

VOLUME XLIX

J.B.R.S.

PART II

Offprint

C. E. Godakumbura

16/3/1968

RELATIONS BETWEEN BURMA AND CEYLON

by

C. E. GODAKUMBURA



327.5910/54
GOD '3

327.59/05473

~~80~~



RELATIONS BETWEEN BURMA AND CEYLON*

C. E. Godakumbura**

Burma and Ceylon have been Buddhist countries from the early days of the inception of that faith. Each of these countries claims that the Buddha visited it. Royal families of both countries have traced their descent from the Sakya clan, and the Solar Race, the family and *gotra* of the Master. Both countries have monuments in which they claim the bodily relics of the Buddha or objects hallowed by His use are enshrined. Sites in both countries are traditionally believed to have been visited by the Buddha.¹

The chronicle of Ceylon, the *Mahāvamsa*, has been adopted as the ancient chronicle of Burma also. The earlier history of Ceylon, the *Dīpavamsa*,² "the History of the Island", that is the Island of the Sinhalese, was also known in Burma, and the first printed edition of this valuable text, that of Oldenberg in Roman character, or as much as remains of it, is based on a Ms from Burma. Whatever editions that have followed in Sinhalese character are based on this text. The *Mahāvamsa* begins with the history of the bringing of Buddha's teaching to Ceylon, and the establishment of the *Mahāvihāra*. As a prelude to this story several other stories connected with the life of the Buddha and history of early Buddhism, such as the visits of the Master to Ceylon, the three convocations of the Dhamma, the spread of Buddhism into various parts of Jambudīpa and the border-

ing countries are given in the *Mahāvamsa*. All these stories have been adopted as the traditional history of Burma also. According to the Burmese traditional historian, Burma itself is Jambudīpa, and most of the lands into which Asoka Moriya sent his emissaries of the Dhamma are, countries that formed parts of the Burmese empire in the days of old. Moreover, the kernel of the *Mahāvamsa* is the epic of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (= Pali: Duṭṭhagāmaṇi) the national hero of the Buddhist Sinhalese. During my tours of various places of Burma I have noticed that the Burmese also consider Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as their national hero. In one of our cave temples of Ceylon, at Dambulla in the Central Province, we have paintings on the plastered walls and ceiling of the rock cave depicting the stories of the heroic King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his ten warriors, leading up to the war against the foreign invader and the single combat between King Gāmaṇi and Eḷāra. At Pegu, Mandalay, and in the out of the way place of Shwenattadaung, south of Prome, (and it may be elsewhere also) I saw at pagoda entrances the story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's childhood, his lying in bed grieving over the fate of the country, the war, and the duel between the two kings depicted in Burmese style. There was also the story of Velusumana, a warrior in the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi episode, going on difficult errands to fulfil the wishes of Vihāramahādevī the mother of Gamunu, before the birth of the hero. Just as in the

* Read at an ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society on 9th September 1966 with U Tha Myat in the chair.

** M.A., Ph.D., D. Lit., Commissioner of Archaeology, Colombo, Ceylon.

JBRs, XLIX, ii, Dec. 1966

paintings at Dambulla, the Sinhalese heroes of the ancient days of Anuradhapura are depicted in the Kandyan dress and weapons of the 18th Century, so in the Pagodas here, the Sinhalese heroes are in late Burmese costume. Their transformation into Burmese is complete in every detail.

I have also heard of popular Burmese plays based on the story of Sīṃhabāhu and Vijaya, and the coming of the Sinhalese to Ceylon.

The Burmese take the Suvannabhumi of the *Mahāvamsa* where Sona and Uttara preached the Dhamma to be located in Tenasserim, a Province of Burma. The actual place of arrival, Goḷamattikā, corresponds to Mihintle near Anuradhapura in Ceylon, being partly on a hill and partly on a plain. It is generally believed that this part of Burma came in contact with Buddhism first. There is evidence, however, now to show that parts of upper Burma also had the impact of this new faith and culture within the early centuries of its origin. Lower Burma may have received its Buddhism from Ceylon or from the Andhra country, with which Ceylon had close contacts. The position with regard to Central and Upper Burma lying on the river Irrawaddy may be nearly the same. Early Buddhist monuments in several sites of Burma show a striking similarity to these of Ceylon as well as those of south India, and we cannot tell in which way the culture came, until more archaeological evidence turns up, especially in the course of well organized excavations, all finds from which, not excluding small objects such as pottery and beads, are carefully studied, making comparisons with finds from the various countries concerned. Waves of Buddhism have come to Burma

from the north also, and one has to find out whether these were, confined only to the later periods in history.

The Burmese claim the learned monk Buddhaghosa who went to Ceylon in the fifth century A.D. to study the Sinhalese commentaries to be a native of Suvannabhūmi. There is some evidence to support the tradition. The visit of this great exponent of the Dhamma from Burma to Ceylon brings the two countries closer together. Whether Buddhaghosa was a Burmese or not, the works of the writer accomplished in Ceylon has brought Burma to close relationship with Ceylon. According to the Ceylon chronicles⁵ Buddhaghosa came from India, from Buddhagaya, but it is possible that he went overland from Burma to Buddhagaya, and then to Ceylon. I have heard of a Burmese tradition that when Buddhaghosa finished his work in Ceylon, he came to Burma and ended his days here. I have heard further that the Burmese say, that Buddhaghosa found the monks and lay scholars of Ceylon to be mainly interested only in the Sutta and the Vinaya out of the three Piṭakas, and that they were not so much concerned with the Abhidhamma. The Burmese traditions add that since this part of the doctrine was difficult the Ceylonese rather left it alone. Buddhaghosa came over to Burma and taught this part of the doctrine to Burmese monks. Whether we accept these stories as true or not, the fact remains that Burma has evinced a greater interest in the study of the Abhidhamma than Ceylon. Several works on the Abhidhamma were written in Ceylon, but it was left for Burma to study them. One of the best known manuals of the Abhidhamma, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* has been widely studied in Burma, and several expositions on this

manual in Pali, Pali and Burmese, and Burmese, have been written here. The Sinhalese Sannaya - commentary on this Sangaha by Sariputra Mahathera of the 12th Century may have been translated into Pali as *Vibhāvinī-ṭīkā* for the sake of the Burmese students of the *Saṅgha*. This was after King Anawratha's contact with King Vijayabāhu of Ceylon to which we shall come presently. Ceylonese monks have continued to come to Burma to study the Abhidhamma.

The first exchanges between Burma and Ceylon must have taken place in the coastal regions of lower Burma, the deltas on the river mouths, spreading westwards as far as the coasts of Arakan. In the Ceylon books the country round Pegu is known as the *Rāmāññadesa*, but the term is loosely applied in Ceylon to the whole of Burma. The Theravada Buddhism which began to flourish in the cities of Lower Burma would have spread along the river valleys into Upper Burma in a short time. We shall presently see how this happened.

