the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa*" (IBK Vol. XXI No. 1 <1972> pp. 429-36) ; (5) S. Mori : "Some Documental Characteristics of the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa*" (*Indian Thought and Buddhism: felicitation volume presented to Professor Dr. Hajime Nakamura*, Tokyo 1973, pp. 309-22) ; (6) S. Mori : "A Japanese Translation and Note of the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* (I) : Chapter I, Stories 1-2" (JSSR No. 5 <1973> pp. 191-202) ; (7) S. Mori : "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* (II) : Chapter I, Stories 3-5" (JSH No. 1 <1973> pp. 80-101) ; (8) I. Katayama : "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* (I) : Chapter II, Stories 11-18" (JBFKU No. 6 <1975> pp. 169-89) ; (9) I. Katayama : "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa* (II) : Chapter II, Stories 19-20" (JBFKU No. 7 <1976>, pp. 217-31) ; (10) M. Kitsudo : "A Study of Dāna in the *Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa*" (*Bulletin of Sugiyama Women's College*, No. 9, pt. 1. pp. 1-7). These writings except for No. 1 are all in Japanese.
- 4) J. Ver Eecke : *le Sihaḷavatthupparāṇa : texte pāli et traduction* (PEFEO Vol. CXXIII), Paris 1980. As far as the original text is concerned, this edition is basically the same as that of Buddhadatta. Although the editor tried to find out undiscovered manuscripts of the text for a new revised edition, she could not obtain any.

- 5) JSH No. 10 (1983) pp. 147-68.
- 6) J. Ver Eecke : *le Dasavatthupparāṇa : Édité et traduit* (PEFEO Vol. CVIII) Paris 1976.
- 7) See n. 3, (4).
- 8) As to the dates of the reigns of the kings of Sri Lanka, which are absolutely essential to the historical studies of any subject concerning ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka, those given in "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings" composed by S. Paranavitana, which is contained in the *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo 1961, pp. 341-46), are adopted in the present article as the most recent one, although Geiger's "List of Sinhalese Kings" in his English translation of the *Cūlavamsa* (Colombo 1929, pt. II, pp. viii-xv) seems to be still popular in Europe. Cf. S. Mori : "Review on Friedgard Lottermoser's *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa*" (JBS Vol. XV <1985> pp. 137-38) ; S. Mori : SPC, pp. 319-38.
- 9) Smp I-74, 75 f. ; KvA 3 ff. Cf. SPC p. 140 f.
- 10) S. Paranavitana : *op. cit.* (n. 3, (1)) p. 3.
- 11) J. Ver Eecke : *op. cit.* (n. 4) Introd. p. ii, cf. p. xxxiv.
- 12) K. R. Norman : PL p. 154.
- 13) This refers here to the *Visuddhimagga* and the primary commentaries on the Pāli canon.
- 14) S. Mori : SPC pp. 309-466.
- 15) S. Mori : *op. cit.* (n. 5) pp. 157-59.
- 16) Incidentally, Ver Eecke's edition follows a slightly different system : it is a mixture of these two numberings (p. 192, Table des Recits).
- 17) AA I-36. Cf. S. Mori : "Chronology of the 'Sihāla Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries (I)" (JBS Vol. XVI <1987> p. 168 f.).
- 18) As to Milakkhatissa, SA I-332 ; AA I-35, 49 ; SnA I-236. Cf. SA II-273 f., my article (n. 17) p. 177.
- 19) W. Rahula : HBC p. xxxiii f.
- 20) S. Mori : *op. cit.* (n. 17) p. 171 f.
- 21) Mhv chap. V vv. 120-51 ; Dpv chap. V vv. 57, 68, 106 ; VA I-32, 235. Cf. DhsA p. 32.
- 22) S. Mori : *op. cit.* (n. 17) p. 168.
- 23) *ibid.* p. 173.
- 24) DPPN II-1347 (q. v.)
- 25) S. Mori : *op. cit.* (n. 17) p. 165 ; DPPN (q. v.).
- 26) Mhv chap. XXXIII v. 1. Cf. DPPN (q. v.).
- 27) As regards the discussion that Tissamahārāja was none other than King Saddhātissa, see SPC p. 373.
- 28) S. Mori : *op. cit.* (n. 17) p. 177 f. ; SPC p. 378 f., H. Ellawala : *Social History of Early Ceylon*, Sri Lanka 1969, p. 133.
- 29) Mhv chap. XXXIII vv. 37 ff. ; MhvṬ II-613 ; DA II-535 ; MA II-399 ; AA III-343 ; VibhA p. 445 f. Cf. UC, HC Vol. I pt. 1 pp. 165-67 ; DPPN (q.

- v.); SPC pp. 379, 384.
- 30) SPC p. 352 f.; DPPN (q. v.); EHBC p. 67.
- 31) DPPN refers to eight Mahāpadumas altogether; the majority of them are Sri Lankans. Cf. SPC pp. 386, 405, 444.
- 32) SPC pp. 382, 387.
- 33) Mhv chap. XXIII, vv. 55 ff.
- 34) *ibid.* chap. XXIII. vv. 2, 63 ff.; chap. XXVI, v. 2; chap. XXXII, vv. 48 ff.
- 35) It is also stated in the *Rasavāhinī* that this famine continued for twelve years. (Ellawala: *op. cit.* (n. 28) p. 133).
- 36) As for this vihāra, see SN I-172; SA I-242; Vin I-80; B. N. Chaudhury: *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1969, p. 115 f.
- 37) Mhv chap. XXXIII, v. 7.
- 38) S. Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 17) p. 167 f.
- 39) *ibid.* p. 176.
- 40) K. R. Norman: *op. cit.* (n. 12) p. 4.
- 41) S. Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 17) & its sequel (JBS Vol. XVII <1988>, scheduled for contribution), cf. SPC pp. 309-466.
- 42) S. Mori: *ibid.* (JBS Vol. XVII <1988>), cf. SPC pp. 457-66.
- 43) Smp I-72. Among these five kings, only Muṭasiva's name is referred to at two other places also in the *Bāhīranidāna*, but these references to him are made as nothing else than the father of king Devānampiyatissa.
- 44) As in the case of the five persons before Devānampiyatissa, the nineteen persons in the period of Devānampiyatissa should also be further examined: out of the nineteen, fourteen appear in the *Bāhīranidāna* only, and the remaining five are referred to in various places of many Aṭṭhakathā texts. Consequently the number of persons belonging to this period should be regarded as only five. Cf. n. 42.
- 45) The sequel to the present article, under the title of "*Sihālavatthupparāṇa* and Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Literature" is contributed to the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Pāli and Buddhist Culture*, Nagoya, Japan, Vol. I (1988).

(本稿は次の雑誌にも投稿済みである。

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