

Pali Text Society

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XXVII

EDITED BY  
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*Published by*  
THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY  
OXFORD

2002

**The Journal of the Pali Text Society**  
**Vol. XXVII (2002)**

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ISBN 0 86013 407 5

First published in 2002

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

## Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper provides a preliminary account of the manuscripts held in six Sri Lankan Buddhist temples located in the island's Kandyan and Kurunāgala regions. The temples that form the focus of my account are the Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva, Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya, the Saṃgharāja Pansala at the Malvatu Vihāraya, Ridī Rajamahavihāraya, Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya and Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya.<sup>2</sup> In five cases, the list of manuscripts is reproduced from handlists held by the temple's monastic incumbent. Because these handlists are of great value to the temple incumbents<sup>3</sup> I was unable to photocopy them, and instead recorded their contents into a micro-cassette from which a later transcription was made. At Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya no list was available. As a result, the list provided below is the result of a two-day survey of the collection I conducted in June and July 1997. Further detail about each manuscript collection is provided below.

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<sup>1</sup>I express respectful thanks to those monastics and laymen who allowed me to examine valuable manuscripts and/or to record the contents of manuscript handlists. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Malvatu Vihāraya's Venerable Sumaṅgala Anunāyaka Mahāthera and Venerable K. Dhammakitti Mahāthera, to the monastic staff at the Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva, and to the monastic incumbent and lay officials at Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya. I thank the Department of Sinhala at Peradeniya University for supporting my research. This project was funded by the NEH Summer Stipends Program, the American Academy of Religion, and the University of South Carolina College of Liberal Arts. I am grateful to Prof. Steven Collins and Dr Karen Derris for their encouragement, and to Profs. Richard Gombrich and Oskar von Hinüber for helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

<sup>2</sup>All temple names, monastic titles and names of monastic fraternities in the running text of this article follow Sinhala rather than Pāli usage.

<sup>3</sup>Given the value of manuscripts on the antique market, it may be that incumbents aim to draw as little attention as possible to the texts within their possession.

There are considerable limitations to the material presented here. In the course of this research I lacked the time and assistance needed to construct a fully annotated catalogue of the manuscripts held in these collections. It is my hope, however, that the information provided below will stimulate the interest of those better prepared to conduct detailed manuscript examination, cataloguing, and preservation efforts. The collection at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya is sadly neglected; we risk losing a number of valuable manuscripts. While better protected, the collection at the Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva deserves serious attention because of its size, breadth, and evidence of donative practices. Despite its limitations, I hope that the information presented below will be of some use to scholars in Buddhist studies and, especially, to those working on texts and textual practices in South and Southeast Asia.

Scholars interested in Sri Lankan Buddhism are fortunate enough to possess Hugh Nevill's collection of Sinhalese manuscripts, held in the British Library and expertly catalogued by Mr K.D. Somadasa (1987–95). However, the arrangement of this catalogue does not permit an investigation into patterns of textual practice characteristic of specific temples, monastic orders or regions. Somadasa's *Puskola Pot Nāmā-valiya* (1959) provides an excellent resource for scholars wishing to identify locations in which particular manuscripts were (and, in some cases, are) held. Once again, however, the arrangement of data makes it difficult to reconstruct the content of collections held in specific locations at the time Somadasa's research was conducted and the work is difficult to use for those who do not read Sinhala script.

I stress the importance of reconstructing the contents of manuscript collections held in particular temples. An examination of temple-specific manuscript collections is valuable to scholars who seek a clearer understanding of the variations in Buddhist thought and practice across time and place in South and Southeast Asia. Attention to regional, temporal, and institutional variability in manuscript collections provides important, though by no means determinative, evidence of stability and change in textual practice and in many other types of

Buddhist practice reflected by textual emphases. (These include protective rituals, meditation techniques, and so on.) In other words, such information provides important clues about the nature of the “practical canon” used by particular Buddhist communities.<sup>4</sup> After turning to the temples and their manuscript collections in subsequent sections of this article, I conclude by noting several promising areas for research suggested by these collections.

I selected the manuscript collections described here on the basis of two criteria. The Saṃgharāja Pansala at the Malvatu Vihāraya, Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya, Ridī Rajamahavihāraya and Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya are, historically, closely tied to the Siyam Nikāya, a Sri Lankan monastic fraternity founded in 1753. In the course of a larger project on the Siyam Nikāya's formation, its educational system, and the impact of this educational system on the island's larger Buddhist community I examined the manuscript record at key Siyam Nikāya temples (Blackburn, 2001). The library at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya served as an informal depository for manuscripts from Kandyan temples during the 19th and 20th centuries. It thus indicates broader trends in up-country Buddhist textual and ritual practice. The Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva is of special interest because many of the manuscripts kept there are the result of merit-making donations during the 19th and 20th centuries. A closer examination of these manuscripts should clarify the provenance of manuscripts contained there and may reveal regional or temporal patterns in scribal and donative activity.

Several aspects of the following account require special mention. I have introduced genre divisions in the manuscript lists for each temple collection apart from Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya. The handlists on

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<sup>4</sup>By “practical canon” I mean the units of text understood by their users to be part of a Tipiṭaka-based tradition and actually employed in the practices of collecting manuscripts, copying them, reading them, commenting on them, listening to them, and preaching sermons based upon them (Blackburn 1999, 284).

which I have relied for information on all collections apart from that held at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya do not group texts by author, genre, copying date, or date of donation. Some of the genre divisions that I have introduced may appear unusual to some readers. The collections examined here contain a substantial number of Tipiṭaka-based texts which may well have formed an important mode of access to the Tipiṭaka for students and scholars. In order to emphasize the ways in which Tipiṭaka texts appear to have been studied and transmitted through commentaries, condensations and compendia, I have grouped the latter texts with the Tipiṭaka texts for which they were composed, using the common three-fold division of Sutta-, Abhidhamma- and Vinaya-piṭaka. In addition, in order to draw attention to the significant presence of separately circulating texts from the Sutta-piṭaka, these texts and their commentaries are listed separately.

Second, note that I have chosen to follow the title conventions used in the handlists themselves. With respect to the Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya collection, I have tried to reproduce the titles with which the manuscripts had previously been labeled or, in the absence of labels, the titles shown in the manuscript colophons.<sup>5</sup> Due to this readers will note that the lists shown below include titles that follow both Pāli and Sinhala conventions and that I have included varying titles for what may well be the same unit(s) of text. I have chosen this format in order to emphasize the multilingual character of Sri Lankan Buddhism and to invite further research on the relationship between title and content in Sri Lankan manuscript traditions. For instance, my examination of manuscripts for *sūtra sannayas* indicates that when texts from the Sutta-piṭaka are identified using the Sinhala form *sūtraya* they often (but not always!) include some form of Sinhala commentary or gloss even when the presence of that commentary or gloss is not indicated in the title itself by a phrase like *sannaya* or *sannaya sahita*.

<sup>5</sup>I do not know when or by whom these labels were applied.

This raises questions for other genres present in the collections described below. Without further examination of the manuscripts it remains unclear as to whether most or all *vaṃsa* texts labeled *vaṃsayalvaṃśaya* are in fact Sinhala language texts, whether they combine Sinhala commentary or translation with Pāli text, or whether the Sinhala title form is used to refer to a text entirely in Pāli. The latter case would raise additional questions about why a text entirely in Pāli would sometimes be labeled as such (e.g. *Anāgatavaṃsa Pāli*) and sometimes in Sinhala (e.g. *Anāgatavaṃsaya*). Relatedly, a close study of the manuscripts listed below may help to clarify the linguistic patterns characteristic of preaching and compendium texts such as those labeled *desanā/desanāva* and *saṅgraha/saṅgrahaya*. A comparison between one or more of the temple collections described below and the manuscripts discussed by Bechert (1969, 1997), Godakumbura (1980), and Somadasa (1987–95) is desirable.

Note also that although the handlists on which I have relied most often identify each manuscript separately (i.e. by listing a text title five times if five copies of it appear in the collection) I have chosen to list each text title once, with the number of manuscripts so identified shown in square brackets. When additional information about a particular manuscript (such as date, scribe or author) was provided in the handlist I have noted that in a footnote. In the footnotes I have also made occasional note of manuscript characteristics (for texts that I was myself able to examine) that may prove useful to others. Any title appearing in parentheses has been copied from the handlist, while additions in square brackets are my own.

### Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva

The list of texts presented here was recorded from the handlist entitled “Śrī Daḷadā Māligāvē Patiripustakālayē Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaliya”, made available to me through the kindness of the monks in charge of the library. The library is located on the upper level of the building known in English as the Temple of the Tooth. It is open to visitors who may pass through the library on tours of the Māligāva. In

the library, several areas are set aside for small ritual offerings (such as flowers) to be made, and there is a coinbox for meritorious donations. The library is of substantial size. All of the manuscripts visible appear to be in a good state of preservation, and are typically held in glass cases. There is also a collection of printed books, primarily taken from Tipiṭaka editions. On 23–24 June, 1997 I was given permission to record the contents of the handlist.

*Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Aṅguttara-nikāya [6]  
 Aṅguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇī) [2]  
 Khuddaka-nikāya [3]<sup>6</sup>  
 Dīgha-nikāya [14]<sup>7</sup>  
 Dampiya Sannaya [2]  
 Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā [4]  
 Dhammapadaya [1]  
 Paṭiccasamuppādaya [11]  
 Petavastu-aṭṭhakathā [2]  
 Majjhima-nikāya [3]  
 Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Vimānavatthu Prakaraṇaya Kotasak<sup>8</sup> [1]  
 Saṃyutta-[aṭṭha-?]kathā [1]  
 Saṃyutta-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [No. 14]  
 Saṃyutta-nikāya [3]  
 Saddharmāpāliya [1]  
 Saddhammapakāsinī Paṭisambhidāṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā [2]

*Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Āḷavaka Sūtraya [1]  
 Āḷavaka Sūtra Sannaya [2]

<sup>6</sup>Including one dated BV 2428 [AD 1884].

<sup>7</sup>Including one dated 1873.

<sup>8</sup>Here and hereafter read *kotasak* as “piece” or “selection”.

- Āsivisopama Sūtraya [2]  
 Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Uposatha Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Kāraṇḍava Sūtra [1]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtra [1]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtraya [1]  
 Kusala Sūtraya [4]  
 Ghaṭikāra Sūtraya [1]  
 Cūlakammavibhaṅga Sūtraya [1]  
 Cūlahatthipadopama Sūtra Padārthaya [1]  
 Tuṇḍilovāda Sūtra [1]  
 Dārukhandhopama Sūtraya [1]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [3]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Devadūta Sūtraya [1]  
 Dhammacakkaya [314]  
 Dhammacakka(ya) Pada Ānuma [2]<sup>9</sup>  
 Dhammacakkaya Sannaya [3]  
 Dhammacakka Sūtraya [48]  
 Dhammacakka Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Brahmajālaya [17]  
 Brahmajālaya Sannaya [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra [24]<sup>10</sup>  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [3]  
 Maṅgala Sūtra [1]  
 Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra [4]<sup>11</sup>  
 Mahāsatiṭṭhāna Sūtra [1]  
 Mahāsamaya Sūtra [1]  
 Ratana Sūtraya [1]

<sup>9</sup>The *pada ānuma* contains the Sinhala syntax created by a *sūtra sannaya* but without the *sannaya*'s Sinhala-language explanations. See Bechert (1969, IX).

<sup>10</sup>Including one dated 1904 and one dated BV 2494 [AD 1950].

<sup>11</sup>Including one dated 1894.

Ratthapāla Sūtra Pela Sannaya [1]  
 Vasala Sūtraya [1]  
 Verañjaka Sūtraya [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma [25]<sup>12</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma Sannaya [18]<sup>13</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pela [13]<sup>14</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pela Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pela Saha Sannaya [21]<sup>15</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Saha Sannaya [15]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra [596]<sup>16</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [5]<sup>17</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma Saha Sannaya [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Padārtha [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya/Sanna Sahita [20]  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya [54]<sup>18</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya Kotasak [2]  
 Saptasuriyuggamana Sūtraya [9]  
 Saptasuriyuggamana Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Sāra Sūtraya [1]  
 Sāleyya Sūtra [1]  
 Sāleyya Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Sigālovāda Sūtraya [2]  
 Sudarśanaya Sūtra [1]

<sup>12</sup> Including one dated 1943.

<sup>13</sup> Including one dated 1897.

<sup>14</sup> Including one dated 1906.

<sup>15</sup> Including one dated 1735.

<sup>16</sup> Includes manuscripts with the following dates: 1795, 1838, 1856, 1858, 1880 [2], 1881, 1882, 1889, 1895, 1896 [2], 1898 [2], 1903, 1906, 1913, 1916, 1917, 1918 [2], 1924, 1926 [3], 1928, 1946, 1950, BV 2416 [AD 1872], BV 2418 [AD 1874], BV 2446 [AD 1902], BV 2451 [AD 1907], BV 2483 [AD 1939].

<sup>17</sup> Including one dated BV 2480 [AD 1936].

<sup>18</sup> Including one dated BV 2483 [AD 1939].

Subha Sūtra Sannaya [1]

*Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Cullavagga Pāli [1]

Pācittiya/Pārājika Pāli [1]

(Bhikṣu) Pātimokṣaya/Prātimokṣaya/Pātimokkhaya [5]

Pātimokṣa Sannaya [1]

Prātimokṣaya Sannaya [1]

Pārājika Pāli [2]

Parivāra Pāli [1]

Pāli Muttaka Vinaya [1]

Pāli Muttaka Vinayavinicchaya Saṅgrahaya [1]

Pāli Muttaka Vinayavinicchaya Saṅgrahāva [1]

Buruma [“Burmese” or “from Burma”] Karmavākyaya [2]

Mahāvagga Pāli, Cullavagga Pāli, Parivāra Pāli [1]

Mūlasikṣa [= Mulsikha; 1]

Mulsikavaḷaṇḍa [= Mulsikhavaḷaṇḍa; 1]

Vinaya-piṭaka [3]

Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgrahāva [1]

Samantapāsādikā Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā [1]

Sikkhāpada Valaṅjanī [1]

Sumaṅgalavilāsini Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā [1]

*Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Aṭṭhasālīnī-aṭṭhakathā [2]

Abhidhammāṭṭha/Abhidharmārtha Saṅgrahaya/Saṅgrahāva [3]

Abhidhammāvatāra [1]

Abhidharmāvatāraya [1]

Abhidhammāvatāraṭṭhikā [1]

Abhidharmaya [1]

Abhidharmaya Kotasak

Abhidharmasaṅgrahayaṭṭhikā [1]

Abhidhamma Saññā [illegible; pakaraṇa?] Kathā [1]  
 Abhidhamma Paḍīpikā Sannaya [2]  
 Abhidhamma Pradīpikā[va] [2]  
 Abhidhamma Pradīpiya [1]<sup>19</sup>  
 Abhidhammasaptapakaraṇaya [4]  
 Dhammasaṅgaṇi Prakaraṇaya [4]  
 Puggalapaññatti Dhātu Prakaraṇaya [1]  
 Śaptani Prakaraṇaya [1]  
 Saptapakaraṇaya [1]

### *Jātaka Texts*

Asaḍḍsa Jātakaya [1]<sup>20</sup>  
 Uposatha Jātakaya [1]  
 Umāndāva [3]<sup>21</sup>  
 Ummagga Jātakaya [13]  
 Kavsiḷumiṇa [1]  
 Kuṇāla Jātakaya [1]  
 Kuḍupū Jātakaya [1]  
 Kurudharma Jātakaya [5]  
 Kurudharmaya [10]  
 Kurudharmaya Kotasak [1]  
 Kusa Jātakaya [2]  
 Guttila Jātakaya [1]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Jātaka Kathā Pota [1]  
 Jātaka Gāthā Sannaya [1]  
 Unidentified Nidānaya [1]<sup>22</sup>  
 Nim Jātakaya [1]

<sup>19</sup>This is dated 1924.

<sup>20</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603(83), (97) and (102).

<sup>21</sup>Umagga Jātaka in Eḷu Sinhala. See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (30)).

<sup>22</sup>I assume this refers to a *nidānakathā*.

Nimi Jātakaya [1]  
 Baṇa [illegible] Jātakaya [1]  
 Maṇicora Jātakaya [1]  
 Vessantara Jātaka Kaviya [1]  
 Vessantara Jātakaya [6]  
 Vessantara Ṭikā [1]  
 Saṃkicca Jātakaya [1]  
 Siṃhala Jātaka Kavaya [1]  
 Sutasōma Jātakaya [1]<sup>23</sup>

### *Miscellaneous Didactic Texts*

Anāgatavaṃsaya [1]  
 Anāgatavaṃsaya Desanāva [5]  
 Āyuvardhana Kathāva [1]<sup>24</sup>  
 Upāsakajanālaṅkāra [3]  
 Kathā[-illegible]-aya [1]<sup>25</sup>  
 Kathāvastu Pota [8]<sup>26</sup>  
 Kathāvastu Pota Kotasak [1]  
 Kathāvastu Prakaraṇaya [1]  
 Kaṭhinānisamsaya [2]  
 Kavmutuhara [1]<sup>27</sup>  
 Kusala Sūtra Dharma Desanāva [1]  
 Kosambi Varṇanāva [1]  
 Gihi Vinaya [1]  
 Coraghātaka Vastuva [1]  
 Jinavaṃsaya [1]  
 Jinālaṅkāraya [1]

<sup>23</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6604(21)).

<sup>24</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (95) I).

<sup>25</sup>Perhaps *Kathāratana*. See Sannasgala (1964, 621).

<sup>26</sup>When *kathāvastu* appears with *pota*, *saṅgraha*, or in a compilation with *sutta* or *kathā* texts we should, I believe, expect it to be a “compendium of narratives”.

<sup>27</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6604 (30)).



Jināḷankāra Varṇanāva [1]  
 Thūpavaṃsaya [2]  
 Daḷadā Sirita [1]  
 Dahamso[ṇḍa ?] Vata Buddha Dharma Vastuva  
 Dāna Paricchedaya [1]  
 Dānaśīla Paricchedaya [2]  
 Dhātuvavaṃsaya [1]  
 Dharmapradīpikāva [3]  
 Pūjāvaliya [9]<sup>28</sup>  
 Pūjāvaliya Kotasak [2]  
 Praśnottara Saṅgrahaya [1]<sup>29</sup>  
 (Saṅgraha) Baṇa (Daham) Pota/Baṇa (Daham) Saṅgrahavak [21]<sup>30</sup>  
 Butsaraṇa(ya) [5]  
 Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Buddhavaṃsa Desanāva [2]  
 Bodhivaṃsaya [2]  
 Bodhivaṃsaya (Pāli) [1]  
 Milindaprasṇaya [6]  
 Meghavaṇṇa [= Meghavaṇṇavastuva ?, 1]<sup>31</sup>  
 Maitrī-Varṇanāva [6]  
 Rasavāhinī(ya) [2]  
 Lokasaṅṭhānaya [1]<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Including one dated 1876.

<sup>29</sup>See Somadasa (1959, 61). I have found no manuscript by this name in the other catalogues listed as references below.

<sup>30</sup>Including one dated 1852. *Baṇa pot*, sometimes called *baṇa daham pot*, are monastic handbooks. They usually contain popular *suttas* (often with *sannayas*) and Jātaka stories, plus short disciplinary and meditation texts and common ritual chants. See also Blackburn (2001, Chp. 3). On *saṅgrahavak* see Somadasa (1959, 92). The term *saṅgraha* sometimes appears before the central title words in order to indicate that the text is a compilation containing selected texts.

<sup>31</sup>See Godakumbura (1980, 188).

<sup>32</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (19)).

Vāsagam (Baṇa) Pota [2]  
 Visākhā Vata [1]  
 Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathāva [1]  
 Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā [No. 15]<sup>33</sup>  
 Visuddhimārgaya [1]  
 Visuddhimārga Sannaya [1]  
 Saddhammaprakaraṇaya [1]  
 Saddhammapradīpikāva [1]  
 Saddhamaratnāvaliya [1]  
 Saddharmāḷankāraya [7]  
 Saddharmāḷankāraya Kotasak [1]  
 Sad[dharma ?]saṅgrahavata [1]  
 Saraṇābhimānaya [1]  
 Sāra Saṅgrahaya [1]<sup>34</sup>  
 Sāḷirāja Vastuva [1]  
 Sinhala Thūpavaṃsaya [3]  
 Sulu Bodhivaṃsaya [1]  
 Sūvisivaraṇa/Sūvisivivaraṇaya [2]  
 Śīla Paricchedaya [3]  
 Śrī Saddharmopavāda [= Saddharmāvavāda ?] Saṅgrahaya [1]<sup>35</sup>

#### Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics

Aṭavisi Buduguṇa [1]  
 Amarasimhaya<sup>36</sup>  
 Amarasimhaya Sannaya  
 Tun Saraṇaya [1]  
 Dāgot Pradīpiya [2]<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Listed with the name “Moroduvē Dhammānanda”.

<sup>34</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (78)) and Norman (1983, 173).

<sup>35</sup>Listed with the name Suriyagoḍa Sīlavama Himi [= *Svāmi*].

<sup>36</sup>Perhaps Amarasimha Aṣṭaka; see Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (11) XVIII).

<sup>37</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (27)).

Namaskāra Sannaya [1]  
 Pirinivan Maṅgalaya [2]  
 Mihirapā[n]nē Kāvyaaya [1]  
 Mēghadūta Sannaya [1]  
 Budu Guṇa [1]  
 Budu Śatakaya [1]  
 Sadguṇālaṅkāraya [1]  
 Sūriya Śatakaya [1]  
 Sūriya Śataka Sannaya [1]  
 Śrī Navaratnālaṅkāraya [1]<sup>38</sup>  
 Haṃsa Sandēśaya and [illegible] Sandēśaya [1]  
 [illegible] Sandēśaya

*Grammars and Lexicons*

Ākhyāta padaya [1]  
 Ākhyāta Varanāgilla [1]  
 Abhidhānapradīpikā [2]  
 Abhidhānapradīpikā Sannaya [1]  
 Kārapupphamañjarī [1]  
 Kārakasaññā [1partial]  
 Nava Vāranāgilla [1]  
 Padasadhaniya [1]  
 Bālāva-bodhiya [= -bodhanam?] [1]  
 Bālāvatāra Sannaya [2]  
 Bālāvatāraya [4]  
 Mādhavana [= Mādhavanidānaya?] Padārthaya<sup>39</sup>  
 Rūpamālāva [1]  
 Rūpasiddhiya [1]  
 Lōvāda Saṅgarāva [1]  
 Vṛttamālaya [1]<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup>See Godakumbura (1980, 136).

<sup>39</sup>See Bechert (1969, 116).

<sup>40</sup>This is dated 1875.

Vṛttamālākyā Sannaya [1]  
 Sandhināma Sannaya [1]  
 Sandhikappaya [illegible] [1]  
 Sarasvatiya [1]  
 Śabdasārasajalinī [?] [1]<sup>41</sup>

*Meditation Texts*

Pilikul Bhāvanāva [1]  
 Vidarśana Pota [1]

*Medical Texts*

Behet Guḷi Pota [1]  
 Bhesajjamañjusā [1]  
 Mahasāra Pradīpiya [1]<sup>42</sup>  
 Yōgamālāva Kāvi [1]<sup>43</sup>  
 Yōgaratnākaraya [3]<sup>44</sup>  
 Varayogasāraya [1]<sup>45</sup>  
 Sārārthasaṅgrahāva [2]<sup>46</sup>

*Astrological and Protective Texts (see also Sutta-piṭaka Texts)*

Odisse [= Oḍḍisa?] [1]<sup>47</sup>  
 Catubhāṇavāra-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Guṇadosaya [1]  
 Dehi Kāpum Kavi [1]  
 Pirit Pota [1]  
 Piruvana Pota [2]<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup>I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.

<sup>42</sup>Dated 1876.

<sup>43</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (111)).

<sup>44</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (111)).

<sup>45</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (108)).

<sup>46</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (72)).

<sup>47</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 6, Or. 6615–16).

<sup>48</sup>Including one dated 1891.

Bali Kavi Potak [1]  
 Mantra Pota [3]  
 Satarabaṇavara Sannaya [3]

*Historical Texts*

Attanagalu [Vihāra?] Vaṃsaya [1]  
 Alakēśvara Yuddhaya [1]  
 Āhālēpola Varṇanāva [1]  
 Āhālēpola Haṭanaya [1]  
 Iṃgrisi Haṭanaya [1]  
 Embekke Varṇanāva [1]  
 Kaḍaim Pota [2]<sup>49</sup>  
 Guru Pota (Aitihāsika Kathā Potak) [1]  
 Pāpiḷiyāṇe [Vihāra?] Sannasa [1]<sup>50</sup>  
 Purāvṛtta (Laṃkā Itihāsaya) [1]  
 Mahā Haṭanaya [1]  
 Rājavaṃsaya [1]  
 Vanni Kadaim Pota [1]

*Textual Compilations*

Abhidhammopakaraṇaya and Dhamma Saṅgrahaya [1]  
 Kadaim Pota and Rājāvaliya [1]  
 Kāka Jātakaya and Maitri Varṇanāva [1]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtra and Dhammacakkaya [1]  
 Kusala Sūtraya and Vāsagam Baṇa Pota [1]  
 Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātakaya and Kurudharma Jātakaya [1]  
 Jinavaṃsaya and Rāma Sandēśaya [1]  
 Dhammacakkaya and Brahmajālaya [1]  
 Dhammacakkaya and Paṭiccasamuppādaya [1]  
 Dhammacakkaya and Sudarśana Sūtra [1]  
 Namaskāra Sannaya and Buddhavaṃsa Saṅgrahāva [1]

<sup>49</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (141–44)).

<sup>50</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6605 (12)).

Navasikhāragathā and Abhi[-illegible; māṭṭkā?] [1]  
 Nimi Jātakaya, Saddharmālaṅkāraya Kotasak and Gihi Vinaya [1]  
 Pūjāvaliya, Kathinānisamsa and Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra [1]  
 Maliya Deva Kathāva, Pārakum Siritā, and Matalē Disāvagē Kadaim  
 Pota [1]  
 Maitri Varṇanāva and Ruvanvālisāya Itihāsaya [1]  
 Rājaratnākaraya and Narēndracaritāvalokapradīpikāva [1]  
 Viśākhavata and Vena Kathā [= “other stories”] [1]  
 Vessantara Jātakaya and Kuru Dharma Kavi [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna and Dhammacakkaya [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pela and Dhammacakka Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Brahmajāla Sūtra [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Dhammacakka Sūtra [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Paṭiccasamuppādaya [1]

*Letters*

Unidentified Letter [1]  
 Durukara Lēkam Miṭṭiya [2]<sup>51</sup>

*Miscellaneous Non-Sinhala Script Texts*

Buruma Potak [1]

*Illegible Nāmāvāliya Entries [11]*

*Entries Listed As “Illegible” in Nāmāvāliya [5]*

**Mādavela Rajamahavīhāraya**

Mādavela Rajamahavīhāraya underwent substantial renovation at the time of the Siyam Nikāya’s rise after 1753. It was one of the Kandyan temples to receive significant royal support from king Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha (Holt 1996). The ties between Mādavela, the court, and the Siyam Nikāya’s administrative system suggest that Mādavela’s temple-based educational system was influenced by the changes in curriculum

<sup>51</sup>See Somadasa (1959, 83).

and educational practice that characterized the rise of the Siyam Nikāya (Blackburn 2001, esp. Chp. 3). The list of manuscripts held at Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya is thus of interest, providing suggestive evidence of 18th and 19th century monastic textual practices connected to the Siyam Nikāya. During my brief visit to the temple in July 1997, I was unable to see the condition in which manuscripts are currently held, or to examine them. The following list is taken from the incumbent's handlist, entitled "Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaliya," which I was given permission to transcribe. Note that a number of manuscripts are listed with monastic names. Some of these are clearly authorial annotations; others are perhaps the names of the monks by whom the manuscripts were copied and/or used. I have retained the numbers used in the handlist, since it is possible that they reflect a system of labeling used for the manuscripts themselves.

*Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)*

Āṅguttara-nikāya [Nos. 2,<sup>52</sup> 11<sup>53</sup>]

Udānaṃ [No. 77]

Dīgha-nikāya [No. 95<sup>54</sup>]

Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā [Nos. 10, 12,<sup>55</sup> 22, 30]

Dhammapadaya [No. 73<sup>56</sup>]

Paṭiccasamuppāda Vivaraṇaya [No. 99<sup>57</sup>]

Majjhima-nikāyo [No. 34]

Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [Nos. 17,<sup>58</sup> 23, 40]

Samyutta-nikāya I [No. 3]

<sup>52</sup>No. 2 is listed with "[name illegible] visin liyanalada".

<sup>53</sup>No. 11 is listed with "Dharmakīrti Siridevamitta Sthavirayan Vahansēn".

<sup>54</sup>No. 95 is listed with "Ānanda Maitreya Himi [= Svāmi]".

<sup>55</sup>Nos. 10 and 12 are listed with "Sirisiddhartha Dhammānanda Mahasthavirayan Vahansēn".

<sup>56</sup>No. 73 is listed with "Śrī Dhammakitti Devamittābhīdhāna Himi".

<sup>57</sup>No. 99 is listed with "Rerukanē Vanavimala Himi".

<sup>58</sup>No. 17 is listed with "Dhammakīrti Siridhammānandābhīdhāna Himi".

Samyutta-nikāya II [No. 4<sup>59</sup>]

Sutta-nipāta [Nos. 5<sup>60</sup>, 19<sup>61</sup>]

Sutta[illegible] Aṭṭhakathā [No. 37]<sup>62</sup>

*Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)*

Mahāsatiṭṭhāna Sūtraya [Nos. 86, 87<sup>63</sup>]

Mahasatiṭṭhānaya [No. 28<sup>64</sup>]

Satiṭṭhāna Sūtraya [No. 72<sup>65</sup>]

*Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Andhaka Vinaya [No. 63]<sup>66</sup>

Cullavagga Pāli [Nos. 6, 7<sup>67</sup>]

Prātimokṣaya [No. 102]

Mahāvagga Pāli [No. 1,<sup>68</sup> 45]

Vinayakama Pota [No. 93<sup>69</sup>]

Samantapāsādikāva [No. 20<sup>70</sup>]

<sup>59</sup>Nos. 3 and 4 repeat this.

<sup>60</sup>No. 5 is listed with "Siripaṇṇānanda Abhīdhāna Sthavirayan Vahansēn visin siṃhala parivartanaya".

<sup>61</sup>No. 19 is listed with "Siri Paṇṇānanda Sādhana Sthavirayan visin".

<sup>62</sup>No. 37 is listed with "Kāviśvara Sthavirayan Vahansēn".

<sup>63</sup>Nos. 86 and 87 are listed with "Śrī Sarānanda Sthavira".

<sup>64</sup>No. 29 is listed with "Śrī Dhīrānanda Mahasthavirayan Nāyaka Himi".

<sup>65</sup>No. 72 is listed with "Aryavaṃsa Sthavira Svāminvahansēn".

<sup>66</sup>No. 63 is listed with "Paṇḍita Henpi[ta ?]gederē [illegible] Nāyaka Himi".

<sup>67</sup>No. 6 is listed with "Ānanda Maitreya Mahanāyaka Sthavirayan Vahansēn visin siṃhala parivartanaya"; No. 7 with "Paṇṇānanda [name illegible] Sthavirayan Vahansēn visin siṃhala parivartanaya".

<sup>68</sup>No. 1 is listed with "Aṃbalangoḍa Dhammakusala Sthavirayan Vahansēn siṃhala parivartanaya".

<sup>69</sup>No. 93 is listed with "Rerukanē Vanavimala Himi".

<sup>70</sup>No. 20 is listed with an illegible name.

*Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Abhidhammāṭṭhakathā gathē [illegible] [No. 82]  
 Abhidhammāṭṭhasaṅgrahaya [No. 59]  
 Abhidharma Chandrikāva [illegible] [No. 103<sup>71</sup>]  
 Abhidharmaya [No. 98]

*Jātaka Texts*

Jātaka Pota [Nos. 13, 22, 24]

*Miscellaneous Didactic Texts*

- Avavāda Paricchedaya [No. 89]  
 Kathīnavamsaya [No. 88<sup>72</sup>]  
 Dhammasthāna Saṅgrahaya [No. 84<sup>73</sup>]  
 Nāgasena Vastuva [No. 60]  
 Paramitta Prakaraṇaya [No. 94<sup>74</sup>]  
 Pūjāvaliya [No. 56]  
 [entry unclear; Pratāpa?] Dhammadesana [No. 79]  
 Pretavastuvarṇanāva [No. 81]  
 Milindaprasnaya [No. 44, 55,<sup>75</sup> 69<sup>76</sup>]  
 Visuddhimārgaya [No. 25<sup>77</sup>]  
 Saddharmaratnākaraya [41<sup>78</sup>]  
 Saddharmaratnāvaliya [No. 43<sup>79</sup>]  
 Saddharmasaṅgrahaya [No. 96<sup>80</sup>]

<sup>71</sup>No. 103 is listed with “Mātara Śrī Dhammavamsaya Himi”.

<sup>72</sup>No. 88 is listed with “Śrī Pradesara Nāyaka Sthavira”.

<sup>73</sup>No. 84 is listed with “[illegible] Śrī Saddhammānanda Himi”.

<sup>74</sup>No. 94 is listed with “Rerukanē Vanavimala Himi”.

<sup>75</sup>No. 55 is listed with “Hīnatikumburē Sumaṅgala Himi”.

<sup>76</sup>No. 69 is listed with “Siri Kamangalla Nāyaka Himi”.

<sup>77</sup>No. 25 is listed with “Buddhapekṣa [illegible] Mahasthavirayan Vahansen”.

<sup>78</sup>No. 41 is listed with “Vimalakīrti Mahasthavirayan Vahansē”.

<sup>79</sup>No. 43 is listed with “Dhammasena Mahasthavirayan Vahansē”.

<sup>80</sup>No. 96 is listed with “Dharma Śrī Ānandavamsaya”.

- Saddharmālaṅkāraya [Nos. 35, 36, 38, 39, 48<sup>81</sup>]  
 Saṅgibāṇa [“speech/preaching from the *nikāyas*”] [No. 57<sup>82</sup>]  
 Sārārthasaṅgrahāva [Nos. 46, 65<sup>83</sup>]  
 Sārasaṅgraha/Sārasaṅgaho [No. 66, 71,<sup>84</sup> 80]  
 Sudusaṅgrahāli Kathā [No. 70]<sup>85</sup>  
 Śīla Nirdeśaya [No. 91]  
 Śrāvaka-Śrāvika Carita [No. 83<sup>86</sup>]  
 Śrī Saddharmāvavāda Saṅgrahaya [No. 33<sup>87</sup>]  
 Vimānavastu Prakaraṇaya [No. 90<sup>88</sup>]

*Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics*

- Jinarājavamsaya [Nos. 49, 78<sup>89</sup>]  
 Jinavamsadīpa Mahākavanaya [No. 54<sup>90</sup>]  
 Navadīpika [No. 85]<sup>91</sup>  
 Raghuvamsaya [No. 74]<sup>92</sup>

*Grammars and Lexicons*

Abhidhānapradīpikā [No. 76]

<sup>81</sup>Nos. 35, 36, 38 and 39 listed with “Dharmakīrti [illegible] Himi”.

<sup>82</sup>No. 57 is listed with “Yakuduvē [illegible] Sthavirayan Vahansē”.

<sup>83</sup>Nos. 46 and 65 are listed with “Vālivīṭa Saraṇamkara Saṅgharāja Himi”.

<sup>84</sup>Nos. 71 and 80 are listed with “Siddhattha Theravarena Himi”.

<sup>85</sup>No. 70 is listed with “Kaviśvara Sthavirayan Himi Pano”. I have found no text by this name in the catalogues referenced below.

<sup>86</sup>No. 83 is listed with “Nānavimala Svāmindē Vahansē”.

<sup>87</sup>No. 33 is listed with “Śrī Siddhartha Buddharakṣitābhidhāna Himi”.

<sup>88</sup>No. 90 is listed with “Ratanapala [illegible] Sthavira”.

<sup>89</sup>See also Sannasgala (1964, 599). I have not located this text in any of the catalogues referenced below.

<sup>90</sup>No. 54 is listed with “Medhānanda Sthavirayan Vahansē”. See also Sannasgala (1964, 644).

<sup>91</sup>No. 85 is listed with “Yagirāla Paññānanda Himi”. I am not certain that this is a verse text.

<sup>92</sup>No. 74 is listed with “Naravīla Dhammaratana Himi”. See Sannasgala (1964, 112–113).

Kaccāyana [illegible] [No. 47]  
 Bālāvatāro [No. 50, 67,<sup>93</sup> 101]  
 Mahārūpasiddhi [No. 53,<sup>94</sup> 58]  
 Bālāvatāra pucchāvissajjani [No. 42<sup>95</sup>]  
 Bālāvatāra Saṅgrahaya [No. 52]  
 Sidatsaṅgarā Sannaya [No. 51]

#### Medical Texts

Aṣṭaparīkṣāva [No. 26]<sup>96</sup>  
 Vaṭīkāppakaranīya [No. 27]<sup>97</sup>  
 Sārasaṃkṣepaya [No. 64]

#### Astrological and Other Protective Texts (see also *Sutta-piṭaka Texts*)

Piruvana Pot Vahansē [No. 8]<sup>98</sup>  
 Satarabaṇavara Sannaya [No. 61]

#### Letters

Siṃhala Anuvādaya [No. 68]

#### Other Texts

Kāmayasaṅgrahāva [No. 29]<sup>99</sup>  
 Durvāda Vidarśanaya [No. 97]<sup>100</sup>  
 Buddhāgama gāna [illegible] [No. 31]

<sup>93</sup>Nos. 50 and 67 are listed with “Siri Kumadagallābhīdhāna Nāyaka Himi”.

<sup>94</sup>No. 53 is listed with “[illegible] Dipaṃkara Mahasthvirayan; No. 58 with “[illegible] Mahasthvirayan”.

<sup>95</sup>No. 42 is listed with an illegible name. See also Somadasa (1959, 64).

<sup>96</sup>No. 26 is listed with “Vidusuriduraniyagalle”. Cf. Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (7)) and Bechert (1997, 59–62).

<sup>97</sup>See Sannaṅgala (1964, 673) who dates this text to 1927.

<sup>98</sup>No. 8 is listed with “Kumburupitīyē Vanaratanābhīdhāna Mahanāyaka Himi”.

<sup>99</sup>Perhaps *Kāmaccheda Vaidya Saṅgrahaya*? See Somadasa (1959, 20).

<sup>100</sup>Perhaps the same as *Durvādī Hṛdaya Vidāraṇaya* (Sannaṅgala 1964, 742–43). No. 97 is listed with “Nalpavila Ratanasara Sāmi”.

Vimalārthavāhinī [No. 62]<sup>101</sup>

Sṛtu [= sṛta?] Sangara-kavaniya [No. 32]<sup>102</sup>

*Illegible Nāmāvaliya Entries* [Nos. 9, 92, 100]

#### Malvatu Vihārayē Saṃgharāja Pansala

The collection of manuscripts held in this residence within the Malvatu Vihāraya is of considerable interest as evidence of texts related to the Siyam Nikāya’s formative period. As the name suggests, the founder and first Saṃgharāja of the order, Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṃkara (1698–1778), frequently resided in this section of the Malvatu Vihāraya. Furthermore, according to the incumbent of this *pansala*, interviewed on 8 July 1997, its current manuscript collection contains manuscripts brought from Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihāraya. From the Gampola Period (1347–1412) onward the Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihāraya was often an important center for education and literary production. The list of manuscripts below is reproduced from the manuscript section of the incumbent’s handlist entitled “Vālivīṭa Asaraṇa Saraṇaṃkara Saṃgharāja Mahimiyan Wādasitī Ārāmayē Bādu Laistuva”. The numbers shown in the list below are taken from the incumbent’s handlist. I was able to examine, though not to handle (because of a recent application of insect poison), approximately fifty numbered manuscripts held in glass cases in the *pansala* anteroom and to handle a smaller number held in the central display case. These manuscripts appear to be in good condition. In footnotes, where possible, I have indicated possible correlations between the handlist and the numbered manuscripts contained in the anteroom cases.

#### *Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)*

<sup>101</sup>No. 62 is listed with “Śrī Dhammānanda Sthavirayan Vahansē”. See also Somadasa (1959, 87).

<sup>102</sup>I have been unable to identify this text. It is listed with “D.M. Dhammaradinnā Mahatā”.

Aṅguttara-nikāya [Nos. 1, 2]<sup>103</sup>  
 Apadāna Pāli [No. 3]<sup>104</sup>  
 Itivuttaka [No. 5]  
 Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā [No. 107]  
 Cariyāpiṭaka Pāli [Nos. 108, 109]  
 Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā [Nos. 16, 110]  
 Dīgha-nikāya [No. 20]  
 Dīgha-nikāya Dvītiya Tīkā [No. 21]  
 Paṭisambhidā-aṭṭhakathā [No. 106]  
 Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [No. 57]<sup>105</sup>  
 Mahāniddeśa [No. 59]  
 Mahāniddeśa Pāli Aṭṭhakathā [No. 60]  
 Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā [No. 64]  
 Samantapāsādikā<sup>106</sup> [No. 83]  
 Suttanipāta [No. 89]<sup>107</sup>

*Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)*

Dhammacakka Pēla and Sannaya [Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26]<sup>108</sup>  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Pēla Sannaya [No. 54]  
 Mahāsatipatṭhāna, Prathama Khandhaya [No. 103]  
 Mahāsatipatṭhāna, Dvītiya Khandhaya [Nos. 104, 127, 128, 129, 130]  
 Mahāsatipatṭhāna, Tunvāni Khandhaya [No. 105]  
 Satipatṭhāna [Nos. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75]  
 Satipatṭhāna Vistasasannaya [Nos. 76, 77, 78, 79, 80]<sup>109</sup>

<sup>103</sup>These may include the encased manuscripts labeled No. 34.

<sup>104</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 32, containing the *Apadāna Pāli* bound with *Buddhavaṃsaya Pāli* and *Itivuttaka Pāli*.

<sup>105</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 14.

<sup>106</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 11.

<sup>107</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 29.

<sup>108</sup>These may include the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 3, 4, 7 and 76.

<sup>109</sup>These may include the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 20, 21 and 27. No. 27 is bound with an 1891 coin.

Saptasūriyodgamana Sūtra Sannaya [Nos. 81, 82]<sup>110</sup>  
 Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [Nos. 90, 93]

*Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Catupārisuddhaśīlaya [No. 87]  
 Cullavagga Pāli [No. 17]  
 Parivāra Pāli [No. 37]  
 Pācittiya Pāli [No. 38]<sup>111</sup>  
 Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya [No. 34]<sup>112</sup>  
 Mahāvagga Pāli [Nos. 61, 123, 124, 125, 126]  
 Mulsikha Baṇa Daham [No. 62]<sup>113</sup>  
 Vibhaṅga [No. 29]<sup>114</sup>  
 Sārāthadīpanī [No. 84]<sup>115</sup>  
 Sikhavaḷaṇḍa [No. 85]<sup>116</sup>

*Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*<sup>117</sup>

Abhidhamma Mūlaṭīkā [No. 6]

<sup>110</sup>These may be the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 25 and 33.

<sup>111</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 30.

<sup>112</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 18. A Vinayavinicchaya-purāṇaṭīkā appears in the glass cases, labeled No. 31. This does not appear on the handlist.

<sup>113</sup>This is probably a monastic handbook, or *baṇa daham pota*, in which *Mulsikha* is the first entry.

<sup>114</sup>The identification is tentative; no further title is given.

<sup>115</sup>Though a text by this title could also be Saraṇamkara's commentary to the *catubhāṇavāra* I have listed it here given the presence of an encased manuscript labeled No. 16 and entitled Sārāthadīpanī (Vinayaṭīkāva).

<sup>116</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 26, which contains Sikhavaḷaṇḍavinisa, Dhammamātikā and Catupārisuddhaśīla.

<sup>117</sup>A copy of *Milindapaśnaya* labeled No. 33 appears in the glass cases, while not listed on the handlist. The cases also contain No. 25, entitled *Nāva-[illegible]-budugūṇa Sannaya*.

Kathāvastu [No. 30]<sup>118</sup>  
 Dhammamātikā [No. 86]  
 Dhammasaṅgaṇi Prakaraṇaya [Nos. 27, 28]<sup>119</sup>  
 Puggalapaññatti [No. 40]<sup>120</sup>

*Jātaka Texts*<sup>121</sup>

Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 1 [No. 111]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 2 [No. 112]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 3 [No. 113]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 4 [No. 114]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 5 [No. 115]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 6 [No. 116]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 7 [No. 117]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, 8 [No. 118]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā Sannaya [No. 18]  
 Jātaka Pāli 11 [Nos. 121, 122]  
 Jātaka Pota [No. 96]  
 Jātaka Bhedapū [“abridged”] Pota [Nos. 119, 120]  
 Pirinivan Heḷa [No. 39]  
 Sulu Umandāva [No. 91]<sup>122</sup>

*Miscellaneous Didactic Texts*

Gihī Vinaya [No. 13]<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup>See treatment of *kathāvastu pota* in the Daḷadā Māligāva list.

<sup>119</sup>These may be the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 12 and 13. The latter includes also the Vibhaṅga Pakaraṇa and the Kathāvastu Pakaraṇa.

<sup>120</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 37/8, and entitled Puggalapaññatti Upakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā.

<sup>121</sup>The visible, encased, manuscripts contain two very large texts labeled Nos. 5 and 6, and entitled simply Jātaka Pota.

<sup>122</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 17 and entitled Ummagga Jātaka.

<sup>123</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 35.

Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya [No. 94]<sup>124</sup>  
 Daṁbadeṇi Sannaya [No. 70]  
 Dhātuvamsaya [No. 19]  
 Dhammapradīpikā [No. 31]<sup>125</sup>  
 Baṇa Daham Maṅgala Sūtrādiya [Nos. 42, 43, 44, 45]<sup>126</sup>  
 Birṁbavaṇṇanā [No. 65]  
 Butsaraṇa [Nos. 50, 51]<sup>127</sup>  
 Buddhavamsa-aṭṭhakathā [No. 53]  
 Buddhavamsaya [No. 4]  
 Madhuraṭṭhapakāsini Bodhivamsaya Sannaya [No. 58]  
 Mahakappinarāja Kathā [No. 32]  
 Muniguṇālaṅkāraya [No. 66]  
 Visuddhimagga Ṭikāva [No. 102]  
 Visuddhimagga Pela [No. 101]  
 Visuddhimagga Sanna, Prathama Khandhaya [No. 98]  
 Visuddhimagga Sanna, Dvitiya Khandhaya [No. 99]  
 Visuddhimagga Sanna, Tunvāni Khandhaya [No. 100]  
 Saṅghasaraṇa [No. 52]

*Grammars and Lexicons*

Abhidhāna Pradīpikā [No. 7]<sup>128</sup>  
 Kaccāyana Sannaya [Nos. 8, 9]<sup>129</sup>  
 Gaḍalādeṇiya [Bālāvatāra ?] Sannaya [No. 12]

<sup>124</sup>The glass cases contain a manuscript with this title, but without label number.

<sup>125</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 2. It is bound with *Mahākappina Rajakathā*.

<sup>126</sup>These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 19, which does include the *Maṅgala Sūtra Sannaya*, composed in accordance with *Sāratthasamuccaya* and thus likely the work of Vāliṅga Saraṇaṅkara. They may also include the encased manuscript labeled No. 39, a small *baṇa daham pota*, and those labeled Nos. 32 and 13.

<sup>127</sup>These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 49.

<sup>128</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 24.

<sup>129</sup>These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 27.



Tunliṅgurūpamālāva [No. 49]

Dhātupāṭha [No. 41]

Pañcīkā Pradīpiya [No. 33]<sup>130</sup>

Payogasiddhi [No. 36]

Bālāvatāraya [No. 46]<sup>131</sup>

Bālāvatāra Kriyākāraka[-illegible-] Sannaya [No. 48]<sup>132</sup>

Bālāvatārasugaṅṅhisāra [No. 47]

Moggalyāyana Vyākaraṇa [No. 63]

#### Medical Texts

Bhesajjamañjusā [Nos. 55, 56]<sup>133</sup>

*Astrological and Other Protective Texts* (see also *Sutta-piṭaka Texts*)

Catubhāṅavāra Pāli [Nos. 14, 15]<sup>134</sup>

#### Historical Texts

Lakdiva Vidiya [No. 69]<sup>135</sup>

#### Letters

Samgharāja Lekham Pota [No. 67]<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 22.

<sup>131</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 9.

<sup>132</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 38 and entitled *Bālāvatāra Purāna Sannaya* or that labeled No. 1 and entitled *Gaḍalādeṇi Sannaya*.

<sup>133</sup>These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 43 and entitled *Bhesajjamañjusā Sannaya*, and that labeled No. 40 with the title *Bhesajjamañjusā*.

<sup>134</sup>These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 36 and bound in elaborate brass covers. It is interesting to note that this manuscript is copied in a very large script, apparently for recitation purposes.

<sup>135</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (42)).

<sup>136</sup>These are almost certainly letters by Vāliṅga Saraṅṅkara.

#### Non-Sinhala Script Texts

Kambhoja Pota [“Cambodian” or “from Cambodia”][Nos. 10, 11]<sup>137</sup>

Buruma [“Burmese” or “from Burma”] Tunpiṭaka Pot 40 [No. 97]<sup>138</sup>

#### Other Texts<sup>139</sup>

Samgharājasādhucariyāva [No. 95]

Sulu Rājavaṃsaya [No. 92]<sup>140</sup>

Sīmā Vannaṅā [No. 68]

#### Illegible Nāmāvāliya Entries [No. 35]

#### Ridī Rajamahavihāraya

Like the manuscripts held at Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya and the Malvatu Vihāraya Samgharāja Pansala, those at Ridī Rajamahavihāraya offer evidence of eighteenth and nineteenth century textual practices. The *vihāra* underwent considerable renovation during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha (Cūl 99–100), and the then incumbent Tibbotuvāvē Buddharakkhita rose to a position of prominence in the newly formed Siyam Nikāya (Dewaraja 1988, especially Chapter 6). The incumbents of Ridī Rajamahavihāraya have continued to occupy leading positions in the Siyam Nikāya monastic administration. At the time my research was conducted, the incumbent, Venerable Sumaṅgala Mahāthera, was Anunāyaka of the Malvatu Vihāraya. The manuscripts, and the handlist enumerating them, were held in a locked chest kept in an anteroom of

<sup>137</sup>These may be texts brought from Siam during the eighteenth century, and written in Mūl script.

<sup>138</sup>The referent of “40” is unclear. Given the plural *pot* it may indicate that a total of forty manuscripts of Burmese origin have been included in the collection. Considering the *nikāya* affiliations of the Malvatu Vihāraya, these are more likely to have their origin in the seventeenth-century arrival of monks from Arakan (Dewaraja 1988) than in nineteenth-century Burmese-Sri Lankan connections.

<sup>139</sup>The visible, encased, manuscripts include a copy of *Mahāvamsa Pāli* labeled No. 50. This does not appear on the handlist.

<sup>140</sup>This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 23.

the image hall along with items to be used in the *vihāraya*'s *perahāra*, or annual procession. Access to the manuscripts requires the permission of the incumbent. Given permission to handle the manuscripts on 4 July 1997, I looked closely at about ten of them. The numbers with which the manuscripts were labeled were completely consistent with those listed on the *vihāraya*'s handlist, "Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaliya," the contents of which I have reproduced below. This handlist was prepared by the Religious Affairs Department of the Sri Lankan government. The date of its preparation is not clear.

*Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Aṅguttara Saṅgiya Pāli Aṭuvā [No. 6]  
 Cariyāpiṭakaya [No. 15]  
 Dik Saṅgiya [= Dīgha Nikāya] [No. 27]  
 Petavatthu [No. 55]  
 Manorathapūraṇī [No. 64]  
 Majjhima Saṅgiyaṭa Prapañcasūdanī Aṭuvā [No. 65]  
 Saṃyutta Saṅgiya Kotasak [No. 80]  
 Sumaṅgalavilāsini Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā Vivaraṇaya [No. 87]

*Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Unidentified Sūtra* [No. 86]  
 Dakṣiṇā Vibhaṅga Sūtraya [Nos. 25, 26]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24]  
 Dasuttara Sūtraya Kotasak [No. 47]  
 Dhammacakka [Nos. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41]  
 Dhammacakkapavattana Sūtraya [No. 31]  
 Paṭiccasamuppāda Sūtraya [No. 43]<sup>141</sup>  
 Parābhāva Sūtraya [No. 42]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya [Nos. 61, 62, 63]  
 Vammika Sūtraya [No. 67]  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya [Nos. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77]

<sup>141</sup>The designation *sūtraya* for this text is unusual among those manuscripts I have examined and those listed in Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 7).

Satipaṭṭhāna Sannaya [No. 78]

*Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Pātimokkhaya [Nos. 44, 45]  
 Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya [No. 48]  
 Vinaya Potak [No. 68]  
 Vinē Sāratthadīpanī-nam [= nāma] Ṭikāva [No. 70]

*Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Abhidharmaya [No. 1]  
 Abhidharmārthasaṅgrahaya [No. 2]  
 Dhammasaṅgani Prakāsaṇaya [No. 29]

*Jātaka Texts*

- Umandāva [No. 8]  
 Kaṭṭhahāri Jātakaya [No. 10]  
 Kurudharma Jātakaya [No. 11]  
 Jātakakathāvak [No. 18]  
 Jātaka Pota [Nos. 16, 17]

*Miscellaneous Didactic Texts*

- Anāgatavaṃsaya [No. 4]  
 Anāgatavaṃsaye Desanāva [No. 5]  
 Cullaniddesa [No. 13]  
 Dhamma Upasaṅgrahaya [No. 28]  
 Dhammapradīpikāva [No. 30]  
 Pūjāvaliya [Nos. 53, 54]  
 Butsaraṇa [No. 59]  
 Rasavāhinī [No. 66]  
 Saṅghasaṇaya [No. 81]  
 Saddhammaratnāvaliya [Nos. 82, 83]  
 Saddhammālaṅkāraya [Nos. 84, 85]  
 Sela Sūtrayādikoṭa-ātisaṅgraha Baṇa Daham Pota [No. 88]

*Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics*

Chandas Pota [No. 14]

Jānakīharāṇa [No. 19]<sup>142</sup>*Grammars and Lexicons*

Abhidhāna Sannaya [No. 3]

Kaccāyana [No. 12]

Pāli Nighaṇḍuva [No. 49]

Pāli Vyākaraṇa Pota [No. 50]

Bālāvatāra Ṭṭkāva [No. 56]

Bālāvatāraya [Nos. 57, 58]

Brahmasīrinighaṇḍuva [No. 9]

Saṃkṣepa Vyākaraṇa Pota [No. 79]

*Medical Texts*Ariṣṭa Śātakaya [?] [No. 7]<sup>143</sup>*Astrological and Protective Texts* (see also *Sutta-piṭaka Texts*)

Pirit pota [Nos. 51, 52]

*Textual Compilations*

Thūpavaṃsaya Pāli Pota and Abhidharmasaṅgrahaya [No. 20]

Pātimokkhaya and [illegible-]vinisa [No. 46]

Buddhavaṃsaya and Anāgatavaṃsaya [No. 60]

Vinayasaṅgraha Ṭṭkā and Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī [No. 69]

*Texts Unidentified in Nāmāvāliya* [Nos. 89-100]**Pādeniya Rajamahavihārāya**

Manuscripts held at Pādeniya Rajamahavihārāya are likely to reflect the influence of late eighteenth-century textual practices since the image house, preaching hall, and library all date to restoration

<sup>142</sup>See Godakumbura (1980, xxv).

<sup>143</sup>The catalogue entry for No. 7 is unclear; this is a tentative identification. On this text see Bechert (1969, 121–22).

undertaken during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. According to one of the historical manuscripts held at the *vihārāya*, a substantial group of students formed at the temple after its restoration. This *talpota* mentions specifically the study of grammar, and says that manuscripts, including Tipiṭaka commentaries, Abhidhamma texts, and grammar books, were written and stored at the temple (Chutiwongs, *et al.*, 1990, 36). An article in the Buddhist newspaper *Budusaraṇa* (15 May 1988) states that some of the manuscripts held at the temple were brought by Siamese monks who visited Kandyan and Kuruṅgala area temples in conjunction with the formation of the Siyam Nikāya and the introduction of *upasampadā* from Siam. This is consistent with the oral history given by the incumbent on 2 July 1997, according to whom the founder of the *vihārāya*'s current monastic *paraṃparā* studied with Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṃkara in Kandy before returning to Pādeniya to found his own group of students. Some of the manuscripts held at Pādeniya may pre-date the activities of Siyam Nikāya monks, however. According to at least one account, manuscripts, including Abhidhamma texts, were brought to Pādeniya from nearby Uvāngirikaṇḍa (perhaps an *araññika*-identified temple with connections to Daṃbadeṇi Period monastic lineages) (Chutiwongs *et al.* 1990, 36).

On my visit to the *vihārāya* I was unable to enter the library, though the incumbent provided me with a copy of the temple's handlist of manuscripts, entitled "Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvāliya", from which the following list is derived. Other visitors to the library have commented on its substantial holdings, and the well preserved nature of material held there.<sup>144</sup> Since the incumbent's handlist includes one numbered entry referring to five texts (No. 78), I suspect that the numbers shown below do not correspond to numbers marked on the manuscripts themselves. Nevertheless, I have reproduced them as in earlier sections of this paper.

<sup>144</sup>Personal communications from Profs. Jonathan Walters and P.B. Mīgaskumbura.

*Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Aṅguttara-nikāya [No. 77]  
 Aṅguttara-nikāyē Pañcaka Nikāya [No. 165]<sup>145</sup>  
 Kudugot Saṅgiya (Khuddaka-nikāya) [Nos. 70, 80]  
 Dampiya Aṭuvāva [No. 71]  
 Dik Saṅgiya [= Dīgha-nikāya] [No. 234]  
 Dhammapada Sannaya [Nos. 47, 56]  
 Pretakathā Vastu [No. 19]  
 Preta Vastuva [Nos. 62, 197]  
 Majjhima-nikāya [No. 209]  
 Ma[-norathapūranī?] Saṅgiya Aṭuvā [No. 226]  
 Mādum Saṅgiya [= Majjhima-nikāya] [No. 72]  
 Mādum Saṅgiya Uparipanna [-illegible] [No. 184]  
 Saṃyut Saṅgiya [= Saṃyutta-nikāya] [No. 74]  
 Saṃyutta-nikāya [No. 64]

*Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)*

- Aggikhandopama Sūtraya [No. 36]  
 Aṅgulimāla Sūtraya [No. 181]  
 Āṭānāṭiya Sūtraya [No. 92]  
 Unidentified Sutta Desanāva [No. 198]  
 Unidentified Sūtraya [Nos. 96, 107, 248]  
 Uposatha Sūtra Sannaya [No. 26]  
 Kusala Sūtra Desanāva [No. 82]  
 Kusala Sūtraya [No. 88]  
 Girmānanda Sūtraya [No. 10]  
 Cakkavattisīhanāda Sūtraya [No. 147]  
 Cullakammavibhaṅga Sūtraya [No. 138]  
 Todeyya Sūtraya [Nos. 21, 61]  
 Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sūtraya [No. 32]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Padārtha [No. 35]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [Nos. 31, 33, 100, 134, 145, 160]

<sup>145</sup>Here *nikāya* is presumably a substitute for *nipāta*.

- Damsakpāvatum Sūtrayaṭārtha [No. 104]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Sannaya [No. 28]  
 Devadā Sūtraya [No. 8]  
 Devadūta Sūtraya [No. 207]  
 Dhajagga Sūtraya [No. 128]  
 Dhammacakka/Dhammacakkaya [Nos. 118, 190, 200]  
 Dhammacakka Sannaya [No. 228]  
 Dhammacakka Sūtraya [Nos. 83, 86, 116, 121, 125, 172]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sannaya [No. 206]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta [No. 194]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtraya [Nos. 6, 48, 130, 141]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtraya, Rāśiyak [No. 189]<sup>146</sup>  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtraya Sannaya [No. 22]  
 Pañcanivāraṇadākvāna Sūtrayek [No. 91]<sup>147</sup>  
 Brahmajāla Sūtrārtha Vyākhyānaya [No. 172]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya [Nos. 51, 93, 148, 168]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Vaṇṇanā [Nos. 18, 24, 42]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya [Nos. 4, 46, 183]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [No. 13]  
 Mahāparinibbāna Sutta [No. 49]  
 Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma [No. 53]  
 Mahāsatipaṭṭhānaya [Nos. 54, 55, 65]  
 Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sūtraya [Nos. 5, 44, 177]  
 Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya [No. 73]  
 Mahāsudassana Sūtrārtha Vyākhyānaya [No. 112]  
 Vammika Sūtraya [Nos. 89, 98]  
 Saccavibhaṅga Sūtraya [Nos. 87, 102]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Kotasak [No. 163]  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya [No. 158]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtraya [Nos. 133, 159, 222, 225]

<sup>146</sup>*Rāśiyak* means “several” or “a collection”.

<sup>147</sup>This title suggests an interesting sermonic- or exegetically-based system of textual identification.

Saptasuriyodgamana/Suriyodgamana Sūtraya [Nos. 45, 223]  
 Saptasuriyodgamana Sūtra Sannaya [No. 126]  
 Sāleyya Sūtraya [Nos. 123, 191]  
 Sāleyya Sūtrārtha Vyākhyānaya [No. 129]  
 Subha Sutta [Nos. 142, 175]  
 Subha Sūtraya [No. 201]

*Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Kudusikha Sannaya [No. 236]  
 Cullavaggaya [No. 152]  
 Bhikkhu Prātimokkha Pāli [without number]  
 Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa Sannaya [No. 20]  
 Bhikṣhu Bhikṣunī Prātimokṣaya [No. 105]  
 Pācciti Pot Vahansē [No. 185]  
 Pātimokkha Sannaya [No. 97]  
 Pārājika Pāli [No. 179]  
 Prātimokṣaya [Nos. 155, 174, 211; including 1 “Kotasak”]  
 Mulsikha [Nos. 57, 240]  
 Mulsikha Sannaya [No. 233]  
 Vinayakamma Pota [No. 214]  
 Vinaya-piṭakayē Potvahansēla 5 [No. 78]<sup>148</sup>  
 Sāmaṇera Vastu [No. 136]  
 Sikhavaḷaṇḍa Vinisa [Nos. 108, 161]

*Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)*

Atthasālinī-aṭṭhakathā [No. 210]  
 Abhidharma Potak [No. 109]  
 Abhidharmaya [No. 84]  
 Abhidharmārtha Kamaṭahana [No. 52]  
 Dhammasaṅgaṇi Prakaraṇaya [No. 153]

*Jātaka Texts*

Acchariyabbhutadhammā Jātakaya [No. 212]  
 Unidentified Jātakaya [No. 127]  
 Dahamsoṇḍa Kathāvastuva [No. 17]  
 Dūta Jātaka Dhammadesanāva [No. 196]  
 Pansiyapanas Jātaka Pota [No. 69]  
 Potvanselā 56 Saṃghika Umandāvayi [without number]<sup>149</sup>  
 Mahāsupina Jātakaya [No. 50]

*Miscellaneous Didactic Texts*

Anāgatavaṃsa Desanāva [No. 110]  
 Anāgatavaṃsa Pāli [No. 193]  
 Anāgatavaṃsaya [Nos. 41, 235]  
 Kaṭhinānisamsa Dharmadesanāvaka [No. 146]  
 Kaṭhinānisamsaya [Nos. 29, 67, 188]  
 Kaṭhinānisamsaya Siṃhala [No. 143]  
 Kosol Rajata Piḍimā-kirimē Ānisamsaya-adāla Piḷiveḷa [No. 213]<sup>150</sup>  
 Gihi Vinaya [Nos. 3, 30]  
 Thūpavaṃsaya [Nos. 37, 238]  
 Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya [No. 251]  
 Dasathūpa Kathā [No. 85]  
 Daham Kotasak [No. 101]<sup>151</sup>  
 Dhammapradīpikānam [= nāma] Mahābodhivaṃsa Parikathā [Nos. 2, 237]  
 Nīyanāmika Dhamma Puṣṭakayek [= untitled *dhamma* manuscript]  
 [Nos. 218, 219, 220, 231]  
 Pañcanivāraṇa Nirdeśaya [No. 23]

<sup>149</sup>I take this description to mean fifty-six copies of the *Umandāva*, perhaps given as *dāna*.

<sup>150</sup>See also Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (24)).

<sup>151</sup>*Kotasak* should here be read as “selection”.

<sup>148</sup>This presumably is a reference to five texts containing contents taken from the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

Pāraṇi Baṇa (Kopiyak) [No. 221]<sup>152</sup>  
 Purāṇa Baṇa (Kopiyak) [No. 164]  
 Pūjāvaliya [No. 76]  
 Baṇa Daham Pota [Nos. 9, 94]  
 Basvana Purāṇa Baṇa Vastuva [No. 59]  
 Buddhavaṃsaya [No. 135]  
 Budugūṇa Vaṇṇanā [No. 195]  
 Butsarāṇa [No. 246]  
 Brahmapūjāvali 16 Paricchedaya [No. 25]  
 Mahābodhivaṃsaya [No. 166]  
 Milindapañha Pāli [No. 162]  
 Mettā Vaṇṇanā [No. 167]  
 Met Budu Vaṇṇanā [No. 199]  
 Ratnamālicaitya Vaṇṇanā [No. 27]<sup>153</sup>  
 Vimānavatthu Vaṇṇanā [No. 124]  
 Visākha Vata [No. 68]  
 Visuddhimagga Śīla Nirdeśaya [No. 95]  
 Saṃkhyānāya [No. 16]<sup>154</sup>  
 Sakaskaḍaya [No. 131]  
 Saddhammālaṅkāraya [No. 151]  
 Saddhamaratnākāraya Kotasak [No. 132]  
 Saddhammopāya[-na? Sannaya?] [No. 43]<sup>155</sup>  
 Sāratthasaṅgrahaya 7 Paricchedaya [No. 14]  
 Śīla Paricchedaya [No. 15]

*Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics*

Aṣṭaka Paha [without number]  
 Prātihārya Śatakaya [No. 157]

<sup>152</sup>This entry and that following presumably refer to a recent (eighteenth–twentieth century?) manuscript copy of an older preaching text.

<sup>153</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (100)).

<sup>154</sup>I am uncertain of this identification. See Norman (1983, 151).

<sup>155</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or 6601(8)) and Norman (1983, 159–60).

Buddha Stotra Anuruddha Śatakaya [No. 113]  
 Bhakti Śatakam [No. 180]  
 Vandanā Gathā [No. 169]  
 Vuttamāla [Sandēsa?] Śataka [No. 170]<sup>156</sup>  
 Vuttodaya [No. 156]  
 Sūriyaśataka Sannaya [No.39]

*Grammars and Lexicons*

Abhidhānapradīpikā [Nos. 38, 60, 229]<sup>157</sup>  
 Eḷu Nighaṇḍu (Pera sahita tava pātha) [without number]  
 Nighaṇḍu Sannaya [No. 111, plus one without number]  
 Pāli Nighaṇḍuva [No. 99]  
 Pāraṇi Vyākaraṇa [No. 115]  
 Bālāvatāranam [= nāma] Prakaraṇayehi Sannaya [No. 1]  
 Bālāvatāra Vyākhyāva [No. 137]  
 Bālāvatāraya/Bālāvatāro [Nos. 7, 34, 40, 144, 154, 171]  
 Bālāvatāra Liyana Sannaya [No. 239]  
 Bālāvatāra Sannaya [Nos. 103, 119, 202]  
 Varanāgilla [No. 139]  
 Varanāgilla Pāli [Nos. 176, 187]  
 Saṃskṛtaliṅgavi Saṅgaha Vargaya [No. 66]  
 Sugaṇṭhisāra Gāta Padā [No. 11]<sup>158</sup>

*Medical Texts*

Ipāraṇi Veda Potak [1 without number]  
 Ipāraṇi Veda Potak Kotasak [1 without number]  
 Sāra-nam [= nāma] Veda Pota [No. 241]<sup>159</sup>  
 Sāraṅga Veda Potak [Nos. 243, 244]<sup>160</sup>  
 Yōgaratnākāraya [No. 58]

<sup>156</sup>See Godakumbura (1980, xxxi).

<sup>157</sup>No. 229 is listed with “Moggallānaterun visin racita”.

<sup>158</sup>See Godakumbura (1980, 70).

<sup>159</sup>I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.

<sup>160</sup>I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.

Sārārtha Viśa Veda Potak [No. 242]

*Astrological and Protective Texts* (see also *Sutta-piṭaka Texts*)

Āraksā [illegible] [without number]

Ipārani Pirit Pota [without number]

Jayamagul Gathā [No. 90]

Jinapañjaraya [No. 75]

Pahamunē Hāmuruvange Nāgarabodhi Pote [without number]

Pirit Desanā [No. 217]

Pirit Pota [No. 63]

Piruvānā Potvahansē [without number]<sup>161</sup>

Piruvānā Potvahansēla 3 [without number]<sup>162</sup>

Maṅgul Āgama (Unvahansē visin liyana lada) [without number]

Maṅgul Āgama Revata [without number]

Maṅgul Āgama Sunānda [without number]

Mantra Potak [Nos. 245, 247; plus 1 without number]<sup>163</sup>

Moggallāna Sutta [No. 79]<sup>164</sup>

Yantrayak [without number]<sup>165</sup>

Saptabojjhaṅga [No. 224]

Sīmābandhana Mantraya [No. 186]

#### *Historical Texts*

Talpota [Nos. 252, 252.1, 252.10, 252.11, 252.12; plus 2 without number]<sup>166</sup>

Maṅgul Āgama Piyadassi G[illegible] Himivārunḡe Upasaṃpadā Sahitaka Talpota

<sup>161</sup>Listed with the name “Kalunomadinna”.

<sup>162</sup>Given the plural this presumably refers to three *paritta* texts.

<sup>163</sup>The *mantrapota* without a number is described as *ipārani mahānubhāva sampanna mantra potak*.

<sup>164</sup>Perhaps Mahāmogallāna Bojjhaṅga Sutta? See Bechert (1969, 83).

<sup>165</sup>The *yantra* without a number is described as *ipārani yantrayak*.

<sup>166</sup>One of the *talpot* without a number is described as *dāmala basaven racita ipārani talpata*.

Pādeni Vihāra Katikāvata [No. 249]

Hatthavanagalla [Vihāra?] Vamsaya [No. 140]

#### *Textual Compilations*

Aggikhandhopama Sūtraya and Mahāsatiṭṭhāna Sūtraya [No. 81]

Āṭānāṭiya Karaṇīya[mettā?] Sūtrādi [No. 208]

Uposatha Sūtra Vyākhyānaya and Kālakārāma Sūtraya [No. 182]

Jayamaṅgalagāthā Aṭavisipirit Jinapañjarayādiya [No. 205]

[Illegible] Daham Kotasa[k] [No. 12]<sup>167</sup>

Dhammika Sūtraya and Dhammacakka Sūtraya [No. 203]

[Illegible] Sūtra Isigili Sūtrādi [No. 150]

Miśra Potak [Nos. 117, 120]<sup>168</sup>

Ratṭhapāla Sūtraya, Mahā[-illegible] Sūtraya and [illegible] Sūtraya [No. 122]

Vinaya Saṅgaha [and?] Kōsalabimbiya Vaṇṇanā [No. 114]

Subha Sūtraya Ātula Dharma Kōpiya [= “copy”] [No. 227]

#### *Non-Sinhala Script Texts*

Siyam [“Siamese” or “from Siam”] Dharma Pota (With gold decoration) [without number]

*Texts Unidentified In Nāmāvāliya* [Nos. 106, 149, 178, 192, 204, 215, 216, 230, 250; <sup>169</sup>including one labeled *kotasak*]

#### **Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya**

As the eighteenth-century chapters of the Mahāvamsa testify, the history of Hanguranketa was closely tied in with the history of the Kandyan kings. Hanguranketa served as a second home for the court, and was of particular importance during times of turmoil in Kandy. When the royal court in Kandy became unsafe (as it did during military incursions by the Dutch, for instance), members of the court took refuge

<sup>167</sup>Again, here read *kotasa[k]* as “selection”.

<sup>168</sup>A “mixed manuscript”, in other words a compendium of some sort.

<sup>169</sup>No. 250 is listed as “eight manuscripts”.

in Hanguranketa, topographically more secure than the Kandyan court and monastic residences. Texts and relics also made the trip to Hanguranketa, we are told (see Cūl 99–101). The influence of the court at Hanguranketa almost certainly shaped the character of the Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya, which, like the Daḷadā Māligāva in Kandy, came to serve as a repository for texts.

According to the monastic incumbent at Hanguranketa who spoke with me on 14 June 1997, the *vihāraya* received donative texts from individuals. It also, over time, accumulated some of the holdings of regional temples. Although he did not say so explicitly, I suspect that the library at Hanguranketa thus came to contain texts from deteriorating temples (whose monks or lay patrons sought to protect manuscripts by moving them) as well as texts from temples where succession to an incumbency was a matter of contention. The history of Hanguranketa and its collections would almost certainly repay further study. Because the library holdings include manuscripts accumulated over time from a variety of temples, analysis of these texts in terms of the “practical canon” must proceed with particular caution. Hanguranketa was associated with textual production during the formative period of the Siyam Nikāya, though it did not enjoy the status of temples such as Gaḍalādeṇiya Rajamahavihāraya or other temples closer to Kandy. According to P.B. Sannasgala, the *vihāraya* served as a center for meditation and was associated with a line (*paramparā*) of meditation texts (1964, 500–501). In this regard, the manuscript labeled *Vimuttimārgaya* is of considerable interest. I have had no opportunity to examine it carefully.

The manuscripts contained at Hanguranketa are very poorly preserved. They are kept in a variety of drawers and cabinets in a special room upstairs in the temple complex, reached through the rooms in which regalia for the *perahāra* are kept. There was no handlist of

manuscripts available for examination at Hanguranketa.<sup>170</sup> I suspect that the particularly poor state of the manuscripts at Hanguranketa reflects an unusual care-taking arrangement set in place for the temple. For reasons that are not fully clear to me, but that certainly result in tensions to this day, access to the manuscripts is not in the jurisdiction of the *vihāraya*'s incumbent, but rather in that of a lay official, the *bharaḱāriya* (“protector”), who possesses keys to the library. Since the manuscript holdings are not under monastic control, many of the usual motivations for their preservation are not in play at Hanguranketa.

On 14 and 29 June 1997 I was fortunate enough to receive access to the library and permission to record the contents of its manuscript holdings. The collection is vast, and many manuscripts are already in poor condition, which made my job a difficult one. Given the limited time and resources available, I proceeded by recording the existing titles with which many manuscripts were labeled. When no labels remained, I made a provisional identification based on the first and last few leaves of the manuscript. As many readers will recognize, this method is by no means determinative since the colophonic style for compendia does not always indicate the full contents of the manuscript and since manuscripts originally bound together may, over time, disintegrate and come to circulate as separate texts. Texts identified in this way are noted with a question mark (?) or with a footnote reference. Since no handlist of the manuscripts was available, and since the collection is in urgent need of cataloguing and preservation, I have recorded the contents of the manuscript collection by location rather than by genre to facilitate efficient access to portions of the collection. Thus, for each manuscript receptacle I have given text titles, the number of such texts in that receptacle and, where possible, a label number or date.

<sup>170</sup>However, John Holt reports that he has been shown a manuscript list for Hanguranketa listing common Pāli texts. Personal communication, July 2000.



*First Glass Cabinet (on immediate left of entrance when facing the room):*

- Anāgatavaṃsa Desanāva [1]  
 Aṅguttara-nikāya [1]  
 Abhidhamma Kotasak [1]<sup>171</sup>  
 Abhidhamma-piṭakaṃ [2]<sup>172</sup>  
 Abhidhamma Pakaraṇa [1]  
 Abhidhamma[ttha]saṅgraha Sannaya [1]  
 Unidentified manuscripts [2]  
 Ummagga Jātaka [1]  
 Cariyāpiṭaka [1]  
 Dīgha-nikāya [9]  
 Dīgha-nikāya Kotasak [2]  
 Daṇḍyalaṃkāraya Saṃskṛta [1]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Dhammapada [1]  
 Dhammasaṅgaṇi Pakaraṇa [1]  
 Dhammasaṅgīti [1]<sup>173</sup>  
 Nettipakaraṇa [1]  
 Paṭiccasamupāda, Majjhima-nikāya Kotasak and Saṃyutta-nikāya-  
 aṭṭhakathā Kotasak [1]  
 Pārājika Pāli Kotasak [1]  
 Parivāra Pāli [1]  
 Pācittiya Pāli [1]  
 Milindapañha Pāli [2]  
 Petavatthu, Therīgathā, and Theragathā [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sutta Sannaya Sahita [1]  
 Majjhima-nikāya [4]  
 Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [1]

<sup>171</sup>Here again and throughout this collection, *kotasak* should be read as “selection”.

<sup>172</sup>Including one marked *sampunṇaṃ*.

<sup>173</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or 6601 (100)).

- Mahāvagga Pāli [1]<sup>174</sup>  
 Vimānavatthu [1]  
 Visuddhimagga [2]  
 Visuddhimagga Kotasak  
 Yasodharā Vata [1]<sup>175</sup>  
 Sekhiyā [1]  
 Saṃyutta-nikāya [1]  
 Samantapāsādikā [1]  
 Siyam [“Siamese” or “from Siam”] Pota<sup>176</sup> [1]

*Second Glass Cabinet (moving inward from entrance)*

- Aṭṭhasālīnī [1]  
 Aṅguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Abhidhamma Kotasak, [illegible] Sutta, Visuddhimagga Kotasak,  
 Pātimokkha Sannaya, Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta [1]  
 Abhidhamma Kotasak, [illegible], Cariyāpiṭaka and Buddhavaṃsaya [1]  
 Abhidhamma-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Abhidhamma-piṭakaṃ [1]  
 Abhidhammaṭṭhasaṅgaha-tīkā [1]  
 Abhidhamma Mūlaṭīkā [1]  
 Amarakośaya [1]  
 Unidentified manuscript in Sinhala Script [3]  
 Unidentified manuscript in Mūl Script [1]<sup>177</sup>  
 Unidentified Sannaya [1]  
 Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Kaccāyana [1]  
 Kathāvastu [2]<sup>178</sup>

<sup>174</sup>This is bound within manuscript covers in unusually good condition.

<sup>175</sup>This is labeled No. 37.

<sup>176</sup>This is written in Mūl script, approximately 16” long × 8” wide, with gilded leaves.

<sup>177</sup>This manuscript has gilded leaves.

<sup>178</sup>See treatment of *kathāvastu pota* in the Daḷadā Māligāva section above.

Kathāvastu Pota [2]  
 Kāmi [= Karma ?] Vibhāgaya [1]<sup>179</sup>  
 Kuru Dharmaya, Dhammacakkaya, and [illegible] [1]  
 Khuddaka-nikāya [1]  
 Khuddaka-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā<sup>180</sup> [1]  
 Khuddakapāṭha [1]  
 Cakkavāladīpanī Ṭīkā [1]<sup>181</sup>  
 Cariyāpiṭaka Vaṇṇanā [1]  
 Cūlavagga Pāli [1]  
 Jātaka Kotasak [1]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Dampiya Aṭuvā [1]  
 Dampiyāva Sannaya [2]  
 Dīgha-nikāya [1]  
 Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Dhammapada [5]  
 Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Dhammapada Sannaya [2]  
 [Illegible] Nīti Bhāgaya Siṃhala [1]  
 [Illegible] Nidānaṃ [1]  
 Pārājika Pāli [1]  
 Pārājika Pota [1]  
 Pātimokkha [1]  
 Pāli Upāsakajanāmaṅkāra [1]  
 Pāli Thūpavaṃsaya [1]  
 Pāli Dāthavaṃsaya [1]  
 Pāli Nighaṇḍu Sannaya [1]

<sup>179</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or 6603 (91)) and Godakumbura (1980, xxxii).

<sup>180</sup>This manuscript is nicely bound in metal manuscript covers, with some sort of crest.

<sup>181</sup>Perhaps related to Cakkavāladīpanī-pakarāṇa on which see von Hinüber (1988, 181). See also Norman (1983, 175).

Pālimuttakavinaya [2]  
 Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya [1]  
 Pāli Satipatṭhāna Sutta [1]  
 Pirit Kotasak [1]  
 Pirit Pota [2]  
 Majjhima-nikāya Ṭīkā [1]  
 Mahāvagga Pāli [1]  
 Mukhamattadīpanīya [1]<sup>182</sup>  
 Rasavāhini [2]  
 Rūpasiddhi Ṭīkā [1]  
 Saddhammaratnākara, Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Sannaya and  
     Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Pada Ānuma<sup>183</sup> [1]  
 Samantapāsādikā-nāma Vinaya Saṃvaṇṇanā [1]  
 Siṃhala Jātaka? [1]  
 Siṃhala Dhātuvamsaya [1]  
 Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā [2]  
 Subodhālaṅkāra Sannaya [1]  
 Sumaṅgalavīlasinī [2]  
 Vinaya Potak [1]  
 Vinayavinicchaya [1]  
 Vinayavinicchaya-aṭṭhakathā [1]  
 Vimativinodanīnāma-Vinayaṭīkā [1]  
 Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā [1]  
 Visuddhimagga Sannaya [2]  
*First Cabinet with Wooden Drawers (moving inward from glass cases)*<sup>184</sup>  
 Anāgatavaṃsa Desanāva [1]

<sup>182</sup>This is also known as Kaccāyana-ṭīkā (Somadasa 1959, 76). See also Norman (1983, 164).

<sup>183</sup>This manuscript is bound within metal manuscript covers, in good condition with jeweled decoration.

<sup>184</sup>This and all following drawered cabinets were examined from top to bottom. One drawer of this cabinet could not be opened.

Amāvatura [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscripts [9, including two greatly deteriorated]  
*Unidentified* Vyākaraṇa [2, including one greatly deteriorated]  
*Unidentified* Vyākaraṇa Kotasak and Daḷada Siritā [1]  
 Unidentified Sanskrit Manuscripts [two greatly deteriorated]  
*Unidentified* Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Upāsakajanālaṅkāra<sup>185</sup> [3]  
 Upāsakajanālaṅkāra Siṃhala [1]  
 Ummagga Jātaka [1]  
 Kaccāyana [1]  
 Kaccāyana Dhātu [illegible] Kotasak [1]  
 Kaccāyana Vyākaraṇa [1]  
 Kaccāyana Kotasak and Siṃhala Sannaya [3]  
 Kathāvastu [2]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtraya [1]  
 Kurudharmaya [3, one greatly deteriorated<sup>186</sup>]  
 Gaḍalādeṇiya Sannaya [1]  
 Cūlakamma Vibhaṅgaya [1]  
 Jātaka Kathāvak [1]  
 Tun Ruvan Pota [1]  
 Thūpavaṃsaya<sup>187</sup> [1]  
 Daḷadāpūjāvaliya [2]  
 Daḷadāpūjāvaliya Kotasak [1]  
 Dukapaṭṭhāna [1]  
 Dhampiya Ātuvāgātapadaya Kotasak [1]  
 Dhammapradīpikāva [2]  
 Dhutaṅgadīpanī Sannaya [1]  
 Namaskāra Gāthā [1]

<sup>185</sup>One of these manuscripts is very handsomely bound.

<sup>186</sup>The greatly deteriorated manuscript is bound with a V.O.C. coin dated 1733. Another manuscript is bound with a coin reading “King George Emperor of India”.

<sup>187</sup>The manuscript is beautifully bound.

Pajjamadhuvā Sannaya [1]<sup>188</sup>  
 Pāli Nighaṇḍuva Prathama Kotasak [1]  
 Pāli Vinayavinicchaya [1]  
 Pirit Pota<sup>189</sup> [1]  
 Baṇalivīma Ānisaṃsaya [1]  
 Bālāvatāra Kiyana Sannaya Vyākaraṇa [illegible] [1]  
 Bālāvatāra Bhava Sannaya [2]  
 Bālāvatāra Liyana Sannaya [1]  
 Bālāvatāra Sannaya [2]  
 Bālāvatāra Sannaya and Pāli Varanāgilla [1]  
 Bālāvatārāya [3]  
 Buddhipasāda[nī?]nāma Ṭṭikā [1]<sup>190</sup>  
 Mahābodhivaṃsaya [1]  
 Mahāvamsa Pāli [3]  
 Vimānavastu Aṭuvā [1]  
 Vuttodaya [1]  
 Rasavāhinī Pāli [1]  
 Rasavāhinī Sannaya [1]  
 Rūpamāla [2]  
 Rūpasiddhi [3]  
 Rūpasiddhi Sannaya [1]  
 Saddhammopāyana? [1]  
 Saddhammaratnāvaliya [1]  
 Saddhammasaṅgraha [1]  
 Saṃkhepa Kaccāyana [1]  
 Saṃgha Saraṇa [1]  
 Sāra Saṅgaho [1]  
 Sinhala Thūpavaṃsaya [4]  
 Sinhala Vimānavastu [1]

<sup>188</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (31)) and Norman (1983, 158).

<sup>189</sup>The manuscript is written in Pāli and Sinhala, bound with a V.O.C. coin dated 1734.

<sup>190</sup>See Somadasa (1959, 66) and Norman (1983, 151).

Sāriputta Sīhanāda [Sutta ?][1]<sup>191</sup>  
 Sikha[-illegible]and Sikhavaḷaṇḍavinisa Sannaya [1]<sup>192</sup>  
 Sugaṅṭhisāraya, Bālāvātārabodhaya and Rūpasiddhiya [1]

*Second Cabinet with Wooden Drawers*

Acchariyabbhutadharmā Sutta [1]  
 Anāgatavaṃsaya [1]  
 Ālāvaka Sutta [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscript [11]<sup>193</sup>  
 Unidentified Manuscript in Mūl Script [3; all with gilded leaves]  
 Unidentified Vaṃsa [1]  
*Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya* [1]  
 Uraga Jātakaya [1]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtraya [1]  
 Kurudharmaya [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Jātaka Pota [3]  
 Jātaka Pota Kotasak [2]  
 Dēvadatta Sūtra Sannaya ? [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Pūjāvaliya [2]  
 Pretavastu Prakaraṇaya [1]  
 Majjhima-nikāya [2]  
 Baṇa Daham Pota [13, including one greatly deteriorated]  
 Butsaraṇa [1]  
 Butsaraṇa Kotasak and Anāgatavaṃsa Kotasak [1]  
 Butsaraṇa, Dānaśīla Paricchedaya, Rājāvaliya [illegible] Kotasak [1]  
 Buddhavaṃsaya Kotasak [1]  
 Buddhavaṃsaya Sannaya, [illegible] and Ratanasaraṇa [1]

<sup>191</sup>See Somadāsa (1959, 104).

<sup>192</sup>The first text of the pair is likely *Sikkhāpadavaḷaṇḍanī*. See Godakumbura (1980, xxx).

<sup>193</sup>One of these manuscripts includes *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣaya*, *Sekhiyā*, and some *sūtra sannayas*.

Buruma Baṇa Pota<sup>194</sup> [1]  
 Mahāsamaya Sannaya Sutta Vaṇṇanāva [1]  
 Maitrivaṇṇanā [one greatly deteriorated]  
 [Saddharma?] Ratnāvaliya [1]  
 Vinaya Potak [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Vessantara Jātaka [two greatly deteriorated]  
 Saddhammaratnākaraya [3]  
 Saddhammaratnākaraya Kotasak [1]  
 Saddharmālaṅkāraya  
 Saddharmālaṅkāraya and Kathāvastuva Kotasak [1]  
 Saddharmālaṅkāraya and Kurudharma Jātakaya [1]  
 Samaṇa Dahan Pota [2]  
 Saṃskṛta Sārasvata Sannaya [1]<sup>195</sup>  
 Siṃhala Milindapraśnaya [1]  
 Siyam [“Siamese” or “from Siam”] Pota<sup>196</sup>  
 Siyam Baṇa Pota  
 Śrī Saddharma Sārārthasaṅgrahaya Siṃhala

*Third Cabinet with Wooden Drawers*<sup>197</sup>

Ajāsatta Kathāva [1]<sup>198</sup>  
 Anāgatavaṃsa Desanāva [1]  
 Aṅgulimāla Sūtraya [2]  
 Avavāda Paricchedaya [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscripts [33, including two greatly deteriorated]  
*Unidentified Pada Ānuma* [5]  
*Unidentified Sannaya* [1]  
*Unidentified Sutta* [3]

<sup>194</sup>This is bound in tarnished metal covers. The manuscript leaves appear to have been originally gilded.

<sup>195</sup>See Somadāsa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6608 (36)).

<sup>196</sup>This manuscript and the following are very large, with gilded leaves and written in Mūl script.

<sup>197</sup>One drawer of this cabinet could not be opened.

<sup>198</sup>See Somadāsa (1987–95, Vol. 6, Or. 6615 (108)).

Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Kathāvastu Pota Kotasak [1]  
 Kathina[-illegible] Saṅgrahaya [1]  
 Kadavuru Sirita [1]<sup>199</sup>  
 Kadaim Pota [1]  
 [Illegible] Sūtraya and Kathāvastu Pota [1]  
 Kālakārāma Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Kurudharma Jātakaya [1]  
 Kurudharmaya [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Dahamsoṇḍa Jātakaya [1]  
 Dāyaka Pinkari Vastuva [1]  
 Devadatta Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Dhajagga Sutta [1]  
 Dhajagga Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Dhammapadaya Sannaya [1]  
 Dhammasaṅgrahaya [3]  
 Namaskāra Gāthā [1]  
 Namaskāra Sannaya [2]  
 Nidāna Pāṭhaya [1]  
 Paṭiccasamuppādaya [3]  
 Prātimokṣaya [3, including one greatly deteriorated]  
 Baṇa Daham Pota [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Bālapaṇḍita Sūtra [1]  
 Bālapaṇḍita Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Butsaraṇa [1]  
 Buddhacarita and [illegible] [1]  
 Buddhapūjā Gāthā [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma saha Sannaya [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya [12]

<sup>199</sup>See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (137)).

Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [3]  
 Bhikṣu Prātimokṣaya [1]  
 Mahāmaṅgala Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Mahāsatiṭṭhānaya [2]  
 Mahāsamaya Sutta Vaṇṇanā [1]  
 Mahāsudassana Sūtraya [2]  
 Mahāsudassana Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Rājāvaliya [1]  
 Vandanā Gāthā [1]  
 Vedanā? Sutta [1]  
 Verañja[ka?] Sūtraya [1]  
 Vessantara Jātaka [2]  
 Visākhūposatha Sūtraya [1]  
 Lakkhaṇa Sūtraya [1]  
 Satarabaṇavara Sannaya/Pirit Sannaya Kotasak [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Kāyagāthā [1]<sup>200</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya [66]<sup>201</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra/Sūtraya [5]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtra [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Saptasuriyodgamana Sūtraya [1]  
 Sāmaṇera Baṇa Daham Pota [1]  
 Saraṇagamana Sūtraya, Dhammacakkaya, [illegible] Kathāva,  
 Devadatta Sannaya, Mahāsena Vastuva, [illegible] Kathāva,  
 Ānanda-[illegible] Kathāva, and [illegible] [1]  
 Saraṇasīla Saṃvibhāgaya [1]  
 Sāleyya Sūtra Pada Ānuma, Mahāmaṅgala Sūtra Pada Ānuma,  
 Angulimāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma, Saptasuriyodgamana Sūtra Pada  
 Ānuma, and [illegible] [1]  
 Sāleyya Sūtra Pada Ānuma, Veranja[ka?] Sūtra Pada Ānuma,

<sup>200</sup>Cf. Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (39V)).

<sup>201</sup>The manuscripts bearing this label are of vastly varying sizes, which suggests that some include commentary or are compendium texts.

