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THE COLOPHONS OF THIRTY PÅLI MANUSCRIPTS FROM NORTHERN THAILAND

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PREFACE

It was in the spring of 1972 that I first visited a Northern Thai monastery: a rural war, some 3km from Lamphun Municipality. I was surprised by what I saw: a good dozen elderly men clad in faded and worn-out blue cotton shirts, their sunburnt faces laughing, some puffing sweet-smelling clouds out of their long green khīsōo cigars, sitting on mats surrounded by hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts, undoing their wrappings, reading a little bit of this, a little bit of that, chatting and exchanging views about their favourite stories: Northern Thai literature, at that time almost unknown outside the region, appeared to be still pretty much alive among the Lan Na people — at least, in the hearts of the older generation. To see so many “simple folk” reading Northern Thai script at ease, and discussing literary works was surprising; what made me feel
perplexed, was the contradiction lying in the fact that most of these manuscripts had been left untouched, as I came to learn, for years, in half a dozen partly rotten, wooden caskets — a prey for termites, mice and moul.

These elderly lay-men were, by the way, volunteers from the community of Wat San Rim Ping who had been asked the previous day, by Acharn Singha Wannasai (1920–1980), my teacher and project advisor, to lend a helpful hand to a "Farang" wanting to study and record valuable examples of the Northern Thai literary tradition on microfilm, in order to preserve them and make them known abroad.

At that time, not only the manuscripts, but also the language and literature of Northern Thailand seemed doomed to slip into oblivion. The following years, however, witnessed considerable change; today, Northern Thai language and literature, arts and culture are enjoying growing attention. Scholars from Thailand and abroad, but above all, the people of Northern Thailand themselves, including folk artists and members of the Buddhist Saṅgha, have joined in the task of preserving Lan Na’s literary heritage.

The present study grew out of an involvement in these endeavours. Having evaluated a considerable number of manuscripts in the course of previous research, preservation work, and teaching responsibilities, the idea of making an in-depth study of colophons was sparked by discussions with Professor Dr. Oskar von Hinüber (Universität Freiburg) who had for several years been tracing the ancient Pāli tradition of Lan Na. His articles, published in various journals since 1983, were especially stimulating for this study. He also took it upon himself to check my Pāli transliterations, and verify the beginnings and endings of the thirty manuscripts introduced here, in the standard editions. So now that the study has been completed, my sincerest thanks go first to him for his encouragement and personal interest in the progress of the work.

I am further indebted to Professor Dr. Udom Roongruangsri, my colleague at the M.A. Program "Lanna Language and Literature". Chiang Mai University, who shared generously his time and expertise in discussions of the contents and the wording of some of the older colophons.

Thoughts also go back to Professor Dr. Bernhard Kölver (Universität Kiel) who spent, some ten years ago, many an afternoon discussing the problems of how to come to grips with the abundance of variants in Northern Thai manuscripts from different historical epochs and various geographical origins. The transliteration system which evolved out of this cooperation proved useful again for preserving the linguistic evidence contained in the colophons.

This article would not have taken its present shape without the continuous contributions — practical, intellectual, and emotional — made by my wife, Ingrid, during every phase of the work.

I am further obliged to John Cadet (Chiang Mai) for going through an early draft of the translation of several colophons. In the final stages of writing Laurie Maund (Chiang Mai University) took great pains in polishing the English, at the same time adding valuable suggestions.

The map was prepared by Bordin Wongjunpong under the supervision of Asst. Professor Dr. Nuansiri Wongtangswad (Chiang Mai University). Chuanpit Lilit proved herself reliable and circumspect as ever, when helping in preparing the manuscript, and assisting in computer work. The special characters and signs were designed by Phichak Limprasutr, Chiang Mai; the retyping of the data section (Part B) as well as the rearrangement of the Introduction which had to be transferred from a different word-processing system, was done by myself. All errors or misprints are therefore entirely mine.

Other persons have, knowingly or unknowingly, also contributed to the completion of the present study: the colleagues involved in the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts" Project, who had to compensate for my absence during field trips and meetings; likewise those from the Department of Thai, and the M.A. students who showed understanding and patience when I had to absent myself from "Ritan Doem", our common workstation at the Faculty of Humanities, for longer periods during past semester breaks.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express again my deep appreciation for the continuous support extended by the National Research Council of Thailand as well as the National Library, Bangkok. I am especially obliged to Professors Maenma Chavalit and Kulap Gesmankit for their personal interest in the work and their readiness to help with its progress in every respect. Special thanks are due for the permission to go through preliminary hand-lists of the holdings of Northern and Northeastern Thai manuscripts at the National Library, and to have microfilm copies made of a considerable number of relevant texts.

As may be inferred from the foregoing acknowledgments, the present study could be pursued due to a combination of favourable conditions; the most exceptional being the privilege of a continuous stay in Northern Thailand, made possible through the seconding of a lecturership for the M.A. Program "Lan Na Language and Literature" at the Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) since 1983. Furthermore, the work
was greatly enhanced by the results of previous research projects conducted by the author with the support of the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [DFG], Bonn) between 1971–1983. The texts under study were easily accessible, since a copy of a microfilm collection including the texts presented here, set up in 1972–1974 in the course of the Project “Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailand” had been donated to Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai) by the German Foreign Office, in 1977/78. Thanks to a grant given to the above-mentioned M.A. Program by the Volkswagen-Stiftung, Hannover, in which were included two high-quality microfilm readers, these microfilms could be conveniently made use of for the present study.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the Pali Text Society for publishing the study in the Society’s Journal, and for providing a grant to be used for expenses that occurred in the course of producing camera-ready copy. I am especially obliged to the editor of the PTS Journal, Professor K.R. Norman, for taking it upon himself to make the editorial changes needed for publication.

Last but not least, mention must be made of the authors and the scribes, as well as the donors and supporters of the past who joined hands in the making of the manuscripts presented here. It is through their efforts that we can study Lan Na’s literary heritage and witness the pre-eminent role Buddhism and literature formerly enjoyed in the hearts of the people.

Chiang Mai, April 1990
Harald Hundius

Note on Transcriptions.

1. For the edition of the Colophons the Transliteration System as introduced in HUNDIUS 1990 (pp. 215 foll) is used. Its main features are explained in Part B, 1.1, below.

2. For phonematic transcriptions the system introduced by Mary R. Haas (see HAAS 1964 [for Central Thai], 1958 [for Northern Thai]; see Bibliography) is used, with some minor modifications stated in Part B, 1.2.

3. Names of persons, places and monasteries etc., as well as official titles and ranks mentioned in the colophons, when referred to in the translation or in the main text, are generally given in transliteration, however, in a simplified version of the system mentioned above (1.; for details see B, 1.1.2., § 18).

4. Commonly known names of persons, monasteries, towns or other geographical places are referred to in a broad phonetically oriented transcription known as “General System” (s. JSS, 33, 1941, pp. 49 foll). Official or widely used orthography in forms like Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Chulalongkorn, etc. is maintained. (When deemed helpful for verification, phonematic notation in accordance with the pronunciation in modern Central as well as Northern Thai has been added). Likewise, Romanized spellings of personal names are, if known, given in the form used or preferred by their holders.

5. A number of Pâli and Sanskrit words and special terms, e.g. Buddhâsana (“Buddha's Teachings”), Nibbâna (Skt: “Nirvâna”), peta (“hungry ghost”), akṣara (“character, letter”) etc. are written in accordance with commonly used Romanization.

List of Abbreviations* and Signs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini (Christian Era)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Buddhist Era (Christian Era + 543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>century (Christian Era)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clf</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>A Critical Pâli Dictionary (begun by V. Trenckner, 1924–48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Cîḷasakarāja (“Little Era” = Christian Era minus 638)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Central Thai (Siamese, Standard Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dc no</td>
<td>Documentation number, i.e. Item-Number in: Hundius (1976b; Verzeichnis der auf Mikrofilm erfaßten literarischen Dokumente aus Nordthailand [1972–1974]).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don</td>
<td>donor (of a manuscript)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foll</td>
<td>following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms no</td>
<td>manuscript number (as recorded on microfilm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no no.</td>
<td>no number (i.e. palm-leaf folio without pagination on the microfilm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>North(ern) Thai (Tai Yuan, Kam Mûang, Lan Na Thai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Pâli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>number of palm-leaf page(s) as recorded on microfilm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page</td>
<td>page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>recto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.</td>
<td>reigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spp</td>
<td>sponsor or supporter (of the making of a manuscript)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations of names of Pāli works are those used in the CPD, as are the numbers attached to the Pāli titles which refer to the categorization used in that work. If those numbers are put in square brackets, the respective text is not mentioned in the CPD.

NB: a number (usually 1–5) following a palm-leaf page no. refers to the line, an attached "a", "b", "c" to the section thereof.

The following signs have been used:

- || transliteration
- // phonematic transcription
- () illegible or difficult to read (on the microfilm)
- [] supplements by me
- {} deletions suggested by me; also used with parts of proper names which appear to be used merely or predominantly as epitheta ornantia and may therefore not be taken as parts of the genuine names.
PART A: INTRODUCTION

1. Background: The Sources.

1.1 The Pāli Tradition of Northern Thailand in an Historical Perspective.

The subject of this study is "colophons", short paragraphs written by the scribes in their native language, Northern Thai, as an accompaniment to the main text which is written in Pāli. Engraved on palm-leaves, they have survived the tide of the times, sometimes under precisely gilded wooden covers and wrapped in faded silk, hidden in huge wooden caskets, in well over 3,000 monastic libraries scattered throughout the eight northernmost provinces of Thailand.

Taken from a selection of Pāli manuscripts, the "Holy Scriptures" or "Dhamma Texts" of the Theravāda School of Buddhism, among these some of the oldest known manuscripts from Southeast Asia that have come down to us, the colophons offer glimpses of a distant past, dating back to half a millennium ago.

It was a time of religious zest: Lan Na, the Tai Yuan kingdom established by King Mangrai in the 13th c., had been consolidated and reached a high level of prosperity and cultural blossoming. After a time of intensive scholarly exchange with Singhalese-reform Buddhism, in the 15th–16th c. a number of learned Lan Na monks had emerged as masters of Pāli, the holy language of the Southern Buddhist tradition. Such was their mastery that they were not only able to translate the huge corpus of Buddhist Scriptures from Pāli into the vernacular language, Northern Thai, but were also able to produce scholarly as well as literary works of their own.

During this period, while numerous texts belonging to the Theravāda tradition were copied from foreign sources, the script that had come to be used for Pāli texts was adapted to be used for writing Northern Thai (NT), as well.1 It is this type of script, the "Lan Na Dhamma Script" or /tʰā mæŋ/, as it is generally called by its users, which came to be the main media of written communication from the 16th–17th century until well into the middle of the 20th century.2

Through this script, the promulgation of the Buddhadhamma was greatly enhanced: the canonical works were disseminated in bilingual (Pāli-NT) versions called /woɔʰaːr/ (/woɔʰaːn/), and this in turn gave rise to a huge literary production, drawing upon local as well as foreign themes and plots. In fact, the bulk of the Lan Na literary heritage, religious as well as secular, has come down to us through the "Lan Na Dhamma script".3

A certain part of the Lan Na literary tradition, however, continued to be copied in the original monolingual Pāli versions. These were mainly canonical texts or those connected indirectly with the Tipitaka, as well as a number of scholarly works used for study purposes. Furthermore, Pāli was chosen as the medium of several works composed by Lan Na scholars: among these commentaries and subcommentaries on canonical and post-canonical texts, treatises on cosmology, religious chronicles and treatises on Pāli grammar.4

It is to this Pāli tradition of Lan Na that the thirty manuscripts included in the present study belong. They cover a period in history of well over four centuries: the earliest dating back to the turn of the 15th–16th century, the "Golden Age" of Pāli Literature, when Lan Na, as an

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1 The earliest dated evidence of the Lan Na Dhamma Script used for writing a vernacular Northern Thai text that has been identified to date, inscribed on the base of a Buddha Image kept at Wat Chiang Man (NT /Waw Jiaa Hman/, /wāt ciaŋ mān/), Chiang Mai, dates from AD 1465 (CS 827). It comprises two short lines (mentioning the names of Buddhist dignitaries who supported the casting of the Buddha Image, and the name of the laywoman-sponsor) which are preceded by two lines written in Pāli. C.f. Pfenth 1976:55 foll.

2 Two other scripts have been used for Northern Thai in the past. The first, called /Fak Kham/ ("Tamarind-Pod"), a derivation of a contemporary Sukhothai script, which appears to have been used solely for epigraphy, is documented in inscriptions dating mostly from the 15th–16th c. The second type, previously called /Khōm Müiän/ (khōm mǔān) by such scholars as Singhka Wannasai and which is nowadays mostly referred to as /Daij Nīdes/ (thaj nīthet), has been used for transmitting a number of works of "classical" Lan Na poetry. Only a good dozen (palm-leaf) manuscripts written in this script have survived, the majority of which date from the first four decades of the 19th c. A facsimile of this alphabet can be found in Notton 1925: plates 21–24.

* Cf. P: vohā ra "expression, speech".

3 A detailed description can be found in: Hundius 1990:119 foll. This script was also the subject of a study completed in 1981 by Kong Kaeo Wiraprapac and Niyada Thasukhon (see Bibliography).

4 Cf. Cèdès 1915. A list of thirty Pāli works (not including the Paññāsa-Jātaka or "Fifty Apocryphal Jātakas" also generally ascribed to the Pāli School of Chiang Mai) known or believed to have been written by scholars of the Lan Na tradition is given in: Likhitanonta 1980:71 foll. The Paññāsa-Jātaka has recently been re-edited — on the basis of texts belonging to the Burmese tradition — by the Pali Text Society. See Jānī 1981, 1983.
The Colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand

written in 1869, by the initiative of another important reconstructor of cultural, and especially literary, traditions of the North, viz. Anantaworaritthidet who ruled over the principality of Nan from 1853 until 1893. This manuscript may be regarded as one of the last witnesses of the living Pāli tradition of Lan Na before it gradually came to an end in the first half of the 20th century.6

Several factors contributed to the decline of Pāli studies in what was once the home of the famous Pāli School of Chiang Mai. Perhaps the most far-reaching were the successful efforts of the Central Government in Bangkok to establish administrative control over the whole country, including the principalities of the North which had become increasingly threatened by British and French Imperialism. These reforms which changed an administrative system that had been in practice since the 15th c., were started during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (r. 1868–1910), and paved the way for the country's development into a modern Nation-State.7

As far as religious education, and especially Pāli studies, were concerned, basic changes were introduced as well, culminating, in the first decade of this century, in the reorganization of the Buddhist clergy, and the introduction of a centralized, national monastic education. Consequently, monks from the North were required to study Pāli on the basis of texts belonging to the Siamese tradition, written in a different script, i.e. either Khmer ([Khem]) or Siamese (Central Thai), and advancement in the Sangha, as well as admission to the Buddhist Universities which had been established in the capital, Bangkok, became tied up with the passing of centralized examinations based on those

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6 The last major effort to keep alive the scholarly Pāli tradition of the North was undertaken, as it seems, in the twenties and thirties under the leadership of [Gruu Paa Siwijeey] ([khoo baa siwich]) [AD 1878–1938], a charismatic Northern Thai monk scholar and fervent preserver of Lan Na literary and cultural traditions who copied a number of Pāli manuscripts by himself, e.g. the Khuddakanikāya comprising 16 phuk, dating from AD 1926. On the gilded "mai hlaap of this neatly written manuscript a colophon is engraved similar to those found on the manuscripts made under [Gruu Paa Kañca] in the previous century. This manuscript which belongs to the holdings of [Gruu Paa Siwijeey's] home monastery at a village called /baη paap/ (Amphoe Li, Lamphun), was one of those used by Singkha Wannasai (1920–1980) for his part in the preparations for the first printed edition of the Lan Na Tipitaka completed recently (see below).

7 A detailed account of the policies of reform as pursued in the field of education, is contained in: Wyatt 1969. For the initiatives to expand secular as well as religious education into the provinces, including the North, see especially pp. 234 foll.
While Northern Thai, despite the gradual introduction since the early twenties of a centralized secular school system based entirely on Central Thai, still remained the common medium of oral, and, at least in the religious sphere, written communication up to the period of World War II, an aggressive "National Unification Policy" enforced during the first years of the war, practically penalizing the study and teaching of Northern Thai language and script, dealt a severe blow to the monasteries of the North in their function as guardians of the literary tradition.

Since that period, an ever decreasing number of people have learned to read and write the Northern Thai script during their customary stay in a monastery. This contrasts with the generations of the previous five or six centuries who had received monastic elementary education based on the study of Northern Thai. Consequently, today it is, above all, the members of the older generation who are still able to read Northern Thai. Among these, only very few can be found who are familiar with ancient manuscripts such as those belonging to the Pâli tradition of Lan Na, which thus have ceased to be copied.

Nowadays, while Northern Thai is still being used in everyday communication by some four million people living in the North, the general trend towards modernization and secular education, together with the overwhelming impact of the centralized national mass media — a process which accelerated tremendously with the implementation of the First National Economic and Social Development Plan in the early sixties — have contributed to its decreasing status in modern society, especially since the written tradition no longer seems to have any relevance for the majority of the younger generation.

Counter-acting this process of decline, however, is an increasing awareness, particularly wide-spread among culturally minded academics and members of the Northern Saigha, of the value of the cultural traditions of Lan Na, which are felt to be threatened by the impact of rapid social and economic change brought about during the past two or three decades. The feeling that the heritage of the past is seriously endangered, is increasingly shared by the central authorities.

The constitution of Chiang Mai University, founded in 1964 as the first University outside Bangkok, explicitly states that one of her four basic duties is "to promote and enhance the study and preservation of the cultural heritage of the region". The introduction, in the following years, of teaching courses and research in Northern Thai language and literature, a trend later to be followed by provincial Teachers' Training Colleges, and Cultural Centres, heralds this new attitude.

Concerns about the growing negligence of the regional literary tradition led, again beginning in the early sixties, to increased efforts to preserve this part of the cultural heritage of Lan Na for future generations. A noteworthy example, initiated by the Northern Saigha, is the edition of a printed version of the complete Lan Na Tipiñaka, which was recently accomplished after an effort of 15 years, and with remarkable public support, under the leadership of a Chiang Mai Monastery, in 1988.

1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research.

1966 saw the completion of a survey of manuscripts in the possession of Northern monastic libraries, focussing on Lamphun province, which had been supported for several years by the Siam Society, Bangkok. The leading scholar responsible for this survey, Acharn Singkha Wannasai, Lamphun, later contributed substantially to another Project which, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), aimed at setting up a microfilm collection of manuscripts representative of the indigenous literary tradition. It is from this collection, set up between 1972 and 1974 from manuscripts in some 95 monastic, as well as private, libraries that the thirty manuscripts under study have been drawn.10

Fortunately, the microfilming of important manuscripts of the Lan Na tradition was to be continued, a few years later, by another project, jointly supported this time by two Japanese organizations, viz. the Toyota

8 See also Gosling 1983:92 foll.

9 An impression of the atmosphere of intimidation prevailing in monasteries in Lamphun province can be obtained by reading the brief account given by Singkha Wannasai (cf. Wannasai 1980:7–9) who relates the occurrence of the burning of Lan Na palm-leaf manuscripts in a number of monasteries in Lamphun and Phrae provinces, as well as the resistance among devout adherents of the Northern tradition against the attempts to enforce the usage of Siamese or "Central Thai" (CT) instead of Lan Na scriptures in the monasteries.

10 The microfilms, comprising about one thousand titles, are available both in the National Library, Bangkok (since 1974), and at Chulalongkorn University (Department of History, as a donation from the German Foreign Office in 1978/9), Bangkok; Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai, also a donation from the German Government), as well as at the Universities of Kiel and Göttingen, Federal Republic of Germany. A preliminary handlist of the texts contained in the microfilm collection, which include a large number of parallel versions, exists in the form of a computer print-out (see Hundius 1976b) and is available upon request from the author.
Foundation and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. This led to the establishment of microfilm documentations which, taken over in 1981 by the newly established Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai University, comprises by now some 4,000 texts, the majority belonging to secular fields of knowledge such as traditional law, customs, astrology, history, medicine, etc. A selection of about a hundred texts written entirely in Pāli is also included.\footnote{Part of this microfilm documentation consists of manuscripts first recorded during 1972-1974 (DFG-Collection), which were re-microfilmed because of their special value (nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, and perhaps also 24 of the present study). In addition, the SRI surveys brought to light several previously unknown holographs. Included in the SRI collection is the oldest dated manuscript discovered to date in the North. This manuscript (a copy of parts of the Jātaka-āṭṭhakathā-vaṃṇana), written in AD 1471 (CS 833), is also the second oldest known in Thailand (the oldest one, a copy of the Sārathapakāsini, dates from AD 1440; see v. Hinüber 1985:3). According to figures mentioned in the printed catalogue of 1986a (Foreword, without pagination), a total of 13,726 phuk comprising 3,694 texts, including an unknown number of parallel versions, had been photographed, as of March, 1986, on 145 reels of microfilm. In the meantime, they have increased, as Acharn Phanphen Kruathaï (M.A.) kindly informs me (May, 1989), by an additional twenty reels. The titles of the texts recorded, together with some basic additional data covering the contents of 145 reels, have been published in successive inventory lists or short catalogues (see Social Research Institute [ed.] 1986a-b).}

Since 1987, another project, aiming at the preservation of manuscripts in situ, that is at local monastic libraries, was started by Chiang Mai University's newly founded "Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture", with support from the German Foreign Office's Cultural Assistance Program. This project, which has been supplemented by a microfilming unit to record valuable manuscripts, will further enrich the source basis for Northern Thai, as well as Pāli, studies in the future.\footnote{Since recording work began, in November 1987, some 200 reels have been microfilmed (as of May, 1989). In this project, which is scheduled to continue until September 1991, Northern Thai and Pāli manuscripts are classified and microfilmed separately, which will considerably facilitate working with the texts.}

By making the manuscripts more easily accessible, and also by drawing the attention of scholars from abroad to the rich literary heritage of Northern Thailand, the microfilm projects appear to have motivated Western Pāli scholars once again to turn their interest to the Pāli tradition of this region, thus reviving a field of study which had been left unattended for more than half a century. For it was as early as 1915 that the great French scholar of Southeast Asian Studies, George Caëdès, had given proof of the existence of a significant Pāli tradition in the area of the former Kingdom of Lan Na. His "Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés en pays thai", despite being outdated now in some respects, has remained a basic source for the study of this subject until today.\footnote{See Caëdès 1915.}

Ten years thereafter, Caëdès edited and translated parts of two important works mentioned in his earlier article, viz. the Cāmādevīvarśa and the Jīnakālamālī, two religious chronicles compiled by Northern Thai monk-scholars in the 15th and 16th centuries, respectively.

When reading the editor's notes today, one is left wondering why Caëdès, who undoubtedly had access to Northern Thai, based his edition solely on "Southern", i.e. Siamese, sources without even mentioning the existence (or non-existence) of a single Northern Thai manuscript. His main sources in fact were versions printed in Siamese script which were checked with one manuscript each. These, as may be assumed, were written in "Khqūm", i.e. a variant of the Khmer, script which was customarily used for the transmission of Pāli texts in Siam until the end of the 19th c.\footnote{See Caëdès 1925. According to remarks made by the editor, a lot of misprints and other errors had to be corrected, a task which benefitted substantially from the collation with the manuscripts mentioned above, thereby giving early proof of the fact to be observed ever since, that printed editions of Pāli texts in Thailand have to be used with considerable reservation and care. Caëdès, in 1966, made yet another important contribution to Pāli studies by writing a catalogue of Pāli (and Northern Thai) manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Library of Copenhagen (for details, see Bibliography).}

The question will probably never be answered; yet in the light of evidence gained in the early 70s, the assumption may be not too far-fetched that Caëdès did not at all deliberately discard Northern Thai manuscripts, but that this omission rather reflects the unavailability at that time of Northern Thai manuscripts at the National Library in Bangkok, or its predecessor, the Wachirayan (Vajirañana) Library. This assumption at least would fit in with observations made in 1971/72, when, during preparations for the Project "Documentary Collection of Northern Thai Manuscripts", a survey was made at the National Library, Bangkok, on Pāli works known or believed to have originated in Northern Thailand. The survey led to the conclusion that a considerable number of such titles could be located. What was striking, however, was the discovery that only versions written in "Khqūm" script could be found, but not a single one in Northern Thai script.

In this context, it may be worth mentioning that, according to
Northern Thai oral history, several boat-loads of Northern Thai manuscripts were taken to Bangkok from monasteries in Lamphun in the late 18th or early 19th c. It was presumed that they were to be used for the restoration of the Buddhist scriptures which had been lost since the devastation of Ayutthaya, the former capital of Siam, by Burmese armies in 1767.\footnote{Verbal communication by Singkh Wannasai in February 1972 who referred to information handed down through generations by the monk community of Wat San Ton Thong (NT/wat sán tón thong), Lamphun (situated some 2km to the SW of the present city of Lamphun, on the way to Pasang). In 1786, a Council was convened in Bangkok with the aim of reassembling and reestablishing the Pāli canon. It took a whole century until the first printed version of the canon could appear. For details see v. Hinüber 1983:75.}

No enquiries have been made about this event up to the present time; the whereabouts of the manuscripts remain an enigma, but it can at least be supposed, judging from the existence of numerous copies of Northern Thai works written exclusively in "Khqom" script, that they at least served their purpose before being allowed to pass into oblivion.\footnote{Prof. v. Hinüber has drawn my attention to the fact that a certain number of Northern Thai manuscripts found their way to Japan in the 19th c. as a gift by King Chulalongkorn; possibly at least some of these might belong to the above-mentioned ones which are not traceable at present.}

It thus seems justified to draw the conclusion that factors related to cultural policy may have been decisive in preventing Cœdès, who worked in the archives of the capital during a time of "Nationbuilding", from getting hold of any direct witnesses of the Pāli texts of Northern Thai origin he studied and edited. Incidentally, this situation has remained basically unchanged, as it seems, until today: conspicuously, not a single one of a good dozen studies on, or editions of, Pāli texts from the Northern Thai tradition undertaken by Thai scholars during the past few decades made use of a Northern Thai manuscript.\footnote{For details see v. Hinüber 1987a. The studies referred to are predominantly unpublished Master's degree theses. Written in Thai, they have remained inaccessible to scholars of Pāli in the West. As far as texts included in our collection of 30 are concerned, hints about studies and editions of Pāli literature undertaken by Thai scholars are given in the "Remarks" to the colophons.}

It seems that factors related to politics were decisive in preventing the "discovery" of the Northern Thai literary heritage including its Pāli components, in yet another instance in history, when it was at the brink of arousing the attention of European scholars, once again in the second decade of this century.

It was a comrade of George Cœdès, namely Louis Finot, who, in 1917, published a monograph entitled "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne". In this study mention is made and comments given on a considerable number of texts, the titles of which were, during the DFG Research Project, discovered to belong, in fact, to the literary tradition of Lan Na. Enquiries and surveys pursued in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Vientiane, and the Bibliothèque Royale, Luang Prabang, in 1974, pointed to the fact that Finot, in his study of 1917, had actually included genuine Lan Na manuscripts (examples of which, due to centuries of cultural exchange and co-operation, had been kept at those libraries) without, however, identifying them as such.\footnote{My earlier assumption that Finot's sources might have been Laotian versions, or adaptations, of these texts could be refuted when it was found that a number of the texts in question bore inventory numbers of the École Française d'Extrême Orient identical with the numbers given in Finot's study. (For details see Hundius 1976b).}

The Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand thus had to wait for another 65 years until a German Pāli scholar, Professor Oskar von Hinüber, drew attention to them. O. v. Hinüber was able to give proof of the pre-eminent importance of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand for Pāli studies by showing, to mention one example, that ancient manuscripts from this region have preserved grammatical forms which, in the traditions of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, have been lost due to later recensions by learned monks whose alterations have created puzzles and problems unexplainable from the point of view of historical linguistics.\footnote{For details on the results of research done during the past six years, emphasizing the importance of the Lan Na tradition for the study of canonical texts and our knowledge of Pāli, see various articles written by O. v. Hinüber since 1983; for instance an article concerning the oldest known manuscript of the Miñapatāṅa (= 04 of the present article), and the history of the Pāli language as reflected in the manuscript tradition of Southeast Asia. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988.}

Yet the fact that a certain number of Pāli texts known to have been recorded on microfilm for over a decade, such as those included in this study, have not been classified until today, clearly reflects the present state of research.

However, in view of the increasingly accessible number of Pāli manuscripts belonging to the Lan Na tradition, and the increase in scholarly interest, prospects are certainly encouraging. The present study, by editing, translating, and commenting on colophons, written in the vernacular language, of Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand, will hopefully contribute to paving the way for further studies on these important sources.
2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study.

The thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here are, as indicated above, all taken from the microfilm collection "Literature from Northern Thailand" set up during research undertaken in 1972–1974 (DFG-collection; see HUNDIUS [1976b]). As implied by the title, this project focussed on indigenous Northern Thai literature; nevertheless, a total of forty-eight texts written entirely in Pāli were included in the documentation as well, due to their exceptional importance.

First of all, some of these texts represent the oldest manuscripts that have survived, not only in the North, but in the whole of Thailand and Southeast Asia. Others represent works of Southeast Asian origin, including several that have been composed by scholars from Lan Na. Finally, a number of manuscripts were microfilmed because of their rarity or because they contained previously unknown texts.

Eighteen titles out of the total of forty-eight Pāli texts were identified, during a survey of the microfilms in 1976–1977, as belonging to a special category of texts used in Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, including "magic chantings". These texts, called sū̄ṣaṇa in Northern Thai, have been in use for everyday religious practice through the centuries and can be found at virtually each and every monastery in the North. Since they constitute a group of their own, often consisting of rather short texts with equally brief colophons, it was decided to exclude them from the present study.20

The texts called sū̄ṣaṇa and āgama ("magic chantings") left apart, the thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here represent the complete sub-group of Pāli works included in the DFG collection of 1972–74 (See, however, Remarks to no. 26, Part B, below). It may be of interest here to take a brief look at the composition, with regard to their origin and content, of this sample of the Pāli tradition of Lan Na. Included are

(1) ancient specimens of canonical or semi-canonical texts (e.g. nos. 08, 11, 04), as well as
(2) texts which are either directly or indirectly connected with the Tipitaka (e.g. 01, 02, 03, 05, 06, 07).
(3) Works of the Southeast Asian Pāli tradition are represented by nos. 12, 20 and 21, 23, possibly including nos. 09, 10.
(4) Works composed by scholars from Lan Na or those generally ascribed to this tradition, are represented by 15 and 16, 17 and 18, 19, 24, 27 and 28.
(5) Three works are of as yet unknown origin: nos. 22 (Lokasamthana), 25 (Vaśsamālīni), as well as 29 and 30 (Paramatīvibhūsani), but may also be surmised to be of Southeast Asian origin, especially no. 25.21

As far as their content is concerned, the thirty Pāli manuscripts under study here include

(1) Scholarly works (e.g. 09, 10, 12, 26, 29 and 30), among these an ancient copy of a famous Pāli grammar written by a Burmese scholar in the 12th c. (Sadānī [12]), as well as a treatise on Pāli metre written by a Singhalese monk, which exerted a strong influence on the poetic tradition of Thailand and neighbouring countries (Sanharakhkhitā's Vuttoḍāya [26]).
(2) Lan Na's contribution to cosmological Pāli literature is exemplified by Sirimangala's Cakkavāḷadipani (Nos. 15 and 16; possibly also by no. 22 [Lokasamthāna] which is of as yet unknown origin).
(3) Literature pertaining to the political and religious history of the region is represented by two works composed in the 15th c. by Bodhiraṃsi, probably a native of Lamphun, viz. Cāmādevīvaṇa, the "Chronicle of Naāt Caamadeewī", the legendary founder of the ancient kingdom of Haripuṭtajā (nos. 17 and 18), and the Buddhāsihiṅga-Nidāna, the chronicle of a highly revered Buddha Image called Buddhā-Sihiṅga, believed to have been brought to Chiang Mai from Ceylon and enshrined at Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai.
(4) Last, but not least, the most popular literary genre among Buddhist Thai peoples is also represented, i.e. narrative literature, above all the Jātakas (nos. 03, 05, 06, 07), including the most popular of these, the Vessantarajātaka (13, 14, 19), and also including an example of the non-canonical Jātaka tradition, the Mahā-Sivijayajātaka (nos. 27, 28), and the Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā (01, 02).22

20 This category of texts, the majority of which can be affiliated with the "Paritta" genre, should be made the subject of a special study. For some relevant bibliographical data, see v. Hinüber 1987a:13.
21 Cf. Remarks to 25, below.
22 It may be worth mentioning here that the non-canonical Jātaka tradition of Lan Na
It thus may be said that the thirty manuscripts included in our study can be regarded as a representative cross-section of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand both with regard to their origin, and their content. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to attracting more interest in the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand by making accessible the vernacular colophons of the thirty selected manuscripts.

The original purpose of the present study was to make available the information contained in the vernacular colophons of important Pāli manuscripts from the Lan Na tradition to scholars of the Pāli language and Southeast Asian Buddhism, who may not be able to read Northern Thai.

Apart from this original purpose, however, when working with the colophons, it soon became clear that these texts also deserve considerable interest as historical sources in their own right.23 Covering a period of almost four centuries, the oldest dating from the same period (late 15th century) from which the earliest known epigraphical sources written in Northern Thai have come down to us, they contain valuable data for future studies of the development of the Northern Thai language and script. As written messages from the scribes to the reader, the colophons also contain valuable material for the study of social and religious history; not only concerning Buddhism and the beliefs associated with the making of manuscripts, and the aspirations attached to "meritorious deeds" of this kind, but also concerning social, and, to a certain extent, economic relations between those involved.

In view of the above-mentioned situation, where Northern Thai studies are still in their initial stage, and hardly any primary sources are available in the form of editions, it seems advisable to present the material in such a way that it will be of benefit to different groups of readers. Therefore, the colophons are presented in three different forms:

1. in transliteration,
2. in phonematic transcription,
3. in translation.

A few remarks are necessary to explain the reasons for rendering the texts in both transliteration and phonematic transcription. Transliteration and phonematic transcription serve two different groups of potential users: the first is for those who focus on the written text, the second is directed at those whose point of departure is the spoken language.

ad 1:

The transliteration system used here was developed on the basis of a detailed study of the phonological and the writing system of Northern Thai.24 It has been specifically designed to cope with the particular problems posed by this kind of source material.

The basic situation is characterized by the fact that a structurally monosyllabic, tonal language is written by means of a script designed for the transmission of texts composed in an Indo-European language (Pāli) with a widely different phoneme inventory. While Lan Na scholars of the past succeeded in finding practical solutions to problems arising from these discrepancies, it is difficult to "Romanize" Northern Thai graphemes in a functionally equivalent way.25

In addition to this structural problem, the task of transliterating Northern Thai manuscripts is further complicated by the occurrence of numerous allographic writings and inconsistencies. The number of poly- and homophones sometimes leaves the reader in perplexion, and causes problems not only for the transliterator, but also for the editor of texts in Northern Thai (or Central Thai) script, as well as for lexicographic

24 Cf. Hundius 1990. Out of a variety of introductions into the Northern Thai script that exist, the following may be recommended for beginners: Davis 1970, Phayomyong 1968, Roongruangsri 1984, Wannasai 1975 (unfortunately out of print) and, in printed Northern (and Central) Thai letters, Watcharasat 1985. (For details, see Bibliography).

25 An area particularly illustrative of the difficulties inherent, is the notation of vowels. Northern Thai has more vowel sounds than Pāli, including a number of diphongs. To represent these additional vocalic sounds, synthetic writings were created by combining graphic elements from the available sign inventory. Grouped around the initial "carrier" consonants, these three-dimensional configurations cannot be Romanized in a corresponding way, but have to be rearranged into linear sequences of symbols. Such an approach is used by scholars who are basing their transliteration of Northern Thai vowels, analogically to that of the consonants, on the Pāli value of each individual element (cf., for instance, Father Schmitt, in: Pavie 1898, H. Penh 1973, O. v. Hinüber 1987a foll); certain Northern Thai vowels are thus represented in the transliteration by a series of up to six letters. For more details, see PART B, 1.1.2.1, § 13, below.
work.26

On the basis of studies of manuscripts from different areas and different periods, done over the past fifteen years, it can be concluded that this phenomenon is caused by different factors which need to be understood in order to deal with the texts in a suitable way.