In the tenth century we hear of Thaton or Sudhammapura as a centre of Theravada Buddhism, and the king of this country being in possession of scriptures of the Pali canon, and quite likely, with the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and of his school of writers. It is here that the connections of Buddhaghosa with Burma became important. King Manuha (or Makuṭa) of Thaton was in possession of the pure Pali texts, and in his kingdom were monks who knew these texts and were able to teach it. Since it is the Pali texts of the Buddha's teachings that were in Sudhammapura, there is every likelihood that the Thaton canon, had been derived from the Ceylon canon, namely, the canon that was fixed at the fourth convo-

cation of the Mahavihara monks at Āloka-vihāra in the Matale District of Central Ceylon.⁴ The commentaries should also have been those brought from Ceylon. There could possibly have been others added in Burma.

Now we come to the time of Anurudha or Anawrahta king of Pagan (A.D. 1044-1077). We see him as stated earlier, looking to the south for the pure religion and pure texts of the Buddhist scriptures.⁵ My audience knows this story well, what I want to emphasize is that the Buddhism brought over to Pagan by Anawrahta must have been the conservative Pali Buddhism of Ceylon, the Buddhism of the Mahāvihāra of Anuradhapura and that of Buddhaghosa.

The relationship between Burma and Ceylon, both religious and political, has been from time to time dealt with by historians of Burma, like G. E. Harvey. I have here to piece together the events to make the story continuous and perhaps add my own impressions of some of the events. I may have just a few additions to make.

Burmese chronicles have recorded⁶ that King Anawrahta of Pagan sent a mission to Ceylon asking for a tooth relic of the Buddha for enshrinement in the Shwezigon Pagoda. The King of Ceylon at the time was Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1055-1110). I believe that the name of the king of Ceylon has been recorded as Sirisaṅghabodhi because Vijayabahu bore that throne-name. The authors of the *Glass Palace Chronicle*⁷ who perhaps knew only of King Sirisaṅghabodhi, the Bodhisattva King of Ceylon of the 4th century, appear to have had a long argument about the relative chronology of the King of Pagan and the King of Ceylon (I may state here that between the 8th and

the 11th centuries monarchs of Ceylon bore the throne-names of Silāmeghavaṇṇa and Sirisaṅghabodhi alternatively). The date of the Pagan mission is not recorded in the Burmese chronicles. The *Mahāvamsa* is completely silent about this mission over the Tooth Relic.

The *Mahāvamsa*,⁸ however, states that when once Vijayabāhu was pressed by the Colas he sent messengers with gifts to the king of the Rāmañña country asking for help. It is said that help arrived in Ceylon in the form of ships laden with various stuffs, such as camphor, sandalwood and other goods. Vijayabāhu made use of these gifts to reward his soldiers and encourage them to fight the enemy. The incident shows that the two Buddhist countries had been helping each other.

The *Mahāvamsa*⁹ also records the mission of Vijayabāhu to Anuruddha for a chapter of monks to hold the *upasampadā* ordination at Polonnaruwa. The event is mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles the *Pūjāvaliya*,¹⁰ the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*¹¹, the *Rājāvaliya*,¹² the *Sulurājāvaliya*,¹⁵ and is attested to by a contemporary Tamil inscription at Polonnaruwa.¹⁴ Vijayabāhu had been engaged in exhausting wars against the Colas from South India who had ravaged Ceylon for nearly a century, and consequently the economy and religion of the island had been reduced to a very low level. The result was that the king could not find a chapter of monks to hold the *upasampadā* ceremony and to have other acts of the sangha performed. Vijayabāhu, therefore, sent a mission with gifts to his friend Anuruddha in the Rāmañña and fetched bhikkhus who had fully studied the three piṭakas, who were well disciplined and virtuous. Now we must here as we go through the *Mahāvamsa*

account notice that Anuruddha of Pagan is called the friend of the Vijayabāhu of Polonnaruwa.¹⁵ Here we clearly see that previous interchange of messengers and presents between the two Buddhist kings had taken place at least once, and the king of Ceylon would have found a replica at least of the Holy Tooth relic for his friend at Pagan. Otherwise could Vijayabāhu apply to Anawrahta a second time for help after the help he had received during his campaign, if it was from Anawrahta that the help came as it is likely?

When the monks from Rāmañña arrived in Ceylon, Vijayabāhu had the *Pabbajjā* and *upasampadā* ordinations performed in Polonnaruwa. He also had the piṭakas and their commentaries frequently recited. It can here be surmised that the Buddhist monks who went to Polonnaruwa from Pagan must have been Sinhalese bhikkhus, who had found refuge in Rāmaññadesa during the years when almost the whole of Ceylon was subjected to Cola dominion.¹⁶ Some of them may have been in Sudhammapura and may have been taken to Pagan along with the train of King Manuha. The *Mahāvamsa* does not precisely state whether the monks brought down to Ceylon by Vijayabāhu were Burmese (Rāmañña) or Sinhalese (Sīhaḷa). The Tamil phrase in the inscription cited above: *Arumanattil ninrum saṅgattārai aḷaippittu*, which is rendered by Wickremasinghe,¹⁷ "...had Buddhist priests invited from Aramaña and by Parānavitana,¹⁸ "inviting monks from Aramana" may also be rendered as having invited the venerable monks who were in Aramana. The *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, "the History of the (Mahāvihāra) Nikāya" supports this latter interpretation. It precisely says "twenty virtuous monks of Sthavira rank who had gone to Aramaña, and books were brought down, and

upasampadā was held”¹⁹. Paranavitana says in this connection: “It is worthy of note that the inauguration of the *upasampadā* by these theras who came from Rāmaññadesa did not result in the establishment in Ceylon of a community named after that country, as it happened on similar occasions later. It is, therefore, likely that the theras who came to Ceylon from Burma on this occasion were those who had gone there from Ceylon, or their pupils.”²⁰

Relations between Burma and Ceylon after Anawratha do not appear to have been very happy.²¹ During the reign of Narathu (A.D. 1167–70) Panthagu, the Saṅgharāja, the direct successor of Shin Arahān, departed to Ceylon from Pagan, not sent by the king, but because the holy man did not want to live in a city tainted by farricide. Narathu had murdered his brother. It was the primate who had brought about peace earlier between the two of them. I have been trying to find out more information about this primate Panthagu, but the chronicles²² do not seem to agree. It is however, said in the chronicle²³ that monks escaped to Ceylon in Narathu’s time because they were being compelled to become laymen. Panthagu is very important in the relations between Burma and Ceylon for was it not as a direct result of Panthagu’s journey to Ceylon that the journey of Uttarajīva and Chapaṭa (Sapada) to the island also take place? The results of the visit of Uttarajīva and Sapada are enumerated in detail in the *Kalyāṇī inscriptions*²⁴ and the *Sāsanavamsa*.²⁵ Panthagu returned from Ceylon to Burma in the reign of Narapati-sithu (A.D. 1173–1210). It is said that along with other foreign or semi-foreign monks, fraternities from Ceylon also so-journed in Pagan. King Narapisithu is said to have assigned a quarter to the Ceylon monks for their residence.

