

## The *Asokaparinibbānakathā*

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### Abstract

‘An Account of Asoka’s Parinibbāna’ (*Asokaparinibbānakathā*) is a little known Pali text from mainland South East Asia. The edition and translation reproduced here are based on one Khom manuscript from Wat Phra Chetuphon in Bangkok, and one Mūl manuscript, originally from Cambodia, but now kept at the École française d’Extrême-Orient in Paris.

Little is known about the provenance of the *Asokaparinibbānakathā*. The catalogues<sup>2</sup> list only three manuscripts: one of Cambodian origin kept in Paris, one of Lao origin in Copenhagen, and one of Siamese origin in Bangkok. It does not receive mention amongst the various recensions of the legend of Asoka recorded by Strong,<sup>3</sup> and as far as is known, no edited or printed edition has been published to date. The beginning of the text roughly follows the Sinhalese

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<sup>1</sup> The present work is the final outcome of collaboration, over the years, between the late Peter Masefield and myself on this text. I was responsible for the original transliteration of both manuscripts, prior to their translation by Prof. Masefield. During the course of this work, I was more than ably assisted by Phra Maha Vanly Khemaraputto, one of Prof. Masefield’s former Cambodian graduate students at Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University in Bangkok, who swiftly brought a fresh pair of keen, native eyes to both manuscripts, thereby helping us to clarify a number of previously uncertain readings. We are both greatly indebted to him for his assistance.

<sup>2</sup> G. Cœdès (1966); Skilling and Pakdeekham (2002).

<sup>3</sup> Strong (1989).

chronicle on Asoka as depicted in the *Mahāvamsa*, but continues and concludes with quite different episodes involving proper nouns found only in the *Dasavatthupparakaṇa*, *Sīhaḷavatthupparakaṇa* and *Sahassavatthupparakaṇa*, none of which are documented in the DPPN.

This edition is based on the transliteration of two of the above manuscripts, namely, that in the Rāma III Collection, housed in the Santivan library of Wat Phra Chetuphon (Wat Pho) in Bangkok,<sup>4</sup> and that in the library of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris. We have, to date, had no access to the third manuscript, that in the Lao language, housed in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, concerning which we give only a short notice below as to its typology, together with a few remarks drawn from the Cœdès catalogue (1966: 95).

## Description of the manuscripts

### 1. That of Siamese origin: Wat Phra Chetuphon (WPC) 6/ta.3. 1

*Asokaparinibbānakathā* (incomplete). Top and last *olas* decorated with *devatā* gilded on black lac. Cartouche in ink on first *ola* recto: *brah Asokaparinibbānakathā*. Begins, *ola* da b;<sup>5</sup> ends, *ola* dū b line 4 (missing the last *ola* only). A single *phūk*, 11 *olas*, da-dū, 580 x 52 mm, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 60 characters per line—Khom script—Numb. Khom letters—covers decorated in Chinese style with inlaid mother-of-pearl floral and foliage motifs. No date [middle of 19th century]. This manuscript belongs to the collection known as *Deb Jumnum*, donated to Wat Phra Chetuphon by king Rāma III, Phra Nangklao (1824-1851).

<sup>4</sup> This library was established according to the wish of Somdet Phra Ariyavamsakatayarn (Poon Poonasiri Mahathera Barien Dhamma 6), the 17th Patriarch and the 11th Lord Abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon. It contains, amongst many other manuscripts, the collection known as *Deb Jumnum*, donated by king Rāma III (Phra Nangklao 1824-1851) to Wat Phra Chetuphon.

<sup>5</sup> This shows that this *phūk* formerly belonged to a larger series of manuscripts. At present, the previous *phūk*, containing *olas ka-thah*, is missing, our text having been placed amongst another set of *vamsa* texts having different features and dimensions. Note also that this *Asokaparinibbānakathā* is found along with five other texts in the same manuscript under this shelfmark containing a total of 12 *phūk*. It comprises: 2. *Jinadantadhātuvaṃsa* [*Dāthāvaṃsa*]; 3. *Pālisāvakanibbāna*; 4. *Aṭṭhakesadhātuvaṃsa*; 5. *Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa*; 6. *Dantadhātunidāna*.

**2. That of Cambodian origin: École française d'Extrême-Orient, EFEO  
PALI 29**

*Asokaparinibbānakathā*. *Ola* 1a, middle: *Asokaparinibbānakathā* | Margin, in ink in Roman characters: *Asokaparinibbānakathā* (pāli); *olas* 1b-4a, bl. Begins, *ola* 4b (da); ends, *ola* 10b de line 3; *olas* 11-12, bl. a single *phūk*, 12 *olas*, da-de, 580 x 60 mm, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 55 characters per line—Mūl script—Numb. Mūl letters. No date (probably copied circa 1914-1915 for EFEO in Cambodia)—Former shelfmark: CO 225.

**3. That of Lao origin. Royal Library, Copenhagen LAOS 79 (V)**

Cœdès (1966: 95) describes the *Asokadhammarājanibbāna*, giving the beginning and end of the text in Pāli with a summary of the Lao nissaya, as follows (translated freely from the French):

*Asokadhammarājanibbāna*. Manuscript on 18 palm leaves, 51.5 x 5 cm, 4 lines on 45 cm. Writing quite accurate, good preservation. Formerly belonging to Vāt Pā Dēñ. Provenance: Tuxen collection Laos 2. Story of the passing of king Asoka. The text starts with a passage in incorrect Pāli: *pañcālāvattasampattiti kuṇḍalattābyaghāth[e]rānaṃ nidinakathā ime pañāyasmante pubbabuddhānaṃ santike umpacittakusalamulā devesu ca mānussesu va saṃsaranto amhākaṃ bhagavato parinibbānato aṭṭhārasāthikānāddhinaṃ vassasatānaṃ tamatthake jambudīpe ca imasmim laṅkādīpe ca ma[hā]dhammasoka devatānaṃpiyatissā ti laddhanāmā senā adiṭṭhamahāyābhātvā buddhasāsane mahantaṃ puñarassī sañcinantādhasisu.*

(Translation of the summary of this nissaya): Kuṇḍalatissa and Byāghatthera, having accomplished meritorious acts in the presence of the Buddhas of the past, and after having transmigrated in the world of devas and humans, were reborn in Jambudīpa and Laṅkādīpa 218 years after the nibbāna of the Lord, where they received, respectively, the names of Mahādhammāsoka and Devanāmpiyatissa, accumulating good deeds in the Buddhist religion. Colophon (chī r°4): *asokadhammarājanibbān gā lēv kōr lē* (the Asoka Dhammarājanibbāna is complete).