1. Northern Thai orthography does not seem to have ever been fixed into a definite and obligatory, generally accepted system; inconsistencies are rather the rule, since the earliest times from which written documents have survived. In view of the complexity of the writing system, especially where the rendering of vowels and tones is concerned, it can also be surmised that many scribes were not sufficiently competent to understand and maintain a given orthographical standard — which, at any rate, was never explained in an analytical way — and it is a truism to be witnessed all over the world that by mere copying, errors and mistakes are generated.

2. Part of the variations in orthographic usage seems to be related to different "schools" or local writing traditions which, like similar conventions elsewhere, are subject to change in the course of time.

3. Another category of allographic writings appear to reflect phonetic instability, or indicate an ongoing process of sound change.27

4. Furthermore, one has to reckon with exogene interference, as numerous Northern Thai manuscripts were written by Tai speaking people from the Shan States (Khūn and Lī from the region of Chiang Tung) or Sip Song Pan Na (Chiang Rung) who had migrated into what is present Northern Thailand during centuries of constant

26 The awareness in Thailand of these problems has grown in recent years, as could be observed during a conference on the transliteration of Northern Thai texts into Central Thai script which was held in Chiang Mai, in November 1987, under the auspices of the newly founded Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture and which was attended by some sixty scholars from all parts of the country.

27 This holds true, for instance, for the "waxing and waning" of vowel length (most affected are the high vowels /i, iː/, and /u, xu/) which can be observed in Northern Thai up to the present and is obviously reflected in an abundance of manuscripts. This is an example where the findings of synchronic linguistics may lead to explanations of patterns of inconsistencies observed in the manuscripts. For more details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

contacts and exchange.28

In view of the complexity of the situation briefly outlined here, it seems advisable, when editing Northern Thai primary sources by means of a transliteration, not to eliminate any evidence, but to keep it available for further analysis; for this evidence can yield valuable information in several areas, namely:

1. Information on the strains and schools of the literary tradition will, by helping to identify the writing usage of different times and different places, make it possible, for example, to trace transmission lines of important texts, or to determine the age and origin of literary works.

2. Material may be found for studies on the historical development of the language, and the interaction between dialects.

3. Historians might find the data helpful when trying to trace demographic migration patterns.

4. When the principles of textual criticism are to be applied in editing manuscripts, the allographic evidence found in the witnesses must be thoroughly analyzed in order to be able to identify the "Leitfehler", i.e., significant errors or variant readings which are instrumental for the tracing of transmission lines of codices, their status and their mutual affiliation.

5. Last, but not least, the details of the original writings are indispensable for any re-examination of interpretations and translations of the texts. In a situation where considerable numbers of ambiguous writings and inconsistencies must be coped with, and numerous homographies must be interpreted and differentiated in order to identify the semantic substance contained in the text, it is only by ensuring access to the original writing that the interpretation of a given lexeme by the translator can remain open for reconsideration.

The transliteration system used in the present study meets the requirement to preserve evidence contained in the written sources in an economical way (by using index numbers), while making an effort to

28 It is worth mentioning, for example, that the inconsistency in writing and the failure to differentiate between the diphthong /au/ and its phonetically related monophthong /aː/ is of significantly higher frequency in manuscripts from areas with large numbers of people from Khūn and Lī descent (such as large areas in Lamphun, Phayao or Chiang Rai provinces) than in those from districts with predominantly Tai Yuan population: in Khūn and Lī ancient /aː, wa, ua/ were monophthongalized to /ee, ao, oo/, respectively.
assist the reader in identifying the lexemes.  

ad 2:  
As for the phonematic transcription, the system developed by Mary R. Haas — the one most widely used in Thai Studies — is used in a form adapted to Northern Thai. This will help in making the texts accessible to those who are familiar with the spoken language, especially anthropologists and social scientists. Those who do not know Kam Mûang, will still be able to identify lexemes which are cognate to Central Thai.

Scholars whose interests rest solely with the written texts, such as Pâli scholars who have no knowledge of Thai, may still appreciate the opportunity to learn how the written forms should be pronounced.

ad 3:  
As for the translations, these endeavour to stay as close as possible to the original. In cases where words have had to be supplemented in order to convey the meaning of the original, square brackets are used, so that translations and originals can be easily compared.

Thus the study will hopefully offer some help and serve as an incentive for those wishing to become involved with written Northern Thai sources in the future.

3. The Colophons.

3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pâli Manuscripts.

Pâli — extensively used in Buddhist ritual — has always remained a language for scholars in the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia. The scribe of one of our manuscripts, dating from 1759 (28 [7]), gives expression to this situation in a humorously coloured [galoon] - verse:

"... Pâli words are deep and subtle ... elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp ... if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will know ...".

It is easy to imagine that the majority of people who volunteered or who were assigned the task of copying Pâli manuscripts did not know Pâli sufficiently well to know exactly what they were writing about. To an even lesser degree were they able to use Pâli as a means of communication.

In Lan Na, it thus became customary to add information pertinent at the time when the manuscript was copied, in the vernacular language, Northern Thai. In a paragraph of one to three lines, sometimes up to one page, the name of the text was given together with information on the time and place where the holograph was written: the identity of the writer, and those who initiated or sponsored the making of it, specific circumstances and motives related to this pious deed, and on the wishes that those involved hoped to see fulfilment as a result of the 'merit' (NT/bun/ < Pâli: puñña) gained. They may also contain information of a technical kind, for the benefit of future readers of the holograph. Finally, there may be passages of a kind that suggest the scribes were giving expression to their own situation, including their emotional state — a feature rather unique to the Northern Thai tradition. These are the 'colophons' on which this study is focussing.

It appears that early scholars of Pâli literature generally dismissed the colophons written in the vernacular languages as inessential. Caëdes (1966), to quote an eminent example, in his catalogue of Pâli, Northern Thai and Siamese (Central Thai) Manuscripts kept at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, gives translations only of the concluding Pâli words which are used to 'seal off' the text proper, contenting himself with giving a summary description of different areas of content that may be expected to be covered in the vernacular colophons, without hinting at the informational value contained in many of them.

Nowadays, however, awareness has grown of the fact that the information contained in colophons can be of considerable importance. This holds true, for example, when manuscripts are evaluated for the editing of texts, especially so when the principles of textual criticism are to be applied.31

Furthermore, as far as manuscripts from Northern Thailand are concerned, the colophons also deserve attention as historical sources in their own right. In this respect, the Pâli manuscripts from which the

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29 For details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

30 A useful introduction into spoken Northern Thai is given by Purnell (1962)

31 See for instance v. Hüniber (1988: 7) who quotes an example where the editor of the Samyuttanikâya (L. Feer in his PTS edition of 1884), by not taking into consideration the information contained in the colophons of a manuscript that he used, overlooked a clear indication of the special importance of this source.
colophons presented in this study are taken, emerge as a special group due to their age and quality.

About half of them are dated from or can, in the case of four tors, be attributed with a high degree of certainty to the 15th–16th centuries, an historical epoch when Lan Na — at that time still an independent kingdom — enjoyed a period of religious zeal and cultural blossoming. The oldest among them thus bear witness to an important stage of Lan Na history, a period, however, from which written documents are rare and were, until not too long ago, understood to have survived exclusively in the form of epigraphy. The majority of the remaining manuscripts date from the middle of the 19th century, a time when, after more than two and a half centuries of war and internal unrest under Burmese domination, conditions once again became more conducive to cultural concerns, and literary traditions were revived with renewed zest.

3.2 Content of the Colophons.

In the following section, cultural and historical evidence contained in the colophons of the thirty Pâli manuscripts under study, will be considered.

3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts.

In the colophons the impression is conveyed that the Dhamma scriptures are, indeed, accorded a central place in Northern Thai Buddhist tradition and ritual. The belief is illustrated that, if Buddhism is to be kept alive, the basic texts must be copied continually.

"Written ... in support of the Excellent Teachings of Buddha so that they may stay for five thousand years ... " (15 [60])

is a motive which is, in one form or another, mentioned in most of the manuscripts.

In the case of our Pâli texts, the making of a holograph is very often initiated by a senior member of the Saṅgha. The manuscript is made either by using monastic funds (cf. 03; 05) or by joining with a lay-person wishing to make a donation. As the colophons show, in the early 19th century, the making of a manuscript was often a huge cooperative effort involving a monastic initiator (imulasaddha, pathamamulasaddha) or ("gau saddha"), a 'leading lay supporter' (NT/Pâli: upathamabha) or (paccayadaayaka, ʔdaaιkkaa) from the lay community, often a dignitary (up to the Rulers of Nan and Phrae, as well as the King of Luang Prabang), and all the members of the lay community'. Women donors, however, as is interesting to note, are usually identified in reference to their husbands, uncles, or — in one case — to their father.

The colophons do not give details on the preparation of the palm-leaves used for manuscripts. Writing, or to be more precise, the engraving of manuscripts, was usually organized in such away that individual members of the monastery or the lay community, in general former monks or novices, were asked to copy a 'phuuk' (fasciculus), or several 'phuuk', each.

Obviously, it was a great honour — but at the same time an onerous task, and some degree of persuasion, or "social pressure" seem to have been applied. There is also evidence showing that a remuneration has been paid to the scribes. In some cases, an individual monk or abbot explicitly states that he did the writing all by himself; such statements convey the feeling of special responsibility on the part of the scribe, and, at the same time, may be taken as an indication of the importance, and the quality of the work.

Evidence contained in the colophons thus leads to the conclusion that certain individuals played a special role in initiating and organizing the task, in motivating both the monastic and lay communities to cooperate in the making of manuscripts.

3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means to Acquiring Merit.

There are constant references in the colophons showing that those involved in the making of 'Dhamma scriptures' — as initiator, sponsor, or scribe — could expect certain benefits in terms of their own balance of

32 See A 1, p. 1, footnote 1, supra.

33 For the technique of preparing palm-leaves, see Schuyler, in: JAOS, 29, 1908, pp. 281–283.

34 In our sources, a monetary reward (gaa måü, is mentioned in two manuscripts only (29, 30), both written in AD 1869. The earliest evidence of a remuneration paid for the copying of manuscripts known up to now have been found in several colophons from the 16th c., published by v. Hinüber 1987a. For details, see below, p. 44, footnote 42. See also v. Hinüber (forthcoming) for more data on financial and economical aspects of the making of palm-leaf manuscripts.
'bun' (<P puñña) and 'kam' (<P kamma), merit and demerit.35

"May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna" (28 [12])

is how one of our scribes expresses his hopes. In many cases these wishes are extended to cover close relatives: parents, brothers and sisters and — in one case — even teachers (15 [8]). One of the colophons written in Luang Prabang illustrates, in an imaginative way, the belief, also common in Northern Thailand, that merit can be transferred to the deceased as well (19 [4]).

3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit

The wish most often mentioned in the colophons is for the "Three Kinds of Happiness, the ultimate goal being Nibbāna" (see, for instance, 26 [1]) which means that the scribe asks for happiness during his present, and future lives in the World of Man ([mūn-gon]), in the Heavenly Worlds ([mūnā "faal"], as well as during his eventual stay in the 'World of Nibbāna' ([mūnā nibbaan]), the 'Place of Immortality', which is perceived as the ultimate goal.36

Apart from this, many scribes also make wishes further specified. These often include progress on the path of moral development as denoted by Buddhist terms like attaining the Magga-phala (27 [2]) or "Path-Fruition"; being reborn with the consciousness of the "Three Noble Root Conditions" (27, [1]); or to be rewarded with the "Mundane" and Supermundane States" (08 [5]). Intelligence and wisdom — both in worldly and spiritual contexts — are also among the aspirations stated in several instances. Wishes for good health and "not to be reborn as a poor man" (27 [1], dating from AD 1759) rather represent an exception.

What strikes the contemporary reader is the preponderance of spiritual and intellectual over material wishes that find expression in the colophons: this seems to hold true for both lay-men and members of the Saṅgha, for men and women alike. Any distinction on the basis of the wishes expressed appears to be impossible, judging from our sources.

One factor accounting for this remarkable degree of consensus may be that the majority, if not all, of the scribes shared the same educational background, and had undergone a period of life in a monastery. Those among them who were not members of the Saṅgha at the time of writing the manuscripts can usually be identified, by the terms [hnaan] or ["nqoy] preceding their names, as being former monks or novices.37 They may not have renounced material aspirations altogether, but may have curbed them and in any case, may have come to understand that they belong to a different plane.38

3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.

With regard to the distribution of work, on the one hand, and benefits, on the other, the colophons reveal an interesting pattern: in the making of manuscripts, lay-men and members of the Saṅgha, commoners and members of the nobility co-operate closely for a common cause. They may contribute in various ways, by helping to prepare or provide the writing material, by being a full-fledged 'sponsor', which included the procuring of payment /kěe kaa maw/ for the scribes, by doing the writing itself, or by initiating and helping to organize the task, like the 'leading monastic supporters' as they are called in the colophons — yet there is no indication to be found of any tendency to differentiate the value of these different contributions in correlation to the merit acquired.

Focussing on the manual task of engraving the letters into the palm-leaves, the custom of dividing up each work into separate 'phuuk' or fasciculi to be written by different people deserves attention, since it is a way of sharing both the burden and the benefits, in terms of 'merit' and

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35 Two particular texts, copies of which abound in the monasteries of the North, called [aaniisō "saah dhammad" ("The Benefits of Making [or Donating] Dhamma Manuscripts"), and [aaniisō khiiar dhammad ("The Benefits of Writing Dhamma Manuscripts") illustrate in detail the rewards which can be expected in future lives, by actively contributing to the making of Dhamma manuscripts.

36 I am indebted to Hnaan Buntha Siphimchai, a longtime monk of a Chiang Mai monastery, for this information which is well confirmed also in literary sources such as [Gaddhanaama-Jaañakal] (longer version).

37 Correspondingly, Northern Thai has a special expression to denote male grown-ups who have never received ordination, as a Bhikkhu or a Sāmanera, and spent some time in a monastery, as "raw men" /khoon dip/.

38 In an anthropological study of present-day Thai society, the suggestion is made that everyday concerns, like securing "good fortune" and "protection", are generally dealt with on the plane of spirits (cf. Mulder 2.1985:40, and passim). In fact, numerous indications can be found in Thai literature which appear to be in line with such an interpretation; see for instance Sunthorn Phu's travel poems, in particular his Nirat Muang Klāng, composed in 1807. Cf. Hundius 1976a: 50 (stanz 5); 51 (stanz 17); 54 (stanz 54), and passim.
It appears as a remarkable way of giving members of all social strata, including the farming population (but with the exception of the slaves, as may be assumed) an opportunity to cooperate directly in the most noble task of preserving the second part of the Triple Gem, the Dhamma, and thereby relate to it in a most intimate way — even though most of the scribes may not have understood the meaning of the words they were copying.

### 3.2.5 The Colophons as Media of Communication and Personal Expression.

It is one of the conspicuous features of the Lan Na tradition and, needless to say, extremely helpful for research — that the vast majority of the manuscripts are precisely dated, as well as marked with their place of origin. This can not be taken for granted: an exactly and reliably dated manuscript is not at all common, for example, in Northeast Thailand, Laos, or the Shan States. Obviously, the Northern Thai custom of adding such personal notes in Northern Thai language to the Dhamma texts contributed directly to the high frequency with which such information about time and origin of a manuscript have been recorded by the scribes since ancient times.

Reading the colophons, with their often meticulous way of rendering the day and time when the writing was completed, often in accordance to three different calendrical systems (see, for instance, the colophons of our manuscript nos. 29, 30, written in Nan) one cannot help feeling that this was considered an historical moment by the writer. The wording frequently conveys a feeling of elevation the scribe may have experienced for having part in their production. In the simple style of colloquial Northern Thai, or in humorously elaborated verse form (cf. 28 [7, 8]), many of our colophons manage to preserve the mood which prevailed at the moment when their writers' task was accomplished: be it the joyous mood of "spreading loving-kindness among the villagers", the happiness of having spent Lent with a meritorious task in a monastery of special charm, or the solitary feeling in a remote area, inundated by the August rains which inspired one of our scribes to compose a poetical line: they definitely invest the holographs with a personal dimension. We can virtually see the farmer in his bamboo hut, in the light of a small oil lamp, engraving the letters on to the palm-leaf pages (cf. 30 [1]); and even though this is only mentioned to explain why the writing is not as neat and regular as it should be, the scribe, through his association with the Dhamma text, nevertheless manages to transcend the narrow limits of his own life.

Obviously, the opportunity to leave a personal mark in the Dhamma text and to link one's own name to it and thus save it from the law of impermanence "as long as palm-leaves last", must have functioned as an emotional reward, or compensation, for the painstaking effort of writing it. At the same time, this phenomenon might be seen as just another strain of the well-known tendency in Northern Thai culture favouring personal expression, for which courtly dialogues in narrative literature, as well as the former custom of /rèw sāw/ with its extemporizing exchange of witty courting verses between the younger people of either sex, bear ample evidence.

### 3.2.6 Remarks Pertaining to the Quality of the Copying Work.

The colophons, which reflect the specific situation at the time the writing of a manuscript was accomplished, naturally were the most suitable medium to carry information for the use of the prospective reader of the holograph.

In the present context, remarks pertaining to the quality of the manuscript deserve special attention. Scribes who were not very familiar with the Pāli language or the system of writing Pāli texts were of course aware of possible mistakes and errors in their copying work and, therefore, frequently admonish the reader that the text should be used attentively and with a critical attitude since there might be inaccuracies due to the writer's limited knowledge.

Although some of the latter remarks may be motivated by a tendency to make understatements, which is a common feature of traditional politeness in Thailand, it would certainly not be wise to discard all of them as mere 'polite formulas'. For there are also a number of scribes who

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39 This may also explain why this custom has survived to the present: most notebook copies of Northern Thai manuscripts, made in 1972–1974, were closed with the exact time (hour, day, month, year, etc) when the copy of any one phuuk was completed, and by such small personal notes. Examples can also be found in contemporary printed editions of Northern Thai literature; see, for instance Singkha Wannasai's epilogue in his edition of the classical Lan Na poem 'Mādharaa maa rop Jīaṃ 'Hmai' (Wannasai 1979).

40 Examples can be found in Roonguangnri 3.1981. In this context, it may also be recalled that the genre of the travel poetry (nirat) which is unique in classical Thai literature for its personal character, is believed to have originated in Lan Na, where it has remained highly popular as a literary genre until today.
imply that their text may be used with confidence since "Monk X wrote it all by himself", and in quite a few colophons it is explicitly stated that the text had been thoroughly checked with the original (see, for instance, 15 [5]; 23 [5]; [10]). In some cases, even details of the time and place of origin of the original are given. In a number of manuscripts stemming obviously from one and the same scribe (05, 07, 08), after finishing the laborious work of copying a phuuk of a Pāḷi work, rather harsh exhortations are given to future users:

"... whoever takes [this manuscript out for] worship, ... do not add any writing on it, do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice, you will] be [reborn as] a peta ("hungry ghost"). After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it; so do take good care!" (05 [2]).

3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.

3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae.

Eight of the most valuable and rare Pāḷi manuscripts under study here refer to a senior monk, the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana, probably a native of Phrae. Belonging to the "Forest-dwelling" (Araṁṇavāsī) group of the Theravādins whose members follow stricter rules of monastic discipline, this monk-scholar became, in the course of time, a highly charismatic religious leader whose fame spread throughout the entire Lan Na region, and well beyond into the Lao Kingdom of Luang Prabang.

By his initiative and under his leadership, his home monastery, Aaraam Suuñ "Hmeer" (today: Wat Sung Men), rose to become a centre of Pāḷi and Buddhist studies. Manuscripts were systematically collected and numerous copying campaigns covering Phrae, Nan, Chiang Mai, Chiang Saen, Rahaeng, and Luang Prabang were pursued. As the colophons translated in the present monograph testify, Gruu Paa Kañcana succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of people, from ordinary villagers to members of the ruling Royalty in his own and in neighbouring countries, to join in the meritorious endeavors of "saañ dhamm", i.e. producing manuscript copies of Buddhist scriptures.

As can be inferred from the colophons of the manuscripts, the peak of the copying efforts lay in the 1830s. In 1835–36 no less than 242 palm-leaf manuscripts comprising 2,825 phuuk were copied in Luang Prabang alone.41 For the better part scholarly texts like (sub-) commentaries on canonical and post-canonical Pāḷi literature, Pāḷi Grammar, a great many of which are in bilingual (Pāḷi/NT or /Lao) versions, including numerous works of the indigenous learned tradition, for instance a complete Nissaya version of the Paññāsa-Jātaka.42 The charisma of Gruu Paa Kañcana was so extraordinary indeed that the manuscripts collected under his aegis have been so well preserved by successive generations that they have been able to survive to the present day in a well-kept condition. Comprising well over 15,000 phuuk, this collection represents the largest one known to exist in a single place in Northern Thailand.43

Although still very much alive in the memory of the people of Sung Men, this eminent monk-scholar of the North has remained virtually unknown outside the region. While little is known about his life up to now, references in the manuscripts suggest that he will emerge as one of the most important rebuilders and preservers of Northern Thai culture and literary tradition since the expulsion of the Burmese. His influence may well have reached even further: it is tempting to speculate that there may have been a political dimension behind the efforts of restoring the Lan Na literary tradition, jointly undertaken by the Rulers of the Northern Thai principalities, and the King of Luang Prabang and one of his sons, the

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41 These figures are mentioned in a stone inscription set up at Wad Wijuwr (mostly written as Vat Visoun or Vixun), Luang Prabang, in CS 1198, Year of the Monkey (1836 AD) to commemorate the accomplishment of his historic 99-manuscript copying endeavour. In the inscription which has been published, in facsimile, transliteration and French translation, by Father Schmitt in: Mission PAVIE, II, 1898:357–363, it is stated in detail how much money was spent, and by whom, for the making of the manuscripts: the King of Luang Prabang (i.e. Mangkhathana, r. 1817–1836, called [Maṇḍha] in the inscription) is said to have contributed 85 ["kaa"] of silver, the [Raw Rajaáow] spent purified silver ["laa"] weighing 18,202 Baht, = 7 ["kaa", 2 ["jaa"]; and the lay people of Phrae contributed silver weighing 1 ["jaa"], 10 ["laaaw", 10 ["jaa"]. For the gilding of the palm-leaves 2,800 gold leaves were used. The King of Luang Prabang sponsored the making of 34 bundles, the Prince Rajaáow 177, and 31 were made through contributions from the people of Phrae. (Father Schmitt's transliteration and translation, admirable as they remain after almost a century, need a few corrections).

42 Among the palm-leaf manuscripts kept up to the present in the library of Wat Sung Men, there is also a list of the works (NT ["seen dhamm"] which were copied in Luang Prabang. An edition of the Lan Na version of the "Fifty Apocryphal Jātakas" is presently in preparation by a research team of the Department of Thai, Chiang Mai University, supported by a grant from the Toyota Foundation, Japan.

43 The holdings of Wat Sung Men have recently been recorded on microfilm under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project" mentioned above.
"Cau Raajjawoñ, under the aegis of a highly revered Lan Na monk.\(^4^4\)

3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sɔy,.

Another historic centre of Pâli Buddhist literature, mentioned in the colophons of the oldest manuscripts under study, is a place called 'Daa "Sɔy, (NT/tāa sɔj). This township has not yet been located; one may only surmise that it must have been a settlement situated on the banks of a river, probably the Ping River. 'Daa "Sɔy, according to what can be inferred from the colophons of a number of manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th to the second half of the 16th c., appears to have developed into a prosperous township, possessing a number of monasteries where many important Pâli manuscripts were made through monetary donations provided by apparently well-to-do citizens.\(^4^5\) The highest ranking Buddhist dignitary of this township bore, according to ancient Northern tradition, the title Mahâsañgharâjâ.\(^4^6\)

No archaeological vestiges or any historical evidence referring to 'Daa "Sɔy, have as yet been found.\(^4^7\) In addition, a considerable number of villages and monasteries is mentioned in the colophons, only a few of

\(^4^4\) Cf. for instance the joint sponsoring of manuscript 19 (see below) by the Ruler of Phrae, the King of Luang Prabang, and his son, the "Cau Raajjawoñ of Luang Prabang in which the Venerable Gnu Paa Kañcana may have played a mediating role.

\(^4^5\) This may be inferred from what is indicated in the colophons of a number of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sɔy, presently kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok, and described by O. v. Hinüber (in: JSS, 75, 1987, pp. 49 foll): mention is made, for instance, of amounts of money spent for their making: in one (no. 55, CS 693 [AD 1531]) the sum of "one hundred [rānn] (pênh phatcâj lɔj nɔj)" is mentioned; on several phuuk of another holograph (no. 61.), a split-up sum is given, viz. fifty bâat/ for the writing (/kâa laaj mû), one /hûaj/ for the palm-leaves (/kâa laan/). In another colophon (front cover of no. 54., dated CS 2023 [AD 1651]), the scribe speaks of gilded manuscript caskets /hîk kham/ made for a monastery named /wît paa mûj; the common tenor in all colophons of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sɔy, is clearly that of a rather prosperous community.

\(^4^6\) As far as the ecclesiastical status and authority of a "Mahâsañgharâjâ" in the context of 16th century Northern Thai rural society is concerned, this position cannot be compared, of course, with that of the "Supreme Patriarch", the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary, of present-day Thailand; it may, perhaps, have been comparable to that of a /çaw khando/ tambon/ of today.

\(^4^7\) For more details, see Part B, Remarks to 04, 05, below.

which can be identified on the basis of sources available today. (See Index D and E, where places not yet identified are marked with *).

Monastic and administrative titles and ranks, as well as names of historic personalities referred to in the colophons (and listed in Index C), will be of interest for further studies into the regional history of Northern Thailand.

Future research will certainly have to take into account the wealth of data contained in the colophons of thousands of manuscripts which have been made or will soon become available through microfilm recordings being undertaken by various institutions.

3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example.

Unlike manuscripts in neighbouring areas, such as Northeastern Thailand or Laos, for example, manuscripts of the Lan Na tradition usually contain several colophons; often each phuuk of a respective set will be furnished with one. This practice, apart from providing space for communication and personal expression, also offers advantages of a technical kind. Since palm-leaf manuscripts, unlike medieval books in the West, are not firmly fixed to their cover, but the separate phuuk or fasciculi can be removed individually — for recitation or reading out to the lay people during Buddhist congregations, for worship, as well as for study — a separate colophon for each phuuk must therefore have proved very practical for the purpose of identification.

Colophons belonging to the same holograph may differ with regard to contents, but in many cases they are very similar, if not almost identical, especially when written by the same scribe. Notwithstanding, they may convey important clues for a correct interpretation of texts written in archaic style or idiomatic language.

Sometimes, the exact meaning of a particular phrase becomes fully clear only when other variants are available which express the same idea, but use a different wording. The following short analysis, based on the text of six closely related colophons taken from four manuscripts that were written by a certain scribe in the 16th century for two monasteries in 'Daa "Sɔy, may serve as an example:

1. 05 Jàtaka (Paññâsanipâta) AD 1550, colophon (2)
2. 07 Jàtaka (Sattatinipâta), same year, (1)
3. 08 Samyuttanikâya (Saññhâvatagga) AD 1549, (2), (5), (6)
The colophons may be broken down into the following components:

(1) (The Pāli text of +) title
   a. Paññāsanipāta
   b. Sattatinipāta
   c. Sagāthavagga
   d. Samantapāsādikā

(2) (clf + ) demonstrative
   a. an "nī "this"
   b. "nīi "

(3) Subject (title or name of spp/don) + Predicate "to make"
   a. mahaasāṅgharaajā "cāu + "saañ
   (b..., c..., d..., etc.)

(4) Date: "in the Year of (name of Cyclical Year)"
   a. nai pī koḍ seḍ
   (b..., c..., etc.)

(5) Cūḷasakarāja + "dāi + (number) + numerative (+ jāā)
   a. cuḷasakraaja "dāi 912 ūua jāā
   (b..., c..., d..., etc.)

Translation of (1a) - (5a):
"This [manuscript of the] Paññāsanipāta was made at the behest of the Venerable Mahāsaṅgharāja in the Year of the Dog, CS 912".

(6) a. "phuu dāi "Whoever ..."
   b. kullaputī ton dāi "Whoever [among you], sons of good family..."
   c. puggala ton dāi "Whoever..."

(7) a. au bai prasoñ "takes out for worship ...
   b. au prasoñ
   c. au bai prasoñ jāāw "having taken out for worship ...
   d. yūüm bai prasoñ jāāw "having borrowed out for worship ...

(8) a. 'pō "ruu aṭṭha jāā sapdaa "cāān "dāā "not truly knowing the meaning and wording ..."
b. 'cuñ peen pracaicy "gaam juu daayaka "phuu "saañ "nan 'īqo "dau thoöö amațanibbaan dōön

"may [this meritorious deed] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna, the place of Immortality."

c. 'cuñ "hūū peen pracaicy 'kāä an "dai lookiya ļāä lookuṭajarasampatti 'kāä upaasikaa "phuu "saañ "nii düiën rau 'gō anumoodanaa "duuay ļāä

"may [the merit acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the laywoman-donor's attainment of the Mundane as well as Supermundane states. May I also express my sympathetic joyfulness [for this meritorious deed]!"

Put into formulas, the composition of the variant colophons may be seen clearly:

05 (2):
1a + (3 - 5) + 6a + 7b + 8a + 10a + 9c + 11b + 12a + 13b + 14a + 15b + 16a

07 (1):
(1b - 5) + 6a + 7a + 10a + 9b + 11a + 12b + 13a + 14a + 15a + 16b

08 (2):
(1a - 5) + 6b + 7b + 14a + 15c + 16a + 17a

08 (5):
(1c [+ SN] - 5) + 6b + 7a + 9a + 10b + 11a + 12b + 13a + 14b + 15a + 16b + 17c

08 (6):
(1c - 5) + 6a + 7b + 8b + 9a + 10c + 11a + 12b + 16b + 17b

Samantapāśādikā, AD 1561, Front Cover:
1d + 3 + (...) + 6c + 7d + 14c + 16c.

As may be seen from the above analysis — to cite but two examples — the identification of components (7a,b) or (11a,b) as condensed conditional clauses (no conjunction is used!) would have been much more difficult, or, at least, remained doubtful, had the general idea not been expressed several times and in various wordings.\footnote{Apart from a particularly condensed style which is characteristic for many of the older colophons, further problems arise from obsolete words or expressions, in our example, for instance, the following ones: [prasoi] "to worship"; [jaam] "to try"; [nap] (lit.) "to count"; [yia] (lit.) "to make" (cf. German: "machen, daß du sie [die Handschrift] schleunigst wieder zurückbringst!"); [sapda] < Skt/Pr sabda, sadda "sound, word, grammar": a form up to now only found in a number of colophons from Daa "Sqqy; here translated as "wording" (as suggested by O. v. Hinüber who also identified the form as such).}
PART B: THE TEXTS


1.1 The Transliteration.

The transliteration system used for the edition of the colophons is introduced and explained in detail in HUNDIUS 1990\textsuperscript{49}, where a collection of variant writings and allographs comprising some 250 forms is given to be used as a reference for further research. The Romanization introduced there and applied in the present study is not conceived as a definite or codified, fixed system, but rather as a practical tool for handling the multitude of primary sources written in Northern Thai and related languages and scripts that are becoming accessible at present.

The way of differentiating between variant writings found in the manuscripts, elaborate as it may seem, is considered of paramount importance, in order to maintain direct access to the original writings, so as to avoid evidence of linguistic or historical relevance being eliminated or blurred before research on the texts has even begun. The allograph inventory as set up in the above-mentioned study is, of course, incomplete and open for expansion. Hopefully others will find it useful and develop it further.

Basically, the transliteration used here is an extension or rather an elaborated version of the system used by G. CŒDES in his Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam (vol. I, Bangkok, 1924) which has been adopted and slightly altered by subsequent scholars, for instance A.B. Griswold, and D.K. WYATT (in his edition of the Crystal Sands Chronicle of Nakhon Si Thammarat, 1975), as well as S. EGEROD (1961) who, by making further adaptations, used it for historical-comparative studies in Tai Dialectology, including CT and NT.

Since these systems were not adequate enough to come to grips with the specific problems involved in Romanizing Northern Thai sources (as outlined in PART A 2, supra), the system used in the present study was developed. It is designed to meet the double requirement

\textsuperscript{49} This study of the phonological and writing system of Northern Thai, entitled "Phonologie und Schrift des Nordthai", resulted from a research project aiming at establishing foundations for the study of Northern Thai Literature ("Grundlagen zur Erschlies-sung der Literatur Nordthailands"). Research work was conducted, with the support of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), from 1977 to 1980, at Kiel University (Seminar für Orientalistik, Abteilung für Indologie; Director: Professor Dr. Bernhard Kölver).

(1) to preserve the evidence contained in the originals, and, at the same time,
(2) to facilitate the identification of the written words.

In order to achieve the most functional solution for the structurally different subsystems of consonants, vowels, and tone marking, these are treated differently.

1.1.1 Consonants.

1.1.1.1 General Principles.

§ 1 Conforming with common usage, the consonant symbols of the Northern Thai script are transliterated according to their value in Pāli or Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{50}

§ 2 Additional symbols created for the representation of consonant phonemes particular for Northern Thai are generally differentiated against the symbols from which they are derived by underlining.\textsuperscript{51}

§ 3 Allographic rendering of word-final consonants, as well as significant form variants, are marked by index numbers.

1.1.1.2 Rationale.

§ 4 The practical advantage of basing the transliteration on the Pāli values is that they are reflecting an historical stage of sound development which is surmised to have been common to all or the majority of Tai languages and dialects.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} There are a number of symbols, however, which perform double functions: they are used for (1) representing consonants, and (2) for the representation of NT vowels (viz. [ya], [wa], and the "vowel carrier" [the equivalent of CT /\textipa{a}/]; for details, see below). When used in their second function, those symbols are rendered as part of the vowel transliteration.

\textsuperscript{51} Including the NT equivalent of CT /\textipa{a}/, since [t] is reserved for the equivalent of CT /\textipa{a}/, which is not represented in the Dhamma Script (where [d] is used instead), but is in others, e.g. the [Fak Khaam] and the [Daiy Nideel] scripts as well as in the traditional secular Laotian (and Northeastern Thai) alphabets often called [Daiy "Nëpp" Script.

The symbols used in the transliteration, since they reflect an historical sound stage, contain a clear distinction between consonants belonging to what is called, in Thai linguistics, the "high", "middle", and "low" consonants.

These groups, of which the high and low have now coalesced phonetically, were obviously, at a time in distant history, once distinct, the "high" being used to represent voiceless aspirated, the "middle" pre-glottalized, and the "low" voiced consonant sounds. The distinction between symbols belonging to these three classes, which is needed for the identification of the tones, is thus implicitly given in the transliteration.

Basing the transliteration of the consonants on the Pāli value offers the advantage of providing a common base of reference for a broad variety of Tai languages and dialects whose subsequent sound developments led into different directions. Against this background, it is an unambiguous, and at the same time, the most functional way of handling them.

Specific Information.

The akṣara [va] of the Pāli alphabet which is maintained when transcribing Pāli texts, is rendered as [va] when it is used for writing NT /w/.

The "vowel carrier" symbol (equivalent to CT /õõ ṯaŋ/) is represented by [zero], for in the Romanized text it is implicitly indicated by the spaces between words: any transliterated word beginning with a vowel symbol can therefore be understood to be written with the "vowel carrier" symbol in the NT text.

Final (i.e. syllable closing) consonants are, in the script under study here, regularly written as subscripts, either in their regular form or as simplified secondary graphs (ligatures). This device, indicating word boundaries by the use of positional variants, is matched in the transliteration implicitly by the spacing of words; therefore basic

and secondary graphs are rendered by a single symbol.

Deviations from this rule (for example the use of regular linear symbols [with or without the NT equivalent of the Skt virāma], superscripts or diacritica instead of subscripts) which may render the writing ambiguous, are marked by index numbers.