Leaving for a while the history of the Sinhalese Saṅgha in Burma, let us come again to certain political events narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*.²⁶ I am here covering a narrative that has been discussed more than once before, as I have noticed that in recent years a new chronology²⁷ has been put forth for Pagan kings of the second half of the 12th century, basing some of their conclusions on a Sinhalese inscription from Devanagala, a rock in the Kegalla District of Ceylon.²⁸ The story of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 76. v.v. 10 ff) to state briefly is as follows: The relations between Rāmañña and Laṅkā had been very cordial as both countries are peopled by followers of the true faith: and so it was during the first years of the reign of King Parakkamabāhu. The chronicle then goes on to say that the Rāmañña King ill-treated the envoys from Laṅkā. Further the agreements with regard to the trade in elephants were violated. Under a false pretext some Sinhālese envoys were put in fetters and thrown into a fortress in the Malaya Country. Envoys were plundered though the king knew that his own envoys had been well-treated in Ceylon. There were further affronts and to crown all a Sinhalese princess on her way to Cambodia was taken by force.

When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these doings of the Rāmañña king, he was determined to avenge the affronts to his country, and is said to have sent an expedition against the Rāmañña coun. The details of the fortune of the fleet, and the exploits of the Sinhalese are narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*. I only refer to the taking of the city of Kusumi (Bassein) by the general Nagaragirikitti, the taking of a port by the name of Pupphālama by general Damiḍadhikārin Ādicca, and the storming

of a city by the name of Ukkama by the Sinhalese, and the slaying of the monarch of the Rāmaññas.

The Devanagala inscription is only a land grant to Nagaragirikitti (Sinhalese: Kitnuvaragal) for his exploits in capturing the port of Bassein in Burma during the above expedition related in the *Mahāvamsa*; the inscription makes no mention of Damiḷadhikārin Ādicca. We must consider the date of the inscription. The 12th year of King Parakkamabāhu is mentioned²⁹ and Geiger takes this as the year in which the war against Aramana was determined on.³⁰ Paranavitana, however, takes this as the date of the grant,³¹ and we may agree with him, considering the arguments adduced by him.³²

Then coming to the proper names, the name of the reigning king of Aramana at the time when the atrocities against the Sinhalese were committed is given as Bhuvanāditta. But this does not help us very far. It can be the title of any King of Pagan, or it may even be the title of a petty ruler somewhere else. Of the place names, only Kusumi can be identified as Bassein. We do not know where the port of Pupphālama in the territory of Rāmañña is, nor can we say what is Ukkama.

We may further consider the identity of the king Rāmañña who was killed by the Sinhalese. According to the so far accepted chronology of the kings of Pagan, the reigning monarch in the years 1164-1165, that is, the date in which the capture of Bassein took place, was Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-1167). This was in the last years of the long reign of the king, and it was true that he was old, and also politically weak through the conduct of his sons. But we know from Burmese sources that Alaung-

sithu met with his death otherwise than under the hands of Sinhalese invaders.³³

Is there any right to identify Ukkama as Pagan and the king killed by the Sinhalese as Narathu (Kalakya)?³⁴ The son of Alaungsithu? Pagan has been referred to as Arimaddana in the *Mahāvamsa* during the course of the same narrative (ch. 76.v. 38). Will the very same place be called the town of Ukkama in the continuation of the same story later on? What is the difficulty in accepting the story in the *Mahayazawingyi*,³⁵ that eight men sent by the chieftain of Pateikkaya, a father-in-law of Narathu to avenge the death of his daughter, killed Narathu and that he was called Kalakya? Is it not more likely that men who came overland from Chittagong area could have killed Narathu than some few men who had to come all the way from Ceylon undergoing the perils of the difficult sea and an up-stream river journey?

Śrīvijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) although a Buddhist kingdom ruled by a royal dynasty of Sinhalese descent at the time, was against Parakkamabāhu I, and would not have helped him.³⁶ On the contrary, Śrīvijaya would have opposed Parakkamabāhu's navy.

I have pointed out these facts briefly to show that in judging material from historical sources, even from inscriptions, the evidence should be carefully considered. I find it difficult to accept that the Pagan king Narathu was killed by the Sinhalese soldiers of Parakkamabāhu I precisely in the year A.D. 1165 !

I should like to refer my audience to the Report of *Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma for the year ending 31st March 1920* by Chas. Duroisselle, para-

graphs 24 and 35. His conclusions regarding the relations of Pagan and Ceylon during the second half of the twelfth century, I think, still hold good except for some details in chronology.

A Pali *sandesa* poem entitled *Mānavulusandesa*,³⁷ containing a message from a Buddhist monk living at Mahānāgakula in Ceylon to a monk named Kassapa at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in Burma during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I. The poem contains sixty two stanzas, and although called a *sandesa*, it differs substantially from the Sanskrit, and Sinhalese compositions of the same name. The *sandesa* opens with a description of the city of Mahānāgakula (Sinhalese: Mānāvulu) situated on the banks of the Valave river in South Ceylon and a local *vihāra* (vv. 1-4). Then follows an eulogy of the *vihāra* and of the monks dwelling there, including the Mahāthera Nāgasena (vv. 1-22). Thereafter the poet describes the city of Arimaddanapura, in Jambudīpa (on the river Irawaddy) and king Siri Dhammarāja who reigned there (vv. 23-39). There was a splendid monastery built by this king, and in it dwelt a great therā by the name of Saṅgharakkhita (Kassapa) whose virtues are eulogized (vv. 40-51). Nāgasena Mahāthera's message to Kassapa Mahāthera:

taṃ Kassapamahātheraṃ bravati
guṇasekharo

Nāgasenamahāthero āsiṃsanapu-
rassaram

"To this Elder Friar Kassapa, the Elder Friar Nāgasena, who is crowned with excellences, thus speaks with salutation"—v. 52. The message ends with a request to Mahāthera Kassapa to purify the *sāsana* at Pagan with the help of king Siridhamma-

rāja, just as the monks of Ceylon did so with King Parakkamabāhu:

saddhiṃ Parakkamabhujena mahībhujena

saṅgho visodhayi yathā jinasāsan' ettha
tumhe pi tattha Siridhammanarādhi-
rājam

ādāya sāsanaṃ suvisodhayātha
(v. 62)

The purification of the *sāsana* in Ceylon took place in A.D. 1165. The *sandesa* would have been sent to Arimaddanapura sometime after the Aramaṇa war. It was most likely sent in the reign of king Narapatisithu (A.D. 1173-1210).

King Vijayabāhu II (A.D. 1186-1187) also composed a letter in Pali and sent it to the king of Arimaddana, and concluded a treaty as Vijayabāhu I had done, and the bhikkhus of both Lanka and Arimaddana were happy at that alliance.³⁸ The King of Pagan who received this message would have been Narapatisithu.