The present transliteration and translation are those of the Wat Phra Chetuphon (WPC) manuscript, with variant readings contained in the École française d'Extrême-Orient manuscript (EFEO) given in the footnotes. The foliation of both manuscripts is virtually identical, showing that both derive from a common exemplar; the foliation of WPC is indicated by pointed brackets and normal font size (e.g. <da a> = folio da, *recto*); the foliation of EFEO is shown by square brackets and a reduced font size (e.g. [da b] = folio da, *verso*). An Appendix is also given, quoting a partial, parallel account of the episode by Buddhaghosa in his *Samantapāsādikā* (CSCD edition).

## braḥ<sup>6</sup> asoka parinibbāna kathā

|<da b>|[da b] tena kho pana samayena pātaliputtanagare  
bindusāro<sup>7</sup> nāma rājā rajjaṃ kāresi | tassa ekasataputtā ahesuṃ |  
asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikam tissakumāraṃ thapetvā sabbe te  
ghāṭetvā cattāri vassāni anabhisito rajjaṃ kāretvā sakalajambūdipe  
ekarājābhisekam pāpuṇi |

[dā a] abhisekānubhāvena<sup>8</sup> cassa imā rājiddhi <dā a> yo āgatā |  
pathaviyā heṭṭhā yojanappamāne aṇāpavattati tathā<sup>9</sup> upari ākāse  
| anotattadahato aṭṭhahi kājehi soḷasapāṇiyaghaṭe divase divase  
devatā āharanti |

aṭṭhaghaṭe bhikkhusaṃghassa<sup>10</sup> adāsi | dve ghaṭe saṭṭhimattānaṃ  
piṭakataya<sup>11</sup> [dā b] bhikkhusahassānaṃ dve <dā b> ghaṭe  
aggamahesiyā<sup>12</sup> asandhamittāya | dve ghaṭe soḷasannaṃ nāṭakitthi  
sahassānaṃ dve ghaṭe attanā paribhuñji |

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<sup>6</sup> EFEO omits.

<sup>7</sup> EFEO *bindhasāro*.

<sup>8</sup> EFEO *abhisekānubhavana*.

<sup>9</sup> EFEO *āṇāpāvatti tathā*; possibly *āṇāpāvattito*.

<sup>10</sup> EFEO *bhikkhasaṃghassa*.

<sup>11</sup> EFEO *piṭakataya*.

<sup>12</sup> EFEO *aggamahesiyā*.

## An Account of Asoka's Parinibbāna

Now, on that occasion, the king named Bindusāra was ruling in the city of Pātaliputta. And one hundred and one sons were his. Asoka after slaying all of these, save for Tissakumāra, who had the same mother as he did, ruled unconsecrated for four years, and then became consecrated as sole king over the whole of Jambudīpa.

And<sup>13</sup> through the majesty of his consecration, the royal potencies<sup>14</sup> befell him; below the earth, his authority extended a *yojana*, likewise in the sky above;<sup>15</sup> *devatās* would each day fetch sixteen pitchers of drinking-water from Lake Anotatta on eight pingoos.

(Of these) he would give eight pitchers to the order of monks, two pitchers to as many as sixty thousand monks knowing the three *Piṭakas*, two pitchers to his chief-queen, Asandhamittā, two pitchers to his sixteen thousand dancing-girls, whilst he himself would consume two pitchers.

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<sup>13</sup> There are a few places in the text where certain readings are either difficult or impossible to understand or reconstruct. The fact that these are more or less common to both mss suggests an early scribal confusion that must have occurred prior to either of our mss. This difficulty is compounded by (a) the close similarities between certain graphemes, such as *t/g* and *p/m* in the Khom script (especially when inscribed on a palm-leaf); and (b) the frequent manner in which scribes tend to spell a Pali term phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, suggesting in turn that some 'copying' might actually have been performed by way of dictation. For a discussion of these idiosyncrasies in Khom mss see, for instance, Masefield (2008). I have done my best trying squeeze out some sort of sense the original passages may have had, often with little or no success. Under the circumstances, I have simply recorded the troublesome passages in a footnote without comment, other than 'unclear.'

<sup>14</sup> At M III 176, it is said that the *cakkavatti*: (i) is handsome, comely, and graceful, possessing the supreme beauty of complexion, and surpasses other human beings in this respect; (ii) lives long and endures long, and surpasses other human beings in this respect; (iii) is free from illness and affliction, possessing a good digestion that is neither too cool nor too warm, and surpasses other human beings in this respect; (iv) is dear and agreeable to brahmins and householders.

<sup>15</sup> So the punctuation of WPC; Sp (CSCD) punctuates somewhat differently.

himavante kira nāgalatā nāma dantakaṭṭhaṃ athi saniddhaṃ<sup>16</sup>  
sādhukaṃ ojavantaṃ divase divase devatā āharanti |  
aggadāmalakaṃ aggadāharitakaṃ ambapakkakaṃ ca suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ  
gandharasasampannaṃ devatā āharanti |

chaddantadahato<sup>17</sup> pañcavaṇṇanivāsanaṃ devatā āharanti<sup>18</sup> | taṃ  
nivāsanaṃ adhovitabbavatthaṃ nāma | yadā raño nivāsana-kāle  
taṃ vivaṇṇaṃ hoti | tadā aṅgārara-simhi<sup>19</sup> tāpitaṃ suparisuddhaṃ  
cupasahadavaṇṇaṃ<sup>20</sup> hoti |

chaddhantadahato<sup>21</sup> sañjātasāliyo navavāhasahassāni sucagaṇā<sup>22</sup>  
āharanti | divase divase mūsikā nitthusakaraṇena<sup>23</sup> karonti | eko pi  
khaṇḍataṇḍulo nāma nāhosi | ayam eva taṇḍulo raño paribhogaṃ  
gacchati |

haritacandanaṃ himavantato<sup>24</sup> devatā āharanti |[di a] rājā dhammaso  
<di a> ko evarūpo mahānubhāvo ahosi |

gate cavanakālantare āyumiḥ khayamāne dānaṃ dātukāmo  
bhaṇḍagārikaṃ pakkosāpetvā āha gaccha tāta koṭṭhāgārato  
suvaṇṇādiratanaṃ khomakoseyyakādīni<sup>25</sup> idha rāsiṃ karohi dānaṃ  
dassāmi<sup>26</sup> |

<sup>16</sup> EFEO *aṭṭisiniddhaṃ*.

<sup>17</sup> EFEO *chandhantadahato*.

<sup>18</sup> EFEO omits.

<sup>19</sup> EFEO *aṅgāravāsimhi*.

<sup>20</sup> EFEO *dhumasamāvaṇṇaṃ*.

<sup>21</sup> EFEO *chandhantadahato*.

<sup>22</sup> EFEO *suvagaṇā*.

<sup>23</sup> EFEO *nitthusakaraṇena*.

<sup>24</sup> EFEO *hivantato*.

<sup>25</sup> EFEO *khomakoseyyakādīni vatthāni*.

<sup>26</sup> EFEO *dassāmi ti*.