1.1.2 Vowels.

1.1.2.1 General Principles.

The major innovation of the Romanization system introduced here concerns the treatment of the vowels, which, as stated by D.K. WYATT (1975:xi) "have never been provided for to the full satisfaction of all" in the framework of existing transliteration systems.

NT vowel writings, whether consisting of a single symbol or of a configuration of elements, are generally rendered according to their phonological value according to the present spoken language.

For Romanization symbols are used, as far as possible, that are not identical with those of the phonematic notation, but may allow for an association with the sound represented (a suggestion made by S. Egerod), e.g. [ü, üuru] for /u, uu/, [ö, öö] for /a, aa/, [ä, ää] for /e, ee/, [o, oo] for /o, oo/ etc.

The requirement to differentiate between allographic forms, which abound in Northern Thai manuscripts, is met by the use of index numbers. Basic writings which were identified as quasi-standard in a sample of representative documents of different periods and locations are set up as "graphemes" and Romanized accordingly, i.e. without number, while variant writings or "allographic forms" are marked with an index number starting from .2 upwards, relating to a reference list of allographic writings collected in HUNDIUS 1990: 215 foll. To give an example, the adhortative particle /Śry/ which would

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53 In (loan) words written with a Pāli initial, the Romanized vowels are underlined; see § 26, below.

54 While the phonological subsystems of consonants and vowels are more or less identical among Northern Thai (sub)dialects, minor differences do exist between the tones (see 1.3, below). The present study is geared to the Nan dialect. As far as vowels in closed live syllables are concerned, see § 24, below.

55 The graphemes were established after an evaluation of a broad cross-section of data.
turn as [deīða, deī́dh, deī, deī́ō, deī́ṓa, deī́ṓh] etc., if transliterated according to the Pāli (or Sanskrit) value of each of its graphic elements, will be rendered as [dö, dō₂, dō₅, dō₆, dō₇, dō₉] etc. in the present system.56

1.1.2.2 Rationale.

§14 Using a phonological basis for the Romanization appears to be the most appropriate way of dealing with NT vowel writings, especially in view of the complex graphemes with their multifunctional use of certain symbols and graphic elements.

§15 This approach offers the advantage of Romanizations which are close to present (and, one may add, past) language reality, and consequently, relatively easy to read.57

§16 In Romanizing NT vowel graphemes, the use of index numbers appears to be the most economical way of differentiating between allographic writings which include mutual overlappings between forms which should have been differentiated and used consistently, material, including manuscripts from the 15th to the 20th centuries, epigraphical documents, several traditional primers as well as more recent textbooks. Since the system has been set up for a practical purpose, i.e. as a tool for future editing of important primary sources, the graphemes are generally those writings which occur most frequently in a fair majority of carefully written manuscripts, most of which date from the 19th century.

56 The "atomic" approach of transliterating Tai vowels, introduced, as it appears, by Father Schmitz at the end of the 19th century, though logically consistent in itself, has a number of serious drawbacks. As the above example illustrates, the transliterations are sometimes difficult to read; furthermore, diacritica which are mostly used multifunctionally in Northern Thai manuscripts (cf. Hundius 1990: 154-5) cannot be rendered adequately; essential and insignificant graphic elements are treated equally, to name but a few. Its basic weakness, however, lies in the fact that the transliterated graphs have no relationship to Tai phonology.

57 The advantage gained seems not to be counterweighted by historical considerations: according to the present state of knowledge in the field of historical phonology (see, for instance, Brown 2.1985, Li 1977, Egerod 1961), it may be safely assumed that the vowel system of Northern Thai has undergone only limited change during the past five to six centuries from which written sources have come down to us. This change has been mainly confined to the "waxing and waning" of vowel length and the monophthongization of /a, ua, ua/ to /a(e), a(o), o(e) respectively. For details see Hundius 1990:21foll; cf. also Hartmann 1976.

if "text-book" rules were to be applied, so as to avoid ambiguity.

§17 An additional advantage of using index numbers is the fact that the list of allographic variants can be expanded ad libitum, so as to accommodate additional forms that may be identified in the future.

§18 Another advantage lies in the possibility that in circumstances where the need to preserve, or record, details of the original writing does not exist, the use of index numbers can be reduced or totally disposed of without affecting the identification of the phoneme, or lexeme, respectively. Such a "broad" Romanization is used, for instance, in the present study (Part A, and in the translations and "Remarks" of Part B) for proper names mentioned in the colophons (which are transliterated in Part B according to the "narrow" system). Titles of literary works, names of historical persons etc. are treated in the same way.

1.1.2.3 Specific Information.

§19 By analogy to the phonematic notation, vowels interpreted as long are transliterated by double symbols; including, for the sake of convenience — and by analogy to the NT writing system where long diphthongs are separated from short ones — the first parts of the (phonetically long) diphthongs, viz. /īa/ representing NT /i/a, /īiā/ (/i/aa), and /uā/ (/u/aa) whose short variants are accordingly rendered as /ia/ (/i/a?), /iā/ (/i/aa?), /uā/ (/u/aa?).

§20 Written long vowels in closed "live syllables", i.e. those ending in a continuant (some of which have been shortened secondarily under conditions determined by tonal influences), are maintained as long, e.g. /pēn/ /pēn/ "to be", /ńón/ /ńon/ "silver", /śap/ /śap/ "must", etc., as well as /-a/ representing /-am/.  

§21 /wa/ (in Pāli texts: /va/), when used for representing NT /ua/, is written /u/.

§22 Correspondingly, Skt/ Pāli /ya/ is rendered /i/ia when representing /ia/.

§23 The NT equivalent of CT /'aj máj múan/ which is occasionally used in ancient manuscripts, is rendered /aül/.
§24 Complementarily used allographs (positional variants), like the ones used for syllable final, and for interconsonantal position, respectively, are indicated implicitly, by word boundaries (cf. § 9, supra).

§25 In the case of "dead syllables", i.e. those ending in /-p, -t, -k/, and /-ʔ/, where short and long vowels are crosswisely correlated with different tones, vowels are consistently differentiated as to their length, so as to allow for a correct identification of the tone. An ambiguous form like written [kôōd], for example, must be interpreted either as /kɔət/ "to be born" or as /kət/ "to intercept" etc. If the context leaves no doubt that the first is meant, it would be rendered [kôōd], if the second one is meant, it would be written [kõôd] (here the index number is used to indicate that in the original the symbol normally representing a long vowel is written).

§26 Underlining of certain vowels (especially syllable final |-q|, but also word initial [-]-, [y]- etc.) is used to indicate that the vowel writing as found in the original manuscript is following the rules for Pāli, instead of those for NT. The same applies for opposite cases, i.e. when, for example, the NT graph |οο| is used for writing |o| in a Pāli text.

1.1.3 Tones.

Since tone indication in Northern Thai orthography, as found in the manuscripts, is marked by the same degree of inconsistency as in the case of vowels, a similar, though simpler treatment is applied.

§27 The principle of preserving the evidence of the original is adhered to, while, at the same time, an interpretation of the tonal phoneme is given. Such an interpretation is often necessary for an identification of the lexeme.

§28 The tonal phoneme considered to be the correct one in the context of a given word (or syllable) is marked by the respective tone marker before the lexeme, whereas the actual tone marking found in the manuscript, if different, is written after the transliterated word.

§29 Symbols used are, in accordance with Thai usage, |'|, |"|, and |zero|, or an elevated |'|, respectively; |zero| before a given lexeme indicates that no tone mark should be written for correct realization; an elevated dot or |'| after the lexeme is used to convey to the reader that in the original, contrary to the rules of orthography, no tone mark was written.

NB: |zero| after a given lexeme indicates, in accordance with § 28, that the writing found in the original is identical with the writing considered as correct by the editor (and noted before the transliterated word).

1.2 Note on the Phonematic Notation.

The phonematic transcription used in the present study is a slightly modified version of the system introduced for NT by S. EGEROD (1957) and Mary R. HAAS (1958) which has been used, for instance, by S. EGEROD (1971) and V. BRUN (1976) in their editions of Northern Thai texts (s. Bibliography).

Unlike the HAAS-System, syllable final occlusives are interpreted as /-p, -t, -k/ (instead of /-b, -d, -g/), and the high back unrounded vowels are written /u/, /uu/ instead of /y/, /yy/. The corresponding diphthong is written /ua/ instead of /ya/.

1.3 Note on the Pronunciation.

1.3.1 General Remarks.

Consonants and vowels are generally pronounced similar to their CT cognates; with most speakers, however, /kh/- sounds more like the fricative [x]. Some vowels, especially /e, ee/ tend to be nasalized. While the phonological structure of the tone systems of Tai Yuan (sub-) dialects is basically identical, slight differences are to be observed in the pronunciation between major subdialects like those of Nan, Phrae, Chiang Mai, Lamphun. The following table shows the variations.

1.3.2 Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.

Live Syllables*

* Syllables ending with a long vowel or /-m, -n, -ŋ, -w, -j/.
generally lose their final glottal component, as well as their tonal quality to be heard in isolative (syllable-per-syllable) speech style. Such syllables will be transcribed accordingly, i.e. /unmarked/ without /-ʔ/. Since the loosening of glottal stricture is a gradual process depending mainly on the accuracy of pronunciation and the speed of speaking, consequently, a certain degree of ambiguity persists.

Similar variations can be observed in the pronunciation of a number of mostly Indic loanwords which are read in slightly different ways such as the examples given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Pāli/Skt.)</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tīkā &gt;</td>
<td>/tiʔ kāa/</td>
<td>/tīkāa/</td>
<td>/tikkāa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipani &gt;</td>
<td>/tiʔ paʔ nīi/</td>
<td>/tipañii/</td>
<td>/tippānii/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jotaka &gt;</td>
<td>/coo taʔ kaʔ/</td>
<td>/cootakaʔ/</td>
<td>/cootākkaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šakarāja &gt;</td>
<td>/saʔ kā laa cāʔ/</td>
<td>/sakalaacāʔ/</td>
<td>/sakkalaacāʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likhta &gt;</td>
<td>/liʔ khīʔ taʔ/</td>
<td>/likhtaʔ/</td>
<td>/likhtāʔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.

Column (a) shows the pronunciation when syllables are read one by one, while forms in columns (b) and (c) are to be heard in normal connected speech.

As can be seen, the change occurring in all these cases runs down to the loss of a syllable-closing glottal stop which is then substituted by the following consonant in a phonetical process of "regressive assimilation" caused by the universal tendency towards using the least possible amount of energy in sound production.\(^{58}\)

Forms listed in column (b) may be regarded as examples of "learned" pronunciation, whereas allomorphs listed under (c) which represent the most commonly heard forms among present speakers, may be interpreted as belonging to the colloquial style of speech.

As for the phonematic transcription of such words, the written forms as found in the originals have been used as the basis of the notation: those that are found to conform with or be more closely related to etymology are transcribed according to the more learned style illustrated in column (b), whereas allomorphs which are written in conformance with

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** Syllables ending with /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/.

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58 As to the tonal change of dead syllables in connected speech, see Hundius 1990: 74 foill.
colloquial pronunciation, are notated correspondingly.

1.3.3.2 Final particles.

In the colophons a number of expressive final particles and exclamations are used, the tonal quality of which may vary, e.g.

/ðεe/, ðεe, ðee/;
/ hãaj, hãaj, hã(ô)j/;
/naa/
/ nãa,"nõã/;
/ nõc, "nõc, nõ, nõ/;
/ l̩, l̩, l̩/;
/ʔãã/;

etc.

Such forms have been notated in accordance with present common usage.59

1.3.3.3 Tonal quality of certain syllables ending with /-am/.

In a number of mostly disyllabic loanwords, if the first syllable ends with /-am/, its tone will change from tone class "A" to tone class "B" (in a few cases: "C"), e.g.

/ cámlaen/ > /cãmlaen/ "to prosper"
/ kâmlaq/ > /kãmlaq/ "strength"
/ kãmpœp/ > /kãmpœp/ "wall"
/ kãmpii/ > /kãmpii/ "holy scripture" (< Pâli gambhira)
/ sâmlaan/ > /sãmlaan/ "to be well, happy"
/ tâmlaan/ > /tãmlaan/ "chronicle"
/ *pãmpœp/ > /pãmpœp/ "to perform, pursue"
/ *lampœp/ > /lãmpœp/ "to contemplate"
/ *lãmbãk/ > /lãmbãk/ "to be hard, troublesome"

etc.

However, since some of such words are still pronounced with "A" tones by some speakers, in the present study words belonging to this category are transcribed as members of tone class "A", except when a tone marker in the original indicates a change of tone class.60

1.4 The Pagination of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts.

The pagination of palm-leaf manuscripts is traditionally done by a combination of a consonant and a vowel written on the reverse side of each folio in accordance with the alphabetical order, the first phuuk starting with the first consonant of the alphabet, viz. ka, kâ, kî, kî, ku, kû, ke, kai, ko, kau, kam, kab; kha, khâ, khi, khî, khu, khû etc. . . . ; ga, gâ, gi, gu, gû etc., providing a pagination for a total of 33x12 (= 396) folios or 792 pages. In cases of still longer manuscripts, the pagination may be further extended by adding a [-ya] to the consonants, viz. kya, kyâ, kyi, kyî, kyu, kyû etc., followed by khya, khyâ, khyî, khyî, khyû, khyû; gya, gyâ, gyî, gyû, etc., and so on. Ideally, one phuuk would consist of 12 folios or 24 pages. In reality, however, variations and inconsistencies abound, especially in more recent manuscripts. (See, for example, the manuscript descriptions in Hundius [forthcoming], a critical edition of a Northern Thai Jâtaka text [Balasaṅkhya-Jâtaka]. To facilitate location of, as well as quotation from text passages recorded on microfilm, Arabic numbers have been added. Since this has been done in general only for pages containing the main text, there are quite a number of palm-leaf pages to be found on the microfilm which have no pagination. These are, in the present study, referred to by (1) the abbreviation "no no.", and (2) by stating the number of the palm-leaf page they are preceded by, or they are preceding on the microfilm.

1.5 Glossary of Special Words.

'bõq qõk
lay sponsor or supporter of a monk or novice
capap (chapap) 'kau
"original manuscript" (lit.: "old ms") from which a copy is made
ditto (lit.: "upper manuscript")
"Lord of Life"
capap mhuûa
chief, ruler (lit.: "Lord") of a mûuân (q.v.); also used to designate the rulers of states and principalities under

capap mûuân

59 On the tonal quality of final particles, see Hundius op. cit., pp. 100 foll.

60 At any rate, phonetical quality of A and B tones on the above-mentioned syllables (words like /pãmpœp/, /lãmpœp/ or /lãmbãk/ left apart) is very much alike, due to a tonal reduction process effective in connected speech. For details, see Hundius op. cit., pp. 70 foll.
Siamese supremacy

to make a thorough check
final particle; emphasiser
lit.: "good, good; splendid!"
adorative particle
emphasising formula at the end of a wish; mostly translated: "may this come true"

"gau saddhaa
or muulasaddhaa,
pathamamuulasaddhaa

initial or leading supporter of the
making of a new manuscript (cf. Pāli ādikammāsādhaka)

"gruu paa "cau

"hnaa dāp (rap, dhap) "g(1)au
"hnaa dāp (rap, dhap) p(1)aay
hnaan
maād
maād "ton
maād k(1)aañ
maād plaay
"mai hlaap

highly respected senior learned monk
mostly of high age
front cover folio
back cover folio
former monk
bundle (of palm-leaf fasciculi)
first bundle
second bundle [of a set of three]
last bundle
wooden wedge of a palm-leaf manuscript, mostly indicating title(s), no. of phuuk, date of writing, name of monastery to which the ms belongs etc. (fortified) settlement or township, urban living-place, city, city state, principality, kingdom, land*
same as "gau saddhaa (q.v.)
former novice
fasciculus
first (lit. "beginning") fasciculus
last fasciculus
junior monk, i.e. a Bhikkhu who has received ordination a short time, possibly only one year or up to five (?) years ago. This, however, is only a guess.

saddhaa
saddhaa baay nai
saddhaa baay nōqk
sissa
wīīañ
yaam kōññ ñaay
yaam trāññ (thāañ) "k(1)ai
'điiañ
dañ
yaam 'điiañ
yaam puññ "jaay
yaam kōññ lāaññ
yaam trāññ (thāañ) "k(1)ai
'gaañ

9.00–10.30; "at the time of the forenoon horn"
10.30–12.00; "at noon"
12.00–13.30; "in the afternoon"
13.30–15.00; "at the time of the sunset drum"
15.00–16.30; "at the time of the evening horn"

NB: For a more complete list of the divisions of the time according to the Northern Thai tradition, see TUIKEO 1986:107.

1.6 Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.

All dates and calendrical references made in the colophons are rendered as such, i.e. no attempt has been made to make any calculations, e.g. of the days of the lunar calendar. As for the CS (Cūḷasakrāja) Era, the dates can be converted into the Buddhakṣarāja era or into the Christian era by adding 1181 or 638 years respectively. The correctness of the cyclical year can be checked with the help of SAO SAIMÖNG (1981) and SWANGPANYANGKUN (1988). A survey of Southeast Asian chronology as found in dated manuscripts is given in: BECHERT et al. (1979: xix foll). For further bibliographical data relating to Southeast Asian calendrical
systems, see v. HINÜBER 1987b:15.

As for the animal names of the twelve branches, or "children" of the cyclical year (NT "luuk pię"), as these are called in Northern Thai tradition, there are some variations within the Chinese and the Southeast Asian traditions. The 12th "child" (NT "gail"), elsewhere representing the Pig, is called "Year of the Elephant" in the Lan Na tradition (cf. DAVIS 1976:12) and is translated accordingly in the present study (cf. also the chart contained in SWANGPANYANGKUN (op. cit., p. 6) where both pig and elephant are placed together).

1.7 Note on the Description of the Manuscripts and the Presentation of the Colophons.

The following information is given:

1. A running number used for reference to the manuscripts under study.
2. The name of the text, as found in the CPD.
3. The categorization of the text as mentioned in the CPD. If no mention is made, but a classification according to the CPD system appears to be unproblematic, a categorization is added in square brackets.
4. The name of the author.
5. The number of the microfilm roll referring to the DFG-Collection, followed by the location of the respective text on the roll, given in inches.
6. Number of the text within the DFG-Collection (as laid down in HUNDIUS 1976b). Abbreviation: "Dc no".
7. Manuscript number, i.e. a preliminary inventory no. used within the Project "Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands", 1972–1974. This number appears on the cover folios of the fasciculi (phuuk) recorded on microfilm. Abbreviation: "ms no".
8. Number of fasciculi (phuuk) recorded on microfilm.
9. Number of lines written on the palm-leaf manuscript.
10. Information as to whether the text recorded may be considered as complete or not. In several cases a thorough check of the entire text would be necessary to make a definite statement about completeness. This is beyond the scope of the present study. Therefore, the information given is, to a certain extent, to be taken as preliminary.
11. The year when the holograph was written (given in Cūlasakarāja era).

12. The year according to the Christian era (AD); obtained by adding 638 to the Cūlasakarāja year.

NB: If no date is mentioned, the abbreviation "n.d." together with an estimate of the probable date is added. This estimate rests upon the physical appearance, the style of the script and the orthography used.

13. Name of the monastery where the original was found (in 1974).
14. Location of the repository, i.e. district (Amphoe /rampaeh/) and province (caqwät/).
15. Beginnings of the Pāli texts, preceded by information concerning the location on the microfilm (if necessary).
16. Location of the respective text in the generally used editions (as far as traceable). (This information is kindly provided by Professor O. von Hinüber).
17. Ends of the Pāli texts and their location on the microfilm.
18. Transliteration of the Northern Thai Colophons, preceded by their location on the microfilm.

NB: Shorter Pāli passages interspersed in the vernacular text are also transliterated. In some cases where lengthy portions written in Pāli (mostly wishes expressed by the scribes) are included in a NT colophon, these Pāli passages have not been transcribed, however. Any such case is identified.

19. Phonematic transcription of the transliterated texts.
20. Translation.
21. Remarks, containing information on special terms, comments on the translation, bibliographic data, etc.

NB: In accordance with the aim of the present study which is meant as an introduction into NT colophons, every NT colophon to be found on the microfilmed manuscripts is identified and treated in the way outlined above. Their presentation is done according to the order of their appearance in the manuscripts. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, identical colophons are identified as such and rendered only once. Those with only minor alterations from others previously presented, are given only in transliteration, while reference is given where the phonematic transcription and translation of the previous specimen can be found. In one case (no. 12, Sadd), due to particular
2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

01. DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

Roll 8, 035°. Dc no 0227, ms no 693. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 883 = AD 1521. Wat Lai Hin (NT /wät lāj hìn/; see Remarks). Amphoe Ko Kha (NT /kœʔ khāa/), Lampang.

Begins:
...jīṇā dassanākāraṃ akāśīti jighacchati, Dhp-a III 261,19

Ends: phuuk 1.48 = khaḥ v, line 5
bhante vimānaṃ me naṭṭhaṃ na dāni kiṃ karissāmi 'ti vutte alaṃ devadhite, Dhp-a III 301,29

Colophon.
Front Cover Folio.

/pii₄ "ruuaṅ; "sai" sākraaja 883 tuua dharmamapada "nii" mahaattheen suuar, prāhyaa "cau"₀ "saaṅ" "wai" peen muulāsasanaa bra gootama "cau"₀ 5 ban pii₄ (...)]

/pii lūaŋ sāj sakalaacāʔ* pēt lōj pēt sip sāam tūa thammeʔpatāʔ nī mahaattheen suun phāmbāʔ cāw sāaŋ wāj peen muulāsāsanaa phāʔ kootamāʔ cāw hāa pan pii (...)/

* Possibly the form [sākraaja] may have been read /sakhāatcāʔ/. To my knowledge, this particular writing has been found up to now only in manuscripts written in 'Daṭ "Sāgy; cf. 04 (1); 05 (2); culā⁰; 06 (1); 07 (1), 08 (2, 5): culā⁰, below. It could therefore be useful for the tracing of the place of origin of ancient holographs.

Translation.
In the Year of the Snake, [C] S 883, the Venerable Mahaattheen Suuar Prahyaa had this [manuscript of the] Dhammapada [-Aṭṭhaakathā] made
as a foundation for the Teachings of Lord Gotama [so that they may last for] five thousand years.

Remarks.
The same colophon appears on the back cover folio (preceded by p 48 = khāh v).-| [suar prahya].| is obviously not a personal name, but an official title or rank of a scholar; cf. Inscription no. 9 (Sukhothai, Wat Pa Daeng [CT /wát pāa deēp/], probably AD 1388, plate 3, lines 9-10) where a |naay suuar prajñā] is mentioned as the first of a number of scholars (CT /nāk prāt/); for the text of the inscription see CÆDES 2.1983:153. A |[theer suuar] is mentioned in Inscription no. 95, line 10; cf. KHANA KAMMAKAN ... [ed.] 1970:61. As for the toponym /lāj hīn/ "stone shoulder" (!?) from which the monastery draws its present name, this seems to stem from a rather recent CT distortion of the former NT appellation /lāj hīn/ NT "stone side, bank" still well-known by the older people of this community, which is also testified in the colophons of numerous manuscripts to be found in this unique rural treasure-trove of ancient NT manuscripts. Yet another name of this village, however, appears in the colophons of older manuscripts written in this monastery: for instance, in the colophon of a copy of the Samacittasuût, Chapter 6, written by Khātiyaraññawaasii Bhikkhu in CS 1164 (the actual given date is CS 1167, but this would not fit with the Cycliclical Year mentioned), Year of the Tiger ([pii 'tāu yīl]) = AD 1802, the place is called |ra hrii| (read: /lāj hīn/ "deserted rock/ stone", or: "a stone left behind").

02. DHAMMAPADA-ĀTṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

Roll 8, 042". Dc no 0232, ms no 587. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 16th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Beginns: p 1 = ha r, line 1
ten me tvam pakkasāpito 'ti āha mahārāja kiṃ te saddo suto 'ti,
Dhp-a II 6,8

Ends: p 46 = jāh v, line 5
so kasāhi tānīyamāno, Dhp-a II 39,3

Colophons.
(1) p 3 = hā r, on left margin
|dhāmmāpadā lāñc sundarapaññoo "saañi"
/thammāpatā? lee sūnīlīrīpāññoo sāñg/

Translation.
Dhammapada [-Āṭṭhakathā] - Made at the behest of Sundarapaññoo.

(2) p 5 = hi r, on left margin
|"wai" kap bra dhaad "cāu" laṁbāñ lāañ
/wāj kap phā thāt cāw lampañ/

Translation.
[Made] for [the worship of] the Great Relic of Lambāañ.

(3) p 9 = hu r, on left margin
|dhāmmāpadā sundara "saañi" "wai" kap bra, dhaad "cāu" laṁbāñ|/thammāpatā? sūnīlī? sāñg wāj kap phā thāt cāw lampañ/

Translation.

Remarks.
According to colophons (2) and (3), the manuscript was meant as a Dhammadāna (a gift; offering) for worship of the Great Relic of Lampang which is enshrined in the great stupa of Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (NT /wāt phā thāt lampañ lūaŋ/), situated in the present district (Amphoe) of Ko Kha, about 15km to the West of Lampang (and some 3km from Ban Lai Hin).
03. JÄTAKA 2.5.10.1; Mahosathajātaka

Roll 8, 040°. Dc no 0231, ms no 1123. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 16th/17th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: no no. = ka v, preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.
namo tass' athhu. pañcilo sabbasenayati, Ja VI 329,20

Ends: p 46, line 5
gānamvāsino pokkharanim pe[sentu, Ja VI 341,29

Colophon.
Front Cover Folio (in very small characters).

[mahōosat̄ha māhaathee (p)aa "caw" (riiañ) suuñ, "wai" kap wañ (un?) müuñ, nai wiiañ]

/mahōosat̄ha? māhaatθe̱n baa(?) cāw liaŋ (?) sūŋ waj kap wāt (?un?) mueñ naj wiiaŋ/

Translation.
Mahosathajātaka. The Venerable Mahaattheen Paa (?)* Riiañ Suuñ [had this manuscript made] for Wañ (..) Müuñ in the city [of 'Daa "Sögyy?"].

* The written form [paa] found in this ancient manuscript might alternatively be interpreted as representing /pā/ (lit.: "wood, forest") which would then indicate that this monk-scholar belonged to the school of the "Forest-dwellers".

Remarks.
In Thai and Lao tradition, if not generally in Southeast Asia, the Pāli word for "medicine" is spelled osaṭha (regular form: osadha). This holds true also for the Paññāsā-Jātaka manuscript M (Mandalay) used in the PTS edition of the Burmese version of the "Fifty Jātakas". Cf. JAINI 1981, 83:passim. The style of the script and the manuscript itself are very similar in appearance to the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts found in Wat Lai Hin which originally belonged to monasteries in 'Daa "Sögy. See also Remarks to 04.

04. MILINDAPAÑHA 2.6

Roll 8, beginning. Dc no 0224, ms no 685. 9 phuuk, 5 lines. CS 857 = AD 1495. Incomplete (s. Remarks). Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Colophons.
(1) phuuk 15, p 58

[sakraajā "dai" 857 luua nay, pii ḏap "hmau", milindapañhaa naay sin prāhyaa "saañ" "wai" kap hqo, piṭaṅka 'daa' "sögy" láā]

/sakaalaacā?* dāj pāet lój hāa sip cet tūañ jai pii ḏap måw miinstą?pānthā naaj sīn phānnāa sāaŋ wāj kap hāo pitaka? tāa sāo jlee/

* This writing which is to be found in several other colophons of the 16th century (see below) might also have been read as /sakhāatcā?/.

Translation.
[C] S 857 - In the Year of the Hare - [this manuscript of] the Milindapañhaa was made at the behest of Naay Sin Prahyaa for the library of [a / the Monastery in] 'Daa "Sögy.

(2) phuuk 2.1 = ghañ r; 2.48 = khañ v; phuuk 7.28 = chañ v, on left margin

[milindapañhaa naay sin prāhyaa "saañ" "wai" kap hqo, piṭaṅka 'daa' "sögyy"]

/pāinthā?pānthā naaj sīn phānnāa sāaŋ wāj kap hāo pitaka? tāa sāo j/
Translation.
Milindapaññha - Made at the behest of Naay Sin Prahyaa for the library of [a / the Monastery in] 'Daa "Sọqy.

Remarks.
The phuuk of this manuscript are microfilmed in the following order: 1, 2, 10, 7, 5, 4, 11, 6, 15. The text of phuuk 2 and 11 is photographed beginning with the end. This manuscript which originally consisted of 15 phuuk, has been described by O. v. HINÜBER (1987a). In August 1987, two more phuuk which are probably complete (8, 14) and some stray leaves (belonging to 9) were discovered in the course of works carried out at Wat Lai Hin under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project". Thus, at present, only phuuk 3, 12, and 13 of this invaluable manuscript which is the third oldest dated manuscript in Thailand known up to now, seem to be entirely lost. Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988b:173. The colophons represent one of the earliest documents of NT language written in the type of script that came to be known as "the" Northern Thai script par excellence, despite the existence of at least two other types of scripts. For details, see HUNDIUS 1990:119 foll.; PENTH (1976). This is the earliest mention of 'Daa Sọqy to have so far come to light. See 05, below.

05. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Paññāsanipāta

Roll 8, 037". Dc no 0229, ms no 692. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 912 = AD 1550. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: no no. = ka v, preceded by Front Cover Leaf with colophon (1) udayhate (!) janapado 'ti, Ja V 193,3

Ends: p 46, line 5
datvā piyāṁ ummādanti aditthā
addhā piyā mayaharañ janinda esa, Ja V 219,7*

Colophons.
(1) Front Cover Folio, on left margin.

/kap wāt salli ?un mujñ nōtsa? tāw fāa naj mujñ vàa sọj lee/

Translation.
[Made] for Wañ Srii 'Ur Müüañ (Yossa "Dau "Faa) in Müüañ 'Daa "Sọqy.

(2) ibid., in the middle of the page

[paññaasānīpaata jaatákā mahaasāṅgharaa jāa "cau", "saañ" nai, pi kośl seš cuḷaśkraaj [2] "dāiī 912 tuua lāă "phuu" ḍai au praśo,ñ "pū" "ruu" āṭṭhā lāă sapdaa "cīān" "dāă" "yaa" nap khīan [3] "sai" thāām "gō" "yaa" plāān sīā "dāă" "pō" au peen phrehdī, (mūũā) praśo,ñ "láăw" yia, blan au [4] maa "sōjś "dāă" "kau" "dāă" "saañ" [yaak] nak "kāă" naa jāă jāān "dūay" (duûn)]


Translation.
Paññaasānīpaata-Jātaka [this manuscript was] made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasāṅgharaa jāa in the Year of the Dog, CS 912.- Whoever [among you] takes [this manuscript out for] worship, [if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording, do not add any writing on [it]: do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice], [you will] be [reborn as] a peta. After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care!
NB: the wording is partly obsolete today (see Part A, 3.3, supra, footnote 48). \textit{|prasōn|}: < Skt \textit{prāṣṭams} "to praise"; \textit{|p̪} \textit{au|}: cf. the idiomatic expression: /\textit{thā} bō \textit{faw} kam .../ "if you don't listen ...".

Remarks.

This phuuk obviously belongs to the same manuscript as 07. For a similar colophon, see v. Hinüber 1987b:48. The toponym 'Daa "Sāpyy is mentioned in the colophons of a number of manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th c. to the second half of the 16th c., most of which are presently kept at Wat Lai Hin, while some are kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok; see ibid., p. 49 foll (nos. 54-57, 60, 61). As mentioned above, the location of 'Daa "Sāpyy has not yet been established (see, however, Post-script, below). Professor Dr. Prasert Na Nagara kindly informed me in 1987 that the late Professor Saeng Monwithun, a well-known scholar in Pāli and Northern Thai history, identified a place situated on the Yom River, to the NW of Sukhothai, named Lakhapuri in a Sukhothai Inscription written in Pāli in AD 1399, with a Thai settlement called Mūuān Sāin which, according to Professor Saeng, was being called Mūuān "Srōpyy 'at the present time'; cf. KHANA KAMMAKAI ... [ed.] 1970:55. This (uncommented) suggestion seems to have met with little response.

Associate Prof. Aroonrut Wichienkeo (Chiang Mai Teachers Training College), who is presently engaged in the identification and localisation of ancient settlements in the North of Thailand, has yet to come across any mention of 'Daa "Sāpyy in the 20 NT chronicles so far checked [October 1988], as her sister, Lamoon Janhorm (M.A.), kindly informs me. As O. v. Hinüber has observed, the marked difference observed between the text of the colophons in 04 (Mil, AD 1495), where neither the name of the monastery to which the manuscript was donated is given nor the word |mūuān| or |wīsān| is used when referring to 'Daa Sāpyy, and the colophons in 05, 06 (as well as a number of other manuscripts from this place, which have been described by O. v. Hinüber in his above-mentioned catalogue) written a few decades later, might be no accident, and the assumption could be induced that at the time that the Milindapañha manuscript was donated, 'Daa "Sāpyy had just been established as a settlement, possessing, in AD 1495, just one monastery.

Post-script.

A few days before sending this monograph to England for printing, the question of the location of 'Daa "Sāpyy seems to have found an answer. On a hand-drawn, yet detailed and scaled (1:200,000) map, showing the route along which King Chulalongkorn's Chiang Mai born Royal Consort, Queen Dararasmea (\textit{phrā? rātchachaajāt cāw daaraarātsamīi}), travelled by boat up the River Ping to Chiang Mai, in AD 1908, the name |wīsān "srōpyy| (NT |wīsā sāg|) is placed at an ancient site on the west bank of the /mē xīq/, opposite to a once well-known rapid called |kēn sāg|, in a distance of about 22kms to the NW of the present Bhumibol Dam, Tak province; an area which has been inundated since the early sixties (see Map, p. 9, supra). Thus, it may be concluded that the archaeological remains of ancient 'Daa "Sāpyy now lie buried beneath some 50–60 m of water belonging to this artificial lake. For the above-mentioned map, and some old photographs of the /kēn sāg/ rapids, see SATTARAPHA (2.1989, I, p. 132, 143; map on inside back cover).

06. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Tiṇsaniṉātā

Roll 8, 033". De no 0226, ms no 540. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 876 = AD 1514. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: 2 = ka v, line 1
namo tassa bha[gavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. kiṃcando kiṇadhippayayo, \textit{Ja V} 1,3

Ends: 46 = khaṇī v, line 5
deva eko yakkho dissamānarūpena, \textit{Ja V} 22,11

Colophon.

Front and Back Cover Folio.

|pi, kaap seā [8] sakraaja "dai" 876 \textit{tiṇsaniṉātā māhaa upaasaka buua gaam īaa" mūuāni" saaāi" waii" kap waď suuar, khuua "nan" (?)|

Translation.
Year of the Dog - [C] S 876. [This manuscript of the] Tihsanipata was made for Waq Suuar Khuua at the behest of the Great Layman Buua Gaan 'Ta'an Miuan.

Remarks.
[Buua]: cf. present NT /pua/? "garland, string"; [Ta'an] "to represent"; [Ta'an miuan] "foreigner": this epithet might be used to indicate that the holder of the name Buua Gaan or his forefathers did not belong to the Tai Yuan ethnic group (?). [Suuar khuua]: in the Sukhothai Inscription No. 9, among monastic dignitaries, a [paa suuar deeb] is mentioned, which, at least as far as [Suuar] is concerned, appears to refer to a highly qualified official (cf. also Remarks to 01, supra). [Waq suuar khuua] may perhaps be reminiscent of its founder who held the title of [Suuar khuua] ("Bridge-Inspector?").

07. JATAKA 2.5.10.1; Sattatinipata

Roll 8, 036". Dc no 0228, ms no 691. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 912 = AD 1550. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begin: p 1 = ka r, line 1 devata-nusa gandhabbo 'ti, Ja V 312,15

End: p 41, line 5b - p 42, line 1a Sonananda-jatakara dutiyaam. iti jatakathakathayavijatakapatmaanitissa Sattatinipatassa [42.1]thavaananaa niithitaa, Ja V 332,26

Colophons.
(1) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page.


NB: For phonematic transcription and translation, see 05 (2); sole difference: [poo dii] "[that is an] evil [deed]" is used instead of [poo au].

(2) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, on left margin.

