

JOURNAL
OF THE
PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XXIV

EDITED BY
O. VON HINÜBER
AND
R. F. GOMBRICH

Published by
THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
OXFORD

1998

CONTENTS

Survey of the Pāli manuscript collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford By Jacqueline Filliozat	1
A Note on King Milinda in the <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> By Peter Skilling	81
Supplement to The Concordance of the Buddhist Birth Stories By Leslie Grey	103
A Note on <i>Dhammapada</i> 60 and the Length of the <i>Yojana</i> By Peter Skilling	149
Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. By William Pruitt	171
Sources for the Study of the <i>Maṅgala-</i> and <i>Mora-suttas</i> By Peter Skilling	185
Praises of the Buddha beyond Praise By Peter Skilling	195
Contributors to this Volume	201
Notices	203

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© *Pali Text Society 1998*

ISBN 0 86013 364 8

First published in 1998
Distributed by Lavis Marketing
73 Lime Walk
Oxford OX3 7AD

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

Survey of the Pāli manuscript collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

This catalogue is arranged according to current shelf-mark in alphabetical order of collection. The shelf-mark is given in heavy type. The letter between brackets (R) after the shelf-mark denotes "Roll" to differentiate it from a "codex"; in fact it means that these manuscripts, most of them inscribed on palm-leaves (but also on metal plates, ivory plates, plates made of lacquered stiffened cloth) or paper folded in concertina shape, are kept in boxes like Middle East oriental MSS. rolls, unlike codices standing on the shelves.

Pāli items not enumerated here, though listed in the Pāli collection according to the card catalogue found in the Oriental Reading room, are not really in Pāli. They may contain a few words or sentences in Pāli, but they are incomprehensible for Pāli readers who do not understand the glosses in Burmese, Laotian, Shan, Siamese or Sinhalese. They should await description in a manuscript catalogue for the relevant language area.

In order to trace the history of the different collections from which we have selected the MSS. in Pāli language, recourse should be had to the following work: Madan, F. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ... with references to the Oriental and other Manuscripts*, vols IV-VII, Oxford 1897-1953.

Pāli MSS. are kept in nine different collections:

1. Deposited collection

There is a series of MSS. placed temporarily in the Library and not strictly in its possession: a summary catalogue is given under the shelfmark **Dep. Stol.** on revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993.

2. MS. Asiat. Misc.**3. MS. Burmese**

See under 6. MS. Pali

4. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali & MS. Ind. Inst. Sinhalese

Collections of the Indian Institute, Oxford

5. MS. Ouseley

For Ouseley collection A. D. 1844, see

—*Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript works in various oriental languages collected by Sir William Ouseley*, London 1831

—S.C. vol IV 1897, p. 671 under n°23083 **308** and p. 673 under

n°23190 **415-416**

n°23191 **417**

n°23192 **418**

6. MS. Pali

For Pali collection, see

—S.C. vol V 1905 p. 928, accessions 1844 formerly belonging to Ouseley collection (I have selected the MSS. which are) really in Pāli) under

n°30900a = MS. Pali a. 1 (Kammavācā)

n°30900b = MS. Pali a. 2 (do)

n°30900c = MS. Pali a. 3 (do)

n°30900g = MS. Pali a. 8 (do)

n°30900h = MS. Pali a. 9 (do)

n°30900i = MS. Pali a. 10 (Samanta Pāsādikā)

n°30900j = MS. Pali a. 11 (do)

n°30900k = MS. Pali a. 12(R) (Vimativinodanī)

n°30900m = MS. Pali a. 14 (R) (Temi Jātaka)

n°30900o = MS. Pali a. 16 (Atthasālinī)

n°30900p = MS. Pali a. 17 (Dhātukathā)

n°30900q = MS. Pali a. 19 (R) (Saddasāratthajālīnī)

n°30900r = MS. Pali a. 20 see n° 31294, below

n°30900s = MS. Pali a. 21 (R) (Vessantara Jātaka)

n°30900t = MS. Pali a. 22

n°30900u = MS. Pali a. 23

n°30900v = MS. Pali a. 24

n°30900w = MS. Pali a. 25

n°30900x = MS. Pali b. 2(R) (Janananda)

n°30900z = MS. Pali b. 5

For the other Burmese, Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese MSS. collections, see

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 32 (corrections p. xii), accessions 1890-91 under

n°31294 = MS. Pali a. 20(R) (Comm. on Suttapīṭaka)

n°31295 = MS. Pali a. 38(R) (fragment of Bahudhātukasutta, &c.) olim MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)

n°31296 = MS. Pali b. 15(R) (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha)

n°31297 = MS. Pali b. 16(R) (Sāvatti nidāna)

n°31298 = MS. Pali b. 17(R) (Dhammuddesakathā) olim MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

n°31299 = MS. Pali b. 19(R) (Suttas, fragm.)

n°31301 = MS. Pali b. 18(R) (Pāli and Sinhalese)

n°31302 = MS. Sanskr. c. 122(R) (medical, Sanskrit and Sinhalese)

n°31304 = MS. Sanskr. c. 125(R) (Vaidyāṅkārā, Sanskrit and Pāli)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 56, accessions 1892 under

n°31482 = MS. Pali b. 7 (Jātaka)

n°31483 = MS. Pali e. 2

n°31484 = MS. Pali e. 3

n°31485 = MS. Pali e. 4

n°31486 = MS. Pali e. 5

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 78-79, (corrections p. xvi), accessions 1893 under

n°31602 = MS. Pali a. 33 (Anuvaṇṇanā of the Pātimokkha) (!) olim MS. Burm. a. 3

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 144-45, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions 1896 under

- n°32355 = MS. Burm. a. 4(R) (Nemi-jātaka)
 n°32356 = MS. Pali g. 1(R) (extracts from the Tripiṭaka) olim
 MS. Burm. g. 1(R)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 160, accessions 1897 under
 n°32537 = MS. Pali a. 32(R)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p.175, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions 1896
 under
 n°32596 = MS. Pali a. 34 (Kammavācā)
 n°32597 = MS. Pali a. 35 (do., on ivory)
 n°32598 = MS. Pali a. 36 (do.)
 n°32599 = MS. Pali a. 37 (do.)
 n°32600 = MS. Pali b. 10(R) (Vidhurajātaka)
 n°32601 = MS. Pali b. 11 (Mahosathajātaka-vatthu)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p.209, accessions 1900 under
 n°32925 = MS. Pali b. 12
 n°32926 see n°32356, above
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 231, accessions 1902 under
 n°33176 = MS. Pali a. 39(R)
 n°33177 = MS. Pali b. 13(R)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 245, accessions 1903 under
 n°33358 = MS. Pali a. 40
 n°33359 = MS. Pali a. 41
 n°33360 = MS. Pali a. 42
 n°33362 = MS. Pali a. 44
 n°33363 = MS. Pali a. 45
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 257, accessions 1904 under
 n°33510 = MS. Pali b. 14 (Satipaṭṭhānasutta)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 306, accessions 1908 under
 n°34170 = MS. Sinh. a. 4 (Satipaṭṭhānasutta)
 n°34172 = MS. Sinh. b. 4(R) (Parābhavasutta)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 324, accessions 1909 under
 n°34688 = MS. Pali a. 46(R)

- n°34689 = MS. Pali a. 47(R)
 n°34690 = MS. Pali a. 48(R) (Kammavācā)
 n°34691 = MS. Pali c. 3(R) (Bālapaṇḍitasutta)
 —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 347, accessions 1910 under
 n°35297 = MS. Pali a. 49(R)

7. MS. Sanskrit

See under 6.

8. MS. Sinhalese

See under 6.

9. MS. Wilson

Wilson MSS., A. D. 1842 (we give in bold, actual shelf-marks as stated
 in this catalogue) see:

—Aufrecht Th. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscritorum*,
 Oxford 1864 p. 363-64 and p. 374

—S. C. 1897, p. 644 under

n°22162. **51** = Quarto Series of Catalogues viii (Sanskrit) p. 363
 (Pāli-Burmese Lexicon)

n°22165. **54** = Quarto Series p. 364 (Pāli-Hindustāni lexicon)

n°22166. **55** = " p. 364 (Pāli-Burmese Jātaka, &c.)

n°22167. **56** = " p. 364 (Abhidhammapitaka, in Pāli
 and Burmese)

n°22415. **304** = " p. 374 (copy of n° 22165 above)

As a by-product of their researches, a number of celebrated scholars attempted to identify and classify the Pāli manuscripts. They produced tentative listings which were very incomplete. According to Frankfurter and Childers 1880, Frankfurter 1882 and those who followed them: Pe Maung Tin 1925 & Pearson 1971, there are only 34 Pāli manuscripts in the Bodleian. Recently my colleague Dr Jinadasa Liyanaratne has drawn my attention to a number of Pāli items included in the listing of the Sinhalese collection and encouraged me to describe these hitherto unidentified works (Liyanaratne 1991 & 1992). Some of

the choicer items I describe here were included in a summer exhibition at the Bodleian Library. Following the leaflet entitled *Catalogue of the Summer Exhibition of Important Recent Acquisitions, 19 June to 26 August 1995* issued in connection with the exhibition, we may list these items: n° 29 Abhidhamma MS. Asiat. misc. a. 34(R); n°30 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 128; n°31 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 109; n°32 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 103; n°33 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 114; n°34 Sinhalese alphabet MS. Pali a. 38(R); n°36 Upāsakajānāṅkārapāli MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R); n°37 Phra Malai Dep. Stol. 111; n°38 Brahmajālasutta MS. Pali a. 27(R).

A total of one hundred sixty-one manuscripts in the Bodleian are to be identified as being either in Pāli or for the most part in Pāli. The texts most strongly represented in its Pāli collection, as is the case in other European libraries, are the *Kammavācā* (rituals of the Buddhist priesthood), of which there are fifty five examples; and the *Abhidhammamātikā*, a practical distillation of the vast corpus of the *Abhidhamma*, usually juxtaposed with summaries of the *Vinaya* and of the *Suttanta*, which are used throughout the Indochina peninsula mostly as manuals of liturgic ritual or prompt books for the intoning of sacred chant by monks or adepts—there are fifteen such items. Some of these are examples of the very finest craftsmanship: the precious *Kammavācā* Dep. Stol. 103, inscribed in lacquer on eleven broad leaves of ivory; the sumptuous Dep. Stol. 114, delicately illustrated with scenes taken from the *Vessantarajātaka*; or a "rare specimen of ancient Burmese writing on silvered plates" in the shape of Dep. Stol. 128. These form part of a remarkable collection of thirty-two Pāli manuscripts, some placed on deposit, some gifted, some sold, by Mr. R. L. Stolper in 1993 and subsequently, which, in my view, are the gems of the British collections. Several *Kammavācā*, some Burmese, some Laotian, are among the most beautiful extant.

Fourteen manuscripts are illuminated and have already been the subject of a detailed description. MS. Pali a. 27(R) is the most interesting of all the illustrated Siamese manuscripts in British libraries, by virtue both of its philological importance and of its artistic value. Completing this great collection is a classic Burmese amulet consisting of a leaf of silver in roll form, minutely engraved with extracts from canonical texts. If we cast an eye over the dates of the manuscripts, it is possible to establish that they range in time from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Most of these were acquired by purchase from auction houses or were received as gifts during Victorian times, since most of the British collections relating to South or to Southeast Asia were assembled by a number of Orientalist scholars, travellers of the period, or by civil servants employed in the British Empire.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr Richard F. Gombrich, Boden Professor for Sanskrit and Pāli in Balliol College, Oxford, and some of his advanced students who encouraged me to gain access to the Bodleian Oriental Reading Room and the Indian Institute, introducing me to the staff and helping me by explaining the methods of book and MSS. classification proper to the Bodleian, thus permitting a quick search of the various card catalogues, handlists and published catalogues.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Adrian D. S. Roberts, the Keeper of Oriental books, Bodleian Library, who offered all facilities for the consultation of MSS. and gave his consent for the publication of this catalogue, kindly translating my French into English and improving my computer print-out survey, at a time when few persons in Europe are prepared to concern themselves with the care and proper listing of Pāli source material.

My warmest thanks go to Beatrice Chrystall, Dr. Sally Cutler-Mellick, Kate Crosby, Dr. Gillian Evison and Andrew Skilton for generously giving guidance.

I want to express my appreciation to the staff of the Oriental Reading Room of the Bodleian Library for all their help and patient cooperation.

My grateful thanks must go also to the President and the Council of the Pali Text Society for their acceptance of this publication.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- Aufrecht 1864** Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus codicum sanscritorum*, Oxford, 1864
- Bechert 1979** Burmese manuscripts. Pt. 1. Compiled by H. Bechert [and others]. (VOHD, Bd 23, i) Wiesbaden, 1979
- Braun 1985** Burmese manuscripts. Pt. 2. Compiled by H. Braun & Tin Tin Myint. (VOHD, Bd 23, ii) Stuttgart, 1985
- CPD** *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, revised, continued and edited by Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Hans Hendriksen. Epilegomena to vol 1, by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen 1948, pp. 37*-69*
- EFEO DATA** is the Data base for consultation in Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 22 Avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris (FRANCE)
- Frankfurter & Childers 1880** *Classified List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* [Manuscript handlist referenced Z. Fol. 1c, kept in the Oriental reading Room, Bodleian Library], Oxford, December 1880. [The Mss. marked + have been described by the

late Professor Childers and his description has been entered verbally in the catalogue, offering some complementary details to the published list. Large in-fol. bound in black, ruled paper, Queen Victoria watermarks, Cansell 1844, foll. 9 written on recto only, 30 lines, described in English.

- Frankfurter 1882** O. Frankfurter, "List of Pali manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford", *JPTS*, 1882, pp. 30-31
- JBR** *Journal of the Burma Research Society*
- JPTS** *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
- Liyanaratne 1991** Jinadasa Liyanaratne, "Sinhala palm-leaf manuscripts in the Bodleian Library", *Bodleian Library Record*, XIII, pp. 514-518
- Liyanaratne 1992** Jinadasa Liyanaratne, "Sri Lankan Medical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford", *The Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, vol 2, 1992 pp. 36-53
- Ouseley 1831** *Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript works in various oriental languages collected by Sir William Ouseley*, London 1831 pp. 20, 24
- Pearson 1971** *Oriental manuscripts in Europe and North America* (Bibliotheca Asiatica 7) Zug, 1971
- Pe Maung Tin 1925** "Burma MSS. in the Bodleian Library Oxford" *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XV(2), 1925, pp. 145-147
- PTS** Pali Text Society
- S.C.** *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ... with references to the Oriental and other Manuscripts*, compiled by F. Madan, Oxford 1895-1953

BODL. Dep. Stol. 103**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Ivory large plates; foll. 11 (ka-kam); 540 x 98mm; 5 lines, 30 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; brown lacquered edges, very fine gilded and red lacquered margins and 2 foll. decorations; 2 red lacquered wooden covers inside, outside decorated in a fine glass-inlaid work *hman-zi shwei-chā* in relief-moulded lacquer *thayō* technique with floral motifs.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 109**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Ivory plates; foll. 15 (ka-khi); 535 x 67mm; 4 lines, 26 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 485 mm; numb. Burmese letters; brown lacquered edges, very fine gilded and red lacquered margins decorations; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red, wrapped in a traditional diamond shaped motif dark red and white cloth made of cotton, long plaited cord and attached a 17cm long copper label inscribed in Burmese.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 111

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1

2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1

3. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

4. Sahassaneyya

5. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered); 670 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 12 paired illustrations (some unusual) in the margins, 280 x 165mm + 1 ill. full page; a single one brown lacquered cover, then painted in green, brown edges; (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris¹)

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 112

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. [Sahassaneyya]—Paramatthapakaraṇa

3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 47 folds (not numbered); 660 x 140mm; 5 lines, 45 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 11 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 180mm; a single one brown lacquered cover, brown edges; (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

Date: BS. 2426 = 1883 A.D.—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 113

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1

2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1

3. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga;

¹Répertoire des textes pālis dans les manuscrits illustrés de la Péninsule indochinoise, Collections françaises et britanniques, EFEO DATA Paris. For consultation of this Data base: Bibliothèque de l' Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 22, Avenue du Président-Wilson, 75116, Paris, France.

Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. [Sahassaneyya]

3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 50 folds (not numbered); 655 x 140mm; 5 lines, 53 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink & in gold; Kham script; 17 paired ill. in the margins, 280 x 180 to 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. Some insect damage. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 114

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 650 x 150mm; 6 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 570 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine gilded and red painted decorations, fol 1a illustrating 2 scenes of the Vessantarajātaka (Vessantara leaving his palace for the hermit life is shown with his wife and their 2 children on a chariot, horse and 2 attendants; then follows the scene in which the 2 children are handed over to Jūjaka); fol 16b illustrating scenes of Cetuttapabhatuīn: prañ kruī; 2 gilded and red lacquered wooden covers, fine decorations on the outside.

Date: BS. 1296 = 1934 A.D.—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 128

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth or thick *khoi* paper?, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 9 (ka-[ko]); 540 x 102mm; 5 lines, 24 char., old square Burmese large script, 465 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers, 1st and

last foll. black lacquered and gilded; fol 12a, Burmese colophon. Some foll. damaged.

Date in Burmese language in the colophon—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 129

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 10 (ka-[ko]); 500 x 82mm; 5 lines, 25 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, unusual punctuation; 460 mm; no numb.; no covers, 1st and last foll. red lacquered, silvered, decorated with red and gilded motifs; 1st fol, margins damaged but text complete.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 196

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 572 x 132mm; 6 lines, 38 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 542 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside carved into a frame with in addition a fine work of relief-moulded *thayō* with glass-inlay *hman-zi shwei-chā* decoration. Sumptuously produced.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 197

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (kha-gī); 525 x 95mm; 5 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red; colophon on 1st and last plates in red and gilded writing, large round Burmese script.

Date in Burmese language in the colophon—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 198

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 12 (ka-[kha]); 540 x 95mm; 5 lines, 30 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 505 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 199

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 12 (ka-[kha]); 540 x 95mm; 5 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 505 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red.

No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R)

1. [**Abhidhammātikā**] **Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna**

2. **Māleyya** (in Siamese)

3. [**Sa**]hassaneyya

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered, in pencil European figures 1-199); 665 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 17 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R)

1. [**Abhidhammātikā**] **Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna**

2. **Māleyya** (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 50 folds (not numbered, in pencil European figures 1-194); 665 x 145mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 295 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered and green covers, brown edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 9(R)

1. [**Abhidhammātikā**] **Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna**

2. [**Sahassaneyya**] fragment

3. **Māleyya** (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 49 folds (not numbered); 680 x 135mm; 5 lines, 30 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 7 paired ill. in the margins, 270 x 210mm; 2 brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a.11(R)

1. [**Abhidhammātikā**] **Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna**

2. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract

CPD. 1.1

3. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1**4. Māleyya** (in Siamese)**5. [Paritta] Mahākassapabojjhaṅga** CPD 2.9.1(XVII); **Mahā-moggallānabojjhaṅga** CPD 2.9.1(XVIII); **Mahācundatthera-bojjhaṅga** CPD 2.9.1(XIX)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered); 650 x 140mm; 5 lines, 25-40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 14 paired ill. in the margins, 280 x 180mm; 2 brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

Date: BS. 2419 = 1876 A.D.—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Folding book, white *khoi* paper written on both sides; folds 17 (no numbering); 570 x 92mm; 5 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script in black ink, 470 mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, carved with fine floral motifs painted in black, red and gold colours. Insect damage, many holes, but text legible.

No date (19th century)—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 18(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 19 (ka-khū mixed); 560 x 50mm; 5 lines, 45 char. large Laotian Tham script, 435 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, decorated in black lacquer with floral motifs painted in red and yellow colours.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 19(R)**Kammavācā** Pāli-Laotian nissaya CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 79 ("a"- up to "ḷa" and "am", then: ka, kā, ki, kī... khai); 615 x 60mm; 5 lines, 60 char. large Laotian Tham script, 510 mm; numb. Tham letters; red lacquered and gilded edges; 2 wooden covers red lacquered inside, black lacquered outside, gilded and decorated with floral motifs painted in black.

Date: BS. 1235? = 1873 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 20(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 20 (from "a" to "o" + ka, kha, ga, gha... etc. up to "ba"); 578 x 52mm; 5 lines, 55 char. large Laotian Tham script, 495 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 wooden covers gilded on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 21(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (ga-ghī); 580 x 61mm; 5 lines, 56 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; red lacquered then gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold with floral motifs, inside black lacquered.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 22(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (1-26); 532 x 60mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 450 mm; numb. name of figures written in Tham letters up to "dasa", then 11 up to 26 in Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered

wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold and green with floral motifs.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R)

1. [Vinayapīṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract, CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract, CPD. 2.1
3. Sahassaneyya
4. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
5. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 49 folds (not numbered); 660 x 142mm; 5 lines, 30-35 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 175mm; 2 brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased from R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)

1. [Vinayapīṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract, CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract, CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
4. Māleyya (in Siamese)
5. [Paritta] Mahākassapabojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVII); Mahā-moggallānabojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVIII); Mahācundatthera-bojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XIX); Girimānanda CPD 2.9.1(XX); Isigilisutta CPD 2.9.1(XXI)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 38 folds (not numbered); 720 x 168mm; 5 lines, 25-40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 11 paired ill. in the margins, 340 x 190mm; a single one lacquered cover and edges. Perfectly restored ms. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased from R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-kho); 590 x 55mm; 4 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 27(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka, kha, ga, gha ... dha); 562 x 60mm; 5 lines, 48 char. large Laotian Tham script, 485 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 gilded wooden covers, painted in black, red, gold and brown with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (no numbering); 595 x 60mm; 5 lines, 56 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 550 mm; black lacquered and gilded edges, 2 wooden covers, black lacquered, gilded and painted in black with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 30(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 19 (1-15); 620 x 65mm; 5 lines, 80 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 520 mm; numb. Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 31(R)**Kammavācā** fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (kha-khu); 600 x 58mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs, inside plain black lacquered.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 32(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-khe); 585 x 60mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 465 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded and paint in black with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 33(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 17 (1-16); 595 x 62mm; 5 lines, 45 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 dark brown lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 34(R)**[Abhidhammātikā]** Pāli-Laotian nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 8 (1-7); 550 x 52mm; 5 lines, 82 char. small Laotian Tham script, 500 mm; numb. Laotian figures; red lacquered and gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 35(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (ka-khē); 585 x 58mm; 5 lines, 36 char. large Laotian Tham script, 460 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 36(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka, kha, ga, gha...da / 1- 18); 560 x 52mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters and Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded floral motifs on the outside only.

Date: BS. 1147? = 1785 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 37(R)**Kammavācā** fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka missing, khā-gī); 650 x 55mm; 4 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

Date: BS. 1188? = 1826 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 38(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 30 (ka-gā); 570 x 55mm; 4 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script, 465 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)

1. **[Abhidhammātikā]** Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna

2. **Mahābuddhaguṇā**

3. **[Abhidhammātikā] (bis)** Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna

4. **[Sahassaneyya]**

5. **Pamsukūla**

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 24 folds (not numbered); 368 x 125mm, 5 lines, 25 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; punctuation magnified in ochre colour; 14 ill. in the middle of pages, quite unsophisticated drawings and paintings. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1991

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)

1. **Horoscope, Iti pi so... & various yantras & mantras**

2. **Indasāva**

3. **Mahāpaṭṭhāna** fragment

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 15 folds (not numbered); 295 x 106mm, 9 lines, 30 char. Shan script in black ink; no numbering;

illustrations & diagrams sometimes coloured black, yellow, red.

No date—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 4(R)

[Nemijātaka]—**Nemijāt nissaya** fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD.2.5.10

Palm-leaves; foll. 52 (mixed); 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 85 char. medium Burmese script, 385 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; no covers. According to Pe Maung Tin 1925: "... The author's name occurs on the leaf *jhā* as Ramsālākāra, who is said to have made this fourth Burmese paraphrase."

No date—S.C.32355—Purchased from J. and M. L. Tregaskis, 1896

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 14(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

A single metal plate, red lacquered, gilded, (khi? or khī?), framed, protected by glass, approximately 550 x 135mm, 6 lines, one single cord hole, 30 char.; large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac; numb. Burmese letters.

No date.—Purchased from I. de M. Johnson, Dec. 1937

BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

1. **[Kaccāyana] Pāli grammar** CPD. 5.1

2. **Cariyāpiṭaka** CPD. 2.5.15 Pāli-Burmese nissaya

3. **Cariyāpiṭaka aṭṭhakathānām— [Paramatthadīpanī VII]**

CPD. 2.5.15,1 Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 109 (ka-jū) + 68 (ka-nū) + 268 (ka-phe); 492 x 56mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 52 char. medium Burmese script, 380 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 raw wooden covers inscribed in Burmese in brown paint by an unlettered

hand. In the box, a fly label in English, incorrect for this ms.: "A book on Science? taken from a Buddhist Monastery in Burmah 1764 A.D."

Dated, twice: BS. 1263 = 1901 A.D. (and not 1764)—Donated by E. P. Arnold Foster, Oct. 1921

BODL. Ms. Burmese b. 7(R)

Paritta CPD 2.9,1 and **horoscope?** Pāli-Burmese

Folding book, black *khoi* paper; 11 folds (not numbered); 385 x 120mm; 7 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in white steatite; Burmese script; some diagrams; 2 red, then black lacquered covers.

No date for the copy of this MS., but a date is quoted in the text: BS. 1246 = 1884 A.D.—Purchased from Luzac & Co., 19 Jan. 1943

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Misc. 20(R)

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā fragment CPD. 2. 5. 2,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 31 (ma-yah); 540 x 50mm; 5 lines, 55 char. medium and small mūl script, 450 mm; numb. mūl letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; margins and text: many emendations and additions in ink; no covers, but wrapped in a gorgeous red and blue cotton cloth woven with mango and floral decoration in gilded thread. (Phūk 13, contains: mahāghanabāñjavatthu, kīsāgotami°, paṭācārā°, (maggavaggavaṇṇanā), kukkuṭaṇḍakhādikavatthu, baddhiyabhikkhu°, vajjiputtaka°)

No date.—Donated by P. A. Barnett Esq., Sept 1921

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)

[**Dīghanikāya**] CPD. 2. 1

1. Sut **Silakkam pālitō** [**Silakkhandhavagga**]
2. Sut **Mahāvā pālitō** [**Mahāvagga**]
3. Sut **Pādeyya(or Pātheyya)** [**Pāṭikavagga**]

Palm-leaves; foll. 323 (ka-be); 500 x 65mm; 12 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, 2 red

lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only; 1st fol. in ink "S. C. Malan, the gift of Col. Duncan; ... from Mandalay, 1875"; 1st cover, printed label: Indian Institute, Oxford, The Malan Library presented by the Rev. S. C. Malan, DD., Vicar of Broadwindsor January, 1885".

Date: BS. 1234 = 1872 A.D.—Donated by Rev. S. C. Malan, Jan. 1885

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R)

Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇa CPD.3.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 116 (ka-ja); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 110 char. medium Sinhalese script, 475 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 black ebony covers, silver *pot sakiya* with topaz in the centre.

No date—Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold Esquire M.A., C.S.I; May 1887"

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R)

[**Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pārājika**] CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 133 (ka-jhu); 554 x 63mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 109 char. medium fine Sinhalese script, 475 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers, painted on the outside in bright orange, decorated in yellow and green on the borders with *pālapeti*, middle with *katuru-mala* motifs; 1st cover, title middle cartouche: pārājikā potthako, last cover, date middle cartouche: buddhavarṣa 2428, inside black painted; ivory *pot sakiya* in shape of a *stūpa*.

Date: BS. 2428 = 1885 A.D.—[Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold Esquire M.A., C.S.I; May 1887" but Bodleian records say "Provenance unknown"].

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R)
[Vinayapīṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—]Pārājikaṅ pāṭitō
 CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; 5 bundles, foll. 207 (ka-ne); 495 x 65mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 thick wooden covers, red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges. 1st to fifth chapters.

Date: BS. 1156 = 1794 A.D.—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)
Sandhi nyāsapadipahāraṇa

(This is not Nyāsa or Ñāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī CPD. 5.1,11)
 Palm-leaves; foll. 63 (ka-cū mixed); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers.

Date: BS. 1114 = 1752 A.D.—Donated by Sir M. Monier-Williams, no date.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R)
Vīthi lak rui Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 35 (ka-gaṃ); 500 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 84 char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges, no covers. See Bechert 1979 n° 29, p. 33: "This is an explanation of the vithi section of Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha..."?

Date: BS. 1158 = 1796 A.D.—Donated by Sir M. Monier-Williams, no date.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R)
Saddā nye sum coṅ Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 7 (ka-ke); 510 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges, no covers. (Unknown in CPD & Bechert 1979, Braun 1985)

Date: BS. 1156 = 1794 A.D.—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 8(R)
Samvaṇṇanā Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 11; 495 x 50mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord-holes, 8 lines, 80 char.—Burmese script—Numb. Burmese letters.

No date—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, lacquered, gilded decorated in red; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 515 x 121mm; 6 lines, 28 char. in black lac, Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red. Wrapped in a cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo slats, dark red, off-white and blue colours, geometric designs.

No date—Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by E. Drury

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)
 1. **Vimānavatthuppakaraṇa** CPD. 2.5.6, 1(5)?
 2. **Vimānavatthuvaṇṇanā** by Dhammapāla(?) CPD. 2.5.6, 1

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (1-21) + 102 (ka-chū); 505 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 98 char. medium Sinhalese script, 450 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers, painted on the outside in bright orange, decorated in yellow and green on the borders with *pālapeti* and *katuru-mala* motifs, painted in black on the inside; copper *pot sakiya* in the shape of a lotus.

No date—Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold, May 1887

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 11(R)
Mahāvamsa (incomplete)CPD 4.1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 211 (ka-ḍau); 475 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 110 char., Sinhalese medium script, 415 mm; 2 wooden covers, painted in bright orange, decorated on outside, *pālapeti* and *katuru-mala* motifs painted in black and yellow; silver *pot sakiya* in the shape of a lotus.

No date—Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold Esquire MA., C.S.I., May 1887"

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha CPD.3.8.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (dā-dhu); 595 x 65mm; 2 cord holes, 11 lines, 88 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only.

Date: BS. 1240 = 1878 A.D.—Label: "Indian Institute purchased 1883"

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R)

1. [**Kammavācā—Pabbajjā**] fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (no numb°); 365 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 80 char., Sinhalese small script, 350 mm.

2. **Fragments** in Sinhalese

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (no numb°); 365 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 36 char., Sinhalese large script, no margins. Many leaves engraved but not blackened and cannot be read; 2 wooden covers, decorated outside, reddish borders, rough floral motifs on the upper parts, red and green.

No date.—Donated by Captain A. H. Coltart 1918

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)

Upāsakajanālaṅkārapāli CPD. 2.9.4¹

Palm-leaves; foll. 98 (ka-cau); 458 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 88 char., Sinhalese small script, 390 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers decorated in orange paint on the outside with *katuru-mala* in the middle and *palāpeti* on the borders, black paint inside, decorated with yellow garlands reminiscent of the pistils of flowers. Cartouches in the middle, title and date inscribed in yellow paint, silver *pot sakiya* bearing the effigy of Queen Victoria. Mentioned in

Liyanaratne 1991 "Upāsakajanālaṅkāra, is a complete Pāli text in the Sinhala script, deposited among Sinhala manuscripts"

Date: BS. 2399 = 1856 A.D.—Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Presented by Edwin Arnold Esquire MA., C.S.I., May 1887"

BODL. MS. Ouseley 308

Arakanese alphabet

Fol 2b "The Mug characters used in writing the language of Arakan called by those who used it, Merma-chegā" on one column facing "characters of Tibet, Bengal, Dewa Nāgar, Hindostāny Nāgry, Mahājenka Nāgry used in Bengal & used in Guzerat, the Power expressed in English Letters, the Power expressed in Persian or Taleek Letters". Part of a large plate showing "Characters which are analogous to the Dewa Nagar Alphabet". These characters were used currently for writing Pāli in Arakan. S.C. 1897 p. 671 "Quarto Catalogue xiii (Persian), 1934 (European)". Large copybook, bound in black leather, 345 x 240mm.

No date—S.C. 23083

BODL. MS. Ouseley 415

Samantapāsādikā Pāli- Burmese nissaya fragment

Illegible for those who do not know Burmese. Frankfurter Catalogue: "The Pāli text of the Pārājika interlined with a Burmese translation—Imperfect. Of 412 leaves numbered from ka-gyī of which the ms. originally consisted only 240 are left ...". According to Ouseley Oriental Catalogue this MS. is said to consist of three separate ones: one of 140, one of 60, and one of 40 leaves." S.C. 1897 p. 673. "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 628 (Burmese)"

No date—S.C. 23190

BODL. MS. Ouseley 416

missing in the box

S.C. 1897 p. 673, "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 629-31 (Burmese)" S.C. 23190

BODL. MS. Ouseley 417 & 418**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16 fragments

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded; foll. 2 (1st ola & no n°); 535 x 90 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine floral and *hamsa* motifs on 1st fol. and margins; very fragile, brittle and difficult to handle, gilding badly flaking to reveal palm leaf beneath, corners partly restored in leather and paper. S.C. 1897 p. 673, "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 632 & 717 (Burmese)"

No date—S.C. 23191-92

BODL. MS. Pali a. 1(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 16 (ka-khu); 535 x 90mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and *hamsa* motifs.

No date (19th century)—Frankfurter 1882 n° 1—S.C. 30900a—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 2(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 17 (ka-khū); 530 x 92mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and *hamsa* motifs; 2 ochre-red lacquered, gilded wooden covers decorated in red with fine floral and geometrical motifs.

No date (19th century)—Frankfurter 1882 n° 2—S.C. 30900b—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 3(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre-red lacquered, then coated with a gilded/silvered mixture and then painted in red; foll. 12 ([ka-kha]); 535 x 90mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 34 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, in black lac, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral and *hamsa* motifs; 2 wooden covers, dark red lacquered, decorated on outside only with floral motifs.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 3—S.C. 30900c—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 4(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves red lacquered, then coated with a gilded/silvered mixture and then painted in red; foll. 12 ([ka-kha]); 540 x 92mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral & *hamsa* motifs.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 4—S.C. 30900d—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 5(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 16 ([ka-khī]); 535 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac, 495 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral & geometrical motifs. First and last leaves slightly damaged.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 5—S.C. 30900e—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 6(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded; foll. 13 (ka-kha); 540 x 95mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 25 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine floral and *haṃsa* motifs on 1st, last foll. and margins; 2 red lacquered, gilded wooden covers, decorated on outside only with 9 and a half circles in red paint, floral and geometrical motifs; label on the 1st cover: "Taken from a Priest's chest in an Idol House of the deserted village of Myanoung on the Irrawaddy 35 miles below Prome April 17th. 1825—It was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Senior Proctor, the Revd. Joseph Dornford of Oriol College Nov. 8. 1830"; very fragile, brittle and difficult to handle, gilding badly flaking to reveal palm leaf beneath.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 6—S.C. 28346—Donated by Joseph Dornford 8 Nov. 1830

BODL. MS. Pali a. 7(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, silvered, painted in red; foll. 3 (ko, kō, last one not numbered); 540 x 95mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lacquer, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; margins decorated with *haṃsa* motifs.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 7—S.C. 30900f—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 8(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded palm-leaves, painted in red; foll. 2 (ki, kaṃ); 535 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 505 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral motifs.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 8—S.C. 30900g—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 9(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 5 (no numbering); 540 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 22 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; fine floral geometrical and *haṃsa* motifs. Unusual decorations between the lines (minute checks, birds, foliage); punctuation in the shape of *vihāra*; corners slightly damaged.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 9—S.C. 30900h—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 10**[Vinayaṭṭhakathā]—Samantapāsādikā** CPD 1.2,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 308 (ka-yī); 515 x 68mm, rounded-off corners; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, dark red lacquered in the middle with festoons or zigzags (unusual); 2 wooden boards decorated on outside only with a garland of foliage in black, red and green, varnished both sides (European appearance, drawing and motifs style not Burmese). A label glued on 1st board indicates in English: Samantapāsādikā — Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka... Pārājikā, Pācitti, Mahāvagga, Cūlavagga, Parivāra... R. C. C. June 18. 1868

Date: BS. 1170 = A.D. 1808—Frankfurter 1882 n° 10—S.C. 30900i—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 11**[Vinayapiṭaka—Mahāvagga]—Mahāvā nissya—Ratanamañjūsa vinaññ lak pan kyam** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 276 (ka-be); 500 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines. 65

char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. A label in English: "Mahāvagga nissya. The Pali text of the Mahāvagga interlined with a Burmese translation. Perfect 271 leaves Burmese char. (June 20-[18]68)"; cf. Braun 1985, Burmese Manuscripts part 2, n°303 p. 122

No date.—Frankfurter 1882 n° 11—S.C. 30900j—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)

[Samantapāsādikānavāṭikā]—Vimativinodanī

fragment CPD. 1.2,13

Vimattivinodanivinayya (!) phūk 21

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jhā-ñāḥ); 540 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 5 lines, 68 char. Kham script, 460 mm; numb. Kham letters; gilded edges.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 12—S.C. 30900k—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R)

Temijātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 67 (ka-cū); 500 x 52mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 63 char. medium Burmese script, 420 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle.