It is said that there is, on the Himalaya, the tooth-stick named Nāgalatā,<sup>27</sup> which is smooth,<sup>28</sup> agreeable<sup>29</sup> and possesses nutritive essence; this the *devatās* would bring each day. The *devatās* would fetch an antidotal myrobalan,<sup>30</sup> an antidotal gallnut<sup>31</sup> and a ripe mango that was golden-coloured and endowed with fragrance and flavour.

From Lake Chaddanta the *devatās* would fetch a five-coloured, lower-garment; this lower-garment was not in need of being washed. Whenever it became faded at such time as the king was wearing it, it would, when heated over a heap of embers, become utterly purified, of a colour equal to that of the *paduma*(-lotus).<sup>32</sup>

Each day, flocks of parrots would fetch nine thousand cartloads of *sāli* rice that was in season<sup>33</sup> from Lake Chaddanta; mice would divest it each day of its husks and powder.<sup>34</sup> Not even a single grain became broken. This same grain had been for the king's use.

The *devatās* would fetch yellow sandal from the Himalaya. Such was the great majesty of king Asoka. And when he became desirous of giving alms, at the time his lifespan was waning during the phase in which he would die, he had the storekeeper summoned, and said: 'You should go make a heap here, my dear, of gold and jewels and so on, and linen and silk and so forth, from the warehouse—I will give alms.'

<sup>27</sup> *nāgalatā*; the ironwood tree.

<sup>28</sup> *saniddham*.

<sup>29</sup> *sādhukam*; Sp (and elsewhere) *mudukam*, pliant.

<sup>30</sup> *phyllanthus emblica*.

<sup>31</sup> *aggadāharitakam* (where *aggadā* is to be read as *agada*, 'medicine, antidote'). This is not the yellow myrobalan (*terminalia citrina* or *chebula*), as stated by PED sv *harītakam*, but the gall nut with a hard shell and about the size of a nutmeg (Sinh. *aralu*); the myrobalan (*āmalaka*) is smaller, green and smooth, about the size of a medium-sized grape (Sinh. *nelli*). Both have a hard stone inside. I am grateful to N. A. Jayawickrama for this information.

<sup>32</sup> *cupasahadavaṇṇam*; EFEO *dhumasamāvaṇṇam*. Given the similarity of the graphemes *c*, *d*, *dh*, and *ph* in the Khom script, I conjecture, especially on the basis of EFEO, that the original reading was, in all probability, *padumansamavaṇṇam*—cp. *padumasamam* at Mil 354 and *padumasamānavaṇṇatāya* at Vv-a 35. If so, the error must pre-date both of the mss presently at our disposal. Sp reads differently at this point.

<sup>33</sup> *sañjāta*; Sp *utthita*.

<sup>34</sup> *nitthusakaṇena*; Sp *nitthusakaṇe*.



taṃ sutvā bhaṇḍāgāriko assupunṇehi nettehi rājānaṃ sañāpento  
imaṃ gātham āha |

koṭṭhāgāraṇ ca kosaṇ ca  
yaṇ c' añāṃ atthi<sup>35</sup> te dhanāṃ  
sabbāṃ sulañcitaṃ deva  
evaṃ jānāhi khattiyā ti |

taṃ sutvā rājā bhaṇḍāgārikaṃ pucchanto āha |

koṭṭhāgāraṇ ca kosaṇ ca  
yaṇ c' añāṃ atthi dhanāṃ me  
kena sulañcitaṃ sabbāṃ  
taṃ me akkhāhi pucchito ti |

bhaṇḍāgāriko kathento āha |

koṭṭhāgāraṇ ca kosaṇ ca  
yaṇ c' añāṃ atthi te dhanāṃ  
devaṃ dubbalaṃ maggaṃ disvā  
sabbāṃ amhehi lañcitan ti |

taṃ sutvā rājā<sup>36</sup> amacce pakkosāpetvā<sup>37</sup> pucchi |[di b] tumhehi <di b>  
tipa ma dānaṃ dātukāmassa<sup>38</sup> koṭṭhāgārāni lañcitanī ti | evaṃ devā ti |

kim atthāyā ti | pacchīmassa raṇo atthāya devā ti | idaṃ kassa rajjan ti |  
tumhākaṃ devā ti | yadi me rajjaṃ kathaṃ dānaṃ<sup>39</sup> dātuṃ na dethā ti |

amaccā tuṇhi ahesuṃ

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<sup>35</sup> EFEO *atti*.

<sup>36</sup> EFEO *taṃ svā sutvā rāja*.

<sup>37</sup> EFEO *pakosāpetvā*.

<sup>38</sup> EFEO *tumhehi kira me dānaṃ dātukāmassa*.

<sup>39</sup> EFEO *dāṃnaṃ*.

Upon hearing this, the storekeeper uttered this verse, informing the king with tear-filled eyes:

‘The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of yours there be, are all well-sealed, your majesty; please be aware that this is so, O khattiya.’

Upon hearing this, the king, questioning the storekeeper in turn, said: ‘The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of mine there be, by whom have they all been well-sealed ? Inform me of this when questioned.’

The store-keeper, replying, said: ‘The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of yours there be, all have been sealed by us, your majesty, upon seeing your own weakness.’<sup>40</sup>

The king, upon hearing this, had his privy councillors summoned, and then asked: ‘It is said that the warehouses of mine, who am desirous of giving alms,<sup>41</sup> has been sealed by you.’

‘That is so, your majesty.’

‘For what purpose?’

‘For the sake of the next king, your majesty.’

‘Whose kingdom is this?’

‘Yours, your majesty.’

‘If this is my kingdom, why do you not allow me to give alms?’

The privy councillors became silent.

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<sup>40</sup> Reading *deva* for *devam*, and *dubbalam attam* for *dubbalam maggam*; as noted above (n. 13), the Khom characters *ta* and *ga* are easily confused.

<sup>41</sup> Reading EFEO *kira me* for WPC *tipa ma: ki → gi* (aural confusion) followed by *gi → ti* (orthographic confusion); and *ra me → pa ma* (orthographic confusion).

tasmim kāle raño jālahatthe osatthathāya aḍḍhāmalakam atthi |

rājā oloketvā gātham āha |

paccaṇavatasampatti<sup>42</sup>  
vijjumālisamupamā<sup>43</sup>  
mahaddhanaṃ pi sampatto  
dalidham<sup>44</sup> punamāgato

yadā me dātukāmo pi  
dātabbam natthi me dhanam  
khīṇapuñam<sup>45</sup> aham patto  
sampatto maccuno mukhan ti |

tadā raño samīpe tikicchānatthāya eko vejo thito ahosi | so rājānam<sup>46</sup>  
byādhi pi dukkhataram sampatti bhassamānam disvā gātham āha |

dhīratthu<sup>47</sup> rajjam aniccarūpaṃ  
bhuñjantā jivhāliṅgatāmini  
[dī a] ciratthutam<sup>48</sup> jivataṃ<sup>49</sup> pata <dī a> m āhu  
ussāvabinda va tiṇatamhi

mahādhano narindo pi  
asoko<sup>50</sup> rājakuñjaro  
jambudīpissaro<sup>51</sup> hutvā  
aḍḍhāmalakissaro ti |

taṃ sutvā bālhaḡilāno hutvā kodhavasena khaggaṃ gahetvā kosato  
nikaḍḍhitvā ukkhipitvā taṃ paharitikāmo<sup>52</sup> |

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<sup>42</sup> EFEO *paccaḡāvatasampatti*. PED: *paccana*: boiling; *āvāṭa*: pit.