Although it is quite evident that the Sinhalese people have had connections with Burma for quite a long time, there are only few references to the country in the ancient literature of Ceylon. Apart from what has already been cited, I can think of only two instances where Aramana is mentioned in literary works of the period covered so far. In the *Siyabaslakara*,³⁹ the Sinhalese treatise on poetics which may be attributed to the 11th or the 12th century A.D., Aramana is mentioned as a country full of elephants. In the prose work, *Butsaraṇa*,⁴⁰ Aramaṇa people, and the Aramaṇa language are listed along with Tamil, Yona, Barbara, etc. It is said that when the Master preached

in the Māgadhi tongue the Aramaṇas, among a number of other peoples, understood the teaching as it were in their own language. We knew that this is not material from a Pali commentary, but a statement of a Sinhalese writer, who at least had heard of the Aramaṇa people.

Now we come back to the Buddhist monks from Burma who went to Ceylon after the return of the Primate Panthagu. His Successor Uttarājīva, the Mon monk, went to Ceylon embarking from Bassein in A.D. 1880 with many other monks, and on his return after a short time to earn the title of "the First Pilgrim of Ceylon". One of the monks Chapaṭa, also a Mon born in Ngaputaw in Bassein District, received the *upasampadā* ordination in Ceylon and returned after a stay of ten years. He was known as "the Second Pilgrim of Ceylon". The stories of the four learned monks whom Chapaṭa brought with him, the building of the Nyaung-U (Chapaṭa Pagoda) at Pagan, the dissensions between the learned monks are all stories narrated in the *Kalyāṇī inscriptions*, and the later historical writings of Burma.

I only wish to point out that the visits of Uttarājīva and Chapaṭa to Ceylon are very important in the history of Pali literāture, both for Burma and Ceylon. Uttarājīva took with him to Ceylon a copy of the *Saddanīti*, the pali grammar of Aggavaṃsa, the tutor to King Narapatisithu. The *Saddanīti* as a product of the first flowering period of Pagan's Pali scholarship received praise from the learned Pali scholars of Ceylon who declared it was superior to any work of the kind written by any Sinhalese scholar.

A thera by the name of Chapaṭa is also the author, and transcriber in Burmese

alphabet of many important works on the Abhidhamma and Pali Grammar. He was known by the title *Saddhammajotipāla*. The late Aggamahāpaṇḍita Polwatte Buddhaddatta Mahāthera of Ceylon had pointed out the possibility of there having been more than one monk by the name of Chapaṭa living in Ceylon.⁴¹ Verses at the end of *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* say that Chapaṭa came to Ceylon in the Buddhist Era 1980 (A.D. 1447), in the reign of King Siriparakkamabāhu of Jayaraddhanakōṭṭe (A.D. 1412-1458). If there were two theras by the name of Chapaṭa, were they both from Burma?

We have now seen that the Buddhism of Thaton would have been very similar to the Buddhism of Ceylon since both countries used the Pali texts, and there would have been communications between the countries. The Buddhism of Anuruddha of Pagan had already had its contacts with Ceylon during the reign of Vijayabāhu, and again the two countries are in constant communications with each other. Ceylon has to invariably depend on Burmese sources for information about relations between the two countries.⁴²

The Buddhists of Burma have attached special importance to relics from Ceylon, and specially the Tooth Relic. We have seen that King Anawrahta sent messengers to his contemporary in Ceylon, King Vijayabāhu, making a request for a Tooth Relic of the Master. King Narapati of Ava (A.D. 1443-69) is said to have sent offerings of gold and gems for the temple of the Tooth in Ceylon in 1456 and bought land here for the support of the clergy, probably from Burma visiting the shrine. Harvey, who recounts this event in his *History* speaks of the Temple of the Tooth Relic at Kandy. Possibly this is a mistake, rather a slip, of a chronicler, who may have written after the relic was

removed to Kandy. The year 1456 falls within the reign of Siri Parakramabāhu of Jayavaddhanakōṭṭe (A. D. 1410-1468), and at the time the Holy Tooth Relic was in a temple situated near his place in the capital at Jayavaddhanakōṭṭe (modern Kotte near Colombo).

The introduction of the Kalyāṇi *simā* from Ceylon is recorded in the *Kalyāṇi inscriptions* (A.D. 1476) of King Dammazedi (A.D. 1472-1492) and there is nothing to add to the story from Ceylon sources. We notice from the contents of the *Kalyāṇi inscriptions* that when one of the ships with monks from Rāmaññadesa arrived in the south of Ceylon at Vālitōṭa (Vāligama) the chieftain of the District was not well disposed to the ruling king, who was Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A. D. 1473-1480), the foster son of Siri Parakkamabāhu whom the latter tried to keep out the throne of Kotte preferring his own daughter's son. The grandson of Parakkamabāhu had come to the throne, and was ousted by Bhuvanekabāhu; but he had not yet won the loyalty of the whole realm when the Rāmañña monks arrived in the island. The identification of the four great Sinhalese theras who were leaders of the *upsasampadā* presents some difficulty, but the study is nevertheless interesting, when the reader notices that the inscriptions contain information about an earlier *upasampadā* held in a natural pond in Colombo, during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu VI in about A. D. 1450 where Suvāṇṇasobhana Thera received his higher ordination⁴⁵ (... Suvāṇṇasobhanathero ... Kalambunāme Mahārāja, mahājātassare sajjitāyaṃṇakukkhepasimāyaṃ...). In this context also names of two senior elders are mentioned. One name, that of Vanartana, is common to both the Kalambu-sīmā-upasampadā and the Kalyāṇi-sīmā-upasam-

padā. At the earlier *upasampadā* Rāhulabhadda, who according to the inscription was later known as Vijayabāhu Saṅgharāja, also took part:

(Vanaratananāmakam porāṇasaṅgharājam upajjhāyam,

pubbakale Rāhula-bhadda-nāmakam-idāni Vijayabāhu

Saṅgharājānam kammavācācriyam katvā.....)⁴⁴

I do not want to go into their identification here, but what I want to say is that the facts recorded in the *Kalyāṇi inscriptions* are of immense value in solving certain problems in the Sinhalese literary history and the history of the Buddhist church of Ceylon in the fifteenth century.⁴⁵ The *Mahāvamsa*⁴⁶ dismisses Bhuvanekabāhu VI's reign with two lines of 32 syllables. It must be remembered that the chronicle for this part of the island's history was completed only in the latter part of the 18th century.

King Bayinnaung (A. D. 1551-81) of the Toungoo Dynasty not only wanted a Holy Tooth Relic from Ceylon, but he also wanted a Sinhalese princess. Again Harvey in his *History* (p. 172) states that Bayinnaung in A. D. 1555 sent rich presents to the Tooth Relic at Kandy in Ceylon and bought lands there to keep lights continually burning at the shrine; the craftsmen he sent beautified it, the broom made of his hair, and of his chief Queen's swept it. Here again what is meant must be the temple of the Tooth at Jayavaddhanakōṭṭe. The Holy Tooth Relic was removed to Kandy only in the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya, king of Kandy (A. D. 1590-1604), which period is also, as we shall see, important in our discussion.