Date: BS. 1140? = A.D. 1778?—Frankfurter 1882 n° 15—S.C. 30900m—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 16

[Dhammasaṅgaṇīaṭṭhakathā]—Atthasālinīpāṭh CPD

3.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 318 (ka-yē); 520 x 54mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, label: "Aṭṭhasālinī or Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasaṅganipparani which is

the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19/[18]68"

Date: BS. 1150 = A. D. 1788—Frankfurter 1882 n° 17—S.C. 30900o—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 17

[Abhidhammapiṭaka]

1. Dhātukathā CPD.3.3

2. Yamaka CPD. 3. 6

Palm-leaves; foll. 44 + 367 (ka-ghē + gī-ao); 500 x 55mm, 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 88 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, label: "Dhātukathā and Yamaka ... R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"

Date: BS. 1203 = A.D. 1841—Frankfurter 1882 n° 18—S.C. 30900p—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 18

Mahāvamsa CPD. 4.1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 256 (ka-to); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 82 char., Sinh. small script, 440 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only, decorated with black and yellow motifs of *palāpeti* on borders and *liyavāla* in the middle; large copper *potsakiya* in shape of a flower; label: "This is Turnour copy. He obtained it from Koṭagama Anunāyaka of Kandy Ceylon on the 8th April 1827." Frankfurter catalogue: "Published as far as the 37th chapter by the Hon. George Turnour Esqre with a translation and an introductory essay Ceylon 1837. The remaining parts have been published under orders of the Ceylon Government with a translation into Sinhalese by H. Sumaṅgala High Priest of Adams Peak and Don Andris de Silva Batuwantudawa pandit, Colombo 1877, 2 vols.

No date—S.C. 24684—Frankfurter 1882 n° 19—Probably originally part of the collection purchased from W. H. Mill, 1849<>68?"

BODL. MS. Pali a. 19(R)**Saddasāratthajālīnī** CPD 5.4.6

Palm-leaves; foll. 27 (ka-khu); 490 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 66 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; label: "Saddasāratthajālīnī A Pali grammar. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19/[18]68

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 24—S.C. 30900q—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R)**Various suttas** (to identify)

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (1+A-B+1-3+1-4+1-4+1-8); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 110 char., Sinh. small script, 480 mm; numb. European figures or letters; no covers.

No date—S.C. 30900r, corrected in 31294 (comm. on Sutta-piṭaka)—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali a. 21(R)**Vessantarajātaka** Pāli-Burmese nissaya fragment CPD. 2.5. 10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (ṭhaṃ, ṭhaḥ, ra); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 65 char., Burmese medium script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers.

No date—S.C. 30900s—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 22**Yamaka** CPD. 3.6

Palm-leaves; foll. 330 (mixed); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese script, 418 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. For another part of this ms. see under next number.

Date: BS. 1161 = 1799 A.D.—S.C. 30900t—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 23**Yamaka** CPD. 3.6 (part of the ms. above)

Palm-leaves; foll. 184 (mixed); same material description *supra* + 2 wooden boards and a piece of ola, folded, in the shape of a paper cutter, used as a label to MS.

—S.C. 30900u—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 24(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, gilded, decorated; foll. 16 (kā-khī); 536 x 120mm; 6 lines, 32 char. in black lacquer, tamarind-seed large script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red.

No date—S.C. 30900v—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 25**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded, decorated in red; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 535 x 124mm; 6 lines, 26 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered and gilded wooden covers, decorated in red on outside boards only; wrapped in a bright red piece of velvet lined with green damask cotton; unusual cotton ribbon woven with blue and white, checks, red borders, 3.65 meters long.

No date—S.C. 30900w—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 26(R)**[Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana]**

Pāli-Burmese nissaya, 2 different copies, CPD. 1.2,16

1. Palm-leaves, silvered and decorated; foll. 7 (cha-[che]); 525 x 78mm; 7 lines, 55 char. large Burmese round script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese

letters; floral motifs painted in red, some worn away, palm-leaves slightly damaged.

2. Palm-leaves, gilded and decorated; foll. 7 (kha-[khe]); 525 x 82mm; 7 lines, 50 char. large Burmese round script, 495 mm; numb. Burmese letters; floral motifs painted in red; both texts bound together in 2 different dark red lacquered wooden covers decorated with gilded floral motifs on outside only. Blue and white woven ribbon. Inside lid of the box: "Bought by the Bodleian for £ 1.10 on June 29, 1888. Taken out of a temple of Shwe-Bo in Feb. 1886". Unusual.

No date—S.C. 29897v—Purchased from A. H. Grundy, 1888

BODL. MS. Pali a. 27(R)

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
4. Sahassaneyya
5. Mahābuddhaguṇā
6. Mahābuddhaguṇavaṇṇanā
7. Uṇhisavijaya

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 39 folds (not numbered); 660 x 95 mm; 5 lines, 35-55 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham compressed script; 10 paired illustrations in the margins, 221 x 190mm; 2 black lacquered, gilded frame covers, decorated with star motifs included in 9 roundels, corners restored, brown edges. Label glued inside the ms. "To Mr. Thomson Edinburg a complete book, in the Siam language, found in Kandy, considered very old, and a great curiosity from (signature illegible)". In the box containing this ms., is found a letter in English from "B. Clough Ceyl (?) giving an account of the book with paintings from Siam 1819", addressed to M. C. Gibson Esq. who calls it:

"Singh. Tallabannu."(?). Perfectly restored. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date—S.C. 29897w—Probably bought in the Gibson-Craig sale (lot 758), 17 Nov. 1888

BODL. Ms. Pali a. 31(R)

Abhidhammātikā

[Dhammasaṅgaṇī]—Padabhājanīya; [Vibhaṅga]—Suttanta-bhājanīya; [Dhātukathā]; Puggalapaññattimātikā; Kathāvatthu-pakaraṇamātikā; [Yamaka]; [Mahāpaṭṭhāna]

Palm-leaves; foll. 84 (ka-cho); 540 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 48 char., fine Kham compressed script, 460 mm; numb. Kham letters; the 2 first and 2 last palm-leaves of each bundle are illuminated in the margins and around the cord holes with floral motifs in red, green, pink, yellow and gilded colours; 2 covers red lacquered, recto only with gilded geometrical designs.

No date—S.C. 31633—Purchased Sotheby's, 30 May 1893

BODL. MS. Pali a. 32(R)

Vessantarajātaka —Maddīpabba fragment CPD. 2.5. 10,1
Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka-[khā]); 530 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 81 char., Mūl script, 460 mm; numb. Mūl letters; label in French on the box: "Manuscrit pali en caractères siamois sur olles (feuilles de talipot) le dernier des récits des 500 jatakas"; no covers.

No date—S.C. 32537—Bought through Dr. G.U. Pope, 1897

BODL. MS. Pali a. 33

1. Mūlasikkhāpāṭh CPD. 1.3.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 11 (ka-kū)

2. Mūlasikkhāṭikā CPD. 1.3.2,2

Palm-leaves; foll. 136 (ka-ñāh)

3. Khuddasikkhāṭikā CPD. 1.3.1, 1 or 2?

Palm-leaves; foll. 217 (ka-dhi); 504 x 58mm; 2 cord-holes, 9 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese round script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, European ex libris.

Date: BS. 1159-1160 = 1797-1798 A.D.—S.C. 31602—
Purchased Sotheby's, 26 May 1893

BODL. MS. Pali a. 34**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded and decorated; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 510 x 110mm; 6 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered, wooden covers, outside gilded and painted in red with floral and animal motifs.

No date—S.C. 32596—Purchased Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali a. 35(R)**Kammavācā** fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Ivory plates; foll. 11 (ka-kaṃ, wanting last fol); 535 x 80mm; 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, in black lacquer, 495 mm; numb. minute Burmese letters in red; gilded decoration with animal and floral motifs, punctuation enhanced in red and gilded, sometimes in the shape of *vihāra*. Many folios brittle or damaged; no covers.

No date—S.C. 32597—Purchased from Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali a. 36(R)**Kammavācā** fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered (plain); foll. 9 (kā-ke, half a leaf without numbering, kaṃ, last leaf without numbering); 540 x 90mm; 5 lines, 36 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded floral motifs on the margins of last fol only. Many folios brittle or damaged; no covers.

No date—S.C. 32598—Purchased from Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali a. 37(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khu); 530 x 82mm; 4 lines, 27 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral and animals motifs on 1st, last foll. and margins. Unusual decorations between the lines (checks); punctuation in the shape of *vihāra* sometimes built on pedestal?; fol "ko" cut into 2 pieces, bottom of the last fol damaged, preventing the complete reading of 2 lines and colophon; no covers.

Date: BS. 1032 = 1670 A.D. (William Pruitt reading)—S.C. 32599—Purchased from Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)**1. Alphabet**

A single palm-leaf: svasti siddham — a ā i ī u ū ... etc. up to ja. 590 x 62mm; 2 cord holes, 2 lines, 17 char. Sinhalese very large script; no numbering.

No date.

2. [Majjhimanikāya]—Bahudhātukasutta & Isigili-sutta fragments CPD. 2.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 4 (13-16); 455 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 67 char. medium Sinhalese, 405 mm; numb. Europ. figures. Fol 1: namo buddhāya — evamme sutam ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārame — tatra kho bhagavā ... fol 4:—bahudhātukasuttanenā pañcama — evam me sutam ... rājagahe isigilismim pabbate...

No date—S.C. 31295—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)

Samantapāsādikāya vinayasamvaṇṇanā nāya sārattadīpanīyaṃ catutthapārājikāvaṇṇanā fragment
CPD. 1.2,12

Palm-leaves; foll. 165 (mixed); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 102 char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, red lacquered on outside only.

No date—S.C. 33176—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901

BODL. MS. Pali a. 40(R)

Atthasālinī—Dhammasaṅganiatṭhakathā fragments
CPD. 3.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 99 (ki-chū, mixed, some missing); 510 x 62mm; 2 cord-holes, 10 lines, 75 char. medium Burmese round script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; no covers. Letter attached: St Kilda Hewlett Road Cheltenham, April 30. 1903, signature: A. W. Jamieson: "... the attached card explains the mode of their coming into my possession eleven years ago. There is this of contemporary history to mention perhaps of interest that the Burmese in their zest for trade had crept far into the Chin hills & valleys & had settle there. They were constantly raided & looted by the Hill tribes—Chin Boks & Chin Mehs etc—yet were permitted by them to build then(!) Poongi Chowns—far in among the valleys & foothills of a hostile country—when we arrived on the scene—to punish for a recent raid—all these Burmese settlements were deserted & it was in one of these village Chowns that my men found these M. S. S. Big chests crowned ...them lay about. As far as it was possible I had them protected & guarded but some stray leaves were looted & here they are & shall be very pleased if they possess sufficient interest for your acceptance..."

No date—S.C. 33358—Donated by Col. A. W. Jamieson, 1 May 1903

BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R)

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī—Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā fragment CPD. 1.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 29 (mixed); 500 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 430 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers. Some leaves belonging to this ms. are kept under MS. Pali a. 44(R)

No date [BS. 1151 = 1789 A.D. on last leaf MS. Pali a. 44(R) belonging in fact to this ms.!]—S.C. 33359—Donated by Col. A. W. Jamieson, 1 May 1903

BODL. MS. Pali a. 42(R)

Fragments (Paṭṭhāna?)

Palm-leaves; foll. 14; 530 x 55mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 82 char.; Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters. *Beg.*: hetu dhammaṃ paṭicca maggā... ārammaṇapaccayā hetuyātiṇi na hetu paccayā ārammaṇā tiṇi atitārammaṇaṃ hetu dhammaṃ paṭicca atitā dhammaṃ ajjhataṃsa hetussa dhammassa ārammaṇapaccaye na paccayo | ajjhatto hetu dhammā bahiddhā bahiddhā hetussa dhammassa ārammaṇapaccaye na paccayo bahiddhā hetu ... akusalaṃ ahetaṃ dhammaṃ paṭicca abyākato hetuko dhammo uppajjati hetu paccayā abyākato ahetaṃ ... kusalaṃ hetu sampayuttaṃ dhammaṃ paṭicca kusalo hetu sampayutto dhammo uppajjati ...

No date—S.C. 33560—Donated by Col. A. W. Jamieson, 1 May 1903

BODL. MS. Pali a. 44(R)

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī—Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā CPD. 1.1,1
& Various fragments

Palm-leaves; foll. 9 (mixed); different sizes; 2 cord holes, 7 to 8 lines, medium Burmese; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle

and gilded edges, no covers. The leaves containing Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī belong to the above MS. Pali a. 41(R)!

Date: BS. 1151 = 1789 A.D.—S.C. 33362—Donated by Col. A. W. Jamieson, 1 May 1903

BODL. MS. Pali a. 45(R)

1. **Fragment** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (kī, ku, kū); 650 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 92 char. medium Burmese, 420 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers.

No date.

2. [**Yamaka**]—**Saccayamaka** fragment CPD. 3. 6

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jū-ño); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 82 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers. *Beg. fol 1a: ciraṃ tiṭṭhatu sāsanam | cattāri saccāni dukkhasaccaṃ samudayasaccaṃ nirodhasaccaṃ maggasaccaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkhasaccaṃ ... fol 1e, verso, line 7: | pariñāvāraṃ niṭṭhitam | saccayamakam niṭṭhitam | ... cf. ed. PTS vol I, pp. 173-228*

No date—S.C. 33363—Donated by Col. A. W. Jamieson, 1 May 1903

BODL. MS. Pali a. 46(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 12 (ka-[kaḥ]); 540 x 95mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; birds and floral motifs in red on 1st and last foll. and margins; some foll. slightly damaged; 2 dark red lacquered gilded covers, flowers painted in red.

No date—S.C. 34688—Purchased Sotheby's, 17 March 1909

BODL. MS. Pali a. 47(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, plain gilded; foll. 15 (ka-[khi]); 540 x 80mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; birds and floral motifs in red on first and last foll. and margins; no covers.

No date—S.C. 34689—Purchased Sotheby's, 17 March 1909

BODL. MS. Pali a. 48(R)

[**Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana**]

Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, silvered and decorated; foll. 8 (ga-go); 525 x 78mm; 7 lines, 46 char. large Burmese round script in black paint, 482 mm; numb. Burmese letters; decorative motifs painted in red; no covers, wrapped in a red velvet cloth lined in off-white, long ribbon woven off-white and blue. Burmese paraphrase of: *tavadeva chāyā metabbā utuppamaṇaṃ ācikkhitabbo... up to: ... yāva jīvaṃ... akaraṇiyaṃ... bhante... āma... = anusāsana* (just next to the *ñatticatutthakammavācā*, these words are more instructions by the *upajjhā* after the ordination of the bhikkhu).

No date—S.C. 34690—Purchased Sotheby's, 17 March 1909

BODL. MS. Pali a. 49(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, gilded and decorated; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 524 x 102mm; 6 lines, 32 char. in black lac, tamarind-seed large script, 495 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red on outside boards only; wrapped in a cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo slats.

No date—S.C. 35297—Donated by Sir. A. Cowley, 17 Jan.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 50(R)

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna

2. Dhammasahassanayya [Sahassaneyya]

3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 48 folds (not numbered); 690 x 145mm; 5 lines, 30 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 7 paired ill. in the margins, 295 x 190mm; 2 black lacquered, gilded and decorated covers; wrapped in purple silk, woven with gold thread, lined with bright red cotton, green border. Fine state of conservation. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Donated by Miss J. M. Leckie, 1916

BODL. MS. Pali a. 51

[Vinayapiṭaka]

1. [Parivāra]—Parivā pālitō CPD1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 191 (ka-ṭam)

2. [Suttavibhaṅga—Pācittiya]—Pācit pālitō CPD 1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 120 (ka-ñi); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 84 char. medium Burmese script, 402 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, bound with a long cotton ribbon interwoven with Burmese letters, off-white and blue.

Date: BS. 1230 = 1868 A.D.—Donated by Miss Kirby, March 1921

BODL MS. Pali a. 52(R)

[Dīghanikāya]—Sut mahāvā pālitō naṅ Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 172 (thu-āh); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 78

char. medium Burmese script, 402 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; no covers, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

Date: BS. 1242 = 1880 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL MS. Pali a. 53(R)

[Vinayapiṭaka—Pātimokkha—Kaṅkhāvitarāṇi]—
Kaṅkhāvatthu pāṭh nissaya fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 1.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 190 (ka-tē); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 85 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; a single cover, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

Date: BS. 1224 = 1862 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 54(R)

Kaccāyana (grammar) fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 5.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 133 (ka-te); 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char., Burm. medium script, 380 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers red and black lacquered on outside only; wrapped in a white and ochre cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo slats.

Date: BS. 1200 = 1838 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL MS. Pali a. 55(R)

[Jātaka]—Catukkanipāt—Pañcanipāt nissya Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 252 (ka-pha); 510 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 88 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, wrapped in an off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats; piece of ola in the shape of an arrow engraved on one side: catukkanipu?danissya + Burmese; engraved on the other side: pañcakanipadanissya + Burmese

Date: BS. 1207 = 1854 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R)

1. Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī—

Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭṭikā CPD. 3.8.1,2

2. Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Bhikkhupātimokkhavaṇṇanā
CPD.1.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 85 (ka-ce) + 102 (cē-tu) mixed; 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 93 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers; wrapped in bamboo slats woven in a yellowish cotton fabric.

Date: BS. 1208 = 1846 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 57

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 11 (ka-khi or khi?, wanting at least one plate before the last one); 542 x 105mm; a single cord hole, 6 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; *devata* and floral motifs in red on 1st and last foll. and margins; some foll. lightly damaged; 2 red lacquered gilded covers, decorations rubbed entirely away.

No date—Donated by Mrs Littledale, 12 March 1926

BODL. MS. Pali a. 58

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 10 (kha-khō); 475 x 90mm; 6 lines, 26 char. in black lac, tamarind-seed large script, 450 mm; 2 wooden covers red lacquered inside; outside gilded upon relief-moulded lacquer (*thayō*) work and inlaid with small round mirrors in green, red and silver; wrapped in 2 different pieces of cloth, 1st: rectangle 550 x 290mm of lined red cotton fabric enhanced with bamboo slats and printed with floral motifs, birds and butterflies in black, blue, yellow; 2nd: 71 x 116cm rectangle of double facing blue fabric, check material on one side, striped on the other side, red bias sewn as a border.

No date—Donated by Mrs Hurry, 12 Nov. 1929

BODL. MS. Pali a. 59

Maṅṣāramañjūsā—Maṅṣāramañjū pāṭh CPD. 3.8.1,21

Palm-leaves; foll. 423 (ka-ē); 505 x 60mm; 10 lines, char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, wrapped in a printed cotton cloth, yellow, blue, brown floral motifs, bound with a long ribbon woven in green, yellow and off-white.

Date: BS. 1239 = 1877 A.D.—Donated by Mr. Walker, 30 May 1930

BODL. MS. Pali a. 60

[Jātakatthavaṇṇanā] Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

1. Kalyāṇikyokcā?

Palm-leaves; foll. 131 (ka-chū)

2. Ekanipāta jāt nissya

Palm-leaves; foll. 320 (ka-yī) + 2 foll. not belonging to this text; 498 x 58mm; 9 lines, 98 char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden

covers, piece of ola cut as a label, engraved: ekkaniṭṭā jāṭ nissya ... kalyāṇīkyo...

Date: BS. 1191 = 1829 A.D.—Donated by Mr. Walker, 30 May 1930

BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R)

[**Dīghanikāya**]—**Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta** CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 25 (1-25); 485 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Europ. figures.

No date—Bequeathed by Professor Sayce, 1933

BODL. MS. Pali a. 62(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, black lacquered, silvered; foll. 8 (ka-ko); 525 x 78mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 40 char. large Burmese round script in black, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 1st & last palm-leaves red lacquered, upper parts decorated in gold with floral motifs, inner parts, decorated margins red on silver; many palm-leaves damaged, text partly cancelled; no covers.

No date—Donated by J. de M. Johnson, Dec. 1935

BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)

1. [**Paritta**] —**Parit kri pālītō and various fragments** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.9.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 154 (mixed, many blank leaves, many not inked, difficult to read); 485 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 108 char. medium Burmese round script, 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

2. [**Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha**]—**Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha nissya and other texts** fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 86 (mixed, many blank leaves); 470 x 53mm; 2 cord

holes, 9 lines, 92 char., medium Burmese round script, 382 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

3. **Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha** CPD. 1.1

A. **Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha pāṭh** foll. 18 (khi-khō)

B. **Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha** foll. 13 (khi-khō)

C. **Mūlasikkhā pāṭh** CPD. 1.3.2 foll. 8 (ghi-ghē)

Palm-leaves; 3 bundles; foll. 18+13+8 (many blank leaves); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 105 char., medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

Date: BS. 1231 = 1869 A.D.

4. **Various grammatical fragments** Pāli & Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 44 (mixed, different texts, many blank leaves); different sizes from 470 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 to 10 lines, medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

5. **Mūlasikkhā** fragment CPD. 1.3.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 10 (mixed); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 82 char. medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges.

No date

6. **Dhātumañjū pāṭh** fragment CPD. 5.5.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 14 (dhō-ṇu); 475 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges. All bundles wrapped in a cotton cloth interwoven with bamboo slats and printed with floral motifs in yellow and blue. 2 envelopes written in English explaining the Buddhist religion. "Exhibited by T. J. Moore" A paper states "Lent by J. L. Thompson ..."

No date—Donated by J. L. Thompson, 1943

BODL. MS. Pali a. 64(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2.16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered, gilded and decorated; foll. 10 (ka-kō); 510 x 115mm; 6 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered, different wooden covers, recto gilded and painted in red with *devatā* floral and bird motifs. First fol. unusual, in the middle of the decoration, some words written in Pāli & Burmese but half cancelled: kammavācā ... nibbāna ...; wrapped in a green velvet cloth.

No date—Bequeathed by Mrs. H.L. Eales, 19 Oct. 1946

BODL. MS. Pali b. 1(R)**Dhammapada** CPD. 2.5.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 17 (ka-kha); 420 x 48mm, 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 80 char. medium Sinh. script, 390 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers; Label: "Dhammapada ... Perfect copy. This ms. which originally belonged to Georgius Mudeliyar was presented to the Bodleian by Dr. Mill (June 12/1868) R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"

No date—S. C. 24677—Frankfurter 1882 n° 13—Part of the collection purchased from W.H. Mill, probably in 1868

BODL. MS. Pali b. 2(R)**Janananda** Pāli-Sinhalese sanne

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka-khī); 460 x 52mm, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 75 char. medium Sinh. script, 390 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers decorated on outside only with very fine motifs of *palāpeti* on borders and *katuru-mala* in the middle, large round *potsakiya* made out of a coconut shell?, black lacquered with fine red and yellow circles; label: "Jananda (!) The Pali text with a Sinhalese translation ... Perfect ... An inscription at the end states that this copy was made by Babe Appuhāmi as a present to his relation Mahatōṭa Abhayavarddhana Edirisimha Mudliar. R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 21—S.C. 30900x—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali b. 3(R)**Kaccāyana [Grammar by]—Sandhikappa** CPD. 5.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 71 (ka-ṅr); 425 x 54mm, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 68 char. medium Sinh. script, 380 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers; label: "Sandhikappa or Kaccāyana's grammar. Pali text in Sinhalese character. Perfect ... An inscription states that this copy was made for Dr. Mill by the orders of George Nadoris Mudliar in Nov. 1834." R. C. C. June 19/[18]68

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 23—Part of the collection purchased from W. H. Mill, probably in 1868

BODL. MS. Pali b. 5**[Grammar]—Saddā Ivan nissaya** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 181 (mixed); 485 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; 2 thick wooden covers, recto black lacquered.

Date: BS. 1221 = 1859 A.D.—S.C. 30900z

BODL. MS. Pali b. 7**[Jātakatthavaṇṇanā]—Ummaggajātaka** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10, 1

Palm-leaves; foll. 267 (dhō-jhyaḥ); 475 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 70 char. medium Burmese round script, 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1158 = 1796 A.D.—S.C. 31482—Purchased from Quaritch. Nov. 1892

BODL. MS. Pali b. 8(R)**[Grammar]** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 37 (ka-kham); 492 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 56 char. medium Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1205 = 1843 A.D.—S.C. 32370—Donated by Rev. R. J. Elliot 15 Jul. 1896

BODL. MS. Pali b. 9(R)**Paritta** CPD 2.9.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 78 (khā, kh?, ga, gā, gi, gī etc... up to ño + 1-9); 400 x 50mm; 3 cord holes, 5 lines, 35 char. medium mūl script; numb. mūl letters + mūl figures. Label on the box, in French "Manuscrit en caractères Indous sur olles (feuilles de Talipot)"

No date—S.C. 32538—Purchased through Dr. G. U. Pope, March 1897

BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R)**Vidhurajātaka** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 118 (kā-[dhe], wanting: ka); 442 x 38mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 66 char. medium Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, no covers. Some palm-leaves slightly damaged.

Date: BS. 1141 = 1778 A.D.—S.C. 32600—Purchased from J. Tregaskis, 26 May 1898

BODL. MS. Pali b. 11**Mahosathajātakavatthu—Maho vatthu** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 188 (khā-dō, mixed, wanting ka-kha); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb.

Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1263 = 1901 A.D.—S.C. 32601—Purchased from Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali b. 12**[Abhidhammaṭṭhāna]—Paṭṭhāna—Paṭṭhāna nissaya**

Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 3.7

Palm-leaves; foll. 307 (ka-rō, mixed); 495 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 422 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, dark red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, light brown lacquered, floral motifs in red and green on outside only; some palm-leaves and 1st cover, partly damaged.

No date—S.C. 32925—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1900

BODL. MS. Pali b. 13(R)**[Vinayaṭṭhāna—Suttavibhaṅga]—Pārājikaṅ pālītō**

fragments CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 223 (ka-tha, some mixed); 495 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 thick wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1193 = 1831 A.D.—S.C. 33177—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901

BODL. MS. Pali b. 14(R)**1. Mahāsatiṭṭhānasutta** Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 91 (ka-cai); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 80 char. large & medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 440 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

2. Satiṭṭhāna pada ānuma Pāli-Sinhalese

Palm-leaves; foll. 39 (co-jhī); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 7-10 lines, 75 char. medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 440 mm; numb. Sinhalese

letters; both texts bound together, 2 wooden covers, roughly decorated in red, black, yellow paint with *palāpeti* and *liṅavāla* on recto only. On last cover, printed label: "Rev. A. Lawson, M.A.". Last ola in ink: John F. Beer. Paper attached with explanations in English about the Satipaṭṭhānasutta and adds: "Rev. J. Moscrop late missionary in Ceylon [Bt. by the Bodleian 15 Ap. 1909(?) lot 309 in Branch Sale Liverpool]"

No date—S.C. 33510—Purchased Branch & Leete, 15 Apr. 1904

BODL. MS. Pali b. 15(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha fragment CPD. 3.8.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 25 (ka-khī); 445 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 85 char. medium Sinhalese script, 450 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. b. 2(R)—S.C. 31296—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali b. 16(R)

Sāvattḥīnidāna fragments

Palm-leaves; foll. 8 +11 (mixed); 365 x 50mm & 380 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 65 char. & 75 small & medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 350 & 375mm; numb. Sinhalese figures.

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. b. 3(R)—S.C. 31297—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali b. 17(R)

[Dhammasaṅgaṇīaṭṭhakathā]—**Atthasālinī**—

Dhammuddesavāarakathā fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 3. 1. 1

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (1. 5-24; wanting 2-4); 395 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 72 char. medium Sinhalese script, 340 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)—S.C. 31298—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman. 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali b. 18(R)

Various fragments Pāli & Sinhalese

Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (mixed); from 260 x 40 to 395 x 48mm; 2 cord holes, 7 to 9 lines, small & medium Sinhalese script, different hands; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. b. 7(R)—S.C. 31301—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali b. 19(R)

Various fragments Pāli & Sinhalese

Palm-leaves belonging to 4 different texts; foll. 24 (4+1-8+1-5+3); from 395 x 50 to 460 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, medium Sinhalese script, different hands; numb. European figures.

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. b. 5(R)—S.C. 31299—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali b. 20(R)

Mahāsatiṭṭhānasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 120 (ka-gu + khī-chā); 465 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers, on 1st cover, in ink: "n° 1 Sattipattāna & Dhamsak Sootas 751"; ivory *pot sakiya* and stylus, steel and bronze, decorated haft.

No date—S.C. 33180—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901

BODL. MS. Pali b. 21(R)

Dhammacakkapavattanasutta CPD. 2.9.1(XXIA)

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka-khu); 390 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 58 char. medium Sinhalese script, 330 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—SC. 33181—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901

BODL. Ms. Pali b. 23(R)**Paritta** CPD 2.9,1

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 45 folds; 380 x 100mm; 6 lines, 28 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink, punctuation enhanced in red; Burmese-Shan script; no numb. (added in pencil, European figures in the margins); 2 brownish lacquered covers. A yellow tape (or belt or band) with fringes is found in the box, 150 x 8, 5cm.

Date: cullasakrārāja ... Laotian language?—Last fold: "Captured in Nimpan (or Himpan?) in Upper-Burmah on the 20th of January 1890"

BODL. MS. Pali b. 24(R)**[Temiyajātaka]—Teminissya** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 56 (ka-ghāḥ); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 392 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges.

Date: BS. 1203 = 1841 A.D.—Bequeathed by Mrs. H.L. Eales, 19 Oct. 1946

BODL. MS. Pali c. 2(R)**Vuttamālāsandesaśataka** CPD. 4.5.8

Palm-leaves; foll. 37 (ka-gri) badly written. Donated by Dr. Mill, who bought it at Calcutta of some Sinhalese in Feb. 1835; enclosed is a transcription of the 1st portion of the Pāli text in Nāgarī letters on paper, evidently by an European hand, probably by Dr. Mill himself?

No date [before 1835]—Frankfurter 1882 n° 22—Donated by Dr. Mill, no date

BODL. MS. Pali c. 3(R)**[Majjhimanikāya]—Bālapaṇḍitasutta** Pāli-Sinhalese

sanne CPD. 2.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 32 (ka-ga); 315 x 45mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. small Sinhalese script, 290 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden

covers, *pot sakiya* made of a silver coin: two annas India 1862. Queen Victoria.

No date—S.C. 34691—Purchased from Miss H. A. W. Stark, 23 March 1909

BODL. MS. Pali d. 1(R)**[Paritta]—Mahācundattherabojjhaṅga** CPD. 2.9.1(XIX)

Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (ka-ki); 350 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 52 char. medium Sinhalese script, 260 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—old shelfmark MS. Sinh. d. 6(R)—S.C. 33182—Purchased Sotheby's 7 Dec. 1901

BODL. MS. Pali e. 1**[Papañcasūdanī—Majjhimanikāya]—****Assalāyanasutta[vaṇṇanā]** CPD 2.2,1

Notebook, European paper, Dalton & Lucy Booksellers to the Queen, 28 Cockspur St. Charing Cross; foll. 1+17+1; 225 x 175mm; 20 lines, 25 char. medium Sinhalese script, 155 mm; no numb. 1st fol: "Assalāyanasutta and commentary (copied for Mr Davids of Ceylon in 1871) The Pali text in the Sinhalese character. Donated to the Bodleian Library the 4th of December 1871 Robert C. Childers". Cf. PTS ed. part III, pp. 408-412.

Date 1871 A. D.—S.C. 29014b—Donated by R. C. Childers 4 Dec. 1871

BODL. MS. Pali e. 2

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°, from the Payogasiddhi, Balāvatāro with notices of the Dhauli, gatha Pracrit dialects)

Note book, bluish paper, watermarks: Matthews 1859, foll. 120 (1-120); numb. in pencil; 215 x 180; written in ink and pencil on both sides; binding in boards covered with marbled paper; Singh. alphabet + Burmese round and square alphabets (Burnouf "Essai sur le pali"), Old Siamese (mūl) alphabet, Asoka inscriptions alphabet (Prinsep *JRAS*.

Bengal VII), Buddhistic alphabet of Tibet (Csomo Körös), Nepalese alphabets (Hodgson in *As. Researches* vol XVI); 1. Sound. 2. Roots. 3. Inflection.

Date: 1859—S.C. 31483—The 4 vols. were bought by the Bodleian in Oct. 1892 from Quaritch's rough list 128 (n° 571) see *infra*.

BODL. MS. Pali e. 3

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°)

A grammar of the Pāli language in Pāli. Selections transcribed from a ms. in the Library of the Honourable East Asia Company by Burnell 1858-9. Note book, bluish paper, watermarks: Matthews 1859, foll. 107 (3 different numberings); numb. in pencil & ink; transcripts in Nāgarī and Roman scripts "Kaccāyanadhātumaṃjusa from MS. Havniensi; Akyātapadaṃ e Cod. MSS. Bibliotheca regiae Hafniensis"; 215 x 180; written in ink and pencil on both sides; binding in boards covered with blue paper.

Date: 1860—S.C. 31484—see *supra*, acquired 1892

BODL. MS. Pali e. 4

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°)

Saddhamma Lankāvatāra from a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society Library (Nepalese n° 6) by Burnell 1858-9

Note book, bluish paper, watermarks: Matthews 1859, foll. 99 (2 different numberings); numb. in pencil & ink; transcripts in Roman script of Saddhamma Lankāvatāra from a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society Library (Nepalese n° 6), Conversion of Buddha-ghoso, Mahavanso ch. XXXVII, Visuddhimaggo of Buddhaghoso; 215 x 180; written in ink and pencil on both sides; binding in boards covered with marbled paper.

Date: 1860?—S.C. 31485—see *supra*, acquired 1892

BODL. MS. Pali e. 5

Burnell: A list of Pali verbs, Kaccāyana Dhātumañjūsā, Ākhyāta-padam

Note book, bluish paper, various watermarks: W King, Alton Mill, Matthews, J. Green & Son, foll. 120 (2 different numberings); numb. in pencil; Burmese script & English translation of Ākhyāta-padam from a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society Library & Fausböll's mss. 1858-9; 220 x 180mm; written in ink and pencil on both sides; red cloth binding, back brown leather.

Date: 1858-1859—S.C. 31486—see *supra*, acquired 1892

BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)

1. [Dhammapada] extract CPD. 2. 5. 2
 2. [Vinayapiṭaka—Mahāvagga—Bodhikathā] extracts CPD 1. 2
 3. [Abhidhammātikā]
 4. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pārājika]? extract CPD 1.1
 5. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pācittiya]? extract CPD. 1.1
 - 6.?
 7. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
 8. [Dīghanikāya—Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD 2. 1
 9. [Dīghanikāya—Mahāpadānasuttanta] extract CPD 2. 1
- 1 silver scroll; 900 x 50mm, recto only engraved, 8 lines, 186 char. minute Burmese round script, 760 mm.