[ga ka ka kha kap was srii, 'ur', muaa, yoo, 'dau', 'faa' nai muaa, 'dau' "sqqo" 'hniir', laal]

(For phonematic transcription and translation, cf. 05 (1); [hniir] "here")

(3) Phuuk 3, p 23, on left margin

[mahaasangharaajaa "cau" "saan" laal]
/mahaasangkhlaaaca caw saaq lee/

Translation.
Made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasangharaajaa.

(4) p 2 = ka v; p 22, on left margin.

[kap was mahaasoro, "srii", 'ur', muaa, yoo, 'dau', 'faa', 'dau' "sqqo" 'hniir', laal]

/kap wät mahaaasaloommanaa? salla? tun muaa nöt taw faa taa sọcj nii lee/

Translation.
[Made] for Waq [Mahaasrohmaa] Srii 'Ur Muaa [Yoo, 'Dau', 'Faa', here in 'Dau' 'Sqqo'.]
Remarks.
The words in [ ] constitute epitheta ornantia; the first, "Great Noble" (< Skt śramaṇa), only found in this manuscript, may very well (according to a suggestion made to me by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri) refer to the Mahaasāṅgharaajaa which could be taken as a hint that it was this monastery where the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary of 'Daa "Sūryy residing. The second, "renowned up to the Heavens", is used in the colophons of several other manuscripts from this monastery (cf. OS [2]; 08 [1, 4, 7]).

08. SAṀYUTTANIKĀYA 2.3; Sagāthavagga

Roll 8, 100". Dc no 0265, ms no 582. 2 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete: phuuk 3 and 4 of a set of 4 phuuk (see Remarks). CS 911 = AD 1549. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: 1 [= phuuk 3], p 1 = ṇa r, line 1 pavivjitto bhante āyasāṁ sāriputto, SN I 63,28

Ends: 2 [= phuuk 4], p 36 = jaḥ v, line 5 sandasseti samādīpe[ti], SN I 113,3

Colophons.
(1) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

|"sānā "waī" kap waś srii 'un', mūnāṇ, yośśa "dau" "faa" nai mūlaṇ, 'daa' "sūryy" "hnīi" lāā|

/sānā wāj kap wāt salii ?ūn māṇī ṅōtsa? tāw fāa nai māṇī tāa sōj nīi leel/

Translation.
Made for Waḍ Srii 'Un Mūuāṇ (Yossa "Dau "Faa"), here in Mūuāṇ 'Daa "Sūryy.

(2) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page|paalii | sagaathawagga an "nīi" naaṇ ġaan baa mīia, 'hmūūn' "nōy
traa "sānā" nai pīī kad "rau" "culasakraaj" "daaii" 911 ġuua lāā [2b] kulaput
tōn ḍai au bai prasōn "lāāw" yia, blan au maa 'sojii" "waai" 'daaii' 'kaa'
"dāā" "sānā" yaak nāk kāā [3b] lāā jāān "duaay" dūn "hūū" puñ, caṃrōōnān kāā "phuu peen daayakā "nan" ṭōo "dau" nibba'an dūn|

/baaliīi sakaathaātāwākkā? ?an niī naaṇ kham paa mia mūn nōj thālāa
sāṇ jī nīi kāt lāw cūnīlasakalācā? dāj kāw lōj sip vēt tūa lee
kūnīlābut tōn ḍaj ḍaw pāj phasōjī lēw ūa? pan pāw maa sōjī wāj dāj kāw
dē sāṇ ġāak nāk kē calee ceēj dōj tuun hūū bun cāmlāoān kē phīu pēn
tnānākā? nān tōo tāw nippa'an tuun/

Translation.
This [copy of the] Pāli [text of the] Sagāthavagga was made at the behest of Naan ġaan Baa, the wife of Hmüūn "Nōy Ṭraa, in the Year of the Cock, CS 911. Whoever [among you], sons of good family, takes [this manuscript out for] worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care! - May the merit [acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the donors eventual attainment of Nibbāna.

NB: [kulaputī ton dāi]: the use of the clf /ton/ (which is common in NT when referring to members of the Saṅgha, including holy objects like Buddha statues etc., and the Royalty can be taken as an indication that it is specifically (younger) monks and novices who are addressed. (See also OS [2], above).

(3) Front Cover Folio, reverse side, on left margin

|"waai" kap waś srii 'un' mūūāṇ 'daa' "sūryy" lāā|
/wāj kap wāt salii ?ūn māṇī tāa sōj lēe/

Translation.
[Made] for Waḍ Srii 'Un Mūuāṇ, Daa "Sūryy.

(4) phuuk 3, last folio, no no., preceded by p 48, on left margin
was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care! - May [the merit acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the laywoman-donor's attainment of the Mundane as well as Supermundane states.* May I also express my sympathetic joyfulness [for this meritorious deed].

* Lokiya (P): "Mundane", [...] all those states of consciousness and mental factors [...] which are not associated with the supermundane paths and fruitions of Sotāpatti etc.; Lokuttara (P): "Supermundane", [...] the 4 paths and 4 fruitions of Sotāpatti etc., with Nibbāna as ninth; see Nyanatiloka 1972:91.

(6) phuk 4, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page

[same as (2), above, until ---] 911 ñua lāa "phuu" dāi au prasāsān "pō" "ruu" âṭṭha lāa sapdaa "cāān" "yaa" nap plāān siāa, "yaa" khiian "sai" thāām "pō" dīi peen phreeēd jaam ... "gōōy" jāān "duuay" dúūn "cuñ;" hūu peen prācāiy "kāā" an "dāi" yāā lookiyā lāā lookuttāārā sāmpātī "kāā" upāsikāa "phuu" "saān" "nīī" dúūn rauā "ggōō" ghumūmoo (6)dānāa "duuay" lāāl

/... kāāw loj sip ṭet ūa lēe phuu dāi ṭaw phasāō bō hū ṭāṭhā? lē? saptaa ĉeeq jāā nāp pēēg sāā jāā khīā sāā thēēm bō dīi pēēn phēēt caam ... kāāj ceeq dōj tūn čūq pēn phatcāj kēe ṭan dāj āāq lookiīnā? lē? lookuttalāāsāmpātī kēe ṭubaasikāā phuu sāāq nīī tūn law kō ṭanūmootanāa dōj ēe/

Translation.

[For the beginning, see (2), above] ..., CS 911. Whoever takes [this manuscript out for] worship, [if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording, do not [try to] make any corrections, do not add any writing on [it; that is an] evil [deed; you will] be [reborn as a] peta! ..., so do take good care! - May [this meritorious deed] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna, the place of Immortality!

NB. The written form transliterated here as āṭṭha ṭatthā/ (< P āṭṭha "meaning, sense") is ambiguous: it allows for another reading, i.e. āṭṭhī ṭat/ "id." Both forms are found in NT literature. The first
may be considered as the more learned variant prevailing in literary style, the second one, representing an old loanword in NT, is predominantly used in everyday speech.

(7) ibid., on left margin

\[|'saa\text{\textquoteleft} kap wa\text{\textquoteleft} sri \text{\textquoteleft} un\text{\textquoteleft} müü\text{\textquoteleft} m, yo\text{\textquoteleft} ss\text{\textquoteleft} "dau\text{\textquoteleft}o "faa' nai müü\text{\textquoteleft} m, 'daa' "sögy" "hnii" lâl|\]

\[/saa\text{\textquoteleft} kap wät salī ?in muaâŋ nótså? tåw fåa' naj muaâŋ tåa sõoj nii lée/\]

Translation.
[Made] for Wa\text{\textquoteleft} Sra\text{\textquoteleft} Un Müüâŋ \{Yossa "Dau "Faa\}, here in Müüâŋ Daa "Sögy.

Remarks.
On the contents of this manuscript, see O. v. HinÜBER 1983:80.- 
|gaan baa\text{\textquoteleft} /kham/ "gold, golden"; /paa/ (prima facie): "to lead, take somebody to some place personally". This would make, semantically, a rather strange name. A different interpretation, suggested by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri, seems more convincing. As is well known, words like /këw/ "jewel" or /kham/ "gold" are widely used in NT names as decorative expressions of affection and should not be taken as part of the genuine name. Cf. names like /kham ?áoj/ etc. where only the second element can be considered as the real personal name. Taking into account the Thai habit of affectionately, or out of familiarity, calling people by only the last syllable of their full names, the real given name of |Naah Gaam Baa| may have been |Bimba| "mould, moulded" (< Skt/P bimba) which would make a very common girl's name. For a similar case, see |Saan Gaam Daa| in 20, phuuk 12.

09. \textit{Paṭṭhāna-mahāpakaraṇa-āṭṭhakathā} [3.3.7]

Roll 9, 104". Dc no 0266, ms no 580. 1 phuuk (= phuuk 5?), 6 lines. Incomplete, CS 945 = AD 1583. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

\textbf{Begins}: p 1 = \textit{jha} r, line 1


\textbf{Ends}: p 37 = \textit{ne} v, line 6

vipulavisuddhabuddhinā Buddhaghoso 'ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena therena katā sakalassā 'pi abhidhammapiṭakassā āṭṭhakathā maha anantañāṇavasrayassa paṭṭhānamahāpakaṇṇassa āṭṭhakathā anantañā

\textit{Tikap-a} [end of text]

Colophons.
(1) Front Cover Folio.

" 5 Paṭṭhānamahāpakaṇṇa-āṭṭhakathā"

(2) Back Cover, reverse side, preceded by p 37

|na 5 sa\text{\textquoteleft}a\text{\textquoteleft}kraaj 945 ma- mālī chhām₂ p° upasikaa 'māa ciiam peen pratyayadaayika\text{\textquoteleft}\text{\textquoteleft}}|

\[/hāa sakalaacā\? kāw līj si sip hāa mā?me sanān patthāna\? mahāpakalānā? \?atthakathāa ?ubasikāa mēe ciam peen phatiāna\?taa aññikāa/\]
Translation.
[phuuk] 5 - [C] S 945, Year of the Goat.- [The making of this manuscript of the] Pa was supported by the lay-woman named Ciiam.*

* ['māa ciiam] lit.: "Mother Ciiam".

Remarks.
This text has been edited in Tikap, Dukap, cf. CPD, Epilegomena 3.7,1; further: The Paṭicappakaraṇa-Atṭhakathā, vol. III Yamaka-Paṭihāna-Atṭhakathā, ed. by M. Tiwary. Nalanda 1972 (N°). (O. v. Hinüber). Note the Sanskrit form pratvayadāyikā (instead of the Pāli word paccayadāyikā also used in the colophons) which appears to be rather unique.

10. ABHIDHAMMA-GULHAṬṬHA-DĪPANI 3.9.3

Roll 8, 039°. Dc no 0230, ms no 588. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d. (16th c.?). Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:
[liena balena cā ti adhippāyo. jarāmarāṇasamāṃbandhā [commentary on Vibh-a 188,20] ti jarāmarāṇahetukā anabhisaṃbandhā ti bhobye ...]

Ends: p 47, line 4b-5

Colophons.
(1) Front Cover, r

[nāk puñjā †juuañja †'gaṃ' "saañ" lāā
mahāa ñañasamuddamaṅgala- meedhaawii "caw" pen upathāmphāka "saañ]

Translation.
Written by the pious Juuañja (?) - supported by the Venerable Mahaa Ñañasamuddamaṅgala meedhaawii.

NB: Added by another hand (of apparently recent date) is the word Gulḍīpāṇi.

(2) ibid., rear side

[Sammodhavinodaniyā Gužhatthakathā lāā "saañ" "wai" ñūia; "hūi" jootaka buddhaṅaasanaa traap, 100; "dauj; jarra lāā]

/sāmmoohaa?wīnoottāmiññaa kunbatthakathaa le æ sāñ wāj pūa hūu cootaakaa? puṭthaaʔsasanaa thalāap tō tāw calaa leë/

Translation.
[The Pāli text of] the Gō - Made to support Buddha's Teachings so that they may survive as long as the palm-leaves last.

(3) p 48, line 1

[mahaṃ ñañasamuddamaṅgala "caw" uppathāmphāka "saañ Sammohavinodaniyā Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya Gužhatthadipa(!) niṭṭhitā]

/mahāa ñañasamūttāmaṅkārī? cāw ñuṭḍamphāka? sāñ .../

Translation.
[The making of this manuscript was] supported by the Venerable Mahaa Ñañasamuddamaṅgala.

(4) Back Cover, r
11. DīGHANIKĀYA 2.1; Sāmaññaphalasutta

Roll 8, 031°. Dc no. 0225, ms no 699. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; n.d., probably 1st half of 16th c. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begin: Front Cover [no no.] r, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

Ends: p 75, line 5a

Colophon [in Pāli].

p 76, line 1a

[Sāmaññaphala]suttaṃ dutiyaṃ

Translation.

[Sāmaññaphala]-suttaṃ - 2nd [sutta of the DN].

Remarks.

The unusual high number offolios is due to the fact that this phuuk contains the complete text of the Sāmaññaphalasutta.

12. SADDANĪTI 5.2; Author: Aaggavaṃsa (AD 1154)

Roll 8, 171°. Dc no. 0241, ms no 84. 18 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; phuuk 8, 31-36. 28, 29, 32-40. Last bundle (?). CS 923 or 953 = AD 1561 or 1591, respectively (see Remarks). Wat Phumin (NT /wāt phumīn/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begin: phuuk 8, p 1, line 1a

Ends: phuuk 40, p 60 = jhū v, line 4c-5

Colophon.

(1) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, r

Translation.

CS 9(2?3)3 - Completed in the Year of the Goat ([pīi rakaal], [which corresponds to] the year called |"rua$h rau$| in the Dai tradition. [This copy of] the 8th phuuk of the Saddanīti was made in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings at the behest of the son/ daughter* of Naa$h khaaw srii who lives in |Paan 'Da'h Huua Rūūa$n Ban.  }
By the term |luuk| no indication is given as to the sex of the "child"; |luuk| may also be plural: "sons and/or daughters, children". Native speakers however feel that in this context, the scribe is referring to a single donor.

NB: identical colophons are engraved on the Front Cover Folios (recto side) of phuuk 26, 29, 36, 37, 38. Only a few words are added in the following colophons (2) and (3).

(2) phuuk 24, Front Cover Folio, r

|phuuk, 24 culasañkraajja "daí" 9(2)3 ūua srejh nāi pīi, rākāa dai, ya bhasa "waa" pīi, "rūaNN"; "rāu"; saddānītī luuk, naāñ, khaaw srii, mii 'yau' 'daa" huua rūūan ban mii kusglāchan "hāu" "saan" "wai" kap saasnaa bra buddha "cau" 'ţoţ", "dau" 5000 wassaa phuuk, 24|


phuuk 24 - ... [This copy of] the Sadd was made out of the meritorious intention of the son/ daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daaw Huua Rūūan Ban, in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings (Pāli: Buddhāsāna) for the entire 5,000 years.*

* It may be worth mentioning that the Pāli loanword |wassaa| (Pāli: vassa, which is used here as a synonym of |pī| "year" conveys the connotation of the rainy season, the time of the year when the monks and novices are expected to stay at their home monastery, and devote their time to studying and giving sermons to the lay community.

(3) phuuk 33, Front Cover Folio, r

[... "hūu" "saan" mii mahāa wajirapaññōo "cau" peen upathambhāka : 33] /

hūu sāa añ mii mahāa wātciīlāpāññōo caaw pēn uppathāmaphāka? sāam sip sāam/

Translation (last part).
... Made at the behest of ... , the Venerable Mahāa Wajirapaññōo being [the leading monastic] supporter. [phuuk] 33.

NB: Identical colophons are engraved on the Front Cover Folios (recto side) of phuuk 34 and 35. A different wording is to be found at the end of the following colophon (in this partly illegible colophon only the date [but not the name of the Cycliccal Year] is mentioned).

(4) phuuk 22, Front Cover Folio, r

|namatthu jina(v)arapavara ūcua waaat culasañkraaj "daí" 9°53 ūua srejh (written: srājhee) saddānītī phuuk, 22 luuk, naañ khaaw srii, 'yau' "paan" 'dāa" huua rūūan ban "hūu" "saan" peen praccaya 'kaa' ŋaana(…)|

/nāmātthu? cūnlaśaśkhāat dāj kāw lōj hāa sip sāam tūa salet sattānītī phuuk saaw sōj lūuk naañ khaaw saalī jūu bāān tāa hūa luan pan hūu sāa añ pēn phatcāññā? kē ŋaana(…)/Translation (last part).
... CS 953 - completed. Sadd - phuuk 22: made at the behest of the son/daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daaw Huua Rūūan Ban ... as a contribution to [the attainment of] (...) knowledge (...).

NB: The following colophon (5) represents a shorter version (containing no dates, years etc.):

(5) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, v (preceeding p 2, 4, 6 etc.)
Translation.

_Sadd_ - last bundle [See Remarks]. _Sadd_ - phuu 8. Made at the behest of the son/daughter of Naan Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan Da Huua Rüthan Ban, in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings.

NB: Identical colophons are engraved on the verso sides of the Front Cover Folios of phuu 8, 29, 36, as well as on the verso sides of the Back Cover Folios of phuu 22, 25, 26, 35, 37, 38, and on the Front Cover Folio, recto side, of phuu 40.

(6) phuu 21, Front Cover Folio, r

|sakkaraaja 953 pii, thq, daiyabhaasa 'waa' pii, 'ruuan', 'h mau' gimhantaraqqu duu,n 7 'khün' 15 'gaam' (sic!) saddaniitipakaraña maá plaay mahaa aggasaami, "cau' wad candamoollii, sriii, saddhammakiitii "saan' ka kha ko |


Translation.

_[C] S 953 - In the Year of the Hare ([piishop]) called [piishop] "ruuan" "hmau" in the Dai tradition, in the Hot Season, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waxing moon. Sadd - last bundle; made at the behest of the Venerable Lord Abbot [of this monastery (?)], i.e. Wat Phumin?] Candamoollii Srii Saddhammakiitii.

(7) phuu 32, Front Cover Folio, r

|saddaniitipakaraña somde, ch "cau' wad candamuulii, sriii, saddhammäkiitii "cau' "saan' phuu, 32|

/satt aññi?pakalãñã? sõmdet cãw wät cântamuulii salii satthhammâkîtti? cãw sãañ phuu sãam sip sãçõ/

Translation.

_Saddanîti-Pakaraña_ - Made at the behest of the Venerable Lord Abbot Candamoollii (here written: Candamuulii) Srii Saddhammakiitii - phuu 32.

(8) phuu 40, Back Cover Folio v (preceded by p 60), on right margin:

|saddaniitipakaraña "dai" (...) 'hmau' 'naa' saam 'nuu' 'dãnh' khiyan pii sakkaraaja 855 (tuua)|

/dãihn jhãj naegsãhnuu caap nuu tâan khiyan pii sakkalaacãy pîet lâqj hâa sip hâa tûa/

Translation.

(...) the previous holograph [ i.e. the one from which this manuscript was copied?] was written in [C] S 855 (= AD 1493).
NB: On the front cover folio, recto side, of phuuk 40, the title Sadd is written additionally in Khmer script, accompanied by some further notes in Khmer script, the last three words seemingly to be read /cop paj laøj/ "... has come to the end".

Remarks.
The mention of the date of writing the original manuscript, from which the present one was copied, is very rare. As for the date of the manuscript found at Wat Phumin, two conflicting years are given: CS 9(2)3, Year of the Goat |pií rakaá|, and CS 9(5)3, Year of the Hare |pií thoí| (the latter date appears on phuuk 21 and 23 only). In fact, the middle of the 3-digit-numbers, as they appear in the colophons, can be interpreted as both either "2" or "5". It could be tempting then to assume that some of the phuuk were actually written at different times, i.e. one part in CS 293, the other one 30 years later? The puzzle centering around the correct date of this manuscript has, indeed, a few more components. One is the fact that all colophons were quite obviously written by the same scribe, in an orthography of undoubtedly very ancient style; how can it then be explained that two different cyclical years are mentioned (Year of the Hare vs. Year of the Goat) which match with CS 293 and 953, respectively?

Another strange fact is the mention, on the Front Cover colophon of phuuk 8, that this phuuk belongs to the same "last bundle" of the Sadd like all the other fasciculi: this would mean that the last bundle of this text must have consisted of 40 phuuk — a number fairly exceeding the normal size of palm-leaf bundles the largest ones of which generally comprise not more than 20-24 phuuk. Although it would be tempting to think of possible answers to the problems, it is preferred here to wait for a more detailed study of the manuscript which is about 300 years older than the one used by Helmer Smith for his edition of this important Pāli grammar. For a study of old NT orthography, the colophons of this manuscript offer some interesting pieces of evidence one of which is the consistent differentiation between the equivalents of |ai| (/ʔai máj maalaj/) and |ai| (/ʔai máj múan/), a characteristic which is also found in the colophons of other early Pāli manuscripts of this collection, for instance in 04 (Mil). Another peculiarity is the shape of the character |x₄| used for representing ancient /*ʔj/ (or */ʔn/, resp.): a digraphic combination of

the NT equivalent of the CT /ʔoo ʔaŋ/ plus |-y|, i.e. a true equivalent of the CT digraph /ʔoo ʔaŋ/ plus /ʔoo ják/, a form which is widely used in ancient Northern Thai manuscripts of the 16th c. (as for the shape of this character, see HUNDIUS 1990: 176, allograph no. 144, variant no. 4).

13. JĀTĀKA 2.5.10.11 [?] Vessantarajātaka- [atthañaṇanā-] tīkā ("ТИКА MAHĀVESSANTARA")

Roll 9, 042". Dc no 0250, ms no 974 (previously no. 758 [2]). 1 phuuk, 6 lines. Incomplete. CS 940 = AD 1578. Wat Bun Yuen (NT /wāt būn ñūn/). Amphoe Sa (/sāa/), Nan.

Begins: p 1 = jha v, line 6

Ends: p 46 = ūha v, line 6
|naya pana mando 'ti aññāṇīti vuttattā ca. mando bhogavināśe cādhake muj(j)ā paṭusvā 'pi abhidhānappakaraṇe vuttattā ca. kiṃ nu āhāsi kiṃ kāraṇāma yasi (adā?) [commentary on Ja VI 565,5*]

Colophons.
(1) p 26 = na v, left margin

|kap waḍ paak, ūuua|

/kap wāt pāak ūua/

Translation.

(2) no no., preceded by p 46 [= ūha v]
Colophons.
(1) The following Pāli colophon is written on the reverse side of the Front Cover Folio (preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.).


Translation.
From aksara ña to aksara ca; 3rd phuuk.- This [copy of the] Āṭṭhakathā (commentary) on the Mahāvessantarajātaka, [a work of] excellent insight, was made at the behest of the Mahāthera Sujātanācaka, while staying (...) at a Monastery called "Sippikamukha".*

* Sippika (P) "artisan"; sippikā "pearl oyster". The second meaning would make a much better NT name: Waṭ Paak Ḥogy (the change from [a] to [ā] occurs much too frequently as to be deemed an important feature) although one would have expected the Pāli equivalent of the Monastery's NT name ([Waṭ Paak Ḥuua] "Monastery of the Oxen's Mouth" as mentioned in the NT colophons (see below, 14 [2]).

(2) p 1 = tha r, on left margin

"saañ' "wai' kap waṣ paak, ḍuua|
/saañ' wāji kap wāṭ paak ḍuua/

Translation.
Made for Waṭ Paak ḍuua.

NB: Another colophon which is identical with (2) is engraved on the left margin of p 3; there is only one difference: instead of ḍuua "bull, ox", the morphological variant ḍuua is used.
Remarks.
This text is not identical with the Jātaka-Atthavanāṇañā. (O. v. Hinüber).

15. CAKKAVĀḷADĪPANI [2.9] Author: Sirimaṅgala
(AD 1520)

Roll 8, 75°. Dc no 0235, ms no 721. 10 phuuks, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men (NT /wät sūŋ mèn/; CT /wät sūŋ mèn/). Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:
namass' atthu. anantaka cakkavaḷāṃ and yena gataṃ asaṃsayaṅ natvā saddhammasaṅghaṃ taṃ lokaviduṃ antanatguṇ nānāgathesa sāratham gahetabbaṃ samādiya karissā 'haṃ subodhhaṃ cakkavāḷadīpaniṃ anusuuyā nisāmetha apha labheta chekata[2]nti. tattha cakkavaḷāṃ nāma lokadhāṭuṃ

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2c–4

Colophons.
(1) Front Side of "mai hlaap.


Translation.
The Pāli text of C° - consisting of 10 phuuks. The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kāṅcana, Mūa nām Brā, as initiating monastic supporter together with his followers, and the Royal Ruler of Mūa nām Brā as well as the Royal Ruler of Mūuā nān as leading lay supporters, and all the common people [of both states] joined in sponsoring the making of this Dhamma manuscript, wishing thereby to ensure that the Teachings of Buddha (Pāli: Buddhassāna) will last for 5,000 years. Made in Mūuā nān.

(2) Front Cover Folio (preceding p 1, 3), line 1-3

[paḷiḷi cakkavāḷadīpaniṃ phuu[k, "ṭōn đañ muuar, mii sip phuu[k, [2]
cujaṅkaaṛaj 'dai 1195 ṭuua plīi 'kāa "saij] [3] (s. line 1)

/baḷiḷi cakkavāḷadīpaniṃ phuu[k tōn đañ muuar mii sip phuu[k cūḷaṃsahāṭā dāj pan nūj lōj kāw sip hāa āa piḷī kāa sāj

Translation.
[The] Pāli [text of the] C° - First phuu[k; [altogether] consisting of ten phuuks. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake (plīi 'kāa "saij).

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side.

"saaña mūa, sąkaaṛaj 'dai 1195 ṭuua plīi 'klaa "sai] ā[6]
/saaña mūa sakhāṭā dāj pan nūj lōj kāw sip hāa āa piḷī kāa sāj lee/

Translation.
Made in [C] S 1195, Year of the Snake.
(4) Front Cover Folio, reverse side (preceding p 2 = ka v)

|jua paalii c° phuuk, "ton lāā somde, ch mahaaraaj mūuā, n'an "saañ "gaam̄̄ juu gruu paa kañcana graññawaasii mūuā, 'briā ñibbāna paccayo hout |
/tūa baalii cakkawaalātipani phuuk tōn lee somdet mahāalat mūañ nān sāañ kām cuu khoo baa kāncanāñ? ?alanññawaasii mūañ phēe.../

Translation.
The Pāli text of C° - His Majesty the Great Royal Ruler of Mūuāñ 'Naan [sponsored] the making [of this manuscript] in support of the Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kañcana, Mūuāñ 'Briāā.

(5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio, recto side.

|paalii c° phuuk, "thuuar, sōqñ, cuñasakhraaj ... (s. above, colophon [2], line 2) "saanñ nai mūuāñ, 'naan' lāā 'thoqñ, dhaan (sic!) "lāāw" jaam cāpap 'klau' |
/baalii cakkawaalātipani phuuk thūañ sōqñ cuñasakhaat āaj pan nāq lūq kāw sip hāa tūa pī kä sāj sāañ naj mūañ nān leé thōq than leéw tāam cāpap kāw/

Translation.
[The] Pāli [text of the] C° - Second phuuk, ... made in Mūuāñ 'Naan. Thoroughly checked with the original.

(6) no no., preceded by p 50 = ga "ton, v

|mahaawan bhikkhu rikkhitta "waiy "gaam̄̄ juu wargbudhaasanasaa bra goodom "cau, 'qñ "dau, pañçaqsahassā wassaa ṭraap phoọthakapatta aayu pamaaññ "dāā 'ciiñ' lāā|


Translation.
Written by Mahaawan Bhikkhu in support of the Excellent Teachings of Buddha so that they may stay for 5,000 years - as long as the palm-leaves last.

(7) no no., preceded by p 49 = ga "ton, r

|parippuṇṇa "lāāw" yaam 'diiaañ, 'kāañ "khaa "nqory lāā na sōbhati sak yaaq lāā [2] mahaawan bhikkhu khiiañ, gaanñ mūuā 'yuu wañ 'ton hnuñ, "naanñ saa lāā 'pq (q) 'jaanñ hlaay lāā |

Translation.
Accomplished at noon time; my writing is not beautiful at all. Written by myself, Mahaawan Bhikkhu, while staying at Wād 'Ton Hnur, 'Naanñ (?) Saa. I am [a] very unskilful [scribe].

(8) phuuk 3, no no., preceded by p 44 = chā v

|80000 4000 "khaa khoqq "hūū" naa puññ "gaam̄̄ juu tuuaa "khaa peen "glau lāā guu paa aacaan bōq 'māañ bīi "nqory, juu" gon "dāā dīi-hlīi dō [2] puqā phuū dai 'dāi 'laun, 'gqory" biccarānaa bai" dō tuuaa 'pq naam heet cāi 'pq "tāñ lāā |
Translation.

84,000 - may the merit acquired [by writing this phuuk] support me first, as well as all of my revered teachers, my parent and my brothers and sisters, for ever and ever! Whoever makes use of this manuscript for recitation, do pay attention; my writing did not turn out beautiful, because my mind was not strong enough.

(9) phuuk 5, no no., preceded by p 42

/çuñasakkaraaja "dāi 1195 ūua plii 'kaa 'sai rikkhiṭta paañ 'müúa'; saṭhi[.] saamraa wañ ūua dāañ 'daan 'tai wiiañ, (written: wiiar,) 'nan' lāa paariri, cakkawaalāḍīpañi, phuuk, (.) lāā diuñ, n 12 qok, 6 'gaam' 'braṃ' 'waa 'dāañ wan meeh-MAAN' deey, (sic!) lāā]

/cuñisasakkalaacā? dāñ pan nūg lōcj kāw sip hāa túa pī pāa sāj likkhiṭṭa? pāañ māa sathit sāmlaan wāt ūa deey dāañ tāj wiiañ nān leē bālili cakkawaalāḍīpañi phuuk (?) leē duan sip sōcj ?πcok hok khām phām wāa dāañ wan meē máan taj leē/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. Written while I was staying happily at Wāñ Ūua Dāañ* [situated to the] South of the city [of Mūuñ 'Naan]. The Pāli text of the C°, phuuk (5?) - on the 6th day of the waxing moon, in the 12th [lunar] month, corresponding to the day [...?...?] of the Mon Burmese-Dai calendar.

* This monastery still exists today.

(10) phuuk 9, Front Cover Folio (in the middle of the page)


Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Somđec Parammapoqbitt Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj*, [Royal Ruler of Mūuñ 'Naan], faithfully supported Buddha's Teachings ...

*see NB to (10).- Virtually the same text is to be found in:
(12) phuuk 10, 3rd Cover Folio

|somdecc paramapqobbit anantaraya raajaaddhiraas "cau droń raajas⁰...|

(For phonematic transcription and translation, see [11])

Remarks.
This cosmographical treatise written, according to the Pāli colophon at the end of the 10th phuik, in CS 882 (AD 1520) by Sirimaṅgala, a native of Chiang Mai, has been edited in Siamese script, and translated into Standard Thai, by the National Library, Bangkok, in 1980 (ISBN 974-7920-17-4). [For the colophon, see pp. 228-30 of the above-mentioned edition]. The text of this edition is based on some 15 manuscripts, all written in Khmer script, kept at the National Library. Although no dates are given, it may be assumed that none of these dates back to the pre-Ratanakosin period, i.e. the time before AD 1782. In the library of Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, there is kept a palm-leaf manuscript written in Lan Na script which is dated CS 900 (|[ii pöök sed|]), i.e. only 18 years after the original work was completed by its author! This manuscript (made at the behest of the Saṅgharaajja Candaaraṇsii Araiṇṇawaasii) which is regrettably not complete, will soon be available on microfilm; a photograph of its first phuuk Cover Folio can be found in PENTH 1983:88.- The Cakkavāḷadipani is not mentioned in CEDES (1915) and in the CPD.

16. CAKKAVĀḷADIPAŅI [2.9] Author: Sirimaṅgala
(AD 1520)

Roll 8, 90", Dc no 0236, ms no 709. 10 phuik, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham /wät cáaq kám/, present official CT name: /wät cháaq khám woowrāfnhaan/. Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:
namo tass’ attthu. anantaka cakkavāḷaṃ ve yena gataṃ asāṃsayanī natvā sadharmāsangaḥ taṃ lokavidum anantagum nānāgānthesu sāratham (!)

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2b

Colophons.
(1) phuuk 2, no no., preceded by p 53

/(... "sai säte-gjh "khaa maai nai djúar", 11 "khun" 'gaam 1 'braam 'waa "daiy wan 1 daiy "ruuān, mesj (...) "daiy 11 tuaa paripunna "lāaw" yaam (... ) téeja phla pur 2 an "khaa "daiy "tāam dhammādaa an "juu"-"waa" paa[2] (...) "waiy "gaamjuu saasnaa gootana "cau traap țqo "dau 5000 brā wassaa "nii "dāa dī-llihi nibbāna[mt] paramaṃ su[kįkham nic[c]aṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ (...) phla pur 2 an "khaa "dai tāam dhammādaa an "nii cuhn 3 "hūu peen (... ) patha uppa[3](...) juaa "khaa lāaw "boq' "māa bii "nppān, juu gon "hūu "daiy "hwaya roop, cūc, mūdāja neerghanbā naa ānaagatakaan an" can4 maay "hnaa "nān 'cuhn, caak, mii "dāa dī-lihi niic[c]aṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ 'ciin' dō"

Translation.

(3) phuuk 5, p 41, line 4

[saŋjat] "lääw" yaam tūaad, "jaay kāa "khaa lāa bindaa bhikkhu lāa khiiar, "duuay ʔon een dīiaw; "cau lāa-naa"

/saladet léew fāaam tūut càaj kēe khāa lee pintaa phikkhu? lee khian dōj tōn yeeq diaw cāw lee naa/

Translation.

Accomplished shortly after noon-time - Bindaa Bhikkhu did the writing all by himself, my dear!

(4) phuuk 5 , p 42 , line 1-2

["khāa khiiar, "gaam ji du 'bii' hluuań "cau dhāmmajeey, waq "paan 'daa mahīnsaa 'kīa "khaa lāa "khaa khiiar, paan 'mūua; 'yuu meaa cddhha "paan hnaaad juua 'p' naam sak glayā khau, 'daan giid yaak, ja (!) 'aan ʔem dhi! (!) 'hlo' 'ñoq' oo, oo," [2] cuŋjat-sakkañg "dai 1231 tuaa plii kaaj "sai khii "gaan 'tāam haa"

/khāa khian kām cuu tūij pīi lūaj cāw thhammacaj wāt bāan tāa mahīnsaa kēe khāa lee khāa khian pāaj mā juu mēttāa satthaa bāan nāat tūa bō
Translation.
I have written this in support of my Elder Monk-Brother Dhammajaiy of Wad "Paan 'Daa Mahimsaa. I did the writing while spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of "Paan Hnaaad. My writing does not look beautiful at all. Senior people are worried that it will be very difficult to read; oh yes, there is no doubt about that. CS 1231 - Year of the Snake; I was not keen on writing at all!

(5) phuuk 7, no no., preceded by p 45

[dibbawoŋ saamaŋeernoŋ]
/tippawoŋ saamanemoŋ/

Translation.
[Written by] Dibbawoŋ Saamaŋeernoŋ (Novice D*]

*dibbawoŋ: < P dibbavaŋsa

(6) phuuk 8 , p 47, line 4 - p 48, line 1

[culasaŋkaraaŋja "dai 1231 tuaa plii kad "sai jüua, 11 qök, 10 'gaam 'braam' waa "dai meeñ wan 4 daiy" pök, san 'kää "khaa læa jüü "khaa 'wa" ariya bhikkhu paan 'mūua, 'yuu [48.1] meeqaa saddhaa wad "paan khoŋr, müuañ, buua wan "nan læa]


Translation.
CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (lpii kad "saij); [accomplished] on the 10th day of the waxing moon, in the 11th [lunar] month, corresponding to the 4th day [in the] Mon [tradition called] [pëok san] [in the] Dai [tradition].
My name is Ariya-Bhikkhu. [Written] while I was spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of Wad "Paan Khọqr, Müüañ Buua, on that very day.