JBRs, XLIX, ii, Dec. 1966

It is in 1560 that Bayinnaung offered eight lakhs of rupees to rescue some object, mistaken to be a Buddha Tooth which was plundered by the Portuguese from a coastal town in Ceylon,⁴⁷ and this is also evidence to show the Tooth Relic was still not taken to Kandy. In fact, the Holy Tooth was safe in a village called Delgamuva in the Province of Sabaragamuwa.⁴⁸ It was some fake object that the Portuguese had got hold of; nevertheless, the devotion and faith of the Buddhist king of Pegu is seen from his prompt offer to rescue a relic sacred to the Sinhalese people.

The astrologers of the court of Bayinnaung also helped to strengthen the ties between the court of Pegu and the Sinhalese people.⁴⁹ They foretold that the Rāmañña King is destined to wed a Sinhalese princess, and in 1574 Bayinnaung sent an embassy to Ceylon, with monks, to demand the hand of the princess. (The poor monks had to go to Lanka on quite a different errand from the mission of those who went to Ceylon in the time of King Dammazedi!)

The messengers of the Pegu King went to Colombo, where the ruler must have been Dhammapāla who had been baptized a Roman Catholic under the name of Don Juan, and was ruling a province including Colombo as a vassal of the Portugal. In 1576, the emissaries of Bayinnaung brought back to Bassein a Sinhalese girl, and some relic which was said to have been a Tooth Relic. The king welcomed the Sinhalese young lady and married her, and enshrined the Tooth Relic in the *Mahazedi* pagoda at Pegu.

It is also said that in return for the young lady and the Relic, Bayinnaung sent assistance to the kinglet in Colombo. I have

not yet been able to find mention of these events or incidents in Sinhalese works. King Bayinnaung seems to have been quite satisfied with the Sinhalese young lady, whether a princess or not, and the Tooth Relic, whether a genuine bodily relic of the Master or a replica; for when other Sinhalese chieftains offered a genuine princess of royal blood and a genuine relic, Bayinnaung was not very anxious about their offers.⁵⁰

Later on King Thalun, also of the Toungoo Dynasty (A.D. 1629-48) enshrined Bayinnaung's Ceylon Tooth Relic in the Yazamanisūlā (Rājamañicūlā - Kaunghmudaw) at Sagaing, in the construction of which pagoda, the shape of Ceylon stupas has been followed to some extent.

The kings of Arakan also were interested in Tooth Relics from Ceylon. King Minbin (A.D. 1531-53) build at Myohaung the Andaw to enshrine a Ceylon Tooth Relic. Then followed missions from Arakan to Ceylon, to establish the *upasampadā* ordination, at the invitation of the kings of Kandy.

Buddhist monks were invited twice by kings of Kandy from Arakan (Rakkhaṅga desa) to restore the *upasampadā* ordination. The first ordination by Rakkhaṅga monks took place at the Getambe ford between Peradeniya and Kandy during the reign of King Vimaladhammasuriya I (A.D. 1590-1604).⁵¹ This event is related in detail in the 94th chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* as well as in other Sinhalese writings. It is seen that this mission is not mentioned in Harvey's *History* although he refers to the second.

The facts are briefly as follows: King Vimaladhammasuriya I (A.D. 1590-1604)

found no ordained monks in the island. He therefore sent to Rakkhaṅga, invited Nandicakka and other bhikkhus to Kandy in Lankā.⁵² At the landing-place of Getambe in the river Mahaveli, he had a *śīmā* made in the water, and had a fine building erected and had the ordination rites performed in the year 2140 after Nirvāṇa (that is, A.D. 1597).

The King of Arakan at this date would have been Minyazagyi (A.D. 1593-1612).

The second mission which took place in the reign of king Vimaladhammasuriya II (A.D. 1687-1707) is mentioned in Harvey's *History* (p. 145). According to Harvey some forty Arakanese monks went to Ceylon at the request of a mission sent with the aid of the Dutch. The narrative in the *Mahāvamsa* is as follows:⁵⁵ The King made preparations for a festival of admission into the Order (*upasampadā*) and sent to the country of Rakkhaṅga and invited bhikkhus with the *thera* Santāna⁵⁴ at their head. At this occasion 33 received the *upasampadā* ordination and 120 were taken in as *Sāmaneras*.

Kadadora grant adds further names of monks who took part in these ordination rites.⁵⁵ A point of interest in this document is the statement that at the second occasion seven copies of the *Kammavācā* written in the script of Hamsavatī-pura⁵⁶ and the script of Rakkhaṅga-pura⁵⁷ were brought with them to Ceylon by the monks who came to conduct the ceremonies. What is meant may be the *kammavācā* texts in square letters and in the round Burmese script. The texts are said to be the ones still used at the ordination ceremonies even by monks who are not members of any of the Burmese sects.

In the narrative of the *Mahāvamsa*,⁵⁸ the Buddhism of Pegu and Rakkhaṅga countries again comes up in recounting King Vijayarājasīha's (A.D. 1739-1749) anxiety over the state of the *sāsana* in Ceylon. The King was friendly with the Dutch, and he asked them whether the *sāsana* of the Master still existed. They replied that the order still existed in various countries such as Pegu,⁵⁹ Rakkhaṅga and Sāminḍa (Siam or Thailand). The king then had letters written in Pali (*mūlabhāsā*) and sent them to all these countries, but it is not certain whether all letters reached their destination. Nothing is known of the letter to Rakkhaṅga. Of the messengers who went to Pegu, only one returned after severe misfortunes.⁶⁰ The mission to Siam was successful. Vijayarājasīha decided in favour of Ayoijhā (Ayodhyā), and sent a second embassy. When the monks from Siam arrived in A.D. 1747, Vijayarājasīha was dead. The new king Kittī Siri Rāja Sīha (1747-1782) sent a second embassy to Siam in A.D. 1750, brought over monks from that country, and had the *upasampadā* ceremony performed at the very spot in the Mahaveli river where the Rakkhaṅga bhikkhus had carried out the ordination rites twice.

We are unable to say how the ordination established by the Arakan Saṅgha ended in Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa*⁶¹ however, says that King Kittī Siri Rāja Sīha (A.D. 1747-1782) supported and favoured the bhikkhus who had come from Rakkhaṅga along with the Sinhalese monks. They too received the necessities of life, and the king had the Parittas and other sacred texts recited by them.