No date—S.C. 32356—Purchased from J. & M. L. Tregaskis, 1896

BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 122(R)

Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 40: "Pāli text with Sinhala commentary on letters of the alphabet".

Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 5(R)—S.C. 31302—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)**1. Vandana gāthā**

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (1-21) + 10 (1-10); cf. *JPTS* 1910-12 p. 153; see description infra.

2. Bhesajjamañjūsā fragment CPD. 2.9.22

Palm-leaves; foll. 41 (4-43) wanting 1-3; 320 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 280 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters & figures. Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 42: "Three Buddhist texts (*vandanā gāthā*) + Fragment of the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*".

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 7(R)—S.C. 31304—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)**Mahāsatiṭṭhānasutta** Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 146 (ka-ño); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 60 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters. Last leaf, in ink: "Given to me by the Priest of the temple of Buddha Kandy Ceylon C. I. Teaching of Buddha."

No date—S.C. 34170—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

[Suttanipāta—Parābhavasutta] fragment Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.5.5

Palm-leaves; foll. 9 (ka-kl); 390 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. small Sinhalese script, 345 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—S.C. 34172—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. d. 12(R)**Sīvalī paritta** CPD. 2.9.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 2 (double foliation: 18-19 & 1-2); 262 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 35 char. Sinhalese medium script, 230 mm; numb. Sinhalese & European figures.

Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515. "Remedies for snake bite and charms taken down from Veddahs of Uva province, Ceylon by Mr. Bibile R. M of Bibile and Mr. E. D. Dharmasena, S. M. R. Uva".

No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)**[Kammavācā—Pabbajjā]** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 7 (1-5); 215 x 48mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 38 char. medium Sinhalese script, 190 mm; numb. European figures; 1st ola in ink: "This ms. contains the address made by a candidate for the Buddhist priesthood ..." Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515: "Book of Buddhist ritual: the five, eight and ten precepts, and Ordination. Pāli texts"

No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Wilson 51**Pāli dictionary with Burmese translation**

Saṅsagaruik abhidhān [Amarakosa according to Judson?] transcript in Roman char.: Then-tha-garaik abeiddan

European white paper (watermark 1829 J. Whatman) bound with covers in yellowish cloth and spine in red leather; foll. 200, (Burmese foliation: ka-jō + 1-4 in figures, then missing, 10-11, then missing, ka-kham then missing, 1-32 then missing; European figures added in pencil 1-192); 395x245mm; 40 lines, 30 char. written recto-verso, Burmese large round script in black ink, neat calligraphy, 210 mm; 2 copies of letters, bound with the work:

1. "Extract from Major Burney's letter, Rangoon 5th July 1832: ... the former dictionary is copied from one which the Prince of Mokkhara (?) kindly sent me, the latter (?) was proposed for me by the special ... of the king of Ava by his most learned brahmins. They have both cost a great deal of money and I hope Wilson [will] find them useful ..."

2. "Copy of a letter from Dr. Judson to Major Burney... This work is the Abigdan or Dictionary Pali & Burman, the only one that has ever obtained currency among the learned of this country. It is precisely the Sanscrit Amara Kosha, adapted to the Pali dialect & written in the modern Burman character. I once toiled through this work & wrote it out in a alphabetical order, but my copy was lost at Ava, during the war. This work would be of inestimable use to any Sanscrit scholar, who should desire to investigate the Pali language, through the medium of the Burman... 9th May—" This ms. has already been described in Aufrecht's *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscritorum*, Oxford 1864 p. 363: "Lit. Barmanica. Charta Europ. Foll. 192. Post annum 1829 exar. Amarakosha lexicon, Palice, cum versione Barmanica. De hoc opere Burnes in literis anno 1832 datis haec refert: "This Dictionary is copied from one which the Prince of Mekkhara kindly sent me."

No date [according to watermark, in 1829 or after]—S.C. 22162

BODL. MS. Wilson 54

Pāli-Sanskrit-Hindi-Bengali multiscritps dictionary

7 independent quires, black paper ruled, folded (purapuik), 435 x 165mm; folds 19+19+18+16+16+12+10; written in white chalk, recto-verso on 14 lines a page, 5 columns: 1. word in Pāli, Burmese script. 2. Same word in Nāgarī script. 3. Meaning in Sanskritized Hindi language. 4. Same Pāli word in Bengali script. 5. Meaning in Bengali language. Verso of the last quire (*sattama / saptamapatra*), texts in Bengali and Burmese. Indian alphabetical order is not systematic! Seems to be Burmese made.

Beg.: akkharam, akkhaṇā, akko, akkha, akkhi, akkhako, akkhadaso akkhabhaṇi...

Ends: hutāvaho, hutāso, huti, hemanta, hemanto, hesā, helā, heraṇiko, hemā, heti, hemam hetu

This ms. has been described in Aufrecht *op. cit.* p. 364: "Septem tabulae chartae atrae, literis albis inscriptae. Hoc codice lexicon Palicum, ordine alphabetico dispositum, continetur. Post vocabulum Palicum literis Barmanicis exaratum, idem literatura Devanagara expressum sequitur. Postea eadem literatura versio Hindustanica traditur. Sequitur eadem et vox Palica et versio Hindustanica, literis bengalicis expressae. Burnes in literis supra laudatis: 'The latter was prepared for me by the special order of the King of Ava, by his most learned Brahmins.' Idque anno 1831 factum est."

No date [Aufrecht: 1831]—S.C. 22165

BODL. MS. Wilson 55

A. Vessantarajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 115 (taḥ-mī); 515 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 65 char. medium Burmese, 430 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. The blank foll. added at the beginning and end do not belong to this ms. See Aufrecht *op. cit.* p. 364

No date—S.C. 22166

B. Buddhavaṃsa—Buddhavaṅpālītō—Dhātu-bhajanīyakathā CPD. 2.5.14

Palm-leaves; foll. 47 (ka-ghū); 540 x 60mm; 2 cord holes with a double circle, margins ruled vertically by a double line, 7 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese between round and square script, 485 mm; numb. Burmese letters. See Aufrecht *op. cit.* p. 364

No date (old script)—S.C. 22166

BODL. MS. Wilson 56**1. Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇa** CPD. 3.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 121 (ka-ṭa, mixed); 495 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, ochre lacquered in the middle.

Date BS. 1153 = A.D. 1791

2. Dhammasaṅganīpālītōnissaya Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 115 (ka-ṅu, mixed) + 36 bl.; same material description as above. See Aufrecht *op. cit.* p. 364

Same date?—S.C. 22167

BODL. MS. Wilson 304**Lexicon Palicum (Pāli vocabulary)**

Transcript of MS. Wilson 54 in elegant Nāgarī script. Cf. Aufrecht 1864, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars octava, Codices Sanscriticos*, Oxford 1864, p. 374: "Lit. Devan. Charta Europ. Foll. 106. Post annum 1827 exar. Lexicon Palicum, e codice 54 transcriptum".

Foll. 106, European bluish white strong paper (watermark Balston & Co) bound with covers in brown leather, hand ruled in pencil, 28 to 20 lines; 310 x 245mm; 15 to 20 char. large Nāgarī script on 3 columns, 170 mm; numb. Nāgarī figures in black ink, supplied with European figures in pencil.

No date [Aufrecht: after 1827(!); must be after 1831, the date of the ms. transcribed according to Aufrecht himself]—S.C. 22415

INDEX OF PĀLI TEXTS
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE
BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

Atthasālinīpāth **BODL. MS. Pali a. 16; MS. Pali a. 40(R);
MS. Pali b. 17(R)**

Anusāsana **BODL. MS. Pali a. 26(R); MS. Pali a. 48(R)**

Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī **BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R)**

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha **BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R);
MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R); MS. Pali b. 15(R)**

Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭṭikā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R)**

Abhidhammapīṭaka **BODL. MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 31(R);
MS. Pali b. 12**

Abhidhammamātikā **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 34(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);

MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Amarakosa **BODL. MS. Wilson 51**

Assalāyanasuttavaṇṇanā [Majjhimanikāyatṭhakathā—Papañcasūdanī]

BODL. MS. Pali e. 1

Ākyātapada **BODL. MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5**

Iti pi so... **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)**

Indasāva **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)**

Isigilisutta **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R);**

MS. Pali a. 38(R)

Uṇhīsavijaya **BODL. MS. Pali a. 27(R)**

Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana **BODL. MS. Pali a. 26(R);**

MS. Pali a. 48(R)

Upāsakajanālaṅkārapāli **MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)**

Ummagajātaka **BODL. MS. Pali b. 7**

Ekanipāta jāṭ nissya **BODL. MS. Pali a. 60**
 Kaṅkhāvattthu pāṭh nissya **BODL MS. Pali a. 53(R)**
 Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī **BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R); MS. Pali a. 44(R);**
 MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali a. 56(R)
 Kaccāyana (grammar by) **BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R);**
 MS. Pali a. 54(R); MS. Pali b. 3(R)
 Kaccāyanadhātumañjūsā **BODL. MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5**
 Kathāvattthu **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) &
 9(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)
 Kathāvattthupakaranamātikā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 31(R)**
 Kammavācā **BODL. Dep. Stol. 103; Dep. Stol. 109;**
 Dep. Stol. 114; Dep. Stol. 128 & 129;
 Dep. Stol. 196 to 199;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R) to 22(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R) & 27(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R) to 33(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 35(R) to 38(R);
 MS. Burmese a. 14(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R);
 MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R); MS. Ouseley 417 & 418;
 MS. Pali a. 1(R) to 9(R); MS. Pali a. 24(R) to 26(R);
 MS. Pali a. 34; MS. Pali a. 35(R) to 37(R);
 MS. Pali a. 46(R) to 49(R); MS. Pali a. 57 & 58;
 MS. Pali a. 62(R); MS. Pali a. 64(R);
 MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)
 Kalyāṇikyokcā? **BODL. MS. Pali a. 60**
 Khuddasikkhāṭikā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 33**
 Girimānanda **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)**
 Catukkanipāt nissya **BODL MS. Pali a. 55(R)**

Cariyāpīṭaka **BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)**
 Cariyāpīṭaka aṭṭhakathānām—Paramatthadīpanī VII
 BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)
 Janananda **BODL. MS. Pali b. 2(R)**
 Jātakatthavaṇṇanā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 14; MS. Pali a. 55(R);**
 MS. Pali a. 60; MS. Pali b. 7; MS. Pali b. 24(R);
 MS. Wilson 55A
 Temiṇissya **BODL. MS. Pali b. 24(R)**
 Temiyajātaka **BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R); MS. Pali b. 24(R)**
 Dīghanikāya **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R);
 MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 52(R);
 MS. Pali a. 61(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Dhammacakkapavattanasutta **BODL. MS. Pali b. 21(R)**
 Dhammapada **BODL. MS. Pali b. 1(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)**
 Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā **BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Misc. 20(R)**
 Dhammasaṅgaṇīppakaraṇa **BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R);**
 MS. Wilson 56
 Dhammasaṅgaṇī **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R); MS. Wilson 56
 Dhammasaṅgaṇīaṭṭhakathā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 16;**
 MS. Pali a. 40(R); MS. Pali b. 17(R)
 Dhammasaṅgaṇī pālītō nissaya **BODL. MS. Wilson 56**
 Dhammasahassanayya [Sahassaneyya] **BODL. MS. Pali a. 50(R)**
 Dhammuddesavāraṅkathā **BODL. MS. Pali b. 17(R)**
 Dhātukathā **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R);

- MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) & 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 50(R)
- Dhātubhajanīyakathā BODL. MS. Wilson 55 B
 Dhātumañjū pāṭh BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Dhātumañjūsā BODL. MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5
 Nemijātaka BODL. MS. Burmese a. 4(R)
 Nemijāt nissaya BODL. MS. Burmese a. 4(R)
 Nyāsa padipahāraṇa [Sandhi°] BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)
 Pamsukūla BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)
 Pañcanipāt nissaya BODL. MS. Pali a. 55(R)
 Paṭṭhāna BODL. MS. Pali a. 42(R); MS. Pali b. 12
 Paṭṭhān nissaya BODL. MS. Pali b. 12
 Paṭṭhānamātikā BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)
 Papañcasūdani [Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā]—Assalāyanasuttavaṇṇanā
 BODL. MS. Pali e. 1
 Pabbajjā BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R); MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)
 Payogasiddhi BODL. MS. Pali e. 2
 Paramatthadīpanī VII—Cariyāpiṭaka aṭṭhakathānām
 BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)
 Paramatthapakaraṇa BODL. Dep. Stol 112
 Parābhavasutta BODL. MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)
 Parit kri pālītō BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Paritta BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Burmese b. 7;
 MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 9(R);
 MS. Pali b. 23(R); MS. Pali d. 1(R)
 Parivā pālītō BODL. MS. Pali a. 51
 Parivāra BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

- MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Pācittiya BODL. MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Pācit pālītō BODL. MS. Pali a. 51
 Pāṭikavagga [Dīghanikāya] BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
 Pātimokkha BODL. MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R);
 MS. Pali a. 44(R)
 Pādeyya (or Pātheyya) [Pāṭikavagga—Dīghanikāya]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
 Pārājika BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R); MS. Ouseley 415;
 MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Pārājikan pālītō BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R);
 MS. Pali b. 13(R)
 Pārājikavaṇṇanā (Catuttha°) BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)
 Puggalapaññatti BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) & 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 50(R)
 Bahudhātukasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)
 Bālapaṇḍitasutta BODL. MS. Pali c. 3(R)
 Bālāvatāra BODL. MS. Pali e. 2
 Buddhavaṃsa BODL. MS. Wilson 55 B
 Buddhavaṇḍipālītō BODL. MS. Wilson 55 B
 Bodhikathā BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Brahmajālasutta BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali g. 1(R)

- Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Bhikkhupātimokkhavaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R)
 Bhikkhunī-Pātimok pāṭh BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Bhikkhunī-Pātimo nissya BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Bhesajjamañjūsā BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)
 Majjhimanikāya BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R); MS. Pali c. 3(R)
 Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā—Papañcasūdanī—Assalāyanasuttavaṇṇanā
 BODL. MS. Pali e. 1
 Mañisāramañjū pāṭh BODL. MS. Pali a. 59
 Mañisāramañjūsā BODL. MS. Pali a. 59
 Maddipabba (Vessantarajātaka) BODL. MS. Pali a. 32(R)
 Mahākassapabojjhaṅga BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)
 Mahācundattherabojjhaṅga BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali d. 1(R)
 Mahāpaṭṭhāna BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)
 Mahāpadānasuttanta BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Mahābuddhaguṇā BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 27(R)
 Mahābuddhaguṇavaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 Mahāmoggallānabojjhaṅga BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)
 Mahāvamsa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 11(R); MS. Pali a. 18;
 MS. Pali e. 4
 Mahāvagga [Dīghanikāya] BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
 Mahāvagga [Vinaya] BODL. MS. Pali a. 11; MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Mahāvā nissya BODL. MS. Pali a. 11

- Mahāvā pālītō [Mahāvagga—Dīghanikāya]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
 Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R);
 MS. Pali b. 14(R); MS. Pali b. 20(R);
 MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)
 Mahosathajātakavatthu BODL. MS. Pali b. 11
 Māleyya (in Siamese) BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)
 Mūlasikkhā BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Mūlasikkhāṭṭikā BODL. MS. Pali a. 33
 Mūlasikkhāpāṭh BODL. MS. Pali a. 33; MS. Pali a. 63(R)
 Yamaka BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 22 & 23;
 MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 45(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)
 Ratanamañjūsā vinaññ lak pan kyam BODL. MS. Pali a. 11
 Vandanā gāthā BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)
 Vidhurajātaka BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R)
 Vinayaṭṭhakathā BODL. MS. Ouseley 415; MS. Pali a. 10
 Vinayapīṭaka BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R)
 & 4(R); MS. Pali a. 10 & 11; MS. Pali a. 27(R);
 MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali b. 13(R);
 MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Vinayasamvaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)

- Vibhaṅga BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a.11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 50(R)
- Vimativinodanī BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)
- Vimānavatthuppakaraṇa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)
- Vimānavatthuvaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)
- Visuddhimagga BODL. MS. Pali e. 4
- Vīthi lak rui BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R)
- Vuttamālā sandesa śataka BODL. MS. Pali c. 2(R)
- Vessantarajātaka BODL. MS. Pali a. 21(R); MS. Pali a. 32(R);
 MS. Wilson 55 A
- Samvaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 8(R)
- Sānsagaruik abhidhān (Pāli dictionary) BODL. MS. Wilson 51
- Saccayamaka BODL. MS. Pali a. 45(R)
- Satipaṭṭhānapada ānuma BODL. MS. Pali b. 14(R)
- Satipaṭṭhānasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R); MS. Pali b. 14(R);
 MS. Pali b. 20(R); MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)
- Saddasāratthajālīnī BODL. MS. Pali a. 19(R)
- Saddā ñye sum coṅ BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R)
- Saddā Ivan nissya BODL. MS. Pali b. 5
- Saddhammaṅkāvatāra BODL. MS. Pali e. 4
- Sandhikappa (Kaccāyana°—) BODL. MS. Pali b. 3(R)
- Sandhi nyāsa padipahāraṇa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)
- Samantapāsādikā BODL. MS. Ouseley 415; MS. Pali a. 10;
 MS. Pali a. 39(R)
- Samantapāsādikānavatīkā BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)
- Sahassaneyya BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);

- MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 50(R)
- Sāratthadipani BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)
- Sāvattḥinidāna BODL. MS. Pali b. 16(R)
- Silakkam pālītō [Silakkhandhavagga—Dighanikāya]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
- Silakkhandhavagga [Dighanikāya]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
- Sīvalīparitta BODL. MS. Sinh. d. 12(R)
- Suttanipāta BODL. MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)
- Suttantabhājanīya BODL. Pali a. 31(R)
- Suttavibhaṅga BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a.11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R) &
 4(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 51;
 MS. Pali b. 13(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)
- Sut Pādeyya (or Pātheyya) [Pāṭikavagga]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
- Sut Mahāvā pālītō [Mahāvagga] BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)
- Sut Mahāvā pālītō naṅ [Mahāvagga] BODL. MS. Pali a. 52(R)
- Sut Silakkam pālītō [Silakkhandhavagga]
 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)

- Alphabet (Arakanese) BODL. Ouseley 308
- Alphabet (Sinhalese) BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)
- Burnell, Pali grammar BODL. MS. Pali e. 2 to 5
- Burnes v. Burney
- Burney (Major) BODL. MS. Wilson 51& 54
- Grammar BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 5;
 MS. Pali b. 8(R)

- Horoscopes **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R);**
MS. Burmese b. 7(R)
- Illuminated MSS. **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R); MS. PALI a. 27(R);
MS. PALI a. 31(R); MS. PALI a. 50(R)
- Judson **BODL. MS. Wilson 51**
- Lexicon Palicum **BODL. MS. Wilson 304**
- Pāli dictionary with Burmese translation **BODL. MS. Wilson 51**
- Pāli grammar **BODL. MS. Pali e. 2-5**
- Pāli-Sanskrit/Hindi/Bengali multiscripts dictionary
BODL. MS. Wilson 54
- Pāli verbs **BODL. MS. Pali e. 5**
- Pāli vocabulary **BODL. MS. Wilson 304**
- Unidentified fragments **BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R);**
MS. Pali a. 20(R); MS. Pali a. 42(R);
MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 18(R) & 19(R);
MS. Pali a. 44(R) et 45(R)
- Various fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya or Pāli-Sinhalese sanne
BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R)
MS. Pali a. 44(R) & 45(R); MS. Pali a. 63(R);
MS. Pali b. 18(R) & 19(R)
- Various Suttas **BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R); MS. Pali b. 16(R);**
MS. Pali g. 1(R)
- Various yantras, mantras **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)**

LIST OF DATED MSS. IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

(All dates are converted from Buddhist era and given in A.D.)

- 1670 BODL. MS. Pali a. 37(R) Burmese script
- 1752 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R) Burmese script
- 1778? BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R) Burmese script
- 1778 BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R) Burmese script
- 1785? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 36(R) Laotian Tham script
- 1788 BODL. MS. Pali a. 16 Burmese script
- 1789 BODL. MS. Pali a. 44(R) Burmese script
- 1791 BODL. MS. Wilson 56 Burmese script
- 1794 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R) Burmese script
- 1794 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R) Burmese script
- 1796 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R); MS. Pali b. 7 Burmese script
- 1797-1798 BODL. MS. Pali a. 33 Burmese script
- 1799 BODL. MS. Pali a. 22 Burmese script
- 1808 BODL. MS. Pali a. 10 Burmese script
- 1826? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 37(R) Laotian Tham script
- 1829 BODL. MS. Pali a. 60 Burmese script
- 1831 BODL. MS. Pali b. 13(R) Burmese script
- 1838 BODL. MS. Pali a. 54(R) Burmese script
- 1841 BODL. MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali b. 24(R) Burmese script
- 1843 BODL. MS. Pali b. 8(R) Burmese script
- 1846 BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R) Burmese script
- 1854 BODL. MS. Pali a. 55(R) Burmese script
- 1856 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R) Sinhalese script
- 1858-1859 BODL. MS. Pali e. 5 Burmese script
- 1859 BODL. MS. Pali b. 5 Burmese script; MS. Pali e. 2 various scripts
- 1860 BODL. MS. Pali e. 3 various scripts
- 1860? BODL. MS. Pali e. 4 Roman script
- 1862 BODL. MS. Pali a. 53(R) Burmese script
- 1868 BODL. MS. Pali a. 51 Burmese script

1869 BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R) n°3 Burmese script
 1871 BODL. MS. Pali e. 1 Sinhalese script
 1872 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R) Burmese script
 1873? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 19(R) Laotian Tham script
 1876 BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R) Siamese Kham script
 1877 BODL. MS. Pali a. 59 Burmese script
 1878 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R) Burmese script
 1880 BODL. MS. Pali a. 52(R) Burmese script
 1883 BODL. Dep. Stol. 112 Siamese Kham script
 1885 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R) Sinhalese script
 1901 BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R) Burmese script
 1901 BODL. MS. Pali b. 11 Burmese script
 1934 BODL. Dep. Stol. 114 Burmese script

LIST OF DONORS & VENDORS

Arnold, E., donor, May 1887 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R) & 3(R);**
MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R) & 11(R);
MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)
 Asian Arts, Ltd., vendor 1990 **MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);**
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)
 Asian Arts, Ltd., vendor 1991 **MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)**
 Barnett, P. A., donor, Sept. 1921 **MS. Ind. Inst. Misc. 20(R)**
 Branch & Leete, vendor 15 Apr. 1904 **MS. Pali b. 14(R)**
 Childers, R. C., donor, 4 Dec. 1871 **MS. Pali e. 1**
 Coltart, Captain A. H., donor, 1918 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R)**
 Cowley, Sir. A., donor, 17 Jan. 1910 **MS. Pali a. 49(R)**
 Dornford, Joseph, donor, 8 Nov. 1830 **MS. Pali a. 6(R)**
 Drury, E., donor, **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R)**
 Eales, Mrs H. L., donor, 19 Oct. 1946 **MS. Pali a. 64(R);**
MS. Pali b. 24(R)

Elliot, Rev. R. J., donor, 15 Jul. 1896 **MS. Pali b. 8(R)**
 Evans-Wentz, W. Y., donor, 1967 **MS. Sinh. d. 12(R);**
MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)
 Foster, E. P. Arnold, donor, Oct. 1921 **MS. Burmese b. 6(R)**
 Gibson-Craig, vendor, 17 Nov. 1888 **MS. Pali a. 27(R)**
 Grundy, A. H., vendor, 1888 **MS. Pali a.26(R)**
 Hodgson, vendor, 7 June 1898 **MS. Pali a. 34; MS. Pali a. 35(R)**
to 37(R); MS. Pali b. 11
 Hurry, Mrs, donor, 12 Nov. 1929 **MS. Pali a. 58**
 Jamieson, Col. A. W., donor, 1 May 1903
MS. Pali a. 40(R) to 42(R), 44(R) & 45(R)
 Johnson, J. de M., donor, Dec. 1935 **MS. Pali a. 62(R)**
 Johnson, J. de M. donor, Dec. 1937 **MS. Burmese a. 14(R)**
 Kirby, Miss, donor, March 1921 **MS. Pali a. 51**
 Leckie, Miss J. M., donor 1916 **MS. Pali a. 50(R)**
 Leckie, Miss J. M., donor, 18 Dec. 1920 **MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)**
 Littledale, Mrs, donor, 12 March 1926 **MS. Pali a. 57**
 Luzac & Co., vendor, 19 Jan. 1943 **MS. Burmese b. 7(R)**
 Malan, Rev. S. C., donor, Jan. 1885 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)**
 Merriman, Lt. J., vendor, 18 Sept. 1890 **MS. Pali a. 20(R);**
MS. Pali a. 38(R); MS. Pali b. 15(R) to 19(R);
MS. Sansk. c. 122(R); MS. Sanskr. c. 125(R)
 Mill, Dr, donor, **MS. Pali c. 2(R)**
 Mill, W. H., vendor, 1849< >68? **MS. Pali a. 18;**
MS. Pali b. 1(R); MS. Pali b. 3(R)
 Monier-Williams, Sir M., donor, **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R) & 6(R)**
 Ouseley, Sir William, vendor, 1831? 1844? **Ouseley 308;**
Ouseley 415 to 418
 Pope, Dr. G. U., vendor, 1897 **MS. Pali a. 32(R);**
MS. Pali b. 9(R)
 Quaritch, vendor, Nov. 1892 **MS. Pali b. 7; MS. Pali e. 2 to 5**
 Sayce, Prof., donor, 1933 **MS. Pali a. 61(R)**

- Snaith, N. H., donor, June 1925 **MS. Pali a. 52(R) to 56(R)**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 30 May 1893 **MS. Pali a. 31(R)**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 26 May 1893 **MS. Pali a. 33**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 4 Dec. 1900 **MS. Pali b. 12**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 4 Dec. 1901 **MS. Pali a. 39(R);**
 MS. Pali b. 13(R); MS. Pali b. 20(R) & 21(R)
 Sotheby's, vendor, 7 Dec. 1901 **MS. Pali d. 1(R)**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 18 July 1907 **MS. Burmese a. 14(R)**
 Sotheby's, vendor, 1 June 1908 **MS. Sinh. a. 4(R);**
 MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)
 Sotheby's, vendor, 17 March 1909 **MS. Pali a. 46(R) to 48(R)**
 Stark, Miss H. A. W., vendor, 23 March 1909 **MS. Pali c. 3(R)**
 Stolper, R. L., deposit 27 July 1993 **Dep. Stol. 103;**
 Dep. Stol. 109; Dep. Stol. 111 to 114;
 Dep. Stol. 128 & 129; Dep. Stol. 196 to 199
 Stolper, R. L., donor, 1993 **MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 18(R) to 22(R)**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R) & 27(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R) to 38(R)
 Stolper, R. L., vendor, 1993 **MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);**
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)
 Thompson, J. L., donor, 26 Oct. 1943 **MS. Pali a. 63(R)**
 Tregaskis, J. & M. L., vendor, 1896 **MS. Burmese a. 4(R);**
 MS. Pali g. 1(R)
 Tregaskis, J. & M. L., vendor, 26 May 1898 **MS. Pali b. 10**
 Walker, Mr, donor, 30 May 1930 **MS. Pali a. 59 & 60**
 Wilson, Sir H. H., vendor, 1842 **Wilson 51; 54 to 56; 304**

Paris

Jacqueline Filliozat

A Note on King Milinda in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya**

A. King Milinda in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

The citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of a conversation between King Milinda and Sthavira Nāgasena was brought to the attention of the scholarly world in 1893 by Sylvain Lévi.¹ At that time the Sanskrit text of the *Kośabhāṣya* had not yet been recovered, and Lévi's study was based on the Chinese versions of Paramārtha (translated 564–

* The bibliography—historical, numismatic, and literary—on King Milinda and the *Milinda-pañha* is vast. In addition to the works mentioned in the course of the article, I have consulted the following: Paul Pelliot, “Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du *Milindapañha*”, *Journal asiatique*, onzième série, tome IV (1914), pp. 379–419; Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, *Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*, [Calcutta, 1933] New Delhi, 1991, pp. 174–83; Siegfried Behrsing, “Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* VII (1933–35), pp. 335–48, 517–39; *L'Inde classique* II, §§ 1983, 2148; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, [1958] Louvain-La-Neuve, 1976, pp. 457–69; A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970, pp. 330–31; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 110–13 (see also references in Norman's Index of Works, p. 203b); Oskar von Hinüber, “The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milinda-pañha*”, *JPTS* XI (1987), pp. 111–19; “An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milindapañha*”, *JPTS* XII (1988), pp. 173–74.; Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, Hirakata, 1980, pp. 114–15 and nn., especially n. 5. These articles give detailed bibliographies.

In the following “Q”, followed by a catalogue number, refers to the reprint of the Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, ed. D.T. Suzuki, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1955–61.

¹ Sylvain Lévi, “Un nouveau document sur le *Milinda-Praçna*”, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1893, pp. 232–37 (reprinted in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 214–17).

67) and Hsüan-tsang (translated 651–54). Lévi noted that Paramārtha transliterated the name as Min-lin-to, Hsüan-tsang as Pi-lin-to (his transliterations); he explained the latter's substitution of *mi* by *pi* as having been done on the analogy of the name Pilinda-vatsa. He also noted that the passage does not have a parallel in the Pāli *Milinda-pañha* or in the Chinese versions studied by Specht. In 1924, in his magistral study of the corpus of Milinda literature, Paul Demiéville discussed the *Kośabhāṣya* citation in detail (again from the Chinese).² He confirmed that the passage is not found in either the Pāli or Chinese versions, and was able to point out a parallel in another Chinese text, the “*Avadāna* of the discussion between King Nanda and Nāgasena”, noting that the relevant passage had been translated by Chavannes in his *Cinq cents contes* (see below). In 1925, Louis de La Vallée Poussin's version of the passage in question appeared in volume V of his epochal translation (again from the Chinese) of the *Kośabhāṣya*. La Vallée Poussin gave the king's name as Milinda, without comment.³ In a foot-note he referred to the earlier work of Lévi and Demiéville, and such sources as had appeared by the time of his writing.

The Sanskrit text of the *Kośabhāṣya* was first published in 1967. The citation occurs in the ninth *Kośasthāna*, a prose appendix to the *Kośa* proper, devoted to the clarification of misconceptions about the person (*pudgala*). The Sanskrit text opens with the phrase *sthavīro hi nāgasenaḥ kaliṅgena rājñopasaṃkramyoktaḥ*.⁴ Neither Pradhan nor

² Paul Demiéville, “Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha”, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* XXIV (1924), pp. 64–67.

³ Louis de La Vallée Poussin (tr.), *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, tome V, repr. Brussels, 1971 (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XVI), p. 263.

⁴ P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series VIII), [1967], 2nd ed., K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1975, p. 469.13–24; Swami Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya*

Dwarikadas list any variant readings, and Yaśomitra does not repeat or comment on the name: we have thus only a single reading, *kaliṅgena rājñā*.⁵ The *Pudgala-viniścaya* has been translated into English three times: by Stcherbatsky from the Tibetan of a Peking edition of the Tanjur⁶ by Duerlinger from the Sanskrit,⁷ and by Pruden from La Vallée Poussin's French compared with the Sanskrit.⁸ The first two translators use the name Milinda, the former without remark, the latter stating in a note “here I use the better known title of this king, ‘Milinda’, rather than ‘Kaliṅga’, which is found in the text”.⁹ Pruden has “the King of Kaliṅga”; his n. 91 (p. 1370) reproduces La Vallée Poussin's

Yaśomitra (Bauddha Bharati Series 9), Part IV, Varanasi, 1973, pp. 1209.10–1210.13.

⁵ The only commentary on the *Kośa* that survives in Sanskrit is Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*, the celebrated *Sphuṭārthā*. Out of the commentaries preserved in Tibetan translation (excluding that of Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*), only Pūṃnavardhana's *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* and Dignāga's *Marmapradīpa* comment on the ninth chapter, but neither cites the passage or comments on the name (Q5594, Vol. 118, *mñon pa ñu*, 376b8 and Q5596, Vol. 118, *mñon pa thu*, 284a–b, respectively). It is most unfortunate that Śamathadeva (Q5598, Vol. 118, *mñon pa thu*, 134b–135b) does not include a citation or reference in his indispensable treasure-house of Mūlasarvāstivādin literature, the *Upāyikā-tīkā*. Vinitabhadrā's *Kārikā-bhāṣya* (Q5592) and Sthiramati's *Tattvārtha* (Q5875) do not comment on the chapter.

⁶ Theodore Stcherbatsky, *The Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, repr. Delhi, 1976, pp. 40–41 (originally published in 1920).

⁷ James Duerlinger (tr.), “Refutation of the Theory of Selfhood: A Resolution of Questions about Persons”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17/2 (June, 1989), pp. 157–58.

⁸ Leo M. Pruden, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam by Louis de La Vallée Poussin*, Vol. IV, Berkeley, 1990, p. 1332.

⁹ Note 34, p. 186. As will be seen in the following, the Tibetan version does not immediately bring to mind the name Milinda. Stcherbatsky (p. 7) notes that his translation from the Tibetan was “carefully compared” with the Chinese translations of Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang by O.O. Rosenberg: this may explain his use of the name Milinda. Duerlinger's remark implies that “Kaliṅga” is a lesser known title of Milinda: this is quite inaccurate.

bibliographical references to earlier discussions of the passage, but does not address the problem of the name.

The Tibetan translation of the *Kośabhāṣya*, done by Jinamitra and dPal brtsegs at the beginning of the 9th century, has here *rgyal po des 'du sbyin gnas brtan klu'i sde'i thad du 'oñs nas....*¹⁰ There is no problem with the name Sthavira Nāgasena, since *gnas brtan* = *sthavira*, *klu* = *nāga*, and *sde* = *sena*. It is the name of the king that poses difficulties. We have *rgyal po* = *rāja*, then *des*, plus *'du sbyin*.¹¹ The phrase *'du sbyin* may be explained on the basis of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*. The former, in a list of names of Nāga-kings, has *ela-melo-nāga-rājā* (var. *ela-melau nāga-rājānau*), in Tibetan *lug dan 'du ba gñis*: “the two [Nāga-kings], Lug and 'Du ba”.¹² The Sanskrit *Mahāmāyūrī* mentions *ela-melau nāga-rājānau*, also in a list of Nāga-kings;¹³ the Tibetan translation has here *klu'i rgyal po e la dan, 'dus pa dag dan*: “the Nāga-kings Ela and 'Dus pa”.¹⁴ That *lug* = *ela*, *eḍa*, *eḍaka*, etc., is well attested.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu, Translated into Tibetan in the 8th century by Jinamitra and Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs Rakṣita, Reproduced from a mid-15th century manuscript Bstan-'gyur volume from Rgyal-rtse Fort, New Delhi, Tibet House, 1983, p. 767.3 (mñon 'grel gu, 385a3); Q5591, Vol. 115, mñon pa nu, 101a8.*

¹¹ *rgyal po des* could represent the instrumental, “by that king”, suggesting that the Sanskrit recension upon which the Tibetan was based included the word *tena* (= *des*) to make *tena rājñā*. *des* could also be read *ñes*, but that strikes me as unlikely.

¹² R. Sakaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Kyoto, 1926, § 3291. The *Mahāvvyutpatti* published by I.P. Minaev (Bibliotheca Buddhica XIII, [1911] Delhi, 1992, § 167.63 has *eḍamedo nāgarājā*.

¹³ Shūyo Takubo (ed.), *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo, 1972, p. 41.6.

¹⁴ Q178, Vol. 7, *rgyud pha*, 108b5 *klu'i rgyal po e la dan, 'dus pa dag dan*: *klu'i rgyal po* = *nāgarāja*; *e la* = *ela*; *dan* = “and”; *'dus pa* = *mela*; *dag* indicates here dual; *dan* = “and”. A manuscript version reproduced in *Tog dan gzuñs grwa lña. The Tibetan Translations of the Mahāsannipātaratnaketuḍhārāṇī and*

Continues...