[illegible], and Dhammacakka Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Sāra Sūtraya [1]  
 Sāra Sūtraya Vistara Sahitaya [1]  
 Sāra Sūtraya and Kathāvastu [1]  
 Sigālovāda Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Sudhasumana Kathāva and Anāgatavaṃsa Kotasak [1]<sup>202</sup>  
 Subha Sūtra [1]  
 Subha Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Sumaṅgalavilāsini [1]  
*Fourth Cabinet with Wooden Drawers*<sup>203</sup>  
 Apāya[-illegible] Saraṇa [1]  
 Āsīvisopama Sūtra [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscript in Mūl Script [1]  
 Unidentified Sannaya Manuscript [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscripts in Sinhala Script [20]  
*Unidentified Śataka* [1]  
*Unidentified Vivaraṇaya* [1]  
 Upāsakajanālaṅkāraya [1]  
 Uposatha Sūtraya [3]  
 Kathāvastu Pota [2]  
 Caturasatipaṭṭhāna [1]  
 Dasaśīla Paricchedaya [1]  
 Dahamsoṇḍa Jātaka [1]  
 Dumindāgamana Kathā and Mahābodhivaṃsa Gātapadaya [1]  
 Dhammacakkaya [2]  
 Dhammacakka Sannaya and [illegible] [1]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [1]  
 Nākāt Pota [1]

<sup>202</sup>On the first text of the pair see Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 7).

<sup>203</sup>The top drawer of this cabinet could not be opened, nor could the sixth. The fourth drawer contained primarily text fragments without labels or binding. These are not included with “unidentifiable manuscripts”.

Paṭṭiccasamuppādaya [1]  
 Paṭṭiccasamuppādaya Kotasak [1]  
 Pañcakkhandha [illegible] Yamakayantra Saraṇaṃ[-illegible] [1]  
 Pāli Varanāgilla [1]  
 Pirit Sūtra [2, including one greatly deteriorated]  
 Buddhacarita [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtraya [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Mahāparākramabāhu Katikāvata [one greatly deteriorated]  
 Mahāsatiptaṭṭhāna Vistarayak [1]  
 Vimuttimārgaya [1]  
 Rāhula Kathāva [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Aṭṭuvā [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma [3]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Vistara/Vistara Sannaya Sahita [4]  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya [92, including one greatly deteriorated]<sup>204</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sannaya [4]<sup>205</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtraya [5]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya [4]<sup>206</sup>  
 Sidatsaṅgarā [1]  
 Sūvisivivaraṇayak [1]  
 Sūriya Śatakaya [1]  
 Hōḍiya Pota [1]

<sup>204</sup>One of these manuscripts is bound with an East India Company coin but no visible date, one is bound with a British coin marked “61”, one is bound with a British royal seal and one is bound with an illegible coin.

<sup>205</sup>These include one that appears to contain several other *sūtra sannayas* and a Jātaka text.

<sup>206</sup>These include one with floral design on gilded leaves. This is the only manuscript with gilded leaves that I have seen in Sinhala script.

Almyrah (located at room's end facing the entrance)<sup>207</sup>  
 Avavāda Paricchēdaya [1]  
 Unidentified Manuscripts in Sinhala Script [43]  
 Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Upasampadā Vata [1<sup>208</sup>]  
 Kathāvastuva [1]  
 Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā Kotasak [1]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtra [11<sup>209</sup>]  
 Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]  
 Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtraya [3<sup>210</sup>]  
 Dhammacakkaya [39, including three greatly deteriorated<sup>211</sup>]  
 Dhammacakka Sannaya [1]  
 Dhammacakka Sūtraya [3<sup>212</sup>]  
 Dhammacakka Sūtra Sannaya [1]  
 Dhammānisamsaya [1]  
 [Para?]subha Sūtra [2]  
 Pūjāvaliya [1]  
 Brahmajāla Sūtra [1]  
 Maitri Vata [1]  
 Visuddhimārga, Satipaṭṭhānaya and [illegible] [1<sup>213</sup>]  
 Rājāvaliya [1]

<sup>207</sup>The *almyrah* included a plentiful collection of manuscript scraps not included in my references to “unidentifiable manuscripts”, and three unmarked monastic fans.

<sup>208</sup>The manuscript is dated, but I was unable to read this date.

<sup>209</sup>These include two manuscripts bound with a coin on which no date is visible.

<sup>210</sup>One of these manuscripts is a tentative identification; it is bound with a British coin on which no date is visible.

<sup>211</sup>These include one bound with a British coin on which no date is visible, and one manuscript dated 1899.

<sup>212</sup>These include one bound with a coin marked in what appears to be faded Arabic script.

<sup>213</sup>This is bound with a British coin on which no date is visible.

Satipaṭṭhānaya [24<sup>214</sup>]  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya and Dhammacakka Sūtra [5]<sup>215</sup>  
 Satipaṭṭhānaya, Dhammacakkaya, Āpayavastu and [illegible] [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sannaya [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and [illegible] Vaṇṇanā [1]  
 Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya [3]  
 Saṅgrahadharmā[-illegible] dharma [1]  
 Śrī Narayan [illegible] ]Bamuṇa Mudiyaṇsēla Pāli [illegible] Upasikāva [1<sup>216</sup>]

### Conclusion

The manuscript collections discussed above suggest many topics for future research into the “practical canons” characteristic of Buddhist communities in Sri Lanka and in Southeast Asia. Here I discuss several of them without attempting to provide an exhaustive account.

A striking feature of each collection listed above is the presence of authoritative Pāli texts in fragmentary and multilingual forms. These manuscript collections strongly suggest that for many readers and listeners exposure to authoritative Pāli texts (including, but not limited to, Tipiṭaka texts) often occurred through mediating forms such as local-language commentarial texts (i.e. *sannayas* and *pakarāṇas*), compendia (i.e. *saṅgraha pot* and *baṇa daham pot*), extracts (*paricchēdayas*) and narrative texts immediately appropriate for preaching and story telling (i.e. *desanāvas* and *kathās*). In order to understand better the character of Buddhist learning in Sri Lanka and elsewhere we urgently require a clearer understanding of these genres.<sup>217</sup> This would entail a careful consideration of textual and linguistic structure (such as that provided

<sup>214</sup>These include one bound with a coin marked with a crown, star, and lion but no visible date.

<sup>215</sup>These include one with elaborate covers and binding.

<sup>216</sup>This manuscript is dated 1939.

<sup>217</sup>A preliminary discussion of the *sannayas* composed for Pāli *suttas* appears in Blackburn (2001).

by Pruitt (1994) in his study of Burmese *nissayas*), of the conventions of commentary and translation presumed by each genre, and of the devotional expectations (merit-making, access to *buddhavacana*, access to protection, and so on) that have guided their composition and use.

The emphatic presence of (Mahā-)Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta and Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (perhaps fragments and translations of them) at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya and the Daḷadā Māligāva — collections that appear to have developed in part on the basis of ongoing manuscript donations — suggests that these manuscript collections would provide an excellent source for the study of donative practices focused on these *suttas*. It is possible that careful examination of the manuscripts, and especially their colophons, will reveal patterns in the motivations for text copying and donation. Consideration of the colophons in conjunction with the study of *dharmānisamsa* texts contemporary to them might help to clarify the popularity of particular *suttas* for copyists and donors. This may also help us to understand the merit value attributed to Sinhala and Pāli, and the reasons why a donative text (perhaps not intended for use in education) might contain commentarial forms.

Finally, I note that the collection of manuscripts held at Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya offers a particularly intriguing body of evidence for those interested in the place of protective texts (including *parittas*, *maṅgalas*, *yantras* and *mantras*).<sup>218</sup> The association of such texts with the names of certain monks suggests greater individuality with respect to protective practices than one would assume from contemporary *paritta* collections (de Silva 1983) and the possibility that monastic inheritance was understood to include access to “magical” potency as well as the more obvious material benefits.

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<sup>218</sup>For examples of *yantra* texts see Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6613 (5) and 6612 (21) II).



## **Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā: The *Purāṇaṭīkās* and the *Ṭīkās* on the Four *Nikāyas***

In Pāli bibliographical sources<sup>1</sup> the *ṭīkās*<sup>2</sup> on the first four *nikāyas* are mentioned either:

(a) as two — more or less complete — different sets:

(1) the old set of four *purāṇaṭīkās* with a common name Līnatthapakāsinī:

Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā, Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā, Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Sāratthapakāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā, Tatiyā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī; and

(2) the later set of four *ṭīkās* with a common name Sāratthamañjūsā:

Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ṭīkā, Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā;  
Papañcasūdanī-ṭīkā, Dutiyā Sāratthamañjūsā;  
Sāratthapakāsinī-ṭīkā, Tatiyā Sāratthamañjūsā;  
Manorathapūraṇī-ṭīkā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā; or

(b) as a single set in which the first three *ṭīkās* are from the old set and are called Līnatthapakāsinī (see (a-1) above) and the fourth *ṭīkā* is from the later set and is called Sāratthamañjūsā (see (a-2) above), that is:

Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā, Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā, Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Sāratthapakāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā, Tatiyā Līnatthapakāsinī;  
Aṅguttaranikāya-ṭīkā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā.

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I presented an earlier version of Part I of this article at the XIth World Sanskrit Conference, Torino, in April 2000.

<sup>1</sup>The following bibliographic sources will be discussed: Saddhamma-s, Pagan inscription (see G.H. Luce and Tim Hway, 1976; *PLB*, pp. 102–109), Gv, Sās, Sās-dīp, Piṭ-sm, and CPD.

<sup>2</sup>For the etymology of the word *ṭīkā* see Mayrhofer, *EWA* s.v. See also *PLC*, pp. 192–93; *PL*, pp. 148–51; Bollée, pp. 824–35; *HPL*, pp. 100–101.

The authorship of the *purāṇaṭīkā*s (called Līnatthapakāsinī) is usually ascribed to Dhammapāla<sup>3</sup> and that of the later *ṭīkā*s (called Sāratthamañjūsā) is ascribed to Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva.<sup>4</sup> Although according to some catalogues<sup>5</sup> of Pāli manuscripts held in various libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka, both sets of *ṭīkā*s exist in manuscript form, only the *ṭīkā*s belonging to the single set (b) have been published and the remaining ones belonging to the two sets (a) seem to have been ignored.

This discussion of the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* will be presented in two parts. In Part I, I will discuss printed editions and manuscripts of the *nikāya-ṭīkā*s — with emphasis on Burmese and Sinhala manuscripts which have not yet been explored. In addition, I will discuss the possibility of the existence of two sets of *nikāya-ṭīkā*s instead of just one, as is usually stated in works of modern Pāli scholarship. A special emphasis will be given to a recently discovered Burmese manuscript of the old Aṅguttara-ṭīkā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī (Mp-pt), which will be discussed in more detail and will provide a completely new perspective on the research concerning the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas*.

In Part II three parallel chapters (Ekanipāta-ṭīkā III–V) from both Aṅguttara-ṭīkā (Mp-pt and Mp-t) will be compared and their major differences analysed in the light of the information about the *nikāya-ṭīkā*s given in Saddhamma-s. The comparison will further evidence my

<sup>3</sup>On the date(s) and works of Dhammapāla(s) see *HPL*, pp. 167–70; Buddhadatta, 1957; *BhB*, pp. 63–68; Buddhadatta 1960, pp. 54–55; Dhammaratana Thera, 1968, pp. 40–41; Sv-pt, pp. xli–lv; Bangchang, pp. xxiv–xxxix; Upās, pp. 28 foll.; Cousins, 1972, pp. 159–65; A. Pieris, 1978, pp. 61–77; *EncBuddh*, Vol. 4, fasc. 4, pp. 501–504; A.K. Warder, 1981, pp. 198–207; P. Jackson, 1990, pp. 209–11.

<sup>4</sup>On Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva, see Pecenko, 1997, pp. 159–79; *HPL*, pp. 172–73.

<sup>5</sup>I would like to mention two important catalogues: (1) *LPP* and (2) *Piṭ-sm* (1989), a very important Burmese bibliographic work which also refers to the manuscripts held in the National Library, Rangoon. Of course, these two catalogues do not list all the Pāli manuscripts held in Burma and Sri Lanka (cf. 2.2. below).

proposition (based on the information in Saddhamma-s, see Part I, 1.1.) that two sets of *nikāya-ṭīkā*s (Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā) were most probably compiled.

## Part I: Bibliographical sources, manuscripts and printed editions

### 1. The *ṭīkā*s in Pāli bibliographical sources

#### 1.1. Saddhammasaṅgaha

Saddhammasaṅgaha (Saddhamma-s), the oldest known Pāli bibliographical reference work, was compiled in the 14th century by Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who visited Ceylon and was a pupil of Dhammakitti.<sup>6</sup> After his visit to Ceylon he “returned to his own country, reached the city of Yodaya [Ayodaya] and while staying in a great residence called Laṅkārama built by the king named Paramarāja he wrote Saddhammasaṅgaha”.<sup>7</sup> From the colophon to Saddhamma-s it seems likely that Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi was a Thai who wrote Saddhamma-s in the ancient Siamese kingdom Ayudhyā (Ayuthaya)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Saddhamma-s 90, 3–8. According to K.R. Norman, Dhammakitti was “probably one of the *saṅgharājas* who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century” (*PL*, p. 180). Godakumbura mentions that Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi “received his ordination under the Dhammakīrti’s of Gaḍalādeniya” (1980, pp. xxxi–xxxii). See also *PLC*, p. 245; H. Bechert, 1966, p. 265; W.M. Sirisena, 1978, pp. 100–102; K.L. Hazra, 1986, pp. 69–71; *HPL*, p. 3.

Although Saddhamma-s is taken here as the oldest bibliographical work, a much earlier list of various Pāli texts from an inscription dated 1223 CE has been recently discussed by U Than Tun, 1998, pp. 37–55. Although the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* are also listed in the inscription, it is not clear to which set — Līnatthapakāsinī or Sāratthamañjūsā or both — they belonged (see Than Tun, 1998, p. 50).

<sup>7</sup>Saddhamma-s 90.10–14: *punāgato sakaṃ desaṃ sampatto ’Yodayaṃ [= sampatto Ayodayaṃ] puraṃ, Paramarājābhīdhānena mahārājena kārite, Laṅkāramamahāvāse vasatā santavuttinā, Dhammakittiyorusāminā ... racitaṃ idaṃ Saddhammasaṅgahan nāma sabbaso parinīṭhitaṃ.*

<sup>8</sup>This was first suggested by G. Coedès, 1915, p. 43. C.E. Godakumbura mentions the author of Saddhamma-s first as a “Siamese monk who wrote at Gaḍalādeniya in Ceylon during the 14th century A.D.” (1980, p. xxvii, n. 1) and a few pages later as a “*thera* from India who also bore the name

during the rule of king Paramarāja I (Borommoracha I, 1370–88).<sup>9</sup> Paramarāja I was “a contemporary of the [author’s teacher] Dhammakitti who lived during the reign of [the Sinhala king] Bhuvanaikabāhu V (1372–1408)”.<sup>10</sup> It is also known that the Buddhism practised in Ayudhyā at that time was the Theravāda of the Sinhala tradition.<sup>11</sup>

In Saddhamma-s two sets of *ṭīkās* on the four *nikāyas* are mentioned: Līnatthapakāsīnī and Sāratthamañjūsā. Līnatthapakāsīnī was written by the *porāṇas*<sup>12</sup> and was a subcommentary (*atthavaṇṇanā*) on the *atthakathās* of the entire *tipiṭaka*.<sup>13</sup> The second set of *ṭīkās* on the first four *nikāyas* was called Sāratthamañjūsā and was compiled — as a part of the “new” compilation of *ṭīkās* on the entire canon — during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86) by the convocation of “elders” (*therā bhikkhū*)<sup>14</sup> presided over by Dimbulāgala Mahākassapatthera,

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Dhammakitti” (p. xxxii). See also Buddhadatta, 1962, pp. 383–86.

<sup>9</sup>Wyatt, 1984, p. 312.

<sup>10</sup>Sirisena, pp. 101–102. According to Cœdès, 1915, p. 43, “Il est impossible de fixer la date à laquelle ce texte fut compilé, ce nom de Paramarāja ayant été porté par plusieurs souverains d’Ayuthya.”

<sup>11</sup>*EncBuddh*, Vol. 2, fasc. 3, p. 474; Wyatt, pp. 61–98; Hazra, 1982, pp. 152–53.

<sup>12</sup>On *porāṇas* see Adikaram, *EHBC*, pp. 16–18; F. Lottermoser, 1982, pp. 209–13.

<sup>13</sup>Saddhamma-s 58.28–29: *piṭakattayaṭṭhakathāya līnatthappakāsanattham atthavaṇṇanam purāṇehi katam*. Although in this reference the *ṭīkās* on the first four *nikāyas* are not listed explicitly, it seems probable that they were called Līnatthappakāsīnī. H. Saddhatissa (“Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154) explains: “The *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* is also called *Līnatthappakāsīnī* ... The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* has freely used the word *atthavaṇṇanā* for *ṭīkā* and further amplified it as the *Atthavaṇṇanā* for the purpose of elucidating the hidden meanings (*Līnatthappakāsanattham atthavaṇṇanam*)”. Cf. the title of Sv-ṭī, ed. by Lily de Silva: *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Saddhamma-s 59.14–18: *atha kho therā bhikkhū ... atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesum*; 62.13: *piṭakattayaṭṭhikā ca ṭīkācariyehi bhāsītā* [v. 7].

The date of the assembly “is tentatively fixed at A.D. 1165” (Panditha, 1973, p. 137). See also Mhv LXXII 2 foll.; LXXXVIII 1–30; W. Geiger, “Introduction” in *Mhv Trsl.*, pp. 28–29; Geiger 1956, § 31 (literature), n. 4.

who was the first *saṅgharāja* in Ceylon and the most senior monk from Udumbaragirivihāra.<sup>15</sup> The entire compilation was accomplished within one year.<sup>16</sup>

While the individual *ṭīkās* of the first set are not explicitly mentioned, Saddhamma-s lists the four *ṭīkās* of the second set as follows:

tadanantaram suttantapiṭake Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā atthavaṇṇanam ārabhivā mūlabhāsāya Māgadhiyā niruttīyā paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesum. tathā Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Papañcasūdanīyā ... dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesum. tathā Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sāratthappakāsāniyā ... tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesum. tathā Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāya Manorathapūraṇīyā ... catuttha-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesum.<sup>17</sup>

Saddhamma-s explains that the second set of *ṭīkās* (Sāratthamañjūsā) was written because the existing set (Līnatthapakāsīnī) “did not serve the purpose of bhikkhus residing in different countries”,<sup>18</sup> the reason being that many *gaṇṭhipadas* (explanatory works which dealt with difficult expressions and passages) that belonged to the old set were written in the Sinhala language and what was written in Māgadhi had

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<sup>15</sup>Saddhamma-s 59, 7: *Mahākassapattherapamukhaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ*; on Mahākassapatthera of Udumbaragirivihāra; see also P. Pecenko, “Notes” in Mp-ṭī E°, Vol. I, pp. 106–107, n. 1,5; *PLC*, pp. 176–77, 192–94; *DPPN* s.v. Mahā Kassapa 2.; Buddhadatta, 1960, pp. 75–77; H. Bechert, 1966, Vol. I, p. 265.

<sup>16</sup>Saddhamma-s 60.25–27: *ayaṃ piṭakaṭṭhakathāya atthavaṇṇanā eka-saṃvaccharen’ eva niṭṭhita*.

<sup>17</sup>Saddhamma-s 59.23–35; cf. Saddhamma-s 61.21–23: *piṭakattayaṇṇanā ca līnatthassa pakāsānā, Sāratthadīpanī nāma Sāratthamañjūsā pi ca* (v. 18), *Paramatthappakāsāni mahātherehi bhāsītā, sattānaṃ sabbabhāsānaṃ sā ahoṣi hitāvahā* (v. 19).

<sup>18</sup>Saddhamma-s 58.30–31: *taṃ sabbaṃ desantarāvāsīnaṃ bhikkhūnam attham na sādheti*; translation by Law, 1941, p. 84. Cf. Saddhamma-s 61.9–10: *piṭakaṭṭhakathāyaḥam līnatthassa pakāsānaṃ, na taṃ sabbattha bhikkhūnam attham sādheti sabbaso* (v. 12); also O.v. Hinüber, *HPL*, pp. 172–73, § 374: “... older works no longer served the purpose of the monks in the twelfth century.”

been mixed and confused with (Pāli) translations (*bhāsantara*) of the *Gaṇṭhipadas*.<sup>19</sup> The Līnatthapakāsīnī set was nevertheless used as a basis for the new “complete and clear *atthavaṇṇanā*”,<sup>20</sup> the mistakes (“versions, translations” — *bhāsantara*) in the old *ṭīkā*s were removed, but their essence was kept in its entirety.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Saddhamma-s 58.31–59.2 : *kattha ci anekesu gaṇṭhipadesu Sīhalabhāsāya niruttiyā likhitaṅ ca kattha ci mūlabhāsāya Māgadhikāya bhāsantarena sammissaṃ ākulaṅ ca katvā likhitaṅ ca*. Law’s translation, 1941, p. 84 : “Some were written in many terse expressions [*gaṇṭhipada*] according to the grammar of the Sinhala language, some were written in the dialect of Magadha, which is the basic language, but they have been confused and twisted by translation”; cf. O.v. Hinüber, *HPL*, p. 173, §374 : “Particularly the *Gaṇṭhipadas* written in Sinhalese are difficult to understand (Sp-ṭ [B<sup>e</sup> 1960] I 2.5–8) and [were] therefore summarized in Pāli.” On *gaṇṭhipadas*, see Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-pt, pp. xxxii–xxxviii; O.v. Hinüber, *HPL*, pp. 170–71, §§367–71.

See also Saddhamma-s 61, 9–20 where the state of the Līnatthapakāsīnī set is described in more detail. These two passages from Saddhamma-s (14th century), especially Saddhamma-s 61.9–20, are most probably based on a very similar passage from Sp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1960 I 2.5–16 ascribed to Sāriputta of Polonnaruva, who lived about two centuries earlier — at the time of the compilation of the Sāratthamañjūsā set.

<sup>20</sup>Saddhamma-s 59.2–3 : *mayam bhāsantaram apanetvā paripuṇṇam anākulaṃ atthavaṇṇanam kareyyamā ti*.

<sup>21</sup>Saddhamma-s 61.19–20 = Sp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1960 I 2.15–16 : *bhāsantaram tato hitvā saram ādāya sabbaso / anākulaṃ karissāmi paripuṇṇavinicchayam*. The introductory passages in the existing printed editions of Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961, Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961, and in the recently discovered manuscript of Mp-pt (see Part I, 2.2 and Part II below), which all belong to the old Līnatthapakāsīnī set, are, with the exception of minor orthographic differences, practically identical. The introduction in Mp-pt E<sup>c</sup> 1996, which is the fourth (*catutthā*) *ṭīkā* of the later Sāratthamañjūsā set, is considerably different from Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961, Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961, and the text in the manuscript of Mp-pt, and is much closer to Sp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1960 and Sv-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961. See P. Pecenko, “Table of Parallel Passages” in Mp-pt I; also H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154. For a detailed textual comparison of three parallel chapters from Mp-pt and Mp-ṭ, see Part II below.

## 1.2. The Pagan inscription

The second important source of information about the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* is the Pagan inscription of 1442 (804 BE) inscribed in the beginning of the rule of Narapati (1442–68),<sup>22</sup> less than three centuries after Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86). The inscription gives a list of 299 manuscripts,<sup>23</sup> amongst which the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* are also mentioned.

The titles of the *ṭīkā*s given in this inscription are very similar to the titles given in *Piṭ-sm* (1989) (see 1.6 below),<sup>24</sup> which in turn are also very similar to the titles of the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana editions of these *ṭīkā*s. The *ṭīkā*s on D, M and S are listed as follows:

the *ṭīkā* on D has three entries : *ṭīgā sīlakkhandhavā dīghanikāy* (no. 44), *ṭīgā mahāvā dīghanikāy* (no. 45) and *ṭīgā pādheyyavā dīghanikāy* (no. 46);<sup>25</sup>

the *ṭīkā* on M also has three entries : *ṭīkā mūlapaṇṇāsa* (no. 53), *ṭīkā majjhimaṇṇāsa* (no. 54) and *ṭīgā uparipaṇṇāsa* (no. 55);<sup>26</sup>

and the *ṭīkā* on S has two entries : *ṭīgā sagāthavā saṅyut* (no. 63) and *ṭīgā khandhavaggādi saṅyut* (no. 65).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Luce and Tin Htway, 1976, pp. 203–17; *PLB*, p. 41. Cf. also U Than Tun, 1998, pp. 37–55.

<sup>23</sup>Catalogue in Luce and Tin Htway, 1976, pp. 218–48. The *ṭīkā*s in this article are quoted according to their numbers in the Catalogue with the same transliteration of their titles. Cf. *PLB*, pp. 102–109; Niharranjan Ray, 1946, pp. 193–95.

<sup>24</sup>Also *Piṭakat-tō samuṅh* or *Piṭakat sumḥ puṅ cā tamḥ*. I consulted the edition of 1989.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 187 : *Sut-sīlakkhan-ṭīkā hoṅh*, 189 : *Sut-mahāvā-ṭīkā*, 190 : *Sut-pātheyya-ṭīkā*; Sv-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I : *Sīlakkhandhavagga-ṭīkā*, II : *Mahāvagga-ṭīkā*, III : *Pāthikavagga-ṭīkā*.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) 191 : *Mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*, 192 : *Majjhimaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*, 193 : *Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*; Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I–II : *Mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*, III : *Majjhimaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā* and *Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 194 : *Sagāthavaggaṣaṅyut-ṭīkā*, 195 : *Nidānavaggaṣaṅyut-ṭīkā*, 196 : *Khandhavaggaṣaṅyut-ṭīkā*, 197 : *Salāyatanavaggaṣaṅyut-ṭīkā*, 198 : *Mahāvaggaṣaṅyut-ṭīkā*; Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I : *Sagāthavaggaṣa*

In the section on A (List 934b45) two different *ṭikās* are listed: *ṭīgā aṅguttuiw krī [mahā]* (no. 75),<sup>28</sup> which is translated by G. H. Luce and Tin Htway: “Greater Aṅguttara subcommentary” and further identified as *Sāratthamañjūsā*, and *ṭīgā aṅguttuiw ṇay [culla]* (no. 76),<sup>29</sup> which is translated: “Lesser Aṅguttara subcommentary”.

The names of the two sets of *ṭikās* are not mentioned in the inscription.

### 1.3. Gandhavaṃsa

Gandhavaṃsa (Gv), a much later work written by a Burmese *araññāvāsīn* Nandapaññā<sup>30</sup> probably in the 17th century,<sup>31</sup> lists both

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*atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Saṃyutta-ṭikā*, II: *Nidāna-Khandha-Saḷāyatana-Mahāvaggānaṃ atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Saṃyutta-ṭikā*. If the sequence of *vaggas* of Spk-pṭ given in the inscription was the same as in *Piṭ-sm* (1989) and in the Chatthasaṅgāyana edition the second entry should read *ṭīgā nidānavaggādi saṃyut* and not *ṭīgā khandhavaṅgādi saṃyut*. On variant recensions of Spk and Spk-pṭ which have a different order of the five *vaggas*, see Tseng, 2001, pp. xxvi–xxviii.

<sup>28</sup>The title written on the first folio of the MS of Mp-ṭ held in the British Library (Or 2089) is very similar: *ṭikā ekkaniṭṭā aṅgutra krī*. Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 202–12: *Ekaṅguttara-ṭikā-sac*, *Dukaṅguttara-ṭikā-sac*, ... *Das'-aṅguttara-ṭikā-sac*, *Ekādasāṅguttara-ṭikā-sac*; Mp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–III: *Sāratthamañjūsā nāma Aṅguttara-ṭikā*. In Burmese *sac* means “new, revised”, *ṭikā-sac* therefore means the “new *ṭikā*”, i.e. Mp-ṭ, *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*. In *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 202 it is also called *Mahāṭikā*. All the Burmese words and sentences from *Piṭ-sm* (1989) which I quote here were translated into English by Elisabeth Lawrence, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 199: *Ekaṅguttara-ṭikā-hoñḥ*, 200: *Dukaṅguttara-ṭikā-hoñḥ*, 201: *Tikaṅguttara-ṭikā-hoñḥ*. *Hoñḥ* in Burmese means “old, ancient”, *ṭikā-hoñḥ* therefore means the “old *ṭikā*”, i.e. Mp-pṭ, *Catutthā Līnatthapakāsīnī*.

<sup>30</sup>Gv 80.5-6: *iti pāmojjatthāyāraññāvāsīnā Nandapaññācariyena kato Cullagandhavaṃso*; Gv 79.26: *Haṃsāratthajāto Nandapañño ti visuto*. *Haṃsāratthā* is the Pāli name for the kingdom of Pegu, the capital of which was *Haṃsavatī*. See *PLB*, p. 36.

<sup>31</sup>*PLB*, p. x. According to Oskar von Hinüber this is “a later systematic survey of unknown date” (*HPL*, p. 3). See also Winternitz, *HIL*, II, 176, n. 4; A.P.

Līnatthapakāsīnī and Sāratthamañjūsā. The first one is mentioned as:

*Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ Līnatthapakāsīnī nāma ṭikā*<sup>32</sup>

and was, according to Gv, written independently by Dhammapāl'-ācariya.<sup>33</sup>

*Sāratthamañjūsā* is mentioned only as *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya Sāratthamañjūsā nāma ṭikā*,<sup>34</sup> a work written by Sāriputta.<sup>35</sup> Further on, this work of Sāriputta, which was written at the request of Parakkama-bāhu, king of Lanḱā, is also referred to as *Aṅguttara'-aṭṭhakathāya navā ṭikā gandho*.<sup>36</sup>

According to Gv, the Līnatthapakāsīnī set consisted of the *ṭikās* on all the four *nikāyas* and *Sāratthamañjūsā* was the name of the *ṭikā* on A only. To distinguish it from the older *ṭikā* on A (*Catutthā Līnatthapakāsīnī*), *Sāratthamañjūsā* was also classified as a *navā ṭikā*. This confirms the information given in the Pagan inscription where these two *ṭikās* are mentioned as the “lesser” (*ṇay*) and the “greater” (*krī*) *ṭikā*.<sup>37</sup> The other three *ṭikās* of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set (*Paṭhamā*, *Dutiya*, and *Tatiya* *Sāratthamañjūsā*) are — as in the Pagan inscription — not mentioned at all.

### 1.4. Sāsanaṃsa

*Sāsanaṃsa* (Sās), a work “written in Burma in 1861 by Paññā-

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Buddhadatta, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 410–11; *PL*, pp. 180–81; Hazra, 1986, pp. 89–91.

<sup>32</sup>Gv 60.11–12.

<sup>33</sup>Gv 69.30–34: *Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ ṭikā-gandho ... attano matiya Dhammapālācariyena katā*.

<sup>34</sup>Gv 61.32–33.

<sup>35</sup>Gv 61.30. Cf. H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154.

<sup>36</sup>Gv 71.10–14: *Sāratthadīpanī nāma ... Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ṭikā gandho ti ime cattāro gandhā Parakkamabāhunāmena Lanḱādīpissarena raññā āyācītena Sāriputtācariyena katā*. Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 202 where the later *ṭikā* on Mp (Mp-ṭ) is mentioned as “new greater *ṭikā*” (*ṭikā sac krī*).

<sup>37</sup>See notes 27–28 above.

sāmi, tutor of King Min-dōn who held the fifth council a few years later”,<sup>38</sup> does not give the names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā); it simply states that the Dīghanikāy’-aṭṭhakathāya ṭikā, Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā, and Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā were written by Ācariya Dhammapāla Thera,<sup>39</sup> and the Aṅguttaranikāya-ṭikā was written by Sāriputta Thera at the request of King Parakkamabāhu.<sup>40</sup>

The distinction between the two sets of *ṭikās* mentioned in Saddhamma-s, and in the case of A also in the Pagan inscription and Gv, is not made in Sās. The two authors are nevertheless clearly stated, and this indicates that in the year 1861, when Sās was compiled, the only known set of *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* consisted of two kinds of *ṭikās* — the older three on D, M, and S written by Dhammapāla, and the later one on A written by Sāriputta.

Sās also lists another much later *ṭikā* on D called Sādhujanavilāsini (Sv-ṇṭ)<sup>41</sup> written by the *saṅgharāja* Nāṇābhivaṃsa.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup>PL, pp. 181–82. King Min-dōn (1852–77), also called the “Convener of the Fifth Council”, held the council in Mandalay in 1868–71 (PLB, pp. 92–94). On Sās see also Buddhadatta, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 407–409; Lieberman, 1976, pp. 137–49; Hazra, 1986, pp. 91–94.

<sup>39</sup>Sās N<sup>e</sup> 1961 31.10–12: *Visuddhimaggassa mahāṭikā, Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā, Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā, Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā sā ti imāyo ācariya-Dhammapālathero akāsi.*

<sup>40</sup>Sās N<sup>e</sup> 1961 31.13–14: *Sāratthadīpaniṃ nāma ṭikaṃ, Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhikaṃ ca Parakkamabāhuraññā yācito Sāriputtathero akāsi.*

<sup>41</sup>Sās N<sup>e</sup> 1961 124.7–8: *saṅgharājā hutvā Sādhujanavilāsiniṃ nāma Dīghanikāyaṭṭhikaṃ akāsi.* Cf. the title of Sv-ṇṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-II: *Sīlakkhandhavagga-ṭṭhakathāya atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Nāṇābhivaṃsa-dhammasenāpatināmena mahātherena katā Sādhuvilāsini nāma Sīlakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭṭhikā.*

<sup>42</sup>Nāṇābhivaṃsa, also mentioned as Nāṇābhisāsanaadhajamahādhammarājaguruthera or Nāṇābhivaṃsadhammasenāpatimahādhammarājādhirājagurū (Sās N<sup>e</sup> 1961 123.13–14, 25–26) was a *saṅgharāja* of Burma during the rule of King Bodōpayā (1782–1819) and also wrote, among several other works, Sādhu-(jana)-vilāsini (Sv-ṇṭ) and Peṭakālaṃkāra, Netti-(nava)-mahāṭikā (Nettmḥ). See PLB, pp. 77–78; Buddhadatta, 1960, pp. 175–78; HPL, p. 176.

### 1.5. Sāsanavaṃsadīpa

Sāsanavaṃsadīpa (Sās-dīp) is a work “comparable” to Sās, but “devoted to the authors and books of Ceylon”.<sup>43</sup> It was completed in 1879 by *ācariya* Vimalasāra *thera*, published in 1880 in Colombo<sup>44</sup> and covers “the history of Buddhism in Ceylon down to the time of the introduction of the Burmese *upasampadā* in A.D. 1802”.<sup>45</sup> The information about the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* in Sās-dīp is the same as in Sās. The names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā) given in Saddhamma-s and Gv are not mentioned at all. Only one set of *ṭikās* is listed and it does not have any special name; the *ṭikās* on D, M, and S are ascribed to Dhammapāla,<sup>46</sup> and a *ṭikā* on A is ascribed to Sāriputta.<sup>47</sup>

Nāṇābhivaṃsa, who wrote Sādhujanavilāsini, Sīlakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭṭhikā (Sv-ṇṭ), is mentioned as the author of “several books

<sup>43</sup>PL, p. 182. Although most of the authors and books mentioned in Sās-dīp are from Ceylon, there are nevertheless also quite a few references to authors from India and Burma, e.g.: Aggavaṃsa (v. 1238), Buddhapiya (v. 1239), Dāthānāga (v. 1241), Coḷiyācariya Sāriputtathera (v. 1244), Chappāta (v. 1247), Nāṇābhivaṃsa (v. 1215), etc. See also the Contents, *Vijānāpanaṃ* and *Sūcīpattam* (pp. i–vii) in Sās-dīp; PLC, p. 311; Buddhadatta, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 409–10.

<sup>44</sup>The book has two title pages: the first one in Sinhala letters and the second in Roman letters. The Sinhala title page reads: *Sakyamunivasse 2423 [1879 CE], Sāsanavaṃsadīpo, ācariya-Vimalasārattherapādena viracito, tassānumatiyā Balanāsara Vīrasihāmacceṇa c’ eva tadaññehi ca budhikehi janehi Koḷambaṭṭhānīyasmim Satthālokayantasālāyaṃ muddāpito, Saugate saṃvacchare 2424 [1880 CE]*; the second title page reads: *The Sasanavansa dīpo or The History of the Buddhist Church in Pali verse, compiled from Buddhist Holy Scriptures, Commentaries, Histories, &c., &c. by Acariya Vimalasara Thera. A.B. 2423 (Colombo. Printed at the Satthaloka Press for Balatasara Virasinha Amacca and others, A.B. 2424.)*

<sup>45</sup>PL, p. 182.

<sup>46</sup>Sās-dīp, vv. 1231–32: ... *ṭikā Dīghāgamaṃsa ca, Majjhimaṭṭhakathā-ṭikā Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathāya ca, ... Dhammapālena dhīmatā racitā therapādena suttantaṇayadassinā.*

<sup>47</sup>Sās-dīp, vv. 1201–1203: *Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā-ṭikā ... therena Sāriputtena katā.*

beginning with *Netti-ṭīkā*”.<sup>48</sup>

#### 1.6. *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ*

*Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* “was composed in 1888 by Maṅḥ-krīḥ Mahā-sirijeyasū, alias Ūḥ Yaṃ, Ūḥ Yam, or Ūḥ Ran, who had been the royal librarian of the last Burmese king”, and “represents an attempt to collect whatever information was available in Burma at that time on literary works in Pāli and Burmese and on their authors.”<sup>49</sup> *Piṭ-sm* (1989) is “the largest and the best work of its kind”; the author “lists 2047 titles, and he provides additional knowledge on most of the works listed.”<sup>50</sup>

*Piṭ-sm* (1989) lists the same *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* as the Pagan inscription and Gv and, as already mentioned, the titles of the *ṭīkā*s given in all three sources are very similar.<sup>51</sup> The names of the two sets, Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā, and the two authors, Dhammapāla and Sāriputta, are mentioned as in Gv. The reference numbers of all the *ṭīkā*s on the four *nikāyas* listed in *Piṭ-sm* (1989)<sup>52</sup> are marked with asterisks, and according to this edition of *Piṭ-sm* that means the manuscripts of all these *ṭīkā*s are held in the National Library, Rangoon.

The Līnatthapakāsinī-ṭīkā on D, M, and S, written by Dhammapāla, are listed as follows:

the Līnatthapakāsinī on D is listed under three entries: *Sut-*

<sup>48</sup>Sās-dīp, v. 1215: *Ñāṇābhivaṃsadhammādīsenāpatiyatissaro, Nettīṭīkādayo neke gandhe viracayī sudhī.*

<sup>49</sup>Bechert 1979, p. xiii. The last Burmese king was Thibaw (1878–85), who was the successor of king Min-dōn (1852–77). See Bechert, 1966, Vol. II, pp. 6–7; also *HPL*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup>Bechert 1979, p. xiii. In the edition of *Piṭ-sm* (1989) that I consulted, it is also mentioned that the reference numbers of the texts are marked with asterisks if manuscripts of them are held in the National Library (previously Bernard Free Library), Rangoon (*Piṭ-sm* (1989), p. 111, n. \*) — “so that the *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* represents a rather complete catalogue of the Burmese National Library too” (Bechert 1979, p. xxxiv). Cf. also Thaw Kaung, 1998, pp. 403–14.

<sup>51</sup>See notes 24–28 above.

<sup>52</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 187–212.

*sīlakkhan-ṭīkā hoṅḥ, Sut-mahāvā-ṭīkā and Sut-pātheyya-ṭīkā*;<sup>53</sup>

the Līnatthapakāsinī on M is also listed under three entries: *Mūla-paṇṇāsa-ṭīkā, Majjhimaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā and Upariṇṇāsa-ṭīkā*;<sup>54</sup>

the Līnatthapakāsinī on S has five entries: *Sagāthavagga-saṃyut-ṭīkā, Nidānavagga-saṃyut-ṭīkā, Khandhavagga-saṃyut-ṭīkā, Saḷāyatanavagga-saṃyut-ṭīkā and Mahāvaggasaṃyut-ṭīkā*.<sup>55</sup>

*Piṭ-sm* (1989) lists two *ṭīkā*s on A: a *ṭīkā* written by Dhammapāla and a *ṭīkā* written by Sāriputta. The first *ṭīkā* is listed as incomplete and has three entries: *Ekaṅguttara-ṭīkā-hoṅḥ, Dukaṅguttara-ṭīkā-hoṅḥ and Tikaṅguttara-ṭīkā-hoṅḥ*. Although it is called the “old” (*hoṅḥ*) *ṭīkā* the common name Līnatthapakāsinī is not mentioned at all.<sup>56</sup> According to *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 199, “the remaining eight manuscripts of the old *ṭīkā*, i.e. the *ṭīkā* on Catukaṅguttara, Pañcaṅguttara, ... Ekādasāṅguttara, cannot be found anywhere in Burma.”<sup>57</sup>

The second *ṭīkā* on A is mentioned as a “new, revised” *ṭīkā* (*sac*) and it has the following eleven entries:<sup>58</sup> *Ekaṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, Duk'-aṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, Tikaṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, ... Dasāṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, Ekādasāṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac*. The entry under *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 202 gives

<sup>53</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 187, 189–90. *Sīlakkhandhavagga-ṭīkā* is listed as the “old” (*hoṅḥ*) *ṭīkā*, i.e. Sv-pt, *Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsinī*, to distinguish it not from Sv-t, *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*, but from *Sādhujanavilāsiniṭīkā* (Sv-nt) which is in *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 188 listed as the “new” (*sac*) *ṭīkā*.

<sup>54</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 191–93.

<sup>55</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 194–98.

<sup>56</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 199–201.

<sup>57</sup>Translated by Elisabeth Lawrence. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 199 reads: *ekaṅguttara ṭīkā-hoṅḥ — mhā | sī-huiḷ-kvyanḥ anurādha-mruḷ anok badarati-ttha-kyoṅḥ-ne rhaṅ-dhammapāla-pru-saññ || thui-ṭīkā hoṅḥ-kāḥ ekaṅguttara | duk'-aṅguttara | tikaṅguttara 3-kyamḥ-sā aphvaṅ ṭīkā-hoṅḥ rhi-saññ || kyan-catukaṅguttara | pañcaṅguttara | chakkaṅguttara | sattaṅguttara | aṭṭh'-aṅguttara | navaṅguttara | dasāṅguttara | ekādasāṅguttara-tuiṅ aphvaṅ ṭīkā-hoṅḥ 8-coṅ-kāḥ ya-khu-mran-mā-tuiṅḥ-nuiṅ-ṇam-tvaṅ-ma-rhi-hu mhat-le ||* (word division as in *Piṭ-sm* (1989)).

<sup>58</sup>*Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 202–12.

some additional information about this *ṭikā*:

It was obtained by King Narapati of Pagan from Tamba[paṇṇi]dīpa in Jambudīpa and was written during the reign of King Sirimahā-parakkamabāhu by a monk who was an expert in *dhamma* and had three names: Sāriputta, Sāritanuja, and Mahāsāmi. This new greater *ṭikā* (*ṭikā sac krī*) has eleven manuscripts/bundles, and it is called Sāratthamañjūsā and also Mahāṭikā.<sup>59</sup>

Although *Piṭ-sm* (1989) gives essentially the same information about the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* as the Pagan inscription and Gv, it is interesting to note that the old *ṭikā* on A written by Dhammapāla is not mentioned as a part of the Līnatthapakāsini set. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) also does not list any of the first three *ṭikās* of the Sāratthamañjūsā set (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ).

### 1.7. Critical Pāli Dictionary

The last bibliographical source I would like to cite is *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD), Epilegomena to Vol. I, pp. 40\*–41\*, which was published in 1948. Essentially it is very similar to the earliest bibliographical work, Saddhamma-s, because both sources mention two complete sets of *ṭikās*, Līnatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā. According to CPD the first set was written by Dhammapāla, and the second one by Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva. The *ṭikās* of the Līnatthapakāsini set are also called *purāṇaṭikās* (pṭ), while the *ṭikās* of the Sāratthamañjūsā set are called just *ṭikās* (ṭ). Sādhujanavilāsini, a later *ṭikā* written by Nāṇābhivamsa, is called *navāṭikā* (nṭ). For the first three *ṭikās* of the older set (Sv-pṭ, Ps-pṭ, Spk-pṭ), for the fourth *ṭikā* of the later set (Mp-ṭ), and for the new *ṭikā* on D (Sv-nṭ) some references are given to existing

<sup>59</sup>Translated by Elisabeth Lawrence. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) no. 202 reads: *ek'-aṅguttara-ṭikā-sac mhā | jambūdiṭṭip-kvyanḥ-tambadīpa-tuiṅḥ pugaṃ praññ narapaticaññ-sū-mañḥ-nhañ-apruñ-sī-huiḥ-kvyanḥ-siri-mahāparakkama-bāhu-mañḥ lak-thak rhañ-sāriputtarā | rhañ-sāritanuja | rhañ-mahāsāmi-pāsāda 3-mañḥ raso mather-pru-saññ | thui-rhañ-sāriputtarā-kāḥ buddha-dāsa-mañḥ sāḥ-tō-taññḥ || aṅguttaranikāy 11-kyanḥ ṭikā-sac-krīḥ-kui-laññḥ sārathamañjūsā-ṭikā amaññ-mḥaññ-saññ | mahāṭikā-laññḥ-khō-saññ ||* (word division as in *Piṭ-sm* (1989)).

published editions or manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> For the first three *ṭikās* of the later set (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ)<sup>61</sup> no manuscripts or editions are mentioned, and the fourth *ṭikā* of the older set (Mp-pṭ) is referred to *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 199–201.<sup>62</sup> This indicates that although in CPD both sets of *ṭikās* are listed, only four *ṭikās* were actually available to the editor of CPD: the first three of the Līnatthapakāsini set and the fourth of the Sāratthamañjūsā set.