The new Siamese order was soon found to violate the principles of the Buddha's

teachings. It did not serve all sections of the Buddhist people of Ceylon. Since the Siamese ordination, soon after its introduction at the very spot where the Arakan bhikkhus had carried out their ceremonies, as stated above, began to be restricted only to a privileged caste of the Sinhalese people.⁶²

Buddhists of other castes in Ceylon did not remain silent. They protested, and as many members of these castes, particularly those living in the maritime provinces, had become well-to-do by trade and industry, they were able to protest successfully. A learned *sāmañera* by name *Ambagahapitiye Nāṇavimalatissa* was not able to obtain his *upasampadā*, until he was thirty years old. The monks of the Siamese sect in Kandy asked him to proceed to Siam and receive the higher ordination there. *Nāṇavimalatissa* set off with five other *sāmañeras* to go to Siam, but in India the sea-faring merchants advised the Sinhalese party that it was more advisable to go to Burma, as the *sāsanā* flourished there.⁶³ King *Bodawpaya* (A.D. 1782-1819) received the Sinhalese *sāmañeras* at *Amarapura* and the story of their ordination is narrated in the *Sāsanavamsa*⁶⁴. In March 1803, the Sinhalese bhikkhus returned to Ceylon, accompanied by three Burman monks, and bringing with them texts of the *Tipiṭaka*, *aṭṭhakathā* and *ṭikā*. On the full-moon day of the month of *Vesākha* of that year an *upasampadā* was held in Ceylon with the Burmese *Mahāthera Aggasāra* as *upajjhāya*. Thus was established the *Amarapura* sect of bhikkhus in Ceylon.

Following the example of *Nāṇavimalatissa* Thera several other monks visited Burma. *Nāṇavimalatissa* Thera also came here once again. All these visits cannot be enumerated, but mention must be made of

Kapugama Dhammakhandha Thera who on his second visit in about A. D. 1808 received the title of *Rājaguru* from King *Bodawpaya*.⁶⁵

There is also a sect of bhikkhus in Ceylon who have derived their ordination from Burma and admit into their order candidates without considerations of caste. The origin of this sect is as follows: A learned monk of south Ceylon by the name of *Ambagahavatte Saraṇāṅkara*,⁶⁶ also known as *Indāsabhavarañāṇa* who had received his *upasampadā* in the Siamese sect, later renounced that ordination and became a *sāmañera* of the *Amarapura* sect. Thereafter in order to get his *upasampadā* in Burma he left Ceylon in A.D. 1861, with two other monks and through Arakan and Pegu came to *Mandalay*. Here with *Sangharāja Nēyyadhamma* as *Upajjhāya*, *Saraṇāṅkara* received his ordination in A.D. 1862. It was with this *Saraṇāṅkara* Thera that *Paññāsāmī* translated the *Sāsanavamsa-dīpa* from a Burmese original.⁶⁷ Taking this book also with him *Ambagahapitiye* Thera went to Ceylon and established the present *Rāmañña* sect. Or the sect was established after him!

Disputes about *simā* arose among the *Amarapura* monks of Ceylon, and they attempted several journeys to Burma, and the successful one was made in May 1857, two bhikkhus *Dhammakhandha* and *Vanaratana* arriving in *Mandalay* on 7th March 1858. Accounts of these visits of monks from Ceylon to get questions on *simā* settled are given in the *Simāvinicchayakathā*⁶⁸ by *Sāṅgharāja Nēyyadhamma* of *Mandalay* written in A.D. 1878. The Burmese introduction to this book, which is not published with the PTS edition, recounts details of the journeys of the Sinhalese monks and their followers.⁶⁹

Jāgara Mahāthera of Mandalay,⁷⁰ the founder of the Shwegyin Sect went to Ceylon arriving there on April 6, 1878, and attempted to reconcile the contending sections of the Amarapura bhikkhus. During his stay in Ceylon a *sīmā* by the name of Shwegyinsima was established at Welitara in Ceylon. Bhaddanta Jāgara, after his return from Ceylon in the year 1879, wrote the *Laṅkāśāsanavisuddhikathā*⁷¹. This has been translated into Sinhalese.⁷²

We must also examine relations between the laymen of the two countries. When I was at the Mandalay University on the 22nd of July this year, and was going through the exhibits in the teaching museum of the University I happened to come across a printed text of the Pali Grammar, *Bālāvatāra*, in a shelf. While examining it, I noticed that the book was printed in 1869, and that it bore this endorsement.

“To His Highness Panchet Woondaik, Minister to His Majesty the King of Burma, from his friend Edmund Rowland Gooneratna Mundaliyar of the Bentota Walallavita Korale of the Southern Province of Ceylon, Galle, 16th the March 1873.”

We know that the Minister Panchet Woondaik was Head of the Glass Factory of King Mindon. He was a scholar of Souborne in Paris, and a most travelled and clever man.⁷³ Of the Sinhalese chieftain we know him to be a Pali scholar, and has edited some Pali works such as the *Vimānavatthu*, *Pajjamadhu* and *Telakāṭṭhāgāthā* for the Pali Text Society of London. He belonged to an influential family and his office of Mudaliyar was an important one at the time. For the Panchet Woondaik to have been presented with a copy of a classical Pali grammatical text in Sinhalese character we should expect the Burmese

Minister to also have known Pali and to have been able to read the Sinhalese script.

Anyhow, this endorsement also shows one what good relations even the laymen of the two countries have had with each other, apart from the intercourse between the monks.

There are large numbers of other documents chiefly in the form of letters between the monks of the two countries, and some collections of these have been published both in Burma and Ceylon.⁷⁴ The study of these will throw further light into the relations between our two countries.

But I must stop the narrative part of my talk with the endorsement I found on the copy of the *Bālāvatāra* at Mandalay.

I have to make a few observations on the influence of art and architecture between the two countries.

I would now describe some of the monuments which you consider Ceylon type. I have chosen a few from what I have seen during the course of my tours in Burma. At Pegu the Mahazedi built to enshrine the Ceylon Tooth Relic which King Bayinnaung obtained together with the Sinhalese young lady. Here, the dome has some characteristics of the domes of Sinhalese dagobas of the corresponding period.

Now we come to Sagaing. Here the Mahayazamanisula Pagoda built by King Thalun to enshrine Bayinnaung's Tooth Relic is also called a Sinhalese type pagoda. This has no square box over the dome, as in the case of Ceylon dagobas, but the dome certainly has the appearance of a Sinhalese dagoba. I wonder whether those

Burmese who went to Anuradhapura in Ceylon during the 15th or 16th centuries saw the Maha Thupa there minus the square box, only the dome remaining. If the pagoda at Sagaing is not whitewashed and has no *htee* its dome appear like the upper portion of a dilapidated Sinhalese stupa.

Only the dome of the Thupayon at Sagaing remains, but the shape of the Sinhalese dome at least is well preserved. The very name Thupayon is derived from Thuparama, a name commonly applied to dagobas in Ceylon.

We then come to the Sinhalese type pagodas in Pagan. The two of the best known ones are the Sapada pagoda or Naung-U and the Pabingyaung. Here we see the Sinhalese form completely if we do not consider the lower terraces of the pagoda. Their pinnacles and the domes resemble closely the corresponding parts of the Sinhalese dagobas. They have also their square boxes.

On a slab of stone which has come from a Relic Chamber in the locality and now placed at the Thirikhattara Museum, there is a carving in relief of stupa, in the shape of a Sinhalese stupa. The form of the dome is the common Sinhalese bubble shape with a *chatra* crowning the thupa. The Payagyi pagoda between Thirikhattara and Prome has the dome and basal terraces in the Sinhalese pattern.