Mahāvvyutpatti § 3263: *elo nāga-rājā* = *lug*

Mahāvvyutpatti § 3267: *ela-varṇo nāga-rājā* = *lug mdog*

Mahāvvyutpatti § 4823: *eḍakah* = *lug*

Mahāvvyutpatti § 6177: *eḍākṣi-puṣpaṃ* = *me tog lug mig*

Mahāvvyutpatti § 7684: *eḍa-mūkah* = *lug ltar lkuḡ pa*.

That *'du ba* or *'dus pa* = *mela* or related forms derived from the Sanskrit root *MIL* (to come together, meet, join, assemble) is also well established:¹⁶ in the *Hevajra Tantra*, *'du ba* = *milana*, *melā*, and *melāpaka*, and *'dus pa* = *melā*; in the *Nāgānanda*, *'dus pa* = *milita*.¹⁷ We may thus conclude that the *'du* of the *Kośabhāṣya* is equivalent to *mila* or *mela*.¹⁸ *sbyin* at the end of names in Tibetan regularly translates the Sanskrit *-datta* or *-da*; in this case we will prefer the latter.

The Indian orthography of the king's name has recently been discussed by Fussman, who presents numismatic and inscriptional evidence for “la forme officielle indienne” Menamdra (and also

Pañcarakṣā, A reproduction of a six part manuscript from Bhutan calligraphed by one *Ṇag-dbañ-bsam-grub-rnam-rgyal-don-grub*, published by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, Kyichu Monastery, Paro, Bhutan, 1978, p. 407.7 (*ga* 30a7) has only *klu'i rgyal po 'dus pa dag dan*, omitting *ela*.

¹⁵ As before, in the first two cases Minaev's *Mahāvvyutpatti* has *eḍa*: see his index, p. 152a.

¹⁶ *'dus pa* is the past participle of the infinitive *'du ba*, “to come together”.

¹⁷ The references are from Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 4 (Śāta-piṭaka Series Vol. 374), New Delhi, 1993, p. 989b.

¹⁸ The use of equivalents in *'du* = *MIL* in the Tibetan should rule out Minaev's *meḍa* (see above, n. 12).

Minamdra), and “la forme déformée” Minedra, influenced by Gāndhārī.¹⁹ As far as I know in Pāli the name is always Milinda.²⁰

Unfortunately our researches into the Tibetan do not enable us to reconstruct the name of the King with absolute precision or certainty. They do, however, allow us to establish certain significant points.²¹ It is impossible to decide whether the first syllable had as vowel *i* (as in Pāli) or *e* (as in Greek and on Indian coins), since the root *MIL* allows both: although the Chinese of both Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang suggest the former.²² It is, however, certain that the second syllable began with *la* (as in Pāli and in Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang), and not *na* (as in Greek and in the Indian evidence): this is vouchsafed by the derivation of *'du* from *MIL*. Whether the second syllable had as vowel *a* or *i* is not certain: *mila-* or *mela-* are more obvious, and agree with the Indian evidence supplied by Fussman, but *mili-* or *meli-* might also be possible—and it seems the Indic form transliterated by Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang was *mili-*.²³ The final syllable must certainly have been *-da* (Tibetan *sbyin*), and was not Sanskritized as *(-in)dra* as in some manuscripts of the *Stūpāvadāna* (see

¹⁹ Gérard Fussman, “L’Indo-grec Méandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité”, *Journal asiatique* CCLXXXI, 1–2 (1993), pp. 72–73.

²⁰ For earlier discussions of the king’s name, see e.g. T.W. Rhys Davids (tr.), *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part I (The Sacred Books of the East XXXV), [Oxford, 1890] Delhi, 1975, pp. xviii–xix, and Pelliot, pp. 384–85.

²¹ It is important to recall that Jinamitra—described in the colophons of Vinaya translations as a “*vinayadhara* of the Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādins and an *ācārya* of the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas”—and dPal brtsegs were two of the greatest translators of the “early diffusion” (*śna dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. During the period a royally sponsored commission, in which the two translators were leading figures, supervised and regulated translation work and fixed the Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Their translation of the *Kośabhāṣya* is thus highly reliable.

²² As seen above, these are Min-lin-to and Pi-lin-to in Lévi’s transliteration; in that of Demiéville, they are Min-lin-t’o and Pi-lin-t’o.

²³ But it strikes me that other Chinese forms—Mi-lan and Nan-t’o (see below) suggest an *a* against an *i*.

below). We are thus left with a number of possible equivalents for *'du* sbyin: *Milamda or *Miliṃda, *Melamda or *Melimda (and perhaps also *Milanda, etc., and even Milinda).²⁴

What, then, should we make of the reading Kalinga-rāja of the Sanskrit *Kośabhāṣya*? It is important first of all to note here that, so far as I know, Kalinga is always transliterated and never translated into Tibetan. The *Mahāvvyutpatti*, for example, transcribes Kalinga as *ka liṅ ga* (§ 4128) and Kalinga-rāja as *ka liṅ ga'i rgyal po* (§ 3589).²⁵ While it might be possible to explain *-liṅga* as a scribal error for *-liṃda* or *-linda*, it seems impossible in any script to explain the substitution of *ka-* for *mi-* or *me-*. Furthermore, the final part might well have been *-lamda* and not *-liṃda* (or *-linda*). Still, the dropping of a superscript vowel or its migration from the first to the second syllable—from Milamda or Melamda, etc., to Maliṃda, Malinda, etc.—at some stage is by no means impossible, and a later scribe, faced with an unfamiliar Maliṃda-, Malinda- or Malinga-rāja may have substituted the *lectior familiaris* Kalinga-rāja. We do not know how many intermediate copies, in how many scripts, the text went through before arriving at the present reading. Since the two Chinese and one Tibetan translations are unanimous in

²⁴ Yasunori Ejima, in his “Textcritical Remarks on the Ninth Chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*”, Tokyo, 1987, p. 21, has come to a similar conclusion. He remarks: “rgyal po des *'du* sbyin (‘des’ ambiguous. ‘*'du*’ = ‘mela’, cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti* 3291. ‘sbyin’ = ‘da’. Therefore ‘des *'du* sbyin’ may be a rendering of something like ‘milinda’). Read ‘milindena rājñā’.” (I am grateful to Bhikkhu Pāsādika for supplying copies of the relevant pages of Ejima and Pruden.)

²⁵ Cf. also the references in Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 1 (Śata-piṭaka Series Vol. 369), New Delhi, 1992, p. 8a; in J.S. Negi, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. 1, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1993, pp. 9–10; and Edward Conze, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Serie Orientale Roma XIII), Rome, 1974, p. 41, n. 2, which gives “Tib. Ka-liṅ-ka” for the Kalinga of the text, line 7.

suggesting a name equivalent to Milinda, the form Kalinga must be rejected, and some such explanation adopted.

The *Mahāvvyūpatti* and the *Mahāmāyūrī* are the only references given by Edgerton for Mela.²⁶ Outside of the garbled *Kośabhāṣya* reference, mention of Milinda in extant Sanskrit literature—or in Buddhist literature in general—is rare indeed.²⁷ There is a single mention in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, composed in the first half of the 11th century in Kashmir. Verse 15 of the *Stūpāvadāna* (Chapter 57) reads as follows:²⁸

²⁶ *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* 439b; cf. also 156b, s.v. Ela and Elamela.

²⁷ See here the remarks of Gérard Fussman, "Upāya-kaśālya: L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra", in Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman (eds.), *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques 2, Paris, 1994, pp. 25–26. I could not find any references to Milinda or any likely variants in the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* or in Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Compact Edition, Rinsen Book Co., Kyoto, 1990). The sole reference in Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 5 (Śāta-piṭaka Series Vol. 375), New Delhi, 1993, p. 1405b is to the Milindra of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*. Some scholars have interpreted a passage in Tāranātha as referring to Milinda: see Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (tr.), *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, [1970] 1980, p. 46. Since in the Tibetan the name of the king is Minara of Thogar and of the arhat monk Dhītika, and since the conversion narrative is quite general, I find the identification unconvincing, and too uncertain to be of any use. For the Tibetan see Antonius Schiefner, *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, St. Petersburg, 1868 (repr. as Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series 2, n.d.) p. 18.7 *dus lan cig tho gar gyi yul na rgyal po mi na ra zes bya ba yod do...*

²⁸ The reference was recorded (as King Millinda, without comment) by Rājendralāla Mitra in his *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* [Calcutta, 1882], Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1971, p. 60, and pointed out by Serge d'Oldenbourg to T.W. Rhys Davids: see *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part II (The Sacred Books of the East XXXVI), [Oxford, 1894] Delhi, 1975, p. xvii.

*tatra samdarśanāyātam bhagavān indram abravīt
milindro nāma rājāsmin deśe stūpaṃ kariṣyati.*²⁹

The Blessed One announced to Indra
who had come there to see:
"A King by name Milinda
will build a stūpa in this place".

De Jong gives two readings from manuscripts in Cambridge, A Milindo, B Milimdo, and recommends the first.³⁰ Here the Tibetan, as given by de Jong, transliterates the name as *rgyal po mi lin dra zhes pa*: "a king, Milindra by name". The change from *-inda* to *-indra* might have been a Sanskritization made on the analogy of Indra, a frequent component of royal names or titles.³¹

The identification of our King with Milinda is further supported by the fact that in the Chinese parallel to Vasubandhu's citation mentioned above, the dialogue is between a King *Nanda and Nāgasena. In addition to Chavannes' French translation, there is an English translation by Takakusu.³² As noted by Demiéville, the parallel is not from the independent Chinese counterpart of the *Milinda-pañha*, the

²⁹ P.L. Vaidya/Sridhar Tripathi (edd.), *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 23), Vol. II, 2nd ed., Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1989, p. 342.3. For textual history, see de Jong's (foll. n.) Introduction. The *Stūpāvadāna* is translated and discussed at length by Demiéville, pp. 36–43.

³⁰ J.W. de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallavas 42–108)*, Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library, 1979 (Studia Philologica Buddhica II), p. 97.

³¹ This was already suggested by Demiéville (p. 39, n. 4).

³² Édouard Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, tome III, repr. Paris, 1962, § 418, pp. 123–24; J. Takakusu, "Chinese Translations of the Milinda pañho", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 1–21.

**Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*,³³ but from the “*Avadāna* of the discussion between King Nanda and Nāgasena”, which is chapter 111 of the *Tsa pao tsang ching*,³⁴ a collection of 121 *avadānas* translated into Chinese in 472 by *Kikkāya—who came from the “West”, perhaps Gandhāra or Kaśmīr.³⁵

Demiéville compared the brief *avadāna* Milinda text with the Pāli *Milinda-pañha* and the Chinese **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*, showing that much of its contents—both narrative and doctrinal—was not found in those texts. This led him to the conclusion that there were further recensions of Milinda texts than those represented by the Pāli and the **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*. Indeed, a comparison of the *Kośa* citation with

³³ *Na hsien pi ch'iu ching* (Taisho § 1670a = Korean Buddhist Canon § 1002; Taisho § 1670b = Nanjio § 1358): for detailed studies see Demiéville, pp. 1–264, and Bhikkhu Thích Minh Châu, *Milindapañha and Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra (A Comparative Study)*, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, n.d.

³⁴ Taisho § 203, Nanjio § 1329. The latter gives a Sanskrit title *Samyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra*; La Vallée Poussin (*Abhidharmakośa* V, p. 264, n.), gives *Ratnakaraṇḍa-sūtra* with a question mark. Lewis R. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, 1979, § 1001) and the Hōbōgirin *Répertoire* refrain from giving any Sanskrit. C. Willemen, in his valuable study, “A Chinese Kṣudrakapitaka (T. IV. 203)”, in *Études bouddhiques offertes à Jacques May à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire, Études Asiatiques XLVI-1* (1992), pp. 507–515, rejects **Samyuktaratnapitaka-sūtra*, and suggests, if anything, **Kṣudrakapitaka*. Chavannes (tome III, pp. 1–145) translates generous portions of the text; see his remarks, p. 1, n. 1. The Chinese gives King Nan-t'o (Chavannes' transcription) throughout: can this be an abbreviation of something like (Me)nanda? Takakusu, p. 16, concludes that Nanda “represents ‘Menander’ in its disguised form, or at any rate a part of the syllables ‘Menander’”; Pelliot, p. 381, explains the name as “une forme ancienne où le premier n du nom de Ménandre n'était pas passé à l’”; Winternitz, II 177, avers that Nanda is “undoubtedly only a Sanskritized form of the Greek Menandros”.

³⁵ The translator and his name are discussed by Demiéville, p. 65, n. 4, and by Willemen, pp. 508–509.

the *avadāna* version shows that although they are fairly close, there are differences in framework and certain details. The question posed by the King is different. While in the *Kośabhāṣya* it concerns the identity of the *jīva* and the body, in the Chinese it concerns permanence and impermanence.³⁶ Thus, although the *avadāna* version and the *Kośa* citation are clearly affiliated, they come from different recensions of a further Milinda tradition.³⁷

Willemen (pp. 511–13) points out that many stories of the *Tsa pao tsang ching* take place in Gandhāra or Kaśmīr, and concludes that “the Indian material seems to come from Gandhāra or Kaśmīr, which may be the place of origin of *Kikkāya”. He states that “the language of the Indian originals seems to have been Sanskrit, as is clear from phonetic renderings and from the few mantras”. Both Willemen and *L'Inde classique* (§ 2148) suggest that the original may have belonged to the Sarvāstivādins.

The original language of the **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra* is believed to have been a North-western Prakrit. Vasubandhu's citation, from a different text, is in Sanskrit. Was there, then, a Sanskrit recension of the *Milinda-pañha*? As far as I know, Vasubandhu—whether in his *Kośabhāṣya* or in such other works as are available in Sanskrit—does not give any citations in any form of Prakrit, unlike, for example, Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* or Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. For the most part Vasubandhu cites (Mūla)Sarbāstivādin texts, which by his time at least were redacted in Sanskrit. In the present case it strikes me as likely that Vasubandhu is citing a Sanskrit, (Mūla)Sarbāstivādin recension of a *Milinda-pañha*.

³⁶ The phrase is discussed by Demiéville, p. 66, n. 6.

³⁷ In order that the reader may compare the two versions, I reproduce the relevant texts and translations below.

In the light of the above, and since two translations recorded in Chinese catalogues were later lost,³⁸ we may suggest that the Milinda corpus was more varied and extensive than previously thought, and list the following versions:

(1) The Chinese “Sūtra on the similes of Nāgasena”, in four rolls (*chüan*). This is the earliest known Milinda text, translated by unknown hands by the 3rd century at the latest, and lost by the 5th. Since no information is available, we cannot say anything about the relation of the text to those we know.³⁹

(2) The extant Chinese **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*, in two or three rolls. This is an anonymous translation done under the Eastern Chin (317–420), extant in two textual lineages descending from the same translation, but transmitted and revised independently. A portion of the opening and the dialogues proper correspond to the *bāhirakathā* and the first 7 *vaggas* of the Pāli version.⁴⁰ The original is believed to have been written in a

³⁸ See Demiéville, pp. 4–21.

³⁹ Demiéville, pp. 7–9 and 21.

⁴⁰ That is, up to p. 89 of V. Trenckner, *The Milindapañho*, London, [1880] 1962, or p. 96 of the Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition (ChS). The “original” portion of the Pāli is usually described as the first three “Books” (I to III) of the *Milinda-pañha*. This description, as far as I can tell, derives from a division of the text into seven “Books” introduced into his translation by Rhys Davids (see his remark on p. 100, n. 1, at the beginning of his “Book III”: “the chapters go straight on because Books II and III are really only parts of one Book”). No such division is found in Trenckner, or in the ChS or Siamese editions. In fact, the issue of the structure is complex, and the internal table of contents (Trenckner, p. 2, ChS 2.12) divides the work into six parts, with two further subdivisions (the Siamese edition, p. 4.11, also lists six parts and two subdivisions, but with differences in order and phraseology). The “original” text extends beyond the 7th *vagga* (which ends at Trenckner p. 87.20, *sattamo vaggo*; ChS 94, penult *arūpadhammavavatthāna-vaggo sattamo*) to what might be called the conclusion, which ends on p. 89 (ChS 96). Since it is unsound to refer to

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North-western Prakrit. The text may be studied in Demiéville’s annotated French translation. The *Na-sien ching* (**Nāgasena-sūtra*) in 1 roll, translated by Guṇabhadra between 435 and 455, was based on the same original as the preceding. It was lost by 664.⁴¹

(3) The *bāhirakathā* and the first 7 *vaggas* of the Pāli *Milinda-pañha*.⁴² The consensus of scholarship is that these opening sections correspond to the original text, which was brought to Ceylon and translated into Pāli by about the beginning of the Common Era (with the *proviso* that much of the narrative material in the *bāhirakathā* was composed in Ceylon). For example, Pelliot concluded “il me semble certain que le *Milindapañha* primitif s’arrêtait là où les versions chinoises le terminent, c’est-à-dire à la page 136 du tome I de la traduction de M. Rhys Davids” [= Trenckner, p. 89].⁴³ Norman (p. 111) has “from the fact that the words

divisions introduced into a translation (followed also by I.B. Horner in her *Milinda’s Questions*) and not supported by the texts, I rather hope that future discussion of the Milinda will abandon the reference to Rhys Davids’ “Books”.

⁴¹ Demiéville pp. 10–11 and 21.

⁴² For the Pāli *Milinda-pañha* we should note that the Siamese recension differs from the Sinhalese and that citations in Buddhaghosa’s works do not always agree with the received text (see e.g. Thich Minh Chau, pp. 33–34). For the different paritta list of the Siamese version see *JPTS* XVI, 1992, Table 1. The Siamese version has recently been reprinted on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Siam (Wat Pak Nam, Bangkok, 2536 [1993]). A Pāli manuscript in Mon script dated Sakkarāj 1167 (CE 1805) is noted under the title *Pāli-milindavithāra paṭhamavagga* in *The Mae Klong Basin: Socio-cultural Development*, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, 1992, p. 200. It would be interesting to know to which tradition the manuscript belongs. Cf. also the manuscript described in the colophon as “brought from Siam” (*siyamdesato ānītapothakato*): Jinadasa Liyanaratne, “Pāli manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library”, *JPTS* XVIII (1993), pp. 139–40.

⁴³ Pelliot, p. 418. See also Winternitz, pp. 176–83, who refers to similar conclusions reached by Senart and Bart (p. 177, n. 2). Regrettably, Winternitz’s discussion is marred by modernist prejudices. He remarks of “Books IV–VII”

Continues...

Milindapañhānam pucchāvissajjanā samattā occur at the end of Book III [i.e., Trenckner p. 89,ult], it has been deduced that this was the end of the original portion of the *Milindapañha*”.

(Geiger, however, stated that “the real contents of the work ended with Chapter 2, at the end of which we find in our Pāli text the remark: *Nāgasena-Milindarāja-pañhā-niṭṭhitā*”.⁴⁴ In Trenckner’s edition this statement occurs a short way into the fourth *vagga*, p. 64,ult. The phrase is difficult to explain. Can it refer to the end of the second part listed in the internal table of contents, “Milindapañha”? The statement is not found in ChS, which describes the dialogue as the second of the fourth *vagga*: *nāgasena dutiyo*.)

(4) The remainder of the Pāli *Milinda-pañha*.⁴⁵ The consensus of opinion is that the remaining chapters—which are entirely absent in the Chinese **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*—were composed in Ceylon, after the basic Indian text had been translated into Pāli, and appended to that text at a later date.⁴⁶ While I agree that they are not part of the “original” text, I feel that they may have been composed in India and circulated independently—that is, that they could represent another development of the rich Indian Milinda tradition—and later translated into Pāli and conjoined with the basic text. My reason is that the later books contain

(pp. 182–83) that “these legends are permeated with a low conception of the doctrine of Karman, an exaggerated cult of the Buddha (Buddha-Bhakti), and a somewhat crude belief in miracles, which would seem to indicate a later period”.

⁴⁴ Wilhelm Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language* (tr. by Batakrishna Ghosh), [Calcutta, 1943] Delhi, 1968, § 20, pp. 26–27.

⁴⁵ That is, from p. 90 of Trenckner’s edition on (p. 97 of ChS), which according to the internal table of contents comprises the *Meṇḍakapañha*, *Anumānapañha*, and *Opammakathāpañha*. These correspond somehow to Rhys Davids’ Books IV to VII.

⁴⁶ See Norman, p. 112: “Books IV–VII are different in style, and are clearly later than the first portion and probably by a different author”.

many purportedly canonical citations that are not found in the Pāli canon, as well as citations attributed to different persons than in the Pāli.⁴⁷ That is, the author(s) must have consulted a different canon. It seems impossible to decide whether the later part is a compilation from several different works, or a single work.⁴⁸

(5) The *avadāna* version of the *Tsa pao tsang ching*. This short text was translated in 472, probably from Sanskrit. Whether it is an extract of a longer text cannot be said; at any rate, since the *Tsa pao tsang ching* is an anthology of materials from different sources, the *avadāna* would originally have been an independent Milinda text. (Willemsen suggests that the actual compilation and arrangement of the *Tsa pao tsang ching* was done in China by the influential editor, the monk T’an-yao.) It has been suggested that the sources of the *Tsa pao tsang ching* as a whole were Sarvāstivādin.

(6) The Sanskrit version cited by Vasubandhu in the 4th century. On the strength of the brief citation, we can only say that the passage in question does not come from the tradition represented by (2), (3), or (4), and that it is affiliated, but not identical to, (5). This *may* have been a (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin version, redacted in Sanskrit. The Chinese of Hsüan-tsang describes Nāgasena in a way that suggests he is being introduced for the first time (see below, n. 55). This has led Lévi (p. 216) to propose that “la discussion rapportée dans le *Koça* se trouvait au début même de la recension employée par Vasubandhu”. The description of Nāgasena’s attainments is not found in the other versions (Sanskrit,

⁴⁷ See I.B. Horner, *Milinda’s Questions*, Vol. I (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXII), London, [1963] 1969, pp. x foll.

⁴⁸ According to Winternitz (p. 177, n. 2) Schrader, in his introduction to his translation (Berlin, 1905), “assumes that there were seven different recensions or revisions of this work”.

Paramārtha, Tibetan), but all versions relate that the King goes to Nāgasena and addresses him.

One other point may be mentioned. Trenckner noted that “the opening phrase [of the *Milinda-pañha*] *tamyathā ’nusūyate* is not found in any other Pāli writing”.⁴⁹ A similar phrase, *tadyathā anuśrūyate*, is used to open the prose of stories in the Sanskrit Buddhist *jātaka* or *avadāna* genre, such as the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna*,⁵⁰ the *Jātakamālās* of Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta,⁵¹ and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.⁵² (Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* prefers *śrūyate hi*,⁵³ while the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna* opens with *evam anuśrūyate*.⁵⁴)

B. Translation of Vasubandhu’s citation

King Milinda went to the Elder Nāgasena and said:⁵⁵ “I would like to question the respected one, but [you] *śramaṇas* are great talkers: could

⁴⁹ Trenckner, p. vii. The Siamese edition (p. 3.18) has here *suyyati ti* (without *tamyathā*).

⁵⁰ Konrad Klaus, *Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna (Divyāvadāna 38)* (Indica et Tibetica 2), Bonn, 1983, p. 28.5.

⁵¹ Hendrik Kern (ed.), *The Jātaka-mālā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 1), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, pp. 1.19; 6.13, etc.; Michael Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra: On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās*, The Reiyukai Library, Tokyo, 1977, pp. 10; 31.5 and Tables 7 and 8.

⁵² Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta* (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft II), [Leipzig, 1926] Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 47, 152.

⁵³ Swami Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra* (Bauddha Bharati Series 5), Part I, Varanasi, 1970, p. 7.23, 25.

⁵⁴ Sita Ram Roy, *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute (Historical Research Series Vol. VII), Patna, 1971, p. 218.3.

⁵⁵ The Chinese of Hsüan-tsang lists several of the Elder’s attainments: “il y eut un Bhadanta nommé Nāgasena, possédent les trois *vidyās*, les six *abhijñās*, les huit

Continues...

you respond to exactly what I ask?” “Ask” said [Nāgasena. The King] asked, “Is the life-force (*jīva*) the body, or is the life-force one thing, and the body another?” “That cannot be answered” replied the Elder. The King said, “Did not the respected one promise from the outset not to avoid answering? How then do you speak otherwise, saying ‘that cannot be answered’?” The Elder said, “I also would like to question the Great King, but kings are great talkers: could you respond to exactly what I ask?” “Ask” said [the King. Nāgasena] asked, “Are the mangos from the mango-tree in your inner court sour, or are they sweet?”⁵⁶ “There is no mango-tree in my inner court.” “Did not the great king promise from the outset not to avoid answering? How then do you speak otherwise, saying ‘there is no mango-tree’? “How can I answer regarding the sourness or sweetness of a non-existent mango-tree?” “In the same way, great king, that very life-force does not exist—how can I declare that it is different from or the same as the body?”

C. The parallel from the *Tsa pao tsang ching*⁵⁷

C.1. Chavannes

Le roi posa encore la question suivante: “Maintenant je désire vous demander ceci: Le moi qui est constitué par les choses qui sont dans mon corps, est-il permanent ou impermanent? Répondez-moi d’une manière qui me satisfasse.” (*Na-k’ia-*) *sseu-na* demanda à son tour: “Les fruits de l’arbre *ngan-p’o-lo* (*āmra*) qui est dans le palais du roi sont-ils doux ou

vimokṣas. En ce temps-là le roi Milinda vint auprès de lui et dit...” (La Vallée Poussin, p. 263). If I understand Lévi (p. 215) correctly, Paramārtha’s translation refers simply to “*bhadanta* Nāgasena, an arhat”.

⁵⁶ For similes with mangos in the *Milinda-pañha*, see Trenckner pp. 46, 72, 77, 263.

⁵⁷ Chavannes, *Cinq Cente Contes...*, pp. 123–24, and Takakusu, *JRAS* 1896, p. 20. I reproduce the two translations, including their transliterations of the Chinese names, as they stand.

acides?” Le roi répondit: “Dans mon palais il n’y a aucun arbre de cette sorte; comment pouvez-vous me demander si ces fruits sont doux ou acides?” (*Na-k’ia-*) *sseu-na* reprit: “Je vous répondrai moi aussi de la même manière; tout l’ensemble des cinq viscères ne constitue point le moi; comment pouvez-vous me demandez si ce moi est permanent ou impermanent?”

C.2. Takakusu

The King: I now turn to the matter concerning our bodies. Am “I” permanent, or am “I” impermanent? Answer me satisfactorily.

In reply Sena raised another question: If there were an an-ba-la (āmra, mango) tree in the Royal Palace, would the fruit be sweet or sour?

The King: There is no such tree in my garden: how can you ask me if the fruit is sweet or sour?

Sena: Even so is your own question. None of the five skandhas (form, sensation, perception, discrimination, and consciousness) is “I”; there is no “I”: then how can you ask me if “I” am (you are) permanent or impermanent?

D. Vasubandhu’s citation: texts

D.1. Sanskrit text⁵⁸

eṣa ca granthaḥ pūrvakair⁵⁹ eva nirmocitaḥ / sthaviro hi nāgasenaḥ
kalingena rājñopasaṃkramyoktaḥ / pṛccheyam ahaṃ bhadantaṃ

⁵⁸ I reproduce (with a few adjustments) the text as given in Bhikkhu Pāsādika, *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu* (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 1), Göttingen, 1989, § 522, p. 129, except that the opening from *eṣa...* to *...upasamkramyoktaḥ*, not given by Pāsādika, is supplied from Pradhan and Dwarikadas (see n. 4 above).

⁵⁹ Yaśomitra 1209,ult *pūrvakair eveti, sthaviranāgasenādibhiḥ*; Tibetan in Q5593, Vol. 117, *mñon pa chu*, 391b7 *sna ma dag kho nas zes bya ba ni gnas*

Continues...

bahubollakās⁶⁰ ca śramaṇā bhavanti / yadi yad eva pṛccheyam tad eva
vyākuryā iti / pṛcchety uktaḥ pṛṣṭavān⁶¹ / kiṃ nu sa jīvas tac charīram
anyo jīvo ’nyac charīram iti / avyākṛtam etad ity avocat sthaviraḥ / sa āha /
nanu bhadantaḥ pūrvam eva pratijñam kārito nānyad vyākartavyam iti /
kim idam anyad evoktam avyākṛtam etad iti / sthavira āha / aham api
mahārājaṃ pṛccheyam bahubollakās⁶² ca rājāno bhavanti / yadi yad eva
pṛccheyam tad eva vyākuryā iti / pṛcchety uktaḥ pṛṣṭavān⁶³ / yas te
’ntahpure āmravṛkṣas tasya kim amlāni phalāni āhosvit madhurāṇīti /
naiva mamāntahpure kaścīd āmravṛkṣo ’stity āha / nanu mayā pūrvam eva
mahārājaḥ pratijñam kārito nānyad vyākartavyam iti / kim idam anyad
evoktam āmra eva nāstīti / sa āha katham asato vṛkṣasya phalānām

brtan klu sde la sogs pas so; Lakṣaṇānusārīṇi (376b8) *sna ma dag kho nas zes bya ba ni gnas brtan klu’i sde la sogs pa dag gis so.*

⁶⁰ *bahuvollakās* Pāsādika. Yaśomitra 1209,ult: *bahubollakā iti, bahupralāpā iti*; Tib. 391b7 *smra ba mañ ba zes bya ba ni gtsor (!) ba’o*; *Lakṣaṇānusārīṇi* (376b8) *smra ba mañ ba zes bya ba ni gtsor ba’o*. (I take the correct reading to be *gtsor ba*, for which see *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo, Bar cha* [II], 2195a, *gtsor ba: rna ba sun par byed pa; don med ku co mañ pos rna ba gtsor bar byed pa; mi tshogs mañ du ’dus nas ca co’i sgras gtsor ba*. This suggests something like tiresomely or annoyingly garrulous: cf. La Vallée Poussin’s rendering, “mais les religieux sont bavards”, and Lévi’s (p. 216) rendering of Yaśomitra’s gloss *bahupralāpa* as “qui bavarde beaucoup”. More neutrally the phrase means largiloquent or multiloquous; cp. Lévi’s rendering, “or les çramaṇas aiment beaucoup à parler”.) As noted by La Vallée Poussin (*op. cit.*, p. 263, n. 2) *bahubollaka* occurs in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, repr. Delhi, 1987, *Samgharakṣitāvadāna*, p. 338.13, 19: not p. 358 as in La Vallée Poussin). This is the only reference given by Edgerton (BHSD 403b, s.v. *bollaka*); Lévi (p. 216) refers to the term as “un des exemples les plus anciens du thème *bol* consacré par l’hindoustani dans le sens de ‘parler’”. The *Pravrajyāvastu* version of the *Samgharakṣitāvadāna* reads *bahūllāpaka* (not in BHSD, but see 462a, *-lāpika*), which means the same: Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* III–4, [Calcutta, 1950] Delhi, 1984, p. 39.1, 6. The Tibetan, given in a footnote, is the same as in our text: *smra ba mañ ba*.

⁶¹ *pṛcchet yuktāḥ pṛṣṭavān* Pāsādika.

⁶² *bahuvollakās* Pāsādika: see above.

⁶³ *pṛcchet yuktāḥ pṛṣṭavān* Pāsādika.

amlatām madhuratām vā vyākāromīti / evam eva mahārāja sa eva jīvo
nāsti kuto 'sya śarīrād anyatām ananyatām vā vyākāromīti /

D.2. Tibetan text⁶⁴

'dud pa⁶⁵ 'di ni śna ma dag kho nas kyañ bkrol⁶⁶ te/ rgyal po des 'du
sbyin gnas brtan klu'i⁶⁷ sde'i thad du 'oñs nas btsun pa dge sbyoñ⁶⁸
mams ni smra ba mañ ba lags so// gal te gañ dris pa de ñid (Q101b) lan
'debs na/⁶⁹ bdag 'dri bar 'tshal lo 'zes smras so⁷⁰// drir gsol 'zes smras pa
dañ/ ci lags/⁷¹ srog de ñid lus lags sam/ srog kyañ g'zan lags⁷² la/⁷³ lus
kyañ g'zan lags 'zes dris so// gnas brtan⁷⁴ gyis 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no
'zes smras pa dañ/ des smras pa/ bdag gis śna nas btsun pa g'zan luñ bstan
par mi bya'o/⁷⁵ 'zes dam 'char gsol⁷⁶ ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du 'di skad
du/⁷⁷ 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no 'zes g'zan kho na gsuñs/⁷⁸ gnas brtan gyis
smras pa/ rgyal po chen po rgyal po mams ni⁷⁹ smra ba mañ ba lags so//

⁶⁴ My text is composite, based on rGyal rtse (G) 385a3 (repr. p. 767.3) and Peking (Q) *mñon pa'i bstan bcos nu*, 101a8. All variants are recorded; the punctuation follows G.

⁶⁵ 'dud pa (= *grantha*) G: *bdud pa* Q.

⁶⁶ Q adds *zin*: not in G.

⁶⁷ *klu'i* G: *klu* Q.

⁶⁸ *dge sbyoñ* (= *śramana*) Q: *dge sloñ* (= *bhikṣu*) G.

⁶⁹ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁰ *smras so* Q: *smra'o* G.

⁷¹ /G: Q om. /.

⁷² *lags* G: Q om. *lags*.

⁷³ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁴ *gnas brtan* Q: *gnas grtan* G.

⁷⁵ Q adds //: not in G.

⁷⁶ G adds *ba*: not in Q. See n. 76.

⁷⁷ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁸ *gsuñs* Q: *gsuñ* G.

⁷⁹ *ni* Q: G om. *ni*.

gal te gañ dris⁸⁰ pa de ñid⁸¹ lan 'debs na bdag kyañ 'dri⁸² bar 'tshal lags
so// drir gsol 'zes smras pa dañ/ khyod kyi slas la śiñ ljon pa a mra⁸³ ⁸⁴
yod pa gañ yin pa de'i 'bras bu mams/⁸⁵ ci skyur ram/⁸⁶ 'on te ⁸⁷ mñar
lags 'ses⁸⁸ dris so// bdag gi slas⁸⁹ la śiñ ljon pa a mra⁹⁰ ñid 'ga' yañ med
do/⁹¹ 'zes (G385b) smras so// bdag gis śna nas rgyal po chen po g'zan luñ
bstan par mi bya'o// 'zes dam 'char gsol⁹² ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du/⁹³ 'di
skad du śiñ ljon pa a mra⁹⁴ ñid med do 'zes g'zan kho na gsuñs/ des smras
pa/ ji ltar na śiñ⁹⁵ ljon pa med pa'i 'bras bu mams skyur ba 'am/⁹⁶ mñar ba
ñid du luñ bstan par bya/ rgyal po chen po de b'zin du srog de ñid med
na/⁹⁷ ci'i slad du 'di la⁹⁸ lus las g'zan pa ñid dam g'zan ma yin pa ñid du⁹⁹
lun bstan par bgyi 'zes bya ba lta bu'o//

Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

⁸⁰ *dris* Q: *srid* G.

⁸¹ G adds *la*: not in Q.

⁸² 'dri G: *dri* Q.

⁸³ *a mra* Q: *a smra* G.

⁸⁴ Q adds 'bras bu (*phala*): not in G or Sanskrit.

⁸⁵ /G: Q om. /.

⁸⁶ /G: Q om. /.

⁸⁷ Q adds /: not in G.

⁸⁸ *lags 'ses* G: *'zes* (om. *lags*) Q.

⁸⁹ *slas* G: *slam* Q.

⁹⁰ *a mra* Q: *a smra* G.

⁹¹ // G: not in Q.

⁹² G adds *ba*: not in Q. See n. 76.

⁹³ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁴ *a mra* Q: *a smra* G.

⁹⁵ *śiñ* Q: G om. *śiñ*.

⁹⁶ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁷ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁸ *la* G: Q om. *la*.

⁹⁹ *g'zan ma yin pa ñid du* Q: G *g'zan ma* (om. *yin*) *pa ñid du*, added in small letters below line.

Supplement to The Concordance of the Buddhist Birth Stories

Introduction

This Supplement-1 to The Concordance of the Buddhist Birth Stories (PTS 1994) is the result of research at the libraries of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the publications of the Israel Folktale Archives (IFA) at the University of Haifa. About 80% of the material refers to Jewish sources. In addition some other new publications are added, which came to our attention since the 1994 publication of the Concordance.