The above discussion of the bibliographical references can be presented as shown in Table 1 overleaf:

<sup>60</sup>The following sources are given: for Sv-pṭ, B<sup>e</sup> 1924 I–III (2.1,11); for Ps-pṭ and Spk-pṭ, the transcripts (1934) from Burmese manuscripts of the National Library (former Bernard Free Library), Rangoon (2.2,11; 2.3,11; cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 191–98); for Mp-ṭ, B<sup>e</sup> 1910 I–II (2.4,12); for Sv-nṭ, B<sup>e</sup> 1913–23 I–II (2.1,13). CPD, Vol. III, p. iv, mentions also Sv-ṭ as “*Sīlakkandhavagga-ṭikā* by Dhammapāla, B<sup>e</sup>, Vol. I–II, (*Buddhasāsanamiti*), Rangoon, 1961”, which is a mistake; this could be either Sv-pṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I by Dhammapāla, or Sv-nṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I–II by Nāṇābhivamsa. Other editions and manuscripts of these *ṭikās* will be discussed below.

<sup>61</sup>CPD, nos. 2.1,12; 2.2,12; 2.3,12. The manuscripts of these *ṭikās* listed in LPP will be discussed below.

<sup>62</sup>CPD, no. 2.4,11.



Table I: The *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* in bibliographical works

Source	D/Sv	M/Ps	S/Spk	A/Mp	Authorship
1.1. Sad-s <sup>63</sup> (14th cent.)	pt* <sup>64</sup> ‡*	pt* ‡*	pt* ‡*	pt* ‡*	porāṇas theras
1.2. Pagan (1442)	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	pt ‡	_____
1.3. Gv (17th cent.)	pt* _____	pt* _____	pt* _____	pt* (n)‡*	Dhammapāla Sāriputta
1.4. Sās (1861)	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	_____	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇabhivamsa
1.5. Sās-dīp (1880)	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	(p)‡ _____	_____	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇabhivamsa
1.6. <i>Piṭ-sm</i> (1989) (1888)	(p)‡* _____	(p)‡* _____	(p)‡* _____	pt ‡*	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇabhivamsa
1.7. <i>CPD</i> (1948)	pt* ‡*	pt* ‡*	pt* ‡*	pt* ‡*	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇabhivamsa

## 2. Manuscripts and editions of the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas*

The bibliographical sources in Table I can be divided into three groups: works which mention only one set of *nikāya-ṭikās* (i.e. Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-‡, see 1.4, 1.5), works which list an additional *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā* (i.e. Mp-pt, see 1.2, 1.3, 1.6), and works which list two complete sets of *nikāya-ṭikās* (the old set, Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt, and the later set, Sv-‡, Ps-‡, Spk-‡, Mp-‡, see 1.1, 1.7). Here I would like to discuss manuscripts and printed editions of the *nikāya-ṭikās* belonging to both sets.

<sup>63</sup>Sad-s = Saddhamma-s.

<sup>64</sup>The *ṭikās* listed as *Līnatthapakāsini* (pt) or *Sāratthamañjūsā* (t) are marked with \*.

### 2.1. One set of *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas*

Sās and Sās-dīp mention only one set of *ṭikās*,<sup>65</sup> consisting of the three “older” *ṭikās* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt) ascribed to Dhammapāla and the fourth “later” *ṭikā* (Mp-‡) ascribed to Sāriputta. There is no distinction between *Līnatthapakāsini* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*; all are just called *ṭikās*. Besides the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* editions<sup>66</sup> there exist several other editions<sup>67</sup> and manuscripts of these *ṭikās*.<sup>68</sup> Because these are the only

<sup>65</sup>Sv-nt, compiled by Ñāṇabhivamsa, will not be discussed from here onwards because it is a much later work. There exists a *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* ed.: Sv-nt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-II; *CPD*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, p. 40\*, mentions also Sv-nt B<sup>e</sup> 1913-23 I-II (2.1,13). The *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition of this *ṭikā* is available also on *CS CD-ROM*.

<sup>66</sup>Sv-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-III; Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-III; Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-II; Mp-‡ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-III. The *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* editions of these *ṭikās* were reprinted by the Vipassana Research Institute, Igatpuri, India (Sv-pt N<sup>e</sup> 1993 I-III; Ps-pt N<sup>e</sup> 1995 I-IV; Spk-pt N<sup>e</sup> 1994 I-III; Mp-‡ N<sup>e</sup> 1996 I-III), and are available also on *CS CD-ROM*.

<sup>67</sup>Sv-pt: E<sup>c</sup> 1970 I-III, ed. by Lily de Silva; B<sup>e</sup> 1904-1906 I-III, ed. by U Hpye; B<sup>e</sup> 1912 I-III, ed. by Hsaya Tin of Nanmadaw; B<sup>e</sup> 1915 I-III, ed. by Hsayas Kyī, Kyaw, Thein, and Hba Kyaw (all the Burmese editions are called *Līnatthapakāsana*; see Raper and O’Keefe, 1983, p. 34); B<sup>e</sup> 1924 I-III (see Warder, 1980, p. 529); C<sup>e</sup> 1967, ed. by H. Kalyāṇasiri and H. Kalyāṇadhamma, Somavati Hēvāvītaraṇa Ṭikāganthamālā (Colombo: Anula Press).

Ps-pt (Bangchang, 1981), p. xi, mentions a very old Burmese edition published in 1853.

Spk-pt: Besides the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I-II = N<sup>e</sup> 1994 I-III) I am not aware of any other edition of Spk-pt.

Mp-‡: E<sup>c</sup> I (1996), II (1998), III (1999); PTS edition by P. Pecenko, Vols. I-III contain *Eka-* and *Dukanipāta-ṭikā*; B<sup>e</sup> 1910 I-II (see *CPD*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, p. 41\*); C<sup>e</sup> 1907 (see de Silva, 1910-12, p. 150); C<sup>e</sup> 1930 (see *EncBuddh*, Vol. I, fasc. 4, p. 629, s.v. *Āṅguttara-navaṭṭikā*). Mp-‡ C<sup>e</sup> 1907 and 1930 contain only *Ekanipāta-ṭikā*. For a detailed description of C<sup>e</sup> 1907, B<sup>e</sup> 1910, and C<sup>e</sup> 1930, see Pecenko, Introduction in Mp-‡ E<sup>c</sup> (1996) I, pp. xxxvii-xlii.

<sup>68</sup>MSS of Sv-pt are listed in: Lily de Silva, General Introduction in Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, pp. xi-xii (7 C MSS; these MSS are listed in *LPP*); *LPP* I 39 (16 C MSS); Fausböhl, 1890-96, p. 28 (1 B MS); H. Braun et al., 1985, pp. 126-28 (1 B MS); Rhys Davids, 1882, p. 52 (1 C MS); *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 187, 189-90 (1

ones printed these *ṭikās* are often considered to be the only existing *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas*.<sup>69</sup>

## 2.2. Two Aṅguttara-ṭikās

In the Pagan inscription, Gv, and *Piṭ-sm* (1989), an additional *ṭikā* — not mentioned in Sās and Sās-dīp — is added: the old *ṭikā* on A (Mp-pt), called Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī.

According to one of the latest editions of *Piṭ-sm* (1989) (nos. 199–201) an incomplete manuscript of Mp-pt (containing the old *ṭikā* on the first three *nipātas*) is now held in the National Library, Rangoon.<sup>70</sup>

During my stay in Burma in December 1999, I visited the National Library, Rangoon, and the Universities Central Library, Rangoon University Campus. In both libraries I searched for manuscripts of Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭṭikā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī (Mp-pt). In the

National Library, which was in the process of moving into a new building, I was not able to find any manuscript of Mp-pt, but in the Universities Central Library I found, with the generous help of U Thaw Kaung, a manuscript (Acc. No. 10095) which contained both Aṅguttara-ṭikās, Mp-pt and Mp-t, in one bundle. For a detailed description of this manuscript of Mp-pt — the only one known to me — see Part II, 1 below.

## 2.3. Two complete sets of *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas*

Saddhamma-s and *CPD* mention two complete sets, Līnatthapakāsinī (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt) and Sāratthamañjūsā (Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t, Mp-t). Here, three later *ṭikās* are added: a *ṭikā* on D (Sv-t) called Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā, a *ṭikā* on M (Ps-t) called Dutiyā Sāratthamañjūsā and a *ṭikā* on S (Spk-t) called Tatiyā Sāratthamañjūsā.

I am not aware of any printed edition of these three later *ṭikās* (Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t); it is also interesting to note that they are not mentioned in the Burmese bibliographical works discussed above. Somadasa's catalogue *Laṅkāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya (LPP)*, on the other hand, lists quite a few manuscripts of Sv-t, Ps-t and Spk-t.<sup>71</sup> Since the catalogue also clearly distinguishes the *purāṇaṭṭikās* (Līnatthapakāsinī) from the later *ṭikās* (*navāṭṭikā*, *dutiyaṭṭikā*) called Sāratthamañjūsā, it seems that Somadasa as well as the temple librarians who gave him information about the manuscripts held in their temples was clearly aware of the difference between these two sets of *ṭikās*. In *LPP* the manuscripts of Sv-t, Ps-t and Spk-t are listed as follows:

Sv-t: six manuscripts s.v. *Dīghanikāya-dutiyaṭṭikā*, *Paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā*:<sup>72</sup>

1 C MS in Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kāṭapaḷagoḍa,

B MS).

MSS of Ps-pt are listed in: Bangchang, 1981, p. xi (1 K MS, 4 C MSS; these 4 C MSS are listed in *LPP*); *LPP*, vol. 1, p. 71 (8 C MSS), vol. 2, p. 53 (6 C MSS); Rhys Davids, 1882, p. 51 (1 C MS); Fausböhl, 1890–96, pp. 28–29 (1 B MS); Rhys Davids, 1883, p. 147 (1 B MS); *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 191–93 (1 B MS).

MSS of Spk-pt are listed in: *LPP*, vol. 1, p. 93 (1 B, 11 C MSS), vol. 2, p. 71 (7 C MSS); Silva, 1938, Vol. I, pp. 36–37 (1 C MS); *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 194–98 (1 B MS).

MSS of Mp-t are listed in: *LPP*, Vol I, p. 2 (5 C MSS); Vol. II, p. 1 (7 C MSS); Vol. III, p. 164 (1 B MS from British Museum, Or 2089); de Silva, 1938, Vol. I, p. 37 (1 C MS); *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 202–12 (1 B MS); Fragile Palm Leaves project, Thailand (4 B MSS; MS ID Nos. 906, 949, 983, 1645); National Library, Rangoon (3 B MSS; Acc. Nos. 800, 1846, 1937); Universities Central Library, University of Rangoon (2 B MSS; Acc. Nos. 7691, 9816/10095).

This list is, of course, not exhaustive; it is possible that more manuscripts of the above mentioned *ṭikās* can be found in Burma and perhaps also in Thailand.

<sup>69</sup>See for example *HPL*, pp. 167, 173.

<sup>70</sup>In May 1999, I met U Thaw Kaung, retired Chief Librarian of Universities Central Library, Rangoon, who confirmed that this manuscript could be held in the National Library, Rangoon. See also 1.6 and n. 50 above.

<sup>71</sup>See *LPP*, Vol. I, pp. 39, 71, 93. In 1995 I sent several letters to the temples in Sri Lanka listed in *LPP* and enquired about the *ṭikās* held in their libraries, but I received no reply.

<sup>72</sup>*LPP*, Vol. 1, p. 39 (cf. below this entry s.v. *Dīghanikāyapaṭhama-(purāṇa)-ṭikā*, *Paṭhama-Līnatthapakāsinī*, *Līnatthapakāsanā*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* where 16 MSS of Sv-pt are listed).

- Karandēṇiya, Vatugedara, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 348);  
 1 C MS in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doḍandūva (temple no. 365);  
 1 C MS in Sundarārāma Mahāvihāraya (Dhammānanda Pustakālaya), Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 371);  
 1 C MS in Gaṅgārāma Mahāvihāraya, Padavtoṭa, Māhālla, Gālla (temple no. 381);  
 1 C MS in Subhadrārāma Vihāraya, Murutamurē, Hakmana (temple no. 487);  
 1 C MS in Kasāgal Rajamahāvihāraya, Uḍayāḷa, Hakuruvela (temple no. 717).  
 Ps-ṭ: eight manuscripts s.v. *Majjhimanikāya-ṇaṭṭikā*, *Dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā*:<sup>73</sup>  
 1 C MS in Tapassarārāmaya, Moraṭumulla, Moraṭuva (temple no. 64);<sup>74</sup>  
 1 C MS in Saddharmākara Pirivena, Pinvatta, Pānaduraya (temple no. 153);  
 1 B MS<sup>75</sup> in Vanavāsa Rajamahāvihāraya (Paṇḍitaratna Pirivena), Yātrāmulla, Bentara, Bentoṭa (temple no. 326);  
 1 C MS in Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kāṭapaḷagoḍa, Karandēṇiya, Vatugedara, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 348);

<sup>73</sup>LPP, Vol. I, p. 71 (cf. below this entry s.v. *Majjhimanikāya-purāṇaṭṭikā*, *Dutiya-Līnatthappakāsini*, *Līnatthappakāsini*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* where 7 MSS of Ps-ṭ are listed). W.A. de Silva mentions also a manuscript of *Majjhimanikāya-ṭṭikā*, *Papañcasūdanī-ṭṭikā*, *Dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā* (i.e. Ps-ṭ) held in the Library of the Colombo Museum; see de Silva, 1938, Vol. I, p. 36, MSS 108–109. However, the introductory passage quoted in the catalogue is identical with Ps-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I 1.5–12 which indicates that the manuscript is most probably Ps-ṭ and not Ps-ṭ. See also Bangchang, 1981, p. xii.

<sup>74</sup>There is also a MS of Ps-ṭ held in the same temple; see LPP, Vol. I, p. 71, s.v. *Majjhimanikāya-purāṇaṭṭikā*, *Dutiya-Līnatthappakāsini*, *Līnatthappakāsini*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā*.

<sup>75</sup>The Burmese manuscript listed here could indicate that in addition to Mp-ṭ, the other three later *ṭṭikās* (Sāratthamañjūsā I–III) were also known in Burma. Cf. the discussion on the Pagan inscription, Gv, Sās and *Piṭ-sm* (1989) in 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.6 above. Here further research about *nikāya-ṭṭikās* in Burma is needed.

- 1 C MS in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doḍandūva (temple no. 365);  
 1 C MS in Sirivaḍḍhanārāmaya, Dēvagoḍa, Mādampē, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 367);  
 1 C MS in Jinajōtikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Uḍukinda, Fort Mekḍonalḍ (temple no. 807);  
 1 C MS in Sunandārāmaya (Sunandodaya Pirivena), Mādampē, Aṭakaḷanpanna (temple no. 860).  
 Spk-ṭ: two manuscripts:  
 1 C Ms held in Yaṭagala Rajamahāvihāraya (Hetṭhāvala Pirivena), Uṇavaṭuna (temple no. 435) is listed s.v. *Samyuttanikāya-ṇaṭṭikā*, *Tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā*,<sup>76</sup>  
 1 C MS in the same bundle with Spk-ṭ is mentioned s.v. *Samyuttanikāya-ṭṭikā*<sup>77</sup> and is held in Jinajōtikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Uḍukinda, Fort Mekḍonalḍ (temple no. 807).

The above list of the manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ held in the temple libraries in Sri Lanka indicates that the information given in Saddhamma-s could be correct.

The editions and manuscripts of the two sets of *ṭṭikās* discussed above can be presented as follows:

<sup>76</sup>LPP, Vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>77</sup>LPP, *ibid.* Under the temple entry no. 807, the following note is added: *mehi navaṭṭikā, purāṇaṭṭikā dekama miśravī āta*. This manuscript has also — as the Burmese MS of Mp-ṭ / Mp-ṭ discussed in Part I, 2.2, and Part II — both *ṭṭikās* (Spk-ṭ and Spk-ṭ) in one bundle.

In an email dated 23 May 2001, L.S. Cousins also informs me that Sister H. Vinita Tseng “on her visit to Taiwan last month ... obtained copies of some manuscripts (mostly Burmese) in a collection there. One was a *ṭṭikā* labelled *Sāratthamañjūsā*, apparently to Spk [that is, Spk-ṭ].” This is a further indication that, as stated in n. 75 above, in addition to Mp-ṭ, the other three later *ṭṭikās* (Sāratthamañjūsā I–III: Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ) were probably also known in Burma.

Table II: Manuscripts and printed editions of the *ṭikās* on the *four nikāyas*

	Līnatthapakāsinī	Sāratthamañjūsā
D/Sv	Sv-pt Eds.: B <sup>e</sup> 1904–1906, 1912, 1915, 1924, 1961; C <sup>e</sup> 1967; E <sup>e</sup> 1970; N <sup>e</sup> 1993 MSS: 3 B, 17 C	Sv-ṭ Ed. — MSS: 6 C
M/Ps	Ps-pt Eds.: B <sup>e</sup> 1853, 1961; N <sup>e</sup> 1995 MSS: 3 B, 15 C, 1 K	Ps-ṭ Ed. — MSS: 1 B, 7 C
S/Spk	Spk-pt Ed.: B <sup>e</sup> 1961, N <sup>e</sup> 1994 MSS: 2 B, 19 C	Spk-ṭ Ed. — MSS: 1 B (? , n. 79), 2 C
A/Mp	Mp-pt Ed. —  MSS: 1 B (see Part I, 2.2 above) 1 B (see n. 56 above)	Mp-ṭ Eds.: Be 1910, 1961; Ce 1907, 1930; E <sup>e</sup> 1996; Ne 1996 MSS: 11 B, 13 C

## Part II: Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī and Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā

### I. Description of the Burmese manuscript of Mp-pt from Universities Central Library, Rangoon (Acc. No. 10095)

The titles on the cover of this manuscript read *Āṅguttuir-ṭikā-sac* / [*Āṅguttuir-ṭikā*]-*hoñḥ*, the same titles as used in *Piṭ-sm* (1989) (nos. 199–201, 202–12) for describing the “old” (*hoñḥ*) and the “new” (*sac*) *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā*. The manuscript has regular Burmese foliation on the right margin verso of each folio; each folio has eleven lines written in small round Burmese letters, and there are very few of the orthographic errors which are common in Burmese manuscripts. The manuscript has two parts:

(1) Folios *ka-thai* (140 fol.) contain seven *nipāta-ṭikās* of Mp-ṭ; it begins with *Pañcakanipāta-ṭikā* and ends with *Ekādasanipātaṭṭikā*.<sup>78</sup> On the left margin verso of each folio is written *Āṅguttuir-ṭikā-sac pāḥ* (*du[tiya]*) and the last folio of this section (*thai*) has the title: *Āṅguttara-mahāṭṭikā*, that is, Mp-ṭ. According to the colophon the manuscript was edited by Paññājotābhidhaja<sup>79</sup> in 1219 BE (1857 CE) in Bākarā monastery in Mandalay and copied by an unknown scribe in 1254 BE (1892 CE).

(2) Folios *ṭho-po* (108 fol.) contain the “old” *Āṅguttara-ṭikā* (*Āṅguttuirṭikā-hoñḥ*), that is, Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭṭikā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī (Mp-pt). On the left margin verso of each folio is written *Āṅguttuir-ṭikā-hoñḥ pāḥ*. This is the first manuscript of Mp-pt that is known to me,<sup>80</sup> I am also not aware of any printed edition of the

<sup>78</sup>The first four *nipāta-ṭikās* of Mp-ṭ, *Ekanipāta-ṭikā-Catukkanipāta-ṭikā*, are in another manuscript held in the same library (Acc. No. 9816).

<sup>79</sup>On Paññājotābhidhaja, see Primoz Pecenko, “Introduction” in Mp-ṭ I, pp. xxxix–xl.

<sup>80</sup>According to U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre, Rangoon, it is possible that more MSS of Mp-pt are held in the temple libraries in Burma. But because of the extensive use of the later *ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ), which replaced the older one, these manuscripts were probably not used much. In a letter dated 10 October 1995, Prof. U Ko Lay informs me that “the *bhikkhu* teachers of advanced *Piṭakas* at the [Buddhist] University are not sure whether the old *ṭikās* of *Āṅguttara* [Mp-pt] are still extant at all... [T]eachers in various monasteries have ... always used the new *ṭikā*, the *Sāratthamañjūsā* of *Sāriputta* [Mp-ṭ], also called *Mahāṭṭikā*, because ... the expositions therein are, according to them, much better and preferable. The old *Āṅguttara-ṭikās* appear to be out of use in Myanma monasteries for a long time ... for two reasons: only three *ṭikās* have been listed in their libraries [cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) 199–201]; the remaining eight were never existent in Myanma and ... [even] the first three are not too well known amongst present day *bhikkhu* scholars. For the same reasons, the Sixth Council completely ignored the old *Āṅguttara-ṭikās* and recited only the new *ṭikās* [cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 202–12], the complete set of which was also published [i.e. Mp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961].”

The situation in Sri Lanka and Thailand seems to be quite different. In an email dated 22 November 1999, L.S. Cousins writes, “I am not at all clear as to the *Āṅguttara-ṭikā* ascribed to *Dhammapāla* (Mp-pt). I could not find any

“old” *Āṅuttara-ṭikā*.

The manuscript contains the *ṭikā* on the first three *nipātas* only:<sup>81</sup> it contains most of the *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* (folios ṭho<sup>v</sup>,1–dho<sup>r</sup>,10)<sup>82</sup> and longer passages from *Dukanipātaṭṭikā* (folios dho<sup>v</sup>,10–na<sup>v</sup>,8)<sup>83</sup> and *Tikanipāta-ṭikā* (folios na<sup>v</sup>,8–po<sup>v</sup>,4).<sup>84</sup>

The text on the first few folios of the newly discovered manuscript of Mp-pt is exactly the same (with minor orthographic differences) as in the other three “old” *ṭikās*<sup>85</sup> and in this respect differs considerably from Mp-t.<sup>86</sup> This is a very strong indication that the manuscript discussed here really belongs to the old *Līnatthapakāsini* set.

The text on the last folio (po) ends abruptly in the middle of *Tikanipāta-ṭikā*<sup>87</sup> and a colophon follows. The title given in the colophon is *Āṅuttarī-ṭikā-hoṅḥ-pāṭh*, the editor (*visodhaka*) who “collated” the text from “different readings” (*samsandiy’ aññapāṭhehi*) is Jotābhīnāmathera, who lived in Maṅipupphara monastery. The date of editing is

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copy in Ceylon or Thailand in the 1970s. In fact, I am reasonably sure that there is no copy in Ceylon. Some are listed in various sources, but I believe that all have turned out to be mistakes, when checked.”

<sup>81</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* (1989), no. 199; and Part I, 1.6, above.

<sup>82</sup>The text of *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* corresponds approximately to Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> I 1.1–III 163.8. There are considerable differences between Mp-pt and Mp-t: most of the chapters of the *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* of Mp-pt are, compared with the same chapters in Mp-t, much shorter; e.g. *Nettinayavaṇṇanā* on *Rūpādivagga* is much longer in Mp-t (cf. Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> I 76.1–97.7) than in the MS of Mp-pt where it is given on three folios only (ḍhū<sup>r</sup>,9–ḍho<sup>v</sup>,8).

<sup>83</sup>This corresponds approximately to Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> III 195.5–253.7 (folios dho<sup>r</sup>,10–na<sup>r</sup>,8 actually contain much less text, since on the folio dham<sup>r</sup>,6 is a lacuna corresponding to Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> III 204.3–241.12).

<sup>84</sup>This corresponds approximately to Mp-t B<sup>e</sup> 1961 II 83.16–148.2. This is at present the only known and available manuscript of Mp-pt; for a textual comparison of three selected parallel chapters from Mp-pt and Mp-t see Part II, 2 below.

<sup>85</sup>Cf. Sv-pt E<sup>e</sup> I 1.1 foll.; Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I 1.1 foll.; Spk-pt B<sup>e</sup> 1961 I 1.1 foll.

<sup>86</sup>Cf. Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> I 1.1 foll.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Mp-t B<sup>e</sup> 1961 II 148.2.

not given and the date of copying is 1254 BE (1892 CE).<sup>88</sup>

Although according to Saddhamma-s the “old” *ṭikā* (Mp-pt) was a basis for the later one (Mp-t), many passages in this manuscript of Mp-pt are nevertheless essentially different from the parallel passages in Mp-t. The differences and similarities of some of these passages will be to some extent discussed in Part II, 2–3 below.

It is also interesting to note that in this manuscript both *ṭikās*, Mp-pt and Mp-t, are in the same bundle, which could indicate that these two *ṭikās* were, probably at least during a certain period, consulted together, complementing each other.

## 2. Three chapters from *Āṅuttaranikāya-purāṇaṭṭikā*, *Catutthā Līnatthapakāsini* (Mp-pt)

This section contains the following three chapters from the manuscript of *Āṅuttaranikāya-purāṇaṭṭikā*, *Catutthā Līnatthapakāsini* (Mp-pt, see Part II, 1) and the differences from the parallel chapters in Mp-t E<sup>e</sup> 1998 II:

Mp-pt, *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* III: *Akammaniyavaggo tatiyo* (folio ṇu<sup>r</sup>,5–ṇu<sup>v</sup>,5); cf. *Akammaniyavaggavaṇṇanā*, a parallel chapter in Mp-t II 36.1–38.12;

Mp-pt, *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* IV: *Adantavaggo catuttho* (folio ṇu<sup>v</sup>,5–8); cf. *Adantavaggavaṇṇanā*, a parallel chapter in Mp-t II 39.1–14;

Mp-pt, *Ekanipāta-ṭikā* V: *Anatthavaggo pañcamo* (folios ṇu<sup>v</sup>,8–ṇe<sup>r</sup>,11); cf. *Pañhita-acchavaggavaṇṇanā*, a parallel chapter in Mp-t II, 40.1–60.17.

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<sup>88</sup>Folio po<sup>r</sup>,9–11 reads: *Jotābhīnāmatherena || Maṅipuppharavāsiniṇā || samsandiy’ aññā-pāṭhehi || sādhuḥkāyaṃ ’bhisankhatā || Sakkarāja 1254 ||*. Jotābhīnāmathera is [Paññā]jotābhi-[dhaja]nāmathera who also edited the portion of Mp-t in the same bundle (see (1) above) and the editing probably took place approximately at the same time, i.e. around 1219 BE (1857 CE). According to U Nyunt Maung, Maṅipupphara was a name of a temple belonging to a larger monastic complex in Mandalay called Bākara.

These three chapters were chosen because they clearly demonstrate the differences between the two *ṭikās* (Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ) as described in Saddhamma-s. This is a short preliminary comparison of the two *ṭikās* and final conclusions will be drawn only when a critical edition of the entire manuscript of Mp-ṭ is completed and compared with Mp-ṭ.

Here the main text is Mp-ṭ and the differences in Mp-ṭ are given in the footnotes. In two cases, where the additions in Mp-ṭ are very long (see Part II, 2, n. 140 and n. 217 below), the entire text from Mp-ṭ is given in the endnotes (see Part II, 2, endnotes (1) and (2) below). Since the text in the manuscript of Mp-ṭ has only a few orthographic errors, the above three chapters will be reproduced here in Roman transliteration without any changes. Mp-ṭ stands here for Mp-ṭ E<sup>c</sup> 1998 II and Mp-ṭ stands for the manuscript of Aṅguttaranikāya-purāṇaṭikā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī (Mp-ṭ), described in Part II, 1, above.

[Akammaniyavaggo tatiyo]<sup>89</sup>

(1) <sup>90</sup>**abhāvitān** [52.1]<sup>91</sup> ti samathavipassanābhāvanāvasena na bhāvitam tathā abhāvitattā. tam hi *avaḍḍhita*n [52.1] ti vuccati paṭipakkhābhāvavena paribrūhanābhāvato. ten' āha bhagavā **akammaniyam hotī** [52.3] ti.

(2) *dutiye vuttapariyāyena*<sup>92</sup> *attho veditabbo* [52.5]. *paṭhame* [52.6] ti tatiyavaggaṣṣa paṭhamasutte. *vaṭṭavasena* [52.6] ti vipākavaṭṭavasena. *tebhūmakavaṭṭan* [52.8–9] ti tebhūmakavipākavaṭṭam.<sup>93</sup> *vaṭṭapaṭilābhāya kamman* [52.9] ti vipākavaṭṭassa paṭilābhāya upanissayabhūtam kamman, tassa saḥāyabhūtam \*kilesavaṭṭan ti vadanti. tathā hi tam *vaṭṭapaṭilābhāya kamman* [52.9] ti vuttam.<sup>94</sup> *vivaṭṭapaṭilābhāya kamman* [52.10–11] ti vivaṭṭādhigamassa upanissayabhūtam kamman. yaṃ pana carabhavanibbattakakamman,<sup>95</sup> tam vivaṭṭapaṭilābhāya kamman hotī, na hotī ti. na hotī vaṭṭapādakabhāvato. carimabhava-paṭisandhi viya pana vivaṭṭūpanissayo ti sakkā viññātuṃ. na hi kadā ci tihetukapaṭisandhiyā vinā visesādhigamo sambhavati. *imesu suttesū* [52.11] ti imesu<sup>96</sup> paṭhamadutiyesu suttesu<sup>97</sup> yathākkamaṃ vaṭṭa-vivaṭṭam eva kathitam.

(3) <sup>98</sup>**abhāvitān** ti ettha bhāvanā nāma samādhivāhanā. sā yattha āsaṃkitabbā, tam kāmāvacarapaṭhamamahākusalacittādi-abhāvitān ti adhippetan ti āha *devamanussasampattiyo* [52.15] ti ādi.

(4) catutthe yasmā **cittān** [52.22] ti vivaṭṭavasena<sup>99</sup> uppannaṃ cittam<sup>100</sup> adhippetam, tasmā jātijarābyādhimaraṇasokādidukkhassa anibbattanato mahato atthāya saṃvattatī ti yojanā veditabbā.

<sup>89</sup>This title is given in Mp-ṭ at the end of this chapter; Mp-ṭ III. Akammaniyavaggaṇaṇā <sup>90</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: tatiyassa paṭhame <sup>91</sup>These numbers refer to page and line in Mp E<sup>c</sup> 1973 I. <sup>92</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: vuttavipariyāyena <sup>93</sup>Mp-ṭ: -bhūmaka- <sup>94</sup>Mp-ṭ reads: kilesavaṭṭam pi kammaggahaṇen' eva saṅghāhan ti datṭhabbam for \*kilesavaṭṭan ti ... vaṭṭapaṭilābhāya kamman ti vuttam\* <sup>95</sup>Mp-ṭ: carimabhavanibbattakam kamman <sup>96</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: pana <sup>97</sup>Mp-ṭ: paṭhamadutiyasuttesu (for: paṭhamadutiyesu suttesu) <sup>98</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: tatiye <sup>99</sup>Mp-ṭ: -vasen' eva <sup>100</sup>Mp-ṭ: uppannacittam (for: uppannaṃ cittam)

(5–6) <sup>101</sup> *uppannan* [52.26] ti ekuppādādikhañattayam<sup>102</sup> pi *abhavitam*<sup>103</sup> [52.26] bhāvanārahitaṃ *apātubhūtam* [52.26] eva pañḍitassa sammatassa<sup>104</sup> uppannakiccassa asādhāraṇato<sup>105</sup> yathā:

aputto ti. [cf. Mogg III 17]

yo<sup>106</sup> hi samattho hutvā pitu puttakiccaṃ asādheti so<sup>107</sup> aputto ti loke vuccati, evaṃ sampadam idaṃ pi.<sup>108</sup> ten' āha *kasmā* [53.1] ti ādi. *etesu*<sup>109</sup> *dhammesū* [53.4] ti lokuttarapādakajhānādisu.<sup>110</sup> thero pana matthakapattam<sup>111</sup> eva bhāvitam<sup>112</sup> dassento *maggacittam evā* [53.6] ti āha.

(7–8) <sup>113</sup> *punappunaṃ akan*<sup>114</sup> [53.8] ti bhāvanābahulikārādivasena<sup>115</sup> punappunaṃ na kataṃ. *imāni pi dve* [53.9] ti imesu dvisu<sup>116</sup> suttesu āgatāni imāni pi dve cittāni.

(9) <sup>117</sup> *dukkhaṃ adhivahatī*<sup>118</sup> [53.12–13] ti \*taṃ adhibhavantuṃ katvā vahati. adhivāsena gahitabbaṃ katvā vahati. *āharatī* [53.13] ti\*<sup>119</sup> āneti. *dukkhenā* [53.15] ti kicchena. *duppesanato* [53.20] ti dukkhena pesetabbato.

(10) matthakapattam vipassanāsukhaṃ pākati kajhānasukhato<sup>120</sup> santatarapaṇitaram<sup>121</sup> evā ti āha *jhānasukhato vipassanāsukhan* [53.24] ti. ten' āha bhagavā:

suññāgāraṃ pavitṭhassa santacittassa bhikkhuno  
amānusī ratī<sup>122</sup> hoti sammā dhammaṃ vipassato  
yato yato sammasati khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ  
labhate<sup>123</sup> pitipāmojjam<sup>124</sup> amataṃ taṃ vijānatan ti. [Dhp 373–74]

<sup>101</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: pañcamachatṭhesu <sup>102</sup> Mp-ṭ: avigatuppādādikhañattayam  
<sup>103</sup> Mp-ṭ: abhāvitam <sup>104</sup> Mp-ṭ: pañḍitasammatassa (for: pañḍitassa sammatassa) <sup>105</sup> Mp-ṭ: asādhanato <sup>106</sup> Mp-ṭ so <sup>107</sup> Mp-ṭ: asādhento (for: asādheti so) <sup>108</sup> Mp-ṭ omits <sup>109</sup> = Mp v.l.; Mp = Mp-ṭ: tesu <sup>110</sup> Mp-ṭ: -jjhānādisu <sup>111</sup> Mp-ṭ: -ppattam <sup>112</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: cittam <sup>113</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: sattamaṭṭhamesu <sup>114</sup> Mp-ṭ = Mp E<sup>e</sup>: akatan <sup>115</sup> Mp-ṭ: -bahulikāravasena <sup>116</sup> Mp-ṭ: dvisu <sup>117</sup> Mp-ṭ: navame <sup>118</sup> Mp-pṭ and Mp-ṭ (= Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, N<sup>e</sup> 1976) so; Mp E<sup>e</sup>, C<sup>e</sup> 1923: āvahaṭi; cf. A I 6.14–15: dukkhādhivāham, Mp E<sup>e</sup> I 53.13: dukkhāvahaṃ <sup>119</sup> Mp-ṭ omits: \*taṃ adhibhavantuṃ ... āharatī ti\* <sup>120</sup> Mp-ṭ: -jjhāna- <sup>121</sup> Mp-ṭ: -paṇitaram <sup>122</sup> Mp-ṭ: rati <sup>123</sup> Mp-ṭ: labhati <sup>124</sup> Mp-ṭ: pīti-

taṃ hi cittaṃ viṣatṭha-indavajirasadisam amoghahāvato.  
Akammaniyavaggo tatiyo.<sup>125</sup>

[Adantavaggo catuttho]<sup>126</sup>

(1–2) <sup>127</sup> *adantan* [54.6] ti cittabhāvanāvīdhiṇā<sup>128</sup> na dantaṃ. \**nibbisevanan* [56.9] ti samavipassanāmaggaḥalavasena vigataṃ visevanam.\*<sup>129</sup>

(3–4) \**agopitan* [56.13] ti sīlādivasena gopana bhāvena na gopitaṃ.\*<sup>130</sup> ten' āha *satisaṃvararahitan* [54.13] ti. catutthe tatiye vuttavipariyāyena attho veditabbo.

(5–6) <sup>131</sup> *purimasadiso evā*<sup>132</sup> [54.19] ti tatiyacatutthasadiso eva.

(7–8) <sup>133</sup> *upamā pan' etthā* [54.21] ti yathā paṭhamādīsu adanta-hatthī<sup>134</sup>-assādayo upamā bhāvena gahitā, evam ettha sattapaṭṭhamesu<sup>135</sup> *asaṃvutaḥaradvārādivasena*<sup>136</sup> *veditabbā* [54.21–22] ti vuttaṃ.

(9–10) *catūhi*<sup>137</sup> *padehī* [54.23] ti adantādihi catūhi padehi yojetvā navadasamāni<sup>138</sup> sutṭāni vuttāni ti yojanā.

Adantovaggo catuttho.<sup>139</sup>

[Anatthavaggo pañcama]<sup>140</sup>

(1) \**upamā va opamaṃ, so eva attho, tasmim bodhetabbo nipāto* [55.1]. *seyyathā pi* [55.1] ti yathā ti attho. *atthenā* [55.2] ti upameyyatthena. atthaṃ paṭhamam vatvā pacchā upamaṃ dassento *atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti* [55.2] nāma, upamaṃ pana

<sup>125</sup> = Mp-ṭ v.l. (= Mp E<sup>e</sup>, C<sup>e</sup> 1923); Mp-ṭ: Akammaniyavaggavañṇanā niṭṭhitā.  
<sup>126</sup> This title is given in Mp-pṭ at the end of this chapter; Mp-ṭ IV. Adanta-  
vaggavañṇanā <sup>127</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: catutthassa paṭhame <sup>128</sup> Mp-ṭ: cittabhāvanāya  
vinā <sup>129</sup> Mp-ṭ omits: \*nibbisevanan ti ... visevanam.\* <sup>130</sup> Mp-ṭ omits:  
\*agopitan ti ... na gopitaṃ.\* <sup>131</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: pañcamachatṭhesu <sup>132</sup> Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>e</sup>): yevā <sup>133</sup> Mp-ṭ adds: sattamaṭṭhamesu <sup>134</sup> Mp-ṭ: -hatthi- <sup>135</sup> Mp-ṭ:  
sattamaṭṭhamesu, v.l.: sattamaṭṭhamesu <sup>136</sup> = Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, C<sup>e</sup> 1923, N<sup>e</sup>  
1976; Mp E<sup>e</sup>: asaṃvutaṃ ghara- <sup>137</sup> Mp-ṭ: navamadasamesu catūhi pi  
<sup>138</sup> Mp-ṭ: navamadasamāni <sup>139</sup> A E<sup>e</sup>, Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, N<sup>e</sup> 1976; Mp E<sup>e</sup>, C<sup>e</sup> 1923:  
Dantavaggo catuttho; Mp-ṭ: Adantavaggavañṇanā niṭṭhitā <sup>140</sup> This title is  
given in Mp-pṭ at the end of this chapter; Mp-ṭ: V. Pañhita-acchavagga-  
vañṇanā

paṭhamam vatvā pacchā attham dassento upamāya attham parivāretvā dasseti [55.4–5] nāma, tadubhayassa pi āgataṭṭhānam nidassento Vatthasutte viyā [55.3] ti ādim āha.\*<sup>141</sup>

kaṇasadaso<sup>142</sup> sāliphalassa bunde<sup>143</sup> uppajjanakavālo *sālisukam*<sup>144</sup> [55.9], tathā *yavasukam* [55.10]. sukassa tanūkabhāvato<sup>145</sup> bhedavato bhedo nātimahā hotī ti āha *bhindissati*,<sup>146</sup> *chavi*<sup>147</sup> *chindissati* ti<sup>148</sup> *attho* [55.13] ti. yathā micchāṭhapitasālisukādi akkantaṃ pi hatthādi<sup>149</sup> na bhindati bhindituṃ ayoggabhāvena ṭhitattā, evaṃ ācayagāmicittaṃ avijjaṃ na bhindati bhindituṃ ayoggabhāvena uppānattā ti imam attham dasseti *micchāṭhapitenā* [55.14] ti ādinā. *aṭṭhasu ṭhānesū* [55.16] ti<sup>150</sup> dukkhādisaccesu<sup>151</sup> pubbantādisu<sup>152</sup> cā ti aṭṭhasu ṭhānesu. *ghana-balahan*<sup>153</sup> [55.16] ti cirakālaparibhāvanāya ativiya balahaṃ. mahā-visayatāya mahāpaṭipakkhatāya bahuparivāratāya bahudukkhatāya ca mahatī avijjā ti mahā-avijjā. taṃ *mahā-avijjaṃ* [55.17]. *mahā-saddo* [55.17] hi bahubhāvatto pi hoti mahājano ti ādisu<sup>154</sup> viya.<sup>155</sup> \*vijjhanti arahantamaggaññānaṃ ukkaṃsagativijānanena,\*<sup>156</sup> *taṇhāvānato nikkhantabhāvenā* [55.19] ti tattha taṇhāya abhāvam eva vadati.

**akkantaṃ** ti ruḷi hotī<sup>157</sup> ti āha *hatthena — pa — vuttan*<sup>158</sup> [55.25–56.1] ti. *ariyavohāro* [56.1] ti ariyadesavāsīnaṃ vohāro. mahantaṃ

<sup>141</sup>This paragraph (\*upamā va opamaṃ ... ādim āha.\*) is in Mp-ṭ replaced with a much longer passage (Mp-ṭ E<sup>e</sup> 1998 II 40.1–52.5); the entire text of this addition is given in endnote (1) below (p. 96). This is a major difference between Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ in this chapter. <sup>142</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: kaṇasadaso <sup>143</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: tuṇḍe (other vv.ll. thunde, kuṇḍe, phuṇḍe) <sup>144</sup>Mp-ṭ: (-)sūka- (for:(-)suka- (here and below)) <sup>145</sup>Mp-ṭ: tanu- <sup>146</sup>Mp E<sup>e</sup>: bhindissati ti <sup>147</sup>Mp-ṭ = Mp E<sup>e</sup>: chaviṃ <sup>148</sup>Mp-ṭ: chindissati ti <sup>149</sup>Mp-ṭ: -ādim; cf. Mp-ṭ v.l.: hatthādī <sup>150</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: dukkhe aññānaṃ ti [Dhs § 1061] ādinā vuttetu. Cf. Dhs § 1061: dukkhe aññānaṃ dukkhasamudaye aññānaṃ dukkhanirodhe aññānaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminiyā paṭipadāya aññānaṃ pubbante aññānaṃ aparante aññānaṃ pubbantāparante aññānaṃ idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppannesu dhammesu aññānaṃ ... <sup>151</sup>Mp-ṭ: dukkhādisu catūsu saccesu <sup>152</sup>Mp-ṭ: -ādīsu catūsu <sup>153</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>e</sup>): -bahala- (here and below) <sup>154</sup>Mp-ṭ: ādisu <sup>155</sup>Cf. Vism-mhṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1960 I 452, 23–24 <sup>156</sup>Mp-ṭ omits: \*vijjhanti ... -gativijānanena\* <sup>157</sup>Mp-ṭ: rūlhi h' esā (for: ruḷi hotī) <sup>158</sup>Mp-ṭ: akkantaṃ t' eva vuttan (for: hatthena — pa — vuttan [= hatthena uppīlitaṃ, rūlhisaddavasena pana akkantaṃ t' eva vuttan])

agahetvā<sup>159</sup> appamatthakass'<sup>160</sup> eva gahaṇe payojanaṃ dassetuṃ *kasmā panā* [56.1] ti ādi āradhāṃ. tena: vivatṭupanissayakusalaṃ<sup>161</sup> nāma yoniso uppāditaṃ appakan ti na cintetabbaṃ, anukkamena laddhappaccayaṃ hutvā vaddhamānaṃ<sup>162</sup> khuddakanadi<sup>163</sup> viya pakkhandā mahoghā<sup>164</sup> samuddaṃ anukkamena nibbānamahāsamuddaṃ eva purisaṃ pāpetī ti dīpeti.

(3) <sup>165</sup>*dosena paduṭṭhacittan* [56.21] ti sampayuttadhammānaṃ yasmim santāne uppajjati, tassa ca dussanena<sup>166</sup> visasamsaṭṭhaputimuttasadisena<sup>167</sup> dosena padusitacittaṃ.<sup>168</sup> *attano cittenā* [56.22] ti attano cetopariyaññāna<sup>169</sup> sabbaññutaññāna vā sahitenā cittena. *paricchinditvā* [56.22–23] ti ñāṇena paricchinditvā.

iṭṭhākārena eṭi ti ayo, sukhaṃ. sabbaso apeto ayo etassa etasmā ti vā *apāyo* [57.2], kāyikassa cetāsikassa ca dukkhassa gati pavattiṭṭhānaṃ ti *duggati* [57.3], kāraṇavasena<sup>170</sup> vividhapakārena<sup>171</sup> ca nipātiyanti etthā ti *vinipāto* [57.4], appako pi n' atthi ayo sukhaṃ etthā ti *nirayo* [57.4] ti evam ettha attho veditabbo.

(4) <sup>172</sup>*saddhāpasādena pasannaṃ* [57.5] ti saddhāsaṅkhātena pasādena pasannaṃ, na indriyānaṃ vipassanātāya.<sup>173</sup> *sukhassa gatin* [57.6] ti sukhasa pavattiṭṭhānaṃ. sukhaṃ ev' ettha gacchati<sup>174</sup> na dukkhan ti vā *sugati* [57.6]. manāpiyarūpādītāya saha aggehī ti *saggaṃ, lokam*<sup>175</sup> [57.7].

(5) <sup>176</sup>pariḷāhavūpasamakaro rahado etthā ti rahado, udakapuṇṇo rahado.<sup>177</sup> udakaṃ rahati<sup>178</sup> dhāretī ti *udakarahado* [57.8].<sup>179</sup> *āvilo* [57.9] ti kalalabahūtāya<sup>180</sup> ākulo. ten' āha *avippasanno* [57.9] ti. *luḷito*

<sup>159</sup>Mp-ṭ: agahetvā <sup>160</sup>Mp-ṭ: appamatthakass' <sup>161</sup>Mp-ṭ: vivatṭū- <sup>162</sup>Mp-ṭ: vaḍḍhamānaṃ <sup>163</sup>Mp-ṭ: -nadī <sup>164</sup>Mp-ṭ: pakkhandamahogho <sup>165</sup>Mp-ṭ: adds: tatiye <sup>166</sup>Mp-ṭ: dūsanena <sup>167</sup>Mp-ṭ: -pūti- <sup>168</sup>Mp-ṭ: padūsita- <sup>169</sup>Mp-ṭ: -pariyaññāna; adds: attano <sup>170</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: kāraṇā- <sup>171</sup>Mp-ṭ: vividhaṃ vikārena <sup>172</sup>Mp-ṭ: adds: catutthe <sup>173</sup>Mp-ṭ: avippasannātāya <sup>174</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: gacchanti <sup>175</sup>Mp-ṭ (= A. Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, C<sup>e</sup> 1923): saggaṃ lokam; Mp E<sup>e</sup>, N<sup>e</sup> 1976: sagga lokam (for: saggaṃ lokam) <sup>176</sup>Mp-ṭ: adds: pañcama <sup>177</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: adds: *udakarahado* [57.8] <sup>178</sup>Mp-ṭ: dahati <sup>179</sup>Cf. Mp-ṭ: ... udakapuṇṇo rahado *udakarahado* [57.8]. <sup>180</sup>Mp-ṭ: -bahulatāya



[57.10] ti vātena ālolito.<sup>181</sup> ten' āha *aparisaṅghito* [57.10] ti. vātābhīghātena vicitarāṅgamalāsamakulatāya<sup>182</sup> parito na saṅghito<sup>183</sup> *aparisaṅghito* [57.10]. vātābhīghātena udakassa ca kalassa ca<sup>184</sup> appabhāvena *kalalībhūto* [57.11] kaddamabhāvapatto<sup>185</sup> ti āha *kaddamībhūto* [57.11] ti.