<sup>43</sup> EFEO *vijjumālisamupamā*.

<sup>44</sup> EFEO *daliiddham*.

<sup>45</sup> EFEO *khīṇapuñam*.

<sup>46</sup> EFEO *rājā*.

<sup>47</sup> EFEO *dhīratthu*.

<sup>48</sup> EFEO *dhīratthutam*.

<sup>49</sup> EFEO *jivitam*.

<sup>50</sup> EFEO *asokako*.

<sup>51</sup> EFEO *jambudīpissaro*.

<sup>52</sup> EFEO *haritikāmo*.

At that moment, there was half a myrobalan for laxative purposes on the palm of the king's hand. Surveying this, the king uttered this verse:

‘Reaching the burning pit, which is likened to a garland of lightning, even though endowed with great treasure, I am come once more to poverty.

‘Even though I am desirous of giving, there is no treasure of mine that can be given; having reached my merit's destruction, I have arrived at Death's jaws.’

At that time, there was a physician stationed in the king's vicinity for the purpose of curing him. Upon seeing the king drooping, having met with a sickness of even greater *dukkha*, he uttered these verses:

‘Woe be those enjoying this reign, of an impermanent nature, and now exhibiting no sign of life;<sup>53</sup> this life,<sup>54</sup> worshipped as long-lasting, has (now) fallen like a dew-drop on the tip of a blade of grass.<sup>55</sup>

‘Asoka, the royal elephant, one of great wealth, as well as lord of men, having been ruler of Jambudīpa, is now ruler of half a myrobalan.’

When he heard this, the king became severely sick, angrily seized his scabbard, hauled it out of its sheath, and then raised it aloft, desiring to strike him.

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<sup>53</sup> *jivhālīṅgatāmini* (unclear). Possibly *jīva-aliṅga-gatāvin?*

<sup>54</sup> Reading EFEO *jivitaṃ*.

<sup>55</sup> Reading *tiṇag(g)amhi* for *tiṇatamhi*; on the change  $k \rightarrow g \rightarrow t$ , see n.13 and n.40.

tasmim̄ khaṇe nirassāso asoko ahosi | kodhavasena upapātiko  
ajjaggaro hutvā ekadonikanāvappamāṇo<sup>56</sup> hutvā balavasena gantvā  
bhogehi parikkhipitvā satte vātetvā<sup>57</sup> māreti |

yadā satte<sup>58</sup> na labhi aciravatiyā attānaṃ olambi phaṇena<sup>59</sup> udakaṃ  
paharivā macchakacchape khādi |

tena kho pana samayena āyasmā mahāmahindatthero buddhasāsane  
sakapatiladdhājjhānasukhaṃ patiladdhājjhānasukhaṃ bhuñjanto  
tamhā vuṭṭhāya kena dinnam̄ jjhānanasukhan<sup>60</sup> ti cintevā

asokamahājapatinā dinnan<sup>61</sup> ti disvā kuhiṃ me <di b> thanato<sup>62</sup>  
etarahi [di b] supadhārento<sup>63</sup> kodhavasena<sup>64</sup> kālaṃ katvā  
ajagarayoniyam̄<sup>65</sup> nibbattibhāvam̄ disvā

aho dujātiko yatra hi nāma evarūpaṃ caturāsīti vihārasahassaṃ  
caturāsīti cetiyassa patimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā mahantaṃ dānaṃ  
pariccāgaṃ katvā appamattakena maraṇāsannakodhena maraṇam̄  
patvā tiracchānayoniyam̄<sup>66</sup> nibbato | ki<sup>67</sup> me kattabbaṃ | saccena  
upekkhayaṃ nassati | dāni yannunāham̄<sup>68</sup> mahārājassa patisaraṇam̄  
karissāmī ti |

turitagamano yena rājā tenupasaṅkami | theram̄ upasaṅkamtivā  
attano samipe thitaṃ disvā rājā susū ti kurumāno<sup>69</sup> yena thero tena  
dhāvati |

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<sup>56</sup> EFEO *ekadonikanāvappamāṇo*.

<sup>57</sup> EFEO *sagge pātetvā*.

<sup>58</sup> EFEO *sagge*.

<sup>59</sup> EFEO *phaṇe*.

<sup>60</sup> EFEO *jjhānasukhan*.

<sup>61</sup> EFEO *asokamahārājapatinādinnan*.

<sup>62</sup> EFEO *janato*.

<sup>63</sup> EFEO *etarahī ti upadhārento*.

<sup>64</sup> EFEO *etarahī ti upadhārento kodhavasena*.

<sup>65</sup> EFEO *ajagarayoniyam̄*.

<sup>66</sup> EFEO *tiricchānayoniyam̄*.

<sup>67</sup> EFEO *kiṃ*.

<sup>68</sup> EFEO *yantūnāham̄*.

<sup>69</sup> EFEO *karumāno*.

But at that instant Asoka became breathless and, owing to his anger, arose spontaneously as a python<sup>70</sup> the size of a boat of one-*doṇika*.<sup>71</sup> He went about forcefully, causing creatures to fall<sup>72</sup> by encircling them with his coils before killing them.

When he could not get any creatures, he hung his body down into the Aciravati, struck the water with his hood<sup>73</sup> and then devoured fish and turtles.

Now, on that occasion, the venerable elder Mahāmahinda, whilst enjoying the bliss of *jhāna* he had attained—the bliss of *jhāna* he had himself attained during this Sāsana of the Buddha—emerged therefrom, wondering who had granted him that bliss of *jhāna*.

Upon seeing that it had been given by his lord, the great king Asoka, and reflecting as to where his father<sup>74</sup> might be now, he saw that, owing to his anger, he had finished his time and had come into being in the python-womb, whereupon he thought:

‘Oh dear, he is of such bad birth; for although he performed such a great gift consisting of generosity, in that he had built eighty-four thousand *vihāras* adorned with eighty-four (thousand) *cetiya*s, he has now, owing to such trifling anger when close to dying, come into being in the animal-womb—what can I do? His peace of mind has truly been destroyed. What if I were to act as a haven for the great king?’