(7) phuuk 9, p 49.4 - 50.3

[culaŋkarkaraaŋja "dai 1231 tuaa maroon sëam phmekkha khoqm, bhisai waa[50.1]]ãi thnai dai bhaasaa 'waa plii kat "sai (... ) sudhamma bhikkhu likkhita jootkag mahaaraaja mūun, n'naan wan "nan læa "lääw [2] dürai, 10 "khun" 14 'gaam 'braam 'waa" dai wan 7 dai 'klaa meq yam koŋŋ, naay sreqaij yam "nan læa haañ mūun, buua huua mūun, ñaai, 'dön" "hañ 'dii" 'plaa maa"hyaa 'koŋŋ, tuaa 'pø naam (...) ee 'pø naam ee ee 'go" 'pø naam [3] hlaay huua faay "naam "lqom, "naam wääd "qom, ñeem dhii læa naay hëyoi']

Translation.

CS 1231 - In the Year called maroon in the Khmer tradition, and [pi a kad 'sai] [in the] Dai tradition. - Written by Sudhama-Bhikkhu in support of the Great Ruler of Muhammad Naan, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon which corresponds to the 7th day [of the Mon calendar], [called] 'kaa mejo' [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the morning drum; accomplished at that time, [when I was staying in a remote village] between the last settlements of Muhammad Buua, and the first settlements of Muhammad Naan, far out in the abandoned fields where love-grass abounds. My writing does not look beautiful, indeed; the head of the weir surrounded by water, water all around: dreadful, oh dear!

PB: love-grass: Chrysopogon aciculatus (NT /mañña kโรː/; CT /jaa caw chuu/, lit.: "Don Juan-Grass"), a grass with seeds that adhere to objects passing by. By pressing on the skin, these seeds may cause pain. Cf. McFARLAND (3.1956:900). The mention of "the weir surrounded by water ... " probably not only conveys the rainy season's mood of desolation in a remote village, but is also meant as an allusion to the "inundated" look of the handwriting.

(8) phuuk 10, no no., preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

[sakraaj 1231 duua, n 9 duuia "laaw" laa bhikkhu leekhamatti laa "cau hoo' swaaq swaaq "nnaa dhaap plaay c"


Translation.

[CS 1231 - In the 9th [lunar] month, on the 2nd [day of the waxing/waning moon?], this copy of the last phuuk of the C° was completed. The writing was done by a Bhikkhu himself. ... Back Cover Folio of C°.

(9) phuuk 10, p 48, line 1c-2a

[paripuntha saralee,jh "laaw" yaam ko'oon, [2] naay 'kaa "khaa jaa tuua pq' naam hlaay]

/palipunthai saladet leew naam kooq gaaj këe hhaa lee tua bo gaam laaj/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. The writing does not look beautiful at all.

17. CÄADEVIVAŇSA [4.2] Author: Bodhiranși (probably 15th c.)

Roll 9, 52". Dc no 0253, ms no 926. 5 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Beginning:


Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = ti v, line 3b

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

[juua paali deewaŋtusut mii saam phuuk, jja 'juua paali caamaedeewiwaŋsa mii "haa phuuk, jja gruu paa kapiŋnaŋ æraŋŋwaasi mülañ 'braa peen "glaau" sádhhaa "brom, kap sisq "cau" dañ muuar, "saan yañ dhâmm kambia "nii jja "saan nai mülañ 'naan]
/tūa baalii teewantasūt mii sāam phūk lee tūa baalii cāmātēewiwiqṣa? mii hāa phūk lee khu baa kāncana? ṭalanīwāaṣi muq phē pēn kāw saṭhāa phōm kap sita? cāw ṭai muan sāaŋ ḡāŋ tham kāmpii ni lee sāaŋ naj muqān nān/

Translation.
The Pāli text of Deewāntasūt, comprising 3 phuuk; the Pāli text of C°, comprising 5 phuuk.- The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kaṅcanaa, Mūaān 'Brāa, as initiating monastic supporter, together with all his followers joined in the making of this Dhamma manuscript.- Made in Mūaān 'Naan.

(2) Front Cover Folio:
| phuuk4, "ṭon caamaādewiwiqṣa paalii c° lāā phuuk4, "ṭon" ḡoq̣, dhaan "lāāw" ṭaam capap 'klau"|

/phūk tōn cāmātēewiwiqṣa? baalii cāmātēewiwiqṣa? lee phūk tōn ṭāŋ thaa̤n lēew tām cabap kāw/

Translation.
First phuuk [of the] C° - Pāli text ... Thoroughly checked with the original.

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side (preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.)

| "saaŋ 'mūaŋ, saṅkraaj "dai 1195 tuuā plīi 'klāa "sai lāā|
/sāaŋ mūa saṅkhaat dāj pan nūŋ lōq kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kāa sāj lēe/

Translation, see (4)

(4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 46

| cuḍāsākṣābda 1195 tuuā plīi 'kāa "sai" dūuaŋ 10 huurarā rāām 1 [hok] 'gaam wan āgaan daiy koq yīi yaam ṭrāa 'sūu [?] pāripūṇa lāā nibbānanapaccayo hotu metteyya santike anāgāte nicaṃ dhuvān lāā|


Translation.
CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 10th lunar month, accomplished on the 1st day of the waning moon, [corresponding to the day called] [wan aṅgāar] [in the Mon tradition, and] [koḍ yīi] [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the [morning/ evening] horn (...).

(5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio:
| paalii c° phuuk4 2 'dōq̣, dhaan "lāāw" ṭaam capap 'klau"|

(for phonematic transcription and translation, see above, colophon (2).

(6) phuuk 2, p 50 = ghu v

| cuḷaṣākṣābda "dai 1195 tuuā plīi 'klāa "sai" dūuaŋ 11 daiy ṭap pol (!?) meēn wan can pāripūṇa "lāāw" yaam koq̣, hīaay (sic!) [kāā] "khāa lāā arahāntāmaggayaṁ nibbānapaccayo hontu me lāā|

/cūnīī? sakaptā? dāj pan nūŋ lōq kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kāa sāj duan sip ?et taj dip bon (?) meŋ wan can palīpūnā? lēew fīaam kōq naaj [kē] khāa lēe.../

Translation.
CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 11th [lunar] month, accomplished on a day [called] [dap...] [in the] Dai [tradition, and] [wan can] ("Monday") [in the] Mon [tradition], at the time of the morning drum.

(7) phuuk 3, p 54 = cai v, line 1

| Sīhiṅganidānaṁ niṭhitāṁ atthāparicchedavaṇṇanā niṭhitā saṅkāraajā 1195 tuuā plīi 'klāa "sai dūuaŋ 11 ṭoq̣ (..) 'gaam daiy rwaay s"nāa
Translation.

... completed on the (.) day of the 11th [lunar] month, [called] lwaay s’"naa[ ]in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition]. Written by Old Hnaan Deebin, in support of [Buddha’s] Teachings ...
Translation.
Accomplished at the time of the sunset [drum], on the 14th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 6th day [in the Mon tradition] (...)

(2) phuuk 3, p 50 = tai plaay v, line 1c

[Sihiinga2]Nidanaṃ nithita(1) attham paricchedavannaṇaṇī nithitaṃ sradejh 'lāw' [yaam] kōṃ (written: kōq,) ŋaaay waan buḍ, 'kā' 'khaa lāa qōq, 4 'gaam kāa' 'khaa lāa]

Translation.
Accomplished at the time of the morning drum, [on a day called] [waan buḍh] ("Wednesday") [in the Mon tradition], on the 4th day of the waxing moon.

(3) phuuk 4, no no., preceded by p 55, line 1

[cu]sakraaj 'dai 1204 ŋaa plaay ('lau') yii sradej c2 'khau maa nai quiar, 11 qōq, 9 gaam 'braam' 'waa' 'dai wan 2 dāi' (?) sradej jh 'lāw' yaam koŋ, lāaā 'kā' 'khaa lāa nibbānapaccayo hotu me nicaṃ dhuvam ḍhuvaṃ [2] 'kā' 'khaa ḍhi-līi dō 'khāa khiaar, ṛaan 'müua, 'khāa ŋuu' paṭipaḍ waā buu 'kāw srii puṛ, rūaā 'müua, 'bāa' 'daan' 'tiai wan 'naa lāa ŋaa plaay qōq ŋaaam sak 'GAQy' 'gōQy' bi,ccaṅaa ca,m dō, 'dii' 'hwai hōoyo]

Translation.
Here ends the Pāli text of C°; in other words: this is the final phuuk.

Remarks.
The Cāmadēvivāṃsa ("Chronicle of [Naan] Caamadeewisi") written in prose with interspersed verses, relates the history of Haripuñjaya, presently Lamphun, the ancient Mon kingdom founded according to the local tradition by Naan Caamadeewi (in Northern Thai mostly written [caamadeewi] and pronounced [cammateewi]), the legendary Princess of Lavo (presently Lopburi), in the 7th century. The narration ends with the reign of King Āditarāja (Pāli name: Ādiccarāja), in the middle of the 12th century.
This chronicle was written by Bodhiramshi, at the beginning of the 15th century (cf. COEDES 1925:13). The author, perhaps a native of either Chiang Mai or Lamphun, states that he used indigenous sources, i.e. accounts written in NT, for his work. The incorrectness of the Pali in which this text has come down to us, has stunned Pali scholars like G. Coedès, who, in 1925, edited Chapters XII to XIV (of altogether 15) in Roman characters, together with a translation into French, by reprinting the text of a bilingual (Pali-Thai) edition in Siamese script published under the auspices of the National Vajirañâna Library, Bangkok, in 1920, which was however thoroughly collated with a manuscript kept at the same place; see ibid., p. 14–15; as for the Pali text, see pp. 141–155, for the Translation, pp. 156–171. According to Coedès (ibid., p. 14) there is a lacuna in all known manuscripts of the C5 comprising the text from the end of the IVth to the beginning of the VIIth paricheda (chapter), corresponding to one phuuk. In manuscript 18, (and, likewise, in another manuscript of the C5, 17, presented above), this part is occupied by the Buddhahishtiya-Nidâna, written by the same author. Since later reprints of the C5 in Thailand do not include the Pali text, a new edition making use also of Lan Na manuscripts like the ones included in the present microfilm collection, would be desirable.

NB: Possibly this manuscript was directly copied from the preceding one, i.e. 17.

19. JATAKA: Vessantaradipani 2.5.10.[167] Author: Sirimaṅgala (AD 1517)


Begins:
anekajati(!) jano yo patto sambodhim uttamaṁ atikkamesajātaka dakkhaṁ natvāna nāyakaṁ. nekkājī atikkamma na yo sutonāva adhigato tāṁ paṁ varāṁ dhammaṁ natvā lokahita[2]kkaraṁ. nekkajātiṁ ...
(2) phiuk 1, no no., preceded by p 49

|bra mahaatheera "cau" ton 'jiu' kaicana arañjawaasii miuia'n 'braa' peen "glau laa" sissa dah muuar, sadhhaa baay noqk, mi mi raajjawoñ miiuiañ, hluuqan bra paañ peen "glau" "broom", kar "saan laa" |


Translation.
The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera Kaicana from Miiuiañ Bráa as initiator (i.e. leading monastic supporter) together with his followers, and the Raajjawoñ of Miiuiañ Hluuqan Bra Paañ as leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

(3) phiuk 2, no no., preceded by p 1

|saqraaj "dai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san paaij mihaaweesantara laa phiuk, 2 24 paai 48 "hnua [2] dhàmm mihaaweesantara phiuk, pra'mma phiuk, bra peñ "cau" "laan" "jaan" 'rom' khaaw laa [3] paaij dipanii mihaaweesantara phiuk, 2 |


Translation.
CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey. [The] Päli [text called] Dipani Maahawessantaara, phiuk 2, [comprising] 24 folios, 48 pages.- Royal manuscript - [the making having been sponsored by] His Majesty the Ruler of "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw*.

* "Millions of Elephants and the White Parasol" (mostly written Lan Chang, Lan Sang or Lanxang Homkhao resp.) is the traditional name of the Lao kingdom of Luang Prabang/Vientiane. The mention refers to King Mangthathurat who ruled over Luang Prabang from 1817 to 1836. For further details, see Remarks.

(4) phiuk 11, no no., preceded by p 51 (written in Lao, in very small characters; partly unreadable on the microfilm)

|pa subham as(a) tu bra mhaa sa(ghyu!?) "dai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san duiia(n) (...) wan (...) yaan (...) luan,somde,cu paggermaupubbit bra peñ "cau", "laan", "jaan", 'rom' khaaw paggermaajhabhitii suriiy bra raajjawoñsa bra mhaa uttañ orsaa braajadhiraas "cau" mi bra raajjawoñ paggerma(j)[i,sa] sau nai bra raaj(a)2 hroqda "hluaam" sau wora bra buddhassa(as) saa 'hain' bra mhaaakrunnaadhidig, "cau" an 'yiñ, 'ci'n", "dai" nimantañ bra wora,maupubbit saanghasamagga "hai" "boom", kap kan "laiaw", 'ci'n", "dai", (...) "hai", (...) rikkhigaa "saaan yan bra sadhammad saanghirusaanaa naaadhig, "cau", duan yuuaq[a]3 'yia(n)" koñ thawarqan jootanaa "wai" peñ mullasaanaa siiup saa muay baay "hnua" laa (juun) danaaatthu daan duaan "nii" bra on jaambo, "duay" puttanaseehaa kho[qi] yuddhisa naar pur, pa thiñn yan warraajaputit mi bra naaampaangit 'jiu'-'waa' naa añn gan ñ jàan suwagñragaajakglyaãa (...) [4] (...) cuñi pañ 'suaa' praalok boay "hnua" kho[qi] teeqa puñña(s) sandara (...) 'yíaññ' 'nii' coñ "hai" peñ yan 'kaaw' yaa[n] ganñ naam pañ rqqo'd 'khaa'; bai(!) cqqo'd (...) coñ "hai" peñ saattha balaanaa aahaan dibb an biiseedd coñ "hai" pañ thiñn 'kaa' bra kásstÈn on "naan coñ "hai" 'dai' 'bon' caak, heeq' gaan "yaan" coñ "hai" peñ sa[5] baan gaan 'soñ' "khün" thiñn 'hain' 'hoqon' 'jiu' (...) liia 'dai'; wan praakan 1 khoq teeqa bra raaj(a) koñson (written: "som") phallaa naa pur, gunñ wíiseedd an "nii" (...) [5b] an "nii" kho[qi] coñ "hai" (...) naam on bra peñ 'cau' 'hai' 'dai' 'haiw' 'yaan' 'naam' 'kwaan' guii-'waa' ooghañsaaan khoq[qi] "hai" 'dai' swóóy yan sàmpattì suñ, 3 'siiì' guii-'waa' 'hoqon' 'jan' 'faa' (yiñ) peñ bra int suñ, 4 daí manusslookaa|

NB: This colophon is given only in transliteration and translation.
Translation.
In CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey (lpii rwaay san), in the (...) month, on the (...) day (...), at the time of (...), His Royal Highness the Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan Jaan Rom Khaaw, his heart filled with faith in the Excellent Buddhassana, invited a chapter of Noble Elders to participate in the making of this excellent holy Dhamma manuscript, laying thereby an enduring foundation for the Noble Teachings of the Buddha. As for the merit to be obtained for this pious gift, His Royal Highness, his heart imbued with parental love, should like to dedicate it especially to his excellent Princess-daughter, named Naan Gaam Tan Suwan narajakalyaa who ... has passed away to the other world lying ahead. May the power of the merit [obtained by this pious deed] serve as a golden vehicle taking her up to [Nibbana] ... May [the merit acquired] also provide her with celestial clothes, jewels and special food. May the Princess be free from causes of fear. May [the merit acquired] become a golden bridge leading her up to [the heavenly worlds] ... Finally, may the fruit of this Royal pious deed ... help Her Highness swim safely across the broad ocean of Saranara. May she enjoy the Three Kinds of Happiness: the heavens being [the abode of?] Indra (are better?) than any of the Worlds of Man (?)..

* The last part of the sentence is difficult to read on the microfilm; the text, as transliterated above, does not conform with regular grammatical structure. The exact meaning remains therefore doubtful.

Remarks.
This work, written by Sirima ngala of Chiang Mai in 1517 (see CEDES 1915:41), has not yet been edited.

As for the making of this manuscript, two supporters from the ruling Royalty of Luang Prabang appear to have joined in the meritorious action. The first is called "Cau Raajjawo" in colophon (1), and Raajjawo in colophon (2). In (4), although part of the text is difficult to read, reference is doubtless made to a son of the King of Luang Prabang as being the leader of the huge manuscript copying campaign on the side of the host country. Since it is known from the inscription of Waaj Wijuur mentioned above (see Part A, footnote 41) that the better part of the manuscripts copied for Gruu Paa Ka nica in Luang Prabang in AD 1836 (177 out of a total of 242 bundles) were made through financial support from the "Cau Raajjawo", it seems safe to assume that the >Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan "Jaam Rom Khaaw< mentioned in (4) and the ("Cau) Raajjawo mentioned in (1) and (2) as well as in the inscription of Waaj Wijuur are in fact one and the same person. Since the wording of colophon (3) obviously refers to the King of Luang Prabang as (another) supporter, it has to be concluded that on the Laotian side both the King and his son, the "Cau Raajjawo of Luang Prabang, sponsored the making of this manuscript. The same holds true for another manuscript presented here, no. 22. What remains to be explained is how the neatly separated contributions recorded in the Waaj Wijuur Inscription (34 bundles sponsored by the King against 177 bundles sponsored by the "Cau Raajjawo") can fit with the fact of joint sponsoring of certain manuscripts.

No further evidence of the "Cau Raajjawo and the princess-daughter named Kham Tan (Gaam Tan) could be found in the available Laotian chronicles and other historical sources.

20. LOKADIPĀ 2.9.17 Author: Nava-Medhāṇkara

Roll 8, 043. Dc no 0233, ms no 357. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 943 = AD 1581. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

NB: the manuscript is microfilmed in the following order: phuuk 10, 4, 3, 5, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1, 11, 12.

Begins:
namo tassa bhaga(vat)to arahato sammāsambuddhassa settham setthadadaṃ buddham loke lokagānāyakaṃ lokabandhum mahāviram lokanāthaṃ namāmy āhaṃ lokanāthena tenā 'pi lokākāriyena yo pūjito tañ ca saddhammaṃ vande gambhiram uttamaṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 55, line 5b - p 56, line 1
... tenn sihadipe (!) araṇīvaśīnāṃ pāsaṇṭhamahātherāṇāṃ
vamsāḷamkārabhūtena medhaṃka[1]ra mahātherakhyappati tena
lokadijakaro sāro ca.

(For the following colophon in Northern Thai, see colophon [4], below).

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1 (not 10), no no., preceded by p 46 = khāv v

|pi, “ruuañ; “sai” dūia,n ciaia qōk, 5 “gaarmp” wan 5 cuḷasakaṛaj “daa”
943 tūua ‘daan’ naay puñ, waḍhaṇa naah “kāaw” mīia, gaaa(m) “lāaw”
“saan” “wai” peen muulṣasasana bar “caw” 'geois, “dau’o 5 ban wassaa gaarm

/πii lūaq sāj duan ciaq ?ök hāa kham wan hāa cūnḷasakhaat dāj kāw
loj šii sip sāam tūa tāan naaj bun wāthanaʔ naah kēew mia kham
leew sāaŋ wāj pēn muulṣasasana phā cāw tō tāw hāa pan wātśāa kam
phāthanaaa cūj sōmliithiī kā? kha? phuuk nāp/

* The vowel is written as [i], the velar final as a subscribed [ĩ] plus a
Niggahita placed besides the superscribed [i].

NB: Throughout the colophons of this manuscript only one graph, viz.
[i] is used to represent the vowels /i/, /a/, /ah/, and mostly also /ii/
(transliterated as [ii]). Since the homography between the vowels /i/
and /a/ (and their long variants, respectively) only occurs in rare
cases, it is not provided for in the allograph inventory to be found in
HUNDIUS 1990.

Translation.

Year of the Snake - In the first [lunar] month, on the 5th day of the
waxing moon, CS 943, donated by Naay Puñ Waḍhana and Naan “Kāaw,
his beloved (lit.: golden)” wife. The manuscript was made as a foundation
for the Teachings of Buddha so that they will last for 5,000 years. May
these wishes be fulfilled!

(2) phuuk 2 (not 5), no no., preceded by p 48 = ghāv \v

|πii “ruuañ” “sai” dūia,n ciaia qōk, 5 gaarm wan 5 cuḷasakaṛaj “daa” 943
tūua ‘daan’ naay puñ, waḍhaṇa jaayaa naah “kāaw” mīia, gaarm (written:
gaarm) “lāaw” “kau”(!) “saan” “wai” peen muulṣasasana (written: oḷasnaa)
duk, an)

/πii lūaq sāj duan ciaq ?ök hāa kham wan hāa cūnḷasakhaat dāj kāw
loj šii sip sāam tūa tāan naaj bun wāthanaʔ caañaa naah kēew mia
kham leew kāw (= kēc) sāaŋ wāj pēn muulaśasana phā cāw tō tāw
hāa pan wātśāa kam phāthanaaa cūj sōmliithiī tūk? an/

(For translation, see [1]).

(3) phuuk 12, no no., preceded by p 5

|πii “ruuañ" "sai” sγkaṛaj “daa” [9]44 tūua haana,sūi (written: "si)
‘daan’ puñ, waḍhaṇa jaayaa ‘jiu’-‘waw’ (written: ji-waa) “kāaw” mīia,
(written, only this time, as what could be interpreted as ‘māa’) gaarm
“lāaw” “saan” “wai” kap [wad] srii, "un" mūia,a “daa” “ṣqqy” peen pracai
“gaarm” (written: gaarm) ‘geois, “dau’o 5 ban wassaa[

/πii lūaq sāj sakhāat dāj [kāw loj] šii sip sūa nāṃʃū tāan bun
wāthanaʔ caañaa cāw kēew mia kham leew sāaŋ wāj kap [wāt]
salī ?un muu tāa sōj pēn phatcaj kām tō tāw hāa pan wātśa/

Translation.

CS 944 - Year of the Snake. This book was made at the behest of Naay
Puñ Waḍhana - Made for [Wad] Srig "Un Mūia, Daa "Ṣqqy, as a
contribution to give support [to Buddha’s Teachings] so that they may
last for 5,000 years.

(4) phuuk 12, p 56, line 1c
21. **LOKADĪPA 2.5.17** Author: Nava-Medhaṃkara


**Begins:**

namo tassa bhagavato arhato samm[ā]sambuddhassa seṭṭhaṃ seṭṭhandadāṃ buddhaṃ loke lokattanāyakaṃ lokabandhaṃ mahāvīraṃ lokanāthaṃ namāmy ahaṃ. lokanāthena tenāpi lokēkāciyaṇa [2] yo pūjito tathā (!) saddhammaṃ vande gambhiram uttamaṃ ...

**Ends:** phuuk 10, p 53 = pi r, line 4


**Colophons.**

(1) "maī hlāpa:

|paaḷīi lookadīpa| mii sip phuuk3, brā maḥhaṭheera "cau" tön 'jūṭī| kāṭcāṇa gaṛān̄gaṇwaasi mūṭa praised, 'brā' peen mullāsddhaa jāā sissa daī[2]| muuvar, sddhaa baay nōb, mii "cau" mūṭa, 'brā' jāā "cau"| raajjwoṃmūṭa, hluuṇa brā paaṇ peen "gliau"[3] jāā sddhaa nak sil nak puī2 daā muuvar, "brōm, kan "saṇa jāā "saṇa nai mūṭa, hluuṇa brā paaṇ|

/lookadīpa? mii sip phūk .../

**Translation.**

**Lokadīpa** - comprising 10 phuuk ...

(the text which follows is identical with 19 [1]).
(2) phuuk 1, Title Folio

|paalii lookadìi,pag (= "dipag") phuuk, "ton sakraaj "dai 1198 tuea plii rwaay san paalii lookadìi,pag (= "dipag") phuuk, "ton|

/baalii lookatîpa? phuuk tön sakhaat dâj pan núj lâj kâw sip pêt tâa plii lwaaj sân baalii lookatîpa? phuuk tön/

Translation.

(3) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 46

|sadhhaa baay nai mii brâ mahaathee ra "caw ton jü" kâñcana grâññawaasii müua,j ñra "cau" dañ muuar, sadhhaa baay nôok, mii raajjawoñ müua,j hluuañ brâ paan peen "glau "browñ, kân "saan"|


Translation.
The Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahâatheera Kâñcana, Mûuañ 'Brâa, as the leading monastic supporter, and his followers, together with the Raajjawoñ of Mûuañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ as the leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

NB: Virtually identical colophons are inscribed at the end of the other phuuk. (For Remarks, see 20; as for the supporter, see Remarks to 19, supra).

22. LOKASANṬHĀNA (-JOTARATANAGANṬHĪ)

ROLL 8, 200°. De no 0242, ms no 1050. 5 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae. Written in Laotian Dhamma script (colophons 1, 2 and 4 in Northern Thai).


Colophons.
(1) "mai hlaap:


Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, living in Müüaň 'Brāa, as initiator, together with his followers, the Raajjæwoň of Müüaň Hluuaň Bra Paan being the leading lay supporter, joined in the making of this manuscript.

NB: On the front cover folios of phuuk 2–5 colophons are engraved which are identical with (2). In another colophon written in Laotian language and (Dhamma) script, identical with the one transcribed and translated above (19 [4]), this time an exact date is given: [bra buddhasåkkraaja 1198 Juua pi rwaay san Düüaa.n 10 6 (hok) 'gaam wan (6?)' 'müu' möõñ "gau" yaam kõõ, ŋaay ...]

Translation.

B.E. [i.e. CS] 1198 - Year of the Monkey, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 6th day [in the Mon tradition], called [möõñ "gau") (?) in the Dai tradition], at the time of the morning drum ...

Remarks.

In the introduction, this work is called Lokajotakam. According to the Pāli colophon (see above), this manuscript not only comprises the main text, but also a commentary thereon. This work (as well as its commentary) was previously unknown and has yet to be edited.
For details on the supporters, see Remarks to 19, supra.

23. MANIPADIPA 3.1.13 Author: Ariyavamsa

Roll 8, 122” Dc no 0238, ms no 1052. 5 lines. Middle bundle; i.e. 2nd bundle of a set of 3. 16 phuuk. Complete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men Phrae.

Begins:

ekoci pana idam pubbavacanena ekasambandhaṃ katvā. neva nāpajjati 'ti iti evaṃ (aṭṭha ca saddanaṃ yaṃ anattho hoṭī 'ti yojanaṃ karoti. sā na yuttā ti saddassa vamettha yojanaṃ kātabbati [2] iminā sampajjato. ayañ
(ca a) thayojanākārānipassanathantho 'ti. yadi pana kassa iti saddassā lopesati purimo. iti saddo yojanākārānipassanathantho [3] ...

Ends: phuuk 16, p 50 = vam v, line 1a - 3b

Colophons.
(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paali māṇii, paadip (Manipadipa) mii, sip hok phuuk, lāā gruu paa "cau' kāṇḍaṇa garāṇa[2] waasii mūia, nāt brāḷi peen "glau" sūddhā lāā sissā "cau" dān muuwar, sūddhā baay nōqkā mii māhaaraaj "cau" mūia, nāt brāḷi lāā māhaaraaj "cau' mūia, nān" peen[3] "glau" lāā pajaanaaṭṭha dān muuwar, "brōqm, kān "saan, yān gkkhāraṭṭhām kambīi, an nii, "waiy jootu ṭa Buddhāsaasnāa 5 ban ṭwaa lāā "saan nai mūia, nān" lāā lāā lāā lāā lāā

/tūa baalii maniipatiip mii sip hok phuuk le .../

(the following text is literally identical with the corresponding text in 15, colophon [1], supra)

Translation.
Pāli text of Manipadipa - consisting of 16 phuuk ...

(For the translation of the following text, see 15 [1], supra).

(2) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio, preceding p 1

|{b} bhikkhu ri[khi]ṭṭa attanoo 'doqāh, dhaan (...) tāam cāpap 'klu lāā māq klaañ phuuk, "ton lāā uppanaamoo rikkhīta "gaam juu 'bōq' qōq,k, māhaaraas [lāā] hlūuañ lāā |


Translation.
Written by (...) Bhikkhu himself. Thoroughly checked with the original. Middle bundle, 1st phuuk. Written by Uppanaamoo [-Bhikkhu?] in support of his Great Royal 'Bōq Qōq* [1, the Ruler of Mūuañ 'Naan].

* [bōq qōq] "Foster-Father; Benefactor"; in Northern Thai tradition needy monks or novices are materially supported by voluntary sponsors or "foster-fathers" (or "mothers", resp.) who take over burdens which normally would be borne by one’s parents or relatives.

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side

|"saān, mūia, sākraaj 'dai 1195 tuua plīi kłaa "sai" lāā |
/sāq māa sakhāat dāj pan nūg lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj le/

Translation.
Made in CS 1195 - Year of the Snake.

(4) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc

|pathamamuu, lāsūddhā naaṃpānīṭṭi 'jū' -waa māhaa kāṇḍaṇa theerā garāṇaawasii aaraam 'suun 'hmeer' mūiañ, brāḷi 'dāan 'tai 'saan "waayy gaam juu Buddhāsaasnāa ṭraap 'qōq' 'dau' 5 ban 'brā wassaa lāā [2] cuḷasākraaj 'dai 1195 tuua plīi, 'kłaa "sai māhaaraaj hlūuañ mūiañ, 'naan "saan" 'gaam juu māhaa kāṇḍaṇa theerā"|

Translation.
Being the initial monastic supporter, the Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaa Kañcana Theera of 'Suuñ "Hmeer Monastery, which is situated to the south [of Mūñañ 'Brāñ], had [this manuscript] made wishing thereby to ensure that Lord Buddha’s Teachings will last for 5,000 years. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. Donated by the Great Royal Ruler of Mūñañ 'Naan in support of Mahaa Kañcana Theera.

(5) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

[1] s. colophon (1), supra
[2] sañkrañ 1195 ūua plii 'klaa "saiy jāa arahantānaggañānaṁ
dinnām nībbānapaccayo hotu [3] me nicañ dhuvam ḍhuvam 'dppñ, dhaan "lāāw" ḷam capap 'klau"

... sañkhāt pan nāñ leap kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj le ... tñ thaan leew thām cābap kāw/

Translation.
[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake ... Thoroughly checked with the original.

(6) phuuk 5, p 38

[biṅkhu] jeeyyanaam khiañ, paañ 'mūña, 'yuu' meēttaa wañ "pañ" dūjñ,y (!) mūñañ, jīañ, "bol lāa "yop, tūua 'po' hāay" sak yaad" [2]
"dañ khiañ, "dañ dhām 4 phuuk, 'po' daay 'gọy' biccraññaa dūu dò
saadhu "cau" ton "dañ riar, "dañ 'aan' 'gọ'-diy biccraññaa "hūū" 'thii'
'yọp, 'po' smōō, kan hññ lāa]

/phikkhu? cañīñaam khīañ pāñg māa jūu meēttaa wāt bāan tuun muañ
caleq pōn leñ ṣiñcōn tūa bō nāañ sak jāat leñ[2] dāñ khāñ teñ tham sii phuuk bō daaj kō pītcalanaa duu tōy sāthūy' cāw tōn dāñ lian dāñ ?āan kō dii pītcalanaa hūū thi ṣiñcōn bō samēa kān njāñ le/

Translation.
Written by Bhikkhu Jeeyyanaam while he stayed spreading Loving-Kindness at Wād 'Paañ Đūun, in a village that is part of remote Mūñañ Jlāañ, far away. Because it was not an easy task at all to read the script [of the original], I only wrote four of the phuuk. Therefore, [respected reader], do read with careful consideration. Whoever among you, dear Monk-Brothers, uses this manuscript for his studies or as his reading, please do use thorough consideration, because the handwriting has turned out extremely uneven.

(7) phuuk 6, no no., preceded by p 37

ta ... metteyyasanti[38.1]ke anagāte nic[c]añ dhuvam ha]

/palīpūmāñ leew ńaan kōñg qaaj ke khāañ lec sakkaptāñ dāñ pan nāñ leap kāw sip hāa tūa pī kāa sāj duan sip sāñg ?ōk sām khām phām wāa
dāñ wan sāñg taj lāañ pāw leñ[2] ?īmīña .../

Translation.
Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 3rd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition called] "ruuñañ "pau [in the] Dai [tradition]. (Followed by a lengthy wish written in Pāli, at the beginning of which the hope is expressed that the scribe may, in his future lives, not be reborn as a man struck with sickness and poverty [dalido] is miswritten as dalado] while at the end, the common wish is uttered to be reborn during the life time of the future Buddha Metteyya [Skt: Maitreyā]).

(8) phuuk 7, p 47, line 3-4

[culāssakāboadd "dai 1195 ūua plii māseen snaañ (written: smaañ)
Translation.
[As for the first part, see (8)] ... called 11th (?) lunar month [according to] our Dai [tradition], on the (.) day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |rway "cai" [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset drum. Written while I was staying, spreading Loving-Kindness at Mūṭān Jāān, far away in the prosperous realm of Nandapurī* Mūṭān Naan.

*Nandapurī (P): "City of Joy".

(10) phuuk 11, no no., preceded by p 47

|sāṅkraś 1195 plīi 'klaa "saiy meen wan 6 daiy" pōök (written: pōök) sii düīā,n rāām 13 'gaam" paalīi maŋi,i,pādip (Manipadipa) phuuk 12 'dōqā,n dhaan "lāw" jaam čācāp 'klau

/sāṅkhaat pan nūŋ lōj kāw sip hāa pī kāa sāj meŋ wan hok taj pāk sū duan leem sip sāam khām baalīi maniapaṭ phuuk sip sōŋ tōŋ than leew tāam čācāp kāw/

Translation.
[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake, on the 6th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |pōök sii | in the] Dai [tradition], in the (...) month, on the 13th day of the waning moon. Thoroughly checked with the original.

Remarks.
Colophons virtually identical with the ones transcribed and translated above are found in several other phuuk. In the second part of colophon (9) which is not included here, viz. on p 44, line 5b, the scribe reveals his name as |sii,wijeey bhikkhu |/śiśiṭac bhikkhu/ (Pāli Name: Sivijaya-Bhī). To my knowledge, this work has not yet been edited.
24. **BUDDHASIHĪNGA-NIDĀNA [4.2.]**

**Author:**

Bodhiraṃṣi (15th c.)

Roll 9, 094°. Dc no 0262, ms no 801. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1199 = AD 1837. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

**Begins:** p 1 = ghī r, line 1a-2b

nāmo tassu bhaddhaṃ dhammaṃ saṅghaṇī ca uttarānaṃ arīyavaso nāmānaṃ suvāṇṇaṃ suvibuddhassa vatthunidānaṃ ravissānaṃ yathā balaṃ samāsato tathā suṇātha sāl[2]dhukan 'iti.

**Amhāka[m] pana bhagavato parinibbānato sattatasāsanasāsaṃkarājakāle...

**Ends:** p 30 = jhā v, line 3b-4

iti sīsatanāganahuttamahānagarā paṭīṭhitassa agatassa su[4]vāṇṇa suvibuddharūpassa tatiyavatthu nidāna[m] samattam. (!) [in Northern Thai:] tuua paalii Nidānaṃ Buddhassa jāa haa

**Colophons.**

(1) Cover Folio, preceding p 1, 3, 5 etc.


(s. line 1)

½ūa baalii niitaanā? pūthītsa? phuuk diaw cūnlāsaḥkhat dāṛi pan nēg lōgī kāw sip kāw tou plī māṛ gāw duan cīaṛ leem khām nēg meŋ wan ?aatit taj lanā māw haaam kōg leeg paliṇnūnā? leec ḍiēw haa/

**Translation.**

The Pāli text of *Nīdāna Buddhassa* - One phuuk. CS 1199 - Year of the Cock, in the 1st [lunar] month, one the 1st day of the waning moon, on a [wan aadī] ("Sunday") [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] "ruuaḥ "hmaw [in the] Dai [tradition,] at the time of the sunset drum:

accomplished!