*sippiyo* [57.12] muttāsippiyādayo.<sup>186</sup> *sambukā* [57.12] saṅkha-  
paṅṅakavisesā.<sup>187</sup>

*carantaṃ pi tiṭṭhantaṃ pī* [57.15] ti yathālābhavacanam etaṃ  
daṭṭhabbaṃ. tam eva hi yathālābhavacanataṃ dassetuṃ *etthā* [57.15] ti  
ādi vuttaṃ.<sup>188</sup> *itaraṃ pī* [57.20] ti itaraṃ pi dvayaṃ carantaṃ pi  
tiṭṭhantaṃ pi vuttaṃ.<sup>189</sup>

*pariyayonaddhenā*<sup>190</sup> [57.23] ti paṭicchādītena. ta-y-idaṃ kāraṇena  
āvilabhāvassa dassanaṃ.

diṭṭhadhamme imasmiṃ attabhāve bhavo *diṭṭhadhammiko* [57.24], so  
pana lokiyo pi hoti lokuttaro pī ti āha *lokiyalokuttaramissako* [57.24-25]  
ti. pecca sampādetabbato *samparāyo* [57.25-26], paraloko. ten' āha *so*  
*hi parattha-attho ti parattho* [57.26-58.1] ti. iti dvidhāpi sakasantati-  
pariyāpanno eva gahito ti itaraṃ pi saṅgahetvā dassetuṃ *api cā* [58.2] ti  
ādim āha.

*ayan* [58.6] ti kusalakammāpathasaṅkhāto dasavidho dhammo.  
*sattantarakappāvasāne* [58.7-8] ti idaṃ tassa āsannabhāvaṃ sandhāya  
vuttaṃ. yassa kassa ci antarakappāvasāne<sup>191</sup> ti veditabbaṃ.

*ariyānaṃ yuttan* [58.11] ti ariyānaṃ ariyabhāvāya yuttaṃ, tato eva  
*ariyabhāvam*<sup>192</sup> *kātuṃ samatthaṃ* [58.11-12]. nāṇam eva ñeyyassa  
paccakkhakarāṇaṭṭhena dassanan ti āha *nāṇam eva hī* [58.13] ti ādi. kiṃ

<sup>181</sup>Mp-ṭ: ālolito <sup>182</sup>Mp-ṭ: vīci-, adds: hi <sup>183</sup>Mp-ṭ: adds: vā <sup>184</sup>Mp-ṭ: omits:  
kalassa ca <sup>185</sup>Mp-ṭ: -ppatto <sup>186</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: -sippi-ādayo; Mp-ṭ:  
adds: ka- <sup>187</sup>Mp-ṭ: saṅkhasalākavisesā, vv.II. -salākādayo visesā,  
saṅkhasevālaka- <sup>188</sup>Mp-ṭ: āradhāṃ <sup>189</sup>Mp-ṭ: omits: *itaraṃ pī* [57, 20] ti  
itaraṃ pi dvayaṃ carantaṃ pi tiṭṭhantaṃ pi vuttaṃ. (Here, *itaraṃ pi dvayaṃ*  
refers to *sippisambukam* and *macchagumbaṃ*, see A I 9,8-9.) <sup>190</sup>Mp-ṭ:  
pariyon- <sup>191</sup>Mp-ṭ: antarakappass' āvasāne <sup>192</sup>Mp E<sup>c</sup>, B<sup>c</sup> 1958, C<sup>c</sup> 1923, N<sup>c</sup>  
1976 add: vā

pana tan ti *dibbacakkhuñānādi* [cf. 58.14-15].<sup>193</sup>

(6) <sup>194</sup>*accho* [58.17] ti tanuko. tanubhāvam eva hi sandhāya *abhalo*  
[58.17] ti vuttaṃ. yasmā pasanno nāma accho eva<sup>195</sup> na bahalo, tasmā  
*pasanno*<sup>196</sup> [58.17] ti vuttaṃ. *vippasanno* [58.18] ti visesena pasanno.  
so pana sammā pasanno nāma hoti ti āha *suṭṭhu pasanno* [58.18] ti.

*anāvilo* [58.19] ti akāluso.<sup>197</sup> ten' āha *parisuddho* [58.19] ti ādi.  
saṅkhakhuddakasevālam,<sup>198</sup> yaṃ:

tilabṭjakan ti [cf. Abh 690]

pi<sup>199</sup> vuccati. *sevālan* [58.20] ti kaṅṅikasevālam. *palākaṃ*<sup>200</sup> [58.20]  
udakamalam.

cittassa āvilabhāvo nīvaraṇahetuko<sup>201</sup> ti āha *anāvilenā ti pañca-*  
*nīvaraṇāvippamuttenā*<sup>202</sup> [58.21] ti.

(7) <sup>203</sup>*rukkhajātānī* [58.25] ti ettha jātasaddena padavanam<sup>204</sup> eva  
kataṃ yathā kosajatan<sup>205</sup> [cf. Abh 629-30; 811] ti āha *rukkhānam*<sup>206</sup>  
*etaṃ adhivacanan* [58.25] ti.

*ko ci hi rukkho vaṇṇena aggo hoti* [59.1-2] yathā taṃ rattacandanādi.  
*ko ci gandhena* [59.2] yathā taṃ gosīnacandanam.<sup>207</sup> *ko ci rasena* [59.2]  
khadirādi. *ko ci phutṭhatāya*<sup>208</sup> [59.2] campakādi.

maggaphalāvahatāya vipassanāvasena *bhāvitam* [59.6] pi gahitaṃ.

tattha tatth' eva sakkhibhabbataṃ pāpuṇāti ti<sup>209</sup> [A I 255,1-2]

vacanato *abhiññāpādakacatutthajhānacittam*<sup>210</sup> *eva āvuso* [59.9-10]  
ti Phussamittatthero.<sup>211</sup>

(8) <sup>212</sup>cittassa parivattanaṃ uppādanīrodho<sup>213</sup> evā ti āha *evaṃ*  
*lahu*<sup>214</sup> *uppajjitvā lahu nirujjanakan* [59.11-12] ti.

<sup>193</sup>Mp-ṭ reads this sentence: kiṃ pana tan ti āha *dibbacakkhū* [58, 14] ti ādi.  
<sup>194</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: chaṭṭhe <sup>195</sup>Mp-ṭ omits <sup>196</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: ti pi vaṭṭatī <sup>197</sup>Mp-ṭ:  
akaluso <sup>198</sup>Mp-ṭ: *saṅkhan* [58.20] ti khuddakasevālam <sup>199</sup>Mp-ṭ omits <sup>200</sup>=  
Mp-ṭ v.l., Mp-ṭ: paṅṅakan; adds: ti <sup>201</sup>Mp-ṭ: nīvaraṇa- <sup>202</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>c</sup>,  
C<sup>c</sup> 1923): -nīvaraṇavippayuttenā <sup>203</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: sattame <sup>204</sup>Mp-ṭ: pada-  
vaḍḍhanam <sup>205</sup>Mp-ṭ: -jātan <sup>206</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>c</sup>) adds: ev' <sup>207</sup>Mp-ṭ: gosīta-  
candanam <sup>208</sup>= Mp B<sup>c</sup> 1958 v.l.; Mp-ṭ (= Mp B<sup>c</sup> 1958, N<sup>c</sup> 1976):  
thaddhatāya; Mp E<sup>c</sup>: phaṇḍatāya, C<sup>c</sup> 1923 thaṇḍatāya <sup>209</sup>Mp-ṭ: pāpuṇāti ti  
<sup>210</sup>Mp-ṭ: -jjhāna- <sup>211</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: vadati <sup>212</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: aṭṭhame <sup>213</sup>= Mp-ṭ  
v.l.; Mp-ṭ: uppādanīrodhā <sup>214</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>c</sup>): lahuṃ (here and below)

*adhimattapamāṇatthe* [59.13] ti atikkantapamāṇatthe, pamāṇāti-tatāyan<sup>215</sup> ti attho. ten' āha *ativiya na sukarā* [59.13–14] ti.

*cakkuhñāṇaṃ*<sup>216</sup> *pi adhippetam evā* [59.18] ti sabbassa pi cittassa samānakhaṇattā vuttaṃ. cittassa ativiya lahuparivattibhāvaṃ theravādena dipetuṃ<sup>217</sup> *imasmiṃ pan' atthe* [59.18–19] ti ādi vuttaṃ. *cittasāṅkhārā* [59.21] ti sasampayuttaṃ cittaṃ vadati.<sup>218</sup> *aḍḍhacūlan* [59.22] ti thokena ūnaṃ upaḍḍhaṃ. kassa pana upaḍḍhan ti. adhi-kārato vāhassā ti viññāyati. aḍḍhacuddasan ti keci. aḍḍhacatutthan ti apare. sādhi-kadiyaḍḍhasataṃ<sup>219</sup> vāho<sup>220</sup> ti daḷhaṃ katvā vadanti, taṃ<sup>221</sup> vīmamsitabbaṃ. catunāliko<sup>222</sup> *tumbo* [59.23].<sup>223</sup>

*pucchāya abhāvenā* [60.6] ti *sakkā pana bhante upamaṃ*<sup>224</sup> *kātun* [60.5] ti evaṃ pavattāya *pucchāya abhāvena na katā* [60.6–7] upamā. *dhammadesanāpariyosāne* [60.7] ti sannipatitaparisāya yathāradhaddhammadesanāya pariyosāne.

(9) <sup>225</sup>*pabhassaran* [60.9] ti pariyodātaṃ sabhāvaparissuddhatthena. ten' āha *paṇḍaram paṇissuddhan* [60.9] ti. pabhassaratādayo nāma vaṇṇadhātuyam labbhamānakavisesā<sup>226</sup> ti āha *kiṃ pana cittassa vaṇṇo nāma atthi* ti [60.11]. itaro arūpatāya n' *atthi* [60.11] ti paṭikkhipetvā<sup>227</sup> pariyāyakathā ayaṃ tādissassa cittassa parisuddhabhāvaparidīpanāyā<sup>228</sup> ti dassento *nīlādin*<sup>229</sup> [cf. 60.11–12] ti ādim āha. tathā hi:

so evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte ti [D I 76.13 foll.]

<sup>215</sup>Mp-ṭ: -ātīta- <sup>216</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>e</sup>): cakkuhviññāṇam <sup>217</sup>Mp-ṭ: dipetuṃ <sup>218</sup>Here Mp-ṭ adds a passage in which *vāhasatānaṃ kho mahārāja viññāṇam* [Mp I 59, 22 = Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, C<sup>e</sup> 1923, N<sup>e</sup> 1976] is discussed (cf. Mp-ṭ II 58.5–11). For details, see endnote (2) below. <sup>219</sup>Mp-ṭ: sādhi-kam diyaddhasataṃ <sup>220</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: vāhā <sup>221</sup>Mp-ṭ omits <sup>222</sup>Mp-ṭ: catunāliko <sup>223</sup>Cf. Mil-ṭ 22, 23–26 (*ad* Mil I 02.1–14): ettha sād[h]ikadiya[d]dhavāhāsataṃ thokena ud[dh ?]am upa[d]dhavāhā-satassa patanālike tumbo ti Aṅgutta[ra]ṭṭikā vuttā. a[d]dhacūlan ti vāhassa tassa a[d]dhadhikā vāhavi(ṭ)hī ti vattum vaṭṭati yeva; cf. also Mil-ṭ 23, 4 foll. Mil-ṭ 22, n. 7 cites Mp V 61.21–62.2, but Mp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1961 III 349.9–17, which comments upon this passage, is different from the above citation in Mil-ṭ ascribed to Aṅguttara-ṭṭikā. On measures in Pāli see also Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, 1994, pp. 140–41. <sup>224</sup>Mp E<sup>e</sup>: upamā <sup>225</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: navame <sup>226</sup>Mp-ṭ: labbhanakavisesā <sup>227</sup>Mp-ṭ: -pitvā <sup>228</sup>Mp-ṭ: parisuddhabhāvaparidīpanāyā <sup>229</sup>Mp-ṭ (= Mp E<sup>e</sup>): nīlādinan [60.11–12]

vuttaṃ. ten' ev' āha *idam pi nirupakkilesatāya parisuddhan ti pabhassaran* [60.13–14] ti. kiṃ pana bhavaṅgacittaṃ nirupakkilesan ti. āma, sabhāvato nirupakkilesaṃ āgantukaṃ upakkilesaṃ,<sup>230</sup> āgantuka-upakkilesavasena pana siyā upakkiliṭṭhaṃ. ten' āha *tañ ca kho* [60.15] ti ādi. tattha attano tesaṃ ca bhikkhūnaṃ paccakkhabhāvato pubbe **idan** ti vatvā idāni paccāmasanavasena **tan** [60.15] ti āha. **ca**-saddo [60.15] atthupanayane.<sup>231</sup> **kho**-saddo [60.15] vacanālaṅkāre avadhāraṇe vā. vakkhamānassa atthassa nicchitabhāvato<sup>232</sup> bhavaṅgacittena sahvāvaṭṭhānābhāvato upakkilesānaṃ āgantukatā ti āha *asahajātehi* [60.16] ti ādi.

rāgādayo upecca cittasantānaṃ kilisanti<sup>233</sup> vibādhenti upatāpenti cā ti āha **upakkilesehi** ti *rāgādīhi* [60.18] ti. bhavaṅgacittassa nippariyāyato upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhatā nāma n' atthi asaṃsaṭṭhabhāvato, ekasantapariyāpannatāya pana siyā upakkiliṭṭhatāpariyāyato<sup>234</sup> ti āha **upakkiliṭṭhaṃ nāmā ti vuccati**<sup>235</sup> [60.19] ti. idāni tam atthaṃ upamāya vibhāvitum<sup>236</sup> *yathā hī* [60.20] ti ādim āha. tena bhinnasantānatāya pi nāma iriyāya loke gārayhatā paṭidissati,<sup>237</sup> pageva ekasantānatāya iriyāyā ti imaṃ visesaṃ dasseti. ten' āha *javanakkhaṇe — pa*<sup>238</sup> — *upakkiliṭṭhaṃ nāmā hoti* [60.28–61.2] ti.

(10) <sup>239</sup>*bhavaṅgacittam eva cittaṃ* [61.3] ti **pabhassaram idam bhikkhave cittaṃ** ti vuttaṃ bhavaṅgacittam eva cittaṃ.<sup>240</sup> yadaggena bhavaṅgacittaṃ tādissapaccayasamavāye upakkiliṭṭhaṃ nāmā ti<sup>241</sup> vuccati, tadaggena tabbidhurapaccayasamavāye upakkilesato vip-pamuttan<sup>242</sup> ti vuccati. ten' āha **upakkilesehi vip-pamuttam** *nāmā hoti*

<sup>230</sup>Mp-ṭ omits: āgantukaṃ upakkilesaṃ <sup>231</sup>Mp-ṭ: atthūpanayane <sup>232</sup>C1: nicayita- <sup>233</sup>Mp-ṭ kilesenti; vv.ll.: kilesanti, kilisanti <sup>234</sup>Mp-ṭ: -pariyāyo <sup>235</sup>Cf. Mp E<sup>e</sup>, C<sup>e</sup> 1923: ... rāgādīhi. upakkiliṭṭhan ti upakkiliṭṭhaṃ nāmā ti vuccati; Mp B<sup>e</sup> 1958, N<sup>e</sup> 1976: ... rāgādīhi upakkiliṭṭhattā ti upakkiliṭṭhaṃ nāmā ti vuccati <sup>236</sup>Mp-ṭ: vibhāvetum <sup>237</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ dissati <sup>238</sup>Mp-ṭ: pe <sup>239</sup>Mp-ṭ adds: dasame <sup>240</sup>Mp-ṭ omits <sup>241</sup>Mp-ṭ: nāmā <sup>242</sup>= Mp-ṭ v.l.; Mp-ṭ: vimuttan

[61.6–7] ti. sesam ettha navamasutte vuttanayānusārena veditabbaṃ.

Anatthavaggo pañcamo.<sup>242</sup>

ENDNOTES:

(I) [See Part II, 2, p. 90, n. 140 above]

pañcamassa paṭhame upamā va opammaṃ, so eva attho opammattho,<sup>243</sup> tasmim̐ *opammatthe* [55.1] bodhetabbe *nipāto* [55.1]. *seyyathā pī* [55.1] ti yathā ti attho. ettha ca:

*tatra bhagavā kattha ci atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Vatthasutte viya, Pāricchattakopama-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya ca. kattha ci upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Loṇambilasutte viya Suvanṇakārasatta<sup>244</sup>-Suriyopamādisuttesu<sup>245</sup> viya ca. imasmim̐ pana sālīsūkopame upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dassento: seyathāpi bhikkhave ti ādim̐ āhā ti* [Mp E<sup>e</sup> I 55.2–8]

potthakesu likhanti, taṃ Majjhimaṭṭhakathāya Vatthasutta-vaṇṇanāya na sameti. tattha hi idaṃ vuttaṃ:

seyyathā pi bhikkhave vatthan ti bhikkhave yathā vatthaṃ, upamāvacanam ev' etaṃ. upamaṃ karonto ca bhagavā kattha ci paṭhamam̐ yeva upamaṃ<sup>246</sup> dassetvā pacchā atthaṃ dasseti, kattha ci paṭhamam̐ atthaṃ dassetvā pacchā upamaṃ, kattha ci upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti, kattha ci atthena upamaṃ. tathā h' esa:

seyyathā pi-ssu<sup>247</sup> bhikkhave dve agārā sadvārā, tattha cakkhumā puriso majjhe ṭhito passeyyā ti [M III 178.21–22]

sakalam pi Devadūtasuttaṃ upamaṃ paṭhamam̐ dassetvā pacchā atthaṃ dassento āha.

tirokuḍḍam̐ tiropākāram̐ tiropabbataṃ asajjamāno gacchati seyathā pi ākāse ti [D I 78.3–4]

<sup>242</sup>Mp-ṭ: Paṇihita-acchavaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā; Mp E<sup>e</sup>: Pañcamo vaggo; A: Paṇihita-acchanna-vaggo pañcamo (vv. II.: Vaggo pañcamo, Paṇihita-acchavaggo pañcamo) <sup>243</sup>Mp-ṭ v.l. omits <sup>244</sup>Mp-ṭ so; Mp E<sup>e</sup>, B<sup>e</sup> 1958, C<sup>e</sup> 1923, N<sup>e</sup> 1976: -kārasutta <sup>245</sup>Mp: -Suriyopamādisu suttesu <sup>246</sup>Mp-ṭ so; Ps E<sup>e</sup>: upamaṃ paṭhamam̐ yeva for: paṭhamam̐ yeva upamaṃ; Mp-ṭ v.l.: upamaṃ yeva for: yeva upamaṃ <sup>247</sup>Mp-ṭ so; M: pi; Ps: p' assu

ādinā pana nayena sakalam pi iddhividham̐ atthaṃ paṭhamam̐ dassetvā pacchā upamaṃ dassento āha.

seyyathā pi brāhmaṇa puriso sārattthiko sāragavesī ti [M I 198.20]

ādinā nayena sakalam pi Cūlasāropamasuttaṃ<sup>248</sup> upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dassento āha.

idha pana bhikkhave ekacce kulaputtā dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti suttaṃ ... pe ... seyathā pi bhikkhave puriso alagaddatthiko ti [M I 134.5–16]

ādinā nayena sakalam pi Alagaddasuttaṃ Mahāsāropamasuttan ti evam ādini suttāni atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dassento āha. svāyam̐ idha paṭhamam̐ upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā atthaṃ dasseti ti. [cf. Ps I 165.28–66.18]

ettha hi Cūlasāropamādisu paṭhamam̐ upamaṃ vatvā tadanantaram̐ upameyyatthaṃ vatvā puna upamaṃ vadanto: upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti ti vutto. Alagaddasuttādīsu<sup>249</sup> pana atthaṃ paṭhamam̐ vatvā tadanantaram̐ upamaṃ vatvā puna atthaṃ vadanto: atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti ti vutto. tena Vatthasutta-Līnatthappakāsiniyam̐ vuttaṃ:

upameyyatthaṃ paṭhamam̐<sup>250</sup> vatvā tadanantaram̐ atthaṃ vatvā puna upamaṃ vadanto:

“upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti” [Ps I 166.2] ti vutto.

“atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā” [cf. Ps I 166.2–3] ti

etthāpi es' eva nayo ti. [cf. Ps-pt Be 196 I 268.19–21]<sup>251</sup>

idha pana *kattha ci atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Vatthasutte viya Pāricchattakopama-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya cā* [55.2–4] ti vuttaṃ.

<sup>248</sup>Mp-ṭ so; Ps: Culla- <sup>249</sup>Mp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1958: Alagaddūpamasuttādīsu <sup>250</sup>Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 196 I (= Mp-ṭ v.l.) adds: upamaṃ <sup>251</sup>Ps-pt B<sup>e</sup> 196 I 268.19–21 reads: “athan” ti upamiyatthaṃ. paṭhamam̐ upamaṃ vatvā tadanantaram̐ atthaṃ vatvā puna upamaṃ vadanto: “upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti” ti. “atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā” ti etthāpi es' eva nayo. In Mp-ṭ *atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā* is taken as a citation from Mp I 55, 2, but this is clearly a citation from Ps I 166.2–3 where the reading is *atthena upamaṃ* and *parivāretvā* is implied.

tattha Vatthasutte tāva:

seyyathā pi bhikkhave vatthaṃ saṅkiliṭṭhaṃ malaggahitaṃ, taṃ enaṃ rajako yasmiṃ yasmiṃ raṅgajāte upasaṃhareyya, yadi nīlakāya, yadi pītakāya, yadi lohitakāya, yadi mañjiṭṭhakāya, durattavaṇṇaṃ ev' assa, aparisuddhavaṇṇaṃ ev' assa. taṃ kissa hetu. aparisuddhattā bhikkhave vatthassa. evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave citte saṅkiliṭṭhe duggati pāṭikaṅkhā ti [M I 36,15-21]

ādinā paṭhamam upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā upameyyattho vutto; na pana paṭhamam atthaṃ vatvā tadanantaram upamaṃ dassetvā puna attho vutto, yena *kattha ci atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Vatthasutte viyā* [55,2-3] ti vadeyya.

tathā Pāricchattakopame pi:

yasmiṃ bhikkhave samaye devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pāricchattako koviḷāro paṇḍupalāso hoti, attamaṇā bhikkhave devā Tāvatiṃsā tasmim samaye honti: paṇḍupalāso dāni pāricchattako koviḷāro, na cirass' eva dāni pannapalāso<sup>252</sup> bhavissati ... pe ... evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave yasmiṃ samaye ariyasāvako agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya ceteti, paṇḍupalāso bhikkhave ariyasāvako tasmim samaye hoti ti [A IV 117,5-18,16]

ādinā paṭhamam upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā attho vutto.

Aggikkhandhopame:

passatha no tumhe bhikkhave amuṃ mahantaṃ aggikkhandhaṃ ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ ti. evaṃ bhante ti. taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhikkhave katamaṃ nu kho varam yaṃ amuṃ mahantaṃ aggikkhandhaṃ ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ āliṅgetvā upanisiḍeyya vā upanipajjeyya vā, yaṃ khattiyakaññaṃ vā brāhmaṇakaññaṃ vā gahapatikaññaṃ vā mudutalunahatthapādaṃ āliṅgetvā upanisiḍeyya vā upanipajjeyya vā ti [A IV 128,7-15]

ādinā paṭhamam upamaṃ yeva dassetvā pacchā attho vutto, na pana paṭhamam atthaṃ vatvā tadanantaram upamaṃ dassetvā puna attho vutto. tasmā *kattha ci atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti*

<sup>252</sup>Mp-ṭ vv.II.: sinarāpalāso, sītapalāso, khīṇapalāso, chinnapalāso; A: satta-palāso (Mp IV 58,3: sannapalāso ti patitapalāso)

*Vatthasutte viya Pāricchattakopama-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya cā* [55,2-4] ti na vattabbaṃ.

keci pan' ettha evaṃ vaṇṇayanti:

atthaṃ paṭhamam vatvā pacchā ca<sup>253</sup> upamaṃ dassento *atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti* [55,2] nāma, upamaṃ pana paṭhamam vatvā pacchā atthaṃ dassento *upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti* [55,4-5] nāma, tadubhayassa pi āgatattānaṃ nidassento *Vatthasutte viyā* [55,3] ti ādim āhā ti. [cf. Anattavagga (Mp-pt), par. (1) above<sup>254</sup>]

tam pi *kattha ci atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Vatthasutte viya Pāricchattakopama-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya cā* [55,2-4] ti vattabbaṃ, evañ ca vuccamāne *kattha ci upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti Loṇambilasutte viyā* [55,4-5] ti visuṃ na vattabbaṃ *Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viyā* [55,3-4] ti ettha ādisadden' eva saṅgahitattā.

Loṇambilasutte pi hi:

seyyathā pi bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto<sup>255</sup> kusalo sūdo rājānaṃ vā rājamahāmatthaṃ vā nānaccayehi<sup>256</sup> sūpehi paccupaṭṭhito assa ambilaggehi pi tittakaggehi pi kaṭukaggehi pi madhuraggehi pi khārikehi pi akhārikehi pi loṇikehi pi aloṇikehi pi.

sa kho so bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo sūdo sakassa bhattassa nimittaṃ uggaṇhāti: idaṃ vā me ajja bhattasūpeyyaṃ ruccati, imassa vā abhiharati, imassa vā bahum gaṇhāti, imassa vā vaṇṇaṃ bhāsati. ambilaggaṃ vā me ajja bhattasūpeyyaṃ ruccati, ambilaggassa vā abhiharati, ambilaggassa vā bahum gaṇhāti, ambilaggassa vā vaṇṇaṃ bhāsati ... pe ... aloṇikassa vā vaṇṇaṃ bhāsati ti.

sa kho so bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo sūdo lābhī c' eva hoti acchādanassa, lābhī vetanassa, lābhī abhihārānaṃ. taṃ kissa hetu. tathā hi so bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo sūdo sakassa bhattanimittaṃ uggaṇhāti.

evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave idh' ekacco paṇḍito byatto kusalo

<sup>253</sup>Mp-ṭ so; Mp-ṭ v.l. (= Mp-pt) omits <sup>254</sup>This passage, here ascribed to *keci*, is clearly a citation from Mp-pt; see the beginning of Anattavaggo pañcama above. <sup>255</sup>Mp-ṭ v.l.: viyatto (here and below) <sup>256</sup>Mp-ṭ v.l.: nānaggarasehi

bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ... pe ... vedanāsu ... pe ... citte ... pe ... dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ. tassa dhammesu dhammānupassino viharato cittaṃ samādhiyati, upakkilesā pahīyanti. so taṃ nimittaṃ uggaṇhāti.

sa kho bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo bhikkhu lābhī c' eva hoti diṭṭh' eva dhamme sukhavihārānaṃ, lābhī hoti satisampajāññassa. taṃ kissa hetu. tathā hi so bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo bhikkhu sakassa cittassa nimittaṃ uggaṇhāti ti. [S V 151,5–52,10]

evam paṭhamam upamam dassetvā pacchā attho vutto.

*Suvaṇṇakāra-Suriyopamādisuttesu viya cā* [cf. 55,5–6] ti idaṃ ca udāharaṇamattena saṅghaṃ gacchati Suvaṇṇakārasuttādisu paṭhamam upamāya adassitattā. etesu hi Suvaṇṇakāropamasutte tāva:

adhicittam anuyuttena bhikkhave bhikkhunā tīṇi nimittāni kālena kālaṃ manasi kātabbāni, kālena kālaṃ samādhinimittaṃ manasi kātabbaṃ, kālena kālaṃ paggahanimittaṃ manasi kātabbaṃ, kālena kālaṃ upekkhānimittaṃ manasi kātabbaṃ.

sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhu ekantaṃ samādhinimittaṃ yeva manasi kareyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ cittaṃ kosajjāya saṃvatteyya. sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhu ekantaṃ paggahanimittaṃ yeva manasi kareyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ cittaṃ uddhaccāya saṃvatteyya. sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhu ekantaṃ upekkhānimittaṃ yeva manasi kareyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ cittaṃ na sammā samādhieyya āsavānaṃ khayāya. yato ca kho bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhu kālena kālaṃ samādhinimittaṃ ... pe ... paggahanimittaṃ ... pe ... upekkhānimittaṃ manasi karoti, taṃ hoti cittaṃ muduñ ca kammaniyañ<sup>257</sup> ca pabhassarañ ca, na ca pabhaṅgu, sammā samādhieyya āsavānaṃ khayāya.

seyyathā pi bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā ukkaṃ bandhati, ukkaṃ bandhitvā ukkāmuḥkaṃ ālimpeti, ukkāmuḥkaṃ ālimpetvā saṅḍāsena jātarūpaṃ gahetvā ukkāmuḥke

pakkhipitvā kālena kālaṃ abhidhamati, kālena kālaṃ udakena paripphoseti, kālena kālaṃ ajjupekkhati. sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā taṃ jātarūpaṃ ekantaṃ abhidhameyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ jātarūpaṃ daheyya. sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā taṃ jātarūpaṃ ekantaṃ udakena paripphoseyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ jātarūpaṃ nibbāpeyya.<sup>258</sup> sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā taṃ jātarūpaṃ ekantaṃ ajjupekkheyya, ṭhānaṃ taṃ jātarūpaṃ na sammā paripākaṃ gaccheyya. yato ca kho bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā taṃ jātarūpaṃ kālena kālaṃ abhidhamati, kālena kālaṃ udakena paripphoseti, kālena kālaṃ ajjupekkhati, taṃ hoti jātarūpaṃ muduñ ca kammaniyañ ca pabhassarañ ca, na ca pabhaṅgu, sammā upeti kammāya. yassā yassā ca piḷandhanavikatiyā ākañkhati, yadi paṭṭikāya yadi kuṇḍalāya yadi gīveyyakena<sup>259</sup> yadi suvaṇṇamālāya, tañ c' assa atthaṃ anubhoti.

evam eva kho bhikkhave adhicittam anuyuttena bhikkhunā ... pe ... sammā samādhieyya āsavānaṃ khayāya. yassa yassa ca abhiññā-sacchikaraṇīyassa dhammassa cittaṃ abhininnāmeti abhiññā-sacchikiriyāya, tatra tatr' eva sakkhibbattaṃ pāpuṇāti sati sati āyatane ti. [A I 256,29–58,15]

evam paṭhamam atthaṃ dassetvā tadanantaram upamam vatvā puna pi attho vutto.

sattasuriyopame ca:

aniccā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, adhvā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, anassāsikā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, yāvañ c' idaṃ bhikkhave alam eva sabba-saṅkhāresu nibbindituṃ alaṃ virajjituṃ alaṃ vimuccituṃ. Sineru bhikkhave pabbatarājā caturāsītiyojanasahassāni āyāmena caturāsītiyojanasahassāni vitthārena caturāsītiyojanasahassāni mahāsamudde ajjhogāḷho caturāsītiyojanasahassāni mahāsamuddā accuggato. hoti so kho<sup>260</sup> bhikkhave samayo, yaṃ kadā ci karaha ci dīghassa addhuno accayena<sup>261</sup> bahūni vassāni bahūni vassasatāni bahūni vassasahassāni bahūni vassasatasahassāni devo na vassati, deve kho pana bhikkhave

<sup>258</sup>A v.l.: nibbāpeyya <sup>259</sup>A: gīveyyake <sup>260</sup>A: kho so (for: so kho) <sup>261</sup>A: (= Mp-ṭ v.l.) omits: kadā ci karaha ci dīghassa addhuno accayena

<sup>257</sup>A: kammaniyañ

avassante ye keci 'me bijagāmbhūtagāmā<sup>262</sup> osadhitiṇavanappatayo, te ussussanti visussanti<sup>263</sup> na bhavanti. evaṃ aniccā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, evaṃ adhuvā bhikkhave saṅkhārā, evaṃ anassāsikā bhikkhave saṅkhārā ti [A IV 100,5–18]

ādinā paṭhamam attham dassetvā tadanantaram upamam vatvā puna pi attho vutto.

atha vā:<sup>264</sup>

suriyassa bhikkhave udayato etaṃ pubbaṅgamaṃ etaṃ pubbanimittam, yad idaṃ aruṅgaṃ. evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhuno ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa uppādāya etaṃ pubbaṅgamaṃ etaṃ pubbanimittam, yad idaṃ kalyāṇamittatā ti [S V 29,27–30,3]

yad etaṃ Saṃyuttanikāye āgataṃ, taṃ idha Suriyopamasuttan ti adhippetam siyā. tam pi *kattha ci upamāya attham parivāretvā dasseti* [55,4–5] ti iminā na sameti paṭhamam upamam vatvā tadanantaram attham dassetvā puna upamāya avuttatā. paṭhamam eva hi tattha upamā dassitā, *imasmim pana sālīsūkopame upamāya attham parivāretvā dassento seyyathā pi bhikkhave ti ādim āhā* [55,7–8] ti idam pi vacanam asaṅgahitaṃ Vatthasuttassa imassa ca visesābhāvato. ubhayatthāpi hi paṭhamam upamam dassetvā pacchā attho vutto, tasmā evam ettha pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ:

tatra bhagavā kattha ci paṭhamam yeva upamam<sup>265</sup> dassetvā pacchā attham dasseti Vatthasutte viya Pāricchattakopama-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya ca, kattha ci atthena upamam parivāretvā dasseti Suvaṇṇakāra-Sattasuriyopamādisuttesu viya, imasmim pana sālīsūkopame paṭhamam upamam dassetvā pacchā attham dassento **seyyathā pi bhikkhave** ti ādim āhā ti. [cf. Mp I 55,2–8]

aññathā Majjhimaṭṭhakathāya [Ps I 165,28–66,18] virujjhati. idhāpi ca pubbenāparam na sameti. Majjhimaṭṭhakathāya vuttanayen' eva vā idhāpi pāṭho gahetabbo. [cf. Mp-ṭ II 40,1–52,5]

<sup>262</sup>A: -bhūtagāma- <sup>263</sup>A: vissussanti <sup>264</sup>Mp-ṭ omits <sup>265</sup>Mp-ṭ v.l.: upamam yeva (for: yeva upamam)

(2) [see Part II, 2, p. 94, n. 217 above]

*vāhasatānam*<sup>266</sup> *kho mahārāja vīhīnan* [59,22] ti potthakesu likhanti,

vāhasatam kho mahārāja vīhīnan ti [Mil 102,10–11; cf. Mil-ṭ 22,19–26]

pana pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ. Milindapañhe pi hi kattha ci ayam eva pāṭho dissati. *vāhasatānan* [59,22] ti vā paccatte sāmivacanaṃ byattayena vuttan ti datṭhabbaṃ. [cf. Mp-ṭ II 58,5–11]

### 3. Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ: Differences and similarities

The above three chapters from Mp-ṭ and their parallels from Mp-ṭ are relatively short and final conclusions will be drawn only after a critical edition of the entire manuscript of Mp-ṭ is completed. However, the differences and similarities between the two *ṭikās* nevertheless seem to agree to a great extent with the description of the old and later *ṭikās* in Saddhamma-s.<sup>267</sup>

Although the texts from Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ given in Part II, 2 are sometimes identical or very similar, the later *ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ) is in many respects very different from the old one (Mp-ṭ). As stated above (Part II, 1) the text on the first few folios of the newly discovered manuscript of Mp-ṭ is exactly the same (with minor orthographic differences) as in the other three “old” *ṭikās* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ) and in this respect differs considerably from Mp-ṭ. This is a very strong indication that the manuscript of Mp-ṭ discussed here really belongs to the old *Līnatthapakāsīnī* set. The later *ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ) has several additions, corrections or omissions.

In Mp-ṭ three kinds of additions can be found:

(1) Some additions are used to clarify the structure of the text; such additions are usually in the beginning of the *ṭikā* on a particular *sutta* from a particular *vagga* where the numbers of that *sutta* and *vagga* are

<sup>266</sup> = Mp E<sup>c</sup>, B<sup>e</sup> 1958, C<sup>e</sup> 1923, N<sup>e</sup> 1976; Mil E<sup>c</sup>, B<sup>e</sup> 1982, N<sup>e</sup> 1979 (= Mp N<sup>e</sup> v.l.): vāhasatam

<sup>267</sup> See Part I, 1.1 above (especially nn. 18–21).

added. For example, in Part II, p. 87, n. 90, where in Mp-ṭ *tatiyassa* [*vaggassa*] *paṭhame* [*sutte*] is added before *abhāvitān ti*.<sup>268</sup>

(2) Some additions are further clarifications of already existing explanations.<sup>269</sup>

(3) Some additions are explanations of additional words from Mp that are not included in Mp-pt.<sup>270</sup>

Among the corrections<sup>271</sup> of the old *ṭikā* (Mp-pt) found in Mp-ṭ the most important is a long passage<sup>272</sup> that thoroughly analyses and corrects both the Mp-pt (the first paragraph of *Anatthavagga*)<sup>273</sup> and a passage from Mp that the old *ṭikā* (Mp-pt) comments upon. At the end it also suggests a better reading for the passage from Mp<sup>274</sup> which the old *ṭikā* (Mp-pt) does not explain properly. This correction is much longer than the first paragraph of *Anatthavagga* that it replaces. It is very interesting to note that Mp-ṭ cites, among many canonical and postcanonical texts, including Ps and Ps-pt, also the first paragraph of *Anatthavagga* from Mp-pt (i.e. the passage that it replaces) and introduces it with: *keci pan' ettha evaṃ vaṇṇayanti*.<sup>275</sup> This is very significant because Ps-pt, for example, is introduced with: *tena Vatthasutta-Līnatthapakāsiniyam vuttam*,<sup>276</sup> but a passage from Mp-pt — another *ṭikā* from the same *Līnatthapakāsini* set — is simply ascribed to “some” (*keci*). Sāriputta of

<sup>268</sup>Similarly also Part II, nn. 98, 101, 113, 127, etc. Such additions are very common in Mp-ṭ — and this is also perhaps one of the reasons why in Saddhamma-s the later *ṭikās* are described as “clear, not confused” (*anākula*).

<sup>269</sup>See, for example, Part II, 2, nn. 150–51; also nn. 177–79.

<sup>270</sup>See Part II, 2, n. 218 and endnote (2); this addition is obviously explaining another “version” (*bhāsantara*?) of Mil cited in Mp.

<sup>271</sup>See Part II, 2, nn. 94, 141, 179, 193.

<sup>272</sup>Part II, 2, p. 96, endnote (1) = Mp-ṭ II 40.1–52.5.

<sup>273</sup>See Part II, 2, n. 141, and endnote (1).

<sup>274</sup>Cf. Mp E<sup>e</sup> I 55.2–8 and the corrected version of this passage at the end of endnote (1) in Part II, 2.

<sup>275</sup>Mp-ṭ II 55.2–8, cf. Part II, 2, n. 141 and endnote (1).

<sup>276</sup>Mp-ṭ II 42.10.

Polonnaruva, to whom Mp-ṭ is ascribed,<sup>277</sup> obviously considered this passage from Mp-pt to be one of the versions maintained by “some” (*keci*).<sup>278</sup>

In Mp-ṭ certain passages from Mp-pt are omitted; some of these passages<sup>279</sup> should perhaps be included in Mp-ṭ and the reasons for their omission are not clear. However, they do not seem to be as significant as the additions and corrections discussed above.

The above comparison shows that the later *ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ) is better organized (*anākula*) and more comprehensive (*paripuṇṇa*) than the old one (Mp-pt).<sup>280</sup>

### Conclusion

From the above discussion of the *nikāya-ṭikās*, their manuscripts and printed editions — with special emphasis on the two *Āṅuttara-ṭikās* (Mp-pt and Mp-ṭ; see Part I, 2.2 and Part II) — we can conclude that it is most probable that two different sets of *nikāya-ṭikās* were in fact compiled: the older set called *Līnatthapakāsini* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt) and the later set called *Sāratthamañjūsā* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ). Although the two complete sets are mentioned only in Saddhamma-s (and in the much later *CPD*, see Part I, Table I), all the eight *ṭikās* from the two sets seem to still exist (see Part I, Table II) either in printed editions (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-ṭ, see Part I, 2.1) or in manuscript form (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-pt, see Part I, 2.2–3). The manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ and Mp-pt discussed in Part I, 2.2–3<sup>281</sup>

<sup>277</sup>Pecenko, 1997, pp. 165–66; *HPL*, p. 173, § 375.

<sup>278</sup>Cf. Saddhamma-s 61.13–14; Sp-ṭ B<sup>e</sup> 1960 29–10.

<sup>279</sup>See Part II, 2, nn. 119, 129, 130, 189.

<sup>280</sup>This comparison is of course very limited and it is not clear how “incomplete” (*aparipuṇṇa*) the original Mp-pt actually was. The Burmese manuscript of Mp-pt discussed above contains only the first three *nipātas* with many longer omissions (see Part I, 2.2 and Part II, 1) and the manuscript listed in *Piṭ-sm* (1989) nos. 199–201 also contains the first three *nipātas* only (see Part I, 1.6).

<sup>281</sup>Although all the manuscripts of three later *nikāya-ṭikās* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ) are

have never been investigated and it seems that they have been neglected by both the Theravāda tradition<sup>282</sup> and modern Pāli scholarship.<sup>283</sup>

held in Sri Lanka (see Part I, 2.3), there is among them also a Burmese manuscript of Ps-ṭ (LPP, vol. 1, p. 71, temple no. 326) which indicates that these *ṭikās* were used in Burma as well.

It is possible that more manuscripts of these *ṭikās* are still extant, most probably in Theravāda countries. According to U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre, University of Rangoon, “there are still many uncatalogued manuscripts of Pāli *ṭikās* in temple libraries in Burma” (personal communication, Rangoon, December 1999).

<sup>282</sup>It is not made explicit why certain *ṭikās* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ) were ignored by the Theravāda tradition (see e.g. Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions) and only some (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ) were published — in spite of the fact that the manuscripts of the unpublished *ṭikās* are held in different libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka and according to the introduction in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions “all the existing *ṭikās*” were collected and compared (see n. 80 above). In the *Nidānakathā* of Mp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1961 (p. ca) it is clearly stated that all the existing *ṭikās* in Burma and outside Burma were edited and published:

*evaṃ saṅgūtim āropitassa pana tepītakassa buddhavacanassa atthasamvaṇṇanābhūtā yā ca aṭṭhakathāyo saṃvijjanti yā ca tāsaṃ atthappakāsanavasena pavattā ṭikāyo saṃvijjanti manoramāya tantinayānucchavikāya bhāsāya ācariy’ Ānanda-ācariya-Dhammapālādīhi theravarehi katā,*

*tāsam pi aṭṭhakathāṭikānaṃ sadesīyamūlehi c’ eva videsīyamūlehi ca saṃsanditvā tepītakassa viya buddhavacanassa visodhanapaṭivisodhanavasena mahātherā pāvacanadassino saṃvaṇṇanākovidā pāṭhasodhanam akamsu,*

*icc evam aṭṭhakathāṭikāyo pamādakhalitādihikaparihatṭhapāṭhānaṃ nirākaṇavasena visodhitā c’ eva paṭivisodhitā ca hutvā Buddhasāsana-muddaṇayantālaye samappitā suṭṭhu muddāpaṇāya.*

This contradicts the information about the manuscripts of the *nikāya-ṭikās* discussed above (see Part I, Table II). If the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edited “all the existing [*nikāya*] *ṭikās*” (*yā ca tāsaṃ atthappakāsanavasena pavattā ṭikāyo saṃvijjanti*) “originating from Burma and from outside” (*sadesīyamūlehi c’ eva videsīyamūlehi ca saṃsanditvā*), why were the manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ and Mp-ṭ omitted? Further research is needed here.

<sup>283</sup>Modern Pāli scholarship seems to agree to some extent with the Theravāda tradition (i.e. the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions) that most probably only one set of *nikāya-ṭikās* (i.e. Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ and Mp-ṭ) still exists at present.

My recent discovery of a manuscript of the old *Āṅguttara-ṭikā*, *Catutthā Līnattha-pakāsinī* (Mp-ṭ, see Part I, 2.2 and Part II) throws new light on the development of the *nikāya-ṭikās* and also on the Pāli bibliographic information about them. According to Saddhamma-s (see Part I, 1.1) the old *nikāya-ṭikās* were “incomplete” (*aparipuṇṇa*) and had to be replaced by the later set of *ṭikās* (*Sāratthamañjūsā*) which were “comprehensive” (*paripuṇṇa*) and “clear, not confused” (*anākula*). The comparison of three parallel chapters from Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ in Part II, 2 indicates that the description of the old and the later *ṭikās* in Saddhamma-s is fairly accurate (see Part II, 3). This is a further indication that the information about the two different sets of *nikāya-ṭikās* in Saddhamma-s is most probably correct.

In the light of the above discussion we can further conclude that the information about the *nikāya-ṭikās* in all the other Pāli bibliographic sources seems to be less accurate than in Saddhamma-s. Although some of these sources (Pagan inscription, Gv, *Piṭ-sm* (1989)) mention the old *Āṅguttara-ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ, see Part I, Table I), none of them mentions two complete sets of *nikāya-ṭikās* (cf. Part I, Table II).