The elder hastily approached the king. Once he had approached, the king, seeing him standing in his vicinity, slid towards the elder,

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<sup>70</sup> *ajjaggaro*; cp *ajagarayoniyaṃ* below. According to PED, *ajagara* (literally ‘goat-swallower’) denotes a boa constrictor, whereas CPD claims it denotes a python. But female pythons are oviparous (lay eggs), which sets them apart from the boa family, most of which are ovoviviparous (bear live young). In neither case do they have hoods (*phaṇa*), despite the claim below.

<sup>71</sup> A *doṇa* is of uncertain measure.

<sup>72</sup> *vātetvā*; EFEO *pātetvā*.

<sup>73</sup> *phaṇena*.

<sup>74</sup> *thanato*; EFEO *janato*. I assume the latter is in error for *janako*, father. Moreover, given the confusion surrounding the graphemes *t* and *g* in the Khom script, it is quite possible that the original EFEO reading was *janago* which, given the Thai alternation in the pronunciation between *g/k*, might well have represented an original *janako*.

thero rājānaṃ āgacchantaṃ disvā karuṇāvasena mahārāja nanu  
pubbe dhammasoko ti nāmaṃ<sup>75</sup> dhāresi | pubbe sucariṃ suṇāhi  
ti vatvā gātham āha |

racchantaṃ patipannassa  
kīlanto paṃsu dāraḷo  
paṃsudānānubhāvena  
[du a] dhammaso <du a> ko ti visuto<sup>76</sup>

balacakkavattiladdho  
jambūdiṇe mahāyaso  
hetthābhāgaṃ yojanaṭṭhānaṃ<sup>77</sup>  
khuddhaṃ āṇāpavattikā

na sakkoti gaṇetaṃ va yasa<sup>78</sup> koci mahiddhiko | soḷasāni yadāni  
āhanti<sup>79</sup> ca devatā nacce kiṇṇarā pakkhite māṇe madhupakkhikā  
khundharāsuvakā<sup>80</sup> sabbe sattā yakkhā ca devatā tava  
puṇānubhāvena vasaṃ gacchanti |

attano caturāsīti sahasse ca vihāre thūpamaṇḍite puṇaṃ anappakaṃ  
katvā taṃ idāni kataṃ saraṃ | saṃghamittaṃ mahindaṃ<sup>81</sup> ca pabbājesi  
tav' atrajaṃ sāsane tvaṇ ca pubbe vataṃ idāni kataṃ saraṃ |

yo mahindo tava putto  
so ahaṃ āgato idha |  
pitā mayhaṃ mahārāja |  
putto sohaṃ tavatrajo |

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<sup>75</sup> EFEO *nāma*.

<sup>76</sup> EFEO *vissuto*.

<sup>77</sup> EFEO *yojanaṭṭhānaṃ*.

<sup>78</sup> EFEO *vayasam*.

<sup>79</sup> EFEO *soḷasānighadhāni āharanti*.

<sup>80</sup> EFEO *kiṇṇapakkhite haṇe madhumakkhitā khandavāsuvakā*.

<sup>81</sup> EFEO *mahinaṃ*.

making a hissing sound. Upon seeing the king coming, the elder, out of compassion, said: ‘Surely, great king, you formerly bore the name of Asoka,’ and then, after saying: ‘Please hear of your former good conduct,’ uttered the following verse:

‘Whilst entering upon the edge of the carriage road, as a child playing at making mud pies, you became renowned as Dhammasoka through the majesty of that gift of mud.

‘Having become a powerful Cakravartin, you possessed great fame in Jambudīpa; over an area of one *yojana*, in the section below, angry, you exercised authority.

‘No one, not even one of great potency, is at all able to calculate your fame;<sup>82</sup> whilst *devatās* brought sixteen pitchers,<sup>83</sup> dancing-girls, kiṇṇarās and mountain parrots, their wings, methinks, smeared with honey.<sup>84</sup> All beings, *yakkhas* and *devatās* went under your sway through the majesty of your merit.

‘You created eighty-four thousand vihāras, each adorned with a *thūpa*—not trifling is that merit of yours; you should now remember<sup>85</sup> that which was done.

‘You had Saṅghamittā and Mahinda, your own born, go forth in the Sāsana, and you should now remember that former observance.

‘This same I, who have now come here, am your son, Mahinda; you, great king, are my father—I am your own-born son.

<sup>82</sup> Reading EFEO *va yasam*.

<sup>83</sup> EFEO *soḷasāni ghadhāni āharanti*. Following EFEO and reading *ghatāni* for *ghadhāni*, through confusion of the Khom characters *ṭa* and *dha*; and reading *āharanti*, assuming loss of *ra* after the sequence of similarity between the Khom characters *ā - ha - ra*.

<sup>84</sup> WPC *nacce kiṇṇarā pakkhite māṇe madhupakkhikā khundharāsuvakā*; EFEO *kiṇṇapakkhite haṇe madhumakkhitā khandavāsuvakā*. Unclear, but proposing *kandarā*, ‘mountain’ for *khandavā/khundharā* (*k* → *kh*, auditory confusion): *kandarā suvakā* = ‘mountain parrot’; and reading *pakkhike māṇe madhu-makkhikā* for WPC *pakkhite māṇe madhupakkhikā*, ‘smeared with honey on their wings’: *pakkhike* → *pakkhite*: (also see n.13, 40 for the change *k* → *g* → *t*) and *makkhitā* → *pakkhikā* (*m* → *p* and *t* → *g*, orthographic confusion)

<sup>85</sup> *saram*.



pāpakammaṃ mahārāja  
sāvajjaṃ satthārā desitaṃ |  
kodhaṃ pakataṃ deva  
kodhadosaṃ kāsitā<sup>86</sup>

andhakāro<sup>87</sup> ayaṃ loko  
kodho dhumedhagocaro<sup>88</sup>  
kodha [du b] nā pari <du b> muñcivā  
abbhāmutto<sup>89</sup> va candimā |

andhakāro ayaṃ loko  
kodho dumedhagocaro<sup>90</sup>  
kodhanā parimuñcivā  
dukkhass' antaṃ karissati |

rājā therassa dhammakathaṃ sutvā ayaṃ me putto mahindathero<sup>91</sup>  
idh' āgato ti assupariPuṇṇayano onasi so therassa pādāmūle sīsaṃ  
thapetvā bhusaṃ<sup>92</sup> rodi |

thero taṃ assāmetvā<sup>93</sup> mā bhāyi mahārāja tav' atthāya mahārāja  
idh' āgato 'mhi | gaṇhāhi saraṇāni pañcasīlāni cā ti | rājā tathā akāsi  
| thero raṇo tisarāṇāni pañcasīlāni ca datvā

jīvahetu<sup>94</sup> pi deva anattikkamitabbaṃ mano padoso na<sup>95</sup> kātabbo ti  
ovādaṃ datvā cintesi ayaṃ rājā buddhasaraṇaṃ<sup>96</sup> gato dhammaṃ  
saraṇaṃ<sup>97</sup> gato<sup>98</sup> alam eva sugatiṃ gantun ti sakadānaṃ<sup>99</sup> eva gato |

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<sup>86</sup> EFEO *kāsitāṃ*.