(2) Cover Folio, reverse side, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc

¦bra ṁahaatheera "cauṭ ṯōn jūṇī" kāṇčaṇa gaṇāṇīwaaßī "suuṇī, "hmeeṛ, peen "glau jāa śiṣṣ "cauḍ daṉ muuarr, "brōṛom, kan "saan nai muuḷaḥ, brāa jāa adhaṛāssabhikku khiar,[2] plaan "mūuā satṭhīt saṇṭraan ṫat hluuaḥ srii jum, wan "naa jāa araḥattamaggaṇīṇaṃ nibbāṇaṃ praṇamaṃ sukkaṃ ā |

/phōṛ mahāathēḷā? cāw tōn cūa kāncanā? ṡalaṇīwaaśī sūṛ mēn pēn kāw leʔ? sīṣaʔ? cāw taŋ muan phōṛ om kān saŋ naŋ maŋ phēe leε ṭathālītaʔ phīkkhuʔ khīān pāaŋ mūa saṭṭhit sāmīlān wāt līaŋ sāli cum wan nān leε ṭalāhattaʔ mākkāṭṭaʔ naṇāŋ nippaṇaŋ paḷaṃaŋ sukkhāp/

**Translation.**

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kaṇcana, "Suun "Hmeer, as leading [monastic] supporter, and his followers, joined in the making of [this manuscript] in Mūaṛ Brāa. Written by Aḍḍha-Rassabikhku, while staying happily in Wad Hluuaṃ Srii Jum, on that very day ...

**Remarks.**

Judging from the Pāli colophon (cf. the end of the text), this manuscript does not seem to be complete. The "Legend of the Buddha Image called [Bra Buddhawihiri]" is another work by the Monk Bodhiraṃṣi, the author of the Cāmādevivaiṣa (cf. supra, 17, 18), and was probably written about the same time, i.e. at the beginning of the 15th c. (Cf. CÖDES 1925:13). A copy of the S̄ is included in the list of manuscripts which were sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th c. (Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988c:176).

There are another two copies of this text included in the present microfilm collection of manuscripts from Northern Thailand: see Remarks to 17, 18. This text has not yet been edited.
25. VAÑSAMĀLINI

Roll 8, 209”. Dc no 0243, ms no 1051. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text written in Laotian Dhamma Script (colophons in NT). Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

vase pi tajje pi avadināho ūtavā hi te te pavisesato yo desesi moghavatārāya tesāṃ vandāmi nāthaṃ tam anantañānaṃ dhamaṃ ca saṅghaṃ sirsā "bhivande vāṃse ‘pi ūtē m[a]t[2]re ca ūtā (read: ūtāro ca ūtā ?) tasmā hi vāṃsāvariyanunātan (read: vāṃsācariyā) saṅkhepaṃ vakkhaṃ ... [4] ... imamhi kappe paṭhama va rājā mahādināmo ahu tassa vāṃsāparamparā-mā-ga tato asinnā tato sisabye varājāvampso ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 24 = dhāra v, line 3a-5c

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:


/baḷaḷī wāṣa’maalinī sip phuuk .../

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] Vaṃsālinī - 10 phuuk ...

NB: The following text is virtually identical with the inscriptions on the "mai hlaap of 19 and 21. For phonematic transcription and translation, see 19 (1).

(2) Front Cover Folio

culāsakraaj "dai 1198 thuua plii rwaay san laā thuua paṭṭhī wāsamaalinī, phuuk, "ṭon jāa"

/cūnāsakhāat dāj pan nng lāj kāw sip hāa tūa pri lwaaj sān leē tūa baalii wāsamaalinī phuuk tōn leē/

Translation.

CS - 1198 Year of the Monkey. The Pāli text of Vaṃsālinī - First phuuk.

NB: The same text is engraved on the cover folios of phuuk 2-10; at the end of phuuk 10, the colophon inscribed on the "mai hlaap (see [1], above) is repeated, except that the Royal Ruler of Phrae is not mentioned as supporter.

Remarks.

This text, allegedly composed by Buddhaghosā, was previously unknown; its existence, however, had already been indicated by L. FINOT (1917:151). It still awaits scholarly attention and edition. However, a Nissaya (Pāli-Northern Thai) version of the second, and concluding part of this legendary chronicle called "Dutiyavaṃsālinī" or [Ṭaṃmaṇa Bryaa Cūiaa] relating events which are said to have taken place in the Lan Na region during the first half of the 12th century AD, has been published, meanwhile, in Central Thai transliteration, from a manuscript also microfilmed in this collection: see GANJANAPAN; WICHIEKEEO [ed.] 1981.
26. VUTTODAYA (with a commentary) 5.7.1 Author: Saṅgharakkhitā (13th c.)

Roll 16, 021". Dc no 0572, ms no 837a (= phuuk 13 of ms no 837). 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1236 = AD 1874. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wät cáaj kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins: namo tass' athu. namatthujanasanānatamamassassatānābhedino ...
(Vutt 1,3*)

Ends: p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-3
dvīṇaṭa ekenā ekena akkharenaṇa unabhūtā vitthārāyānamasambhavo 'ti pujulena ca dighena ca sambhū[3]to vuttayassa bhaṭṭhappavesanto anantanañ ca garuḷamhunāñ agu bhavati. iti vuttodaye chaṭṭhamaparicchedavānattathakathā nīṭhitā.

Colophon: p 32, line 2-4-5
{sade đ "lāw" 'dau" "nīi" 'kopper" lāa cułasakkeaaj (written: "sakkajlaa"
"daib ban 2ndo 6 wan deey, mōōh sii, meen [wan] 3 yaam tājaa (??) sra(a)de đ (!) "khau maa 'suum' utugimhā [kam]bhoójja k随时随, "khau "dai khiiar, dhāmādeesaana phuuck,[5] "nīi" "wāiy "gām" juu jootaka waḷbuddhāhāsaa (ee yaam !?) brā goōdom "cau" tāap 'tūs" "dai 5 ban bra waassaa khoq suk, 3 pṛkaan mii nibbaan peen 'dii" "lāaw" dañ piṭṭaa maadāa yaatikaa 'bi" "nḷōñ, 'hāān rau" ['juu] gōn dō sudinnam vaddā me tanañ āhā hanta makanāñ (⊥!)
/sadet lēew tāw nī kōn leec cūnlāsakkałat dāj pan sōŋ lōj sām sip hok wan taj maēg sīi mēj wan sāām ńaām (... saladet khāw maa sīu ṭuturkhamhā kāmphoćā? khōm khāa dāj khian thammāteesaana phuuk nī wāj kām cuu coo tataka? waḷāpūthā?sāsanaa hēg phā? kooodom čuw tāap tō dāj hāa pan phā? wāṭāa khōo suk sāām phakāan mii nippaan pēn tī lēew taj pītāa maadaa ńaattāa pīi nōng hēg law [cūu] khon tāñ? ...

Translation.
The end [of the book called Vp] CS 1236 = AD 1874, on a day [called] [mōōh sii] [in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 3rd day [in the] Mon [tradition], at the beginning of the Hot Season [, as the] Khmer [would say?]. I wrote this Dhammadesanā manuscript with the wish to lend support to the Excellent Teachings of Lord Gotama so that they may stay for five thousand years. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired through this pious deed] ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness, the ultimate goal being Nibbāna, for myself, as well as for my parents, my brothers and sisters, and my relatives.

NB: On p 33 some further remarks are added by the scribe concerning his uneven handwriting. There is another copy of this well-known treatise about Pāli metre included in the microfilm collection; it is recorded on Roll 9, 069". Dc no 0255, ms no. 719. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Remarks.
As the Burmese editions of commentaries on Vutt listed by Ichiro KATAYAMA in: Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō kenkyū) III, Hanamatsu 1973, p. 142, are inaccessible, it is not clear which commentary is contained in the present manuscript. (O. v. Hinüber).

27. SIVIJAYAPAṆHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 9, 059". Dc no 0254, ms no 430. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 942 = AD 1580. Siam Society No. 159/SSL. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty atthu 'ti. idām satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabba kathesi. ath' [2] ekadivassāṃ bhikkhuddhammasabhāyaṃ kathāṃ samuṭṭhapesuṃ ...
Ends: phuuk 7, p 53 = นิ ร, line 5b – p 54 = นิ ว, line 1

Colophons.
((1) Cover Folio, recto side)

|sii,wījaya paññha | "cāu" aanaṅda peen "gau" sādhhaa rañ "sāñh" "wai" peen muul[la]saanaa "būā"; peen prācaī kāa sābhaṅṭūta- fānānāṃ ṭraap, dāi lāa "pāi" "dāi" "yaa"(!) peen gōn hruu hnuuak ṭa qa pqqū [rear side] lāa gōn byaadhi sa kaa jāa "hūū" peen "phuu" drọn, ṭraiπṭā ḍa’juu jāaṭi "hūū" "dāi" ṭriheṣṭkāpatsaṇḍhipañña sāyanto bhaṭṭapuggala 'yaa' peen gōn duko, "rāi" kheen cāi sa kaa jāa "yaa" "hai" "dāi" prahmāñḍ brahuddha brah dhamma brā saṅghā "cāu" sak jaaṭi "dāa"|


Translation.
Siiwijaiyapāñha - phuuk one. "Cau Aananda as leading supporter had [this manuscript] made in order to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, so that it may contribute to [my] attainment of Omniscience. As long as [this] is not achieved, may I not be [reborn as] deaf, blind or as a man struck with sickness; [may I be reborn] as a man upholding the Three Baskets in each of his existences; may I be reborn with the consciousness of the Three Noble Root-Conditions (i.e. selflessness, kindness, intelligence); may I above all not be reborn as a poor man; may I not be negligent of Lord Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, in any of my future births.

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 47
|kap "cāu" gu roślina phan peen "ton" "waa" bra mahaa swaaṃ "cāu" dōq.[r] jāa lāa bra mahaa swa[mi] "cāu" raajamono diiyan lāa hlaan mahaath[ee]n "cāu" māa ki māa kii paasok "paan" (hmāi) 'juuay' kān "sān" "wai" peen muulāsaasaa peen prācaī kāa maggaphalā|

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Ends: phuuk 7, p 52 = bhā v, line 4c – p 53, line 1 (upside down; preceded by p 51)
so nāma nāgo varāpāli[5] erryo sabbe sivirājayanā ca sebhāparissabhātā
tathāgatassa yo rājaseṭṭho sivijayanāmo so dāninaññu vararavajātakān
tī[53.1]tī. Mahā-Sivijayajātakāṃ paṭhamāṃ niṭṭhamāṃ.

Colophons.
(1) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|hnaa rap "glau sii,wijeeyapantha phuuk, "ton lāāl
/nāa lāp kāw siiwicajñā?pānḥa phuuk tōn lee/

Translation.
Front Cover Folio - Siiwijeeyapantha (Sivijayapañha), first phuuk.

(2) phuuk 1, p 37 = khe r, line 3

[paalii sii,wijeeyapantha phuuk, "ton lāāl "khāa "tāām plii kaq "gai dūqar, 10 dutiya rāam 11 'gaam 'braam 'waa "dai wan 2 srae-jo "lāw" yaam prāa 'gaam sakraaj "dai 1201 (?) 'tuua lāāq āimin sabbavatthudānena sabbaparivāre dīnekatapuñne a[4]nāgatakāre arahanta rabheyyaṃ āriyaṃ metteyyaṃ antike ehi bhikkhupacayabhāvaṃ paccayo hotu saṃsāle saṃsarato pi tikhapañṇā visāradā surūpattā bhāgyaṃ vaṃṣa mahātejā mahāpaññā mahābalā mahāsattaranāsa samalānaṃ bha[38.1]vā majātiloratthi sattasahasasā mā darīdā bhavāmi haṃ 'ḍañ" "nii "duuay" teeqa kulsa naa pun, an "khaa "dai "tāām "dai khiaar", yaṃ paalii sii,wijeeyapantha "nii" khqoq 'cuqū "hūū udom somriddhi ḍañ gaam praathnāa hāān" 'tuua "khaa ju yūūa jū prakaan 'ḍāā" döl

28. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 3, 088”. De no 0052, ms no 344. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. [1st bundle?].
Complete. CS 1201 (or 1141?) = AD 1839 (or 1779?). Siam Society No. 38/2508 SSLP. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:
namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo ‘ty
atthu. idam sattha jettavane viharantō dānapārimā śrābbha kathesi. ath’ ekadīvassāṃ bhikkhuddhammasabhāyaṃ kathāṃ samuṭṭha[2]pesuṃ ...
Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] Sīwi jee yaya pāñhā - First puuk. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant ([pīi kañ "gai"], in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition], accomplished at the time of the evening horn, in [C] S 1201 ...
- May the power of the merit I have gained by writing this Pāli text of S° lead to the fulfilment of each and every wish I have expressed!

(3) phuuk 2, p 37 = ghe ṛ, line 3b-4

|s° phuuk 2 | khaa "tāâm plīi kañ "gai" ðūār, 11 qǒk 2 ’gaan" 'braam" 'waa" ðai wan 2 yaam ṛāā baad (?) ąkraaj ðai 1201 (?) ūua sraďeqař "ljāw" jāā 'gōy" biccqanāq (?) łuu dō [4] "đuuyaj teeqa kusla 'suur, puŋ an "khaa ðai "tāām" yān paalii s° "nii" ḷkho ðūū "khaa mii prya ðaŋñhaa an slijaaw" slaaq wiseq sak swaad aaq "ruu yāŋ 8 ðmūũr, 4 ban khān "cau" ju ūuuqan, dhggm 'guu" bhāw jaad traaq ;topq" "dau, "khau" suu neerābbaan "đuuyaj "miar, sōnsañ siia ðūū "khao ðiiaā, "dàā" qii hiī dōn|

/s/ phuuk 2 ścih khaa tēem pīi kat kāj duan sīp ŋet? ñōk sōŋ khām phām wāa ēj wan sōŋ ñāam thalēe ṛāat sakhaat dāj pan sōŋ lōq ŋet ŋīa salado leq ēj kāj pűcalanaa duu tō? dōj tēcāq? kutsaā? sūan bun?an khāa dāj tēem ṛāq baalii s... nī kāo hūū khaa mii phānnīa pānñhaa ŋaə sālfaw sālət wisēt sak swaad ʔāat lūu ṛāq pēt mīuə sīi pan khāñ cāw cūī dauq tham kūu phāwā? cāat thalaap tō tāw kūu sūu neelāappaan dōj mīn sōnsān sīa hūū khāat tīaŋ tēc dīi ăi tō?/

Translation.

S° - phuuk two. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition], at the time of the late evening horn;* accomplished in [C] S 1201.- May I, by virtue of the merit I have earned by writing this Pāli text of S°, be bestowed with an intelligent mind, wisdom, and mental acuteness, and utmost capability so that I may know all the 84,000,000 khandhas in every [future] life until, after the definite
disruption of Sāṃsāra, I may enter Nibbāna. Oh, may this wish come true!

* /āam thatē pāat/, the time designated by this expression is not entirely clear. Probably, it corresponds to the time from 4.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. See TUIKEO 1986: 107, footnote. Cf. also the Laotian equivalent »gaam phat lan« mentioned in PHETSARATH 1959:99.

(4) phuuk 3, p 48 = ce ṛ, line 4

|sāde, ce "lāw" ūūa, 10 rāām 15 'gaan" ūūa, dōp wan 7 lāā "khaa ḷkho an suq 3 prākaan mii neerābbaan peen yōo, ḷdāa" dō dha "nii" hōy lāāl|

/sadet lēw duan sip leem sip hāa khām duan dāp wan cet lec khāa khōc? an suq sāam pha(kān mii neelāappaan pēn ṛōt dē tō? thā? nī hēej lēc/|

Translation.

Accomplished in the tenth [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waning moon, on the seventh day [in the Mon tradition]. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired] just ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal!

(5) phuuk 4, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 1

|paalii s° phuuk 4, "thuuar, thīi" 4 lāā 'nōo" naay hōy "hnaa rap "glau" paarii sii, wījaiyapañhā phuuk, "thuuar, 4 "khaa "dai khīi, dhamm phuuk, "nii "khaa ḷkho an suq 3 prākaan mii nibbāna peen yōo, ḷdāa" dō 'nōo" naay[2] naay "hwai" dah hlaay hōy|

/baalii sīwićaįñpāñhā phuuk thūan thi sii lec naaj ḷoaj nāa lāp kāw baalii sīwićaįñpāñhā phuuk thūan sii khāa dāj khān tham phuuk nī khāa khōc? an suq sāam pha(kān mii nīppāna peen ṛōt dē tō? nīe naaj naaj wāj taq lēaj hēej/
Translation.
[The] Pāli text of S° - 4th phuuk. Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S° - phuuk no. 4. Having written this phuuk, I should like to ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal, dear respected readers!

(6) phuuk 4, Back Cover Folio (no no., preceded by p 40 = jī v)

/paalu jii, wijeeyapana phuuk, 4 lāā 'nōō' naay hōōy "hnaa' rap plaay paaljī sī lāā 'nōō' naay 'dii' "hūu' ṭon' dai liiap leŋ 'gō' 'gooy" biccaraṅṅa "hūu' 'thīi' dō "khaa' po' 'kwaār, hlaay lāā/

/baalii sīwīcājīpānhā phuuk sī le naaj ḍōāj naa lāp pāaj baalii s... le naa naaj tī wāj ṭon dāj liap leŋ kō kāj pūtcalanaa hūu thi tō khāa bō kwēn lāaj le/

Translation.
[The] Pāli text of S°, phuuk 4, my dear! Back Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S°, my respected, dear! Whoever among you, my fellow Monk-Brothers, casts his eyes on it, may you please use thorough consideration; I am not [a] skillful [scribe] at all.

(7) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

/s° phuuk, 5

/paalu jī lō, k rāāp "luuar, 'yaa' luuar, dan 'bōō' peen 'klaa' kōōr, gaaṃ guuar, jūυ aq gōq, bōō "huuar, "huuar, haa yaak nak lāā tok 'dii' ṭai' po' 'cāān "waiy yaiyadhham lāā naay hōōy] /baalii lāā lēep hūuān jāa luan tan pō tūa yāt yōk pō yūn hūun tok tī dāj bō cēēp wāj ṭānjīthām le naaj hāā jī/

Translation.
Pāli words are deep and subtle, do not pass them over fast, composed they are as poetry which deserves to be engraved for ever. Elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp; if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will know.

Dhammas they present which should be known.

(8) phuuk 5, p 43

/naarāḍa cāk rī raṭi 'thogo' snuk, cai kōōr jāā 'yuu' wāt, waaḍ srii paan pai koōt "han" nāa 'īiā' 'kāāw' raad lūū jaiy lūū raad mīi jāā khhīar, lāā 'nōō' naay 'dii' 'hīwaī bra 'mōōr, 'yaa' grīñī /

/nailatīn cāk līq laq thōō jīu wāt wāt salīi baan baj sanuk cāj kōōn le sanuk cāj kōōn lej nau yāq kīëw lāāt hūu caj kōōt hūū lūū lāat mīi lej khān le naa tī wāj phāī sı̄n jāa khanīp/

Translation.
Naarada [-Bhikkhu] will tell you some heart-warming words, while staying at Waḍ Srii Paan Pai, in the village of his birth, in a splendid place well-known by all, called Naa 'Īiā; it's there that these words were written, respected reader — do not doubt!
day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition]. The writing was completed at noon-time.

(11) phuk 7, p 54 (upside down)

|cu|]s|ś|k|ā|ra|aj|a "dai 1121 tüua plii kad "glai' düiar, sraawana düai"[3] t'au sii, meen wan 6 "khaa risnaa khiiar, "lāaw[4] khiiar, "waiy 'gaam' juu buddhgsaasanna (written 'buddhgsanna) traap 'ṭoq' an aayu laan peen prādhaar 'ci’i(1)' 'dāa|

/... (s. above) ... duan salaawan taj taw sii meñ wan hok khāa khan léew fāam wan tīq khāa lītsa’ā khían léew khian wāj kām cuu pūthā?sāsanaa thalāap ṭo? an ?aānū? laan pēn phathaan čig dēe/

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the month [sraawana]*, [on a day called] [t'au sii] [in the] Dai [tradition], [corresponding to] the sixth day [in the] Mon [tradition]. I completed my writing at noon time. I have now completed my writing. I wrote this in order to support Buddha's Teachings for as long as the palm-leaves may endure.

* < Skt śrāvaṇa

NB: for the last sentence, cf. no. 15 (6), above!

(12) ibid., on left margin

|"khaa "dai khiiar, dhamm, "nī; khoq "hūy peen upanisais prācaiy "gaam juu ton[4] tüua 'hāān 'khaa' traap 'ṭoq' "dau' thōon nibbaan dō|

/khāa dāi khian tham nī khoō hūy peen upanisāj phatcāj kām cuu tōn tūa hēn khāa thalāap tō taw thēng nippaan tō?

Translation.

May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna.
Remarks.
From what is indicated in the Pāli colophons at the end of the last phuuk of both manuscripts 27 and 28, it may be assumed that their 7 phuuk in fact constitute the first bundle of a set of at least two. No. 27 represents, as it seems, the oldest dated specimen of a monolingual Pāli version of any non-canonical Southeast Asian Jātaka known up to the present. A copy of this very popular Jātaka, well-known also in neighbouring countries, was brought to Europe as early as the 17th/18th century; it appears in FOURMONT's catalogue of 1739 (see Bibliography), and, as G. CEEDES (1966:43) notes, is mentioned also in an essay on Pāli written in 1826 by E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen. A brief synopsis of the story, based on a manuscript written in Lampang in AD 1838, can be found in CEEDES (ibid.). As for no. 28, there are two conflicting dates given in the colophons, viz. CS 1121 (phuuk 1, 2), and CS 1201 (phuuk 5, 6, 7). Of these two dates, only 1201, however, fits with the name of the Cyclical Year [pi jad 'gai'] mentioned in the colophons. A thorough check on the orthography could perhaps reveal some clues about the factual age of the copy. Meanwhile, the later date is given the credit as the more probable one. According to CEEDES (ibid.) there is a printed edition in Central Thai script of the Pāli text — represented by various manuscripts kept at the libraries of Paris, Bangkok, etc. — of the Mahā-Sivijayajātaka (published in Bangkok, Dharmabhatki Press).

29. PARAMĀṬHĀVĪBHUṢANĪ

Roll 8, 144". Dc no 0239, ms no 704. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1223 = AD1861. Wat Chang Kham (NT /watt cān kām/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tassa. karuṇā vissassatte sapaṇṇāyassa mahesino ṣeyyadhhammesu sabbesu pavittitha yathā ruci|la|tassa pāde namassitvā sammadhassā (read: sambuddhassa) sirimatto saddhamma[2]jic' assapuretvā katvā ssaṅghassa saṅcalinti. iti h' idan vihitam kiṃ atthaṃ vihantī...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 22 (difficult to read on the microfilm)

Colophons.
(1) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio (preceded by p 1, 3, 5 etc.)

[pāḷī: pāraṃtaṭhāvibhuṣanī (Paramathavibhūṣanī) phuuk, "ṭon daṅ muuar, mii 12 phuuk", lāā "hraa dhaap "glau 'uua pāḷī p" phuuk", "ṭon lāā phuuk", "ṭon waḍ ṭuua faay" rikkhitta "gaṃ juu mhaaajjīvīd lāā-nāa"]

(on left margin:) [pāḷī: p" phuuk, "ṭon akkha "tañ [ka] rōṭā, khā']

/baaliī p ... phuuk tōn tāŋ muuar mii sip şc̣ọp phuuk lee nāa thāp kāw tūa baaliī p ... phuuk tōn lee phuuk tōn wāt ṭuua faay lāākkhiṭṭa? kām cuu mhaaajjīwīt lee nāa/

(on left margin:) /p... phuuk tōn ?akkaṭa? tāŋ ka? lōc' khāa/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] Pāḷī, first phuuk. Altogether there are 12 phuuk:- Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of Pāḷī, first phuuk.- The first phuuk was written by [a monk or a novice from] Waḍ Huua Faay in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] the "Lord of Life".*

* This and other similar mentions in the colophons of 29 and 30 refer to Anantaworaritthidet who ruled over Nan from AD 1855 to 1893. (For more details, see Remarks to 30, below).

(On left margin:) Pāḷī, first phuuk; from aksa ra kā to aksa ra khā

(2) phuuk 2, p 38 = kra (!) v, line 1b-3a

[pāḷī:  "lāaw" yaam kōoŋ, lāā (?) lāā 'uua "khaa jōo" (written: ji) hnaan" 'abhijāyī" hni ruk2, mūuān 'bāa maa 'yuu kap grru p[r]aa "cau waś "paan "kām" waś "paan ngūk", "gaṃ juu gruu p[r]aa "cau waśiy "gaṃ juu" saasnaa (written: snaa) 5 ban bha waś[s]aa 'klaa "khaa lāā dhāmmon som;l jh brā "cau jia';wīs lāā[3] dii-hlii dō]
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The Venerable Jeeyyaseen.*

* (Pāli Name: Jayasena).

(4) phuuk 8, p 32 = 16 v., line 2b-4c

[Jāew]  {yaam}  yaam thāā [?] 'kāā"  "khāa láā cuḷaṣākkāraṇa
' dāi 1223 tuua plii kad 'rau 'kāā"  "khāa láā kattiyoś(!) bhikkhu "dāi
khīar, dhamm phuuk,'nii" 'waiy 'hūū peen pračai bai "haana[3] gūū
mūūa "faa' láā nibbaan 'kāā"  "khāa 'dīi-hīīi láā " 'khāa khīar,
'gaan' juu ya 'cāu māhaājjīwīwī láā " 'khāa khīar, 'saan 'mūūa,' yuū
meettaa sa[d]hīīh "paan 'kāām wiiaah buua waṭ peēsīkaḍ wan "nan
láā na sobbatī 'gō'-pō' dūu fāam hnaī láā du 'cāu brā naay tōu dāī
'aan' 'gō 'googī' bīcка[4]rānīa dūu 'thee' dōs, bōq 'yaa' tīī tuua "khāa 'dāī'
dōs, "khāa 'pō'-kā' 'tāámi' 'pō peen "mai peen tuua hnaī láā du 'paan
nōq, man 'pō' 'tāámi'. arahanīmāgānaanī nīcām dhvānam dhvānam
'dāī dīi-hīīi láā dhamm 'cāu māhaājjīwīwī láā nōū, naay 'dīi' 'hwai'

/palīpūnā? leew fāam thē [?] kee khāa leee cūnlāsakkalāca? dāī pan
sōq lōq saaw sām tūa pīi lūaag lāw duun siī hūuūa yōkk sip sōq khām mee [wan] siī taj kāt kāj 'fāam leen lūū [?] palīpūnā? leew fāam tān leee ... pāaag mūūa jūu sāttīth sāmlaan wāt lōq mūūa pua wan nān leee sāathī? cāw cājīāsčee leee/

Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 4th lunar month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] [kād "gāi" [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset [drum], at ḍīśya [?], accomplished in this very moment. [Written] while I stayed happily at Wād Lōoŋ, Müüaŋ Buua, on that very day. [Written by]

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the [forenoon?] horn. CS 1223 - Year of the Cock. Kattiyoś-Bhikkhu* wrote this phuuk as a contribution to future results, i.e. my ascension to the heavenly worlds, and Nibbāna; oh, may this wish come true! I wrote this in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. I did the writing while I stayed, spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of [the village

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan Abhijai. I came over from Müüaŋ Bāa to stay with the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau at Wād "Paan "Kāām, a rural monastery, wishing to help the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

[culabhaddasakkaraajā(!) "dāi 1223 tuua plii "ruuu" "rau", dūūa, 4
huulaa ùq, 12 gaan meen [wan] 4 daiy kaś "gaiy yaam lāēn ēe ;k [?] ]
paripūnā "līāw" yaam 'nan láā [2] [pa; dhinnamaśuttīnaṃ vatta me
dinaḥ nibbānaṃ paraṃmaṃ sākkhāraṃ nicaṃ dhūvaṃ dhūvaṃ paati(!)
'mūūa,' yuū sāttīth[t] saamlaan waad lōoŋ mūūa, n buua wan "nan láā
saadhu "cāu jeeyyaseen [lāā]

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan Abhijai. I came over from Müüaŋ Bāa to stay with the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau at Wād "Paan "Kāām, a rural monastery, wishing to help the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

[culabhaddasakkaraajā(!) "dāi 1223 tuua plii "ruuu" "rau", dūūa, 4
huulaa ùq, 12 gaan meen [wan] 4 daiy kaś "gaiy yaam lāēn ēe ;k [?] ]
paripūnā "līāw" yaam 'nan láā [2] [pa; dhinnamaśuttīnaṃ vatta me
dinaḥ nibbānaṃ paraṃmaṃ sākkhāraṃ nicaṃ dhūvaṃ dhūvaṃ paati(!)
'mūūa,' yuū sāttīth[t] saamlaan waad lōoŋ mūūa, n buua wan "nan láā
saadhu "cāu jeeyyaseen [lāā]

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan Abhijai. I came over from Müüaŋ Bāa to stay with the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau at Wād "Paan "Kāām, a rural monastery, wishing to help the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

[culabhaddasakkaraajā(!) "dāi 1223 tuua plii "ruuu" "rau", dūūa, 4
huulaa ùq, 12 gaan meen [wan] 4 daiy kaś "gaiy yaam lāēn ēe ;k [?] ]
paripūnā "līāw" yaam 'nan láā [2] [pa; dhinnamaśuttīnaṃ vatta me
dinaḥ nibbānaṃ paraṃmaṃ sākkhāraṃ nicaṃ dhūvaṃ dhūvaṃ paati(!)
'mūūa,' yuū sāttīth[t] saamlaan waad lōoŋ mūūa, n buua wan "nan láā
saadhu "cāu jeeyyaseen [lāā]
called] "Paan "Kääm, in Wiiañ Buua, at Wañ Peeñsakañ, on that very
day.- [My writing] does not look beautiful at all. Whoever will read this,
may he be a monk or a novice, should use thorough consideration; do not
put blame on me, for I cannot write well, my characters do not take the
shape of vowels and consonants. Village monks just don't have the skill.
- May I [by virtue of the merit gained through writing this manuscript]
attain the knowledge of the way leading to Arahatship; oh, may this
wish come true, indeed! - A Dhamma manuscript [written at the behest]
of His Majesty the Lord of Life, dear respected readers!

* < P Kittiyasa?

(5) phuuk 11, p 44 = khai v, line 3b - p 45, line 3c

[srdē,jh "lääw" yaam 7 'kää "khaa gűü 'waa" yaam 'dīiañ, wan jareīn
ćiñ (!) "duuŷ ējea naa pur, an "khaa "dī[4] khar, dhamm phuuk, "nii;
khq̂ "hūuí" "dai thōōn wīiāñ, "kääw yōqq, neeragbāna an 'p̂q̂'
"ruu" "thau 'p̂q̂" "ruu" 'tāy sak 'duūa, "dāā ē-hlīi prēkah 1 khq̂ "hūūi
mii pryaa pāgīññā "ruu" hīwak, swak swaad aād "ruu" "kāa peesaans
panhāa an" yaak lāā aad[45.1] "hūūi" "ruu" dhamm brā buddhā "cau 8
hmūūiī, 4 ban khan "nān" 'cuń,' cak, mii 'dīiañ" "dāā ē-hlīi 'dāā dōj[2]
cūqāsākkaarāja "dai 1223 ūua plīi "ruūañ, "rau peen pīi,
yaacaddhi[kal]maad meen wan 4 dai pōōk "caiy düūaañ 9 duṭīya ['p̂q̂']
hon qōq, 'gaam 1 bodhīsāmmaneñ̂eñ likkhiñ̂ lāā 'mūūi, 'yuu meeqāa
sādhaa[3] guu paa riia(i) mūūiāañ gwaan wan "nan "kīi(!) lāā khar,1
'gaam juu "cau māhājiñīwīd ión sā-hwōōy mūūiāñ nāndapurī, nāgör, ḳōn
"thuuar, 5 lāā "cau hōōy'

/saladet lēw ēñnaam cet kēe khāa kūn wāā ēñnaam ēññī wan calīg cīg
dōj tēcēñ̂ naa bun ?an kūaā dōj khan tham phuuk nū khoq hūūi dōj thōq
wīaq kēw fōñ̂ nelēiippāna ?an bō lūu thāw bō lūu ūaj sak tāa tēe dīi lī
phākān nūg khoq hūūi mii phānūnāa pānīñāa lūu lwaq swak swad ?āat
lūu kēe petsañāa pānīñāa ?an śāak lār, ēññī[45.1] hūūi lūu tham phēq
pūṭhāa cāw pēt mīuī sīi pān khan năn cīg cak mii tīañ tēe dīi dīī dēe
št[2] cūñlāsakkālācīñ̂ dōj pān sōñ śīaj saaw sāam tāa pīi lūq̂ lōw pēn
pīi 'naacāatāi[kal]maat meq wan sīi tāj pōōk cīg duan kāw tūtnāñ (bō?)

hōōon ?ōk khān nūg poothīsāmānneñ ikkkhiñ̂a lea mūa ēññī meētāa
satthāa[3] khuu baa līaàq (?) mūa khwaq wān nān kīi (?) lea khan
kām cuu cāw māhācīwīt tōn sāwāñ mūa nānī? pūlīī nākōōn tōn thūān
hāa lea cāw hāōq/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the 7th watch, that is, at noon, exactly.*
May I, by virtue of the merit acquired by writing this manuscript, reach
the splendid City of Niṣīañ, the peak [of Happiness] where age and
death are unknown for ever. Furthermore, I should like [in my future lives]
to be bestowed with intelligence, wisdom, and acuteness of mind so that I
can know how to solve riddles and answer difficult questions, and will be
able to know all the 84,000 khandhas of Lord Buddha's Teachings - oh,
may this wish come true! [2] CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, which happens
to be a year with a supplementary month, on the 4th day [according to the]
Mon [tradition, called] pōōk "cīl [in the] Dai [tradition], in the 9th
[lunar] month — the second one** — on the 1st day of the waxing moon.
- Written by Bodhi-Sāmaneñha (Bodhi-Sāmaneñha), while he stayed,
spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community, with the Venerable
Gruu Paa Riañ (?) in Mūuāañ Gwaan, on that very day.- Written in
support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Fifth Lord
of Life*** who reigns over Mūuāañ Nandapuri!

* Counting from 6 a.m. (as is done also in Laos), one would have
expected the 4th, not the 7th 'watch' ([lyaam]) to be mentioned as

** P adhikāmāsa ; cf. ibid., p. 102.

*** See Remarks to 30, below.

(6) phuuk 12, p 22, line 3a-c

[sākkībdā "dai 1223 ūua plīi, "ruūañ, "rau düūaañ 11 hōoraq qōq, 4 (?)
'gaam meen wan 1 dāiy köñ saan yaam wan 'dīiañ, paripunñāa lāā]
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/sakkapt̓ā? dāj pan sɔŋ lɔjɔ saaw sâam tūa pii liang láw duan sip yet hoolaa ʔɔok sii (?) khâm meŋ wan nỳŋ taj kôt sêt núaam wan tiaŋ palipûnna? le/

Translation.
CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 11th lunar month; completed on the 4th day of the waxing moon, on the 1st day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] [koŋ san] [in the] Dai [tradition], at noon-time.

(For Remarks, see no. 30)

30. PARAMĀṬTHAVĪBHŪSAṆĪ

Roll 8, 155'. Dc no 0240, ms no. 1306. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wät caañ kámn/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

 Begins:
nam̄ tass̄ att̄hu. karuṇā vissasatte supaṁñāyassa mahesino niyayadhannesu sabbesu pavattitha yathā rucitassa pāde namasitvā sambuddhassa sirimato sadhammañc' a[2][s]apuretvā katvā saṁghassa cañ(c)alinti. iti h' idam vihitam kim atham vihitaṁ ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 23, line 2b-3c
ime dhammā nivaranaṇavipayuttā nideso dissati ti [3] katvā orambhāgyuddhamhāgyabhāṇena (!) samagahītā ricchanā orambhā(giyuddhā)nivaranaṇa gocchakaṁ (!)