The information about the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* in modern Pāli scholarship is mostly based on the Pāli bibliographical works, on the existing printed editions, and rarely also on the catalogues<sup>284</sup> of Pāli manuscripts. Since we have, as shown above, printed editions of only one “combined” set of *nikāya-ṭikās* (i.e. Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ), it is often assumed that only one set of *nikāya-ṭikās* exists at present and that most probably only one complete set was composed. This approach is sometimes also supported by references from the later bibliographic works (e.g. Sās), which are sometimes considered more reliable than the earlier ones (e.g. Saddhamma-s). However, in the case of the two sets of

Cf. Part I, Table II above; *HPL*, p. 167, §357; p. 173, §§375-376; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalaṃgoḍa: Ānanda Potsamāgama, 1956), Vol. 1, pp. 259-62; Godakumbura 1980, p. xxvii, n. 1.

<sup>284</sup>For example, in Geiger 1956, §31 (literature), nn. 5-6, Fausböll’s “Catalogue of the Madalay MSS. in the India Office Library”, *JPTS* 1894-96, is cited.



*nikāya-ṭikās* discussed above — especially considering Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ and Mp-pṭ, which are usually mentioned as lost or non-existent — the information in the oldest bibliographic source (Saddhamma-s) appears to be the most reliable of all (cf. Part I, Tables I–II).

The above analysis of the *nikāya-ṭikās* and their manuscripts and printed editions clearly indicates that further research about the Pāli sub-commentaries and their bibliographic information needs to be done. It is possible that more manuscripts of the less known *nikāya-ṭikās* (i.e. Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-pṭ) are held in various temple libraries in the Theravāda countries. These *ṭikās* are an important link in Pāli textual transmission and their further investigation may give us — among many other things — new information about the development of the *ṭikā* literature and about the editions and versions of the canonical and post-canonical Pāli texts used at the time of their compilation.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> I would like to thank Prof. R.F. Gombrich, who read an earlier version of Part I; Mr Michael Carden; L.S. Cousins, Esq.; Ms Tamara Ditrich; Prof. Oskar von Hinüber; Prof. K.R. Norman; Prof. Lily de Silva; and Dr. Royce Wiles, who read the final version of this article, for their helpful suggestions and corrections. Special thanks are also due to U Thaw Kaung, Vice-Chairman, Burmese National Committee for the Preservation of Traditional Manuscripts; Daw Ni Ni Myint, Director General, Universities Historical Research Centre, University of Rangoon; U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre; U Myint Kyaing, Director, National Library, Rangoon; and the staff of the Universities Historical Research Centre, University of Rangoon, for their generous support during my visit to Burma in December 1999.

I would also like to thank Mr Peter Skilling, Curator, Fragile Palm Leaves project, for sending me a photocopy of a Burmese manuscript of Aṅguttara-ṭikā (Mp-ṭ). My thanks are also due to the Department of Studies in Religion, University of Queensland, for continuing support of my research of Pāli texts.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations and the quotation system of Pāli sources follow *CPD*, Epilegomena to Vol. 1, 1948, pp. 5\*-36\*, and Vol. 3, 1992, pp. ii–vi, and H. Bechert, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). The only exception are the PTS editions, which are cited — unless required for emphasis — without edition and date, e.g. Sv-pt = Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup> 1970, I–III, edited by Lily de Silva. For the transliteration of Burmese see “Table of Transliteration” in Bechert, 1979, p. xxi, and Braun 1996, p. xiii.

A	Aṅguttara-nikāya
B MS(S)	Burmese manuscript(s)
BhB	<i>Bhāratīya Bauddhācāryayā</i> . Colombo: K.M. Ratnasiri, 1949
Bollée	W.B. Bollée. “Die Stellung der Vinayaṭīkā in der Pāli-Literatur”, <i>ZDMG</i> , Suppl. 1, 17 (1969), pp. 824–35.
C MS(S)	Sinhalese manuscript(s)
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> . V. Trenckner et al., eds. Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–.
CS CD-ROM	<i>Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM</i> (Versions: 1.1, 2.0, 3.0) published by Vipassana Research Institute (Website: <www.vri.dhamma.org>).
D	Dīgha-nikāya
Dhs	Dhammasaṅgaṇī
DPPN	<i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i>
EncBuddh	<i>Encyclopædia of Buddhism</i> . G.P. Malalasekera, ed.
Gv	Gandhavaṃsa. I.P. Minayeff, ed. <i>JPTS</i> , 1886, pp. 54–79
HIL	J. Gonda, ed. <i>A History of Indian Literature</i> . Wiesbaden, 1973–.
HPL	Oskar von Hinüber. <i>A Handbook of Pāli Literature</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.
K MS(S)	Cambodian manuscript(s)
LPP	K.D. Somadasa. <i>Lankāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya</i> , Vols. I–III. Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1959–64.
M	Majjhima-nikāya
Mayrhofer,	Manfred Mayrhofer, <i>Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindo-</i>

EWA	<i>arischen</i> . Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1986.
Mhv Trsl.	W. Geiger, tr. <i>Mahāvamsa</i> , 1958.
Mp-pt	Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsini.
Mp-ṭ	Manoratha-pūraṇī-purāṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā
Piṭ-sm (1989)	<i>Piṭakat samuiṇḥ</i> . Rangoon: Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsana Pru Aphvaj, 1989.
PL	K.R. Norman, <i>Pāli Literature</i> . Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983.
PLB	M.H. Bode, <i>The Pali Literature of Burma</i> . London, 1909.
PLC	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>The Pāli Literature of Ceylon</i> . London, 1928.
Ps-pt	Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā, Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsini
Ps-ṭ	Papañcasūdanī-ṭīkā, Dutiyā Sāratthamañjūsā
_r	recto
S	Samyutta-nikāya
Saddhamma-s	Saddhammasaṅgaha. Nedimāle Saddhānanda, ed. <i>JPTS</i> 1890, pp. 21–90 = N <sup>c</sup> 1961.
Sās	Sāsanavaṃsa. C.S. Upasak, ed. Nālandā: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 1961.
Sās-dīp	Sāsanavaṃsadīpo. Vimalasārathera, ed. Colombo: Sattāhāloka Press, 1880. (For full details of the title, see note 44.)
Spk-pt	Sāratthapakāsini-purāṇaṭīkā, Tatiyā Līnattha-pakāsini
Spk-ṭ	Sārattha-pakāsiniṭīkā, Tatiyā Sāratthamañjūsā
Sp-ṭ	Samantapāsādikā-ṭīkā (= Sāratthadīpanī)
Sv-nṭ	Sumaṅgalavilāsini-nada-ṭīkā (= Sādhu[jana]vilāsini)
Sv-pt	Sumaṅgalavilāsini-purāṇaṭīkā, Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsini
Sv-ṭ	Sumaṅgalavilāsini-ṭīkā, Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā
_v	verso

## A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka

There is an obvious historical problem in the textual criticism of the Campeyya Jātaka (no. 506, Ja IV 454–68). Although it has been transmitted in forty-four gāthās, it is found in the Vīsati-nipāta, which indicates that the original version of the Jātaka comprised about twenty gāthās. This is clearly evident when it is compared with the other Jātakas of this nipāta.<sup>1</sup> This fact alone would be enough to show that the Jātaka has been revised and extended as it has been handed down. What follows is an attempt to trace the textual history of this nāga Jātaka, also taking into account the Mahāvastu version (Mvu II 181–88), although it

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An earlier version of this article was first published in German under the title “Eine Studie des Campeyya-Jātaka (mit textkritischen Bemerkungen zum Saṅkhapāla-Jātaka)” in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, Vol. XXXIV (1990), pp. 79–106. Translated by Marianne Rankin.

Prof. Oskar von Hinüber (O.v.H.) not only offered valuable comments on an earlier version of this essay, but was also kind enough to make two Thai manuscripts available to me. For this I am most grateful to him and to the Social Research Institute of the University of Chiang Mai. I would also like to thank my friend Dr Chlodwig H. Werba (Ch.W.) for all his advice and suggestions for improvement. In the following, arabic numerals refer to the gāthās of the Campeyya Jātaka according to the Fausbøll edition, roman numerals to those gāthās which according to our investigation belong to the original version of the Campeyya Jātaka.

<sup>1</sup>These are composed of between twenty-four and thirty-one gāthās. The Sivi Jātaka has thirty-one gāthās (twenty-three ślokas and eight triṣṭubh/jagatī). Alsdorf, who has worked on this Jātaka, came to the conclusion that “there are two treatments of this popular narrative: one in tr./jag. and one in ślokas, and the editors of the Jātaka Book — or even an earlier poet — combined these two versions into one” (Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 364)). Apart from this Jātaka, only the Mahāpalobhana Jātaka (no. 507) has more than twenty-nine gāthās (thirty gāthās). But there, several gāthās give the impression of being later additions (see gāthās 1–4 and 6), so that one can start with the assumption that originally this Jātaka was also correctly incorporated into the Vīsati Nipāta.

is quite corrupt and comprises forty-six verses.<sup>2</sup> For this the Saṅkhaṭā Jātaka (Ja V 161–77),<sup>3</sup> which has various gāthās in common with the Campeyya Jātaka,<sup>4</sup> will frequently be considered. The prose text (Ja IV.456.27f.) explicitly refers to it,<sup>5</sup> which should be particularly interesting for the history of the text.

The content of the Campeyya Jātaka tale is briefly as follows:<sup>6</sup> A nāga [named Campeyya, who has left his underwater dwelling in order to keep the uposatha on a termite mound] allows himself to be caught [by a snake charmer (*ahiguṇṭhika*)] without any resistance, in order not to break his uposatha vow. [By means of sorcery, the snake charmer makes the nāga perform tricks in front of paying spectators. At first he had intended to let the nāga go free as soon as he earned 1,000 pieces of gold in this way. But instead, tempted by the possibility of making easy money, he goes to Benares to the court of King Uggasena. Sumanā, the wife of the nāga, is very worried by the lengthy absence of her husband. When she finds out that the nāga has been captured by a snake charmer,

<sup>2</sup>The following twenty-two verses (gāthās of the Jātaka numbered according to Fausbøll) correspond as follows: Ja gāthā 1 = Mvu II 181.5\*-8\*; 2 = 181.10\*-11\*; 3 = 181.13\*-16\*; 4 = 181.18\*-21\*; 5 b/d = 182.9\*/6\*; 6 = 182.1\*-4\*; 7ab = 182.11\*-12\*; 8 = 183.12\*-13\*; 9 = 183.2\*-5\*; 10 = 183.7\*-10\*; 11/12ab = 183.15\*-17\*; 13ab = 183.19\*-20\*; 14 = 184.1\*-3\*; 15a = 184.18\*; 15d = 185.9\*; 16 = 185.3\*-6\*; 19ab = 184.15\*-16\*; 19cd ≠ 184.6\*-8\*; 20ab = 184.10\*-11\*; 20d = 184.13\* (185.2\*); 23 = 185.11\*-14\*; 24 = 186.1\*-4\*; 30f = 187.23\*; 31ac = 187.20\*-21\*; 36cd = 188.1\*-2\*; 39 = 188.2\*-5\*; 43 = 187.11\*-14\*.

<sup>3</sup>A list of suggestions for correction of the text of this Jātaka, which is corrupt in many places, is printed in an appendix to this article.

<sup>4</sup>Noted by Alsdorf 1977, p. 30, n. 21 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 790 n. 21).

<sup>5</sup>It also refers to the Bhūridatta Jātaka, with which the Campeyya Jātaka has g. 37a (= Ja VI 171.3\*) and g. 31a (= Ja VI 171.7\*) in common. That this is worthy of note is also shown by the Culladharmapāla Jātaka (Ja III 177–82), which is a “clumsy, coarse imitation of the Kṣāntivādij (named in the prose story)” (Alsdorf 1968a, p. 266).

<sup>6</sup>Parts of the story which come from the prose text are set in square brackets. A detailed table of contents is to be found in Vogel 1926, pp. 151–53 (reference from O.v.H.). A complete translation is to be found in Grünwedel 1897, pp. 83–89.

she goes to Benares and arrives in the middle of the performance at court.] She begs the king to ransom her husband. But the word of the king is all that is required for the snake charmer to set the nāga free. In gratitude, the nāga asks permission to show the king his underwater palaces, and repeatedly swears that he has no evil intentions toward his rescuer. Eventually the king agrees and, accompanied by the nāga, visits his dwelling place. Amazed at the splendour, the king wants to know why the nāga keeps uposatha. He explains that it is only as a human that he would have the chance to escape the cycle of saṃsāra. Showered with gifts, the king returns to the human world.

The text of the Campeyya Jātaka, as we have it, is a mixture of 34½ triṣṭubhs and 9½ ślokas. Now Alsdorf, in his various masterly studies of individual Jātakas, repeatedly worked out the relationship between these two metres and showed that when triṣṭubh and śloka verses appear together, it is usually the śloka gāthās which have been added subsequently.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in the case of the Campeyya Jātaka, the śloka gāthās will be examined first with regard to their place in the original gāthā collection of the Jātaka.<sup>8</sup>

The Jātaka opens with two śloka gāthās<sup>9</sup> of which some single pādas have parallels in other Jātakas (“floating pādas”). So 1ab (*kā nu*

<sup>7</sup>“There can certainly be no question of the śloka as such being more recent than ... [the] tr[īṣṭubh], so that any śloka should be regarded as later than any tr. because of its metre; but the śloka remains ‘modern’, and it becomes the most common metre, as the tr. becomes less fashionable, so that it finds ... a role as successor to the tr.” (Alsdorf 1971, pp. 29f. (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 386f.)). Cf. Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 364) and Sakamoto-Goto 1984, pp. 46 and 64, n. 58.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. also Alsdorf 1957a, p. 202 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 186): “The bulk of both these texts consists of triṣṭubh verses, and it might be worthwhile to examine at the outset all the non-triṣṭubh stanzas with a view to ascertaining whether they are ‘original’ or whether there are grounds to justify the natural suspicion that they are secondary additions.”

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Mvu II 181.5\*, 8\*, 10\*-11\*: *kā nu vidyud ivābhāsi \*usarā viya tārakā | ... devī asi vā gandharvī na tvaṃ asi hi mānuṣī || nāhaṃ devī na gandharvī na mahārāja mānuṣī | nāgakanyāhaṃ bhadran te \*arthinī iha āgatā ||* According

*vijju-r-ivābhāsi osadhī viya tārakā*)<sup>10</sup> is found in the Alambusā Jātaka (Ja V 155.16\*), which is completely composed in ślokas.<sup>11</sup> Gāthā 1c (*devatā nu si gandhabbī*), has parallels in Ja V 260.5\*, 317.4\*, VI 13.13\* (*devatā nu si gandhabbo*), where each time the answer given in 2a (*n'amhi devo na gandhabbo*) also follows (Ja V 260.7\*, 317.8\*; VI 13.16\*).

These two ślokas are clearly an example of the tendency of the Jātaka redactors to clarify exactly who is speaking or acting and to explain their motives. This led, probably before the addition of the two ślokas, to gāthā 3 having another triṣṭubh<sup>12</sup> inserted, which undoubtedly

to Senart's text, the Mvu reads *sarasi viya tārakāḥ*. Lüders (1954: §83) based on Senart's mss reconstructs the "basic text" of the Mahāvastu as *osalī viya tālakā* (> *usalā viya tālakā* > *usarā viya tārakā* (thus mss BC II 181.5\*; the "visarga" of *tārakāḥ* is merely a punctuation mark)), where *osalī* corresponds to Skt. *auṣarī*; *osalī tālakā*, that is, "the morning star". Earlier, Charpentier (1909, p. 35) read *usarā viya tārakāḥ* with mss BC. Moreover, he conjectured that Mvu II 181.8\* should read *na tvaṃ manyāmi mānuṣīm*, for which he refers to mss BC (*na te anyāni mā*). For the conjecture *\*arthinī* instead of *avīcī* as transmitted, cf. Jones 1952, p. 175, n. 7.

<sup>10</sup>The first pāda is closely connected with the prose story. For there it is said that the nāga's wife, searching for her husband, appears at the king's court floating in the air (*ākāse ... aṭṭhāsi*, Ja IV 459.8). The comparison of the nāgī with a bright flash of lightning presumably gave rise to this passage in the story.

<sup>11</sup>It is interesting that, only a few gāthās earlier (and also in the Alambusā Jātaka (V 154.19\*)), the characterization of a person as *uggateja* is found (cf. Campeyya Jātaka, g. 4). Moreover, Alambusā Jātaka 14d (*āmuttamaṇi-kuṇḍalā*) may be compared with Campeyya Jātaka, g. 8b. Further Jātaka instances of the comparison [*kā nu vijju-r-ivābhāsi*] *osadhī viya tārakā* are recorded by Lüders 1954, §83.

<sup>12</sup>*vibbhantacittā kupitindriyāsi, nettehi te vāriḡaṇā savanti | kin te natṭhaṃ kiṃ pana patthayānā, idhāgatā nāri tad iṅgha brūhi* || Cf. Mvu II 181.13\*-16\*: *\*vibhrāntacittā vilutendriyāsi, netrehi te vāri śravanti kin te | naṣṭaṃ hi kiṃcī abhiprāthayanti, ihāgatā \*dāni na dīrghaṃ brūhi* || (Senart 1890: pāda a *cūrāntacittā* [see Edgerton 1953 s.v. *viluta*; on the confusion of *c/v* and *l/bh* in Nepalese manuscripts see Regamey 1954, p. 517; cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 36], pāda d *tāni*).

originated in the Sattubhastā Jātaka (no. 402).<sup>13</sup> Gāthās 2d, 3cd and 11-12ab may be compared with the almost literally identical gāthās 1-3 of the Jūṅha Jātaka (Ja IV 97.8\*-28\*).

The reason for the nāga wife's trust as she turns to the king with her request is explained in śloka gāthā 8, the first pāda of which has a parallel in Ja IV 320.8\*, and the second pāda of which was a very popular set piece (see note 11 and CPD under *āmutta-*; both together as pādas a and d in Ja V 259.15\*-16\*: *soḷasitthisahassāni sabbālaṃkāra-bhūsitā | vicitrahatthābharaṇā āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā* ||).<sup>14</sup>

In the 1½ ślokas 11-12ab the type and amount of the "ransom" to be offered for the freedom of the nāga are presented in more detail than in gāthā 9.<sup>15</sup> These verses come from the Rohantamiga Jātaka, which is

<sup>13</sup>The gāthā appears (with masculine forms) in the Sattubhastā Jātaka (Ja III 344.19\*-22\*), where pāda d however reads *idhāgamā brahme tad iṅgha brūhi*. The Sattubhastā Jātaka has eight gāthās but is in the Satta-nipāta, so it originally comprised only seven gāthās. It is definitely gāthā 5 (Ja III 348.2\*-5\*) which was added later. The first gāthā (*vibbhantacitto ...*) thus belongs to the original Sattubhastā Jātaka and may have been taken into the Campeyya Jātaka from there.

<sup>14</sup>*soḷas'-itthisahassāni āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā | vāriḡehāsaya nārīyo [Inārī] tā pi taṃ saraṇaṃ gatā* || (8<sup>a</sup>: S °itthī°; 8<sup>c</sup>: S<sup>a</sup> vāriḡeḡe sayā nārī, L 1471 nārī, CB S<sup>p</sup> °ḡehāsaya nārī). — Mvu II 183.12\*<sup>f</sup>: *ṣoḷaṣā strīśahasrāṇi āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā | vāriḡasagrḡhāsritā nārīyo tvāṃ saraṇaṃ \*gatā* || (Senart 1890: *ārya tvāṃ saraṇāgatā*; to be corrected with ms B (Charpentier 1909, p. 38)). The prose text of the Mvu version also recounts that the senior wife of the nāga appears at the court of King Ugrasena in Benares accompanied by 16,000 women (Mvu II 178.18-20).

<sup>15</sup>*dammi nikkhasataṃ ludda thullaṇ ca maṇikuṇḍalaṃ | catussadaṇ ca pallaṅkaṃ ummāpupphasirinnibhaṃ || 11 || dve ca sādisiyo bharīyā usabhaṇ ca gavaṃ satam | ossaṭṭhakāyo urago carātu, puñṇatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā || 12 || (11b: BS thūlaṇ; 11c: S caturassaṇ ca, B umāpupphasirinnibhaṃ, S ummārapupphasannibhaṃ; 12d: ESB L 1471 muṇcatu, C muccatu). — Mvu II 183.15\*-17\*: *demi niṣkaṣataṃ lubdha sthūlā ca maṇikuṇḍalā | catuḡsataṃ ca paryaṅkaṃ dāmakapuṣpasannibhaṃ | bhāryāṃ ca sadrīśidevīm mucyatu uragādhīpaḡ ||* (Senart 1890t: pāda a: *labdhaṃ*; pāda c: Charpentier 1909, p. 39, reads *catuḡsadaṇ ca*; Jones 1952, p. 177, n. 3, *\*catutsada* (< *catuḡsada*; cf. Pāli *cat-ussada*- "four-cornered"). Whether this translation of *\*catutsada-* is correct, however, is questionable, as the*

composed entirely in śloka (Ja IV 422.4\*-6\*). Two triṣṭubh pādas 12 cd (= 9cd = 10cd = 13cd), repeated once again, complete these gāthās.

For the textual criticism of śloka gāthā 14<sup>16</sup> it is sufficient to refer to Alsdorf's observation, "[an] example, so frequently observed in the Jātaka, of the gradual versification of parts of the story originally left in prose (in particular indications of who is speaking)."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, pādas cde = Ja VI 82.3\*/5\* (cf. 88.25\*).

Finally, śloka gāthās 25–28 merely bring forward the older description of the palace composed in triṣṭubhs (see below, gāthās 30–35). In content and choice of words, they are so exactly modelled on the following triṣṭubh gāthās 30–35 that there can hardly be doubt about their secondary nature.

A peculiarity common to gāthās 14 and 25–28 is the citation of names (Kāsirājan, Kāsivaddhana,<sup>18</sup> Campeyya<sup>19</sup>) which also includes

adjective *catussada-* at Ja IV 309.26\* is an epithet of *grāma-* (*catussadaṃ grāmavaram samiddhaṃ*). In Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā the corresponding verse is *catuṣṣātaṃ grāmavaram samrddhaṃ* (113.8\*), which shows that the word was apparently no longer understood very early on (see also Kern 1891, p. 247; Speyer 1895, p. 160, n. 2).

<sup>16</sup>*mutto campeyyako nāgo rājānaṃ etad-abravi | namo te kāsirāj' atthu namo te kāsivaddhana | añjalīn te paṅṅhāmi passeyyaṃ me nivesanaṃ ||* (of note is *passeyyaṃ*, which in fact means "I would like to see". Read *\*passedam* ("See this palace of mine"); I wish to thank Prof. A. Wezler for suggesting this conjectured reading). Cf. Mvu II 184.1\*-3\*; *mutto campako nāgo kāsirājānaṃ bhāṣati* [prose] | *namo te kāsīnāṃ rāja namo te kāsivardhana | añjalīn te praṅṅhāmi paśya rāja mo niveśanaṃ ||* (Is the prose line Mvu II 184.1 to be corrected to a śloka: *mutto \*campeyyako nāgo*? Or is this a case where "the prose of the Mahāvastu adapts the hieratic form of words to a *ṛttagandhī*" (Smith 1953, p. 121)? Manuscript L 1471 of the Pāli Jātaka also often reads "Campaka" (g. 26b, 27d, 28b)).

<sup>17</sup>Alsdorf 1971, p. 29 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 386). Cf. Oldenberg 1918, p. 440 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 1080).

<sup>18</sup>25b: SB L 1471 °*vaddhana*, EC °*vaddhana*.

<sup>19</sup>Manuscript L 1471 in g. 26–28 always reads "Campaka" (see n. 16). Mvu also offers this form of the name, but only in the prose (e.g. Mvu II 177.14, 184.1). The title of the (Campeyya) Jātaka is referred to at Ja I 45.20 (*tathā ... campeyyanāgarākāle ... silapāramitāya pūritattabhāvānaṃ parimāṇaṃ*

gāthās 24<sup>20</sup> (Uggasena<sup>21</sup>) and 29 (Kāsirājan), but differentiates all these gāthās from those of the original Jātaka. That the king who frees the captured nāga is the King of Kāsī seems to be picked out of the last gāthā by the redactor (*bārānasim nagaraṃ iddhaphītaṃ, rajjaṇ ca kārehi ...*). Where the name Campeyya (gāthās 26–28) or Campeyyaka (gāthās 14 and 30) comes from, I cannot say. The composer of the prose, however, derives the name by adding the suffix *-eyya*.<sup>22</sup> to the name of the River Campā,<sup>23</sup> where according to the prose (Ja IV 454.11f.) the dwelling place of the nāga is to be found. These facts seem to come merely from the wish of the prose writer to localize the story and to give the main characters names.

It may be said with some degree of certainty that the 9½ śloka gāthās and triṣṭubh gāthās 3, 12cd, 24, and 29 were not among the

*nāma natthi*) and Papanāsudani II 617 (C° = Ps (E°) III 91.2 (Malalasekera 1937, p. 857). I would simply like to add the reference at Vism Chapter 9, § 33 (*campeyyo pi nāgarājā hutvā ahitunḍikena viheṭṭhiyamāno manopadosa-mattam pi na uppādesi | yathāha ...* (Cariyapitaka 85–86)). Lüders has shown (1941, pp. 136ff.), that the titles in the Jātaka collection are recent and partly based on a misunderstanding of the text (cf. also particularly Mehendale 1970, pp. 125–29).

<sup>20</sup>*bherimutiṅgā paṅṅavā ca saṅkhā, \*āvajjum [I\*āvajjimsu] uggasenassa rañño | pāyāsi rājā bahu sobhamāno, purakkhato nāriganassa majje ||* (24b: E *āvajjayimsu*, B *avajjayimsu*, C *āvajjisum*, C<sup>s</sup> S L 1471 *āvajjimsu*, Nālanda *avajjayimsu*, S *uggasenarañño*). Cf. Mvu II 186.1\*-4\*: *bherī mrdāṅgā paṅṅavā ca saṅkhā, vādyensu veṇū ugrasenaṅgā | niryāti rājā mahatā balena, puraskṛto nāriganasya madhye ||* and Harivaṃśa 94.14: *vasudevaṃ puraskṛtya bherīsaṅkharavaiḥ saha | ugraseno yayau rājā vāsudevani-veśanaṃ ||* — The verb forms *\*āvajjum*, *āvajjimsu* (forms with *ā*° are most probably wrong readings) and *avajjayimsu*, which CPD does not refer to (under *āvajjī*° (so g. 24a in E)), are aorists of the passive of the causative *vādeti* (*avajjīyimsu* (so read) seems to be a double passive (on which see von Hinüber 2001, § 458): *vādyā*° > *vajja*° → *avajjī-iy-imsu*).

<sup>21</sup>Otherwise only referred to in the prose (Ja IV 458.13, 467.23, 468.22; cf. Mvu II 177.9, 178.19f., 179.6). The Harivaṃśa passage 94.14, cited in the preceding footnote, may be compared in particular.

<sup>22</sup>By intensification (von Hinüber 2001, § 213) from Old Indic *-eya-*.

<sup>23</sup>Malalasekera (1937, p. 857) under "4 Campā" notes only this passage.

original gāthās of the Jātaka. None of these verses is necessary for the development of the story told in the *Campeyya Jātaka*. They depict more fully certain details which were only sketched in the original Jātaka (gāthās 1–3, worry and grief of the nāga wife); they explain other points (gāthā 8, the nāga wife finds refuge with the king; gāthās 11, 12, ransom money; 25–29, description of the palace); indicate who is speaking (gāthās 14, 30ab), or give the story a local, personal setting (gāthās 24, 29). If they are left out, a cogent plot remains, free of unnecessary repetition.

In the fourth gāthā there is a verse which fulfils all the requirements of the first gāthā of a Jātaka. Apart from the general introduction of the theme (“The Capture of the Nāga”), the identity of the speaker (the wife of the nāga) and her motives (a plea for the release of the nāga) are clearly indicated.

I–4 yam uggatejo urago ti cāhu, nāgo ti taṃ āha jano janinda |  
tam aggaḥī puriso jīvikattho, taṃ bandhanā muñca paṭī mam’ eso ||<sup>24</sup>

The one who is also (*ca*) called the snake of powerful energy, the people call nāga, O king. He was caught by a man who is making a living from him. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

The characterization of the nāga as *uggateja*- elicits a question from the king which is posed in similar form in gāthā 34 of the *Sanḅhapāla Jātaka* (5b = Ja V 172.16\*), where the snake had earlier been described

<sup>24</sup>4b: ES<sup>p</sup> āhu jano (S<sup>a</sup> (āhu) manussaloke instead of jano janinda; cf. Ja V 137.27\* *maghavā ti naṃ āhu manussaloke*), L 1471 *āha jano*, C B *āhu janā*. Cf. Mvu II 181.19\* *nāgo ti naṃ āhu janā janendra*. E S<sup>p</sup> *āhu jano* may be compared with Ja VI 336.17\* (*alikaṃ bhāsati [yaṃ] dhuttī saccam āhu mahallikā* || (grammatical cty.: *āhū ti āha katheti | ayam eva vā-pāṭho*)) where the singular in pāda 1 suggests that the same be assumed in pāda 2 as well. Cf. Norman 1969, p. 136, on Th 57, *ayam āhu purāṇiyā kuṭi* (see CPD s.v. *āha* (“wrongly taken = ahoṣi, Th-a”)); on a similar case in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu II 96.5\*: *te dāni ṛṣayo ... rājānaṃ ... uvāca*) cf. Leumann and Watanabe 1970, p. 79, n. 638.

as *mahānubhāva*- “of great power” and *tejassin*- “possessing fiery power”.<sup>25</sup>

II–5 kathaṃ nvayaṃ balaviriyūpapanno, hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakassa |  
akkhāhi me nāgakaññe tam atthaṃ, kathaṃ vijānemo gahītanāgaṃ ||<sup>26</sup>

How then did this creature endowed with strength and power fall into the hands<sup>27</sup> of a beggar?<sup>28</sup> Tell me that, nāga girl. How could I have recognized [him] as a captured nāga?<sup>29</sup>

The answer to this question gives a motive, which, as Alsdorf showed (1977, p. 29f. = *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 789f.), is repeated in various nāga Jātakas, including the *Sanḅhapāla Jātaka* (gāthā 37). As “venerator of the Dhamma of the Righteous” the nāga was keeping the uposatha on a

<sup>25</sup>*appānubhāvā taṃ mahānubhāvaṃ, tejassināṃ hanti atejavanto | kim-eva dāṭhāvudha kiṃ paṭicca, hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakānaṃ* || (see below, “Remarks on the text of the *Sanḅhapāla Jātaka*”, ad g. 34c).

<sup>26</sup>5b: SB *āgacchi*, C *vanibbakassa*. — 5c: Should the words be separated as *nāgakaññ’ etam-atthaṃ*? Cf. also g. 38c *nāgarāje tam atthaṃ* (= *Sanḅhapāla Jātaka* 28c, 30c, 42c (see below, “Remarks on the text of the *Sanḅhapāla Jātaka*”, ad g. 28c). — Mvu II 182.6\*–9\*: *kathaṃ vijāneya grhītanāgo, sa ugratejo balasthāmavanto | durāsado duḅprasaho bhujāṃgo, hastatvam āgacche vaṇipakasya* ||.

<sup>27</sup>Compare Edgerton 1953b s.v. *hastatva*- for the expression *hatthattham gacchati* (and similar expressions at Ja I 244.10\*, III 204.19\*, and VI 318.23\*). He also gives a reference to CPD <sup>2</sup>*attha*- 2., where Sinhalese *-aṭa* is compared, citing Geiger, *Litt. u. Spr. der Singh.*, §40B. With Pāli *hatthattham gacchati* cf. AMg. *hatthajjam āgayā*, Utt XIV 45 — another example of “the craving for distinctiveness of Jainas and Buddhists in regard to their terminology” (Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 111–12, n. 3).

<sup>28</sup>See Alsdorf 1977, p. 33, n. 36 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 793, n. 36), and Edgerton 1953b s.v. *vaṇipaka*- “beggar”. According to the prose version of this Pāli Jātaka, this should be translated as “showman” (O.v.H.).

<sup>29</sup>Attention should be paid to the syntax of the compound. Cf. Senart’s note to the Mvu text (Senart 1890, p. 530): “How can one believe that ...”. As for *grhītanāgo*, judging by *nigrhītanāgo*, line 4 on the following page, *grhīta* is to be understood literally in the sense of *nigrhīta*: ‘who has suppressed the nāga’, that is, ‘who has concealed his strength and appearance as a nāga’.



termite mound (according to the prose version, 460.20),<sup>30</sup> where he was eventually taken captive.<sup>31</sup>

III-6 nagaraṃ pi nāgo bhasmaṃ kareyya, tathā hi so balaviriyūpapanno |  
dhammañ ca nāgo apacāyamāno, tasmā parakkamma tapo karoti ||<sup>32</sup>

The nāga could reduce a [whole] town to ashes, he is so strong and powerful; but out of reverence for the Dhamma he resolutely practises tapas.<sup>33</sup>

IV-7 cātuddasiṃ pañṇarasiñ ca rāja, catuppathe sammati nāgarājā |  
tam aggaḥ puriso jīvikattho, taṃ bandhanaṃ muñca paṭi mam' eso ||<sup>34</sup>

On the fourteenth and fifteenth [days<sup>35</sup> of the half-month] the nāga king stayed at a crossroads, O king. There he was captured by a man, who is [thus] earning his living. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

In the following gāthā the wife of the nāgā expresses her plea for the release of her husband from captivity and for him to be treated without violence — to match the nāga's own behaviour.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Ja IV 330.3\*-6\*, *anujjagāmi uraga (d)dujivha, dāthāvudho ghoraviso si sappa | khudaṃ pipāsaṃ adhvāsāyanto, kasmā bhavaṃ posathiko nu dīgho*, and Ja VI 174.32\*, *uposathaṃ upavasanto semi vammikamuddhani* (cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 29 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 789)).

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Ja V 172.25\*-28\*, *cātuddasiṃ \*pañṇarasiñ c'alāra, uposathaṃ niccam-upāvasāmi | athāgamuṃ soḷasa bhojaputtā, rajjuṃ gahetvāna daḷhañ ca pāsam ||*

<sup>32</sup>6a: *nagaraṃ pi* (° - °); see Smith 1949, p. 1151. Pāda d = 36d (= Ja V 173.12\*). Mvu II 18.1\*-4\*: *nagaraṃ pi nāgo bhasmikareyā, tathā hi yāvac ca balopapeto | dharmam tu nāgo \*apacāyamāno, hastatvam āgacche vañipakasya ||*; Senart 1890, pāda c: *ayaṃ yācamāno* (cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 37, and Jones 1952, p. 176, n. 2).

<sup>33</sup>For the translation cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 33 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 793).

<sup>34</sup>7a: E *pañnarasiñ ca*, S<sup>a</sup> *cātuddasī pañṇarasiñ ca rājā*, S<sup>p</sup> C *pañnarasiñ ca*, B L 1471 *pañcadasiṃ* (cf. on this vo Hinüber 2001, §402). Cf. Mvu II 182.11\*-14\*: *caturdasīṃ pañcadasiṃ ca aṣṭamīm, catuspathe gacchati nāgarājo | osrṣṭakāyo vicaranto nāgo, hastatvam āgacche vañipakasya ||* (cf. Thī 3 I *cātuddasī pañcaddasī yā calva pakkhassa aṭṭhami* with pāda a).

<sup>35</sup>Here, the day is surely meant (cf. *uposathadivasa-*) because the laity keep the uposatha during the day by fasting, etc.

V-9 dhammena mocehi asāhasena, gāmena nikkhena gavaṃ satena |  
ossaṭṭhakāyo urago carātu, puññatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā ||<sup>36</sup>

In accordance with the Dhamma, release him without violence by means of [the gift of] a village, gold jewellery [or] of a hundred cows. The snake should leave, having lowered his body.<sup>37</sup> He who [after all only] wanted to gain merit, should be released from captivity.

In the next gāthā (VI-10) the king agrees to this request in the same words (a principle of “oral poetry”).<sup>38</sup> As indicated above, both the following verses (11, 12) were added later only to give more details of the extent of the ransom.

VII-13 vināpi dānā tava vacanaṃ janinda,  
muñcemu naṃ uragaṃ bandhanasmā |  
ossaṭṭhakāyo urago carātu, puññatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā ||<sup>39</sup>

Even without a gift, O king, we will release this snake from captivity on the strength of your word.<sup>40</sup> ...

<sup>36</sup>9d: E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*, C *mucatu*. Cf. Mvu II 183.2\*-5\*: *dharmeṇa mocehi asāhasena, grāmeṇa niṣkena ca goṣatena | osrṣṭakāyo nigrhūtanāgo, puñyārthiko mucyatu nāgarājo ||*

<sup>37</sup>*ossaṭṭhakāya-* seems to denote the non-aggressive posture of snakes which have “lowered their bodies”. As a peaceful attitude is appropriate for someone practising the *uposatha*, snakes are described thus when celebrating this day (cf. S III 241.15: *ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena-m-idh' ekacce aṇḍajā nāgā uposatham upavasanti ossaṭṭhakāyā ca bhavanti ti*). I am indebted to Prof. Dr Albrecht Wezler for this explanation.

<sup>38</sup>Here too read *mucatu* with C (E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*). Mvu II 183.7\*-10\*: ... *mocesyam, ... | osrṣṭakāyo ca bhujamgo gacchatu, pṛito ca sampadyatu nāgarājā ||*

<sup>39</sup>13a: hypermetric pāda, in view of L 1471 *vināpi dānena tava* and C<sup>k</sup> *tha* for *tava* perhaps read *vināpi dānā te vacanaṃ janinda* (° - ° - - | - ° ° | - ° - °), typically hypermetric because of the deferred caesura (O.v.H.)). 13b: S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 *muñcemi*; 13d: C *mucatu*, E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*. — Mvu II 183.19\*-22\*: *vinā tu dānā vacanān narendra, muñcām' imaṃ dhārmiko nāgarājā | mahānubhāvo paralokadarśī, mahābalo so ca na saṃvihethyo ||*

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 30, n. 23 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 790, n. 23): “*vinā pi dānā tava vacanaṃ nar' inda* (g. 13): according to Mvu II 183.19\* *vinā tu dānā vacanān narendra*, ECSB *vacanaṃ* is to be corrected to *nā* (or abl. *-aṃ?*)” For the

It emerges clearly from gāthā 15 that on his release, the snake invites the king to visit his underwater palaces, whereupon the king takes pause for thought, explaining that a man should not in fact trust a snake. This in turn leads the snake to protest his sincerity in two verses, the first of which appears verbatim in the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (Ja V 480.15\*–18\*). The gāthā is thus correctly placed before the two verses of protestation and belongs to the original content of the Jātaka.

VIII–15 addhā hi dubbissāsam etam āhu, yaṃ mānuso vissase amānusamhi |  
sace ca maṃ yācasi etam attham, dakkhemu te nāga nivesanāni ||<sup>41</sup>

In fact they call it misplaced trust for a human to trust a non-human. But if you ask me [now] for that, O nāga, I shall [come with you to] see your dwellings.

As gāthā 18 it comes after the two gāthās of oath, repeated for emphasis.<sup>42</sup>

IX–16 sace pi vāto girim āvaheyya, cando ca surīyo ca chamā pateyyuṃ |  
sabbā ca najjo paṭisotaṃ vajeyyuṃ  
na tv-ev' ahaṃ rāja musā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||<sup>43</sup>

ablative singular in -aṃ cf. Sakamoto-Goto 1984, p. 52, n. 32, vo Hinüber 2001, § 304, and Oberlies 2001, p. 144.

<sup>41</sup>15a: E CB S<sup>p</sup> dubbissasam, S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 dubbissāsam (cf. PED s.v. vissāsa-) (so also 18a). 15b: all mss = E amānusamhi (to remove the hypermetric syllable, perhaps read vissase 'mānusamhi (suggestion of Ch.W., who furthermore referred me to Ṛgveda 10.95.8b on the subject of the comparison "human/beast")).

<sup>42</sup>Indeed, the Siamese edition of the Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā of A.B. 2471 (1928) does not give this stanza.

<sup>43</sup>16a: EC sace hi, B B<sup>d</sup> (Fausbøll) S L 1471 pi (cf. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka g. 35a (Ja V 480.15\*): sace pi vāto ... (cited at Saddanīti 815.6) and Mvu II 185.3\*–6\*: apy eva vāto girim āvaheya, candro ca sūryo ca kṣitīm pateya | sarvā ca nadyo pratiśrotā vahensuḥ, na tv ev' ahaṃ rāja mṛṣā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||). 16d: S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 tv-evāhaṃ.

Even if the wind were to carry off a mountain, sun and moon were to fall to earth, and all rivers run backwards, I would not, O king, tell an untruth.<sup>44</sup>

X–17 nabhaṃ phaleyya udadhī pi susse, saṃvaṭṭaye bhūtadharā vasundharā |  
siluccayo meru samūlam ubbahe,  
na tv-ev' ahaṃ rāja musā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||<sup>45</sup>

The sky could burst, the ocean dry up, the creature-carrying earth could coil itself up [and] Mount Meru rip out its own roots,<sup>46</sup> but I, O king, would not tell an untruth.

As regards verses 19–22, there is no doubt that they belong to the old gāthā content of the Jātaka. They build up a picture of the risk which a visit to a nāga represents and show the nāga and his kin as true “venerators of the Dhamma of the Righteous”, grateful and true to their word.

XI–19 tumhe kho cettha ghoravisā uḷārā, mahātejā khippakopā ca hotha |  
mama kāraṇā bandhanasmā pamutto, arahasi no jānituṃ ye katāni ||<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup>Compare Ja III 62.18\*f.: ambho na kira saddheyyaṃ yaṃ vāto pabbataṃ vahe | pabbataṃ ca vahe vāto sabbam pi paṭhaviṃ vahe || “Who could ever believe that the wind | would lift a mountain from the earth? | And yet the wind would sooner carry | the mountain away, even the whole earth ||” (Lüders 1921, p. 218).

<sup>45</sup>17b: EC saṃvaṭṭayaṃ (read: saṃvaṭṭ' ayaṃ “this [earth] could coil itself up” (?)), S saṃvaṭṭeyya, L 1471 saṃvaṭṭeyyuṃ (corrected to saṃvaṭṭaṭṭe (read: vaṭṭaye)), B saṃvaṭṭaye; 17d: S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 tv-evāhaṃ.

<sup>46</sup>I take samūla as Skt. svamūla-, following a suggestion of O.v.H. Pāli ubbahati (“tear out”) comes from Old Indic ud-vṛhati, which survives in Prakrit uvvīhai (cf. Pischel § 489) with the verbal adjective uvvūḍha- or uvvīḍha- (cf. Wackernagel 1937, p. 833 (= Kl. Sch., p. 415)). Cf. Ja V 240.23\* samūlam api abbahe. On the other hand, the commentary explains: evaṃ mahā-sinerupabbato samūlo uṭṭhāya purāṇapaṇṇaṃ viya ākāse pakkhandeyya (Ja IV 462.26f), taking samūla- to be a bahuvrīhi (= mūlena sahitaḥ) and ubbahe = udvahet (cf. also CPD s.v.).

<sup>47</sup>19a: BCS tumhe khottha, L 1471 tumhe kho cettha (read: khō (cf. Alsdorf 1968a, p. 59) or with Fausbøll tumhe 'ttha kho); EBSCP °kopī, S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 °kopā; 19c: B mamkāraṇā (Fausbøll's mama kāraṇā scans = – √ –); 19d: L 1471 arahāsī (= – √), E L 1471 jānitaye (read jānitāye), C jānitāye, C<sup>ks</sup>

You are indeed large, terribly poisonous and of great brilliance; you are also quick to anger.<sup>48</sup> Through me you have been freed from captivity. I expect you to be grateful to me.

XII–20 so paccataṃ niraye ghorarūpe, mā kāyikaṃ sātama alaththa kiñci |  
peḷāya baddho maraṇaṃ upetu, yo tādisaṃ kamma kataṃ na jāne ||<sup>49</sup>

Anyone not grateful for a deed done for him such as this should roast in a terrible hell,<sup>50</sup> should find no bodily comfort, should die imprisoned in a basket.

XIII–21 saccapaṭiñṇā tava-m-esa hotu, akkodhana hohi anūpanāhi |  
sabbañ ca te nāgakulaṃ supaṇṇā, aggiṃ va gimhāsu vivajjayantu ||<sup>51</sup>

Let this be your true promise. Be free from anger, not contentious. And all your nāga kin shall avoid the supaṇṇas as [men] avoid fire in summer.

XIV–22 anukampasī nāgakulaṃ janinda, mātā yathā suppiyaṃ ekaputtaṃ |  
ahañ ca te nāgakulena saddhiṃ, kāhāmi veyyāvatikaṃ uḷāraṃ ||<sup>52</sup>

*jānitamyē*, B *jānituyē* (to be explained as *jānitumyē*), S *jānitave* (on these different infinitives see Oberlies 2001, pp. 263–64). Cf. Mvu II 184.5\*–8\*: [*suduṣkaraṃ nāga mayā kṛtaṃ te*], *duḥkhāsi tvaṃ bandhanaḍ asi muktaḥ* | *jāto ca loke na kṛtāni jānati, mā khussa me nāga kṛtaṃ na jāne* ||, and Mvu II 184.15\*–18\*: *tuṃhe hi me tiḥṣṇaviṣā udārā, mahābalā kṣiprakopā ca nāgā* | [*nāgāham etaṃ abhiśraddadhāmi*], [*no tvaṃ amanuṣo manuṣasya krudho*] || (at Mvu II 184.18\* read *amānuṣo mānuṣasya* with mss BC (Charpentier 1909, p. 41)).