Obviously, the whole project is open-ended, never complete. There are unlimited sources of folktales parallel to Buddhist Birth stories. Whether and how they are related is “sub judice”. The purpose and hope is that future researchers avail themselves of this material. How they use it and what relevance they find – is up to them. Keeping up-to-date with recently published data is important, as difficult as it is. My heartfelt thanks to Professor Dov Noy, who made it possible to use the libraries in Israel. It was an exhilarating experience of a lifetime. Professor Richard Gombrich’s encouragement was most inspiring. My computer-expert Dan Anderson keeps helping me for many years. Errors are always mine.

The few abbreviations used are: AT = Aarne-Thompson; B = Bodker; BP = Bolte-Polívka; CJ = Cowel: The Jātaka; J = Jātaka; MAL = Malalasekera; TEM = A Tale for Each Month; TMI = Thompson (1958). All listed in the Bibliography of the Concordance.

Finally, I beg your indulgence to bear in mind the non-finality of this enterprise, in the spirit of the Sayings of the Fathers (Aboth II:21): “It is not up to you to complete the task, yet you are not free to desist from it”.

ABHINIṢKRAMAṆA

TPS: No. 25 TAN 73 PL 109 P 469

Story: Life story of Buddha.

References:

- Budge (1923) Baralam and Jêwsêf
 Pal (1988) 201 Pl 64 Buddha's early life
 Peri (1959) Barlaam Legende
 Motif-Index TMI: T 617

AKATAÑÑU

J 90

CJ: I 220-1, MAL: I 1

Story: Having been treated courteously, a merchant refused to reciprocate. In turn, when the merchant needed some favor again - he was refused.

References:

- Babay (1980) Babay, Rafael: A Favor for a Favor, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, (TEM-41), 1980 # 9 "Two Friends" (IFA 10199)

Folktale Type AT: 613, 893

AMARĀDEVĪ-PAÑHA, Chandapathapañha

J 112

CJ: I 254, FJ: I 424, MAL: I 147

Story: Mahosadha was testing Amarā about her virtues. She was outstanding in her behavior and intellect.

References:

- Adam of Cobsam (1462) The Wright's Chaste Wife, in Furnivalli, F J (1865) publ. Early English Text Society
 Árnason, Jón (11864) Icelandic Legends, Story of Geirlaug and Groedari
 Barbazan-Méon (1808) De la Dame qui Attrapa un Prêtre, un Prévôt et un Forestier, III: 296>
 Basile (1932) II: 9, The Paddock I: 197-203

- Boccaccio (1982) Decameron VIII: 8
 Burton, R F (1886-8) Supplemental Nights... V: 253>: Good Wife of Cairo, and of her Four Gallants
 Burton R T (1865) Thousand Nights and a Night VI: 172 The Lady and her Five Suitors
 Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Seven Vazirs, First Tale of Sixth Vazir
 Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Sindibād p. 181 >
 Clouston, W A (1887) A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories p. 240 >
 Clouston, W A Popular Tales and Fictions, Vol. II: The Lady and her Suitors p. 303-5; Temal Ramakistnan p. 305-7
 Coelho A (1879) Contos populares portugueses, Lisbon, Sixty seventh story
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 Damant, G A The Touchstone Indian Antiquary (1873), vol. IX, p. 2-3
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 Dasent, George Webbe Popular Tales from the Norse Mastermaid (1912)
 Falla, Manuel de Based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcon: The Corregidor & The Miller's Wife Three-cornered hat (1916-9)
 Forteguerra, Ser Giovanni Novelle edite ed inedite, Bologna, (1882) Eighth novel
 Gibb, R T W (transl): History of Forty Vazirs p. 227 > Story of 21st Vazir
 Gonzenbach, Laura (1870) Sicilianische Märchen, Leipzig p. 859-62, No.55
 Ināyatū-'llāh: Bahār'i-Danish = Spring of Knowledge J 546 Mahā-ummagga VI: 185-7

- Liebrecht, Felix (1851) John Dunlap's Geschichte der Peosadichtungen, Berlin No. 72 b
- Mizrahi (1967) # 6 Handicraft delivers from death (IFA 1625b)
- Montaiglon (1877) IV-106: Constant du Hamel
- Nakshabi, Ziya-u'Din: Tūti Nāma Tales of a Parrot, Graz (1978) ADV Fourth Night
- Noy (1962) # 4 Wisdom of Life
- Penzer (1924) I: 153-64; 168; 172-81 Devasmitā; I: 42-4 The entrapped suitors; I: 29-36 Upakośā
- Penzer (1924) Yavamajhakiyā
- Rappoport (1937) 168-73 The Clever Peasant Girl
- Sansovino, F (1603) Cento novelle, Venice IX:8
- Shaykh'Izzat Ullāh (1712): Gul-i-Bakāvali = The Rose of Bakāvali
- Stokes, Maive (1879) Indian Fairy Tales No. 28
- Straparola, Giovan Le Piacevoli Notti, Venoe 1567 II: 5
- Francesco da Caravaggio
- Swan, Charles & Gesta Romanorum No. 69
- Wynnard Hooper (1876)
- Thorburn, S S (1876) Bannūor Our Afghan Frontier, London Mélusine p. 178
- Verdi: Falstaff Libretto: Arrigo Boito, based on Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor and King Henry IV
- Folktale Type AT: 875, 1730
Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

ĀSAMKA

J 380

CJ: III 161-4, MAL: I 299

Story: Near the hut of a hermit a girl was born in a lotus. She descended from the heaven of 33. The hermit adopted the beautiful girl. A king came around & fell in love with her. The hermit agreed to give her away on condition of guessing her name. For 3 years he tried. At last with a hint he guessed it right.

References:

- Noy (1963) 4 Les choses qu'il vaut mieux faire 35-40
- Noy (1963) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux 142-52
- Noy (1968) 51 La fille savante du rabbin et son mari qui ne savait encore plus 229-32
- Folktale Type AT: 725, 851A, 900-III, 931
Motif-Index TNI: L 161

CANDAKINNARA

J 485

CJ: IV 179-82, MAL: I 845

Story: King notices a kinnara couple. Candā the Kinnarī wife is beautiful. King wants to get her, kills the husband & offers her the throne. She refuses & laments bitterly the loss of her beloved husband.

References:

- BP II 264>
- Eberhard (1965) 136; 291
- Gaster (1924) # 308; 378
- Noy (1968) 25 L'homme qui n'a jamais prêté serment 125-36
- Thompson and Roberts (1960) No. 938
- Yehoshua (1969) # 12 The clever wife (IFA 7667)
- Folktale Type AT: 465-II, 930-III
Motif-Index TMI: H 931.1, K 978

CENDRILLON, Cinderella

Macdonald (1988): 143-9 Cendrillon au Tibet

Story: Orphan adopted and abused by stepsisters meets prince who rejects the stepsisters and marries the orphan.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-85
 Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9
 Basile (1932) I: 6 The Cat Cinderella I: 56-63
 Dundes (1982) Cinderella
 Hanoki (1982) in Dundes (1982)
 Neumann, Erich (1956) Amor and Psyche
 Noy (1968) 11 La rencontre du prince et de la princesse 75-83
 Noy (1968) 13 La tête d'animal qui voulait épouser une princesse 90-7; 313-4
 Noy (1968) 71 L'oiseau d'or et l'oiseau d'argent 282-6
 Noy (1979) #9 The ugly duckling and the beautiful stepdaughter
 Ramanujan, A. K. (1982) Hanoki: a Kanada Cinderella, in Dundes (1982)
 Roth (1951) The Cinderella Cycle
 Üveges (1986) Aranyos Bethali és szurkos Baba 7-9
 Warren, Robert E. (1960) A Spaniolic-Jewish version of "Frau Holle" in Patai (1960)
 Folktale Type AT: 306, 403, 480, 510, 510A, 510B, 888
 Motif-Index TMI: K 1815, L 100, L 162

CROSSING OF GANGES

Le Coq (1922): VI 13 78-9 PL 13

Story: Miracle of B. to impress believers.

References:

- Schlingloff (1994) 571-81

CULLA-DHANUGGAHA, Little Archer

J 374

CJ: III 144-8, FJ: III 219-24, MAL: I 884

Story: Treachery of women. Husband trying to kill a bandit. He asks wife for a sword -- she hands it to the bandit (whom she suddenly desires.) The bandit kills husband, but observing her character he abandons her. He took her jewelry.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 6 No trust in wife 69-70
 Gaster (1934) # 197 Story of the Faithless Wife II: 443-5
 Talmud Kiddusshin 80b and its Tosefet: The Matron of Ephesus, R. Hananel (XI Cent.)
 Folktale Type AT: 34A, 150, 318, 510, 1511
 Folktale Type B: 1265
 Motif-Index TMI: H 466, H 1556.1, J 344, J 1791.4, K 604, K 2213, T 30, T 232, W 151

DABBHAPUPPHA

J 400

CJ: III 205-7, MAL: I 1059

Story: Two otters caught a fish. Unable to agree how to divide the booty they presented the problem to a jackal for arbitration. He gave the tail to one, the head to the other, and kept the meaty part to himself.

References:

- Noy (1967) # 2 The magic hen (IFA 7303)
 Noy (1968) 20 Le servent du Nissim le colporteur 119-22
 Folktale Type AT: 51***, 518*, 1533
 Folktale Type B: 297
 Motif-Index TMI: H 601, H 1212.4, J 811.1, J 1171, J 1241, K 815.7, K 452

DADHIVĀHANA J 186

CJ: II 69-73, MAL: I 1055

Story: Of four ascetic brothers in the Himālayas the oldest became Sakka. He gave to his three brothers three magic objects: a razor-axe, a drum and a bowl. A wild boar possessed a gem, which carried its rider through the air. A shipwrecked sailor stole the gem and flew to the Himālaya, where he found the three brothers and exchanged his gem for the three magic objects. With those objects he killed the brothers and repossessed the gem.

References:

Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 105-41

Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)

Folktale Type AT: 560-III, 563, 567, 569, 926

Motif-Index TMI: D 1470.1, D 1470.1.42, D 1472.1.7

DEVATĀ-PAÑHA J 350

CJ: III 101, MAL: I 1106

Story: Riddles asked and solved by the wise Mahosadha in J 546 Mahā-ummagga.

References:

Cheichel (1970) # 3 The emir, the Jewish counselor and the sheep (IFA 8464)

Noy (1970) # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a great friend (IFA 114459)

Folktale Type AT: 875, 891

Motif-Index TMI: F 645

DĪGHĪTIKOSALA, J 371

Dīghatissakosala, Dīghatissa, Dīghakosala, Kosalarāja

CJ: III 139-40, FJ: III 211-3, MAL: I 1087

Story: Enmity is not wiped out by enmity, only non-enmity wipes out enmity.

References:

Dhammapada 5. "Hatreds never cease by hatred in this world; by love alone they cease. This is an ancient law".

223. "Conquer anger by love; Conquer evil by good; Conquer the stingy one by giving; Conquer the liar by truth".

Mahābhārata Udyogaparva 38. 73, 74: "Conquer the anger of others by non-anger; Conquer evil-doers by saintliness; Conquer the miser by gifts; Conquer falsehood by truth".

Motif-Index TMI: B 449.1

DĪPI J 426

CJ: III 285-6, MAL: I 1089

Story: Panther accuses she-goat of having trod on his tail. When goat says she came flying, in front of panther, he still devours her alleging that she scared a herd of deer, thereby spoiling his prey.

References:

Alexander (1989) 51 Three gifts 162-4

Noy (1963) 4 Die Sünde des Schafes ist die schwerste 27

Noy (1968) 29 Le chat noir 156-7

Folktale Type AT: 51, 111A, 123, 126, 248A, **1583

Folktale Type B: 540, 780, 1255, 1256

Motif-Index TMI: B 780, J 144, J 357, K 561.1.1, K 650, K 931, K 1710, K 1715, K 2285, K 2323, L 310, U 243, U 30, U 31, U 110

DŪBHIYAMAKKATA J 174

CJ: II 48-9

Story: A desperately thirsty monkey got some water. He made grimaces at his benefactor and left droppings at his head.

References:

- Cheichel (1970) #2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
 Gaster (1924) #441
 Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n.31
 Schwarzbäum (1968) 360-1
 Folktale Type AT: 155, 166
 Folktale Type B: 1159
 Motif-Index TMI: W 154

EKAŚRŪGA

TPS: No. 65 TAN 83 PL 119 P 504

Story: Young son, born to hermit & doe, loses innocence seduced by a princess. Story of the Unicorn.

References:

- Parimoo (1995) 164>
 Sharma (1978) 44 The Legend of Rurukshetra
 Folktale Type AT: 1678
 Motif-Index TMI: T 338, T 371, T 541.10

GAHAPATI, Householder

J 199

Story: Adulterous woman caught by husband. He beats her up with the local headman.

References:

- J 212 Ucchiṭṭhabhatta
 Motif-Index TMI: K 1561

GĀMAṆI-CANḌA

J 257

CJ: II 207-15

Story: Chain of accidents pursued the retired faithful servant of the king. Accused of malfeasance he was brought to the king for judgment. The king recognized him. His judgment absolved him of intent to do harm.

He punished the accusers and the defendant such a way that the servant won a great amount of money from the accusers.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 85 Intelligence and Luck 229-4
 Gaster (1925-8) 1203-8 Das sodomitische Urtheil
 Noy (1968) 20 Le Serment du Nissim le colporteur
 119-22

Folktale Type AT: 947, 1534, 2042

Motif-Index TMI: J 1172, J 1173, J 1179, K 248

GHOSAKA

Burlingame (1921): I 79, 247

Story: Miraculous escape from death seven times, fulfilling a prophecy at birth.

References:

- Gaster (1925-8) 1057-64 Parallels to the Legends of Candrahāra

Folktale Type AT: 930 I-II

Motif-Index TMI: K 978, M 312, M 370, M 371

HĀRITA

J 431

CJ: III 295-7, MAL: II 1324

Story: Young man, upon death of his parents became a hermit. Wandering he arrived to Benares and stayed in the royal park. The king saw him, invited him to stay and built a quarter for him in the park. He lived there for 12 years. When the king had to leave to quell a border turbulence, he asked his queen to look after and feed the hermit. She did so. Once the hermit got back late, the queen was waiting at the window to see him coming for his usual meal. The queen hastily got up, her robe fell off. This aroused the hermit, got hold of the hand of the queen, drew her to himself. Both enjoyed each other. On his return the king confronted them, both confessed. The hermit said: "There are four passions in this

world, great king,/ That in their power are over-mastering:/ Lust, hate, excess and ignorance their name;/ Knowledge can here no certain footing claim". (Emotion outweighs logic.)

References:

Ryusen (1981) PI 21

Folktale Type AT: 318

I NEVER LOSE ANYTHING

Chavannes (1910-34): No. 118 v 1: 389-90; v4: 144

References:

Gaster (1934) # 6 Observance of the Sabbath Rewarded I:
9-11

Folktale Type AT: 736A

Motif-Index TMI: N 211.1

KAKKAṬA

J 267

CJ: II 235-7, MAL: I 472

Story: A huge crab catches an elephant's foot in his claw. Wife of elephant pleads for him and he was let to go free. Then he trampled the crab to death.

References:

Parimoo (1995) 164>

Folktale Type B: 86

Motif-Index TMI: B 876.2.1, K 910

KALYĀṆAKĀRI

TPS: No. 32 TAN 74 PL 110 P 474

Story: Mother has two sons: the good Kalyāṇakāri or Kṛtajña or Kṣemakāra and the bad Pāpakāri or Pāpaṃkāra or Vikṛtajña. Good brother saves the bad one, who in turn blinds the good one.

References:

Noy (1979) # 6 The wonderful healing leaves
(IFA 10.125)

Folktale Type AT: 613, 673

Motif-Index TMI: N 451, S 165

KANHADĪPĀYANA

J 444

CJ: IV 17-22, MAL: I 502

Story: False accusation leads to order of execution by a careless king, who did not investigate the case.

References:

Benfey (1859) I: 479-86; 499-501

Benfey (1859) II: 326-7; 345-6

J 332 Rathalaṭṭhi

Kalila and Dimna VII 45-199

Rappoport (1937) 173-5 A wise Lion or the Dervish and the Honey Jar

Folktale Type AT: 178, 780

Motif-Index TMI: H 171.1, H 252, K 650

KAPIRĀJA, Monkey king, Sumsumāra, Markaṭa

J 208

FJ: II 158-60, MAL: II 1172

Story: Crocodile's wife craved for a monkey's heart. Husband made friends with a monkey & offered to take him over to the other shore. When monkey realized what the purpose was, he told crocodile that his heart was on a tree on the other side. Getting close, the monkey jumped into a tree & laughed at his "friend".

References:

Parimoo (1995) 164 >

Steel (1894) 230-3 The Jackal and the Partridge

Folktale Type AT: 91

Folktale Type B: 535, 678

Motif-Index TMI: F 1041.1, H 252, H 1212.4, K 544, K 561.3, K 726, K 961.1, T 571

KATTHAHĀRI J 7

CJ: I 27-9, MAL: I 490

Story: King refuses to recognize child conceived at a chance encounter. Mother throws child up in the air as an Act of Truth: if he is not the father – child may be killed. Child stays in mid-air. Child's name will be Jivak.

References:

Moy (1967) Noy, Dov: TEM 1966 IFA, Haifa, 1967,
10 The garbage girl who married a prince
(IFA 7070)

Folktale Type AT: 736A, 873

Motif-Index TMI: H 252

KHARAPUTTA, Son of donkey, Senaki J 386

CJ: III 174-7, FJ: III 275-81, MAL: I 714

Story: King as a reward learns from Nāga king to understand the language of animals, with condition not to reveal it to anybody under threat of being killed. Queen insists & he is ready to give in. Just then he hears & understands the talk of the animals who ridicule him for his lack of toughness towards his bossy wife. This teaches him a lesson and he thrashes her soundly without revealing his secret.

References:

Alexander (1989) 88 King Salomon's servant 226-7
Basile (1932) II: 1 Petrosinella 135-46
Basile (1932) II: 2 Prince Veradaprata I: 144-5
Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9
Marcus (1966) # 8 The Man who learned animal language
(IFA 6009)

Folktale Type AT: 517. 670 II-III, 671, 207A

Motif-Index TMI: B 165, B 216, B 217, C 425, D 1815, J 386, N 451, T 252.3

KIND ANIMALS – UNGRATEFUL MEN

Various (1986):

Story: Many examples of peoples' cruelty.

References:

Basile (1932) III: 5 The Cockchafer, the Mouse and the
Grasshopper I: 257-64
Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
Marcus (1966) # 32 There is no pity in Man's heart
(IFA 5319)
Noy (1968) 7 Der undankbare Königssohn 29-32
Noy (1968) 14 L'homme qui rendit le mal pour le bien
97-100

Folktale Type AT: 75, 155, 160, 161

Folktale Type B: 350, 1134

Motif-Index TMI: B 363, B 391, K 735, W 154.8

KUMBHA J 512

CJ: V 5-11, MAL: I 636

Story: Origin of drunkenness.

References:

Motif-Index TMI: A 1427.0.1

KUMBHAKĀRA J 408

CJ: III 228-32, MAL: I 637

Story: Impermanence of worldly existence moves couple to renounce and retire.

References:

Schwarzbaum (1979) 477-9/XCVIII/The Raven and the Carcass
Folktale Type B: 1032, 1250
Motif-Index TMI: K 1086, U 30, W 150

KUNĀLA, Cuckoo bird, of beautiful eyes J 536
 CJ: V 219-45, FJ: V 412-56, MAL: I 622
 Story: "Joseph and Mrs. Potiphar"
 References:
 2 Samuel XI Uriah
 Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-95
 Alexander (1989) 57 King and his vezir 174-8
 Basile (1932) II: 6 She-Bear I: 170-8
 Basile (1932) IV: 6 The Three Crowns II: 43-53
 BP I: 276 >
 BP II: 234-51; 267-71
 Chauvin (1892-1909) III: 145-7
 Cheichel (1970) # 9 King Salomon's three counsels
 (IFA 8600)
 Cosquin (1922) 73 > La Légende du Page de Sainte Élisabeth
 de Portugal
 Edgerton (1926) Vol. XXVI: 263-66
 Mutalammis Encycl. of Islam I: 335
 Parimoo (1995) 164>
 Schwarzbaum (1939) 173-96 Female fickleness
 Tzedaka (1965) # 1 The daughter of Amran (IFA 6379)
 Folktale Type AT: 318, 870C*, 875D*
 Motif-Index TMI: H 171.1, K 2111, P 282.3

KURUNĠAMIGA-II J 206
 CJ: II 106-7
 Story: Antelope, woodpecker, tortoise against hunter. When antelope was caught in a snare, the tortoise gnaws the net to pieces, the woodpecker delays hunter to give time for antelope to escape. When tortoise was caught by the hunter the antelope distracts him and tortoise escapes.
 References:
 Noy (1968) 25-8 Le coq, l'âne et le chien

Folktale Type AT: 75, 125, 233B
 Folktale Type B: 731
 Motif-Index TMI: A 2493.32, B 545.1, J 1020, K 642

KUSA J 531
 CJ: V 141-64, MAL: I 651
 Story: Search for girl in the image drawn by Prince. He was ugly but wise, due to his Karmic fate.
 References:
 Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-85
 Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan espoused by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8
 Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9
 Basile (1932) II: 6 She-Bear I: 170-8
 BP II: 234-51; 267-71
 Edgerton (1926) XXVI: 263-66 Birth of Vikramāditya, father a cursed Gandharvan in skin of ass
 J 419 Padmāvati
 Macdonald (1988) Cendrillon 143-9
 Neumann, Erich (1956) Amor and Psyche
 Noy (1968) 13 La tête d'âne qui voulait épouser une princesse 94-7
 Noy (1968) 71 L'oiseau d'or et l'oiseau d'argent 232-6
 Parimoo (1995) 124>
 Thompson (1951) 98
 TPS No. 68 Padmavati
 Folktale Type AT: 425C, 873
 Motif-Index TMI: D 735.1

KŪṬAVĀṆĪJA-II

J 218

CJ: II 127-9, MAL: I 659

Story: Villager deposited 100 ploughshares with friend. When he came to claim them, the "friend" said that mice ate them. In order to get them back, he hid the friend's child. Frantically looking for him, "friend" was told that a hawk lifted him away. Knowing that it was impossible, he admitted that he invented the story with the mice and got his son back.

References:

- Cheichel (1973) # 10 A real epidemic (IFA 9150)
 Eberhard-Boratav (1953) 243 Zimmermann and Goldschmid 337
 Noy (1965) 55 Los comieron los ratones 147
 Folktale Type AT: 1592
 Motif-Index TMI: J 1530, J 1531.2

LA DISPUTE DES DEUX DÉMONS

Chavannes (1910-34): No. 277 v 2: 185-6; v 4: 167

Story: Widely used story: two or more contestants of magic objects, which enable owner to overcome normally insurmountable obstacles are fighting for their possession. A "smart" stranger tricks them and flees with the magic objects to accomplish his own "impossible task".

References:

- Kagan (1965) Kagan, Zipora: TEM 1964, IFA, Haifa, 1965
 # 8 The Princess on the glass Mountain
 (IFA 6084)
 Noy (1967) # 2 The magic hen (IFA 7303)
 Weinreich (1988) 40 The Magic Fish and the Wishing Ring
 115-9
 Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
 Folktale Type AT: 405, 518, 566, 567, 926
 Motif-Index TMI: D 1520.11

MAHĀ-UMMAGGA, Big tunnel

J 546

CJ: VI 156-246, FJ: VI 329-478, MAL: II 465

Story: Wise Mahosadha becomes king's adviser. Other courtiers envy him and try to destroy him with intrigues and posing impossible tasks. He overcomes all provocations and retains his high position.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 64 Cutting cloth 192-3
 Apocrypha Susanna
 Cheichel (1970) # 13 The Christian Duke and his Jewish
 financial adviser (IFA 8235)
 Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter's son
 (IFA 1193)
 Gaster (1924) # 429; 441
 Mizrahi (1967) # 5 Bahlul and the clever Maiden
 (IFA 1625a)
 Noy (1962) # 4 Wisdom of Life (Amra the clever girl)
 Noy (1962) # 5 Three Questions of a King
 Noy (1968) 10 Le jugement dans l'affaire du miel et d'or
 72-4
 Noy (1979) # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a
 great friend (IFA 11459)
 Weinreich (1988) 75 The Bishop and Moshke 114-5
 Zabara, Joseph ben Meir The Clever Judge, p.215-6 in Schwarz (1935)
 Folktale Type AT: 178A, 178B, 425, 875, 916, 920C, 922, 922A, 922C,
 926, 981, 1641-III, 1651, 1730
 Motif-Index TMI: B 122.8, B 331, F 645, F 1041.1, H 486.2, H 561.4,
 H 1010, H 1024.1.1.1, J 123, J 151.1, J 1144.1, J 1153, J 1153.2,
 J 1171.4, J 1179.7

MAHĀKAPI-I

J 407

CJ: III 225-7

Story: Monkey saves his troop using his body as bridge.

References:

Gaster (1925-8) 1243-8 Das Herz auf dem Lande
 Folktale Type B: 692
 Motif-Index TMI: B 555, K 650

MAHĀSĀRA

J 92

CJ: I 222-7, MAL: II 567

Story: Monkey steals pearl necklace. Many innocent people accused. King's minister investigates, suspects the monkey. To find the thief he orders all monkeys to be let loose with necklaces, bracelets and anklets on. When the thief saw that, he became jealous and produced the pearl necklace.

References:

Benfey (1859) I: 172; 196
 Pal (1988) 197 Pl 60
 Ramaswami, Ragu (1901) 78 > Indian Fables
 Uther (1993) 513 Ida von Toggenburg 456
 Ward (1981) 513 Ida von Toggenburg II: 132-3
 Wesselski (1925) 42 Das Urteil über die Elstar 114
 Folktale Type B: 291
 Motif-Index TMI: J 1141.1

MĀNDHĀTU

J 258

CJ: II 216-8, MAL: II 445

Story: Icarus motif. Ambitious, injudicious king, not satisfied with everything he got; he wants the whole world. It leads to his downfall.

References:

Pal (1988) 196 Pl 59
 Parimoo (1993) 24-43
 Folktale Type AT: 836
 Motif-Index TMI: C 773, F 1021.2.1, L 420, L 421, Q 338

MĀRAVIDRĀVA

TPS: No. 26 TAN 73 PL 109 P 470

Story: Temptation & attack of meditating Buddha.

References:

Pal (1988) 202 Pl 65
 Motif-Index TMI: H 252

MUṆIKA

J 30

CJ: I 75-6, MAL: II 641

Story: Bull complains of hard work, while boar is only fed. He finds out the ultimate fate of the boar (slaughter).

References:

Marcus (1966) # 21 The Consultant Ass (IFA 6951)
 Folktale Type AT: 214*
 Motif-Index TMI: L 456

NIGRODHA, Banyan tree

J 445

CJ: IV 22-7, FJ: IV 37-43, MAL: II 68

Story: Three friends slept under a tree. One of them overheard cocks disputing. One cock bragged: whoever eats my fat will become king, whoever eats my middle flesh will become commander-in-chief and whoever eats my bone-flesh will become the treasurer. The one who heard that talk climbed on the tree, grabbed the cock, cooked it and distributed the fat to Nigrodha, the middle flesh to the other guy and he ate the bone-flesh. All predictions proved to be true.

References:

1 Kings 5: 13 "Solomon spoke also to beasts and birds"
 Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
 Folktale Type AT: 567A-II, 670 II-III
 Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, H 171.1, M 312.3, N 451

NIGRODHAMIGA, Banyan-Deer, Gazelle-king, Nyagrodhamrga J 12
CJ: I 36-42, FJ: I 145-53, MAL: II 69

Story: Deer king, provided king's kitchen daily with a deer to save mass killing of his flock. When the lot fell on a pregnant doe, he offered himself for slaughter. The amazed king stopped the killing.

References:

Steel (1894) 129-43 The Two Brothers

Folktale Type AT: 890, 910K

Folktale Type B: 808

Motif-Index TMI: T 412

PADMĀVATĪ

TPS: No. 68 TAN 84 PL 120 P 508

Story: Padmāvati, daughter of an ascetic in the forest hermitage, was beautiful. King Brahmadata on a hunt met her, fell in love, asked her to his palace. Women in harem were jealous. They falsely accused and besmirched her. King believed and ordered her killed. Deity of father's hermitage saved her by Act of Truth.

References:

Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan married by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8

BP II: 392-3 Grimm: 96 Recueil des frères

Chauvin (1899-1902) # 375 VII: 95

Eberhard-Boratav (1953) # 239 55 versions

J 531 Kusa 320-7 Oral version

Littman 320-7 Oral version

Macdonald (1988) Cendrillon 143-9

Noy (1968) 15 Le Prince dont tous les souhaits furent exaucés 101-5

Noy (1968) 45 Les Princes perdus 209-14

Noy (1970) # 7 The weaving that saved the queen (IFA 8870)

Thompson (1951) 121

Üveges (1866) 10-3 A három holló

Zfatman (1991) 21 Story of stepmother 78-85

Folktale Type AT: 451, 652-II, 712, 951

Motif-Index TMI: K 2155.1

RATHALATTHI

J 332

CJ: III 69-70, MAL: II 715

Story: King's chaplain was on his way to his village estate. A caravan blocked his way. He got impatient and struck the caravan leader with his goad-stick. The stick ricocheted and hit his own forehead. He complained to the king, who without examining the case confiscated the caravan. The king's chief judge reversed the order.

References:

Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter's son (IFA 1193)

Marcus (1966) # 10 The three Brothers (IFA 6260)

RKSAPATI

XIA NAI (1983-5): III: 62, 161

Story: Three versions about an ungrateful man saved by the bear: 1) he points out the bear who saved him to a hunter; 2) shoves him from the tree to a lurking lion; 3) does both.

References:

Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter's son (IFA 1193)

Marcus (1966) # 32 There is no pity in Man's heart (IFA 5319)

Folktale Type AT: 75, 154, 154 IV, 160, 161

Folktale Type B: 1134, 1179

Motif-Index TMI: K 2315

SACCAMKIRA

J 73

CJ: I 177-81, MAL: II 995

Story: A prince was swept away in the middle of a river during the storm. He, a snake, a rat and a parrot were saved by an ascetic. They all promised him a reward. The animals fulfilled the promise, but not the prince.

References:

- Feer (1901) 174
 Hertel (1909) I: 74; 214 > Katharatnākara
 Hertel (1909) I: 130
 Noy (1968) 14 L'homme qui rendit le mal pour le bien 97-100
 Rückerts, F (1868) III 252 Gedicht "Von Menschen Undank und der Tiere Dankbarkeit" in Brahmanischen Erzählungen, Poetische Werke
 Wesselski (1925) 56 Die Dankbarkeit 153-5
 Folktale Type AT: 160, 554
 Folktale Type B: 1122
 Motif-Index TMI: B 437.1, B 469.9, B 491.1, B 531, B 583, W 154.2.2

SAMMODAMĀNA

J 33

CJ: I 85-6, MAL: II 1065

Story: In unison quails could avoid being captured by raising the net together flying away, while quarreling they were caught.

References:

- Noy (1968) 1 Le Coq, l'âne et le chien 25-8
 Folktale Type AT: 125, 233B
 Folktale Type B: 1056
 Motif-Index TMI: J 1024, K 640, K 1715.3, U 160

SAMBHAVA, Youth, Simbha

J 515

CJ: V 31-7, FJ: V 57-67, MAL: II 1061

Story: Chaplain sent all over to find definition of "good" & "truth". Finally a 7-year old boy resolved his doubts.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 1 Mother's heart 51-3
 Alexander (1989) 59 Answers of Jewish minister 179-80
 Alexander (1989) 64 Cutting cloth 192-3
 Alexander (1989) 92 Clever boy and king 234-6
 Apocrypha Susanna
 Avitsuk (1965) Avitsuk, Jacob: TEM 1964, IFA, Haifa, 1965 # 27 The Tree that absorbed Tears
 Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine (IFA 8168)
 Eberhard-Poravka (1953) 294 Der Kaufmann und sein Lehrling 337
 Gaster (1924) # 429; 441
 Gaster (1934) # 144 The Old Man and the Snake and the Judgment of Solomon I: 276-80
 Gaster (1934) # 199 The Woman who hid her Gold in a Jar II: 452-6
 Ginzberg (1946-61) III 257 n. 7-10
 Koen-Sarano (1994) 195-203 El mazal i la hohma 195-203
 Marcus (1966) # 14 King learns from children (IFA 4839)
 Noy (1966) Noy, Dov: Tunisia, IFA, Haifa 1966 # 10
 Noy (1968) 10 Le jugement dans l'affaire du miel et d'or 72-4
 Noy (1968) 47 L'orphan qui savait dévoiler les secrets 217-30
 Noy (1979) 39-17 Thanks to King Solomon's Trial (IFA 11093)
 Noy (1979) # 20 The boy's three questions (IFA 11137)
 Thompson (1951) 145 The Folktale

Tsedaqa (1965) # 1 The daughter of Amran (IFA 6379)
 Folktale Type AT: 921, 922, 926A, 1620
 Motif-Index TMI: A 530, H 524.1, H 711.1, J 1113, K 445

SAÑJĪVA, Resurrection, Byaggha J 150
 CJ: I 319-22, FJ: I 508-11, MAL: II 1001

Story: Pupil learned a spell how to raise the dead, but did not know how to stop the spell. He used the spell on a dead tiger. The tiger became alive & killed him.

References:

Basile (1932) IV: 6 The three Crowns II: 43-53
 Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
 Gaster (1924) #441
 Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n. 31
 Noy (1967) # 11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)
 Noy (1968) 18 Le médecin et son assistant 112-5
 Rappoport (1937) 195-9 The creation of the Golem
 Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1
 Folktale Type AT: 155, 325, 565, 678
 Motif-Index TMI: D 806, D 965, D 1500, D 1635, D 1711.0.1, D 1810.4, J 563, J 1172.3, J 1804, J 2411.4, R 1117

SIRI J 284

CJ: II 279-82, MAL: II 1138

Story: A stick-gatherer at night overhead two cocks fighting and abusing each other. One cock boasted: if anybody eats my meat - will become a king; my exterior - will be commander-in-chief; my bones - a chaplain. The stick-gatherer caught the cock, killed & his wife cooked it in a pot. Going to bathe in the river, they put the pot on the bank. A breeze blew it into the river. Downstream an elephant-trainer picked it up. At mealtime an ascetic stopped in. They offered him the pot (unaware of its importance). The ascetic divided the pot: meat to the trainer, exterior to

the wife, and he ate the bones. Events materialized according to the prediction.

References:

Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
 Folktale Type AT: 567A, 567A-II, 670 II-III, 926
 Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, M 312.3, N 451

SIVI J 499

CJ: IV 250-6, MAL: II 1153

Story: Sivi's story presents four versions of self-sacrifice: 1) giving away his eye; 2) his flesh; 3) his head; 4) his body.

References:

Cheichel (1973) # 4 100 grams of a flesh of a Jew (IFA 9321)
 Folktale Type AT: 890
 Motif-Index TMI: A 1598, H 252, J 1161.2

SUDATTA

TPS: No. 35 TAN 75 PL 111 P 476

Story: The religious and humble Sudatta disobeyed the proud king's ordinances in maintaining his practices of rituals. Severely punished by the king, he distributes his wealth and retires.