Colophons.
(1) phuuk 2, p 34 = 17 v, line 4b-5
|sraḍ̄e, 4 ḛāew wan 7 yaam [t]thāa cak "kli ai `diaan' na sobhati 'go'-'pō' nāam jāa `go<y>yi` yāān" bai ǔaum yùūa,ān dhāmm, dō 小编一起 'go'-'pō' smō kan [5] kusa `khaa `dai `tāam dhāmm phuuk, `ni` khọp `hū`n mi phā ḣaños (!) maak, ḡlaay `dāa dō `tāam `mūiça, ġūtīn `mūiça, wan|

'phọq' 'pō' [han] sak gaay heeu 'waa con ḣuway dhammm, (l) nāa jāa `tāam `mūiça, wan 'pō' ḣai ḣāi `dii` ḣwai hooy`


Translation.
Completed on the seventh day [according to the Mon tradition], at the time of the forenoon horn.- My handwriting is not beautiful. So you should look very carefully by adhering to the meaning of the Dhamma [text]. The characters are uneven. [5] May the good deed I accomplished by writing this phuuk bear ample fruit! I did the writing at night-time and therefore could not see well, because during the day I had to do my farmer's work; that is why I could not write at day-time, respected reader.

(2) phuuk 5, p 35, line 5c - p 36, line 2
|paripuṇṇā "lāaw" yaam koppo, ṇaay[36.1] (not readable on the microfilm)[2] lāā bhari.yaa raajapuṭṭaaputtii `cau̇̂o ju ton `yuu pāçanta `pō`
|jaan "tāam ṇuua paaḷi ( .. . )|

/palipûnna? lēew núaam kōo gaaj ( .. . ) ḡ? phālîn̄a laacāputṭaaputtii cāw cău̇̂? tōn jūu pāçanta? bō caañ tēem tūa baalii ( .. . )/

Translation.
Completed at the time of the morning drum ... [2] and [by his] spouse, as well as his Royal sons and daughters. - Living out in the countryside, I lack the skill of writing.- The Pāli text [of the P̣̂?] ...
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merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one "pii* for the writing.

* "pii* (bii/): an ancient money unit equivalent to 12 satang (100 satang = 1 Baht), according to information provided by Acham Indr Suchai ( ري รินสี ชำรัตน์), Chiang Rai, for the forthcoming Northern Thai—Central Thai Dictionary presently being compiled by Professor Dr. Udom Roongruangsi.

(5) phuuk 10, p 33, line 5b-c

|paripun(n)a| "lâw" yaam kôññ, ñaay "khaa "nöqqy" lâa naña "jû"-"waa" bhya(aa mañţigalaा "höö"; "dâi "tâam" "gaam juu sombaa somďe-jh "câu" mañţai̊iwi̊id 'daan' "dâi "kâa" 'gaa" müü "tâam "pii*; 1 [34.1] imiină dhamaârîkkhittadânaă attano yattăh bhaye jàto ca mlâpàtìa sambanda sahayati kuru uppaśâya ca ti ehi bhikkhu vasaă padâi antamano ca(.).ta sassoâ saryûmeytyasanto antâgata k[â]le attabhave[2] kâyajîvhâ soțâgandhanâ saddhâ râmmâ piyâmanusassadda manorâmă yattăh jâta rû[p]a suvâññâhaññâh bahu honti pacûpanâ antâgata pacûpanne attàyanaññî manaññ evàm nicân dhuvâm dhuvâm kâa[3] me "hââìn "khaa dò]

|palipûnnâ| leew ñaam kôññ gaaj khâa nôço le naanaă cûù wâa phaâäa mañçâlîsilaă nóo dâi ñéem kâm cuu sômpana somdet câw mañţai̊iwi̊it tâan dâi kêe kâa múu ñéem bëi nûg ... ... kêe mèe hêè khâa lee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. My name is Bhya(aa Mañţigalaा. I wrote this in support of the merit [being accumulated by] His Majesty, the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one "pii* for the writing.

(6) phuuk 11, Front Cover Folio, no no., preceded by p 37

|"hnaa dappă| "glau pàalii āramagîthawîwîhusnâi phuuk, 11 lâa sàân
raajjasompāñ mūñāñ, hrin ‘haañ’ ‘dra’ñ ‘tæi’ñ(!) khiiñar,[2] bra ngqɔqr, mūñāñ, ‘naañ ṭā “caw huóy”

Translation.
Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of the Po, phuuk 11. Written by Sāān Raajjasompāñ, [living in] Mūñāñ Hin ‘Haañ, to the South of Mūñāñ ‘Naañ, my dear!

(7) phuuk 11, p 38, line 4b-5


/culinäsakkæ? dāj pan sɔɔŋ lœoj sāam sip ṭet tūa piii kat sāj Ḟuan sip sɔɔŋ khün sip sī khăm phām wāa dāj wan nūŋ khāa dāj uñem[5] tham phuuk nī kām nūn sōmpaan caw mhaañjiwiñ nākɔɔñ muñąñ nāan wān nān leè tāan dāj kēe kāa kāmdet mūñ bii nūŋ leè sāen lāatçāsɔmɔt khīan leè/

Translation.
CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the first day [of the Mon tradition]. I wrote this phuuk in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Mūñāñ ‘Naañ, on that very day. His Majesty provided a remuneration of one ‘pi3 for writing.- Written by Sāān Raajjasompāñ.

(8) phuuk 12, p 23, line 3c-4


/sāen lāntanãy tēem kãm cuu sōmpaan caw mhaañjiwiñ muñąñ nāntapuili phā? nākɔɔñ muñąñ nāan leè caw naaj hāaj khāa nōcj jũu bāan (...)

Translation.
Written by Sāān Raṭaña in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Mūñāñ Nāndapuili Bra Ngqɔqr Mūñāñ ‘Naañ.- I am living in the village of (...).

Remarks.
The appellation "Lord of Life" etc., repeatedly mentioned in the colophons, refers to Anantaworarithidet who reigned over the Siamese vassal state of Nan from AD 1855 to AD 1893. The appellation "Fifth" Lord of Life as found in 29 (5) is not clear; in the line of Rulers over Mūñāñ ‘Naañ since the founding of Bangkok as the new capital of Siam in 1782, Anantaworarithidet (previous name "Anantayot") would be the seventh. Perhaps "Fifth Lord of Life" might refer to the fact that he was, according to an indication given in Phraya Prachakitorakac's "Phongswadan Yonok", the fifth child of Athawararanyo (r. 1786–1810), the first great monarch of Nan since the foundation of the Chakri Dynasty who, in 1788, went to Bangkok to offer his allegiance to King Rama I (r. 1782–1809); cf. St SAM-ANG in: KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1987:58–9;70, and PRACHAKITKORACAK 3.1961:584. This ruler is known as a fervent supporter of Buddhism and the revival of the literary tradition of Lan Na. He is known to have pursued, and financed, no less than seven huge manuscript copying campaigns in his home territory, the last one, in 1886, amounting to 38 bundles comprising altogether 292 phuuk (cf. KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1974:21) and must be regarded as one of the great rebuilders of Lan Na culture and literature in the 19th century, alongside the Venerable Gruu Paa Kaǎcana of Mūñāñ Brāa, by whose successful efforts he may have been inspired. The "Nan Chronicle", a history of Nan up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn in an English translation, is published in: WYATT [ED.] (1966). The Paramatthavibhūsanī is another
text which had been previously unheard of; there is no mention of such a work in Pāli and Buddhist studies up to the present.

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B. Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974)

Wat Bun Yuen (NT /wàt bùn ʔuːn/), Tambon Wiang Sa, Amphoe Sa, Nan (Nos. 13, 14)
Wat Chang Kham [Worawihan] (NT /wàt tɕàːŋ kǎːm/; CT /wàt čhàːŋ kʰàːm wọːrɔːhĩːən/), Tambon Nai Wiang, Amphoe Muang, Nan (Nos. 16, 26, 29, 30)
Wat Lai Hin (NT /wàt lài hĩːn/), Tambon Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang (Nos. 01-11, 20, 27, 28)
Wat Phumin (NT /wàt phuːmɨn/), Tambon Nai Wiang, Amphoe Muang, Nan (No. 12)
Wat Sung Men (NT /wàt sùŋ mɨn/; CT /wàt sùŋ mɨn/), Tambon Sung Men, Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae (Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, 21-25).

C. Texts and Authors

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Aḍḍha-Rassabhikkhu [scr] 24 (AD 1837) (2) cover folio
Anantaraya Raajaadhiraj "Cau, Somṭecc Mahaaraaj, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
Anantarworaarthidet (Ruler of Nan), s. "Cau Anantarworaariddhiēj Ariya-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (6) phuuk 8
Bhya ... : a title preceding the name proper; s. under the following word
Bindaa-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (3) phuuk 5
Boodhi-Samanpeer [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (5) phuuk 11
Bra Mahaasaamii "Cau [Wd] Ďcêr ḻai [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (2)
phuuk 1
Bra Mahaasaamii "Cau [Wd] Raajamondii [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (2) phuuk 1
Bra Mahaatheera "Cau Kańcana Arańñawaasii [spp], s. Kańcana ...
Buua ʻGaam ʻTaʻan Müüan, Mahaa-Upaasaka [spp, don] 06 (AD 1514)
Front and Back Cover Folio
Candamuulii Srr Svaddhimmakrītī, s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Caup ..."
Candamuulii ... s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Caup ...
"Caup Anantawaraadhiidheeq (Ruler of Müüan ʻNaan; r. 1853-93)
16 (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 2: Mahaaaraj; (7) phuuk 9
Mahaaaraaja Müüan ʻNaan 29 (AD 1861) (1) phuuk 1: Mahaajiiviid; (2) phuuk 2: Somdiēh Bra "Caup Jiiwiš (4)
phuuk 8, (5) phuuk 11, 30 (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9, (7)
phuuk 11, (8) phuuk 12: "Caup Mahaajiiviid 30 (AD 1869)
phuuk 5: (unreadable on the microfilm); (3) phuuk 7, (5)
phuuk 10: Somdiēh "Caup Mahaajiiviid
"Caup Hμiūn Liiap Sāān (ʻGaam) Daa, s. (ʻGaam) Daa, Sāān ...
"Caup Mahaaayassaraahaa (Ruler of Müüan ʻNaan; 1825-35)
15 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap, 23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap:
Mahaaaraj "Caup Müüan ʻNaan; (2) ( boca gō śś) Mahaaaraa
15 (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio v: Somđēc Mahaaaraj
Müüan ʻNaan; (10) phuuk 9, front cover folio: Somđēc
Mahaaaraj Anantaraya Raajaaadhiraaq "Caup (11) phuuk
9, preceded by p 45: Somđēc Parammaapbōbīi Sīhā Anantaraya
Raajaaadhiraaq "Caup (12) phuuk 10, 3rd cover folio: Somđēc
Parammaapbōbīi Anantaraya Raajaaadhiraaq "Caup
"Caup Mahaajiiviid, s. "Caup Anantawaraadhiidheeq
"Caup Müüan ʻBṛāi [spp] 19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap, 21 (AD 1836)
(1) "mai hlaap, 25 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Caup Müüan
ʻBṛāi 23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap: Mahaaaraj "Caup Müüan
ʻBṛāi
"Caup Müüan Hluuaq Bra Paaq, s. King of Luang Prabang
"Caup Raajaaqoñ Müüan Hluuaq Bra Paaq, Prince of Luang Prabang [spp]
19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Caup Raajaaqoñ (2) phuuk 1,
preceded by p 49: Raajaaqoñ (4) phuuk 11:
Pʔrommaqetθhakhqti Syiqa Bra Raajaaqoñsaa Bra Mahaa
Uttama Oorassaa Raajaadhiraaq" "Caup; 21 (AD 1836) (1)
"mai hlaap: "Caup Raajaaqoñ (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46:
Raajaaqoñ 22 (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1 = 19 (4) (4) phuuk
1, Back Cover Folio, preceded by p 50: Raajaaqoñ 25 (AD
1836) (1) "mai hlaap and colophon at the end of phuuk 10:
"Caup Raajaaqoñ
Ciām, Upaasika, ʻMāa [spp, don] 09 (AD 1550) (2) back cover, v
Deebin, Hnañn [srr] 17 (AD 1833) (7) phuuk 3
Dhammaja-q-Bhikkhu [srr] 16 (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 4
Dqgr Jai, s. Bra Mahaaaswaamii "Caup [Wάd] Dqgr Jai
(ʻGaam) Baa, Naññ (wife of Ḥṃiūn ʻNgọẏ Traa) [don] 08 (AD 1549)
(2) phuuk 3, front cover folio; (5) phuuk 3, last folio;
(6) phuuk 4, front cover folio, v
(ʻGaam) Daa, Sāān, "Caup Ḥṃiūn Liiap [spp, don] 20 (AD 1582)
(4) phuuk 12
Gaam ʻTam Suwāntaraajakalya, Naññ, late Princess of Luang Prabang
19 (AD 1836) (4) phuuk 11; 22 (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1
Gruu Paa ("Caup) Kañcana Arahningerawasii, s. Kañcana Arahningerawasii
ʻHṃiūn Liiap, "Caup, s. (ʻGaam) Daa, Sāān [spp, don]
ʻHṃiūn ʻNgọẏ Traa, s. (ʻGaam) Baa, Naññ [don]
Hnañn ... s. under the following word
Indaśqer, Hnañn [srr] 30 (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9
Jayanāma-Bhikkhu, s. Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu
Jaysena-Bhikkhu, s. Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu
Jeyyanaam-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayanāma) [srr] 23 (AD 1833)
(6) phuuk 5
Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayasena) [srr] 29 (AD 1861) (3) phuuk 7
Juuaqja (?), Nak Puñ [srr] 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?), front cover folio, r
Kāaw, Naññ (wife of Naay Puñ Wādhana) [spp, don] 20 (AD 1582) (1)
phuuk 1, (2) phuuk 2, (3) phuuk 12, preceded by p 56; (4)
ib., p 56: Kammarahan (= Kamalaanda?)
[Kamalaanda?], s. "Kāaw, Naññ [spp, don]
Kammarahan, s. "Kāaw, Naññ [spp, don]
Kañcana Arahningerawasii, Gruu Paa "Caup [spp] 15 (AD 1833) (1) "mai
hlaap (4) front cover folio, v; 17 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap
19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 49
21 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46;
22 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, back cover folio;
23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio;
24 (AD 1837) (2) cover folio, v: Bra Mahathere "Cau ... 25 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap and end of phuuk 10

Kattiyos-Bhikkhu [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (4) phuuk 8

Khaaw Srii, Naan (son[s]/daugther[s] of) [spp] 12 (AD 1591) (1) phuuk 8, front cover folio, r (2) phuuk 24 (4) phuuk 22 (5) phuuk 8, front cover folio, v; also on phuuk 26, 29, 34-38

Khamtan Suwanaraajakalya, Nang (Princess of Luang Prabang), s. Gaan Tan Suwanaraajakalya

Ki, 'Maa ; Kii, 'Maii [spp, don; lay-women of 'Paan 'Hmai] 27 (AD 1580) phuuk 1, preceded by p 47

King of Luang Prabang (Mangthathurat, r. 1817-36)[spp] 19 (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 2, preceding p 1: Prarammapubbi Bra Pen "Cau "Laan; 22 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Cau Muiia Mhuuana Bra Paa,; see also 19 (AD 1836) (4).

Luang Prabang, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang

'Maa ... , s. under the following word

Maha-Aggasaami "Cau Waž Candumoolji Srii Saddhammakitti [spp] 12 (AD 1591) (6) phuuk 21 (7) phuuk 32: "muulii; also on phuuk 23, front cover folio

Mahaajiwiid, see "Cau Ananţaworaridhideej

Mahaananaasamudamnaa gaalameedhaawii "Cau [spp] 10 (n.d.; 16th c.? (1) front cover folio (3) p 48

Mahaara "Cau Muiia Braa, s. "Cau Muiia Braa

Mahaaraa ("Cau) Muiia Naan, s. "Cau , s. "Cau

Mahaayassaraajaa

Mahaasangharajaa "Cau [spp] 05 (AD 1550) (2) front cover folio 07 (AD 1550) (1) front cover folio (3) phuuk 3

Mahaatheen Paa Riiaa(?) Suun [spp] 03 (n.d.; 16th/17th c.?)

Mahaatheen Suuar Prahya [spp, don], s. Suuar Prahya

Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Arahnaaawasii, s. Kañcana ...

Mahaaw Wajirapanaio "Cau [spp] 12 (1591?) (3) phuuk 33, front cover folio, also on phuuk 34-35

Mahaawan-Bhikkhu (Pæi: Mahâvana-Bh.).[scr] 15 (AD 1833) (6) phuuk 2, preceded by p 50, (7) ibid., preceded by p 49

Mañglasiila, Bhyaa [spp] 30 (AD 1869) (5) phuuk 10

Mangthathurat, s. King of Luang Prabang

Müiaa Braa, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müiaa Braa

Müiaa Hluuana Bra Paa, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang

Müiaa 'Naan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Ananţaworaridhideej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

Naan ... , s. under the following word

Naarada [-Bhikkhu?] [scr] 28 (AD 1759) (8) phuuk 5

Naay ... , s. under the following word

Nak Puñ Juuana (7), s. Juuana

Nan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Ananţaworaridhideej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

Naaapanasamuddamnaa gaalameedhaawii, Maha, s. Maha Naana...

Phrae, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müiaa Braa

Prince of Luang Prabang, s. "Cau Raaajawo Müiaa Hluuana...

Puñ Wækhana, Naay; "Koow, Naan [spp, don] 20 (AD 1582) (1) phuuk 1, (2) phuuk 2, (3) phuuk 12; also on phuuk 3-11

Raajamondian, s. Bra Mahaasawamii "Cau [Wa] Raajaa

Raajjasompa, Sàan [spp] 30 (1869) (6) phuuk 11

Raaajawo Müiaa Hluuana Bra Paa, s. "Cau Raaajawo ...

Rattana, Sàan [spp] 30 (1869) (8) phuuk 12

Rëia (?) Suun, s. Mahaatheen Paa ...

Sàan ... , (a title preceding the name proper) s. under the following word

Sañghara, s. Mahaasangharajaa "Cau Sihaa Ananţaraya Raaajadhiraas "Cau, Somdèec (Prarammapobbiit), s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

Siwiwijee-Bhikkhu [scr] (< Pæi: Sivijaya-Bh.). 23 (1833) (9) phuuk 8, p 44

Sin Prahyaa, Naay [spp, don] 04 (AD 1495) (1) phuuk 15, p 58 (2) phuuk 2, line 1 on left margin; also on phuuk 2, line 48, phuuk 7, line 28

[Sivijaya-Bhikkhu], s. Siwiwijee-Bhikkhu

Somdèj Bra "Cau Jiwi, s. "Cau Ananţaworaridhideej

Somdèj "Cau Mahaajiwiid, s. "Cau Ananţaworaridhideej

Somdèch "Cau Waž Candumoolji (Candumoolji), s. Maha-Aggasaami ...

Somdèec Prarammapobbiit Sihaa Ananţaraya Raaajadhiraas "Cau, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

Sudhamma-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (7) phuuk 9
E. Names of Places

Bra Naggger Mūiañ 'Naan, s. Mūiañ 'Naan
Buua, Mūiañ, s. Mūiañ Buua
'Daa "Śqy", s. Mūiañ 'Daa "Śqy
Hin (or Hrin) 'Haañ", Mūiañ s. Mūiañ Hrin 'Haañ*
Jāañ, Mūiañ*, s. Mūiañ Jāañ*, Mūiañ Jīañ*
Jīañ, Mūiañ, s. Mūiañ Jīañ* Mūiañ Jāañ*
"Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw 19 (3) phuuk 2, (4) phuuk 11
Lam bañ, s. Index F: [Wag] Bra Dhaaq 'Cau Lambaañ
Lambaañ, s. Index F: [Wag] Bra Dhaaq 'Cau Lambaañ
Laan Chang (Lanchang, Lanxang, Lanxang Homkhao, Lan Sang), s.
"Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
Laan Sang, s. "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
Luang Prabang, s. Mūiañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ
Mūiañ 'Bāañ 18 (3) 29 (2); s. also Mūiañ 'Brāañ
Mūiañ 'Brāañ 17 (1); 19 (1), (2) 21 (1), (3) 22 (1), (4) 23 (1), (4) 24 (2) 25 (1), also at the end of phuuk 10
Mūiañ Buua (Pua) 16 (6), (7) 29 (3)
Mūiañ Daa "Śqy 04 (1), (2); 05 (1); 07 (2), (4); 08 (1), (3), (4), (7)
(probably also nos. 01, 02, 03, 06, 09, 10, and 11)
Mūiañ Qwañ* (Nan) 29 (5)
Mūiañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ 19 (1), (2) 21 (1), (3) 22 (1), (3) 25 (1)
Mūiañ Hrin 'Haañ* (Nan) 30 (6)
Mūiañ Jāañ* 23 (9); s. also Mūiañ Jīañ*
Mūiañ Jīañ* 23 (6); s. also Mūiañ Jāañ*
Mūiañ 'Naan 17 (1) 23 (1) 16 (7); 30 (6); Bra Naggger Mūiañ 'Naan
7: Naggger Mūiañ 'Naan (8); Mūiañ Nandapulii Bra Naggger Mūiañ "Hnaa, s. Mūiañ 'Naan
29 (5); Mūiañ Nandapulii Saggar

F. Names of Monasteries

Aaraam 'Suun "Hmeer (Phrae) 23 (4)
[Wag] Bra Dhaaq 'Cau Lambaañ (Lampang) 02 (2), (3)
Wag [Buu "Kāañ] Sri Pur Rūiañ (Phrae) 18 (3)
Wag 'Daa Mahiñsaa* (Nan) 16 (2), (4)
[Wag] Qoñ Jīañ* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
Wag Hluuañ Sri Jum (Phrae) 24 (2)
Wag Huua Faay* (Nan) 29 (1)
Wag Lōañ* (Nan) 29 (3)
Wag [Mahaasrohoña] Sri 'Un Mūiañ* ('Daa "Śqy) 07 (4); s. also
Wag Srii 'Un Mūiañ
Wag Naa 'Jāañ* (Lampang) 28 (8)
Wag Nuua Dāañ (Nan) 15 (9)
Wag Paañ Nuua* (Lampang) 13 (1) 14 (2); also ibid., on p 3
Waż "Paan Düün* (Phrae) 23 (6)
Waż "Paan "Kääm* (Nan) 29 (2)
Waż "Paan Khöqr* (Nan) 16 (6)
Waż Peeñsakaq (Nan) 29 (4)
[Waż] Raajamondiian* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
Waż Srii 'Un (or 'Ur) Müüän* {Yossa "Dau "Faa} (Daa "Söqy) 05 (1)
 07 (2), (4) 08, (1), (3), (4), (7) 20 (3); probably also colophon in 03
Waż 'Suun "Hmeer, s. Aaraam 'Suun "Hmeer
Waż Suuar Khuua* {Daa "Söqy [?]} 06
Waż "Ton Hnur {"Naam Saa} (Nan) 15 (7)
Waż 'Un (?) Müüän* 03, s. Waż Srii 'Un Müüän*

NB: Monasteries marked with * could not be located to date. They are not mentioned in the list published by the Social Research Institute [n.d.; 1984?] either. (See Bibliography).

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BIHP Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society
JSS Journal of the Siam Society
VOHD Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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STUDIES IN THE PĀLI GRAMMARIANS

II.1

[A] Buddhaghosa on āthābhūtakkhyāna, āthābhūtalakkhana, accanta-saṃyoga, adhikaraṇa, bhāvalakkhana, karana, nimitta, and samipa.
[B] Grammatical References in Paramatthajotikā I–II.
[C] Mahānāma and Buddhadatta on Grammar.

Introduction

In Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I I have shown that whenever Buddhaghosa refers to grammar or grammarians in support of his analysis of a grammatical or semantical problem in the Pāli, he is referring to Pāṇinian grammar. This apparently is also the case in those instances where he deals with a number of syntactical problems, without mentioning the source upon which his analysis is based. These analyses constitute a valuable complement to those I have dealt with in the previous article, and I have therefore found it worthwhile to focus on them in this paper, so as to present a more complete picture of Buddhaghosa as a grammarian. Since almost all of the examples occur in identical form in his Āṭṭhakathās, I have taken Samantapāsādikā as the primary source, being historically the first among the commentaries allegedly written by Buddhaghosa. In addition, I have dealt with a number of interesting grammatical comments found in Paramatthajotikā I–II, which are both traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, although his authorship has been disputed. In each case it has been possible to identify the source as Pāṇinian grammar.

Although the majority of grammatical references in the Pāli. Āṭṭhakathās are found in the writings attributed to Buddhaghosa, he is not the only Buddhist Pāli scholar who occasionally focuses on topics of grammatical interest. In Mahānāma’s and Buddhadatta’s commentaries on

2 They are probably both post-Buddhaghosa, but historically they cannot be far removed in time from him. Whoever was the actual author of these two Āṭṭhakathās [for a discussion of this problem, cf. Norman, Pāli Literature, p. 129], internal evidence shows beyond doubt that they were written by the same person since there are several references in Pj II to topics which the author intends to deal with in detail in Pj I [cf., for example, Pj II 136,20: ayaṁ ettha saṁkhepo, vīthāraṁ pana Mahāgalasutavajjanādāyāḥ (= Pj I 111,6 foll.) vakkhāma]. Consequently Pj II must have been written first.

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Paṭisambhidhāmārga and Buddhavamsa, respectively, we come across a number of similar references. Since both authors belong to the post-Buddhaghosa generation of Pāli scholars, I have for historical reasons found it interesting to study these references in order to decide whether one can trace, through their grammatical comments, a development toward a distinctively Buddhist Pāli grammatical tradition.

Mahānāma [first half of the 6th century A.D.] and Buddhadatta [8th century A.D.?] apparently follow Buddhaghosa's example by taking Pāninian grammar as their main reference grammar, but in a few interesting cases they deviate from the strict Pānini tradition.

Mahānāma rarely discusses questions of grammar. There are, in fact, only four grammatical references in Paṭis-a, but all of them are interesting. One of them is found in his commentary on the Suṇḍakathā [= Paṭis II 177–84]. Commenting upon the meaning of the word “empty” (suṇna), Mahānāma not only refers to grammar (Saddagānta), but also to pramanāṇāda (Nāyaṇa). Since this text raises a number of questions that are only remotely connected with the rise of the Pāli grammatical tradition, I have found it appropriate to deal with this text in a separate paper. Another reference seems to indicate that Mahānāma may well have been acquainted with another grammatical source in addition to Pānini’s Asādhyāyi. If so, his source is no doubt identical with Candrayākaraṇa.

In contrast to Mahānāma, Buddhadatta refers more often to the rules of grammar (lakkhana). Although his grammatical statements ultimately would seem to derive from Pānini grammar, it is nonetheless clear that in a few cases they reflect a distinctively Buddhist grammatical tradition. This, for instance, is evident in the case where Buddhadatta lays out alternative ways of analysing the word “Buddha”. There are indications that his source may have been identical with Kaccāyana’s grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The nature of the grammatical references that occur in the post-Buddhaghosa Pāli. Aṣṭakathās would thus seem to reflect a wider variety of sources and influences than in the case of Buddhaghosa’s grammatical comments.

[A]

I.1 itthambhūtakkhyaṇa

[Sp 111,30–112,3 ad Vin III 1,12–13]

Buddhaghosa only uses the term itthambhūtakkhyaṇa sparingly and almost always in similar contexts. In Sp it occurs twice, the first time in connection with his exegesis of Vin III 1,12-13:

\[ \text{tam kho pana bhagavantaṃ Gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato: } \ldots \]

However, as regards him, the Lord Gotama, the highest praise (kalyāṇo kittisaddo) was spread (abhuggato) in the following words (evaṃ): \ldots

On this clause Buddhaghosa writes the following comment:

\[ \text{tam kho pana ti itthambhūtakkhyaṇatthe upayogavacanam: } \]
\[ \text{tassa kho pana bhoto Gotamassā ti attho.} \]

[In the clause] “however, as regards him, [etc.,]” the accusative is used in the sense of a statement of circumstance. The meaning is “however, with respect to him, the lord Gotama.”

The question with which Buddhaghosa deals here is the function of the preposition abhi [in abbhuggato] when it is used as a karmapravacaniya [= Pāli kammavacaniya], i.e., a preposition used independently of an

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3 Cf. Norman, Pāli Lit., p. 132.
4 The date of Buddhadhata has not yet been fixed definitively. He may belong to the period after Dhammadīpūla, to whose Vv-a he appears to refer. Cf. Norman, Pāli Lit., p. 146.
5 The reference to saddavidā at Paṭis-a 645,3 [qu. Nidd-a 293,22] is not a genuine grammatical reference like some of those found in Buddhaghosa’s writings [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I], being a mere gloss on the term mahaddhano. It has not been possible to identify Mahānāma’s source, but it is probably not wrong to assume that he draws his information from a Pāli kośa. The passage reads: dhanaṇa ti pasamsitibhupadhādhānaṇavatā niccayasuttapadhādhānaṇavatā aitayabhūtāpadhādhānaṇavatā dhanaṇa. etesu tissu attusu idam vacanan saddavidā icchanti. In one place [v. Paṭis-a 569,19] he deals with a grammatical problem: the interpretation of the compound vimokkhamukha, which he interprets as a karmadhāraya, without referring to any grammatical source.

7 For identical analyses, cf. Ps II 327,34 (ad M I 285,8); Mp II 286,22 (ad A I 180,20); Pj II 441,2 (ad Sn 103,6).
8 For this technical term, cf. Renou, Terminologie, s.v.
explicit verb form, which is to be complemented from the context. Pāṇini
deals with these particles in Pāṇ I 4 83 foll. In Pāṇ I 4 [90+] 91, which is the
sūtra Buddhaghosa has in mind, he describes the function of abhi as a
karmaśravacanyā: abhi abhāge: “abhi” [is a karmaśravacanyā used in the
sense of a sign (i.e., “in the direction of”), a statement of circumstance (i.e.,
“as regards; with respect to”), and of distribution (i.e., “separately; one after
another”) but not in the sense of division.

According to Pāṇini such karmaśravacanīyas are regularly constructed
with the accusative [cf. Pāṇ II 3 8: karmaśravacanīyayukte dvitiyā]. In Pāli
the usage differs from Sanskrit since abhuggacchati is constructed both
with acc. and gen. in analogous contexts [v. CPD s.v. abhuggacchati]. The
construction with the gen. is no doubt reflected in Buddhaghosa’s paraphrase,
which in addition conveys the particular semantic value of abhi when used in
the sense of ithambhūtakkhāyaṃ.9

It is, of course, questionable whether the Pāṇinian description of
the category of karmaśravacanyā is applicable to Pāli abhuggacchati as
suggested by Buddhaghosa. As a matter of fact, there is no clear case of a
karmaśravacanīya in Pāli. The verb abhuggacchati is rather to be interpreted
as a regular verbal compound with two upasargas, as indicated by the sandhi.
The particle abhi therefore has no independent syntactical function in the
same way that a karmaśravacanyā is supposed to have according to the
Pāṇinian definition. That which suggested to Buddhaghosa to interpret abhi
as a karmaśravacanyā and to take it in the sense of ithambhūtakkhāyaṃ was
no doubt the fact that in this particular case, which represents an old
canonical stereotype, the verb abhuggacchati is constructed with the acc.
However, as mentioned before, there are several instances in canonical Pāli
where it is constructed with the gen. This shows clearly that we are dealing
with a regularly compounded verb that optionally may be constructed with
the acc. or the gen. This represents a peculiarity of the Pāli, for which there
is no parallel in Sanskrit. It is therefore justified to conclude that the
linguistic category of karmaśravacanyā in its Pāṇinian form is obsolete in
Pāli.10

comment upon Buddhaghosa’s explanation. Sāriputta’s lengthy exegesis
in Sp-ṭ, which he illustrates with examples quoted from either Candavṛtti ad
Candra II 1 54 or the Kāśikā ad Pāṇ I 4 91, displays his usual mastery of
grammatical issues and thus confirms the Pāṇinian background of
Buddhaghosa’s analysis.11 Kacc-v ad Kacc 301 [= Sadd 586] quotes the
example upon which Buddhaghosa comments, and adds another example
taken from D II 30,11: pabbajitem anu pabbajjimissu, that is analogous to the
clauses at Be 47 and Be XX 5, with which Buddhadda deals in his
commentary ad loc. [v. infra].

[Sp 622,11–12 ad Vin III 181,3–4]

Buddhaghosa’s reference to ithambhūtakkhāyaṃ in this case is clearly
a slip of the pen for ithambhūtalakkhana [on which v. infra], which the
context shows that he must have had in mind. This assumption is confirmed
by the fact that in Sp he defines a similar usage, with reference to
ithambhūtalakkhana.12 The syntactical problem with which he deals in his
comment is a series of instrumental forms that occur in the following
sentence: aha kho so bhikkhu … Kitāgirīm pindāya pāvīi pāsādikena
abhikkantena paṭikaṃntena ālokiṃnaṃ viūokiṃnaṃ saṃsāriṃnaṃ
okkhitacakkhu iirīyāpathasampanno. After having commented on the
meaning of each instrumental form, he concludes: sabbattha
ithambhūtalakkhnatthe karaṇavacanam: in all [the above-mentioned cases]
the instrumental is used in the sense of a circumstance [correct

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9 Because of its intrinsic interest I quote the relevant part of Sāriputta’s tīkā:
“ithambhūtalakkhnatthe upayogavacanam” ti itham imañ ca pakāraṃ bhūte āpamno to
ithambhūto. tassākhyātanam ithambhūtalakkhnatthe so yeva attho ithambhūtalakkhnatthe,
ahavā itham evam pakāra bhūto jāto ti evam kathanaṃ ithambhūtalakkhnatthe, tasmin
upayogavacanam ti attho, ettha ca “abhuggato” ti ettha abhisaddo
ithambhūtalakkhnatthe jotakā bhikkhi바vā uggamanappakārasa dīpano, tena yogasa “tathā
to pana bhavantā Gotaman” ti idam upayogavacanam sāmātthe visāmanāṃ
ithambhūtalakkhnatthe dīpano ithambhūtalakkhnatthe vuṭṭhaṃ, ten evaṃ: “tassas saha pana
bhavantā Gotamassā” ti attho ti. idam vuṭṭhaṃ hoti: yathā sāduḥ Devadatto mūtaram abhi [= sadhā
Devadatta mūtaram abhi, Candavṛtti ad Candra II 1 54 and Kāś ad Pāṇ I 4 91] ti attho
abhisaddayogato ithambhūtalakkhnatthe upayogavacanam katam, evam idhāpi taṃ pana
bhavantā gotamanābhi evam kalyāṇo kittisaddo uggato ti abhisaddayogato
ithambhūtalakkhnatthe upayogavacanam ti, Sp-ṭ i 214,19 foll.
10 For an analogous example of the usage of the category of karmaśravacanyā for exegetical
purposes, cf. Buddhadda’s analysis of anupabajjati ad Be XX 5, q.v. infra.
to read itthambhūtalakkhane: in the sense of an indication of a particular state or condition.

Although the usage of the instr. case is clearly modal in this case, the very fact that we are dealing with instrumental forms excludes the existence of the category of karmapracavaniya, of which itthambhūtākhyāna is a subset, being constructed with the acc. The corresponding modal usage of the instrumental is denoted itthambhūtalaksana in Pāṇini’s technical vocabulary [cf. Pāṇ II 3 21 and v. infra]. And this usage is the subject of the following discussion.

1.2 itthambhūtalakkhana
[Sp 891.8-9 ad Vin IV 187.4]

In this example Buddhaghosa is concerned with a particular usage of the instrumental case. The vinaya text on which he comments is the following: na ukkhittakāya antaraghare gamissāni ti: “I shall not walk between the houses with [the robe] lifted up,” on which he writes the following concise comment:

ukkhittakāyā ti ukkhopena, itthambhūtalakkhane karaṇavacanan.

[The expression] “with [the robe] lifted up” means “by lifting up [the robe].” The instrumental (karaṇavacanan) is used in the sense of an indication of [someone or something being in] this or that state or condition.

This exegesis presupposes Pāṇ II 3 [18+] 21 which gives a concise definition of the modal usage of the instrumental: itthambhūtalaksane: [The third case, i.e., the instrumental case] is used in the sense of an indication of [someone or something being in] this or that state or condition. Buddhaghosa’s identification of this particular usage of the instrumental is precise and to the point because, from a syntactical point of view, there is complete agreement between Sanskrit and Pāli usage in this case.