<sup>48</sup>Cf. Rāmāyaṇa 4.58.9b *tiḥṣṇakopā bhujāṅgamāḥ*.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Mvu II 184.10\*–13\*: *narakasmim jīveya ciraṃ sa \*kālaṃ, mā kāyikaṃ kiṃci labheya sādhu* | *yo bādhatē pūrvakārisya rājan, asmādr̥so tuhya kṛtaṃ na jāne* || Senart 1890: 17a, *kāmaṃ*; 17c, *pūrvakārisya rājño*; cf. however mss BC (Charpentier 1909, p. 40; on *pūrvakārisya*, cf. also Edgerton 1953b s.v. *pūrvakārin-*); 17d: *yo tādr̥saṃ karma kṛtaṃ na jāne* (cf. Jones 1952, p. 178, n. 2). Charpentier 1909, p. 40, restores pādas cd as follows: *yo bādhitō pūrvakārisya rājan, asmādr̥so tuhya kṛtaṃ na jāne* || and translates: “who — bound to a former benefactor as I am to you, O king — is not grateful?”

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Ja VI 183.2\* *paccati niraye ghore*.

<sup>51</sup>21b: B *anupanāhi*; 21d: S *aggi va*, B *gimhesu*.

<sup>52</sup>22a: BCS<sup>a</sup> *anukampasī* (≡ – ~ –)

You have pity on the nāga kin, O king, like a mother on her only son who is very dear to her. [Therefore,] the nāga kin and I will render you great service.<sup>53</sup>

After the king had satisfied himself as to the sincerity of the nāga, he gave the order to depart. Pāda d, which takes up 15d, argues against elimination of the verse, which must be taken into consideration because similar “instructions” are frequently interpolated by the revisers of the Jātakas.

XV–23 yojentu ve rājarathe sucitte, kambojake assatare sudante |  
nāge ca yojentu suvaṇṇakappane, dakkhemu nāgassa nivesanāni ||<sup>54</sup>

The well-tamed mules from Kamboja should be harnessed to the lovely shining carriage of the king and [also] the elephants, decorated with golden bridles.<sup>55</sup> We wish to [go to] see the palaces of the nāga.

The following gāthās, which have in part been included verbatim in the *Vimānavatthu*,<sup>56</sup> give a typical description of the magnificent dwelling places of the nāgas.<sup>57</sup> In the course of transmission, the original description of the palace in *triṣṭubhs* had inserted before it a second description in *ślokas*, which, in part, verbally reflects the older

<sup>53</sup>On *veyyāvatika-* cf. Lüders 1954, § 99.

<sup>54</sup>23a: L 1471 *yojayantu rāja* (≡ – ~); 23c: L 1471 *suvaṇṇakappake*. Cf. Mvu II 185.11\*–14\*: *yujyantu te rājarathā sucitrā, kambojakā aśvavarā sudāntā* | *hastī ca yujyantu suvarṇacchatrā, drakṣyāmy ahaṃ nāganiveśanāni* || Charpentier 1909, p. 41, corrected to *\*aśvatarā*. Cf. Ja IV 395.16\* *yojentu ve rājarathe* with pāda a of the Pāli text (cf. Alsdorf 1957a, p. 203 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 187)).

<sup>55</sup>Cf. Ja IV 404.26\*–27\* (*yutte deva rathe dehi ājānīye c'alamkate* | *nāge dehi mahārāja hemakappanavāsase*), V 258.27\* (... *mātaṅgā hemakappanavāsasā*) and Skt. *kalpanā-* Amarakośa (NS Press) 1551, *Daśakumāracarita* (ed. M. R. Kāle) 59.7, *Jātakamālā* 74.9.

<sup>56</sup>Ja 30 ab = Vv 17.1a; Ja 31a = Vv 36.2a; Ja 31b = Vv 64.13c; Ja 32a, 35a = Vv 44.11ab; Ja 33ab = Vv 11.1ab; Ja 34ab = Vv 6.8cd, 8.8cd; Ja 35ab = Vv 44.3cd, 84.32bc.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Alsdorf 1971, pp. 53–55 (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 410–12).

version.<sup>58</sup> The following 1½ triṣṭubhs (gāthās 29 and 30 ab) could not have belonged to the old gāthā collection either, if the grammar in the case of g. 29 is taken as the only criterion.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, as is so often found, 30ab merely puts into verse an indication of who is speaking (see above, p. 119).<sup>60</sup>

XVI–30 vimānaseṭṭhāni imāni tuyhaṃ, ādiccavaṇṇāni pabhassarāni |  
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>61</sup>

These magnificent palaces of yours shine like the sun. There is nothing like this in the world of men. What [then] is your reason for practising asceticism, nāga ?

XVII–31 tā kambukāyūrādhārā suvatthā, (vaṭṭaṅgulī tambatalūpapannā)<sup>62</sup>  
paggayha pāyenti anomavaṇṇā |  
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>63</sup>

These beautifully clad [nāga maidens] are wearing bracelets and armlets. (They have [beautiful] rounded fingers, copper-red palms and soles.) [These nāga maidens] of unparalleled beauty offer drinks with outstretched [arms]. There is nothing ...

<sup>58</sup>Cf. 26cd (ādiccavaṇṇanupanibhaṃ kaṃsavijjupabhassaram) with 30d (ādiccavaṇṇāni pabhassarāni).

<sup>59</sup>Gāthā 29 can only be translated if a type of “split compound” is assumed (see CPD Epilog. 33\* and Oberlies 2001, pp. 122–23): *nāgakañṇā ... gaṇena* for \**nāgakañṇāgaṇena*; see also the explanation of the grammatical commentary Ja IV 465.9f. (read *nāgakañṇāgaṇena caritam* with B<sup>d</sup>B<sup>a</sup>L 1471, or rather *-kañṇānaṃ gaṇena caritam* with C<sup>a</sup>S<sup>a</sup> (= Ja VI 313.19'–20')).

<sup>60</sup>The number of lines in a verse should not vary either in a strophic system of metre such as the Indian (Ch.W.).

<sup>61</sup>3of: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*.

<sup>62</sup>Pāda b could easily be omitted (Ch.W.). Cf. footnote 60.

<sup>63</sup>31a: L 1471 *suvaṇṇā*; 31e: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*. Cf. Mvu II 187.20\*–23\*: *tvam kañcukāmbāradharo suvastrō, tatra yāpento anupamavaṇṇo | diviyehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūtaḥ, kimarthaṃ nāga bhuvī tvam caresi* || Cf., however, mss BC: °*dharā suvastrā, [tatra] yāyanti anopavaṇṇā* |.

XVIII–32 najjo ca khemā puthulomamacchā, adāsakuntābhirudā sutitthā |  
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>64</sup>

And the rivers are quiet,<sup>65</sup> [the home of] broad-scaled fish. Their magnificent banks resound with birds living in freedom. There is nothing ...<sup>66</sup>

XIX–33 koñcā mayūrā diviyā ca haṃsā, vaggussarā kokilā saṃpatanti |  
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>67</sup>

Cranes, peacocks and heavenly geese, sweet sounding cuckoos fly [around] together [there]. There is nothing ...<sup>68</sup>

XX–34 ambā ca sālā tilakā ca jambuyo, uddālakā pāṭaliyo ca phullā |  
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>69</sup>

Mango, sal, *tilaka*, and roseapple trees, *uddālakas* and *pāṭalis* stand in full bloom. There is nothing ...<sup>70</sup>

XXI–35 imā ca te pokkharañño samantato,  
diviyā ca gandhā satataṃ \*saṃpavanti |

<sup>64</sup>32a: CS L 1471 *temā*, B *te 'mā*; 32b: SP L 1471 *ādāsakuntā*°, S<sup>a</sup> *ādāsasakuntā*° (cty: *ādāsasakuntābhirudā ti ādāsasankhātehi sakuṇehi*), C *āṭā sakunīābhirudā* (C<sup>a</sup> as one word; cty: *āṭāsankhātehi sakuṇehi abhirudā*), B *āṭāsakuntā*° (cty: *āṭāsankhātehi sakuṇehi abhirudā*) (the *āṭā* bird is named in the Vessantara Jātaka VI 539.13\* (cty: *dabbimukhasakuna*) and Cone, under *adāsakuntābhirudā* and *āṭa* is inclined to accept *āṭāsakuntābhirudā* as the correct reading); 32d: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Lüders 1897, pp. 118f., n. 5, where he refers to this passage (Ja IV 466.1\*). But in the transmission of the text, the inclusion of *khemā* is problematic. Should we perhaps read *temā* with BCS L 1471 and connect this with *temeti* (see PED s.v.)? Is the meaning: rivers “full of water”? (O.v.H.).

<sup>66</sup>CPD s.v. explains *adāsakunta-* as formed by haplology from \**adāsasakunta-*. The correctness of this explanation is doubtful, however, in view of the reading of BCSL (cf. footnote 64; cf. also Bollée 1970, pp. 89f.).

<sup>67</sup>33d: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*.

<sup>68</sup>On *koñca-* “crane” see Leslie 1998. Cf. *mayūrakoñcābhiruda-* Ja V 304.24\*, VI 483.3\* (cf. Alsdorf 1957b, p. 16 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 285)) and D III 201.22.

<sup>69</sup>34a: jagatī pāda (cadence – √ – √ –); 34d: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*.

<sup>70</sup>*pāṭalī* is the trumpet-flower tree, *Stereospermum suaveolens* (Cone and Gombrich 1977, p. 97, n. 2).

n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||<sup>71</sup>

From all sides, heavenly scents always pervade these lotus pools of yours. There is nothing ...<sup>72</sup>

The following six gāthās (36–41) pose the most difficult textual problem of the Campeyya Jātaka. They are also found as gāthās 40–43 and 50–51 in the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka. Let us look at these gāthās individually.

The question posed six times, *kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi*?, definitely requires an answer, so that either gāthā 36 or perhaps gāthā 39 must have followed gāthās 30–35. It is fairly certain that gāthā 38 of the Campeyya Jātaka has been borrowed from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, which is shown by the choice of words of this gāthā (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka gg. 31b, 34c to *mahānubhāva*-; cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka g. 28c (see also 30c) to *pucchāmi taṃ nāgarāje taṃ atthaṃ*<sup>73</sup>). This implies that gāthā 39 also originates from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka as a necessary answer to the question (*seyyo ito kena manussaloko*?) posed in gāthā 38. Thus

<sup>71</sup>35a: jagatī pāda °ñño (S *pokkharāñño*) *samantato* (– √ – √ –), L 1471 *samantā* (triṣṭubh pāda – √ – –); 35b: EC *diviyā* (C *divyā*) *ca* (≈ – √) *gandhā satataṃ sampatanti* (*sampatanti* is from gāthā 33, where it is in the right place, and has been moved through *aberratio oculi* (*sampa*- twice)), S *dibyā ca* (– – √) ... *sampavāyanti* (L 1471 om. *ca*), B *dibbā ca gandhā satataṃ pavāyanti*; the commentary reads 35b: S<sup>a</sup> *dibyā gandhā ti ... dibyā gandhā pavāyanti*. EC<sup>a</sup> B<sup>a</sup> *dibbā ca gandhā ti ... dibbagandhā vāyanti*; 35d: B *kiṃ pathayaṃ*.

<sup>72</sup>The syntax of the gāthā causes difficulties. As *gandhā* is the subject (cf. Ja III 91.14\* *vāti cāyaṃ tato gandho*, Ja III 189.14\* *vāti gandho timirānaṃ*, and Mahābhārata 1,175.10 *gandho ... pravāyati*), *pokkharāñño* must be the accusative dependent on *sampavāyanti*. Cf. Vv 84.32 (*dibbā ca gandhā surabhī pavanti | te sampavāyanti idaṃ vimānaṃ ...*) and Th 528 (*dumāni ... samantato sabbadisā pavanti*). But should it not mean “the lotus pools emit heavenly scents”? Should it read: \**imāya te pokkharāñño samantato*, “around this lotus pool of yours” (*samantato* with genitive)? Or *imā ca te pokkharāñño samantato*, \**diviye ca \*gandhe satataṃ [sam]pavanti* “these lotus pools of yours continually waft heavenly scents in all directions”? The grammatical commentary explains: *tāsu pokkharāṇṅsu satataṃ dibbagandhā vāyanti*.

<sup>73</sup>Perhaps *kāmehi* might be added as well (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka g. 25d).

only gāthā 36 would remain as the “original” answer of the Campeyya Jātaka to the question posed in gg. 30–35.

But the question *kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi* of gāthā 39 of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka also requires an answer, so we find ourselves facing a similar textual historical problem there. The fact that the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka with its fifty-two triṣṭubhs<sup>74</sup> is placed in the Cattālīsa-nipāta shows that, like the Campeyya Jātaka, it was extended by at least three gāthās during revision.

If we look at the last four gāthās of this Jātaka, then it seems clear to me that the original ended with gāthā 48, which answers the question posed in gāthā 1 (*kathaṃ nu vittāni pahāya bhoge, pabbaji ...*) in pāda d (*saddhāy' ahaṃ pabbajito 'mhi rāja*). Gāthās 48cd and 49 also occur in the Theragāthā and Majjhima-nikāya, as follows:

gāthā 48b	Th 782d	M II 73,19, 20
gāthā 48c	Th 787c	M II 73,19, 20
gāthā 48c	Th 787d, 789a	M II 74,7f.
gāthā 49	Th 788	M II 74,9–12

Earlier, the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka probably ended with gāthā 48, pādas bcd of which belong to the large store of “floating pādas.”<sup>75</sup> Subsequently, the three gāthās 49–51 were added, praising Aḷāra’s decision to live as an ascetic by general maxims, while g. 49 came in naturally because it followed two pādas very similar to g. 48cd in the Majjhima-nikāya and Theragāthā.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup>In Fausbøll’s edition the Jātaka comprises only 51 gāthās. But apart from L 1550 (= E) all the oriental editions of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka I have used (as well as Fausbøll’s manuscripts B<sup>ds</sup>) have an additional verse between gāthās 32 and 33 (see below p. 132).

<sup>75</sup>Apart from the parallel places mentioned, there are parallels for g. 48b at A IV 157.7 and M II 73,18f. (*asasataṃ vippariṇāmadhammaṃ*) and for g. 48c at Ja IV 313,1\* and Sn 50c.

<sup>76</sup>On the closing verses of the Jātaka, cf. Oldenberg 1918, pp. 432ff. (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 1072ff.)

These considerations point to the conclusion that the composer of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka took gāthās 36–39 from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (gg. 40–43), which would by no means be unusual. It is a well-known fact that the Jātaka writers “sometimes, instead of practising original composition, were engaged in a kind of jigsaw puzzle”.<sup>77</sup>

Presumably, gāthās 40 and 41, commending the decision of the nāga (*kāhāmi jātimaraṇassa antaṃ*),<sup>78</sup> also do not belong to the original Campeyya Jātaka. These are “floating stanzas” which were adapted to different contexts (cf. Ja III 306.15\*, 16\*, 22\*–25\*, IV 453.15\*, 16\*, V 478.22\*),<sup>79</sup> but they do not fit well here.

XXII–36 na puttahetu na dhanassa hetu, na āyuno vāpi janinda hetu |  
manussayoniṃ abhipatthayāno, tasmā parakkamma tapo karomi ||<sup>80</sup>  
Not for a son, not for riches,<sup>81</sup> nor for long life, O king., but because  
I am striving for rebirth as a human, do I assiduously practise  
asceticism.

<sup>77</sup>Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 364). See also Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 409).

<sup>78</sup>Gāthā 40: *addhā ha ve sevittabbā sapaññā, bahussutā ye bahuṭhānacintino | narīyo ca [𑀧𑀭 – 𑀭] disvāna tavañ ca nāga, kāhāmi puññāni anappakāni ||*; 40c: SB L 1550 *nāriyo*. EC *tavañ ca*, SP B<sup>p</sup> *tavañ ca*, B<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup> *tvañ ca* (on *tavaṃ/it(u)vam* cf. Trenckner 1879, p. 76 (= 1908, p. 129) and Bollée 1970, p. 93); 40d: E *puññāni* (typographical error). “Certainly the wise are to be honoured, the learned who have wide-ranging knowledge. As I have seen you and the[se] women, o nāga, I will perform many meritorious [deeds].” (On *ha ve* cf. Caillat 1980, p. 56, n. 64; on pāda b, cf. Ja III 346.20\* *bahūni ṭhānāni vicintayitvā*). — g. 41 *addhā ha ve sevittabbā sapaññā, bahussutā ye bahuṭhānacintino | narīyo ca [𑀧𑀭 – 𑀭] disvāna mamañ ca rāja, karohi puññāni anappakāni ||* “As you have seen me and the[se] women, o king, perform many meritorious [deeds].” (41c: SB L 1550 *nāriyo*; 41d: E *puññāni* (typographical error)).

<sup>79</sup>Pādas ab correspond to Ja IV 453.15\*, 16\*, V 176.19\*, 20\*, 26\*, 27\* (Saṅkhapāla Ja). To pādās cd cf. Ja III 306.15\*, 16\*, 24\*, 25\*; V 176.21\*, 22\*, 28\*, 29\*. Cf. also Ja IV 281.19\*–20\* (*suvasa sutvāna subhāsītāni, kāhāmi puññāni anappakāni*).

<sup>80</sup>36b: SP B B<sup>d</sup> L 1471 *cāpi* (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, g. 40b).

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Ja V 460.23\*, 24\* (*na dhanassa kāraṇā, na puttadārassa*).

XXIII–37 tvam lohitakkho vihatantaramso, alamkato kappitakesamassu |  
surosito lohitacandanena, gandhabbarājā va disā pabhāsasi ||<sup>82</sup>

With red eyes, broad back,<sup>83</sup> adorned, trimmed hair and beard, you brighten all directions like a Gandhabba king, well rubbed with red sandalwood.

XXIV–38 deviddhipatto si mahānubhāvo, sabbehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūto |  
pucchāmi taṃ nāgarāje tam-attham, seyyo ito kena manussaloko ||<sup>84</sup>

Divine miraculous powers you have attained [already]. You are powerful. All you have wished for has been given to you. So I ask you, O king of the nāgas, the following: ‘How is the world of men better than this [your world]?’

XXV–39 janinda nāññatra manussalokā, suddhī ca saṃvijjati saṃyamo ca |  
ahañ ca laddhāna manussayoniṃ, kāhāmi jātimaraṇassa antaṃ ||<sup>85</sup>

Nowhere, O king, but in the human world is there purity and self-discipline. And on attaining rebirth as a human, I shall prepare for an end to birth and death.

Amongst the last three gāthās of the Campeyya Jātaka, only g. 42 causes critical difficulties in the text, but in my opinion they are insurmountable ones. Even the oriental editions offer no variant readings

<sup>82</sup>37d: E CSB L 1471 *disā pabhāsasi, jagatī pāda ( / – 𑀭 – 𑀭 × )*. Or to form a triṣṭubh pāda should we read m.c. *disā \*pabhāsi ( / – 𑀭 – × )* (Ch. W.)? Cf. B<sup>p</sup> and B<sup>d</sup>, which do in fact have *pabhāsi* at the parallel place in the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, g. 41d (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, g. 41d).

<sup>83</sup>Following Alsdorf’s translation (see CPD s.v. *antaramsa-*) of g. 14 of the Bhūridatta Jātaka (Alsdorf 1977, p. 47 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 807)). According to PED (s.v. *antaramsa-*), “with broad breast”.

<sup>84</sup>For pāda b cf. Mvu II 187.22\* (*divyehi kāmehi samāṅgibhūtaḥ*)

<sup>85</sup>39a: L 1471 *nāññattha*; 39b: S<sup>a</sup> L 1471 *suddhi vā*, C<sup>p</sup> *suddhī ca*, C<sup>a</sup> *suddhī ca*, S<sup>p</sup> B *suddhī va ... vā*. Cf. Saṅkhapāla Ja g. 43b: C *suddhī vā ... saññāmo vā* (C<sup>a</sup> cty: *saṃyamo*), SB L 1550 *suddhī va (S<sup>a</sup> vā) ... saṃyamo vā* (exactly as the cty in S<sup>a</sup> and B<sup>a</sup>), and Mvu II 188.2\* (ms B) *saṃvidyate ( / - ti ) †sod[h]i va saṃyamo vā* (cf. Smith 1953, p. 124). For a comparison of the content, see Ja III 47.14\*–15\*: *so hi nūna ito gantvā yoniṃ laddhāna mānusiṃ | vadaññu sīlasampanno kāhāmi kusalam bahum*.

which are (metrically) correct.<sup>86</sup> Pāda c exhibits a false cadence (*sovaṇṇaḥarāni* – – | ∪ ∪ – –). Moreover, *kāraya* (L 1550 *kāreyya*, – ∪ × or – – ×), taken by SC (L) into pāda c, gives the verse 14 syllables. Furthermore, *rūpiyassa*, now moved into first place, would have to be read as three syllables \**rūpyassa* (third syllable short). The construction in all cases remains obscure. Who is the subject of *haritvā ... kārayal kāreyya* and *karontulkarotu*? The only solution I can offer is Fausbøll's suggested emendation, g. 42cd: *ito haritvā suvaṇṇaṃ gharāni, rūpyassa cā* (sic) *pākāraṃ karontu*. The translation must necessarily remain uncertain.

XXVI–42 *idañ ca me jātarūpaṃ pahūtaṃ, rāsī suvaṇṇassa ca tālamattā |*  
*ito haritvā sovaṇṇaḥarāni, [kāraya] rūpiyassa ca pākāraṃ karontu ||*  
 Here, this is my plentiful [unworked] gold and here a pile of [worked] gold, as high as a palm tree. [This] you may (?) take with you from here and ... build [yourself] golden houses and a wall of silver.

XXXVII–43 \**muttāna ca vāhasahassāni pañca, veḷuriyamissānaṃ ito haritvā |*  
*antepure bhūmiyaṃ santharantu, nikkaddamā hohiti nīrajā ca ||*<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup>SC = E; 42a: L 1550 *imañ*; 42c: L 1550 *haretvā*, B *haritvāna suvaṇṇa*° (thus also the cty); 42cd: SC take *kāraya* to pāda c, L 1550 *kāreyya* (taken into pāda c) ... *karotu*, B *karassu rūpiyapākāraṃ karontu*. For the correspondence of (ECS<sup>a</sup>) *kāraya* and (B) *karassu* see von Hinüber 2001, § 415, and Oberlies 2001, p. 199.

<sup>87</sup>43a: E B *muttā ca*, CS C<sup>ks</sup> (Fausbøll) L 1550 *muttānañ ca* (*muttāna* – – ∪, gen. pl. in *-āna*); 43b: E CB S<sup>p</sup> *veḷuriyamissāni*, S<sup>a</sup>° *missānaṃ*, L 1550 *vedurimissāni ito haretvā*; 43d: SB L 1550 *hehiti* (cf. Smith 1952, p. 179 and von Hinüber 2001, § 471). The frequently used Prakrit genitive plural in *-āna* is variously attested in Pāli too (see Oberlies 2001, p. 147). Cf. Mvu II 187.11\*–14\* (with emendations in pādas b (already in Charpentier 1909, p. 43) and according to Jones 1952, p. 180, notes 1f.): *muktāna te vāhasatāni pañca, vaiḍūryamiśrāna \*dadāmi rājñe | antaḥpure bhūmi \*samāstarāhi, niṣkardamā \*bheṣyati \*nīrajā \*ca ||* Senart 1890: pāda b: *dadāsi*; pāda c: *samāstarā hi* (BHS *samāstarā*, cf. *sam-ā-stṛ* Mbh, Rāmāyaṇa, Jātakamālā (pw); *-āhi*, instr. pl., Edgerton 1953a, § 9.102; or read \**samāstarehi* (instr. pl. of *samāstara*-?); pāda d: *niṣkardamā tviṣimati nīrarāja*.

Five thousand coaches of pearls mixed with beryl you are to take from here and spread them on the floor of your palace [so that] it becomes free of dirt and dust.

Silver, gold, pearls, and jewels count as the special property of snakes (cf. Ja II 296.12\*–14\*: *rajataṃ jātarūpañ ca muttā veḷuriyā bahū | te ca tena asantuṭṭhā bhīyyo-bhīyyo akhāṇisum || te tatthāsīviso ghorotejasī tejasā hani ||*).<sup>88</sup>

XXVIII–44 *etādisaṃ āvasa rājasetṭha, vimānasetṭhaṃ bahu sobhamānaṃ |*  
*bārāṇasiṃ nagaraṃ iddhaphītaṃ, rajjañ ca kārehi anomapañña ||*<sup>89</sup>  
 O best of kings, live in such a magnificent palace, which shines brightly, [and also] in the flourishing city of Vārāṇasī. Reign [there], you who are so full of wisdom.

If this reconstruction of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka is correct, then it follows that the Campeyya Jātaka of the Mahāvastu must be directly based on the Pāli version. Various Jātakas found in the Jātaka as well as in the Mahāvastu should be studied with regard to their relationship to each other in order to lend support to the conclusion reached here.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>On snakes and jewels see Gaeffke 1954.

<sup>89</sup>44c: SB *iddhaṃ phītaṃ*.

<sup>90</sup>Different versions of the Campeyya Jātaka in Buddhist literature are analysed by Hahn 1995.

## APPENDIX

## Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhaṇḍa Jātaka (Fausbøll V 161–77)

- 4a: BCS *vañijja*, B<sup>d</sup> L 1550 *vāñijjam* and commentaries (*vañijjan ti*). *vāñijja(m)* scans - - - (i.e. it ends with a short nasal vowel).
- 4b: Hypermetric triṣṭubh (B B<sup>d</sup> *bhojanaputte*). Should we not read *pathe \*ddasāsīm* (third syllable short) instead of *pathe addasāsīm*, which is correct in the cadence of 39a? (O.v.H., Ch.W.)
- 7a: BCS L 1550 *sakaṃ nicketaṃ* ( - / - - - ); cf. g. 47c, Ja III 349.22\* and Ja IV 341.24\*.
- 7c: Read with BC S<sup>a</sup> L 1550 *māmsāni* ( - - - ).
- 7d: Probably *\*kho* is to be read instead of (ES) *vo* (Ch.W.) or eastern (BC) *ve* = Skt *vai* (cf. Lüders 1954, § 23) (O.v.H.).
- 10a: Read (with S) *tada'ssu* (B *tadā'ssu*, C *tadassu*). Cf. however, CPD s.v. <sup>5</sup>*assu*. On the particle (*a*)*ssu* cf. Kern 1909, p. 236, n. 2; Norman 1980, p. 165; Sakamoto-Goto 1989, pp. 96ff.; and Oberlies 2001, p. 53, n. 3.
- 10b: For the translation see Hinüber 1985, p. 61.
- 11c: Read (with S<sup>P</sup>) *tada'ss' ahaṃ* (B *tadā'ss' ahaṃ*, C *tadassahaṃ*, S *tada'ss'āhaṃ*). Thus also 27b (cf. Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 409). Cf., however, CPD s.v. <sup>5</sup>*assu*.
- 12c: Jagatī pāda (cadence: - - - - (cf. Smith 1949, p. 1154)).
- 13a: *agamāsi* is to be read - - -, otherwise syllable three long (O.v.H.).
- 13c: BC *samotataṃ jambuhi vetasāhi*, L 1550 *samāthitaṃ jambuhi vedisāhi*, S *samonataṃ* (S<sup>a</sup> *saṃmonataṃ*) *jambuhi vedisāhi*.
- 14d: *hadayaṅgamaṃ* (thus all mss) is to be read - - - (O.v.H.). Otherwise, all readings *hadayaṅgama-* are to be read as four syllables (cf. Ja IV 345.5\* and 470.16\*/20\*). On the grounds of the ten-syllable śloka pāda (*sic*) *hadayaṅgaṃ hadayanissitaṃ* (Ja IV 345.5\*, 420.1\*), one might suspect that perhaps an old *hadaṅgama-* (cf. Skt *hr̥dga[mā]-*) had been overlaid during the course of transmission (cf. *\*hadanissita*, Ja III 215.3\*, 390.24\*, for the transmitted *hadayanissita-*).
- 15a: BCS L 1550 *pitā aḷāra* ( - - - ) (Fausbøll conjectures *c' aḷāra* (cf. 37a and 50c)).
- 15d: C<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup> *āḷāra* (*sic*) *passa me nivesanaṃ*, B C<sup>P</sup> S<sup>P</sup> = E.
- 17a: Against all mss with CPD (s.v. *anāvakūḷā*). Note that “*u* and *ū* and *i* and *ī* can hardly be distinguished in the mss” (O.v.H.).

- 18c: All mss = E.. Hypermetric (Ch.W.). Read *rajataggaḷaṃ \*soṇṇamayam* [*\*sovaṇṇaṃ*] *ulāraṃ*? Ja VI 203.8\* (*yūpaṃ subhaṃ soṇṇamayam ulāraṃ*) indicates the former.
- 19: All mss = E (19c: L 1550 *paripurī*, BCS *paripūrā*; 19d: B<sup>P</sup> C S<sup>a</sup> *sovaṇṇa*<sup>o</sup>). What do the feminine adjectives refer to? (Fausbøll wishes to correct all to *-aṃ*).
- 20: All mss = E (B *āruhya*). The *verbum finitum* is missing., unless the absolute functions as such.
- 20d: Read *yatth' assa bhar'yā mahesī ahoṣi* with anapæstic scansion of *mahesī* (see Oberlies 2001, p. 15); cf. 23d and 26a (Ch.W.).
- 21b: Read *velur'yamayam* (Ch.W.).
- 22a: All mss = E. Read *tato mam urago* ( - - - [ - - - ]).
- 22b: L 1550 *nisīdapayī*.
- 22c: Read (with B C<sup>P</sup> S) *atra bhavaṃ* (cf. CPD s.v. <sup>1</sup>*atra*).
- 23a: L 1550 *aññatarā ca*.
- 23d: Read (with BCS B<sup>d</sup> L 1550) *bhar'yā va* (Dutoit V 173, n. 1, already declared himself in favour of this reading (Ch.W.)).
- 24b: Read with BCS L 1550 *sovaṇṇamayāya pātiyā*; (jagatī pāda: cadence - - - -). Cf. Ja IV 18.14\*: *paggayha sovaṇṇamayāya pātiyā*.
- 24c: Jagatī pāda (cadence: - - - -).
- 24d: *upanāmayī* is to be read - - - (O.v.H.). (BCS = E) *bhatta* scans - - (i.e. it ends with a short nasal vowel).
- 25a: *tur'yehi* is to be read - - - (O.v.H.).
- 25c: Read (with BCS<sup>P</sup> (and L 1550?)) *nipatī mahantaṃ* ( - - - -).
- 26a: *bhariyā* scans - - (O.v.H.).
- 26b: BCS<sup>P</sup> L 1550 *attamajjhā* (cf. CPD s.v. *atthamajjha-* and Lüders 1941, p. 142, who draws attention to *aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana sumajjhā ti pāṭho* in the commentary).
- 26c: Read with BCS<sup>P</sup> L 1550 *kāmakārā* (add the entry *kāmakāra-* “fulfilling the desires” in CPD; Cone includes it, but with the wrong reading *kāmakāro* of C = E).
- 27b: *uttarī* (so Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 409) seems unnecessary (Ch.W.).
- 28a: Read (with BC) *adhicca-laddhaṃ* (see also CPD s.v.). *Item* 29a.
- 28b: All mss = E. Fausbøll proposes reading *\*ādu*.
- 28c: BCS B<sup>d</sup> L 1550 have *nāgarāje taṃ atthaṃ* which Alsdorf (1977, p. 39, n. 54 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 799, n. 54) interprets as *nāgarāj' etam attham*. But *nāga-*



*rāje* may well be a vocative ending in *-e* (cf. Caillat 1970, pp. 18–19, and Oberlies 2001, p. 170).

29a: Hypermetric triṣṭubh pāda (and also 29b). L 1550 omits the second *na*.

30a: *brahmacariyaṃ* scans – ∪ – – (= *brahmacarīyaṃ*). Item 33a.

30c: Cf. 28c.

31a: Jagatī pāda ([*Maga*] *dhānam issaro* (– ∪ – ∪ –)).

Between gāthās 32 and 33 in BCSP (not in S<sup>a</sup>) and B<sup>ds</sup> there is an additional verse ≠ Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka 252 = 276, where 251cd = (Saṅkhapāla Jātaka) 32cd, 253ab = 33ab, 254a = 33c; cf. Alsdorf 1971, pp. 49f., 52f. (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 406f., 409f.):

*mālaṅ ca gandhaṅ ca vilepanaṅ ca | padīpiyaṃ yānam upassayaṅ ca |  
acchādanaṃ sayanaṃ ath' annapānaṃ | sakkacca dānāni adamma tattha ||*  
B<sup>d</sup>, B<sup>s</sup> *pacipayaṃ annapānaṃ, adamma*; B<sup>p</sup> *acchādanaṃ seyyam ath' annapānaṃ, sakkacca dānāni adamma tattha*; C<sup>p</sup> *annapānaṃ* (pāda c is hypermetric; read *seyyam ath'* with B<sup>p</sup>?).

34c: *appānubhāvā* (thus all mss) “on the basis of” (CPD s.v. differs).

35a: All mss *anvagataṃ* (item 36a), a transformation of an old aorist form *anugaṃ* (< *annaḡa[m]* < Skt *anvagāṅ*) into a verbal adjective (other explanation in CPD s.v. *anvagata-*: “*anugata* influenced by aor. *anvagā*”, referring to *udapatto* (on the latter cf. Hinüber 1974, pp. 69f.)).

35b: BC *nānvagaṃ*, SP *nānvagataṃ*, S<sup>a</sup> *anvagataṃ* (*na* is omitted), L 1550 *anugataṃ* (*na* is omitted here, too). CPD (s.v. *anu-gacchati*) proposes reading \**anvagā*.

37a: BCS L 1550 *pañcadasiṅ*.

39c: *siriyā ca* scans ≈ – ∪.

40b: L 1550 *vāpi*.

40d: *taṇṇo* (typographical error in E) (cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 29, n. 20 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 789, n. 20).

41d: Jagatī pāda (*disā pabhāsasi* – ∪ – ∪ –). Or is *pabhāsī* to be read with B<sup>p</sup> v.l. and B<sup>d</sup>? (Ch.W.). Cf. also Fausbøll's C<sup>s</sup>, which has *pabhāssi*, and see n. 82 above.

42c: Cf. 28c.

43b: B SP L 1550 *suddhī vā ... saṃyamo vā*, S<sup>a</sup> *suddhi va ... saṃyamo vā*, C *suddhi vā ... saññamo vā* (cf. Campeyya Jātaka 39a *suddhī ca ... saṃyamo ca* (vv.ll. *vā ... vā*); see n. 85 above).

43d: BC SP L 1550 *jātimaraṇassa*, S<sup>a</sup> *jātimaraṇassa* (cf. Campeyya Jātaka 39d).

44a: Jagatī pāda (– ∪ – ∪ –).

45b: CPD (s.v. *upaṭṭhahati*) conjectured \**upaṭṭhāre*.

45c: CS L 1550 *kaccin nu te nābhisaṃsittha koci* (S<sup>a</sup> *kacci*), B *kaccin nu taṃ nābhisaṃsittha*. E ex. conj. *nābhisaṃsittha* (see CPD s.v. *abhisaṃsati*).

46b: Unmetrical *paṭivihito* should probably be emended (Ch.W.).

47b: With BCSP L 1550 *dhanāharo* (∪ – ∪ –); cf. Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka g. 39 *maṇiṃ ... dhanāharaṃ* (cf. Alsdorf 1971, p. 35 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 392).

47d: BCS *ossajassu* (B<sup>p</sup> *osajassu*); cf. CPD s.v. *ussaj(j)ati*.

49a: Jagatī pāda (– ∪ – ∪ –). B *dumapphalānīva*. Gāthās 48ab and 49 are also found at M II 74.7–12 (all mss *dumapphalāneva*) and Th 787cd and 788 (all mss *dumapphalānīva* (cf. also Norman 1969, p. 238, ad loc.)), pādas 49ab are also found at Ja IV 49.5.12\* (where all mss also have *dumapphalānīva*).

49b: *daharā* is to be read ≈ – ∪ (O.v.H.).

50c: S *tuvaṅ ca* (ECB *tavaṅ ca*); cf. n. 78.

#### FAUSBØLL'S TEXT OF THE SAṅKHAPĀLA JĀTAKA

4a vaṇijja // 4b pathe addasāsīm hi milācaputte // 7a sakamṇ nīketanaṃ // 7c maṃsaṃ bhokkhāma pamodamānā // 7d mayaṃ hi vo sattavo pannagānaṃ // 10a tad assu // 10b yaṃ natthuto paṭimokkh' assa pāse // 11c tad ass' ahaṃ // 12c dukkho hi luddehi punā samāgamo // 13a agamāsi so rahadaṃ vippasannaṃ // 13c samotataṃ jambuhi vetasāhi // 14d hadayaṅgamaṃ // 15a tvaṃ me si mātā ca pitā ca aḷāra // 15ef pahūtabhakkhaṃ bahu-annapānaṃ | masakkasāraṃ viya vāsavassa // 17a anāvakuḷā // 18c rajataggaḷaṃ sovaṇṇamayāṃ ulāraṃ // 19 maṇimayā sovaṇṇamayā ulāra | anekacittā satataṃ sunimittā | paripūra kaññāhi alaṃkatāhi | suvaṇṇakāyūradharāhi rāja // 20 so saṃkhaṇḍo taramānarūpo | pāsādam āruya anomavaṇṇo | sahassathambhaṃ atulānubhāvamaṃ | yatth' assa bhariyā mahesī ahosi // 21b veḷuriyamayaṃ // 22a–c tato maṃ urago hatthe gahetvā | nisīdayī pamukhaṃ āsanasmīṃ | idam āsanaṃ atrabhavaṃ nisīdatu // 23a aññā ca nārī taramānarūpā // 23d bhariyā ca bhattū patino piyassa // 24b–d paggayha sovaṇṇamayā pātiyā | anekasūpaṃ vividhaṃ viyañjanaṃ | upanāmayī bhatta manuññarūpaṃ // 25a turiyehi // 25c tatuttariṃ maṃ nipati mahantaṃ // 26a–c bhariyā mam' etā tīsatā aḷāra | sabb' atthamajjhā padumuttarābhā | aḷāra etā su te kāmakāro // 27b tadass' ahaṃ uttariṃ paccabhāsīm // 28a adhicca laddhaṃ // 28b sayamkataṃ udāhu devehi dinnam // 28c nāgarāja tam attham //

**29ab** nādhicca laddhaṃ na pariṇāmajam me | na sayamkataṃ na pi devehi dinnam // **30a** brahmacariyam // **30c, 42c** nāgarāje tam attham // **31a** rājā ahoṣiṃ magadhānam issaro // **33–34** tam me vataṃ taṃ pana brahmacariyam | tassa suciṇṇassa ayam vipāko | ten' eva me laddham idaṃ vimānaṃ | pahūta-bhakkhaṃ bahu-annapānaṃ // naccehi gīthehi upetarūpaṃ | ciraṭṭhikaṃ na ca sassat' āyam | appānubhāvā taṃ mahānubhāvam | tejassinam hanti atejavanto | kim eva dāṭhāvudha kiṃ paṭicca | hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakānaṃ // **35ab** bhayan nu te anvagataṃ mahantaṃ | tejo nu te nānvagaṃ dantamūlaṃ // **36a** na me bhayaṃ anvagataṃ mahantaṃ // **37a** pannarasiñ c' aḷāra // **40b** na āyuno cāpi aḷāra hetu // **40d** tato // **41d** gandhabbarājā va disā pabhāsasi // **43b** suddhī ca saṃvijjati saññāmo vā // **43d** kāhāmi jātīmaraṇassa antaṃ // **44a** saṃvaccharo me vusito tav' antike // **45b** niccānusiṭṭhā upatiṭṭhate taṃ // **45c** kaccin nu te nābhisaṃsittha koci // **46b** putto piyo paṭivihito va seyyo // **47b** dhanāhāro maṇirataṃ uḷāraṃ // **47d** laddhā dhanam taṃ maṇim ussajassu // **49a** dhumapphalān' eva patanti mānavā // **49b** daharā ca vuddhā ca sarirabhedā // **50c** nāgañ ca sutvāna tavañ c' aḷāra //

## ABBREVIATIONS

## Editions and manuscripts:

B <sup>P</sup>	Burmese ed. of the Pāli, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ (1960)
B <sup>S</sup>	Burmese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ (1960)
B	= B <sup>P</sup> + B <sup>S</sup>
B <sup>d</sup> , B <sup>s</sup>	Burmese mss in Fausbøll ed.
C <sup>P</sup>	Sinhalese ed. of the Pāli, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest (1937)
C <sup>a</sup>	Sinhalese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest (1955)
C	= C <sup>P</sup> + C <sup>a</sup>
E	European edition (Fausbøll)
Fausbøll	= E
L 1471	a manuscript of the Campeyya Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha near Lampang, written in the year c.s. 833 = A.D. 1471
L 1550	a manuscript of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Srī Ur Meī in Dā Soy (Thā Soi), now in the Vat Lai Hin, written in c.s. 912 = A.D. 1550, in the year of the dog ( <i>pī kaḍ seṣ</i> ). <sup>91</sup>
S <sup>P</sup>	Siamese ed. of the Pāli, Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ (1926)
S <sup>a</sup>	Siamese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ (1927)
S	S <sup>P</sup> + S <sup>a</sup>
Vv	Vimānavatthu, PTS ed.

## Other abbreviations:

Ch.W.	suggestions by Prof. Dr Chlodwig H. Werba
Cone	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> , Part 1.
CPD	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i>
cty	commentary
g(g).	gāthā(s)
jag.	jagatī
Kl. Sch.	<i>Kleine Schriften</i> , J.v. Glasenapp-stiftung
O.v.H.	suggestions by Prof. Dr. Oskar von Hinüber
PED	<i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i>
tr.	triṣṭubh

<sup>91</sup>I am grateful to Prof. von Hinüber for this reference (see also Hinüber 1988, p. 14 with n. 48 (on the allocation of sigla)).

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## The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts

1. Looking through editions of the texts of Buddhist scriptures in Pāli and through catalogues of manuscripts from Theravāda Buddhist countries, it appears that, as a rule, the final remarks in Burmese manuscripts are not mentioned. They are not found in descriptions of manuscripts given in editions of the texts or included in the entries for a codex in catalogues of manuscripts. This can be ascribed both to the editors' and revisers' insufficient knowledge of the Burmese language and to their reluctance to invest too much time and effort in the elucidation of passages forming no part of the text at the end of manuscripts along with final remarks which can be understood as colophons in the stricter sense. Usually, there is merely a note of the formal data, and the title and date of completion of writing.

The three volumes of the catalogue *Burmese Manuscripts*<sup>1</sup> contain detailed descriptions of manuscripts in German libraries. Thanks to the ruling that the beginning and end of manuscripts are to be reproduced in

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First published in German in *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*, Zweite Folge, Heinz Bechert, Sven Bretfeld, Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 8. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 35–39. Translated by Marianne Rankin.

<sup>1</sup>*Burmese Manuscripts* (*Bur. MSS*), Part I, compiled by Heinz Bechert, Daw Tin Tin Myint, Daw Khin Khin Su (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979); Part II, Catalogue numbers 156–431, compiled by Heinz Braun, Daw Tin Tin Myint, with an introduction by Heinz Bechert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985); Part III, Catalogue numbers 432–735, Heinz Braun, compiler, assisted by Anne Peters; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996). This essay is based entirely on the material in these volumes of this catalogue of manuscripts. The reader is therefore requested to consult the introduction to Part I for further information. As regards the abbreviations used here, see the List of Abbreviations in Part 3. [Since this article appeared, Part IV, Catalogue numbers 736–900, has been published: Anne Peters, compiler; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000).]

exact detail, it is now possible to look more closely at the colophons of a great number of codices from the point of view of form and content. This essay is an attempt to bring some order into the series of partly formulaic final remarks so that we can establish what means were at the disposal of the scribe when he either followed set rules or inserted his own remarks.

2. The volumes contain 735 catalogue numbers, which represent an equal number of manuscripts with a single text in which the beginning and end are usually clearly recognizable. In this context it is of no importance whether a text is a work complete in itself, a chapter of a work, or part of a group of texts. One hundred and fifty manuscripts have to be left out of this study

because the manuscript description did not include an account of the colophon,

because the colophon is not available due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript,

or because the text ends without any final remarks.

3. Of the remaining 585 codices considered in this study, 52 lack dates. The scribes end the text either by simply citing the name of the text [349]<sup>2</sup> or by adding one of the formulae of aspiration below (see 3.3–5) to indicate the end [527, 689], or they are content with the comment

... *prīḥ i / saññ* (ပြီး ၏ / သည်) [692(6)], ... *apriḥ suḥ rok prīḥ* (အပြီး

သို့. ရောက် ပြီး) [607]

... is ended

which in many cases is no more than a translation of the preceding *niṭṭhito*, *-tā*, *-taṃ* [618] that is usually found at the end of Pāli texts. Only a few manuscripts have quite differently formulated Burmese additions from which the end of a text may be inferred.

3.1. There are 533 manuscripts (approximately 72% of the studied

<sup>2</sup>Numbers in square brackets are catalogue numbers from *Bur. MSS* I–III that have been arbitrarily selected to serve as examples.

material) that are dated. Only 42 manuscripts have incomplete indications of time (10 have only the year [224]; 11 only the year and month [240]; 14 have the year, month, and day of the fortnight [154]; 7 have all the information apart from the time of day [649]). The remaining 491 codices offer the precisely formulated date apart from the time of day which is typical of Burmese manuscripts, for example:

*sakkarāj 1245 khu na-yun la chanḥ 2 rak 2-nanḥ-lā ne ne 3 khyak tīḥ akhyim tvañ Chanḥ nisya kui reḥ kūḥ rve prīḥ i*. [668 with slight emendations]

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၄၅ ခု နှစ် ယုန် လ ဆန်း ၂ ရက် ၂ နှစ်: လာ နေ့. နေ့ ၃ ချက် တီး အချိန် တွင် ဆန်း နိဿယ ကို ရေး ကူး ၍ ပြီး ၏ ။

On Monday (*2-nanḥ-lā<sup>3</sup> ne*), the second day (*2 rak*) in the half month of the waxing moon (*la chanḥ*)<sup>4</sup> of the month April/May (*na-yun*) of the year 1245 (1245 *khu*) of Burmese chronology (*sakkarāj*)<sup>5</sup> [= A.D. 25 April 1883] at the time of three strokes [= 3 o'clock p.m.] I [the scribe] completed (*prīḥ i*) the setting down (*reḥ kūḥ rve*) of the text *Chanḥ nisya* [word-for-word translation of the *Vuttodaya* text].