<sup>87</sup> EFEO *andakāro*.

<sup>88</sup> EFEO *dumedhakocaro*.

<sup>89</sup> EFEO *abbhāputto*.

<sup>90</sup> EFEO *dumedhakocaro*.

<sup>91</sup> EFEO *mahindatthero*.

<sup>92</sup> EFEO *bhūsaṃ*.

<sup>93</sup> EFEO *assāsetvā*.

<sup>94</sup> EFEO *jīvihetu*.

<sup>95</sup> EFEO omits.

<sup>96</sup> EFEO *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ*.

<sup>97</sup> EFEO *dhammasaraṇaṃ*.

<sup>98</sup> EFEO adds *saṃghaṃ saraṇa gato*.

<sup>99</sup> EFEO *sakatthānaṃ*.

‘The Teacher, great king, taught that evil deeds are blameworthy; anger has been produced, your majesty—anger and hatred are terrifying.<sup>100</sup>

‘This world is blind; anger is foolish pasture. You should rid yourself of anger, as does the moon become free of the thunder-cloud.

‘This world is blind; anger is foolish pasture. The one who is released from anger will make an end of suffering.’

Then, upon hearing the elder’s Dhamma-talk, the king bent down, his eyes full of tears, realising: ‘This is my son, the elder Mahinda, who has come here.’ He placed his head at the soles of the elder’s feet, and wept bitterly.

The elder consoled<sup>101</sup> him, saying: ‘Do not fear, great king; I have come here for your sake, great king. You should take the refuges and the five precepts.’ The king did as he said. The elder gave the king the refuges and the five precepts, and exhorted him, saying:

‘These are not to be transgressed, even for the sake of your life, my Lord: you should not make your heart one of anger,’ and then thought: ‘This king has gone to the Buddha as refuge, has gone to the Dhamma as refuge—this alone should be sufficient for him to go to a happy destiny,’ and then went back to his own place.

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<sup>100</sup> Text *kāsitam*. However, I suspect that the original reading may have been *tāsitam* (which I adopt), which was initially misread as *gāsitam* (orthographic confusion between *t-* and *g-*), and then mispronounced as *kāsitam*, by a reader dictating to a scribe (aural confusion).

<sup>101</sup> Reading *assāsetvā* with EFEO for text’s *assāmetvā*.

rājā gocaraṃ agahetvā parisuddhasīlam<sup>102</sup> rakkhitvā  
sattadivasabbhantare yeva [dū a] kālam katvā tāvatimsabhavane  
<dū a> mahindiko<sup>103</sup> devaputto<sup>104</sup> hutvā dibbasampattiṃ  
anubhavati |

aciraṃ vasitvā sagge katapuñonathodito<sup>105</sup> pabbajjitvā<sup>106</sup>  
nibbāyissaṃ iti cintesi | yoniso saggato cavitvā rājā laṅkāḍīpamhi  
āgato anukkamena vayappatto kuṇḍalatisso pākato |

vasitvā sagge katapuñena codito pabbajjitvā<sup>107</sup> nibbāyissaṃ<sup>108</sup> iti  
pi cintesi devānaṃpiyatisso pi katvā puñam anappakaṃ jahitvā  
manussadehaṃ devaloke ajāyatha aciraṃ |

yoniso saggato cavitvā rājā laṅkāḍīpamhi āgato byaggho iti  
ca nāmena laṅkāḍīpamhi pākato | kuṇḍalatisso byaggho ca  
piyasahāyakā c' ubho samānachandhā sapañā kusalesu samāratā<sup>109</sup>  
jahitvāna sakagehaṃ pabbajjimsu buddhasāsane |

tesu ca kuṇḍalatisso  
arañāvāsiko ahu |  
vasitvā lohapāsāde<sup>110</sup>  
byaggho vācesi bhikkhūnaṃ<sup>111</sup> |

ca <dū b> [dū b] te therā mahāpañā āsuṃ jinasāsane | tato tu  
cīrakālena mahātherassa tassa turogo uppajji | so rogaṃ oloketvā  
na jivitaṃ sakaṃ āyukkhayaṃ<sup>112</sup> ñatvā evaṃ adhiṭṭhahi | tadā  
mayhaṃ nibbānakāl' amhi

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<sup>102</sup> EFEO *parisuddhasīlam*.

<sup>103</sup> EFEO omits.

<sup>104</sup> EFEO *devaputo*.

<sup>105</sup> EFEO *katapuñena thodito*.

<sup>106</sup> EFEO *pabbajjitvā*.

<sup>107</sup> EFEO *pabbajjitvā*.

<sup>108</sup> EFEO *nibbāyissaṃ*.

<sup>109</sup> EFEO *kusalesu samāratā*.

<sup>110</sup> EFEO *lohapāsāda*.

<sup>111</sup> EFEO *bhikkhūnaṃ*.

<sup>112</sup> EFEO *āyukkhaya*.

The king, without adopting that pasture, guarded the precepts, keeping them perfectly pure, and within an interval of a mere seven days, finished his time and became the *devaputta* Mahindika in the realm of the Thirty-three, experiencing heavenly excellence.

After dwelling but a short time in heaven, he was urged on by the merit he had performed, thinking: ‘I should go forth and attain *nibbāna*.’ Upon falling from the heavenly womb, the king came to the island of Laṅkā, and in due course came of age, being well-known as Kuṇḍalatissa.

Devānampiyatissa also performed not trifling merit, abandoned the human frame, and was born in the *devaloka*. After dwelling but a short time in heaven, he was urged on by the merit he had performed, also thinking: ‘I should go forth and attain *nibbāna*.’

Upon falling from the heavenly womb, the king came to the island of Laṅkā, being well-known in the island of Laṅkā as Byaggha, ‘Tiger’. Both Kuṇḍalatissa and Byaggha became dear companions, being of the same resolve, possessing insight and, having undertaken<sup>113</sup> things sound, abandoned their own home and went forth in the Buddha’s Sāsana.

And, of these, Kuṇḍalatissa was a forest-dweller, whereas Byaggha dwelled in the Lohapāsāda where he taught the monks.

And these elders were of great insight where the Sāsana of the Conqueror was concerned; after a long time, however, a severe illness arose for the great elder. He surveyed his illness, realised that he had no life (left), that his own lifespan had terminated, and then resolved as follows:

‘I have reached the time of my *nibbāna*.