At Thaton are Sinhalese style stupas in the grounds of the Shwezayan pagoda.

Thupas of very late construction were noticed at Amarapura, Taungdwingyi, and at Pegu (between the motor road and the railway line).

The brick buildings at Pagan and those of Polonnaruwa in Ceylon are contemporary. One sees similarities in the size of bricks, method of construction of arches, and arched roofs.

The temples-on-pillars in Ceylon belonging to a period after the 17th century A. D. may have some connection with the buildings on pillars in Burma.

One notices a striking resemblance in the pattern of the city wall of Mandalay and the temple and palace walls of Kandy.

In conclusion I have to say that whatever the racial origins of the two peoples are, the Burmese and the Sinhalese have a very similar cultural history. This is ever more remarkable if the racial origins of the two nations are different. We need not worry over such questions as to whether the Burmese are Mongoloid and the Sinhalese Aryan. No race is physically pure, but it is the culture that matters. We have pursued our enquiries here on a cultural basis and I hope and trust those cultural contacts will continue now and in the future.

Notes

1. See *Mahāvamsa*, chs. 1, 2
Sāsanavamsa
Harvey, G.E., *History of Burma*, 1925.
2. *Dīpavamsa*, ed. Oldenberg, London, 1879.
3. *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 37, vv. 215 ff.
4. *Nikāyasaṅgrahava*, ed. Wickremasinghe, Colombo, 1890, p. 11
5. *Sāsanavamsa*, PTS ed, (1897), 39.
6. See Harvey; op cit. p. 53.
7. (*Hmannan*) *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*,
Translated by Pe Maung Tin and G.H.Luce, London, 1923, pp. 89-90.
8. *Mhv.* ch. 58, vv 8. ff. The name of Rāmañña king is not mentioned.
9. *Ibid.* ch. 60. vv 4 ff.
10. *Pūjāvaliya*, ch. 34, ed. Mābopiṭṭe Medhaṅkara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 23.
11. *Nikāyasaṅgrahava*, ed. Wickremasinghe, Colombo, 1890, p. 20 (see below)
12. *Rājāvaliya*, ed. Pemānanda, 1926, p. 57.
13. *Sulurājāvaliya*, ed. 1914, p. 13.
14. "Polonnaruva inscription of the Velaikkaras" (see below under notes 17 and 18).
15. In "Anuruddhanarindassa saḥāyassa santikam" *Mhv.* 60, 5
16. In the colophon to the *Upāsakajanālakāra* we read that when the whole of the Island of Lankā was confused by the fire of the Damilas (Lañkādīpamhi sakale Damiḷānala-samākule) some of the best theras who were like banners to Tambapaṇṇi (Tambapaṇṇidhajā therā) had taken refuge in South India. Similarly others would have gone to parts of Burma. See Paranavitana, *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, pt. I, Colombo, 1960, p. 563.
17. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 252, 253.
18. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 336, 337.
19. This rendering follows the reading in Wickremasinghe's edition: aramaṇayata vaḍi sthavira-padavi prāpta silvat saṅga. The reading is supported also by several MSS. Seven of the nine sources compared by P. Bandarage in editing this text as his dissertation for the M.A. degree of the University of Ceylon has: aramaṇayaṭa vāḍi "who had gone to Aramana" while two has: aramaṇayen vāḍi "come from Aramaṇa". Even the second does not exclude Sinhalese monks.
20. *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. I pt. II, p. 564.
21. Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-1167) had been in Ceylon, and a king of Ceylon had offered him his daughter. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 114. (We do not know who this king is) Alaungsithu had also appointed same officers in Ceylon (Kala), *ibid.*, p. 118.
22. *Hmannan*, see above note 7 and *Mahayazawingyi* (see below under n. 33).
23. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 133.
24. Ed. and translated (Pali version only), Taw Sein Ko, Rangoon, 1892, also in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII (1893) also notes in Vol. XXIV (1895).
25. ed. Mabel Bode, PTS, London, 1897.
26. *Mhv.* ch. 76, vv.10-75.

27. Ba Shin: *Lokahtekpan*, The Burma Historical Commission, Union of Burma; *Pictorial Guide to Pagan*, Archaeological Survey of Burma (gives the alternative dates)
28. Bell, H. C. P. *Report on the Kegalla District*, ASC, 1892, pp. 73 ff. Paranavitana, S: *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, no 34.
29. Line 15 of Devanagala Rock-inscription.
30. *Cūlavamsa*, II, translation, 1953, p. 69, f. n. 3
31. *EZ* III, p. 318
32. Paranavitana, in a further note supplied to the writer after reading the inscription from a better paper and ink rubbing, has added the further information that the grant was made after Kit Nuvaragal had held Kusumi for five months.
33. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 127-128. Also *Mahayazawingyi*, Burma Research Society, Burmese Text Series, No. 5, Vol. I., pp. 241 ff.
34. D.B.Jayatilaka, the eminent Sinhalese scholar, says as follows in the introduction to his edition of the *Mānāvulusandesa* (Colombo, 1925, p. ix. f.n.f.): 'It appears that the Sinhalese armies that landed at the ports of Kusim and Papphāla have conquered that part of Burma from these ports up to Ukkama. Arimaddanapura or Pugama which was the capital of Rāmaññadesa at that time was over three hundred miles away from here. One can in no way accept that the Sinhalese army went so far up. We, therefore, take that what is meant by the phrase 'Ramaññhipam nighātesum' (they killed the king of Ramaña in the *Mahāvamsa* is that a provincial kinglet who was the chief of Ukkama was killed by the Sinhalese army'-translated from Sinhalese. Jayatilaka had heard from a thera by the name of Vinayālamkāra that the modern name of Ukkama was 'Okkam' and it was fifty miles from the sea.

Paranavitana, when he wrote his introduction to the edition of the Devanagala Rock-inscription, did not believe it was possible that the king of Rāmañña was killed by Parakkama-bāhu's general (*EZ* III, p. 319). He is yet of the same view. This is what he still says (in a note supplied to the writer):

"To capture the port on a surprise attack by a naval armada, though a memorable military feat, is not so great an achievement as to hold it for five months against an enemy who controlled the populous hinterland. After the shock of the initial surprise was over, the Burmese military leaders could have brought forces vastly superior in numbers to fight against the men under Kit Nuvaragal. In the short time available to him between his capture of the port and the organisation of the Burmese forces which must have attempted to dislodge him, Kit Nuvaragal must have so repaired and strengthened its defences that the place could withstand attack by military units which were numerically superior. Kit Nuvaragal could hardly have derived enough supplies for the men under him in the area under his command. He therefore had to depend on sea communication with Ceylon, for the greater part of his supplies and for reinforcements to replace losses in fighting. His position would have accordingly become weaker with the passage of time, and it was perhaps an awareness of this fact which induced Parākrāmabāhu to request the Sangha to intervene and bring about a peace before Kit Nuvaragal's position became untenable. The circumstances do not appear to have been favourable to the Burmese also to continue the war; if so they would not have come into a peace settlement with an enemy who had invaded their land and captured one of its important ports. The position at the capital, perhaps, did not permit the speedy despatch of troops to a distant part of the empire to fight with the invader. It is also not impossible that Kit Nuvaragal was able to obtain the co-operation of the local authorities who might have been disloyal to Pagan.