About three fifths of the colophons have this form, while in two fifths the writers qualify their activity by adding the verb *'oñ mrañ saññ* (အောင် မြင် သည်):

[*Name of text*] *kui reḥ kūḥ rve prīḥ 'oñ mrañ saññ*. [131]

— ကို ရေး ကူး ၍ ပြီး အောင် မြင် သည်။

I have successfully completed the setting down [of the text so-and-so].

Apart from occasional deviations in the wording, only the following variations in the form of the final remarks are regularly found:

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *Bur. MSS*, Pt. I, p. xxvii (a).

<sup>4</sup>Fortnight of the waning moon: *la chut* (လ ဆုတ်), full moon: *la praññ* (လ ပြည့်), new moon: *la kvay* (လ ကွယ်).

<sup>5</sup>See *Bur. MSS*, Pt. I, p. xix (d).

the day of the week may occasionally be missing, as the day of the corresponding fortnight has already been given [13];

instead of *sakkarāj* the following may be found:

*ī cā prīḥ lac sakkarāj kāḥ ...*

၍ ဝါ ပြီး လစ် သတ္တရာဇ် ကား ...

As far as [the year of] Burmese chronology in which the setting down of this work was completed is concerned ... [560].

This beginning of colophons in four-syllable verse form [228, 565] was so familiar to the writers of at least 83 colophons, that they took it over for their prose versions.

The order in which the individual dates and times are given — namely, the year, month, fortnight (waxing or waning moon, full moon, new moon), day in the fortnight and its corresponding designation, and the time of day as well as the final remarks on the completion of the setting down of a text — are components of a fixed formula with which the writers usually ended their work. This is the case, at least, for the 300-year period which it has been possible to survey up to now. Only a very few manuscripts (in the material to hand, only 10 manuscripts) have final remarks, for the most part undated, which deviate entirely from the usual form.

3.2. Apart from a final remark which only gives the time of completion of writing, the scribe may refer in a verse and a few set phrases to his skill and to his own personal concerns, namely the expression of the religious merit inherent in the act of writing (P. *puñña*, Burmese *koṇḥ mhu*, ကောင်းမှု), and his hopes and desires regarding his own progress and that of his family, or even of all beings, toward salvation.

The following Pāli verse is found at the end of almost all manuscripts:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Saddhamma-s, *JPTS* (1890), p. 65 (noted by Peter Skilling, Bangkok). English translation by B.C. Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhamma-Saṅgaha)*, 2nd rev. ed. (Calcutta, 1963), p. 96.

*akkharam ekamekañ ca Buddharūpasamaṃ siyā,<sup>7</sup>  
tasmā hi paṇḍito poso likheyya piṭakattayaṃ.* [97]

Every letter should be like a statue of the Buddha, therefore only an educated man should write the Tipiṭaka.

Skills related to the production of a religious object enjoyed particular esteem for that reason alone. The production of a book — in Burma mainly a palm-leaf manuscript — and the setting down of the words of the Buddha, which were considered to be immeasurably valuable, were regarded as particularly respected activities. It therefore goes without saying that only someone who knew the teachings and had writing skills would have been considered qualified to undertake it.

3.3. As a rule after the date, but often immediately after the end of the text, there is a set phrase which shows that the process of writing was a religious act whose aim was earning *puñña* [707]:

*nibbānapaccayo hotu.* [705]

May [this religious duty, the writing of the text,] be a means of [my attainment of] Nirvana.

3.4. The following formula serves the same purpose:

*pu di āḥ* (ပု ဒီ အာ) [482] or *pu, di āḥ nḥaṇ praññ cum pā lui i.* (ပု ဒီ အာ: နှင့် ပြည်, ပုံ ဝါ လို့ ၏) [699]

The syllables *pu*, *di* and *āḥ*<sup>8</sup> are abbreviations for the concepts *pubbenivāsānussati* (“knowing one’s past abodes”), *dibbacakkhu* (“the divine eye”) and *āsavakkhaya* (“destruction of the taints”) which, with three further concepts, form the group of the so-called *abhiññā*<sup>9</sup> or six “higher spiritual powers”. Those named here are also known as the

<sup>7</sup>In Burmese texts: *akkharā* [nt. pl.] ... *Buddharūpaṃ samaṃ*.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. *Burm MSS*, Pt. I, p. xxv (a); *pubbenivāsa* is to be corrected to *pubbenivāsānussati*.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, 3rd rev. ed. (Colombo: Frewin & Co., 1972), s.v. *abhiññā*.

*tevijjā* (“threefold wisdom”), the realization of which is identical to the attainment of salvation. Thus, the set form of words may be translated as follows:

May the knowledge of my past abodes, the divine eye, and the destruction of taints [in me] be completely accomplished.

3.5. The last of the stock phrases is the following:

*nat lū sādhu khō ce sov.* (နတ် လူ သာဓု ခေါ် စေ သောဝါ။) [456]

May gods and men call out, “Well done!”

This set phrase is occasionally expanded by the scribe by naming people who are near to him so that they may share in his religious merit (*puñña*) [384]. From time to time he may also refer to the “gain” or “advantage” (*akyuih*, အကျိုး) which he can acquire from setting a work down [419]. Or he may express the wish to be born again at the time of the future Buddha Metteyya (Maitreya) to achieve release as his disciple and with his help [312]. Wordings such as *Arimadera* (အရိမဒေရ) [419] or *Arimideyya* (အရိမိဒေယျ) [312] occasionally require a second look in order to recognize that the reference is to Metteyya.

3.6. The three *patthanā* or aspirations just mentioned are almost always found next to the date. There is no preference for one set phrase rather than another nor any particular order in which they are found:

no set phrase: 146 colophons [ 1]

only *nibbānapaccayo hotu*: 69 colophons [66, 254]

only *pu di āh* or *pu di āh nḥaṇ praññ cum pā lui i*: 90 colophons [102, 108]

only *nat lū sādhu khō ce sov*: 21 colophons [721]

*nibbānapaccayo hotu* and *pu di āh*, etc.: 86 colophons [554]

*nibbānapaccayo hotu* and *nat lū sādhu khō ce sov*: 26 colophons [708]

*pu di āh*, etc., and *nat lū sādhu khō ce sov*: 21 colophons [77]

all three phrases together: 32 colophons [505]

3.7. Apart from the set phrases referred to, many colophons contain not only quotations from the Pāli Canon in addition to verses from the Paritta literature and lists of *paccayas*, *dasa asubhāni*, *dasa kasiṇāni* [723 (6)], etc., but also additions in verse or prose that vary a great deal in length. As they are individually formulated by the writers, they are not considered in this context.

4. With the help of the information in the introduction to the first volume of *Burmese Manuscripts* and the survey given in this essay, even someone unfamiliar with the Burmese language should have no difficulty in understanding the colophons of set phrases found in approximately three quarters of all Burmese manuscripts.

Heinz Braun

## On a New Edition of the Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā

A Thai-script edition of the Pāli commentaries was published in Bangkok on 12 August, Buddhist Era 2535 (1992), in honour of the fifth birth cycle of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand. The set consists of forty-eight volumes, hard-bound in blue. The first Siamese edition, published in 2463 (1920), has long been out of print.

According to Chao Khun Rājakavi of Wat Bovoranives, who supervised the work, the strict editorial principle was to retain the text of the original edition without any changes apart from corrections of obvious typographical errors, and to add any comments or comparisons to the footnotes. These make reference to :

M = Mrammana = Burmese-script edition

Yu = Europe = Pali Text Society editions.

They record, for example, words not found in the Siamese edition (*M. etthantare ... dissati*), words in the Siamese edition not found in another edition (*M. ayaṃ pāṭho natthi*), and variant spellings. They also refer to preferable (*yuttataram*) readings.

The first volume has the full title :

Syāmaratṭhassa tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā  
samantapāsādikā nāma vinayatṭhakathā  
pathamo bhāgo  
mahāvibhaṅgavaṇṇanā  
vajirañṇena mahāsamañena  
ādo sodhitā  
mahātherasamāgamassa ganthādhikārehi  
puna sodhitā  
2535  
buddhasake mudditā  
syāmaratṭhassa rājadhāniyaṃ  
mahāmakutarājavidyālayena pakāsītā  
2535.



At the beginning of each volume there is:

The official symbol of the fifth birth cycle of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit (in colour)

A photograph of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, bearing the caption Sirikitti Paramarājīnī (in colour)

*Tiratanapaṇāmagāthā* (homage to the Three Gems: in Pāli)

*Pada ray<sup>2</sup> kraṅ namāskāra brah rātanatrāy* (Thai verse translation of preceding)

*Tepīṭakaṭṭhakathāpotthakamuddanārambhakathā* (on the undertaking of the publication of the *Aṭṭhakathā*: in Pāli verse)

*Gāṃ nāṃ nai kāra cāt bimb gāmbhīr arrthakathā haen brah traipīṭak* (Thai verse translation of preceding)

*Kittanapattam* (Table of contents).

At the end there is an index (*padabhājanīyānukkamo*).

The titles of the volumes are as follows:

1. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Mahāvibhaṅgavaṇṇanā
2. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mahāvibhaṅgabhikkhunīvibhaṅgavaṇṇanā
3. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Mahāvaggavaṇṇanā
4. Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Sīlakkhandhavaggavaṇṇanā
5. Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mahāvaggavaṇṇanā
6. Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Pāṭikavaggavaṇṇanā
7. Papañcasūdanī nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Mūlapaṇṇāsakavaṇṇanā
8. Papañcasūdanī nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mūlapaṇṇāsakavaṇṇanā
9. Papañcasūdanī nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Majjhima-paṇṇāsakavaṇṇanā, Uparipaṇṇāsakavaṇṇanā ca
10. Sārattappakāsīnī nāma saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Sagāthavaggavaṇṇanā

11. Sārattappakāsīnī nāma saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Nidānavaggakhandhavāravaggavaṇṇanā
12. Sārattappakāsīnī nāma saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Saḷāyatanavaggamahāvāravaggavaṇṇanā
13. Manorathapūraṇī nāma aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Ekakanipātavaṇṇanā
14. Manorathapūraṇī nāma aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Dukatikacatukkanipātavaṇṇanā
15. Manorathapūraṇī nāma aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Pañcaka-ekādasakanipātavaṇṇanā
16. Paramatthajotikā nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Khuddakapāṭhavaṇṇanā
17. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo)
18. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo)
19. Paramatthadīpanī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Udānavāṇṇanā
20. Paramatthadīpanī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Itivuttakavaṇṇanā
21. Paramatthajotikā nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Suttanipātavaṇṇanā
22. Paramatthajotikā nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Suttanipātavaṇṇanā
23. Paramatthadīpanī nāma Vimānavatthuaṭṭhakathā
24. Paramatthadīpanī nāma Petavatthuaṭṭhakathā
25. Paramatthadīpanī nāma Theragāthāaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo)
26. Paramatthadīpanī nāma Theragāthāaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo)
27. Paramatthadīpanī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Therigāthāvaṇṇanā
28. Jātakatṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Ekanipātavaṇṇanā
29. Jātakatṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Ekanipātavaṇṇanā
30. Jātakatṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Dukanipātavaṇṇanā
31. Jātakatṭhakathā (catuttho bhāgo) Tikacatukkapañcakanipātavaṇṇanā
32. Jātakatṭhakathā (pañcamo bhāgo) Chakkasattaka-aṭṭhakanavakadasakanipātavaṇṇanā
33. Jātakatṭhakathā (chaṭṭho bhāgo) Ekādasadvādasaterasapakiṇṇakanipātavaṇṇanā
34. Jātakatṭhakathā (sattamo bhāgo) Vīsatiṭṭhacattālīsani-pātavaṇṇanā
35. Jātakatṭhakathā (aṭṭhamo bhāgo) Paññāsasatṭhisattatiasītīnipātavaṇṇanā
36. Jātakatṭhakathā (navamo bhāgo) Mahānipātavaṇṇanā
37. Jātakatṭhakathā (dasamo bhāgo) Mahānipātavaṇṇanā
38. Saddhammapajotikā nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Niddesavaṇṇanā (pathamo bhāgo)
39. Saddhammapajotikā nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Niddesavaṇṇanā

- (dutiyo bhāgo)
40. Saddhammapakāsinī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo)  
Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṇanā
41. Saddhammapakāsinī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo)  
Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṇanā
42. Visuddhajanavilāsinī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo)  
Apadānavaṇṇanā
43. Visuddhajanavilāsinī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo)  
Apadānavaṇṇanā
44. Madhuratthavilāsinī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Buddhavaṃsa-  
vaṇṇanā
45. Paramatthadīpanī nāma khuddakanikāyaṭṭhakathā Cariyāpiṭakavaṇṇanā
46. Aṭṭhasālinī nāma abhidhammaṭṭhakathā Dhammasaṅgaṇīvaṇṇanā
47. Sammohavinodanī nāma abhidhammaṭṭhakathā Vibhaṅgavaṇṇanā
48. Paramatthadīpanī nāma abhidhammaṭṭhakathā Pañcappakaraṇavaṇṇanā

Peter Skilling  
Nonthaburi

## Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia

This article reports on recently discovered citation inscriptions from three sites: Angkor Borei in Cambodia, Si Thep in Siam, and Go Xoai in Vietnam. As far as I know the inscriptions from the first two sites have not been published in a European language. The section on Go Xoai is a summary of an article published in Bangkok in 1999.

I use the term “citation inscription” for lithic or other engraved records that give excerpts from Buddhist texts. Such inscriptions are not original compositions, although they may be combined with original material. In South-East Asia the greatest concentrations of citation inscriptions known to date are in Burma (from the Pyu kingdom of Śrīkṣetra) and Siam (from the Dvāravatī period on).<sup>1</sup> Smaller numbers have been found in Java, Borneo, and the middle Malay peninsula.<sup>2</sup> Very few have been found in Laos, or in Cambodia and Vietnam, in the areas known to historians as Funan, Chenla, and Champa.

1. Preliminary report on a Pāli inscription from Angkor Borei, Cambodia

An inscription of considerable importance and interest was recently excavated at Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia, a site that scholars have tentatively identified as the capital of the ancient kingdom of Funan. I am grateful to Dr Michel Tranet (Minister of Culture and Fine Arts, Kingdom of Cambodia) for making a copy of an estampage of the

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I am grateful to Ven. Dhammasāmi and Steven Collins for their corrections and comments.

<sup>1</sup>See Peter Skilling, “The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-East Asia”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 20.1 (1997), pp. 93–107, for a preliminary and already outdated list.

<sup>2</sup>I do not count here the clay sealings inscribed with *ye dharmā* or *dhāraṇīs*, which have been uncovered in their hundreds at several sites in the region.

inscription available through the good offices of Dr Olivier de Bernon (École française d'Extrême-Orient, Phnom Penh).

The text is engraved in Pallava script on the four faces of a rectangular clay brick.<sup>3</sup> At present further details about dimensions, context, and find-spot are not available. In general the script resembles that of some of the *ye dhammā* inscriptions from Siam, such as those on bricks from Phra Pathom Chedi (Nakhon Pathom), that engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image kept in Wat Mahathat (Ratburi), or the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā* inscription from Site 2 in Kedah. Some letters are peculiar, but a detailed palæographical study must await a better reproduction of the epigraph than that available to me at present. Long vowels, *niggahīta*, and conjunct consonants are all clearly marked. On palæographic grounds the inscription may be dated to the seventh or eighth century.

The language of the inscription is Pāli. Until the discovery of the Angkor Borei inscription the earliest Pāli epigraph known from Cambodia was K. 754, the record of a donation made by Śrīndravarman (Sirisirindavamma) in Śaka era 1230 (1308 CE), from Kok Svay Cek south of the Western Barai near Angkor Wat. Śrīndravarman's record is bilingual, inscribed on a stone stele 1.70 metres in height, one side with twenty lines of Pāli verse in ten *ślokas*, the other with thirty-one lines of Khmer prose.<sup>4</sup> If K. 754 is no longer the earliest Pāli inscription in

<sup>3</sup>"Pallava" is a catch-all label for the early scripts of South-East Asia, which are modelled on scripts from South India related to those used by the Pallavas. The dates ascribed to undated inscriptions in this paper are only approximations.

<sup>4</sup>George Cœdès, "La plus ancienne inscription en pāli du Cambodge", in *Articles sur le pays khmer* (Paris, 1989), pp. 282–89 = *Études cambodgiennes* XXXII, originally published in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* XXXVI (1936), pp. 14–21. An inscription on a large stone image, now in the National Museum, Phnom Penh, is said to be in Pāli and to date from the 13th to 14th centuries. Thus it may be earlier than K. 754. The lettering, on a rectangular slab raised above the head with both hands by a seated monk (who has the elongated ear-lobes of a Buddha) appears to be unfinished; the parts that are visible are phrases of homage. See Nadine Dalsheimer, *Les collections du Musée national de Phnom Penh* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient,

Cambodia, it remains the earliest bilingual. As an early epigraph from the period during which the Mahāvihāra Theravādin Vinaya lineage of Sri Lanka was introduced to (or rose to prominence in) the region, it bears witness to the change of classical language from Sanskrit to Pāli. K. 754 also remains the earliest dated Pāli *composition* from Cambodia, since, as we shall see, the Angkor Borei inscription is a *citation* of classical texts. The next dated Pāli inscription, also a composition, is that of Vat Nokor (K. 82), dated Śaka 1488 (1566 CE).

Text of the inscription<sup>5</sup>

Face 1

- (1) ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato āha
- (2) tesam ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo [1]
- (3) yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā (ā)tāpino jhāyino brāhmaṇassa
- (4) . . .<sup>6</sup> athassa kaṅkhā vapaya(mt)i savvā yato pajānāti sahetu
- (5) dham(m)a(m) [2]

Face 2

- (1) yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātā(p)ino jhāyino brāhmaṇassa . .
- (2) athassa kaṅkhā vapayanti savvā (ya)to khayam paccayānaṃ avedi [3]

Side 1

- (1) yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino jhāyino brāhmaṇassa . .

Side 2

- (1) athassa kaṅkhā vapayanti savvā vidhūyan titthati mārasenaṃ [4]

2001), pièce no. 85. According to Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* VIII (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1966), pp. 210–11, K. 888, from Phrah Khan in Kompong Thom. A closer reading is needed to see whether the inscription can be called Pāli. For now, see Saveros Pou, *Nouvelles inscriptions du Cambodge* I (Paris: EFEO, 1989), pp. 14–15.

<sup>5</sup>My transcription follows the line-breaks of the original; I have supplied line numbers in parentheses at the beginning of the lines. Neither verses nor faces are numbered. My provisional numbering of faces and sides starts with the *ye dhammā* verse and then follows the sequence of the *yadā have* verses in the Mahāvagga. I have separated the words, written without break in the inscription, and placed letters that are indistinct within parentheses. I hope to improve on the readings when a better copy becomes available.

<sup>6</sup>In each case, after the half-verse ending with *brāhmaṇassa*, there follow two letters or symbols that I am unable to decipher, indicated here by ". . .".

1.1. The *ye dhammā* verse

The first text is the *ye dhammā gāthā*, which needs no introduction. There are numerous epigraphic examples from mainland and maritime South-East Asia, in Pāli, Prakrit, and Sanskrit, from Arakan to the Malay peninsula to Java to Borneo. The many examples from Siam, inscribed in varieties of the Pallava (or rarely, Nāgarī) script on a wide range of objects and materials, have not yet been subjected to a comprehensive palaeographical and linguistic study. The verse as given in the present inscription agrees perfectly with the Vinaya Mahāvagga.<sup>7</sup>

This is only the second ancient *ye dhammā* inscription to be discovered in Cambodia. The other example, engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image from Tuol Preah That (to be discussed in section 3.1), is not in Pāli but in a related Prakrit.

1.2–4. The *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā* verses

Like the *ye dhammā* verse, verses 2 to 4 are found in the Vinaya Mahāvagga. The three verses in *upajāti* metre come at the beginning of the very first chapter, Bodhikathā.<sup>8</sup>

Verses 2 and 3 agree with the Mahāvagga, with the exception that in pāda *b* the inscription has *jhāyino* against the *jhāyato* of the Mahāvagga and that pāda *c* has *savvā* in place of *sabbā*. *jhāyino* is a respectable alternate to *jhāyato*. The use of *-vv-* in place of *-bb-* in early South-East Asian Pāli has been noted by von Hinüber, and since confirmed by further inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> To these we may add the present document, in which *ba* and *va* are clearly distinguished.

Verse 4 also has *jhāyino* and *savvā*. Here the last two pādas differ

<sup>7</sup>Vin I 40,28 (unless otherwise noted, references to Pāli texts are to editions of the Pali Text Society by volume, page, and line).

<sup>8</sup>Vin I 2,3–26.

<sup>9</sup>Oskar von Hinüber, “Epigraphical Varieties of Continental Pāli from Devnimori and Ratnagiri”, in *Buddhism and its Relation to Other Religions: Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on His Seventieth Birthday*, (Kyoto, 1985), pp. 185–200; Peter Skilling, “New Pāli Inscriptions from South-East Asia”, *JPTS XXIII* (1997), pp. 128–29.

from the Mahāvagga. The inscription repeats pāda *c* of the preceding verses, and ends with *vidhūyan titthati mārasenaṃ*. Presumably the scribe or stone-carver has dropped the *-pa-* of *vidhūpayan*, and the pāda should read *vidhūpayan titthati mārasenaṃ* with the Mahāvagga. Note also the use of dentals rather than retroflexes in the *-ttha-* of *titthanti*. More serious is the inscription’s complete omission of the last pāda of the Mahāvagga version. Whether this is to be put down to error or to genuine recensional variation cannot be said.

I give here the Mahāvagga text according to the Pali Text Society edition, indicating words or phrases that differ from the inscription by placing them in italics.

yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino *jhāyato* brāhmaṇassa  
ath’ assa kaṅkhā vapayanti *sabbā* yato pajānāti sahetudhamman ti.  
yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino *jhāyato* brāhmaṇassa  
ath’ assa kaṅkhā vapayanti *sabbā* yato khayamaṃ paccayānaṃ avedī ti.  
yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino *jhāyato* brāhmaṇassa  
vidhūpayamaṃ *titthati* mārasenaṃ *suriyo* ’va *obhāsayam antalikkhan* ti.

The Bodhikathā verses are also given in the Udāna of the Khuddhaka-nikāya, one in each of the first three suttas of the first chapter, Bodhivagga.

The *yadā have* verses in other inscriptions

The Angkor Borei inscription is not the only epigraph to give the *yadā have* verses: they have enjoyed currency in inscribed form over a wide area and a long stretch of time. The prose of the Bodhikathā from the beginning up to the end of the first *yadā have* verse is given in an early inscription from Kunzeik in Burma.<sup>10</sup> All three *yadā have* verses are engraved on an octagonal stone pillar, unfortunately in fragments, from Sap Champa (District Chai Badan, Lopburi, Siam) which is dated to the

<sup>10</sup>Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma* ([Rangoon] 1972), pp. 110, 111; and Peter Skilling, “The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-East Asia”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 20.1 (1997), n. 7.

seventh or eighth century.<sup>11</sup> The second verse is inscribed on a broken stone slab from Ban Phrommadin (District Khok Samrong, also in Lopburi Province), and is dated to the eighth or ninth century.<sup>12</sup> These dates are arrived at on palæographic grounds.

The verses continued to be inscribed in the Ratanakosin or Bangkok period. They are given on the nineteenth-century gold plates installed in a *cetiya* at Wat Pho (Wat Phra Chetuphon) in Bangkok. The first *yadā have* verse is inscribed as a caption to a relief panel representing the Awakening on the eastern face of the base of a gold-plated *cetiya* in the central sanctum of the *cetiya* at Wat Bovoranivet, also in Bangkok. There the verse is described as the first *udāna* of the Blessed One (*idaṃ tassa bhagavato paṭhamam udānam*).

What is the importance of the verses, and why were they selected for inscription? We cannot, of course, read the minds of those who conceived of and sponsored the inscriptions, and we do not possess any ritual manuals from the period (if there were any, since many of these practices were transmitted orally). It is, however, certain that the verses have a claim to pre-eminence: in the literature of all known Buddhist schools they are spoken by the Blessed One immediately after his Awakening.

The Theravādins preserve two traditions regarding the first words spoken by the Awakened One (*paṭhamabuddhavaṇanam*). According to the Samantapāsādikā, the honour goes to the *anekajāti saṃsāram* verses from the Dhammapada,<sup>13</sup> although “according to some” the *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā* verses merit this status.<sup>14</sup> But while the *yadā*

<sup>11</sup>Supaphan na Bangchang, *Wiwathanakan ngan khian phasa bali nai prathet thai: charuk tamnan phongsawadan san prakat* (Bangkok, 2529 [1986]), pp. 21–25.

<sup>12</sup>Supaphan, op. cit., pp. 39–40.

<sup>13</sup>Dhp 153–54, Jarāvagga 8–9 = Udānavarga 31:6–7. For the narrative see Dhp-a III 127–29 where we learn that the verses are common to many hundreds of thousands of Buddhas (*anekehi buddhasatasahasseehi avijahitam*).

<sup>14</sup>N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., tr., *The Inception of Discipline*, § 19, *keci yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ti khandhake udānagātham āhu*.

*have* verses occur in the narrative of the events after the Awakening in the Vinayas of known schools, including, of course, the Theravādin Mahāvagga, the *anekajāti* verses have no canonical narrative context, since they are transmitted only in collections like the Dhammapada. It is not clear when or where the latter came to be designated as *paṭhamabuddhavaṇana* by the Theravādins. In the *Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha*, the Chinese translation of a Vinaya text related to the Samantapāsādikā, both traditions are reported.<sup>15</sup>

In his commentary on the Udānavarga, the North Indian scholar Prajñāvarman gives two *nidānas* for the *anekajāti* verses. The first, most probably the one generally accepted by the Sarvāstivādin tradition to which Prajñāvarman belonged, reports that the verses were recited by the Buddha to an unspecified monk. The second gives a *nidāna* reported by “others”:<sup>16</sup>

Others say the verses were spoken by the Bodhisattva beneath the bodhi tree when minions of Māra came to disturb his mind.

This *nidāna* agrees with the Theravādin tradition in situating the verse at the site of Awakening, but places it at a different point: before the Awakening, when the Blessed One was still a bodhisattva.<sup>17</sup> From these references (and others may well be preserved in other sources, such as the Chinese Dharmapada literature) we can conclude that, as with many verses of the Dhammapada and Udānavarga collections, the *anekajāti* verses had no ancient narrative context, and as a result the *nidānas* supplied by different schools or traditions disagree.

<sup>15</sup>P.V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha, A Chinese version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1970), pp. 9–10.

<sup>16</sup>Michael Balk, ed., *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa*, Vol. 2 (Bonn, 1984), p. 903.30, *gḥan dag ni byaṅ chub kyi śiṅ druṅ na bḥugs pa na bdud kyi pho ṅa la sogs pas sems rnam par dkrugs pa'i phyir 'oṅs pa na byaṅ chub sems dpas gsuṅs so ḥes zer ro*.

<sup>17</sup>For the alternate *nidānas* cited by Prajñāvarman and their relation to the Theravādin tradition see Peter Skilling, “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, *JPTS* XIX (1993), pp. 143–53.

Whatever the case, the *anekajāti* verses are given in South-East Asian inscriptions, often together with the *yadā have* verses. I cite here several examples from Siam. They follow the *yadā have* verses on the above-mentioned octagonal pillar from Sap Champa. They are cited on a gold plate found in the main *cetiya* at Wat Phra Non (Tambon Phra Non, District Nakhon Luang, Ayutthaya Province), now in the Chao Sam Phraya National Museum in Ayutthaya. The inscription, in Tham Lanna letters, dates to the twentieth century BE (that is, about the fifteenth century CE).<sup>18</sup> The *anekajāti* verses are given twice on the nineteenth century gold plates in the *cetiya* at Wat Pho (Wat Phra Chetuphon), Bangkok. In the second case they precede the three *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā* verses.

In addition to inscriptions, the *anekajāti* verses are included in the collections of ritual texts in the large illuminated *khoi* paper manuscripts of central Thailand<sup>19</sup> while the *yadā have* verses are given in the *Royal Chanting Book*, where they bear the title *Buddha-udāna-gāthā*.<sup>20</sup> Both are recited to this day by members of the Northern Thai, Central Thai, and Burmese *saṃghas*, especially during the consecration of Buddha images. In Nepal, at the Śākyasiṃha Vihāra in Patan (Lalitpur), Theravādins recite the *anekajāti* verses in Pāli together with a verse translation into Newar by Prajñānanda, a former Saṃghamahānayaaka.<sup>21</sup>

Sanskrit parallels to the *yadā have* verses

As noted above, in the available narratives of the different schools, the *yadā have* verses are spoken after the Awakening, although not necessarily at the same point. The Sanskrit Catuspariṣat-sūtra of the Central Asian Sarvāstivādins reports that after staying at the residence of Mucilinda Nāgarāja the Buddha returned to the seat of Awakening

<sup>18</sup>Supaphan, op. cit., pp. 70–73.

<sup>19</sup>See e.g. *Samut khoi* (Bangkok: Moradok Thai, 2542 [1999]), p. 193.

<sup>20</sup>Somdet Phra Sangkharat (Pussadeva), ed., *Suat mon chabap luang*, (Bangkok: Mahamakut Ratchavithayalay, 16th imp., 2538 [1995]), p. 85.

<sup>21</sup>Information courtesy of Ven. Vipassī (Dhammārāmo), Wat Bovoranives, Bangkok, 1 January 2002.

(*bodhimaṇḍa*) and contemplated conditioned arising in natural and reverse order for one week, remaining in the same cross-legged posture. At the end of the week he emerged from *samādhi* and uttered seven verses: parallels to the three *yadā have* verses of our inscription plus four others based on the same model. The account in the Saṅghabhedavastu of the Gilgit Vinaya is similar. In the Sanskrit Udānavarga, as restored from fragments from Central Asia, the verses are further developed on the same pattern to make a set of thirteen verses, placed at the end of the last chapter, Brāhmaṇavarga (XXXIII). In all three traditions there are some variants. The verses that correspond most closely to our verses are given in the Table. The number in parentheses at the end of each verse gives its position within the set of the particular tradition.

The Catuspariṣat-sūtra introduces the verses as *gāthā* (7.5, *tasyāṃ velāyaṃ gāthā babhāṣe*), as does the Saṅghabhedavastu (I 127.24, *tasyāṃ velāyaṃ gāthā bhāṣate*). Vasubandhu, in his commentary on the Gāthāsaṃgraha, cites them as an example of the *udāna-aṅga* in the twelve-fold classification of the Buddha's teaching. In the Mahāvagga and Udāna the verses are described as *udāna*, introduced by the stock phrase: *atha kho bhagavā etam atthaṃ viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi*. The Mahāvastu uses the phrase only for the third verse: *atha khalu bhagavān tāye velāye imaṃ udānaṃ udānaye*.

## 2. Two Pāli inscriptions from Si Thep in Siam<sup>22</sup>

Two fragmentary Pāli inscriptions from the archaeological site of Si Thep (now the Si Thep Historical Park, Petchabun Province), are displayed in the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai. Si Thep was an important moated city during the Dvāravatī period or the second half of the first millennium of the Christian Era, and is the northernmost find-spot of old Pāli epigraphs in Siam.<sup>23</sup> Among the antiquities

<sup>22</sup>I am grateful to Amara Srisuchat (Director, Ramkhamhaeng National Museum) for permission to examine and photograph the inscriptions.

<sup>23</sup>Although convention dictates that one place Si Thep within the "Dvāravatī period", I do not place it within the Dvāravatī polity, suspecting that Si Thep

recovered from the site are several masterful images of brahmanical deities (including Sūrya), a large stone *dharmacakka*, and one of the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions recovered in Siam.<sup>24</sup> The fact that the Buddhist records of Si Thep are in Pāli suggests that the Theravādin monastic order was present there. A very preliminary estimate for the date of the inscriptions, on palæographic grounds, is from the sixth to the eighth century.

### 2.1. Paṭiccasamuppāda inscription

The fragmentary inscription is engraved in Pallava letters on the two sides of a circular stone object, the function of which is not known. The text is drawn from the Bodhikathā of the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya, which describes how just after his Awakening the Buddha sat for one week in the same posture beneath the Bodhi Tree, the “Tree of Awakening”, experiencing the bliss of liberation, and contemplating dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). The text preserved in the inscription, given here in bold type, agrees perfectly with that of the Mahāvagga:<sup>25</sup>

tena samayena buddho bhagavā uruvelāyaṃ viharati najjā nerañjarāya tīre bodhirukkhamūle paṭhamābhisambuddho. atha kho bhagavā bodhirukkhamūle sattāhaṃ ekapallaṅkena nisīdi vimuttisukhapaṭisaṃvedī. atha kho bhagavā rattiyaṃ paṭhamaṃ **yāmaṃ paṭiccasamuppādaṃ anuloma-  
paṭilomaṃ** manasākāsi avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā saṅkhārāpaccayā viññāṇaṃ viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ nāmarūpapaccayā saḷāyatanaṃ saḷāyatana-  
paccayā phasso phassapaccayā vedanā vedanāpaccayā taṇhā taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ upādānapaccayā bhavo bhavapaccayā jāti jātipaccayā jarā-  
maraṇaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti **evam etassa  
kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa** samudayo hoti. avijjāya tv eva asesavirāganirodhā saṅkhāranirodho saṅkhāranirodhā saḷāyatananirodho

was a regional power in its own right.

<sup>24</sup>For the last see B. Ch. Chabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule (as evidenced by inscriptions)* (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1965), pp. 70–72 and pl. 7.

<sup>25</sup>The Pāli is from Vinaya Mahāvagga, Bodhikathā, Syāmaratṭha Tipiṭaka, Vol. 4, pp. 1–2 = Vin (E<sup>c</sup>) I 1–2.

saḷāyatananirodhā phassanirodho phassanirodhā vedanānirodho vedanānirodhā taṇhānirodho taṇhānirodhā upādānanirodho upādānanirodhā bhavanirodho bhavanirodhā jātinirodho jātinirodhā jarāmaraṇaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hotī ti.

### 2.2. *Ye dhammā* inscription

The *ye dhammā* verse is inscribed in Pallava script on the front of the pedestal of a stone image of the seated Buddha image from Si Thep. The surviving text is placed in bold type:

ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetuṃ tathāgato āha  
tesam ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī **mahāsamaṇo** ||

### 3. A gold-plate inscription from southern Vietnam

A gold-plate citation inscription was discovered at Go Xoai in Long An, a province south of Tay Ninh and west of Ho Chi Minh City, which borders the Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces of Cambodia.<sup>26</sup> It is complete and undamaged. The text is inscribed in five lines of clear, careful script on a gold plate, which seems to have been folded lengthwise into four equal parts at some point in its history. The following

<sup>26</sup>The inscription, which is kept in the Long An Provincial Museum, was published by Ha Van Tan in an appendix to Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai, eds., *Van Hoa Oc Eo: nhung kham pha moi/Oc Eo: Recent Discoveries* (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1995) (I apologize for the lack of appropriate diacritics for Vietnamese). Ha Van Tan has published an additional note on the inscription, “Ghi chu them ve minh van o Go Xoai (Long An)”, in *Nhung phat hien moi ve khao co hoc nam 1997* (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1998), pp. 694–696. For a detailed study see Peter Skilling, “A Buddhist inscription from Go Xoai, Southern Vietnam and notes towards a classification of *ye dharmā* inscriptions”, in *80 pi satsadachan dr. prasert na nakhon: ruam bot khwam wicchakan dan charuk lae ekasan boran* (80 Years: A collection of articles on epigraphy and ancient documents published on the occasion of the celebration of the 80th birthday of Prof. Dr. Prasert Na Nagara) (Bangkok, 21 March 2542 [1999]), pp. 171–87. I am grateful to Olivier de Bernon (Phnom Penh) and Ian Glover (Ditton Priors) for providing materials essential to this research.

reading is based on the published photograph.<sup>27</sup>

- (1) ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato avaca tesaṇca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsamano ||
- (2) duḥkham duḥkhasamutpādo duḥkhasa ca atikkamo airo atth'āngiko maggo duḥkhopasamagāmiko ||
- (3) tadyathā || daṇḍake || paṇḍakell kauraṇḍe || keyyūre || dantile || dantile || svāhāḥ ||
- (4) tadyathā || adhame amvare amvare parikuñja nāṭa nāṭa puṣkarādhahā jala khama khaya ilīmī
- (5) liki limili kīrtti caramudre mudramukhe svāhāḥ ||

The script is a variety of South-East Asian Pallava, similar to that of the Khao Rang inscription from Aranyaprathet (Prachin Buri), which bears the date Śaka 561 = 639 CE; the Khao Narai inscription from Saraburi, dated palaeographically to the twelfth century BE (= seventh century CE); and the Wat Sema Muang inscription from Nakhon Si Thammarat, which bears a date equivalent to 775 CE.<sup>28</sup> We may therefore suggest a seventh or eighth century date.

The inscription contains four texts: the *ye dharmā* verse, the *duḥkha duḥkhasamutpāda* verse, and two mantras.

### 3.1. The *ye dharmā* verse

The first text is the *ye dharmā* verse, in a recension close but not identical to the Pāli. In the Go Xoai inscription, the use of *sa* instead of retroflex *ṣa* in *tesam*, *tesaṇ*, and *mahāsamano* — in all three cases quite clear — is noteworthy. In both cases the genitive plural third person pronoun *tesam* (*tesaṇ*) has short *a*, which agrees with the Pāli form. For the aorist of *vac*, the record has *avaca*, where the Pāli has *āha* and some Sanskrit versions have (*hy*) *avadat*.<sup>29</sup> Versions of the verse with *avaca*

<sup>27</sup>My transcription follows the line-breaks of the original; I have supplied line numbers in parentheses at the beginning of the lines.

<sup>28</sup>*Charuk nai prathet thai* (Inscriptions of Thailand) (Bangkok), I 35–39, II 46, and I 187–222, respectively. I am grateful to Kannika Vimomkasem (Silpakorn University) for her guidance regarding the palaeography.

<sup>29</sup>The form *avaca* (aorist of *VAC*) is known in Pāli: see PED 598a, s.v. *vatti*, which refers to Ja I 294 and Pv II 3,19.

are known from other inscriptions. Especially intriguing is the fact that one other example of the *avaca* version is known from the region, engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image from Tuol Preah That in Rolan Cak, Kompong Speu province. The image, 0.925 metres in height, is now in the Musée Guimet, Paris (MG 18891). Cœdès describes the inscription as being “en petits caractères pré-angoriens, d’aspect assez ancien”.<sup>30</sup> It has been assigned to the seventh century on the basis of palaeography.<sup>31</sup> The text reads:

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato avaca  
tesaṇ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī mahāsamano.

The language of the record, a Prakrit related to Pāli, differs from the Go Xoai inscription in only one place: *hetuprabhavā* in place of *hetuppabhavā*.

As far as I know, the Go Xoai gold plate inscription is only the second *ye dharmā* inscription to have been found in Vietnam. One other comes from further north, from Champa, at a site in Khanh Tho Dong village, Chien Dang canton, huyen Ha Dong. Here some bricks were found, and an image of the Buddha, 21 cm in height, seated “à la mode européenne sur des lotus peu distincts”. On the back is the *ye dharmā* “grossièrement gravée”.<sup>32</sup> Neither the image nor the inscription has been published.

### 3.2. The *dukkham dukkhasamuppādam* verse

The second text in the Go Xoai inscription is the *dukkham dukkha-*

<sup>30</sup>K. 820, in *Inscriptions du Cambodge* VII, 109; for the image see Helen I. Jessup and Thierry Zéphir, eds., *Angkor et dix siècles d’art khmer* (Paris, 1997), p. 149. Except for a misprint there is no difference between the readings of Cœdès (*IC* VII) and Kamaleswar Bhattacharya (in Jessup and Zéphir, p. 41). “Pre-angorien” is equivalent here to “Pallava”.

<sup>31</sup>Jessup and Zéphir, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>32</sup>Henri Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments camés de l’Annam*, Vol. I (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), p. 244. In Vol. II (1918, p. 582) Parmentier reports that “le Buddha inscrit ... a été transporté par les émissaires de M. Rougier à Faifo et s’est perdu depuis”.



*samuppādam* verse, which summarizes the four truths of the noble. It is known from three other inscriptions, one from India and two from Siam. The Go Xoai inscription has *aira* for *ariya*, a form known from inscriptions from Amarāvati and elsewhere. The verse is slightly Sanskritized, with *duḥkha*, *-samutpāda*, and *upaśama* side by side with *aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*. The sole genitive is in *-ssa* rather than *-sya*. The Go Xoai inscription gives the phrases listing the four truths in the nominative case. In all other cases that I know of — whether inscriptions or texts — the four truths are given in the accusative.

### 3.3. Mantras

The verses are followed by two mantras, which open with a traditional *tadyathā* and close with a traditional *svāhāḥ*. I do not know their source. They are typical of protective incantations (*raḥṣā* mantras) of the early period. The Go Xoai mantra is the longest mantra inscription that I know of from mainland South-East Asia.<sup>33</sup> Short syllabic or “seed” (*bīja*) mantras inscribed on gold plates have been found in Kedah and in Indonesia.

### Conclusions

The inscriptions presented here add significantly to our knowledge of epigraphic use of Pāli in South-East Asia. Si Thep is the northernmost site of ancient (pre-tenth century) Pāli inscriptions so far known in Siam. Angkor Borei is the southernmost site, and the inscriptions are the first early Pāli records to be found in Cambodia. If the use of Pāli can indicate the presence of the Theravādin school, and I believe that it generally can, then the inscriptions are further evidence of an early presence of the school in the region. On the other hand, the language of the inscriptions on the Go Xoai gold plate and Tuol Preah That Buddha image reveals the presence of a Buddhist school other than the Theravāda. What school cannot be said, but that more than one school was active in the region is not surprising.

<sup>33</sup>I exclude here the clay tablets, some of which are imprinted with a long *dhāraṇī*.

The three sets of inscriptions from three different areas all include the *ye dhammā* verse, confirming its importance throughout the region (if this is something that needs to be confirmed). The Angkor Borei inscription offers a further example of the epigraphic use of the *yadā have* verses, the Si Thep stone that of the *paṭṭicasamuppāda*, and the Go Xoai inscription that of the *dukkhaṃ dukkhasamuppādam* verse.

Why were identical texts inscribed at different sites throughout the region? Why should epigraphic practice be similar at several centres of Buddhist culture during the 6th to 8th centuries? One possible explanation may be sought from ritual. The *ye dharmā* verse was and is a key verse in consecration ceremonies. In Northern India it was recited in the consecration of *caityas* by at least the late Pāla period. In Nepal and Tibet it has been and is recited in the consecration of *caityas*, images, thangkas, and books. The engraving of the *ye dhammā* verse on images and *caityas* — so common in Pāla India, and also in South-East Asia — may be seen as a physical expression, an inscribed relic, of their consecration.<sup>34</sup>

In South-East Asia — that is, amongst the Thai, Khmer, and Burmese, the Pāli texts given in the inscriptions dealt with in this paper — *ye dhammā*, *paṭṭicasammuppāda*, *yadā have* and *anekajāti* — are chanted in the consecration of both images and *cetiya*s. It may not be too far-fetched to conclude that the inscribed bricks or metal plates are physical relics of *cetiya* consecration rituals conducted during the Dvāravatī, Funan, and Chenla periods, and that current practice is the product of ritual continuity.

Can this hypothesis, which remains to be tested against textual and ritual traditions, explain all of the citation inscriptions of South-East Asia? Can it explain, for example, the “public” inscriptions (those not installed within a *cetiya* but engraved on pillars or stones), such as those

<sup>34</sup>The same is probably true of the inscribing of the *ye dharmā* verse at the end of colophons in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet (and the very few examples from Central Asia). I am grateful to William Douglas (Oxford) for pointing out the connection.

on the octagonal Sap Champa pillar, which include the *yadā have* and *anekajāti* verses? If on the one hand I am wary of imposing a single explanation on all citation inscriptions, on the other I see no reason why the ideology of consecration should not have embraced the *dhammacakkas*, one of which stood atop the Sap Champa pillar. Given the importance of the *dhammacakkas* to Dvāravarī Buddhist cult, the question is certainly worth asking.

Peter Skilling  
Nonthaburi

Sanskrit versions of the *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā* verses

Mahāvastu II 561–62

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapanenti sarvā  
yadā prajānāti sahetudharmā || (1)

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapanenti sarvā  
kṣayaṃ pratyayānām avaiti || (2)

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
vidharsitā tiṣṭhati mārasainyā  
sūryenaiva obhāsitam antarīkṣaṃ || (3)

Saṅghabhedavastu I 127–28

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā |  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā |  
yadā prajānāti sahetudharmam || (1)

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā |  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā |  
yadā kṣayaṃ pratyayānām upaiti || (4)

yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā |  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
vidhūpayams tiṣṭhati mārasainyaṃ |  
buddho hi saṃyojanavipramuktaḥ || (7)

Catuṣparīṣat-sūtra 7.6, 9, 13

yadā tv ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
hy ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā  
yadā prajānāti sahetudharmam || (1)

yadā tv ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
hy ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā  
yadā kṣayaṃ pratyayānām upaiti || (4)

yadā tv ime prādur bhavanti dharmā  
hy ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
vidhūpayams tiṣṭhati mārasainyaṃ  
buddho hi saṃyojanavipramuktaḥ || (7)

Udānavarga, Brāhmaṇavarga (XXXIII)

yadā tv ime tu prabhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā  
yadā prajānāti sahetudharmam || (2)

yadā tv ime tu prabhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā  
yadā kṣayaṃ pratyayānām upaiti || (3)

yadā tv ime tu prabhavanti dharmā  
ātāpino dhyāyato brāhmaṇasya |  
vidhūpayams tiṣṭhati mārasainyaṃ  
buddho hi saṃyojanavipramukta itī || (8)

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