References:

Mizrahi (1967) # 10 Reverence to prayer at Day of Atonement (IFA 7065)

Folktale Type AT: 929

Motif-Index TMI: T 232

SUDHANA

TPS: No. 64 TAN 83 PL 119 P 501

Story: Prince Sudhana (S.) & Manoharā (M.). King Dhana had a Nāga, whose presence augured prosperity. An enemy king wanted to acquire that Nāga by dispatching men to capture it. Nāga saved by a hunter. As a reward the Nāga gave him a magic noose. Hunter gave the noose to his

son, who was able to capture with it M., a beautiful Kinnari princess. He gave M. to Prince S. They married. S. was sent to conduct a campaign. S. gave to his mother the queen a miraculous gem to safeguard M. in his absence. There was a rivalry in the king's court between two chaplains: the favored & the unfavored one. The unfavored chaplain was looking for an opportunity to take revenge on the favored one. This came about when the king had a bad dream & consulted the unfavored chaplain. He suggested to the king to sacrifice M. to the gods. This was almost done, had not M. been rescued by the miraculous gem in custody of the queen. With that M. flew back to her Nāga world. Before entering her world she visited a hermit & asked him to tell the returning Prince S. where she went & entrusted a ring for S. The returned S. was frantically searching for M. & by chance met the hermit, who fulfilled the charge given to him by M. This led to their happy reunion.

References:

- Basile (1932) IV: 3 The Three Animal Kings II: 21-6
 Bocaccio (1982) X: 9 762-80
 Penzer (1924) II: 76 The Ring of Recognition
 Schiefner (1882) Introduction XLIX-L
 Folktale Type AT: 400
 Motif-Index TMI: B 652.1, D 361.1.1, H 94, H 324

SUMĀGADHĀ

TPS: No. 93 TAN 90 PL 126 P 526

Story: Pious daughter converts her whole family to Buddhism from Jainism.

References:

- Noy (1970) # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a great good (IFA 11459)
 Folktale Type AT: 875, 875D
 Motif-Index TMI: F 645

SURUCI

J 489

CJ: IV 198-205, MAL: II 1258

Story: Two motifs: 1) two friends who later became kings promised to wed their future children; 2) at wedding festivity groom could not be made to laugh until a dancer performed a "half-body" dance.

References:

- Basile (1932) Frame Story and I: 3
 Basile (1932) III: 5 The Cockchafer, the Mouse and the Grasshopper I: 257-64
 Noy (1968) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux 142-52
 Parimoo (1995) 164 >
 Weinreich (1988) 7 Wisdom or Luck 5-8
 Folktale Type AT: 559-I, 571-III, 930, 945II
 Motif-Index TMI: 591.2, H 252, N 640

SUTASOMA

J 537

CJ: V 246-79

Story: King became cannibalistic by tasting human flesh offered to the unwitting king by his cook. This caused panic in the populace. With help of brave Sutasoma he was converted to his previous habits.

References:

- Alexander (1989) 4 Repentance of cannibal 60-7
 Alexander (1989) 94 Two brothers responsible for each other 237-8
 Parimoo (1995) 124 >
 Folktale Type AT: 406, 768
 Motif-Index TMI: B 243, G 11.7, G 51, G 78.1, H 252, K 815.17, N 101, S 262

SUVARNAVARṆĀVADĀNA

Mitra (1882):

Story: Three incarnations: 1) old bhikṣu wanted to get rid of a new monk Ajita. Accused him falsely for sexual excesses, exclaiming: "you deserve the stake for your crime". 2) the old bhikṣu reborn as Virūpa, an ugly creature, cause of calamity; 3) again reborn as Suvarṇavarṇa a beautiful and devoted youngster, falsely accused of murder and was put on stake for execution. Every time he was rescued because he performed the rite of caityavrata (honoring the caitya). - Karma served the purpose of a "rational excuse for the apparent absence of justice in the world" (G. Scholem).

References:

Noy (1963) 32 Schwili : Die Königstochter und der Sohn des Zauberers 101-6

Folktale Type AT: 759**

TACCHASŪKARA

J 492

CJ: IV 216-21, MAL: I 986

Story: Wise boar helped to save his herd of wild boars from a harassing tiger. He organized the herd, captured & devoured the tiger. The same wise boar got rid of a sham ascetic who used to help a tiger to devour the boars. The herd elected him to be their king. They seated him in a fig tree & sprinkled him with water from a conch shell. This is the origin of the coronation ceremony on a figwood chair & sprinkling from a conch shell.

References:

Noy (1968) 1 Le coq, l'âne et le chien 25-8

Folktale Type AT: 125

Folktale Type B: 35

Motif-Index TMI: J 1020, K 1715.3

TAKKALA

J 446

CJ: IV 27-31, MAL: I 981

Story: Wicked wife persuades husband to kill his old father. He goes to the cemetery with his young son. Starts to dig a grave for his old father. When the young son starts to dig another grave "Whom is it for?" asked the father. "For you, when you get old." They went home & he chased away his wife. (Blames wife instead of his own malice!)

References:

Yehoshua (1969) # 13 Honor your Father (IFA 7668)

Folktale Type AT: 980, 982

Motif-Index TMI: J 121.1, K 214.2, N 451

TAKKĀRIYA

J 481

CJ: IV 153-61, MAL: I 984

Story: Chaplain discovers that his wife had a look-alike lover: tawny brown. Chaplain persuades king to sacrifice a tawny brown man to enable a building to be built. The stupid husband tells his perfidious wife about it. The word spreads around looking for a tawny man. Wife warns all of them to flee. The only one remaining is her husband.

References:

Cheichel (1968) # 2 The Turning Wheel (IFA 7905)

Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine (IFA 8168)

Noy (1968) 29 Le Chat Noir 56-7

Noy (1970) # 20 The boy's three questions (IFA 11137)

Schwarzbaum (1968) 254-5

Folktale Type AT: 980C

Folktale Type B: 1015, 1168

Motif-Index TMI: J 21.45, J 2143.1, N 101, N 331, S 241, S 261

- TESAKUṆA J 521
 CJ: V 59-64, MAL: I 1037
 Story: King finds a nest with three eggs. Young birds hatched, adopted by king as his children. They give him good advice how to rule: 1) do not attempt the impossible; 2) regret nothing that is past; 3) believe no impossible tale. The king failed on all three.
- References:
- Ausubel (1948) 628 The Wise Bird and the Foolish Man
 Budge (1923) 5 The Nightingale and the Fowler XXII–XXIII
 Budge (1923) 63-7 The Parable of the Hunter
 Burton (1888) VI: 169 The Three Teachings of the Bird
 Campbell, Marie in Patai (1960): The Three Teachings of the Bird XXXIII-XXXIX
 Davids (1880) # 39 The Bird's Three Advices 149-50
 Gaster (1924) Lydgate, John: The Churl of the Bird 102-40
 Hammond (1927) Introduction commentary LXX, 80, 190; Appendix II page CXXI
 Jacobs (1896) The Three Teachings of the Bird - three versions
 MacDonald (1895) III 256, 354
 Parker (1914) 175-6 Three Precepts
 Rappoport (1937)

THE BRAHMAN AND THE MONGOOSE

- Penzer (1924): V:138-9
 Story: A Brahman left his infant in care of a trusted mongoose while he was called to perform a ceremony. A snake crept to the bed of the child ready to bite him. The mongoose jumped at the snake and killed it. The returning Brahman saw at the entrance the mongoose with its bloody mouth. Believing that the mongoose killed the child he stoned the faithful animal.

- References:
 CJ VI 186-9
 J 332 Rathalatthi
 Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 103-14
 Motif-Index TMI: B 331.2
- TIPALLATTHAMIGA J 16
 CJ: I 47-50, MAL: I 1013
 Story: Young stag caught in net, feigned death to make his escape.
- References:
 Noy (1968) 2 La ruse de renard 28-32
 Folktale Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A, 239
 Folktale Type B: 504, 996
 Motif-Index TMI: K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860
- UCCHAṄGA, Lap/womb, Apronfull, Uccaṅga, Udariya J 67
 CJ: I 164-6, FJ: I 306-8, MAL: I 340
 Story: Three men were taken prisoners alleging they were bandits. Woman claimed them. The king presented her with a dilemma: if she take only one person with her of the three: husband, child or brother, which one should she pick? She picks the brother, who is irreplaceable (the other two could be replaced). The pleased king released all three.
- References:
 Basile (1932) IV: 9 The Raven II: 72-82
 Folktale Type AT: 985
 Motif-Index TMI: A 530, P 253.3
- UCCHIṬṬHABHATTA, Left-over food, Nana J 212
 CJ: II 117-20, FJ: II 167-9, MAL: I 341
 Story: Husband found wife's lover in the storeroom.
- References:
 J 199 Gahapati

Folktale Type AT: 985
Motif-Index TMI: K 1561

UPAKOŚĀ

Penzer (1924): I 32-44, 167

Story: Virtuous wife traps suitors, hides them in baskets & takes them to king's court.

References:

Alexander (1989) 54 The Wise Queen 169-70

Folktale Type AT: 1730

Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

UTPALAVARNĀ

Chavannes (1918-34): No. 188 v: 2 54, v4: 154-5

Story: Being insistently pursued by a young man she asked for the reason. He said he likes her lotus-like eyes. She tore them out & sent them to him. This is according to the Tripitaka XIX, 7, p. 7 ro. and XVII, 2, p. 54 ro. However, according to Tawney-Penzer: Kathā sarit sāgara (III: 19-20) it is a prince who tore out his eyes, because the wife of a merchant was charmed by them. While so far no Pāli jātaka or avadāna seems to describe the story (?) or an illustration has been found, a personal communication by Prof. Jean Fontein (11/30/97) indicates that an up-to-date unidentified freeze on the main wall (II:35) of the second gallery at Barabudur seems to correspond to the Tawney-Penzer story.

References:

Basile (1932) III: 2 The Girl with the Maimed Hands

I: 232-41

Bin Gorion (1934) IV: 283

BP I: 295-311 to Grimm No. 31 "Das Mädchen ohne Hände"

Cahier (1867) Charasteristiques des Saints, in Revue Celtique V: 130

Eisler, R Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt, München, 1910, p. 150

Lamotte (1944) I: 260-3

Lamotte (1944) II: 875

Liebrecht (1879) 441 Essay on the Sources of Barlaam and Josaphat

Marguerite (1959) No. X

Parker (1910-4) II: 198

Pauli, Johannes Schimpf und Ernst, ed. Bolte, Berlin, 1924, vol. I: 13 & vol. II: 258

Penzer (1924) 3-III: 19-21 Prince who tore out his own Eye

Stokes (1877) 65 St. Brigit

Tubach (1969) # 4744 Temptation resisted by mutilation, p. 359. Many references.

Wirth, A Danae in christlichen Legenden, Wien, 1892, p. 45

Folktale Type AT: 706

Motif-Index TMI: T 327

VALĀHASSA

J 196

CJ: II 89-91, MAL: II 838

Story: Five hundred merchants shipwrecked on the island of goblins (Ceylon). They were enticed by those women (in beautiful shape). The leader of the group observed that these goblins devoured their victims as soon as new shipwrecks arrived. The Flying-horse showed up asking if they wanted to return to their homes. Only half of them grabbed the opportunity.

References:

Kurata (1987) Pl 45

Meech-Pekarik (1981-2) P 111-8 F 2-6

Parimoo (1995) 164 >

Folktale Type AT: 314-III
Motif-Index TMI: G 264.3

VATṬAKA-II J 118

CJ: I 261-2, MAL: II 816

Story: Quails were caught, fattened & sold. One quail refused to be fattened, fasted till he became all skin & bone. The fowler took him out of cage to examine him, he flew away & regained his freedom.

References:

Sharma (1978) 24-6 Santha Bahu

Folktale Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A

Folktale Type B: 501, 504, 510, 996

Motif-Index TMI: K 520, K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860

VEDABBHA J 48

CJ: I 121-4, MAL: II 920

Story: Two robbers obtain treasure. They slaughter each other due to extreme greed.

References:

Alexander (1989) 5 Sheppard who found livelihood 67-9

Bezemer 24-6 Volksdichtung aus Indonesien

Falah (1978) # 27 The pardoner's tale

Grimm (1856) Brüder Lustig

Hechal Hechal, Edna: TEM # 42 (unpublished)

6 Treasure finders

Marcus (1966) # 6 The end of a wicked man (IFA 3801)

Noy (1962) # 3 Moses our Teacher

Noy (1967) # 8 The poor woodcutter who trusted God
(IFA 7315)

Noy (1967) Pardoner's Tale

Schwarzbaum (1939) 4-5 Introduction by Eli Josef

Schwarzbaum (1947) 97-105 "The liar and the loaves of bread" in
Edoth (Hebrew)

Tupper (1941) 415-38 The pardoner's tale

Folktale Type AT: 763

Motif-Index TMI: K 1685

VEḶUKA J 43

CJ: I 114-5, MAL: II 934

Story: A hermit kept a viper as a pet, in spite of warnings against it. Once he was away for days. On his return the hungry & angry viper bit him. He died.

References:

Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)

Gaster (1924) # 441

Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n. 31

Noy (1967) # 11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)

Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1

Folktale Type AT: 155

VESSANTARA J 547

CJ: VI 246-305, MAL: II 944

Story: Prince Sudāna=Vessantara=Viśvāntara gives away everything. The classical story is too long even to abstract, it is a must reading in any of the references.

References:

Bacot (1923) Three Tibetan Mystery Plays

Pal (1988) 117 F 40

Pal (1988) 177

Pal (1988) 203 Pl 60

Parimoo (1995) 124 >

Motif-Index TMI: B 801

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INDEX

- ABHINISKRAMANA, 2
 AKATAÑÑU J 90, 2
 AMARĀDEVĪ-PAÑHA
 J 112, 2
 ĀSAMKA J 380, 3
 Banyan tree J 445, 14
 Banyan-Deer, Gazelle-king
 J 12, 14
 Big tunnel J 546, 12
 Byaggha J 150, 17
 CANDAKINNARA J 485, 3
 CENDRILLON, 4
 Chandapathapañha J 112, 2
 Cinderella, 4
 CROSSING OF GANGES, 4
 Cuckoo bird, of beautiful eyes
 J 536, 10
 CULLA-DHANUGGAHA
 J 374, 4
 DABBHAPUPPHA J 400, 5
 DŪBHIYAMAKKATA
 J 174, 6
 DADHIVĀHANA J 186, 5
 Dighakosala J 371, 6
 DĪGHĪTIKOSALA J 371, 6
 Dighatissa J 371, 6
 Dighatissakosala J 371, 6
 DĪPI J 426, 6
 DEVATĀ-PAÑHA J 350, 5
 EKAŚRṆGA, 7
 RĀKṢAPATI, 15
 GAHAPATI J 199, 7
 GĀMAṆI-CANḌA J 257, 7
 GHOSAKA, 7
 HĀRITA J 431, 8
 I NEVER LOSE ANYTHING, 8
 KAKKATA J 267, 8
 KALYĀNAKĀRI, 8
 KAṆHADĪPĀYANA J 444, 9
 KAPIRĀJA J 208, 9
 KŪṬAVĀṆIJA-II J 218, 12
 KAṬṬHAHĀRI J 7, 9
 KHARAPUTTA J 386, 9
 KIND ANIMALS -
 UNGRATEFUL MEN, 10
 Kosalarāja J 371, 6
 KUMBHA J 512, 10
 KUMBHAKĀRA J 408, 10
 KUNĀLA J 536, 10
 KURUṄGAMĪGA-II J 206, 11
 KUSA J 531, 11
 LA DISPUTE DES DEUX
 DÉMONS, 12
 Lap/womb, Apronfull J 67, 22
 Little Archer J 374, 4
 MAHĀ-UMMAGGA J 546, 12
 MAHĀKAPI-I J 407, 13
 MAHĀSĀRA J 92, 13
 MĀNDHĀTU J 258, 14
 MĀRAVIDRĀVA, 14
 Markata J 208, 9
 Monkey king J 208, 9
 MUṆIKA J 30, 14
 NIGRODHA J 445, 14
 NIGRODHAMIGA J 12, 14
 Nyagrodhamṛga J 12, 14
 PADMĀVATĪ, 15
 RATHALATṬHI J 332, 15
 Resurrection J 150, 17
 SAÑJĪVA J 150, 17

- SACCAṀKIRA J 73, 16
 SAMBHAVA J 515, 16
 SAMMODAMĀNA J 33, 16
 SANBHAVA J 515, 16
 Senaki J 386, 9
 Simbha J 515, 16
 SIRI J 284, 17
 SIVI J 499, 18
 Son of a donkey J 386, 9
 SUDATTA, 18
 SUDHANA, 18
 SUMĀGADHĀ, 19
 Sumsumāra J 208, 9
 SURUCI J 489, 19
 SUTASOMA J 537, 19
 SUVARṆAVARṆĀVADĀNA,
 20
 TACCHASŪKARA J 492, 20
 TAKKALA J 446, 20
 TAKKĀRIYA J 481, 21
 TESAKUṆA J 521, 21
 THE BRAHMAN AND THE
 MONGOOSE, 21
 TIPALLATTHAMIGA
 J 16, 22
 Uccaṅga J 67, 22
 UCCHAṄGA J 67, 22
 UCCHIṬṬHABHATTA
 J 212, 22
 Udariya J 67, 22
 UPAKOŚĀ, 22
 UTPALAVARṆĀ, 23
 VALĀHASSA J 196, 23
 VATṬAKA-II J 118, 24
 VEDABBHA J 48, 24
 VELUKA J 43, 24
 VESSANTARA J 547, 25
 Youth J 515, 16

A Note on *Dhammapada* 60 and the Length of the *Yojana*

I. *Dhammapada* 60 and its counterparts

Dhammapada 60 is the first verse of the *Bāla-vagga*, “The Chapter on Fools”. It may be rendered as follows:

Long is the night for one who is sleepless;
long is the league for one who is weary.
Long is saṃsāra for the fool
who does not understand the Good Dhamma.

In the Pāli and Patna *Dhammapadas* the verse is in the *Bālavagga*; in the *Udānavarga* it is in the *Anityavarga*.¹ The first part of the *Anityavarga* of the *Udānavarga* from Subaśi, which should have contained the verse, is lost,² as is the entire *Bālavarga* of the “*Gāndhāri Dharmapada*”, which might have contained the verse.³ A perfect equivalent to the *Udānavarga* verse is cited in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* as “a *gāthā* spoken by the Lord”,⁴ and lines *c* and *d* are cited in Bhavya’s *Tarkajvālā*, as preserved in Tibetan translation.

¹ The verse is not included in the *Fa chü p’i yü ching* (Taishō 211): see Samuel Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon, Commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying Narratives*, [Boston, 1878] San Francisco, 1977, p. 77, and Charles Willemsen, *Dharmapada: A Concordance to Udānavarga, Dharmapada, and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Brussels, 1974, p. 10.

² Cf. H. Nakatani (ed.), *Udānavarga de Subaśi*, Paris, 1987, p. 13.

³ Cf. John Brough, *The Gāndhāri Dharmapada*, London, 1962, pp. 10–12.

⁴ *bhagavatā gāthā bhāsitā*: Sylvain Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La grande classification des actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga)*, Paris, 1932, p. 46.4; P.L. Vaidya, *Mahāyāna-sūtra-samgraha I* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17), Darbhanga, 1961, p. 187.9.

Dhp 60 (V,1)	PDhp 185 (XI,12b)	Uv I,19; Mkv 46.4
<i>dīghā jāgarato rattī</i>	<i>drīghā assupato rātrī</i>	<i>dīrghā jāgarato rātrī</i>
<i>dīghaṃ santassa</i>	<i>drīghaṃ sāntassa</i>	<i>dīrghaṃ śrāntasya</i>
<i>yojanaṃ</i>	<i>yojanaṃ</i>	<i>yojanaṃ</i>
<i>dīgho bālānaṃ</i>	<i>drīgho bālāna samsāro</i>	<i>dīrgho bālasya</i>
<i>samsāro</i>		<i>samsārah</i>
<i>saddhammaṃ</i>	<i>saddhammaṃ</i>	<i>saddharmam</i>
<i>avijānataṃ.</i>	<i>avijānatām.</i> ⁵	<i>avijānataḥ.</i> ⁶

UvT I,19

Mkv 189.8

<i>mel tshe byed la mtshan mo riñ//</i>	<i>mel tshe byed na nam yañ riñ//</i>
<i>lam gyis dub la rgyaṅ grags riñ//</i>	<i>nal ba dag la dpag tshad riñ//</i>
<i>dam chos rnam par mi śes pa'i//</i>	<i>dam pa'i chos na śes gyur kyañ//</i>
<i>byis pa rnams la 'khor ba riñ//⁷</i>	<i>byis pa rnams la 'khor ba riñ//⁸</i>

⁵ Margaret Cone, “Patna Dharmapada”, *JPTS* XIII (1989), p. 185; Gustav Roth, “Text of the Patna Dharmapada”, in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen, 1980, p. 114. I prefer “Patna Dhammapada” to “Patna Dharmapada”, since *dhamma* is so spelt in the body of the text: *Dharmmapada* occurs only in the Sanskrit colophon. I have proposed elsewhere that the PDhp might be a recension of the Sāmmatiya school: see Peter Skilling, “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, *JPTS* XIX (1993), p. 152, n. 1.

⁶ Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1965, p. 102.

⁷ Siglinde Dietz and Champa Thupten Zongtse, *Udānavarga*, Vol. III, Göttingen, 1990, p. 34.

⁸ Lévi's text is based on the Narthang blockprint, compared with the Peking (p. 183, n. 1). I assume that Narthang reads *na*, as given by Lévi. Peking reads here *ni* (Q1005, Vol. 39, *mdo śu*, 291b2). The reading should rather be the negative *mi*.

Tarkajvālā 167.28

*dam chos rnam par mi śes pa'i// byis pa la ni 'khor ba riñ//⁹*Chinese *Udānavarga* I,18

To him who does not sleep soundly the night seems long. To him who is tired the road seems long. For the fool birth and death are longlasting. Few hear the good law.¹⁰

Both the Pāli and Patna *Dhammapadas* give *bāla* in the plural, as does the Tibetan of the *Udānavarga* and the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (in both *byis pa rnams*). The Sanskrit *Udānavarga* (and the Chinese *Udānavarga* in English translation), the Sanskrit *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, and the Tibetan *Tarkajvālā* citation give *bāla* in the singular. The Tibetan *Udānavarga* has *rgyaṅ grags* = *krośa* in place of *yojana*; this is probably a slip of the translators. The *Udānavargavivarāna* and the Tibetan *Mahākarma-vibhaṅga* have *dpag tshad* = *yojana*.

II. The setting (*nidāna*) of the verse

Prajñāvarman, in his *Udānavargavivarāna*, gives three *nidānas* for the *Udānavarga* verse:¹¹

⁹ Shotaro Iida, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism*, Tokyo, 1980, p. 167.28.

¹⁰ Taishō 213, tr. by Charles Willemsen, *The Chinese Udānavarga: A Collection of Important Odes of the Law, Fa Chi Yao Sung Ching* (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XIX), Brussels, 1978, p. 2.

¹¹ UvViv I 98.15–99.10. For the alternate *nidānas* given by Prajñāvarman, see Michael Balk, *Untersuchungen zum Udānavarga*, Bonn, 1988, pp. 205–12 and Skilling, “Theravādin Literature”, pp. 143–53.

(1) When the monks were gathered, seated together in the assembly hall (*bsti gnas kyi khañ pa*),¹² this chance discussion arose: “What, venerable ones, is that which is called ‘long’ (*dirgha*)?” Some said, “The night is long for one who is awake”. Others said, “The *yojana* is long for the weary traveller”. Overhearing [their discussion], the Lord spoke this verse.

(2) According to others: A deity (*deva*) came and asked the Lord:

“What is long for one who is awake?
What is long for the weary traveller?”

¹² Cf. the stock introduction at *Śayanāsanavastu* (Raniero Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikarānavastu*, Rome, 1978, p. 3.9 *sambahulānām bhiksūnām upasthānasālāyām samṇiṣaṇṇānām samṇipatitānām ayam evaṃrūpo 'bhūd antarākathāsamudāhārah; Kośavyākhyā* (ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, IV 1066, antepenult); introductions to MN 119 and 123 (III 88.18, 118.12) *sambahulānām bhikkhūnaṃ...upatthānasālāyām sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ ayam antarākathā udapādi; Karmaprajñapti, Upāyikā-tikā* (see below). It seems that here *bsti gnas kyi khañ pa* = *upasthānasālā* (Pāli *upatthānasālā*): *bsti stan* frequently translates forms of *sat-kṛ*, which is one of the senses of *upasthāna*. *upasthānasālā* is frequently rendered as *rim gro'i gnas*, the form sanctioned by the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Mvy 5565; MPS 2.1–4; *Vinayavastu, Saṅghabhedavastu*, Q1030, Vol. 42, 'dul ba ce, 155b7, 156a1, 2 = Raniero Gnoli (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Part II, Rome, 1978, p. 75.25 foll.). But there are, for Tibetan, a surprising number of alternates:

rim 'gro'i khañ pa (*Karmaprajñapti*, Q5589, Vol. 115, *mñon pa khu*, 112a3);

dpoñ sa'i khañ pa (*Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q1032, Vol. 42, 'dul ba je, 1a3, 5, 7, 8 = *Saṅghabhedavastu*, loc. cit.);

bkad sa (MPS 19.1, 2, 4, 5; at Mvy 5562 *bkad sa* = *maṇḍapa*);

'*dun khañ* (*Kośavyākhyā*, Q5593, Vol. 117, *mñon pa chu*, 303b7);

mdun ma (*Śamathadeva, Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tikā*, Q5595, Vol. 118, *mñon pa thu*, 58b6, 59a4);

bsñen bkur gyi gnas (*Śayanāsanavastu*, Q1030, Vol. 41, 'dul ba ñe, 179a5, b5 (*dkur* for *bkur*)).

What is long for the fool?

I beg your answer to these riddles.”

The Lord replied, “Night is long for the wide-awake”, and so on.

(3) Others say that this verse was spoken [by the Lord] with reference to (*ārabhya*) the sleepless King Prasenajit and a weary traveller.

The first *nidāna*, which I will call the “official” one—the *nidāna* transmitted by Prajñāvarman’s school, the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādins—is a summarized version of a stock opening employed in both (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin sūtra literature. The *nidāna* might therefore be drawn from a canonical text. The second *nidāna*, attributed to “others” (*gzan dag* = *anye*)—that is, another school—may also be canonical, since it resembles the short sūtras in which a deity or other figure approaches the Buddha and asks a riddle in verse, to which the Buddha replies in verse. Such sūtras are common in the *Deva-* and *Devatā-samyuttas* of the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, although no counterpart to Prajñāvarman’s citation is found there or elsewhere in Pāli. The third *nidāna*, also attributed to “others”, resembles the short *nidānas* given at the head of the stories in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. For the present verse that text gives the following *nidāna*:¹³

*imam dhammadesanaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto
pasenadikosalañ c' eva aññatarañ ca purisaṃ ārabbha kathesi.*

The Teacher gave this religious instruction when he was staying in the Jetavana, with reference to [King] Pasenadi of Kosala and a certain man.

¹³ *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, Aññatarapurisa-vatthu*, (Mm) III 100.3; (PTS) II 1.3.

The *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* gives a long story¹⁴ in which King Pasenadi of Kosala, out touring the city, glimpses the wife of “a certain poor man”,¹⁵ becomes infatuated with her, and spends a sleepless night.¹⁶ The reference to “the sleepless King Prasenajit” of the UvViv fits the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* story, but the “weary traveller” does not, since the “certain poor man” of the latter is a resident of the city, and is taken by the King into his service (with a sinister motive). Nonetheless, Prajñāvarman’s reference suggests that, as in other cases, he knew an exegetical tradition on the *Udānavarga/Dharmapada* that was related to that of the Theravādins.

III. The length of the yojana

The *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the line “long is the league to him that is weary” (*dīgham santassa yojanam*), defines a *yojana* as equal to four *gāvuta*: *yojanan ti yojanam pi catuggāvutamattam eva*.¹⁷ The *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* states that 80 *usabha* are a *gāvuta*, and four *gāvuta* a *yojana*: *asīti usabhāni gāvutam, cattāri gāvutāni yojanam*.¹⁸ The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* adds one more measurement:

¹⁴ (PTS) II 1–19; (Mm) III 100–114; Eugene Watson Burlingame (tr.), *Buddhist Legends*, Part 2 ([1921] London 1979), Part 2, pp. 100–111.

¹⁵ (Mm) III 100.9; (PTS) II 1.12 *aññatarassāpi* (PTS *aññattarassāpi*) *duggatapurisassa bhariyā*.

¹⁶ (PTS) II 5.10, *rañño pi tam rattim niddam alabhattassa*; 5.20, *rājā niddam alabhanto*.

¹⁷ (Mm) III 109.20; (PTS) II 13.4.

¹⁸ *Sammohavinodanī nāma Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, Nālandā ed. p. 346.19 = PTS ed. p. 343.

*gāvutam usabhāsīti yojanam catuggāvutam
dhanupañcasatam koso*.¹⁹

A *gāvuta* is 80 *usabha*, a *yojana* four *gāvuta*;
a *kosa* is 500 *dhanu*.

The Pāli Text Society’s Dictionary (p. 250a) defines *gāvuta* as “a linear measure, a quarter of a *yojana* = 80 *usabhas*, a little less than two miles, a league”. For *yojana* (p. 559a) it has “a measure of length: as much as can be travelled with *one* yoke (of oxen), a distance of about 7 miles, which is given by Buddhaghosa as equal to 4 *gāvutas*”, referring to the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* definition given above. It does not give *kosa* (p. 230ab) or *dhanu* (p. 335a) in the sense of measurements.

Medhaṅkara’s *Lokadīpakasāra* gives the relation between *kosa* and *gāvuti*.²⁰

*dhanu pañcasatam kosam kosam cattāri gāvutam
gāvutāni ca cattāri yojanan ti pavuccatīti*.

500 *dhanu* are a *kosa*, four *kosa* are a *gāvuta*;
four *gāvuta* are called a *yojana*.

¹⁹ *Phra gambhīr abhidhānappadīpikā ru bacanānukram bhaṣāpālī plae pen thai* (Mahāmakūṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2508 [1965]), p. 53, vv. 196cd, 197a.

²⁰ National Library-Fine Arts Department, *Lokadīpakasāra*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], Chap. 7, p. 544.18.

A similar verse is found in the *Samkhyāpakāsaka-pakaraṇa*²¹ and *Cakkavāladīpanī*.²²

*dhanu pañcasatam kosam catukosañ ca gāvutam
gāvutāni pi cattāri yojanan ti pavuccati.*

The same figures are given by Daśabalaśrimitra in Chapter 5 of his *Samskr̥tāsamskr̥ta-viniścaya*, “Analysis of Matter and Time” (**Rūpa-kāla-viniścaya*).²³ The chapter gives a brief account of the components of atoms (*paramāṇu*) and of measurements of size from the atom up to the *yojana*, according to the Vaibhāṣikas. To this the author appends three lines of verse “from the tradition (*āgama*) of the Ārya Sthavira *nikāya*”:

*gzu 'dom lna brgya rgyaṅ grags te// rgyaṅ grags bzi la ba lan
'gros//
ba lan 'gros bzi dpag tshad do// zes so//*

²¹ Boonna Sonchai, *Samkhyāpakāsakapakaraṇam and Commentary: An Edition and Critical Study*, Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of Eastern Languages, Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University, 1980, Chap. I, *Addhā-samkhyā*, v. 8 (p. 40). For this text see *Abstracts of M.A. Pāli-Sanskrit Theses* (Pāli and Sanskrit Section, Department of Eastern Languages, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University 2531), pp. 39 (Thai) and 123 (English) and Supaphan na Bangchang, *Vivadhanākār varṇagatī sai phra suttantapīṭak ti daeng nai pradeś thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 325–33.

²² National Library-Fine Arts Department, *Cakkavāladīpanī*, Bangkok, 2523 [1980], p. 208.7, with the sole variant *ca* for *pi* in line *c* (= *Lokadīpakasāra*). The *Cakkavāladīpanī* is citing the *Lokadīpakasāra*: the source is given at the beginning of the section (202.11, *vuttam lokadīpakasāre*) after which Sirimaṅgala introduces his citations with *vuttam tatth' eva*. For this text see Supaphan, *op. cit.*, 405–18.

²³ For Daśabala and his *Samskr̥tāsamskr̥ta-viniścaya* see Peter Skilling, “The Samskr̥tāsamskr̥ta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrimitra”, *Buddhist Studies Review* 4/1 (1987), pp. 3–23.

500 *dhanu* are one *kosa*; four *kosa* are one *gāvuta*;
four *gāvuta* are one *yojana*.

Although the measurements are the same, the citation does not exactly correspond to any of our sources, since it gives all three measures in three lines. It is closest to the *Lokadīpakasāra* and *Samkhyāpakāsaka* versions. Medhaṅkara wrote the former at Muttamanagara (Martaban) in Rāmaññadesa in the 14th century. Nāṇavilāsa, author of the latter, was probably a Northern Thai monk from Chiang Saen of the late 15th to early 16th century,²⁴ while Sirimaṅgala (a student of the preceding, who wrote a commentary on the *Samkhyāpakāsaka*) compiled the *Cakkavāladīpanī* in the kingdom of Lanna (Chiang Mai) in BE 2063 (CE 1520).²⁵ Since Daśabalaśrimitra probably lived in the 12th or 13th century, his citation is the earliest known source that includes the equation 4 *kosa* = 1 *gāvuta*.²⁶ The equation is not found in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, composed by Moggallāna in the Jetavana Monastery at Pulatthipura towards the end of the 12th century.²⁷

Non-Theravādin sources give different definitions. Prajñāvarman's *Udānavarga-vivarāṇa* has: “in this case a *yojana* equals a distance of four *krośa*” (*dpag tshad ni 'dir rgyaṅ grags bzi'i lam mo*).²⁸ The same figure is given in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* and the

²⁴ Supaphan, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

²⁵ Supaphan, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

²⁶ I would not be astonished if more on measurements, including perhaps the figure in question, occurs in the *Ṭikā* literature.

²⁷ For the date see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 166–67; Claus Vogel, *Indian Lexicography*, (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. V, Fasc. 4), Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 313; Jinadasa Liyanaratne, “South Asian flora as reflected in the twelfth-century Pāli lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*”, *JPTS* XX (1994), p. 43.

²⁸ I 100.5.

Lalitavistara; the former refers to a “Magadhan *yojana*”, the latter to a “Magadhan *krośa*”.²⁹ In both texts 1000 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa*. The Vaibhāṣika definition given by Daśabalaśrimitra (D 119b5, Q 18a3) is “500 *dhanu* are one *krośa*; eight *krośa* are one *yojana*”. This agrees with the *Abhidharmakośa* (III,87cd, 88a).³⁰ (Yaśomitra does not add any comments.)³¹ Hsüan-tsang (second quarter of the 7th century) gives the same figures.³² The Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvvyutpatti* (beginning of the 9th century) gives only one measurement, *dhanuḥ pañca śatāni krośaḥ*.³³ In sum:

²⁹ E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil (eds.), *The Divyāvadāna*, repr. Delhi, 1987, p. 645.15 *dhanuḥ sahasraṃ ekakrośaḥ, catvāraḥ krośā eko māgadho yojanaḥ* = Q1027, *sTag ma'i rtogs pa brjod pa*, Vol. 40, *mdo ke*, 264b4 *gzu ston la ni rgyan grags gcig go; rgyan grags bzi la ni ma ga dha'i dpag tshad gcig go*; P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Lalitavistara*, Darbhanga, 1958, p. 104.5 *dhanuḥ sahasraṃ māgadha* (mārgadhvajā, text) *krośaḥ, catvāraḥ krośā yojanam* = Q763, Vol. 27, *mdo ku*, 89b4 *gzu ston la ni yul ma ga dha'i rgyan grags gcigo; rgyan grags bzi la ni dpag tshad gcig go*.

³⁰ P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Patna, 1975, 177.4, *pañcaśatāny eṣāṃ krośo 'ranyam ca tan matam: dhanuṣāṃ pañca śatāni krośaḥ, krośamātram ca grāmādi 'ranyam iṣṭam, te 'ṣṭau yojanam ity āhuḥ*. See also William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1987: *krośa*, pp. 92b-93a, 261b, 304a, 322a; *yojana*, 197b, and L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950, p. 29. For a complete list of measurements, see William Montgomery McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, [London, 1923] Lucknow, 1976, pp. 41–43.

³¹ Swami Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra*, Part II, Varanasi, 1971, p. 536.19.

³² Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884 (repr. Delhi, 1981) I 70–71; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629–645)*, London, 1904–5 (repr. New Delhi, 1973) I 141–43.