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<sup>113</sup> Reading EFEO *samāradhā* for text’s *samāratī*.

jhāpanatthāya maṃ janā<sup>114</sup>  
kūṭāgāre<sup>115</sup> va thapetvā  
pūjākammaṃ karissare

tadā mayhaṃ sarīro pi  
tesaṃ hatthā vimuñcissa  
kūṭāgārena<sup>116</sup> sahito  
abbhugantvāna gagaḷaṃ<sup>117</sup>

nabhasā<sup>118</sup> rājagehaṃ<sup>119</sup> va  
gantvā rañābhivandito<sup>120</sup>  
nivattitvā tappadesā  
gantvāna nabhasā lahu

mahābyagghamha<sup>121</sup> therassa  
mahāyassava santikaṃ  
mahārājanaparivāro<sup>122</sup>  
tiṭṭhatu ambare tadā |

gato sahāyassa therassa kūṭāgārena<sup>123</sup> me saha ākāsenā nivattitvā  
cittakamhi patiṭṭhatu<sup>124</sup> | evaṃ katvā adhiṭṭhānaṃ nibbuto<sup>125</sup>  
mahiddhiko | tato janā sabbe samāgama samantato tassa sarīraṃ  
pūjento sakaronto va sādhukaṃ<sup>126</sup> mañjūse pakkhipitvā kūṭāgāre  
va<sup>127</sup> thāpayuṃ mahā [de a] tā parivārena nayiṃsu<sup>128</sup>

<sup>114</sup> EFEO *jarā*.

<sup>115</sup> EFEO *kuṭāgāre*.

<sup>116</sup> EFEO *kuṭāgārena*.

<sup>117</sup> EFEO *bhagaḷaṃ*.

<sup>118</sup> EFEO *nabhasa*.

<sup>119</sup> EFEO *rājagehaṃ*.

<sup>120</sup> EFEO *rañā abhivandito*.

<sup>121</sup> EFEO *mahābyagghavha therassa mahāyass'eva*.

<sup>122</sup> EFEO *mahājanaṃ parivāro*.

<sup>123</sup> EFEO *kuṭāgārena*.

<sup>124</sup> EFEO *tiṭṭhatu*.

<sup>125</sup> EFEO *nibbato*.

<sup>126</sup> EFEO *sāvadhuḷaṃ*.

<sup>127</sup> EFEO *kuṭāgāre 'va*.

<sup>128</sup> EFEO *parivārenayīṃsu*; the last *ola*, <dū de>, in WPC is missing; hereafter the reading is that of EFEO.

‘Folk will place me in a pinnacled-house in order to cremate me, and then perform an act of worship.

‘Then my body will be released from their hand; it will rise up into the sky, together with the pinnacled-house.

‘It will go through the clouds to the king’s household and be honoured by the king; then it will quickly return through the clouds from that region;

‘And go into the presence of the great elder, the famous Mahābyaggha; surrounded by the people,<sup>129</sup> may it remain at that point in the sky.

‘At that time, it should go, together with my pinnacled-house, to my friend, the elder, return through the sky and become established on the funeral pyre.’

After making that resolution in that way, the one of great potency attained nibbāna. After that, folk from all around assembled, worshipping and honouring his body and then placed it respectfully in the casket, put this in the pinnacled-house, and then conducted it with a great retinue.

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<sup>129</sup> Reading EFEO *mahājana-* for *mahārājana-*.

cittakaṃ sampatto cittāsanne kuṭāgāro paṭiṭṭhahi asakontā va  
cāletuṃ | sabbe janā samāgatā santatṭhā hatthato mutto kuṭāgāro

tadā pana abbhugantvā  
gantvāna nabhasā kato  
rājagahassa purato  
paṭiṭṭhāsi nabhatalaṃ |

tato ca so rājā saddhātisso ti nāmako

nikkhamitvā sakā gehā  
orodhaparivāritto  
vanditvā pūjayitvāna  
sabbadosaṃ khamāpayi |

tasmiṃ divase tato | so ca nivattitvā ākāsen' eva laṅghi | so  
mahābyagghatherassa vasanaṭṭhānam āgamā | rājā taṃ anubandhi  
pacchato pacchato ca so |

tadā so byagghathero lohapāsāde bhikkhusaṃghassa dhammaṃ  
vācesi | taṃ khaṇe kuṭāgāro nādure ākāse vaggiko ahu |

taṃ so byagghathero pi sutvā saddhaṃ mahantaṃ kim eso mahato  
ghoso | āgato ko nu kho idha

iti vutte tuṃ taṃ therāṃ bhikkhū ārocayiṃsu te bhante tuyhaṃ  
sahāyo ca kuṇḍalatisso ti vi [de b] suto thero | so disanto tuyhaṃ  
santikam āgato | tasmiṃ kho mahato ghoso | mahārājā pi āgato |

tesaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā mahāthero mahiddhiko labhitvā  
dhammasaṃvegaṃ evaṃ cintesi

When it reached the funeral pyre, the pinnacled-house stood firm on the funeral pyre platform, unable to move. All the folk who had assembled were overjoyed. The pinnacled-house was released from their hands.

Moreover, it then rose up, went through the sky, and then went and stood firm at cloud-level in front of Rājagaha. Then the king named Saddhātissa,

He emerged from his own household, surrounded by his harem, he saluted it and worshipped it, and apologised for all his faults.

On that day, it returned from there, lurching through the sky. It went to the dwelling-place of Mahābyaggha, the elder. The king followed on behind.

At that time, Byaggha the elder, was teaching monks to recite the Dhamma in the Lohapāsāda. At that moment, the pinnacled-house was hovering<sup>130</sup> nearby<sup>131</sup> in the sky.

Byaggha the elder heard that great sound<sup>132</sup> and then said: ‘What is that great noise? Who can have come here?’

After he had spoken, the monks informed the elder, saying: ‘This,<sup>133</sup> *bhante*, is your friend, the well-known elder Kuṇḍalatissa; he is seen to have come into your presence. That great noise has to do with this. The great king himself has come!’

Upon hearing what they had to say, the great elder, being of great potency, gained Dhamma-shock and then thought as follows:

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<sup>130</sup> *vaggiko*, Skt *vyagra*.

<sup>131</sup> *nādure*.

<sup>132</sup> *saddhaṃ mahantaṃ*.

<sup>133</sup> *te*.



so tadā eso thero atite pi idāni vāci me sahadaḷhamitto ahu so so pi  
idhāni parinibbuto mayhaṃ āyusaṃkhāro kidiso ti

passiya imasmiṃ divase yeva āyu khiṇaṃ ti adassa | tato mahiddhiko  
thero kuṭāgārādayo pamataṃ samānaṃ kaṃ yeva bhavantū ti

sabbe so aṭṭhānaṃ katvāna  
abbhūgantvā nabhatalaṃ  
kuṭāgāraṃ pavīsivā  
nibbato so mahiddhiko |

tato dvinnaṃ pi therānaṃ  
nivatitvāna dve pi ca  
kuṭāgārā cittaṃ  
paṭiṭṭhahiṃsu tādeva

gato samuṭṭhahitvāna  
aggikhandhā samantato  
jhāpenti anavasesā  
dhātumattakā |

sabbe devā manussā ca  
ye tattha susamāgatā  
sabbe te pūjayitvā  
sakaṭṭhānaṃ nivattayīṃsū ti |

asokaparinihbāna |

‘That one, this elder (come here), was then, in the past, and even now, firm friends with me.<sup>134</sup> Now that he has attained *parinibbāna*, how many of the concomitants of my lifespan (remain)?’