We do not know enough of the internal state of the Burmese empire at the time of the attack on its coastal regions by Sinhalese naval forces to reconstruct with any degree of certainty the course of events, and the reasons which shaped them."

35. *Mahayazawingyi*, see under note 33 above.

36. Parānavitana, S. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, p. 69, etc.
37. Ed. and translated by L.D. Barnett, in *JRAS*, Vol. 87, 1905, pp. 265 ff. also ed. with introduction and Sinhalese *sannaya* by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1925.
38. *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 80, vv. 6-8. Not as taken by the writer at *EZ*, Vol. V, pt. 3, p. 430, to be the same as the *Mānāvulusandesa*.
39. ed. Jayatilaka, H. 1901, (see Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, pp. 328 ff), v. 381
40. ed. Nāṇānanda Thera, 1929 (see *Sinhalese Literature*, pp. 73 ff), p. 4. A similar passage recurs in *Sarvajñaguṇāṅkāraya* (18th century see *Sinhalese Literature*) ed. 1936, p. 303
41. "Were there Two Elders by name of Chappada?" in *A Collection of Monographs* by A.P. Buddhadatta Mahathera, Ambalangoda, 1957.
42. *Jinakālamālī* of Ratanapañña Thera of Siam (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta Mahathera, 1956, pp. 69-70) says that a great Master named Udumbara came to Rammaṇadesa from Ceylon. This was in the fourteenth century. See also Parānavitana: 'Religious Intercourse Between Ceylon and Siam in the 13th-15th centuries' in *JCBRAS* Vol. XXXII, No. 85, pp. 197 ff.
43. There has also been an *upusampadā* ceremony at Kalyāṇī in A.D. 1425 (Buddhist Era 1968) when Siamese and Cambodian monks received the higher ordination, *Jinakālamālī*, p. 77 and Parānavitana, *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXXII, pt. 85, pp. 205-209. Here Vanaratana Mahāsāmi was *Kammavācācariya* and Mahāthera Dhammācariya was *upajjhāya*.
44. *Kalyāṇī Inscript*. Obverse 3rd face, Pali, last lines: *IA*, XXII, p. 51; p. 239.
45. As at introduction to *Hamsasandesa* edition, Colombo, 1953, by the present writer.
46. Ch. 92, lines 2-3.
47. Couto: *History of Ceylon*, translation in *JCBRAS*, Vol. XX (No. 60), 1908, p. 191, pp. 211 ff.
48. *ibid*, p. 191, f.n. 1.
49. *ibid.*, pp. 243 ff;
50. *ibid.*, pp. 251-253.
51. *Mhv.* ch. 94, vv. 15 ff.
52. According to the Kadadora Grant ed. Godakumbura, C. E., *JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. II, 1951-2, 141-158 and Vol. III, 1953-4, pp. 72-79, Chandavilāsa Thera was *upajjhāya* and Nandicakka Thera was *ācariya*. For other literary references in Sinhalese see *JCBRS*, N. S. Vol. III, p. 74: Nandicakka and Candavilāsa in *Sulurājāvaliya*, (1914 *Srv.*) p. 23. *Salupūjāvaliya* (1913 *Srv.*) p. 8. The date of the *upusampadā* according to the *Kaḍadora Grant* is Buddhist Era 2145. Vesākha, waning moon, 14th day.
53. *Mhv.* ch. 97, vv. 8 ff.
54. *Srv.* (p. 11): Santāna-sthavira and Logarāgapuggala-sthavira.
Srv. (p. 25): Santāna-sthavira and Loṅgrapuṅgala-sthavira.
55. *Koṇḍadora Grant* gives the names of Santāna Thera and Loṅgrā Thera as the leaders of the second mission. At the *upusampadā* Santāna Thera was *ācariya*; and the theras Pancaloha, Guṇameju, were *upajjhāya* theras, and they were assisted by the theras Akāpanna and Dhammānanda. All these chief monks, according to the context, came from Rakkaṅga.
56. The square Pali script ?
57. Ordinary Burmese script ?
58. *Mhv.* 98, vv. 87 ff. - see *Mahāvamsa (Cūlavamsa II : Geiger)* for the rest of the history of the *Sāsana*. See also *JCBRAS*, Vol. XVIII (No. 54), 1903, pp. 17-44. King Kīrti śrī's Embassy to Siam". Translated from the Sinhalese. Very vivid accounts of two journeys to Pegu, and a first hand account of the mission to Siam given by Āyittaliyaddē in his *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāya* (*Sss.*), ed. Paññasena Thera and Sannasgala, 1947, pp. 12 ff. Also see *Sāsanaṅvamsadīpo* by Ācariya Vimalasāra Thera, Colombo, Buddhist Era 2424 from v. 1367 to end of book.

JBRs, XLIX, ii, Dec. 1966

3. U. P. F 175—1,000

59. The Sinhalese name for Pegu is Payigovva, *Sss.* 12.
 60. *Sss.* p. 13, *JCBRS*, XVIII (see under 58), p. 19.
 61. *Mhv.* ch. 99, v. 25.
 62. See Harvey, *History*; p. 277.
 63. A. P. Buddhadatta Thera, *Samīpātīlayehi Buddhācāryyayo*, 1950, pp. 20-27.
 64. PTS, ed. p. 135.
 65. Op. cit. sub. n. 63, pp. 27-33; Godakumbura, C. E., *Catalogue of Ceylonese MSS in Danish Collections*, introduction and pp. 109B-112B (in print).
 66. Op. cit. n. 63, pp. 98-109; Matale Sāsānatilaka Thera, *Rāmaññavamsaya*, Colombo, 1964.
 67. See PTS ed. p. 169 :
 Laṅkāgātena santena Citranāmena bhikkhunā
 Saraṇamkaranāmena Saddhammaṭṭhitikāminā, etc.
 68. Ed. Minayeff, J. P. in *JPTS*, 1887.
 69. See MS in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, (Lundholm 11 e), Godakumbura, *Catalogue*, Vol. II; pt. 1. *Pali MSS.* (in print).
 70. K. W. de A. Wijesinghe, *Rajaguru Jagara Maha Thero of Burma*, 1953.
 71. Printed Mandalay, 1880.
 72. Translated into Sinhalese by Dhammatilaka Thera, edited by Ukkaṭṭhamahātissa Ariyavamsadhaja ṅānatilaka Thera, Welitota 1889, another edition, 1892.
 73. See Foucar, E. C. V. *Mandalay the Golden*, London, 1963, p. 49.
 74. A. P. Buddhadatta Mahathera, *Pālisandesāvālī*, pt. 1, 1963.



တက္ကသိုလ်များပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