³³ Mvy 8205.

500 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa* (Theravāda, Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang, *Mahāvvyutpatti*);

1000 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa* (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, *Lalitavistara*);

4 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Prajñāvarman, *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, *Lalitavistara*)

8 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang)

16 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Theravāda).

Monier-Williams defines a *krośa* as “the range of the voice in calling or hallooing”, a measure of distance (an Indian league, commonly called a Kos = 1000 Daṇḍas = 4000 Hastas = 1/4 Yojana; according to others = 2000 Daṇḍas = 8000 Hastas = 1/2 Gavyūti).³⁴ He defines a *yojana* as “a stage or Yojana (*i.e.* a distance traversed in one harnessing or without unyoking; esp. a particular measure of distance, sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly = 4 Krośas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations = 2 1/2 English miles, and according to some = 8 Krośas”.³⁵ His sources thus give some of the definitions used by the Buddhists, but as part of different systems of measurement. Evidently, and naturally enough, a number of systems coexisted, and the definition of the *yojana* varied with time, place, tradition, and context.³⁶ It could hardly have been a matter of sectarian dispute for the Buddhists, although it may have had some significance in the interpretation of the Vinaya.³⁷

³⁴ Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, [Oxford, 1899] Delhi, 1976, p. 322b.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 858a.

³⁶ See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, [1967] Calcutta, 1971, pp. 505–6.

³⁷ See e.g. *The Entrance to the Vinaya, Vinayamukha*, Vol. I, Bangkok, 2512/1969, pp. 235–36. The *Lokadīpakasāra* (544.7 foll. = *Cakkavāladīpanī* 207.21 foll.) mentions two types of *yojana*: *brahmādi-yojana* and *bhūmyādi-yojana*. The first, used for cosmic measurements such as the size of the moon,

In Section IV I give a translation, in Section V the Tibetan text, of Chapter 5 of the *Saṃskṛtāsāṃskṛta-viniścaya*. Daśabalaśrīmitra's description of atoms agrees with that of the *Indriyanirdeśa* (Chap. 2) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁸ His enumeration of measurements of size and units of time, both given in ascending order, agrees on the whole with that of the *Lokanirdeśa* (Chap. 3) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁹ The relative antiquity of the enumerations of size and time is shown by the fact that they are given in the *Lokaprajñapti*, a "canonical" text of the (Mūla)Sārvāstivādin Abhidharma.⁴⁰

The *Vibhāṅga-aṭṭhakathā* gives a series of ascending measurements of size, starting from the atom.⁴¹ The same figures are

sun, and *vimānas*, is that of Daśabalaśrīmitra's verse. The second, used for the measurement of land, mountains, and physical distance, will be described below.

³⁸ Cf. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome I, repr. Brussels, 1971, pp. 143–47. Cf. Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṅgāprabhāvṛtti*, Patna, 1977, (text) pp. 65–66, and Y. Karunadasa, *Buddhist Analysis of Matter*, Colombo, 1967, Chapter 8, "Atomism".

³⁹ See *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome II, pp. 177–80. I am indebted to La Vallée Poussin's valuable notes. Unfortunately the sections of the third chapter of the *Abhidharmadīpa* and its *Vibhāṅgāprabhāvṛtti*, in which the information might have occurred, are lost: see Jaini, p. 115, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme. Études et matériaux. Cosmologie: Le monde des êtres et le monde-réceptacle. — Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra. Troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakośa: Kārikā, Bhāṣya et Vyākhyā. Avec une analyse de la Lokaprajñapti et de la Kāraṇaprajñapti de Maudgalyāyana*, in *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques et Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires*, deuxième série, tome VI, fasc. II, Brussels, January, 1919, p. 309. For size see *Lokaprajñapti*, Q5587, Vol. 115, *mṅon pa khu* 11a7–b2; for time see 54a4.

⁴¹ *Vibhāṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (Nālandā ed.) 346.5–19 = PTS ed. p. 343; Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli (tr.), *The Dispeller of Delusion (Sammohavinodanī)*, Part II, Oxford, 1991, p. 67.

given in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, *Lokadīpakasāra*, *Samkhyāpakāsaka*, and *Cakkavāladīpanī*.⁴²

36 paramāṇu = 1 aṇu
 36 aṇu = 1 tājāri
 36 tājāri = 1 rathareṇu
 36 rathareṇu = 1 likkhā
 7 likkhā = 1 ūkā
 7 ūkā = 1 dhaññamāsa
 7 dhaññamāsa = 1 aṅgula
 12 aṅgula = 1 vidatthi
 2 vidatthi = 1 ratana
 7 ratana = 1 yaṭṭhi
 20 yaṭṭhi = 1 usabha
 80 usabha = 1 gāvuta
 4 gāvuta = 1 yojana.

The figures and names are quite different from those of the Vaibhāṣikas, with the exception of the equations 7 likkhā = 1 ūkā; 7 ūkā = 1 dhaññamāsa; 7 dhaññamāsa = 1 aṅgula, which may be compared with the 7 likṣā = 1 yūka; 7 yūka = 1 yava; 7 yava = 1 aṅgulī-parvan of the Vaibhāṣika system (see below).

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* does not enumerate the units of time. For these we may turn to Medhaṅkara's *Lokadīpakasāra*.⁴³

⁴² *Abhidhānappadīpikā* vv. 194–96; *Lokadīpakasāra* p. 544.10–15; *Samkhyāpakāsaka* Ch. 1, vv. 2–5; *Cakkavāladīpanī* 207, penult.–208.4. Cf. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–51. According to the *Lokadīpakasāra* and *Cakkavāladīpanī* this is the *bhūmyādi-yojana*.

⁴³ *Lokadīpakasāra* 546.1. I quote the verse from the *Cakkavāladīpanī* (see following note) because it appears to be corrupt in the *Lokadīpakasāra*.

*dasakkharā ekaprāṇam chaprāṇaṅ ca vinādikaṃ
vinādī pañcadasa pādaṃ catupādaṅ ca nādikā
saṭṭhi nādī ahorattaṃ tiṃsarattekamāsakaṃ
dvādasamāsakaṃ vassaṃ evaṃ kālaṃ vijāniya.*

10 akkhara are 1 prāṇa;
6 prāṇa are 1 vinādikā;
15 vinādī are 1 pāda;
4 pāda are 1 nādikā;
60 nādī are 1 day-and-night (ahoratta);
30 nights are 1 month (māsa);
12 months are 1 year (vassa).

The verses are cited by Sirimaṅgalācariya in his *Cakkavālādīpanī*, with a prose commentary.⁴⁴ The terms *akkhara*, *prāṇa* (or *pāṇa*), *vinādī* / *vinādikā*, *pāda*, and *nādī* / *nādikā* (or *nālikā*) are not listed by the PED in the sense of units of time. Some of the terms are found in non-Buddhist texts.⁴⁵

The study of Buddhist systems of measurements is complex, and we still have much to learn. I hope that further Buddhist sources, whether in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese, will one day throw more light on the subject, in comparison with Jaina and Brahmanical systems.⁴⁶ The present article shows that, while Daśabalaśrīmitra followed the Vaibhāṣika system of measurement, he was aware that the Sthaviras defined the *yojana* differently.

⁴⁴ *Cakkavālādīpanī* 208.15–209.14.

⁴⁵ See Louis Renou & Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique, Manuel des études indiennes*, II, Hanoi, 1953, p. 735; Basham, *op. cit.*, 506.

⁴⁶ See, for example, the measurements listed by the 19th century Tibetan polymath Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé (Koṅ sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, 1813–99), in *Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra, and Dzog-chen*, Ithaca, 1995, pp. 158–59 (time); 166–69 (space).

IV. “Analysis of Matter and Time”: Chapter 5 of the Samskṛtāsamkṛta-viniścaya

[1. The components of the atom]

Herein, the subtlest aggregation of matter (*sarvasūkṣmo hi rūpasamghātaḥ*) in the world of sentient beings and the receptacle world (*sattva-bhājana-loka*) is called the atom (*paramāṇu*). That beyond which nothing smaller can be known is the atom.

[1.1. The atom in the Sensual Realm (*kāmadhātu*)]

In the Sensual Realm (*kāmadhātu*), without sound and without faculty (*kāmadhātav aśabdako 'nindriyaḥ*), an eight-substance-atom arises (*aṣṭadravyaka utpadyate*). Therein, these are the eight substances (*aṣṭau dravyāṇi*): earth (*prthivī*), water (*ap*), fire (*tejas*), wind (*vāyu*), visible-form (*rūpa*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), and touchables (*spraṣṭavya*). When sound is added to these, there is a nine-substance-atom (*navadravyaka*). The atom of the body-faculty (*kāyendriya*) comprises nine substances. Therein, the nine substances are the aforementioned eight substances and the body-faculty-substance. When endowed with sound, there is a ten-substance-atom (*daśadravyaka*). The atoms of the other faculties comprise ten substances. Therein, the ten substances are the aforementioned nine substances and the substance of each individual faculty. When endowed with sound, it becomes an eleven-substance-atom (*ekādaśadravyaka*).⁴⁷ This is taught:⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The Sanskrit given in parentheses up to this point is for the most part drawn from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Indriyanirdeśa*, pp. 52.24–53.8.

⁴⁸ The verse is *Kośakārikā* II,22 *kāme 'ṣṭadravyako 'sabdah paramānur anindriyaḥ; kāyendriyī navadravyaḥ daśadravyo 'parendriyaḥ*. I cannot explain (and for now ignore) the double negatives of the Tibetan, which do not fit the prose or the *Kośa* verse.

In the Sensual [Realm] the atom has eight substances
without sound and without faculty.

With the body-faculty there are nine substances;
with the other faculties there are ten substances.

[1.2. The atom in the Form Realm (*rūpadhātu*)]

Because it is taught that in the Form Realm (*rūpadhātu*) there is neither scent nor taste, the atoms there are made up of six, seven, or eight substances respectively, according to the above-mentioned system: nothing more needs to be explained (*rūpadhātau gandharasayor abhāva uktas tena tatratyāḥ paramāṇavaḥ ṣatsaptāṣṭadravyakā ity uktarūpatvāt na punar ucyante*).⁴⁹

[2. Measurements of size]

In this way, the form that is reached in order of decreasing size, is the atom (*rūpasya apaciyamānasya paryantaḥ paramāṇuḥ*).⁵⁰ The first eleven categories of atom, etc., are [multiples of] seven, as follows:⁵¹

7 *paramāṇu* are 1 *aṇu* (*rdul phran* = Kośa)

Mvy *rdul phra mo*

7 *aṇu* are 1 *loha-rajās* (*lcags*)

Mvy, Kośa *lcags rdul*⁵²

7 *loha-rajās* are 1 *śaśa-rajās* (*ri boṅ*)

Mvy, Kośa *ri boṅ rdul*

7 *śaśa-rajās* are 1 *eḍaka-rajās*⁵³ (*lug*)

Mvy, Kośa *lug rdul*

7 *eḍaka-rajās* are 1 *go-rajās* (*glaṅ*)

Mvy, Kośa *glaṅ rdul*

7 *go-rajās* are 1 *vātāyanacchidra-rajās* (*ñi zer*)

Mvy, Kośa *ñi zer* (*gyi*) *rdul*

7 *vātāyanacchidra-rajās* are 1 *rajās* (*rdul*)

Mvy, Kośa —

7 *rajās* are 1 *likṣā* (*sro ma*)

Mvy, Kośa *idem*

7 *likṣā* are 1 *yūka* (*śig*)⁵⁴

Mvy, Kośa *idem*

7 *yūka* are 1 *yava* (*nas*)

Mvy, Kośa *idem*

7 *yava* are 1 *aṅgulī-parvan* (*sor mo tshigs*)

Kośa *sor mo* 'i *tshigs*,

Mvy *sor mo, sor*

3 *aṅgulī-parvan* are 1 *aṅgulī* (*mdzub mo*)

Kośa *sor mo*; Mvy —

⁴⁹ The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Indriyanirdeśa*, p. 53.17–18.

⁵⁰ The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Lokanirdeśa*, p. 176.11.

⁵¹ See *Kośabhāṣya*, *Lokanirdeśa*, 176.14–177.7, ad *Kośakārikā* III,85d–88a; Tibetan equivalents (“Kośa”) from *Kośabhāṣya* Tibetan, Q5591, Vol. 115, *mñon pa gu*, 177b6 foll.; Mvy § CCLI, nos. 8190–8206. See also La Vallée Poussin, *Cosmologie*, pp. 262–63. The list is given in English translation from the Tibetan at Jamgön Kongtrul, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁵² *Kośabhāṣya* and Kongtrul add here 7 *loha-rajās* = 1 *ab-rajās* (Mvy 8193, Kośa *chu rdul*), 7 *ab-rajās* = 1 *śaśa-rajās*, not given by Daśabalaśrimitra.

⁵³ *avi-rajās*, Mvy 8195.

⁵⁴ Also described in the *Kośabhāṣya* as *tad-udbhava* = *de las byun ba*: that is, the louse (*yūka*) comes from the louse-egg (*likṣā*).

As for surface measurements:⁵⁵

24 *āṅgūlī* are 1 full *hasta* (*khru gaṅ* = Mvy)
 Kośa *khru*
 4 *hasta* are 1 full *dhanu* (*gzu gaṅ* = Kośa)
 Mvy 'dom⁵⁶
 500 *dhanu* are 1 *krośa* (*rgyaṅ grags*)
 Mvy, Kośa idem⁵⁷
 8 *krośa* are 1 *yojana* (*dpag tshad*)
 Mvy, Kośa idem.

According to the tradition (*āgama*) of the Ārya Sthavira *nikāya*, however:

500 *dhanu* are one *kosa*;
 4 *kosa* are one *gāvuta*;
 4 *gāvuta* are one *yojana*.

[3. Time (*kāla*)]⁵⁸

The limit of time (*kāla-paryanta*) is the moment (*kṣana*).⁵⁹ A moment is described as the time it takes for one atom to pass to another

⁵⁵ *logs la gzal bas*: cf. *Kośabhāṣya* p. 176, ult *pārsvikṛtās tu*; *Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *nos su bya na ni*.

⁵⁶ *Kośabhāṣya* 177.2 *dhanuḥ, vyāsenety arthaḥ* (*Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *khru bzi la gzu gaṅ no*. 'dom gaṅ no žes bya ba'i tha tshig go.

⁵⁷ This is the distance of an *araṇya*: *Kośakārikā* III,87cd *krośo 'raṇyaṃ ca tan matam* (*Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *rgyaṅ grags de la dgon par 'dod*.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Divyāvadāna* (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*) p. 644; Hsüan-tsang in Beal I 71, Watters I 143–44; La Vallée Poussin, *Cosmologie*, p. 263; Jamgön Kongtrül, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–69. Mvy § CCLIII, *Dus kyi min*, gives a long list of terms related to time.

⁵⁹ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.11 *kālasya paryantaḥ kṣaṇo*.

atom.⁶⁰ Alternately, for a strong man to snap his fingers is 65 moments,⁶¹ or, some say, 37. 120 moments are called one *tatkṣaṇa*; 60 *tatkṣaṇa* are one *lava*; 30 *lava* are one *muhūrta*, which is also called a *nālikā*,⁶² 30 *muhūrta* are one day-and-night (*ahorātra*); 30 days are one month (*māsa*); 12 months are one year (*saṃvatsara*).⁶³

[4. Chapter colophon]

“Analysis of Matter and Time” (**Rūpa-kāla-viniścaya*), Chapter 5 of *The Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned*, compiled by Mahāpaṇḍita Daśabalaśrimitra.

V. Tibetan text of Chapter 5 of the Samskr̥tāsamkr̥ta-viniścaya⁶⁴

[1] 'dir sems can dañ snod kyi 'jig rten dag gzugs 'dus pa thams cad kyi phra ba ni rdul phra rab ces (D: žes Q) brjod do// gañ las ches chuñ ba šes par bya ba med pa de ni rdul phra rab po//

[1.1] 'dod pa'i khams su sgra dañ bral ba dañ dbañ po spañs pa'i rdzas brgyad ldan skye bar 'gyur ro// de la rdzas brgyad ni 'di lta ste/ sa dañ/ chu dañ/ me dañ/ rluñ dañ/ gzugs dañ/ dri dañ/ ro dañ/ reg bya'o// 'di

⁶⁰ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.13, *yāvataḥ paramāṇoḥ paramānvantaram gacchati*.

⁶¹ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.13 *balavat puruṣacchaṭasamghātamatrena pañcaṣaṭhiḥ kṣaṇā atikrāmanīty ābhidhārmikāḥ*. For *puruṣacchaṭasamghātamatrena* see Mvy 8226 and *L'Abhidharmakośa* III 178, n. 1.

⁶² The term is transliterated as *na-li-ka*.

⁶³ See *Kośabhāṣya* 177.7–20.

⁶⁴ Stobs bcu dpal bśes gñen, 'Dus byas dañ 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa, Q5865, Vol. 146, *no mtshar bstan bcos ño*, 17b3–18a7; D3897, *dbu ma ha*, 119a6–120a2. All variants are recorded except for the use of the *śad* (*dañda*), in which there are only two variants—the omission of the *śad* in Q after *dañ* in *dri dañ/ ro dañ/*, as given by D.

mams su sgra rab tu bcug pas rdzas dgu ldan 'gyur ro// lus kyī dbaṅ po'i rdul phra rab ni rdzas dgu (D119b) ldan de/ de la rdzas dgu ni 'di lta ste/ rdzas brgyad po de ñid daṅ lus kyī dbaṅ po'i rdzas so// sgra daṅ bcas pa na rdzas bcu'o// dbaṅ po g'zan mams kyī rdul phra rab ni rdzas bcu ldan no// de la rdzas bcu ni 'di lta ste/ rdzas dgu po de ñid daṅ dbaṅ po raṅ raṅ gi rdzas so// sgra daṅ bcas pa na rdzas bcu gcig tu 'gyur ro// gsuṅs te/

'dod na phra rab rdzas brgyad de (D: *æ* Q) // sgra med pa min dbaṅ med min//

lus dbaṅ ldan la rdzas dgu'o// dbaṅ po g'zan ldan rdzas bcu'o//⁶⁵

[1.2] 'dis ni gzugs kyī khams na dri daṅ ro dag med par gsuṅs pa des na/ de dag na ni rdul phra rab dag ni rim pa b'zin du rdzas drug daṅ bdun brgyad do 'zes gsuṅs pa'i tshul ñid kyis na ci yaṅ brjod par mi bya'o//

[2] de ltar gzugs 'di ñid kyī 'grib b'zin pa na mthar thug pa ni rdul phra rab po// rdul phra (Q18a) rab la sogs pa'i sgra bcu gcig ni/ goṅ ma bdun 'gyur te/ 'di lta ste/ rdul phra rab bdun la rdul phran no// rdul phran bdun la lcags so// lcags bdun la ri boṅ ño// ri boṅ bdun la lug go// lug bdun la glaṅ ño// glaṅ bdun la ñi zer ro// ñi zer bdun la rdul lo// rdul bdun la sro ma'o// sro ma bdun la śig go// śig bdun la nas so// nas bdun la sor mo'i tshigs so// sor mo'i tshigs gsum la mdzub mo'o// logs la g'zal (D: *b'zal* Q) bas/ sor mo ñi śu b'zi la khru gaṅ ño// khru b'zi la g'zu gaṅ ño// g'zu lña brgya la rgyaṅ grags so// rgyaṅ grags brgyad (Q: *brgya* D) la dpag tshad do// 'phags pa gnas brtan pa'i sde pa'i luṅ las kyaṅ/

⁶⁵ Cp. *Kośakārikā* II,22 at *Kośabhāṣya* Tibetan 70b3 foll.:

'dod na dbaṅ po med pa daṅ//
sgra med phra rab rdul r'zas brgyad//
lus dbaṅ ldan la rdzas dgu'o//
dbaṅ po g'zan ldan r'zas bcu'o//

g'zu 'dom lña brgya rgyaṅ grags te// rgyaṅ grags b'zi la ba laṅ
'gros//
ba laṅ 'gros b'zi dpag tshad do// 'zes so//

[3] dus kyī mtha' ni skad cig ma ste/ de yaṅ dus ci srid du rdul phra rab kyis rdul phra rab g'zan brgal bar gyur pa de srid kyī dus la skad cig ces (D: *zes* Q) bya'o// yaṅ na stobs daṅ ldan pa'i skyes bus se gol gtogs pa tsam la skad cig ma drug cu rtsa lña'o// sum cu rtsa bdun 'zes pa yaṅ ño// skad cig brgya ñi śu la de'i skad cig ces (D: *zes* Q) so// de'i skad cig drug cu la thaṅ cig (D: *gcig* Q) go// thaṅ cig (D: *gcig* Q) (D120a) sum cu la yud tsam mo// na-li-ka 'zes kyaṅ brjod do// yud tsam sum cu la ñin 'zag go// ñin 'zag (D: *zags* Q) sum cu la zla ba'o// zla ba bcu gñis la lo 'khor ba'o//

[4] paṅḍi-ta (D: *mkhas pa* Q) chen po stobs bcu dpal (Q adds *gyi*) b'ses gñen kyis bsdus pa (D: *pa'i* Q) 'dus byas daṅ 'dus ma byas mam par ñes pa las gzugs daṅ dus mam par ñes pa 'zes bya ba l'eu lña pa'o//

Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

Abbreviations

D	Derge (sDe dge) bsTan 'gyur
<i>Kośabhāṣya</i>	P. Pradhan (ed.), <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu</i> , 2nd rev. ed., Patna, 1975
Mm	Siamese script Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālaya (Bangkok) edition
MPS	Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.), <i>Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i> , 3 parts, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986
Mvy	R. Sakaki, <i>Mahāvvyutpatti</i> , Kyoto, 1926
PTS	roman script Pali Text Society edition

- Q Peking (Qianlong) bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur
 Uv *Udānavarga*
 UvViv Michael Balk, *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa*,
 2 vols., Bonn, 1984

Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Dr Allen Thrasher of the Library of Congress called my attention to a few manuscripts that have come to (or back to) the Southeast Asia Section since I made the list published in JPTS XIII, pp. 1–31. This has made it possible to correct some entries and add new ones. There have also been a number of new palm-leaf manuscripts given to the library. Burmese-Pāli 129–153 were given by E. Gene Smith in 1993. They were bought in Thailand. Burmese-Pāli 158 and 159 were given by Mrs Mildred Goldthorpe. Burmese-Pāli 160 is an illustrated manuscript on paper recently acquired by the library.

William Pruitt

Abbreviations

- Barnett** L.C. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Burmese Books in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1913).
- Bode** M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma* (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909, repr. 1966).
- Bur MSS I** Heinz Bechert, Daw Khin Khin Su, Daw Tin Tin Myint, compilers, *Burmese Manuscripts, Part 1* (Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1979).
- Bur MSS I** Heinz Braun, Daw Tin Tin Myint, compilers, *Burmese Manuscripts, Part 2* (Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1985).
- PL** K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983).

Burmese-Pāli 1. A text on Buddhist law (according to Poleman). Cf. Poleman, no. 5542, which I originally identified as corresponding to Burmese-Pāli no. 47 (34.5 cm. [when folded] × 61 cm.; 23 lines to each half sheet; there are 19 double sheets of rice paper sewn at the top—not 9 sheets as stated in the note to Burmese-Pāli 47). An address label is included with the date Jan. 9, 1905, stamped on it. The return address given is Rev. O. Hanson, Bhamo, Upper Burma. The text is written in black ink and is in Shan.

Burmese-Pāli 47. Correction: This manuscript contains 18 ff., 32 × 47 cm., with 20 lines per page.

Burmese-Pāli 125. Kaccāyana, incomplete; 69 ff. (khe-gō, ñè-ñā:, thi-tō). Date: 1886 (at the end of all sections). (5.5 × 48.9 cm.; 9 lines.)

Chapters:

1. Nām[akappa], ff. khe-gō
2. Sandhi[kappa], ff. ñè-ñā:
3. Kāraka[kappa], ff. thi-tho
4. Samāsa[kappa], ff. thō-dī
5. Taddhit[akappa] (Taddit), ff. ḍu-dā:
6. Ākhyāta-sutta, ff. ḍha-ḍhè
7. Kibbidhāna-sutta, ff. ḍho-ṇī
8. Uṇhādi-sutta, ff. ṇu-ṇā:
9. Sadda aṭṭha suttam, ff. ta-tō [the first number is mistakenly written “ka”].

Burmese-Pāli 126. Kaccāyana, incomplete; 10 ff. (ka-kō). Date: 1758. (5.5 × 51.3 cm., 7 lines.)

Chapter: Samāsa[kappa] (Samāt), ff. ka-kō.

Burmese-Pāli 127. Lokadīppa kyam: (လောကဒီပ ကျမ်း:).

A parabaik (folded, white paper, accordion style) written in black ink on both sides and with gilded edges. The paper is attached to magnificent wood covers with decorative patterns in relief and inlaid with green, plain, and red bits of glass. The unnumbered folds have 9 lines to a page. The text is not the same as the work of the same title in Bur MSS I no. 99. It is in Shan.

Burmese-Pāli 128. Correspondence concerning a Burmese manuscript. Boxed with the letters is a fragment of a palm-leaf MS with a few letters on it, a photo and enlargement of 2 ff. of a MS mentioned in the correspondence (Sadda krī:). There are two letters to Mrs Coming from Betty White, one dated Dec. 6, 1939, and the other May 4, 1940. The second letter encloses a letter from John R. Peal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta), dated April 20, 1940, and one from S.K. Chatterji, Philological Secretary of the RASB. Mr Chatterji identifies Mrs Coming's MS as Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar

The copyist's name, he says, is “Sa Nyaungtaing Awng Myaung” (Ca Ṇom Tuin On Myom, စ ခေတ္တ ဝိင်္ဂ ဩင် မြောင်).

Burmese-Pāli 129. Visuddhimagga-tīkā (Visuddhimag tīkā pāth), ff. ka-pā: (incomplete). Pāli. No date. (6.5 × 51.5 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 130. Majjhima-nikāya, Mūlapaṇṇāsa (Mūlapaṇṇāsa pāli-tō), ff. ka-dā:. Pāli. Date: 1903. Owner: Ū: Visuddha. (6 × 51 cm.; 20 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 131. Cūḷaganṭhi (Cūḷaganṭhi-mahāvagga-vaṇṇanā), ff. ṇā-sā (incomplete). Pāli. Date: 1804. Author: Nanda māla (in text: Nandhamāla). Cf. Bode 76 (mention of a text entitled Cūḷaganṭhipada by Moggallāna) and 73 (on monk Nandamāla, who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century) (6 × 49 cm.; 9 lines).

Burmese-Pāli 132. Dīgha-nikāya, ff. ka–yu. Pāli. Date: 1860. Three sections: ff. ka–jā: (Silakkhanda-vagga [Sut Silakkhaṃ pāli-tō; Sus Silakkhan pāli-tō]); ff. jha–dū (Mahāvagga [Sut Mahāvā pāli-tō]); ff. de–yu (Pātheya/Pāṭhika-vagga [Sut Pādeyya pāli-tō; Pāthika-vagga]). (7 × 49 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 133. Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā (Vajira°) by Mahā-Vajirabuddhi of Sri Lanka (Gandavaṃsa 60, 66), ff. ka–di. Date: 1859. Pāli. (6 × 47 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 134. (6 × 49 cm., 10 lines.)

(A) **Aṭṭhasālīnigandhi** (nissaya), incomplete, ff. jhī–te. Date: 1898–99.

(B) **Vinaññ mhat su pāli** (Viny: mhat su [ဝိနည်း/ဝိနည်းမှတ်စု]) (nissaya), ff. tè:–so. Date: 1899.

Burmese-Pāli 135. ff. jā–yū. (6 × 48 cm.; 10 lines). Date: (all texts) 1900.

Rūpasiddhi (or Pada-rūpasiddhi, see PL 164), incomplete, by Buddha-ppiya (or Dīpaṅkara). Pāli.

Sections (titles from margins):

(A) Ākhyāt rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. jā–jo

(B) Kit rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. jō–ñño

(C) Sandhi rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. ññō–thā:

(D) Kāraka rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. ḍa–dhā

(E) Samās rūpasiddhi-ṭikā (Smās ...), ff. ḍhi–ṇa

(F) Taddhit rūpasiddhi-ṭikā, ff. ṇā–ṇè:

(G) Ākh[y]āt rūpasiddhi-ṭikā, ff. ṇo–tī

(H) Kit rūpasiddhi-ṭikā, ff. tu–tō

Nissayas of various grammatical texts. In Pāli except for Q, which is in Burmese.

(I) **Sambandhacintā nissaya**, ff. tam–dhū. Cf. Barnett, col. 187: Pāli text by Saṅgharakkhita with nissaya by Silavilāsa, published 1898.

(J) **Kaccāyanabheda nissaya**, ff. dhe–nā:

(K) **Gaṇḍābharāṇa nissaya**, (Gandhā°) ff. pa–po. Cf. Barnett, col. 16: *Ganthabharāṇa*, Pāli text by Ariyavaṃsa with nissaya by Bagaya Hsaya (Charā), published 1898.

(L) **Paṇāma**, ff. pō–pha

(M) **Kaccāyanasāra nissaya**, ff. phā–phō. Cf. Bur MSS I 139, Pāli text by Rhañ Mahāyasa of Pugaṃ:

(N) **Vaccavācaka nissaya** (or: Vāca°; in margins: Vācca°), ff. pham–bi. Cf. Barnett, col. 180, Pāli text by Sadāteja, a disciple of Saddhammañña; nissaya by Bagaya Hsaya (Charā), published 1898. The text is a tract on Pāli grammar.

(O) **Vibhatyattha nissaya** (Vibhatyattha), ff. bī–bū. Cf. Bur MSS I 138.

(P) **Pathama-ca-tō pran sambān khrok pā:** (ပထမတော် ပြန်သမ္မိန်ခြောက်ပါး; variants in MS: “cha” for “ca,” “6ā:” [၆ါ:] for “khrok pā”), ff. bè–bhā:. Cf. Barnett, col. 171, text by Pathama Ca Tō.

(Q) **Recak khya ’amyui:–myui:** (ရေစက် ချ အမျိုးမျိုး), ff. ma–yū

Burmese-Pāli 136. Anuṭikā (in 6 sections; at end of section 5 [f. nè, line 1]: Puggalapaññatthi-ṭikā), ff. ka–nō. Date: 1900. (6 × 47.5 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 137. 237 ff. with text (ka–no). Pāli. Date: 1897. (6 × 50 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) **Mahānidessa-aṭṭhakathā** (Mahānidessa aṭṭhakthā), ff. ka–ṇaṃ

(B) **Cūlaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā**, ff. ṇā:–no

Burmese-Pāli 138. 205 ff. with text (ka-da). Pāli. Date: 1902. Donors: Ko Rhve Thvan: (ကိုရှေ့ထွန်း) and his wife. (6.5 × 50.3 cm., 12 lines.)

(A) **Majjhima-paññāsa-tīkā** (ff. ka-cho) (sub-commentary on second part of the Majjhima-nikāya)

(B) **Uparipaññāsa-tīkā** (ff. chō-nè) (sub-commentary on third part of the Majjhima-nikāya)

(C) **Sucittalaṅkāra** (Sucittalaṅkāragandha) (ff. ṇo-da)

Burmese-Pāli 139. **Ṭīkā-dvāra nissaya**, 192 ff. with text (ka-tho, dā-thī). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1900. Donors: Ko Rhve Bhō and Ma Rhve Sac. (6.2 × 49.3 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 140. **Nyāsa**, incomplete, 203 ff. with text (khā-ge, go-dha). Pāli. Date: 1872. (6 × 48 cm.; 10 lines.)

1. Sandhi-nyāsa (ff. khā-ge), incomplete
2. Nāma-nyāsa (ff. go-je)
3. Kāraka-nyāsa (Kāraka-ññās) (ff. jhā-ññu)
4. Samāsa-nyāsa (Samās ññāp) (ff. ññū-ṭam)
5. (Taddhis-ññās) (ff. ṭā:-ṭhā:)
6. (Ākyat ññās) (ff. thā:-ṇi)
7. (Kit-ññās) (ff. ṇi-thè)
8. (Uṇhād-ññās) (ff. thè-dha)

Burmese-Pāli 141. **Saddanīti nissaya**, incomplete, 249 ff. with text (ka-po). Pāli-Burmese nissaya (a translation of a work by Aggavaṃsa). Date: 1900. (5.9 × 7.4 cm.; 10 lines.)

Chapters:

1. Sandhi (Saddanīti-sandhi nissya) (ff. ka-ghā:)
2. Nāma (Saddanīti-nam nissya) (ff. ṇa-ju)
3. Kāraka (Saddanīti-kāraka nissya) (ff. jū-ṭham)
4. Samāsa (Saddanīti-smās nissya) (ff. thā:-te)
5. Taddhita (Saddanīti-taddhit nissya) (ff. tè-dō)

6. Ākhyāta (Saddanīti-ākhyās nissya) (ff. daṃ-nā)

7. Kita (Saddanīti-kit nissya) (ff. pa-po), incomplete

Burmese-Pāli 142. **Maṇisāramañjūsā** (incomplete), 246 ff. with text (ka, gham-mi). Pāli. (A commentary on the Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī by Ariyavaṃsa, Gandavaṃsa 65, 75; Bode, 42.) (5.9 × 7.4 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 143. 228 ff. with text (ku-ge, je-de, do-yi). Pāli. (6.2 × 50.1 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) **Dhammapada** (incomplete) (ff. ku-khi)

(B) **Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā** (incomplete) (ff. khī-ge, je-de, do-yi)

Burmese-Pāli 144. **Parivāra** (Vinaya-piṭaka) (incomplete), 282 ff. with text (khā-me). Pāli. Date: 1910. (5.7 × 10.2, 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 145. 239 ff. with text (cō-yè). Date: 1904. (6.5 × 19.2, 11 lines.)

(A) **Saṅgruīh gaṇṭhi sac** (သင်္ဂြိုဟ်ဂဏ္ဍီသစ်) (ff. cō-dō), Pāli-Burmese nissaya (incomplete, see Bur MSS II 384)

(B) **Saṅgruīh adhibbāy**//Saṅgruīh adhiy pāṭh nissayya (သင်္ဂြိုဟ်အဓိဗ္ဗာယ်// သင်္ဂြိုဟ်အဓိဗ္ဗာယ်ပါဠိနိဿယ) (ff. dā:-yè), in Burmese (cf. Lib. of Con. 41 [C])

Burmese-Pāli 146. **Samyutta-nikāya**, 230 ff. with text (ka-nā). Pāli. Date: 1906. (6.1 × 40 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) **Sagāthavagga** (Sagthāvagga-samyut pāli-tō သင်္ဂြိုဟ်ဝဂ္ဂ သံယုတ်ပါဠိဝေတီ) (ff. ka-cè)

(B) **Nidānavagga** (ff. co-dī)

(C) **Khandhavagga** (ff. ḍu-nā)

Burmese-Pāli 147. **Samantapāsādikā** (Mahavā atthakathā nissaya), 219 ff. with text (ka-dhi). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1859. (6.1 × 40 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 148. **Mahāvagga nissaya** (Dīgha-nikāya; Sut Mahāvā nissaya သုတ်စာတာဝါနိဿယ) by Ariyalaṅkāra, 259 ff. with text (ka-phe). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1805. (6.3 × 51.3 cm.; 9 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 149. 274 ff. with text (ka, khī-bhā). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1877. (6.1 × 49.1 cm.; 10 lines.)