And, upon looking, he saw that his lifespan would perish that same day, whereupon the elder, as one of great potency, thought ‘When I am dead, let (my) pinnacled-house become just the same (as it).’<sup>135</sup>

He, having created no opportunity for anyone, rose into the sky, entered the pinnacled-house, whereupon the one of great potency attained *nibbāna*.

And then the two pinnacled-houses of both elders returned and those same<sup>136</sup> became established on the funeral pyre.

Thereupon,<sup>137</sup> masses of fire rose up on all sides and burned (everything) without remainder, except for the relics.

All those, both *devas* and men, who had come together there, all worshipped them, and then went back to their own place.

Asokaparinibbāna.

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<sup>134</sup> *so tadā eso thero atīte pi idāni vāci me sahadaḥhamitto ahu* (unclear).

<sup>135</sup> *kuṭagārādayo pamataṃ samānaṃ kaṃ yeva bhavantu* is unclear, but makes some sense if reading *samānakaṃ yeva* or *samānaṃ taṃ yeva*; see n. 13, 40, 100 above on the change *t* → *g* → *k(h)*.

<sup>136</sup> Assuming *tādeva* = *tā-d-eva* (where *tā* = *te*); or is *tādeva* a mistake for *tāva-d-eva*, ‘immediately’?

<sup>137</sup> I assume *gato* is an error for *tato*.

## Appendix

Partial parallel account of the episode by Buddhaghosa in his Samantapāsādikā (CSCD edition with relevant PTS page numbers in brackets)

[Be I 32] [Ee I 41] tena ho pana samayena bindusārassa rañño ekasataputtā ahesuṃ. tesabbeasokattanāsaddhimekamātikamṭissakumāraṃṭhapetvāghātesi. ghātento ca cattāri vassāni anabhisittova rajjaṃ kāretvā catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena tathāgatassa parinibbānato dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari aṭṭhārasame vasse. sakalajambudīpe ekarajjābhisekaṃ pāpuṇi [Ee I 42]. abhisekānubhāvena c’ assa imā rājiddhiyo āgatā—mahāpathaviyā heṭṭhā yojanappamaṇe ānā pavattati; tathā upari ākāse anotattadahato aṭṭhahi kājehi soḷasa pānīyaghaṭe divase divase devatā āharanti, yato sāsane uppannasaddho hutvā aṭṭha ghaṭe bhikkhusaṅghassa adāsī, dve ghaṭe saṭṭhimattānaṃ tipītakadharabhikkhūnaṃ, dve ghaṭe aggamaheṣiyā asandhimittāya, cattāro ghaṭe attanā paribhuñji; devatā eva himavante nāgalatādantakaṭṭhaṃ nāma atthi siniddhaṃ mudukaṃ rasavantaṃ taṃ divase divase āharanti, yena rañño ca mahesiyā ca soḷasannaṃ ca nāṭakitthisahassānaṃ saṭṭhimattānaṃ ca bhikkhusahassānaṃ devasikaṃ dantaponakiccaṃ nippajjati. devasikaṃ eva c’ assa devatā agadāmalakaṃ agadahaṛitakaṃ suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṇca gandharasasampannaṃ ambapakkaṃ āharanti. tathā chaddantadahato pañcavaṇṇa-nivāsana-pāvuraṇaṃ pītakavaṇṇa hatthapucchanapaṭakaṃ dibbaṃ ca pānakaṃ āharanti. devasikaṃ eva panassa nhānagandhaṃ [Be I 33] anuvilepanagandhaṃ pārūpanatthāya asuttamayikaṃ sumanapupphapaṭaṃ mahārahaṃ ca añjanaṃ nāgabhavanato nāgarājāno āharanti. chaddantadahe va [Ee I 43] utṭhitassa sālino nava vāhasahassāni divase divase sukā āharanti. mūsikā nitthusakaṇe karonti, eko pi khaṇḍataṇḍulo na hoti, rañño sabbatṭhānesu ayam eva taṇḍulo paribhogaṃ gacchati. madhumakkhikā madhuṃ karonti. kammārasālāsu acchā kūṭaṃ paharanti. karavīkasakuṇā āgantvā madhurassaraṃ vikūjantā rañño balikammaṃ karonti.

imāhi iddhīhi samannāgato rājā ekadivasaṃ suvaṇṇasaṅkhalikabandhanaṃ pesetvā catunnaṃ buddhānaṃ adhigatarūpadassanaṃ kappāyukaṃ kāḷaṃ nāma nāgarājānaṃ ānayitvā setacchattassa heṭṭhā mahārahe pallaṅke nisīdāpetvā anekasatavaṇṇehi jalajathalajapupphehi suvaṇṇapupphehi ca pūjaṃ katvā sabbālaṅkārapaṭimaṇḍitehi soḷasahi nāṭakitthisahassemi samantato parikkhipitvā anantañāṇassa tāva me saddhamma-varacakkavattino sammāsambuddhassa rūpaṃ imesaṃ akkhīnaṃ āpāthaṃ karohī ti vatvā tena nimmitaṃ sakalasaṛīravippakiṇṇapūñṇappa bhāva-nibbattāsītānubyañjanapaṭimaṇḍita-dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa

sassirīkatāya vīkasitakamaluppapūṇḍarīkapaṭimaṇḍitam iva salilatalaṃ tārāṅarasmijālavīsada-vipphuritasobhāsamuḅḅalitam iva gaganatalaṃ nī lapītalohitādibhedavicitravaṅṅaramsi-vinaddhabyāmapphāparikkhepa vilāsītāya [Ee I 44] sañcāppabhānurāga-indadhanu-vijjulatāparikkhittam iva kanakagirisikharaṃ nānāvīrāgavimalaketumālā-samuḅḅalitacāru-matthakasobhaṃ nayanarasāyatanam iva brahmadevamanuḅānāgayakkhagaṅ ānaṃ buddharūpaṃ passanto satta divasāni akkhipūḅaṃ nāma akāsi.

## Abbreviations

References to Pali texts follow the system adopted by the Critical Pali Dictionary. Page references are to PTS editions, where available, otherwise to the Burmese editions on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM (Be), contained also in the Digital Pali Reader (<https://pali.sirimangalo.org>).

CSCD	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM
CPD	<i>Critical Pali Dictionary</i> (Copenhagen)
DPPN	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names
EFE0	École française d'Extrême-Orient manuscript of the <i>Asokaparinibbānakathā</i> (EFE0 PALI 29)
PED	<i>Pali English Dictionary</i> (Pali Text Society)
WPC	Wat Phra Chetuphon (Wat Pho) manuscript Bangkok of the <i>Asokaparinibbānakathā</i> (incomplete)

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