(A) **Gambhīratthadesanā** (ff. ka, khī-ṇu), incomplete

(B) **Manussacārittavikāsanī** (ff. ṇū-di), incomplete? (only a few words are written on f. di in pencil)

(C) **Cakkākāravanicchaya** (f. dī-nō)

(D) **Udānadīpanī** (ff. naṃ-ba)

(E) **Vodānadīpanī** (ff. bā-bhā:)

Burmese-Pāli 150. Pāli, Pāli-Burmese nissaya. 171 ff. with text (ka-ṭhū, ka-go). (6.1 × 48.7 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) **Yamaka**, incomplete

1. Citta-yamaka (Cittayamuik pāli-tō စိတတယမိုက်ပါဠိ တော်)
(ff. ka-go), Pāli

2. Indriya-yamaka (Indriya-yamuik ဣန္ဒြိယယမိုက်) (ff. gō-ṭhū),
Pāli

(B) **Buddhaghosasuppatti** (ff. ka-ko), Pāli

(C) **Buddhaghosasuppatti nissaya** (ff. kaṃ-go), Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Burmese-Pāli 151. **Sumaṅgalavilāsini** (Sut pāthe:yya-atthakthā nissaya သတ်ပါထေးယုအဋ္ဌတ္တာနိဿယ), Pāli-Burmese nissaya, incomplete, 253 ff. with text (ka-ññā:, ṭā, ṭi, ṭi [1], ṭi [2], ṭu-dhū, ḍhè-phā). Date: 1903. (6.4 × 49.4 cm.; 11 lines)

Burmese-Pāli 152. **Gambhīratthadesanā**, 187 ff. with text (ka-te). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1882. (6.3 × 50.6 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 153. **Samantapāsādikā** (Pārājikaṃ atthakthā pāṭh) (first section of the commentary), 285 ff. with text (ka-bho). Pāli. Date: 1902. (6.2 × 51 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 154. **Silakkhaṃ Gaṇṭhi** (Silakkha-atthakathā gaṇṭhi), 236 ff. with text (ka-nè). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1900. (7.2 × 50.6 cm.; 11 lines.) A nissaya of texts from the Dīgha-nikāya commentary (?).

Burmese-Pāli 155. **Saṅgruīh Gaṇṭhi**, 183 ff. (thō-ḷa). Incomplete. Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1893. (5.9 × 48.3 cm., 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 156. **Yasavaḍḍhanavattu** (Yasavatthana°), 163 ff. with text (ka-dhe), by Tonbhilā charā-tō (Taunghpila Sayadaw) (1578–1651). Date: 1859–60. (6.5 × 49 cm., 12 lines.) Printed version in Library of Congress: BJ1618.B8 T38 1964 (Orien Bur) (catalogued under the title *Yatha waddana watthu*, printed 1964).

Burmese-Pāli 157. **Dhammarāsī**, 220 ff. (ka-dhi [no f. cha, two ff. taṃ]), by Rhvañ Ñāṇamañjū (according to note glued on front cover). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1867. (6.1 × 50.5 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 158. **Kammavācā**, 1 f. (ki). Gilded palm leaf. Tamarind-seed script. Pāli. Part of ordination ceremony. (18.5 × 4 cm.; 6 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 159. **Abhidhammatthasaṅgahadīpanī** (Abhidhamma-dīpanī, Dīpanī, Dīpanī), 186 ff. (ka-phū, f. chi has right half broken off). Pāli. Date: 1874. Donors: Moñ Rhve Cī (မောင်ရွှေစိ) and Ma Khoñ: (မခေါင်:). (6.3 × 48 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 160. Burmese astronomical-astrological MS. Parabaik on native, handmade paper with gouache, 34 ff. Some damage to first two ff. (missing some illustrations and text) and to the last fourteen ff. (some text missing on one f.). Burmese. Date: mid-19th century. (41 × 15.5 cm.) Note from seller: Possibly of Sgau Karen origin. This MS was apparently acquired by an American missionary in Burma in the mid-19th century. He began an English translation on the MS itself; he writes, however, that he no longer had time and must leave off. Each folio is divided into ten squares with illustrations in the top part and descriptive text in Burmese underneath (approximately 307 images in all). On the front cover, in black ink on a small piece of Western paper glued on: "B.37."

Titles

Abhidhammadīpanī 159	Burmese astronomical-astrological MS 160
Abhidhammatthasaṅgahadīpanī 159	
Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī, 142	Cakkākāravnicchaya 149 (C)
Ākhyāta (nissaya) 141 (6)	Citta-yamaka, Cittayamuik pāḷi-tō 150 (A-1)
Ākhyāta-sutta 125 (6)	Cūḷagaṇṭhi, Cūḷagaṇṭhi-mahāvagga-vaṇṇanā 131
Ākyat ṇṇās 140 (6)	Cūḷagaṇṭhipada 131
Ākhyāt rūpasiddhi pāḷi-tō 135 (A)	Cūḷaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā 137 (B)
Ākhyāt rūpasiddhi-ṭikā 135 (G)	
Anuṭikā 135	Dīpanī, Dīpanī 159
Aṭṭhasāḷi nigandhi 134 (A)	Dhammapada 143
	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā 143
Buddhaghosasuppatti 150 (B)	Dhammarāsi 157
Buddhaghosasuppatti nissaya 150 (C)	Dīgha-nikāya 132

Gambhiratthadesanā 149 (A), 152	Mahāvagga (of Dīgha-nikāya) 132
Gaṇḍābharāṇa nissaya 135 (K)	Mahāvagga nissaya (of the Dīgha-nikāya) 148
Indriya-yamaka, Indriya-yamuik 150 (A-2)	Majjhima-nikāya 130, 138 (A, B)
	Majjhima-pañṇāsa-ṭikā (from Majjhima-nikāya), 138 (A)
Kaccāyana 125, 126	Maṇisāramañjū 142
Kaccāyanabheda nissaya 135 (J)	Manussacārittavikāsaṇi 149 (B)
Kaccāyanasāra nissaya 135 (M)	Mūlapañṇāsa 130
Kammavācā 158	Nāma (nissaya) 141 (2)
Kāraka (nissaya) 141 (3)	Nāmakappa 125 (1)
Kārakakappa 125 (3)	Nāma-nyāsa (2)
Kāraka-nyāsa, Kāraka-ñṇās 140 (3)	Nidānavagga (of the Saṃyutta-nikāya) 146 (B)
Karaka rūpasiddhi pāḷi-tō 135 (D)	Nyāsa 140
Khandhavagga (of the Saṃyutta-nikāya) 146 (C)	
Kibbidhāna-sutta 125 (7)	Pada-rūpasiddhi 135
Kita (nissaya) 141 (7)	Paṇāma 135 (L)
Kit-ñṇās 140 (7)	Pārājikaṇ aṭṭhakathā pāṭh 153
Kit rūpasiddhi pāḷi-tō 135 (B)	Parivāra (of the Vinaya-piṭaka) 144
Kit rūpasiddhi-ṭikā 135 (H)	Pathama-ca-tō pran sambān khrok pā: 135 (P)
	Pātheya 132
Lokadippa kyam: 127	Pāṭhika-vagga, Pāthika-vagga 132
Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā 137 (A)	Puggalapañṇatthi-ṭikā 136
Mahavā aṭṭhakathā nissaya 147	

- Recak khya 'amyui:-myui: 135
(Q)
Rūpasiddhi 135
- Sadda aṭṭha suttam 125 (9)
Sadda kri: 128
Saddaniti nissaya 141
Sagāthavagga
(of the Saṃyutta-nikāya),
Sagthā vagga-saṃyut pāḷi-tō
146 (A)
Samantapāsādikā 147, 153
Samāsakappa 125 (4), 126
Samāsa (nissaya) 141 (4)
Samāsa-nyāsa (Samās ññāp)
140 (4)
Samās rūpasiddhi-ṭikā (Smās)
135 (E)
Samāt 126
Sambandhacintī nissaya 135 (I)
Saṃyutta-nikāya 146
Sandhi (nissaya) 141 (1)
Sandhikappa 125 (2)
Sandhi-nyāsa 140 (1)
Sandhi rūpasiddhi pāḷi-tō 135
(C)
Saṅgruīh adhibbāy, Saṅgruīh
adhiy pāṭh nissaya 145 (B)
Saṅgruīh gaṇṭhi 155
Saṅgruīh gaṇṭhi sac 145 (A)
Silakkha-aṭṭhakathā gaṇṭhi 154
Silakkham Gaṇṭhi 154
- Silakkhanda-vagga 132
Smās, see Samās
Sucittalaṅkāra, Sucitta-
laṅkāragandha 138 (C)
Sumaṅgalavilāsini 151
Sus Silakkham pāḷi-tō 132
Sut Mahāvā nissaya 147
Sut Mahāvā pāḷi-tō 132
Sut Pādeyya pāḷi-tō 132
Sut pāthe:yya-aṭṭhakthā nissaya
151
Sut Silakkham pāḷi-tō 132
- Taddhis-ññās 140 (5)
Taddhita (nissaya) 141 (5)
Tadditakappa, Taddit 125 (4)
Taddit rūpasiddhi-ṭikā 135 (F)
Ṭikā-dvāra nissaya 139
- Udānadīpanī 149 (D)
Uṅhādi-suttā 125 (8)
Uṅhād-ññās 140 (8)
Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭikā (of the
Majjhima-nikāya) 138 (B)
- Vaccavācaka nissaya (Vāca°,
Vācca°) 135 (N)
Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā, Vajira°, 133
Vibhattyattha nissaya,
Vibhaty°, 135 (O)
Vinaññ mhat su pāḷi 134 (B)
Viny: mhat su 134 (B)

- Visuddhimagga-ṭikā,
Visuddhimag ṭikā pāṭh 129
Vodānadīpanī 149 (E)
- Yamaka 150 (A)
Yasavaḍḍhanavattu, Yasa-
vaṭṭhana° 156
Yatha waddana wathtyu 156

Authors

- Ariyalāṅkāra 148
Ariyavaṃsa 134 (K), 142
Buddhapiya 135
Dīpaṅkara 135
- Moggallāna 131
Nandamāla, Nandhamāla 131
Pathama Ca Tō 135 (P)
Rhvañ Ñāṇamañjū 157

Names of donors, copyists, etc.

- Ca Ñom Tuin On Mom 128
Chatterji, S.K. 128
Mrs Corning 128
Kaccāyana 128
Khoñ, Ma 159
Mahā-Vajirabuddhi (Sri Lanka) 133
Peal, John R. 128
Rhve Bhō, Ko 139
Rhve Cī, Moñ 159
Rhve Sac, Ma 139
Rhve Thvan:, Ko 138
Sa Nyaungtaing Awng Myaung 128
Taunghpila Sayadaw 156
Tonbhilā charā-tō 156
White, Betty 128

Sources for the Study of the *Maṅgala* and *Mora-suttas*

1) *Maṅgala-sutta*

In an earlier article I noted the existence of two Tibetan versions of the *Maṅgala-sutta*. The first, the *bKra śis chen po'i mdo* = *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*, is a translation of a Theravādin version, included in the set of “13 new translations” done by Paṇḍita Ānandaśrī of Ceylon and Thar pa Lotsaba Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po in about the first decade of the 14th century. The second is an anonymous translation of a version of an unknown school, bearing the title *Lhas žus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa* = *Devapariṣcchā Maṅgalagāthā*.¹ These two versions have been translated side-by-side by Feer, who noted that “quoique [*Devapariṣcchā Maṅgalagāthā*] renferme plus de stances que l'autre, et que l'ordre des stances y soit interverti, la commune origine des deux textes est facile à reconnaître”.² In addition to the two Tibetan parallels, there is a third version, preserved in Chinese translation. It is

¹ Peter Skilling, “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, *JPTS* XIX (1993) 129–30, 183. Since the second version is anonymous, it cannot be dated with certainty. It is likely, however, that it was translated during the early diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (the *sna dar*). The *IDan dkar Catalogue*, which dates to the early 9th century, lists a number of titles under the category *bKra śis kyi rnam grans* = **Maṅgala-paryāya* (§ XVIII). Our text might be, for example, the *bKra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa chen po* = **Mahāmaṅgala-gāthā* (no. 476, in 30 *ślokas*), or the *bKra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa* = **Maṅgala-gāthā* (no. 478, in 26 *ślokas*) (references to Marcelle Lalou, “Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan”, *Journal asiatique*, 1953). For *svasti-* or *maṅgala-gāthā* see Peter Skilling, “The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna”, *JPTS* XVI (1992) 129–37.

² Léon Feer, “Fragments extraits du Kandjour”, *Annales du Musée Guimet* V (1883) 224–27. For a translation of a Sinhalese commentary on the *Maṅgala-sutta* see Charles Hallisey, “Auspicious Things”, in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 412–26.

included in a recension of the *Dhammapada*, the *Fa chü p'i yü ching*, where it makes up the whole of Chapter 39 (the last), entitled *Mahāmaṅgala*.³ The correspondence was noted by Beal over a century ago. The prose *nidāna* is entirely different from that of the Pāli,⁴ and the order and contents of the verses also differ. In Beal's translation, I have found only four verses that immediately bring to mind Pāli counterparts, but many individual lines also correspond to the Pāli. The *Fa chü p'i yü ching* is an early witness, translated during the Western Chin dynasty (CE 290–306),⁵ and a new translation and comparative study of this short but important text is a desideratum.

In the **Maṅgala-varga*, Chapter 12 of his **Satyasiddhi* (or **Tattvasiddhi*) *Śāstra*, Harivarman cites three verses from the **Maṅgala-gāthā*.⁶

³ Taishō 211, Vol. 4; Lewis R. Lancaster with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979 (= KBC), 1020; English translation in Samuel Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon, Commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying Narratives*, [Boston, 1878] San Francisco, 1977, pp. 174–76. For the Chinese *Dharmapada* literature see Sylvain Lévi, “L'Apramāda-varga. Étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas”, *Journal asiatique*, septembre-octobre 1912, pp. 203–94; Charles Willemen, “The Prefaces to the Chinese Dharmapadas, Fa-chü ching and Ch'u-yao ching”, *T'oung Pao* LIX (1973) 203–19; Charles Willemen, *Dharmapada: A Concordance to Udānavarga, Dharmapada, and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Brussels, 1974.

⁴ Beal (*op. cit.*, p. 23) noted that the *nidānas* assigned to the verses of the *Fa chü p'i yü ching* are entirely different from those of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*.

⁵ Date from KBC 1020.

⁶ N. Aiyaswami Sastri, *Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1975 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 159), p. 37 (translation from Chinese into Sanskrit); Vol. II (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 165), Baroda, 1978, pp. 29–30 (English translation). The text is the *Ch'eng shih lun*, translated by Kumārajīva in 411–12: Taishō 1646, KBC 966.

So says the *Maṅgala-gāthā*:

The most auspicious is the Buddha
who is the highest teacher and the wisest leader
amongst men and gods.

The most auspicious is the person
who has firm faith in the Buddha
and keeps pure conduct.

The most auspicious is
to serve the learned, not to approach the ignorant
and [to] pay homage to the worthy of homage.

Aiyaswami Sastri notes that “of these three verses only the third agrees with the *Mangala-sutta*, verse 2”. The first two verses have no counterpart in the *Fa chü p'i yü ching*.

Verse 3 of the Pāli *Maṅgala-sutta* has a parallel in prose and verse in the *Cakka-sutta*, the first sutta of the *Cakka-vagga* of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Ānguttara-nikāya* (AN II 32).⁷ The Pāli *Maṅgala-sutta* reads as follows:⁸

patirūpadesavāso ca pubbe ca katapuññatā
attasammāpanidhi ca etaṃ maṅgalam uttamam.

To live in a favourable place,
to have accomplished merit in the past,
to have a proper goal for oneself—
this is the highest auspiciousness.

⁷ The reference was noted by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith in their edition of the *Sutta-nipāta*, originally published in 1913 (p. 46, n. 9). The title is from the *uddāna*, p. 44.13, *cakko*. Cf. also *Nettipakarana*, p. 29.14–19.

⁸ *Suttanipāta* v. 260, p. 46; *Khuddaka-pāṭha* p. 3.5.

The Tibetan *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgala-gāthā* reads:⁹

*yul bzañ gnas dañ grogs mchog dañ//
sñon chad bsod nams byas pa dañ//
sems ni legs par gtañ byas pa//
de ni bkra śis dam pa yin//*

To live in an auspicious place, to [have] excellent company,
to have accomplished merit in the past,
to have properly directed one's mind—
this is the highest auspiciousness.

The *Cakka-sutta* lists four “wheels” or “blessings” (*cakka*).¹⁰ Wheels number 1, 3, and 4 have counterparts in v. 3 of the Pāli *Maṅgalasutta*, and wheel no. 2 may be compared with the *paṇḍitānañ ca sevānā* of v. 2b. The Tibetan *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgalagāthā* gives counterparts of all four *cakka*, in the order 1, 2, 4, 3, with a variant in 3, *citta* (*sems*) where the Pāli has *atta*.

⁹ Peking Tripiṭaka (Q) 442, Vol. 9, *rgyud tsha*, 318b1; Q721, Vol. 11, *rgyud ya*, 276a1; Q1053, Vol. 45, *'dul ba phe*, 315a3; Q5943, Vol. 150, *no mtshar mo*, 330a4; Derge Tanjur 4400, *sna tshogs ño*, 337b7. Note that in both the Peking and Derge Tanjur versions the text is entitled simply *Maṅgala-gāthā* = *bKra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*.

¹⁰ For the significance of *cakka* in this context, cf. *Jātaka* V 114.27 *paṭirūpadesavāsādino kusalacakkassa bhañjani*, PED 259a (s.v. *cakka*), and Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II, *Dictionary*, [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972, p. 221a (s.v. *cakra*). The *Manorathapūraṇi* (Thai script Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālaya ed., II 378.17 has *cakkānīti sampattiyo, catucakkaṃ vattatīti cattāri sampatticakkāni vattanti ghaṭṭiyanti yevāti atho*. The *Anguttara-tīkā* (Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti ed., II 280.8) and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālaya ed., III 328.1, commenting on the *Dasuttara* version) also interpret *cakka* as *sampatti-cakka*, without further explanation. Rendawa's commentary (reference below, n. 16) explains that “these four conditions are called ‘wheels’, for they are similar to the wheels of a carriage”.

cattār' imāni bhikkhave cakkāni yehi samannāgatānaṃ devamanussānaṃ catucakkaṃ pavattati, yehi samannāgatā devamanussā na cirass' eva mahantataṃ vepullataṃ pāpuṇanti bhogesū. katamāni cattāri?

- (1) *paṭirūpadesavāso*
- (2) *sappurisūpassayo*
- (3) *attasammāpaṇidhi*
- (4) *pubbe ca katapuññatā*.

imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri cakkāni yehi samannāgatānaṃ devamanussānaṃ catucakkaṃ pavattati, yehi samannāgatā devamanussā na cirass' eva mahantataṃ vepullataṃ pāpuṇanti bhogesū ti.

*paṭirūpe vase dese ariyamittakaro siyā
sammāpaṇidhisampanno pubbe puññakato naro
dhaññaṃ dhanam yaso kitti sukhañ c' etam adhivattati.*

There are, O monks, these four wheels: for gods and humans who possess them there occurs a fourfold blessing, by means of which gods and humans soon attain greatness and plenitude in wealth.¹¹ What are the four?

- (1) to live in a favourable environment
- (2) to associate with worthy persons
- (3) to have a proper goal for oneself, and
- (4) to have accomplished merit in the past.

¹¹ It is interesting that while the Pāli version refers to “wealth” (*bhoga*), the Sanskrit refers to “wholesome dharmas” (*kuśala-dharma*: see below).

These, O monks, are the four wheels...

The man who lives in a favourable place,
who makes friendship with the noble ones,
who possesses a proper goal,
and has made merit in the past—
grain, wealth, fame, honour, and happiness
come to him in abundance.¹²

A Sarvāstivādin counterpart of the *Cakka-sutta* is incorporated into the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* from Central Asia:¹³

catvāro dharmā bahukarāḥ, catvāri devamanuṣyāṇāṃ cakrāṇi yair deva... (text fragmentary)...yamānā vṛddhim vaipulyam āpadyante kuśalair dharmaiḥ. katamāni catvāri?

- (1) *pratirūpo deśāvāsah*
- (2) *satpuruṣāpaśraya*
- (3) *ātmanāś ca samyakpranīdhānam*
- (4) *pūrve ca kṛtapuṇyatā.*

A counterpart from a text of the Sāmmatiyas is cited in Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Samskr̥tāsamskr̥ta-viniścaya*:¹⁴

¹² Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī* II 379.6 *sukhañ c' etam adhvattatīti sukhañ ca etam puggalam adhvattatī avattharatīti attho.*

¹³ Kusum Mittal, *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im älteren Buddhismus* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden IV), Berlin, 1957, § IV,1, p. 61. The parallel in the Pāli *Dasuttara-sutta* (DN III 276.5–8) gives only the bare list of the four, similarly described as *cattāro dhammā bahukārā.*

¹⁴ Daśabalaśrīmitra (sTobs bcu dpal bśes gñen), *'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa*, Q5865, Vol. 146, *no mtshar bstan bcos ño*, 162b8. For this text see Peter Skilling, "The Samskr̥tāsamskr̥ta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra,

Continues...

'khor lo bzi zes bya ba ni/ 'khor lo chen po bzi ste/ 'di ltar/ mthun pa'i yul du gnas pa dan/ skyes bu dam pa la brten pa dan/ bdag gi smon lam yan dag pa dan/ sñon bsod nams byas pa'o// de dan yan dag par ldan pa'o//

The four wheels: there are four great wheels (*mahācakra*): to live in a favourable environment, to associate with worthy persons, to have a proper aim for oneself, and to have accomplished merit in the past. He is endowed with these.

The four are listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon of the early 9th century, under the title "The four wheels of gods and humans" (*catvāri devamanuṣyāṇāṃ cakrāṇi, lha dan mi'i 'khor lo bzi'i miñ*).¹⁵

- (1) *pratirūpadeśa-vāsah, 'thun pa'i yul na gnas pa*
- (2) *satpuruṣāpaśrayam, skyes bu dam pa la brten pa*
- (3) *ātmanah samyak pranīdhānam, bdag ñid kyis yan dag pa'i smon lam btab pa*
- (4) *pūrve ca kṛtapuṇyatā, sñon yan bsod nams byas pa'o.*

The four *cakras* are given in verse in Nāgārjuna's *Suḥr̥llekha* (v. 61):¹⁶

Buddhist Studies Review 4/1 (1987) 3–23, and "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS* XIX (1993), pp. 140–42.

¹⁵ Mvy § LXXXIII, nos. 1603–7.

¹⁶ Venerable Lozang Jamspal, Venerable Ngawang Samten Chopel, and Peter Della Santina (tr.), *Nāgārjuna's Letter to King Gautamīputra*, Delhi, 1978, Tibetan text, p. 91 (translation p. 37). Cf. the translations and commentaries in Leslie Kawamura, *Golden Zephyr: Instructions from a Spiritual Friend*, Emeryville, 1975, p. 55; Geshe Lobsang Tharchin and Artemus B. Engle, *Nāgārjuna's Letter: Nāgārjuna's "Letter to a Friend" with a Commentary by the Venerable Rendawa, Zhön-nu Lo-drö, Dharamsala, 1979, pp. 93–94.*

mthun par gyur ba'i yul na gnas pa dan//
skyes bu dam pa la ni brten pa dan//
bdag ñid legs smon sñon yañ bsod nams bgyis//
'khor lo chen po bzi ni khyod la mña'//

You possess these four great wheels (*mahācakra*):¹⁷
 dwelling in a favourable environment,
 association with worthy persons,
 a proper goal for yourself,
 and accomplishment of merit in the past.

2) Mora-paritta

The Pāli *Jātaka* gives a prose story of a golden peacock twice, as the *Mora-jātaka* (No. 159) and the *Mahāmora-jātaka* (No. 491).¹⁸ The basic narrative has a parallel near the end of the *Bhaisajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*¹⁹ and in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*.²⁰ A parallel to verse 2 of the *Mora-sutta* occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, with additions and variants and with the lines in a different sequence.²¹

¹⁷ It is interesting that of the texts studied here, only the Sāmmatiya citation and Nāgārjuna describe the four wheels as “great” (*mahā*).

¹⁸ For references see Leslie Grey, *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 253, 218.

¹⁹ Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 1, [Srinagar, 1947] Delhi, 1984, pp. 287.11–288.13. Cf. Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo, 1981, p. 62.

²⁰ Shūyo Takubo (ed.), *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo, 1972, 7.9–9.18. Cf. the translation and discussion (which notes the relation to the Pāli *jātakas*) in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1893–1912, pp. 240a–e.

²¹ Takubo, p. 6,ult; cf. also 38.17–39.1; 42.16–20.

*Mora-paritta*²²

ye brāhmaṇā vedagū
sabbadhamme
te me namo te ca maṃ
pālayantu
nam' atthu buddhānaṃ
nam' atthu bodhiyā
namo vimuttānaṃ namo
vimuttiyā.

Mahāmāyūrī

namo 'stu buddhāya namo 'stu bodhaye
namo 'stu muktāya namo 'stu muktaye
namo 'stu śāntāya namo 'stu śāntaye
namo vimuktāya namo vimuktaye
*ye brāhmaṇā vāhita-pāpa-dharmāḥ*²³
teṣāṃ namas te ca mama pālayantu.

The *Mahāmāyūrī* is a cumulative work that draws on diverse sources, and has parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Bhaisajyavastu*, the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin *Upasena-sūtra*, and the Theravādin *Mora-jātaka*, *Khandavatta-jātaka* (No. 203), and *Vinaya*.²⁴ In the present case the prose narrative is close to, or derived from, the *Bhaisajyavastu*, but the verse, not found in the *Bhaisajyavastu*, resembles a verse of the Pāli *Mora-jātaka*.

Nandapurī

Peter Skilling

²² *Jātaka* II 34.12.

²³ Cp. Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Vol. I (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X), Göttingen, 1965, 33:13a and Radhagovinda Basak (ed. with Bengali translation), *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1968, p. 430.13 *yo brāhmaṇo vāhitapāpadharmo*; *Udāna* 3.20, *Vinaya* I 3.5 *yo brāhmaṇo bāhitapāpadhammo*.

²⁴ Cf. Skilling, “Rakṣā Literature”, p. 140.

Praises of the Buddha beyond Praise*

The recollection of the Buddha according to the *iti pi so* formula is an ancient practice, recommended by the Sakyan Sage himself in the *Dhajagga-sutta* (*Sagāthavagga*, *Samyutta-nikāya*). The formula lists nine qualities of the Buddha, which came to be known as the *nava-buddha-guṇa*. It was recognized early on, however, that the qualities or virtues of the Buddha were without limit. The idea that the Buddha is beyond praise (*aparimāṇavaṇṇo*) is expressed in a stock passage uttered by several leading brāhmanas of the time, such as Soṇadaṇḍa, Kūṭadanta, and Caṅkī, each of whom is reported to declare:¹ “I have mastered only so many of the praises of the respected Gotama, but this is not the full measure of his praises: the respected Gotama merits unlimited praise”.²

* Unless otherwise noted references are to Pali Text Society (PTS) editions. For the *aṭṭhakathā* I also refer to Burmese script Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti (ChS) editions, and to Thai script editions published by the Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya (Mm) and the Bhūmibalo Foundation (BhB).

¹ DN I 117.14 *ettake kho ahaṃ bho tassa bhoṭo gotamassa vaṇṇe pariyaṇṇāmi, no ca kho so bhavaṃ gotamo ettakavaṇṇo, aparimāṇavaṇṇo hi so bhavaṃ gotamo*: also at DN I 133.23 (*Kūṭadanta-sutta*) and MN II 168.3 (*Caṅkī-sutta*). There does not seem to be any parallel passage in the Chinese version of the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*: see Konrad Meisig, “Chung Têh King—The Chinese Parallel to the Soṇadaṇḍa-Sutta”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, p. 55.

² “And so far only do I know the excellencies of the Samaṇa Gotama, but these are not all of them, for his excellence is beyond measure”: T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, [1899] London 1973, p. 150; “However much I might praise the ascetic Gotama, that praise is insufficient, he is beyond all praise”: Maurice Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha*, London, 1987, p. 128; “To this extent I, sirs, know the good Gotama’s splendour, but this is not the (full) extent of the good Gotama’s splendour—immeasurable is the splendour of the good Gotama”: I.B. Horner, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-nikāya)*, Vol. II, London, [1957] 1975, p. 358; “This much is the praise of Master Gotama that I have learned, but the praise of Master Gotama is not limited to that, for the praise of Master Gotama is

Continues...

This natural statement, which culminates a long eulogy of the Buddha, was later rephrased as a general principle: “The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, merit unlimited praise”.³ In the *Apadāna*, Gatasāññaka Thera refers to the Buddha Tissa as “an ocean of unlimited virtues” (*anantagūṇasāgara*).⁴ What had started out as a rather straightforward fact took on a mystical flavour.

The following passage shows how this concept was presented in Siam at the beginning of the 19th century. It is taken from the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā*, also known as the *Traibhūmi chabap luang*, which was composed at the behest of Rāma I, the first king of the Chakri Dynasty, by Phraya Dharmapriyā (Kaew) in Culasakkarāja 1164 or BE 2345, that is CE 1802.⁵ The citation is from the beginning of the first chapter (*pathamapariccheda*), on homage to the Three Gems (*kham namaskār phra ratanatray*). The prose is in Thai, the verses in Pāli.⁶

immeasurable’: Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Kandy, 1995, p. 778.

³ *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā* (Mm) 524.1 *aparimānavanṇā hi buddhā bhagavanto*.

⁴ *Apadāna* (Nālandā ed.) I 151 (PTS p. 127).

⁵ Fine Arts Department (ed.), Phraya Dharmapriyā (Kaew), *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā chabap ti 2 (Traibhūmi chabap luang)*, Bangkok, 2520 [1977], Vol. 1, pp. 15–16. For a brief note on the textual history of the *Traibhūmi* genre, see Peter A. Jackson, “Re-interpreting the Traiphuum Phra Ruang: Political Functions of Buddhist Symbolism in Contemporary Thailand”, in Trevor Ling (ed.), *Buddhist Trends in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1993, pp. 69–70. For Phraya Dharmapriyā see H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, “The Reconstruction of Rāma I of the Chakri Dynasty”, in *Collected Articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat reprinted from the Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok, 1969, p. 159 (originally published in *Journal of the Siam Society* XLIII-1, 1955).

⁶ I give in parentheses selected phrases that derive from Pāli or Sanskrit, in their Thai orthography. *phra* (rendered here as “holy”), *chao* (rendered here as “lord”), and *somdet* (not translated) are frequently attached to the names or titles of objects or persons of respect in Thai.

The Holy (*phra*) Buddhagūṇa (virtues or qualities of the Buddha) are endless (*ananta*), vast (*viṭhāra*), and wide, and their limit cannot be reached: it is beyond the ability of all of the deities, such as Indra or Brahma, to enumerate (*barrṇanā*) the Holy Buddhagūṇa to the limit or to the end. It is the same even for the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha (*Phra Sabbaññūbuddha Chao*): he can enumerate his own holy qualities, but even he is unable to enumerate them to the limit and to the end. Though he may continue to enumerate them, his life-span (*phra janmāyu*) will be exhausted before [he can finish]: it is impossible to know the end or know the limit of the Holy Buddhagūṇa. The matter is suitably explained by these verses:

*sahassasīso⁷ pi ce poso sīse sīse satam mukhā
mukhe mukhe satam jivhā jivakappo mahiddhiko
na sakkoti ca vaṇnetum⁸ nisesam satthuno gūṇam.*

Even if a person had a thousand heads—
each head with a hundred mouths,
each mouth with a hundred tongues—
and even if he could live for an aeon
and possessed great supernormal power:
he would still be unable to enumerate
the virtues of the Teacher in full.

*buddho pi buddhassa bhaneyya vaṇṇam
kappam pi ce añṇam abhāsamāno*

⁷ *-sīse Traibhūmi*: I follow here the Khmer citation (see below), to read *-sīso*.

⁸ *vaṇnetu Traibhūmi*: I follow here the Khmer citation, to read *vaṇnetum*.

*khīyetha kappo ciradīgham⁹ antare
vaṇṇo na khīyetha tathāgatassa.*

If a Buddha were to speak in praise of a Buddha,
speaking nothing else for an aeon's length,
sooner would the long-standing aeon reach its end,
but the praise of the Tathāgata would not reach its
end.¹⁰

The first verse may be explained as follows: a man possessing great supernormal power (*mahiddhi-rddhi*) conjures up (*nṛmit*) a multitude of heads, 1000 in number. Each of these heads has 100 mouths, and each of these mouths has 100 tongues—this amounts to 100,000 mouths and to 10 million tongues. The man has a long life-span, as long as one aeon (*kappa*). If he does not engage in any other activity at all, but devotes himself only to the praise of the Holy Buddhagaṇa, throughout the day and throughout the night, until his aeon-long life-span is exhausted—he would nonetheless be unable to enumerate the Holy Buddhagaṇa to the end or to the limit.

The second verse may be explained thus: Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha has a long life-span of an aeon; if he does not preach on any other subject at all, but, as in the

⁹ *Traibhūmi* only reads *cira-*, against the *cira-* of the *aṭṭhakathā* (see below).

¹⁰ I take the translation from Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Discourse on the All-embracing Net of Views: The Brahmajāla Sutta and its Commentarial Exegesis*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1978, p. 330; cf. also translations in Peter Masefield, *The Udāna Commentary (Paramatthadīpanī nāma Udānaṭṭhakathā)*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1995, p. 871; and in I.B. Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (Madhurattavilāsini)*, London, 1978, pp. 193–94. Horner did not understand the verse.

previous example, preaches only on the Holy Buddhagaṇa of Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha, throughout the day and throughout the night, and continues preaching until the end of that long stretch of time, to the limit of his aeon-long life-span—the Holy Buddhagaṇa of Somdet the Holy Tathāgata the Ten-powered one (*Daśabala*) would not yet be exhausted.

I have not been able to trace the origin of the first verse, which is also cited in Pāli in a Khmer “Itipiso” text.¹¹ The second verse, however, is well attested in the commentarial literature, being cited without specific attribution in (at least) the following sources:¹²

—*Dīgha Aṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the *Sonadaṇḍa-sutta* (DN 4);¹³

—*Dīgha Aṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the *Sampasādaniya-sutta* (DN 28);¹⁴

—*Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the *Cāṅkī-sutta* (MN 95);¹⁵

—*Udāna Aṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the third sutta of the *Jaccandha-vagga*;¹⁶

—*Cariyāpīṭaka Aṭṭhakathā* (twice);¹⁷

¹¹ F. Bizot and O. von Hinüber, *La guirlande de Joyaux* (Textes bouddhiques du Cambodge 2), Paris, 1994, (text) 135, (translation) 180–81.

¹² I have culled the references from the notes to the Chatṭhasaṅgīti editions. The verse is usually introduced by *vuttam h' etam (vuttam pi c' etam, vuttañ c' etam, etc.)*.

¹³ (PTS) 288 (not seen); (ChS) [I] 257.8; (Mm) I 356.8; (Nālandā ed.) 315.25 (cf. comment in *ṭīkā*, ChS [I] 318.7–10).

¹⁴ (Mm) III 80.8; (ChS) [III] 61 (not seen).

¹⁵ (Mm) III 388.16; (ChS) III 209 (not seen).

¹⁶ (ChS) 305, bottom; (Mm) 426.4. A similar statement is made in prose at (Mm) 542.1–4.

¹⁷ (ChS) 9.1; 324.12; (BhB) 13.8; 506.7.

—*Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā*,¹⁸

—*Buddhavamsa Aṭṭhakathā*,¹⁹

—*Dighanikāya-tīkā (Linatthappakāsanā)*.²⁰

The references show that the verse was well-known by 5th century, the time of Buddhaghosa, as well as to the commentators Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta.²¹

Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Jacqueline Filliozat
École Française d'Extrême-Orient
22, avenue du Président Wilson
75116 Paris
France

Leslie Grey
3131 E. Alameda, Apt. 1905
Denver
CO 80209
U.S.A.

William Pruitt
109 East Main Street, Apt. 1E
Westminster
MD 21157-5031
U.S.A.

Peter Skilling
68/123 Prachanivet 4
Prachachun Road
T. Tasai, A. Muang, Nonthaburi
Thailand 11000

¹⁸ (ChS) II 91.17.

¹⁹ (PTS) 135.9; (BhB) 250.1; (ChS) 163 (not seen).

²⁰ *Sīlakkhandhavagga-tīkā* (ChS) 51.1.

²¹ The idea of talking for an aeon or more is found in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: Étienne Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, Louvain, 1962, pp. 257–58. Lamotte (n. 17) refers to a similar hyperbole in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.