1.3 accantasamyoga
[Sp 107, 27-31 ad Vin III 1.6]

The technical term accantasamyoga is rarely found in Buddhaghosa’s Aṭṭhakathās. It is, however, an inseparable part of his elaborate discussion — reproduced, with minor changes according to the context, in his commentaries on the nikāyas — of the case syntax and meaning of the word samaya, which throughout the canonical literature is used either in the accusative, the instrumental or the locative. In this context Buddhaghosa addresses the usage of samaya in the accusative. The relevant passage reads:

kathāṃ suṭṭante tāva accantasamyogatho sambhavati? yam hi samayam bhagavā Brahmadālādāni suṭṭantā desesā accantas eva tasmā samayam karunāvihārenā vihāsi, tasmā tadaśhajotanatham tattha upayoganiṣdesa kato.\textsuperscript{13}

How can it be that it is first of all (tāva) in the sutta(s) that the meaning of uninterrupted connection (accantasamyoga) [in time] occurs? Because (hi) Bhagavā, during the time (samayam) when he taught suttas such as Brahmadālā, uninterrupted (accantasam)\textsuperscript{14} remained in a state of compassion, (tasmā) the specification [of circumstances] in them (tatthā) is put (kato) in the accusative (upayoganiṣdesa) in order to make this meaning clear.

According to a quotation from the porānas [= aṭṭhakathācariyās] which Buddhaghosa invariably quotes in this context, it makes no difference if samaya is put in the acc., instr. or loc.\textsuperscript{15} since the meaning is locational in any case. There is therefore good cause to believe that Buddhaghosa’s elaborate exegesis represents a later attempt to relate the usage of the word samaya, in acc., instr., and loc., to distinct syntactical categories as defined by Pāṇini grammar, while at the same time attempting to interpret a purely grammatical problem in the context of Buddhist hermeneutics.

\textsuperscript{13} The same text occurs also, with minor changes, at Sv I 33.23–25; Ps I 9.26–29; Spk I 11.28–31; Mp I 13.20–23.
\textsuperscript{14} Cf. Sp-ṣ Be 1903 I 188.5–7; accantas eva ti ārambhato paṭṭhāya yāvā desanānīṭṭhānāṃ tāva accantas eva: nirantarām eva ti; Vīb Be 1960 34.26–27.
\textsuperscript{15} For a translation of this quotation, v. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, p. 36.
It is, of course, not possible to decide whether Buddhaghosa himself is responsible for this attempt, or whether his analysis merely reflects contemporary Theravāda exegesis. In any case, the context in which the above passage occurs — it represents one of the most complex sections of Buddhaghosa's Āṭṭhakathās — displays considerable knowledge of Paninian grammar. For instance, his usage of the term accantasanyoga [= Sanskrit atyantasanyoga] for explaining the usage of tam samayam is dependent on Pāṇini II 3 [2+] 5, which defines this particular usage of the acc. as follows: kālādhanor atyantasanyoge: [The second case, i.e., the acc. is used] after [words expressing] temporal or spatial extension, when [the sense is] uninterrupted connection [in time or space].

1.4 adhikaraṇa and bhāvalakkhana
[Sp 107,31–108,5 ad Vin III 1,6]

This text is, like the one analysed above [v. supra 1.3], part of Buddhaghosa’s exegesis of the syntax of the word samaya. This time he deals with the locative:

A bhiddhamme ca adhikaranattho bhāvena bhāvalakkhanaṭtho ca sambhavati. [so punctuated] adhikaraṇanām hi kālādha samūdhatho ca samaya tattha vuttāṇāṃ phassādhammāṇāṃ khanasamavāyathetussankhārassā ca samayassā bhāvena tesam bhāvo lakkhiyati, tasma taddhat jotanatham tattha bhūma vacanena niddeso kato.

In the Abhidhamma [the word “samaya”] occurs with the meaning of locus (adhikaranattho) and with the meaning of qualification of [one] action through [another] action (bhāvena bhāvalakkhanaṭtho). Because (hi) the locus (adhikaranan) is the occasion in the sense of the time and collection of the dhamaṁ as explained therein [i.e. in the Abhidhamma] like, e.g. touch (phassādhammāṇaḥ), and because their action is qualified through the action of the occasion which is denoted moment, combination, and cause (khanasamavāyathetussankhārassā ca samayassā bhāvena).18 (tasmā) the specification [of circumstances] is made therein [i.e. in the Abhidhamma] in the locative.19

In order to understand the scope of Buddhaghosa’s rather complex exegesis, it is necessary to know the grammatical background of his argument. Buddhaghosa takes his point of departure in two well-known functions of the locative as defined by Pāṇini. The basic usage of the loc is to denote any given locus (adhikaraṇa) of an action. Pāṇini defines this locus in Pāṇini I 4 45 in terms of being the support or substratum (ādhāra) of an action: ādhāro ’dhikaraṇam.20 Another syntactical function of the locative is the so-called absolute locative. Pāṇini describes this usage in Pāṇini II 3 [+36] 37: yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣanam: moreover, the thing, due to whose action some other action is qualified, stands in [the seventh case, i.e. the locative]. Buddhaghosa’s technical vocabulary, as it appears from his exegesis, is completely identical with Pāṇini’s. He even seems to quote Pāṇini II 3 37 in a slightly edited Pāṇini version.21

The canonical Abhidhamma passage, which Buddhaghosa interprets in the light of Pāṇinian grammar, is Dhs § 1, defining the particular occasion (samaya) on which certain dhamaṁ are to be considered good (kusala). I quote only the part that is necessary for understanding Buddhaghosa’s interpretation:

18 Cf. the verse — probably stemming from an unknown Pāli kosa — which Buddhaghosa quotes in Sp 107,1–2:

samayāye khaṇe kāle samāhī he udāhirihi
patilabbe pahāne ca pativedhe ca dissati.

19 In his translation of the same passage, as quoted in Pj I, Bhikkhu Ēicamoli takes bhāva to mean substantial, and thus misinterprets the issue under discussion; cf. Pj I-trsl. (Illustrator) p. 114.

20 Cf. Dhammapāla’s Ud-a 22,5–8 which quotes Buddhaghosa’s explanation interspersed with glosses: Abhidhamme ... ādhāra bhāvalakṣanāḥ [so read; Ee ādhāra sa bhāvalakṣanāḥ] adhikaranattho. kiriyāya kiriyantaralaṅkhaṁ ṛṣanāṁ bhāvena bhāvalakkhanaṭtho ca sambhaveti; cf. also Dhammapāla’s Sv-pu. n. 23 infra, which alludes to this Pāṇini sūtra.

21 The yasya ca of II 3 37 only makes sense in connection with the preceding sūtra and was therefore omitted by Buddhaghosa.
yasmim samaye kāmāvacāram kusalam cittam uppannam hoti ...
... tasmin samaye phasso hoti, vedanā hoti, saññā hoti,
cetanā hoti ... : ime dhammā kusalā.

On which occasion (yasmim samaye) a good thought that is active within the sphere of the sensuous universe, has originated ... on this occasion (tasmin samaye) there is contact, feeling, perception, volition ... : these dhammas are good.

According to Buddhaghosa there are two ideas underlying the usage of the locatives yasmim samaye ... tasmin samaye. One is that the word samaya denotes the locus (adhiparana) of action, in terms of a particular time (kālatta) and a particular collection (samūha) being the basis of the action, of certain dhammas [= phassa, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, etc.]. The implied action is in this particular case expressed through the two verbs uppannam (hotī) and hotī. This is the strict locatal interpretation of samaya. It is understandable that time, as such, should be interpreted as the locus of an action. It is less obvious how a collection of certain dhammas [i.e. conditions] could be taken, in a strict locatal sense, as the locus of an action. It would seem more straightforward to interpret this usage of the loc in the sense of the aggregate being the cause [= nimitasaptami] of the existence of other dhammas. The strict locatal interpretation would thus seem to be somewhat forced. However, when Buddhaghosa takes samaya in the sense of time (kāla) and a collection (samūha) [of dhammas], he draws on a tradition which is reflected in the verse defining the various meanings of samaya, which he quotes whenever he deals with the word samaya.22

The other function which Buddhaghosa attributes to the locative is more difficult to understand, because it is far from obvious how one could possibly interpret the grammatical structure of yasmim samaye ... uppannam hoti ... tasmin samaye ... hoti according to the Pāññinian definition of the locativus absolutus.

The phrase samayassa bhāvena [cf. Sp 108.4 qu. above], however, gives a clue to what Buddhaghosa had in mind. The underlying idea is — as Dhammapāla explains in a similar context in Sv-pt, illustrating the syntactical properties of the absolute locative with a citation, in Pāli transla-

22 Cf. the verse quoted above and v. the detailed exegesis at As 61.27-32 which clarifies the intention underlying Buddhaghosa’s concise explanation.

tion, from Candravṛtti [ad Candra II 1 90] or the Kaśīkā [ad Pāñ II 3 37]23 — that one should complement the locative phrases yasmim samaye ... tasmin samaye with the appropriate form of the pr. part. sati so as to read yasmim samaye sati ... tasmin samaye sati. The reason is that the verb hoti in the phrase uppannam hoti [q.v. supra] necessitates the complementation of existence (sattā) to samaya (hotipadatthassa sattavirahābhāvato) so as to form a regular absolute locative. In other words, the action of the origination of the mind (cittassa uppādakiriya) and the action of the coming into existence of contact, etc. (phassādīnam bhavanakiriya) are both qualified by the existence of the occasion (samayassa sattākiriya ... lakkhiya).

Dhammapāla’s explanation thus gives a clear exposition of the idea underlying Buddhaghosa’s application of the Pāññinian definition of the locativus absolutus to the phrases yasmim samaye ... tasmin samaye. The three meanings of moment, combination, and cause (khaṇa, samavāya, and hetu) which he ascribes to samaya are, in this case as well, related to the verse mentioned above, in which the various meanings of the word samaya are defined.

1.5 karana and hetu [Sp 108.5-11 ad Vin III 1.6]

This text continues the exegesis of the phrase tena samayena, as it occurs in Vin III 1.6. Buddhaghosa writes:

23 Cf. his elaborate commentary at Sv-pt 158.30 foll.: adhiparana = adhārattato bhāva nāmo kiriya, kiryāya kiryantaralakkhanaṃ = bhāvena bhāvalakkhanaṃ, yathā kālo sahāvadhammaparichinno sayanā paramathato avijjāmāno pi adhārabhāvena paññāto tathāpanappavatānaṃ tato purhe parato ca adhāvato: paccagata jāto, sāyāyaka gacchati ti ca udiṣu, samūha ca avayavavinmuto avijjāmāno pi kappannamattaśdiko avayavānādhi adhārabhāvena paññāpiyaṭṭi rukkhe sākkhā yavaśasayam samṃbhuto ti udiṣu; evam idhāpi ti dassento aha "adhārakahāri hi dhammanāti ti yasmim kāle dhammapujā se kāmāvacaraṃ kusalaṃ cittaṃ uppannahi hoti; yasmim yeva kāle dhammapujā se [so read; Ev va] phassādīyo pi hoti ti udiṣu aha ti tathā atho, yathā ca "gāvissu diyamanāṇaṃ gato, duddhāsu āgato" [= Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 90 and Kāś ad Pāñ II 2.37] ti dohanakiriya yagamaniyakiriya lakkhiya, evam idhāpi yasmim samaye, tasmim samaye ti ca vute sati ti udiṣu viṇṇāyamāno eva hotipadathassa [so read; Ev hoti padatthassa] sattavirahābhāvato ti samayassa sattākiriya [so read; Ev satā kiriya] cittassa uppādakiriya phassādīnam bhavanakiriya ca lakkhiya, yasmim samaye ti yasmim navane khaṇe, yasmim yonisamañca dhotiṇi hetumhi paccayasamāvyā se sati kāmāvacaraṃ kusalaṃ cittaṃ uppannahi hoti, tasmīṃ yeva khaṇe, hetumhi, paccayasamāvyā se phassādīyo pi hoti ti ubhayattha samayassadda [so read with v.l.; Ev - sadde] bhummaddeso kato lakkhanabhātābhāvyutto ti dassento aha: khaṇa-... lakkhiya iti.
idha pana hetuatho karaṇattho ca sambhavati. yo hi so sikkhāpadapaṭṭhatisaṃaya Sāriputtādīhi pi dubbhīneyyo, tena samayena hetubhūteṇa karaṇabhūteṇa ca sikkhāpadānā paṭṭhayanto sikkhāpadapaṭṭhāhitte na aevakkhamāno bhagavā tattha tattha vīhāsi, tasmā tadatthajotathanthin idha karaṇavacanena niddeso kato ti veditabbo.24

In this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya], however, the word “samaya” occurs with the meaning of cause and with the meaning of instrument. Because (hi) the occasion for Bhagavan’s [discussing the precepts was difficult to understand even for Sāriputta, etc., and because Bhagavan, while setting forth, through that [specific] occasion as a cause and an instrument (hetubhūteṇa karaṇabhūteṇa), the precepts and paying attention to the cause for discussing on the precepts, lived in this or that [place], (tasmā) one should know that the indication [of circumstances] in this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya] is made by [using] the instrumental case (karaṇavacanena).

There is no grammatical subtlety involved in this comment. Buddhaghosa’s terminology shows that he has in mind Pānini’s definitions of the usage of the instrument kāraka, in Pāṇini II 3 18: kārakaraṇaṃ yo tātriyaḥ, and II 3 23: hetau. In these sūtras Pānini explains that the instrument kāraka is used in the sense of an instrument or a cause of something. The identification of the relevant Pānini sūtras is corroborated by Buddhaghosa’s usage of the terms hetubhūteṇa and karaṇabhūteṇa.

It is noteworthy that some of the examples which Sāriputta and Dhammapāla quote in their respective commentaries on Buddhaghosa’s text appear to be quoted from Candragomin’s commentary on his grammar. This commentary was evidently used by the authors of the Kāśikā, which in many cases is indistinguishable from Candravṛtti.25

1.6 nimitta
[Sp 189,7–28 ad Vin III 8,30–33]

The Vinaya passage which Buddhaghosa attempts to interpret is syntactically ambiguous and difficult to construe. This fact leads him to suggest two alternative solutions to the problem, neither of which, however, is satisfactory. The passage reads:

tatra sudam Sāriputta bhimsanakassa vanasandassa bhims-anakatasmim hoti yo koci avitarāgo tam vanasandam pavisati yebhuyyena lomāni hamsanti.

The syntax of this sentence raises several problems of interpretation. It is, in the first place, not clear how we are to construe tatra. Buddhaghosa suggests that it be taken as an anaphora, referring back to what has been said in the previous sentence (tatrā ti purimavacanāpekkham). He interprets sudam as an expletive particle (sudam ti padapūranammatte nipatō), and construes the sentence as follows (ayam pan’ ettha atthayajanā):

tatrā ti yam vuttam aṅkataṃ bhimsanaka vanasanḍe ti. tatra yo so bhimsanako ti vanasando vutto tassa bhims-anakassa vanasandassa bhimsanakatasmim hoti, bhimsanakiriya ti hōti ti atta. kim hōti? idam hōti: yo koci ... lomāni hamsanti ti.

The expression “therein (tatra)” [refers back to the clause] “in a horrifying jungle-thicket (= Vin III 8,23).” In this case the jungle-thicket is explained (vutto) by the word “horrifying (bhimsako).” It happens (hoti), on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket’s creating horror (bhimsanakassava vanasanandassa bhimsanakatasmim), that ... , i.e. (iti atta), it happens, because of its action of [creating] horror (bhimsanakiriyā), that ... What happens? It happens that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end (hamsanti).

pharasunā chināti and kuddālana khanati have a parallel in Kacc-v ad Kacc 281: yena vā kariyate tān karaṇān: ... pharasunā rukkhanā chināti. kuddālana rukkhanā khanati.
From this exegetical tour de force it becomes clear that Buddhaghosa interprets bhimsanakatakasmim as a compound, which he apparently derives from bhimsana + kata. According to Sāriputta, kata (n.) is to be interpreted as an action noun (bhāvasādhana), but apart from that he makes no suggestion for the derivation of kara, about which Buddhaghosa also leaves us in the dark. The gloss bhimsanakiriya, however, would seem to indicate that he took kara as a pp. [<√kra], and that he interpreted it as a neuter noun, equivalent to kiriyā in the compound bhimsanakiriya. As indicated by Buddhaghosa’s gloss, he interpreted the locative in a causal sense (nimitta = nimittasaptami).

In the second alternative he returns more explicitly to this interpretation of the locative. First he suggests taking the locativial tatra in the sense of the genitive (tatra ti sāmiatthe bhummanta). He interprets sudam as a sandhi form of the particle (nipāta) su and the pronoun idam, with elision of the -i- (sandhivasena ikāralopō veditabbo), and he finally construes the sentence as follows (ayaṃ pan’ ettha athhayojanā):

tassā Sāriputta bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassā bhimsanakatakasmim idam su hotī. bhimsanakatakasa ti bhimsanakabhāve ti attho. ekassa taṅkaraśa lopō datṭhabho. bhimsanakatakasmim yeva vā pātho, bhimsanakatāya iti vā vattabbo, lingavipallāso kato. nimittatthe āttho bhummavacanaṃ, tasmā āvān sambandho veditabbo: bhimsanakabhāve idam su hotī; bhimsanakabhāvanimittaṃ, bhimsanakabhāvahetu, bhimsanakabhāvapaccayā idam su hotī: yo koci ... lomāni hamsanti ti.

This, Sāriputta, surely happens on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket’s causing horror. [The word] bhimsanakatakasmim means “on account of being horrifying.” One should observe that a -i- [in bhimsanakatakasmim] has been elided [from bhimsanakat(i)asmim]. Either the [correct] reading is bhimsanakatakasmim, or one should read [as if it were] bhimsanakatāya, a change of gender (lingavipallāso) being made [of the abs. suffix -tā (f.) to -ta (m. or n.)]. Also (ca) this locative is used in the sense of a cause (nimitta). Therefore one should know that the connection (sambandho) [between the terms in the sentence, i.e., the syntax] is as follows: on account of being terrifying this surely happens, i.e., because of being terrifying, due to being terrifying, by reason of being terrifying this happens viz. that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.

This interpretation would seem to create as many problems as it tries to solve. Buddhaghosa is no doubt correct in suggesting the emendation bhimsanakattasim, which makes better sense than the unusual compound bhimsana + kara. His gloss bhimsanakabhāve shows that he interprets, as one would assume, the abstract suffix -tā (n.) [<♀-tva] according to Pān V 119: tarṣa bhāvas tvalau.28 There is no reason to believe, however, that he is right in claiming that the locativial tatra = tassa. Nor is Buddhaghosa’s derivation of the particle sudam from the particle su [<♀-sma] + idam correct. It is rather to be derived from su + tam > sudam (= Sanskrit sma tad).29 The reason is no doubt that he felt the need for a pronoun in construction with the relative pronoun ya, introducing the subordinate clause. In the case of sudam, however, canonical usage shows that it is exclusively used adverbially, i.e. as a particle (nipāta), which Buddhaghosa correctly suggests in the first alternative. The phrase tatra sudam or tatra pi sudam is often found in canonical narrative prose.30 In every single case tatra has a locativial sense and sudam is merely used as an emphatic, often untranslated, particle. It is clear that Buddhaghosa’s interpretation is a result of a desperate attempt to construe an otherwise syntactically ambiguous sentence. First of all, he is forced to find a solution to the locative bhimsanakatakasmim. Although he is probably correct in assuming that this form has to be

26 Cf. Sp-t Be 1903 I 406,10–12; katan ti bhāvasādhana viṣaya idān padan ti āha bhimsanakatakasmim bhimsanakiriya ti. bhimsanassa karaṇaṃ kriya bhimsanakatān. tasmin bhimsanakatakasmim.27 The interpretation of the locative (bhummanta) in a causal sense (nimitta) is rarely met with in the Pāli Āṭṭhakathās. Apart from this example, I can only refer to Pj II 321,9 and 433,23 for similar interpretations of the locative in Pāli.

28 There are many allusions to this Pāñjinian sūtra in the Āṭṭhakathās, e.g. Spk II 12,33 (ad S II 3,1): cavanatā ti bhāvavacanaṃ lākhaṇḍanidassanāh = Vībh-a 100,20; māyāvino bhāvo māyāvita, Vībh-a 493,16.

29 Cf. O. von Hindüber, Überblick, § 134.

30 For tatra sudam, cf. D I 1,10; M I 473,19; M II 164,5; for tatra pi sudam, cf. D I 119,1; II 91,6; II 126,6.
amended to read bhimsanakattasmitm, it is nonetheless questionable whether his interpretation of the locative in a causal sense is correct. It is understandable, however, that Buddhaghosa, whose knowledge of grammar was largely, or perhaps exclusively, dependent upon Pāṇinian grammar, would try to find a solution to the problem of the locative bhimsanakattasmitm in Pāṇinian grammar. He probably found it in Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ II 3 36 [+ vārttika 6 ad loc.]. Vajirabuddhiśtāma confirms this assumption by quoting a slightly edited Pāli version of a Sanskrit verse which Patañjali quotes ad loc. as an illustration of nimittasaptamī.32

It is not possible to find an absolutely satisfactory solution to the syntactical problem of the sentence causing Buddhaghosa to write such an elaborate grammatical analysis. The locatival tatra is probably to be construed with the yoh of the relative clause, and can, in fact, be interpreted in the sense of a nimittasaptamī. As for the locative bhimsanakattasmitm (adopting Buddhaghosa’s emendation), I would suggest interpreting it in a predicative sense — for which there are a few interesting canonical examples [v. infra] — and translating the sentence in the following way:

This indeed, Sāriputta, is the reason why the horrifying jungle-thicket is called horrifying, namely, that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.34

The whole purpose of the sentence is obviously to give an “etymology” of the word bhimsanaka, which is here explained with reference

to the root hams [< */hṛṣ] ≠ the stem bhims- [bhīma deriv. < */bhī].35 Fanciful etymologies of this type, being based upon a superficial phonetic similarity, are a well-known feature in Indian literature.36 They are, for instance, to be found in great number in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the early Upanisads, not to mention Yāsaka’s Nīruktā. The way in which they are formulated, e.g. in the early Upaniṣads, would seem to lend support to Buddhaghosa’s correction bhimsanakat. In the majority of cases the reason for the nature or particular form of any given word x is explained there in terms of its x-ness.37 This fits very well into the present context, where the word bhimsanaka is explained in terms of its bhimsanaka-ness, which is due to the fact that it makes people’s hair stand on end (hamsaniti).

The predicative usage of the loc. is rarely met with in the canon. As a matter of fact, I have only been able to identify two canonical examples, both from the Dighanikāya. One example is D I 63,22: idam pi ’ssa hoti silasmitm: this is what he has as virtue. The other example is D II 221,7: idam tesam hoti āsanasmitm: this is what they have as seat.38 It is clear that Buddhaghosa was ignorant of this function of the loc. because in Sv 182,14–18 ad D I 63,22 he quotes the view of the Mahā-Āṭṭhakathā as an alternative to his own explanation according to which the loc. has a partitive sense [cf. Pāṇ II 3 41]. The Āṭṭhakathā, however, is correct in interpreting the loc. as equivalent to the nominative (= pacattavacanatthe) as shown by the quote idam pi tassa samanassa silam, which simply is one way of saying that the loc. has a predicative function.39

Buddaghosa’s alternative suggestions for interpreting the above Vinaya passage are ingenious, but certainly wrong. The main reason is that in general his grammatical analyses are dependent on whether he can find a paragraph in Pāṇinian grammar that is applicable to the problem in question. This obviously is not the case in this context, and his failure to interpret the

31 Cf. Mahā-bh and vārt 6 ad loc.: nimittā karmasamyogye [= vārt 6], nimittā karmasamyogye saptamī vaktavyā.

32 Cf.: nimittatthe iti etha
commanī dipinām hanti dantayor hanti kuṭjāram keśuś ca marīm hanti simmi puṣkaka ṭoata.

33 Cf.: nimittatthe iti etha
commanī dipinām hanti, dantesu hanti kuṭjāram
vālēsu cāmarīṁ hanti, simmesu sarasa hato.

ti adhikaranam [Vṛj Be 1960 57,26–27]; cf. Ja VI 61,3 foll. ≠ 78,17.

35 The association of hams- and bhims- is common in the canon. Cf., for example, the canonical juxtaposition of lomakhanas and bhimsanaka in D II 106,23.


37 Cf., for example, Brhadāraṇyakopanisad I 2,1: so ’ca man acara tasyātāca āpo ’jīvanta, arcate vai me kam abhūd iti. tad evāvāsāya jātvam; v. ibid. I 2,5.

38 Buddhaghosa does not comment on this clause. Perhaps the reason is that he did not find any suggestions in the old Aṭṭhakathā as to its interpretation.

39 Cf. Sv loc. cit.: Mahā-Āṭṭhakathāya hi idam pi tassa samanassa silam ti ayam eva atho vutto, which indicates that, in the commentarial tradition, there was a clear understanding of the predicative function of the locative.
sentence correctly can be ascribed to the fact that Pāṇinian grammar does not recognize a similar function of the locative.

1.6 samīpa

[Sp 108.21–22 ad Vin III 1.6]

As appears from his reference to the usage of the loc. in the sense of cause (nimitta), Buddhaghosa must have been conversant with the Pāṇinian tradition as a whole. This is also the case in the context where he claims that the loc. is used in the sense of being close to or nearby something (samipatthā), although in this particular case he may rely on grammatical sources that are no longer accessible. In Sp 108.21–22, commenting upon the loc. Veraṇjayam in the clause Veraṇjayam ... viharati, he writes: Veraṇjayam samipatthe bhummavacanam: “by Veraṇja” is a locative in the sense of vicinity (samīpa). Buddhaghosa illustrates the meaning of this particular usage with the following example: yathā Gangayamudānaṁ samīpa goyūhāni carantāṁ Gangāya carantī Yamanāya carantī ti vuccanti evam idhāpi [= Sp 109.18–19]: just as the cowherds that graze in the vicinity of [the rivers] Ganges and Yamuna are said to graze by the Ganges and the Yamuna, so also in this context.

Although there is no mention of this usage of the loc. in Pāṇini, it can be traced to Mahā-bh II 218.14–19 where it is used in a context analogous to the one with which Buddhaghosa is dealing: tāsāmipyā: Gangāyāṁ ghosah [= Mahā-bh loc. cit.]. Elsewhere Patañjali mentions three types of locative kāraka relations: adhikaranaṁ nāma tripakrāraṁ vyāpakam aupasleśiṁaṁ vajiyakam iit [= Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ VI 1.72]. To these the Pāli grammarians add sāmipika.41 Although there can be no doubt that the use of sāmipika has its origin in Mahā-bh — Aggavatśa’s citation of Mahā-bh loc. cit. in connection with his discussion of sāmipika proves this beyond doubt — it has not been possible to find a justification, in contemporary Sanskrit grammatical sources, for the inclusion of samīpa in the locative kāraka relations; therefore its historical background remains unclear.42 Buddhaghosa’s

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40 For other references to samipatthā, cf. Sv I 132.23; Spk I 12.31 = Mp I 15.1 = Pj I 111.5.

41 Cf. the kārikā qu. in Rūp C 1897 113.29–30:
vyāpiko : tilakārātā, kāsa : opastesiško
sāmipiko : gangādā, ṅhāso : vasso mata.

42 It is noteworthy that the examples of the usage of the locative that are quoted in Candrayātī ad Candra II 188 (kahe astē, ṅhāso kunyahā, tīṣa tu iiam, Gangāyāṁ gavah) are used as illustrations of the various types of locative relations that are mentioned in the verse example illustrating the samipatthā is analogous to the one used by Candragomin in Candrayātī [ad II 188]: gangāyāṁ gavah, but Candragomin does not use the corresponding technical term for defining the nature of the locative. One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that Buddhaghosa has taken his example from a common stock of examples illustrating sāmipīya and that he applied it ad hoc. For instance, one finds the following illustration of sāmīpa in Vātsyāyana’s Bhāṣya ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 62: sāmīpyād — gangāyāṁ gavas caranti.

[B]

Grammatical references in Paramatthajotikā I–II

Almost all the references to the views of the grammarians, or occasional allusions to Pāṇini, that are found in Pj I and II have already been identified by Helmer Smith in his careful editions of these important commentaries, but he never attempted a study of them. They are interesting and should be included in a study of the Pāli grammatical tradition as it is reflected in the Aṭṭhakitās. Since Pj II was written before Pj I, it is here treated before Pj I.

[Pj II 23.12–26 ad Sn 14]

In the first example the author deals with two problems. The first is an apparent morphological anomaly: the pp. samuhatāse [ < *samud + ṣvan] that occurs in the clause: yassati ... mūlā akusāla samuhatāse “who has destroyed all the evil roots.” On this form he writes:

samuhatā ico eva attho, paccattahuvacanassa hi (a)sa-kārāgamam [so read? Ee sa-; Be se-] icchanti saddalalokanakovidda. attakathācaryiṇa pana se ti nipatō ti vanṇayanti. yaṁ ruccati, taṁ gahetabbaṃ.

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43 For this emendation, cf. the discussion infra.
The meaning is the same as (eva) [of the form] “samūhatā,” because (hi) the grammarians claim that the nominative plural (paccattabahuvacanassa) gets the augment as. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathās, however, comment that se is a particle. One may adopt whichever [view] one prefers.

One finds here the same scholarly attitude towards grammatical problems as is normal practice in Buddhagosa [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I]: first the view of the grammarians is presented and then the view of the Aṭṭhakathācariyas.

The reading sakārāgama, however, is problematic. One would expect the reading sekāra- in accordance with the canonical reading, but the manuscript tradition seems to consistently read sa for the expected se.44 Assuming that the reading sa is not an old corruption and that the author is trying to explain the ending -āse with reference to the grammarians’ view, one might suggest reading asakārāgama, from which the a was probably elided in conjunction with the immediately preceding hi. If this assumption is correct, then the reference to grammarians (saddalakkanakoviḍā) becomes understandable. As a rule such references are to Sanskrit grammarians. This implies that the author is referring to Sanskrit;45 and in this particular case he is probably thinking of those Vedic plural forms ending in -āsas, which Pāñini addresses in Pāṇ 7 I [38+1 50]: ājiser asuk: after stems in a or ā [the nom. pl. augment as] gets [in the Veda the augment denoted] asuk [= as].46 However, the author of Pj was probably not aware of the fact that Sanskrit -āsas > Pāli -āse.47 His primary intention seems to have been to contrast Sanskrit nom. pl. forms in -āsas with analogous Pāli nom. pl. forms in -āse.48 It is therefore surprising that an authority like Aggavāma regards the se as not constituting a part of the pl. form itself (apadāvayava), and that he thus

would seem to agree with the aṭṭhakathācariyas that se is a particle (nipāta).49

The next problem the author addresses is the present form jahāti occurring in the first line of the refrain of the Uragasutta: so bhikkhu jahāti orapāram: this monk abandons this shore and the far shore, on which he writes the following concise comment:

n’ eva ādiyatīna pa jahati, pahājītvā thito ti vutto. tathā pi vattāmanānasime vattāmanavacanalakkanena (= Pāṇ 3 131) jahāti orapāram ti vuccati.

What is meant is that he neither appropriates nor abandons, being in a state where he already has abandoned (pahājītvā thito). In the same way also [the present form jahāti in the clause] “he abandons (jahāti) this and the far shore” is used, according to the rule about the present [being used to express the past or the future time], when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present time (vattāmanasamipe).

This interpretation alludes to Pāṇ 3 131, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that affixes that are employed for denoting the present time may also be used to express the past or future time, provided that they express the immediate past or future: vattāmanānasamippe vattāmanavad vā: optionally, [the affixes that are used to express the present time] may in the same way as when the meaning is that of present time, be used [in the sense of past or future time] when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present.

The reason why Buddhaghosa alludes to this sūtra is, of course, that the present form jahāti of the refrain follows immediately after the pp. samūhatāse. This would seem to create a logical problem, because having given up mūlā akusalā is, according to Buddhaghosa, equivalent to having given up “this and the far shore.” He therefore solves the problem with reference to this particular Pāṇini sūtra. In the present context this means that the tense value of the pp. samūhatāse takes precedence over the tense value of jahāti which thus assumes a past tense value, referring to the

44 The reading of Be is probably a modern attempt at being consistent.
45 He refers explicitly to Vedic Sanskrit (sakkata) at Pj II 43,21, q.v. infra.
46 One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that the author refers to the normal Sanskrit plural ending -ās, and that the sakārāgama is to be interpreted with reference to the Pāli plural ending -ā + s, which represents the normal Sanskrit nom. pl. ending. If so, it leaves the -e in -āse unexplained.
47 The ending -āse is probably a reflex of an eastern Prakrit; cf. O. von Hinüber, Überblick, § 312. Analogous nom. pl. forms that occur in Sn are passed over in silence in Pj II, but they are correctly identified as such; cf. Pj II 368,5: upāsakāse ti upāsake eva vutta hoti (ad Sn 376); II 553,28: pāṇidāse = pāṇidā (ad Sn 875).
48 This appears clearly from the way in which he correctly contrasts the form carāmase in Sn 32 with Sanskrit carāmase at Pj II 43,21-22; v. infra.
49 Cf. Sadd 513,14-15: apadāvayava pana ... “mūlā akusalā samūhatā se [= Sn 14].”
immediate past. Thus, following Buddhaghosa’s analysis, one might translate the refrain: he has given up this and the far shore.

In the following example Buddhaghosa addresses the problem of the form carāmase that occurs in the verse: Gopi ca aha ca … brahmacariya

Sugata carāmase [= Sn 31]. He writes:

The form] carāmase = carāma, because [the form] which in Sanskrit reads carāmasi, in this [verse reads] carāmase. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathā, however, say that se is a particle (nipāto), and therefore they optionally propose (vikappenti) the reading carema se, with regard to the meaning of the vow [expressed] therein [i.e. in the verb carāma se (ethha āyācanatham sandhāya carema) v.l. care]- se iti pi pātham vikappenti. yam ruccati, tam gahetabbam.

It appears from Buddhaghosa’s commentary that he interprets carāmase = carāmasi [Vedic ind. pr. 1 pl.]. We may therefore deduce that he also knew Sanskrit (sakkata) in its Vedic form, at least to the extent that it is covered by Pāṇini’s rules for chandas. This fact also lends support to the suggestion [v. supra] that he contrasted Pāli nom. pl. -āse with Vedic nom. pl. -āsas, and that the proposed emendation therefore may be correct.

It is, of course, another question whether Buddhaghosa is correct in suggesting that carāmase = carāmasi = carāma. The form carāmase itself is ambiguous and admits of two interpretations: it may either be interpreted as indicative mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 122, which cites analogous forms that cannot be interpreted as subjunctive forms], the ending -mase being the middle counterpart of Vedic -masi, or as subjunctive mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 126 according to which carāmase belongs to this category]. In this case there is no reason to doubt that it is a subj. mid. form, and we may therefore translate Sn 31: Gopi and I ... shall practice brahmacariya for the sake of Sugata (sugate = nimittasaptamī). The aṭṭhakathācariyas apparently had preserved the tradition that it was a subjunctive51 [cf. the phrase āyācanatham sandhāya], but they clearly were unable to analyse correctly the form itself, which is a Middle Indian innovation. Since Buddhaghosa had no other possibility of identifying the form than to try to find as close a parallel in Sanskrit as possible, he could only suggest that carāmase = carāmasi.52 In those cases where analogous forms occur, he might have been correct [for the present ind. forms, cf. the forms listed in Geiger § 122], but in this context it would seem necessary to interpret carāmase as a subjunctive.53

In this example the presence of the ind. mid. 3 sg. kurute, in the verse sante na kurute piyam;54 he does not make good men his friends, gives Buddhaghosa another opportunity to display his knowledge of Pāṇini grammar. He offers two alternative explanations of this clause, only the first of which can be considered correct: sante na kurute piyam, attano piye itthe kante manāpe na kurute iti attho [= Pj II 169,11–13]. From this paraphrase it appears that he correctly interprets piyam [= eastern acc. pl. piyae], in apposition to sante [eastern acc. pl.].55 This interpretation probably represents the view of the aṭṭhakathācariyas. In the second alternative, however, he suggests interpreting kurute according to Pāṇi I 3 32, which lays down the rule that when the verb ykr inter alia means “to revile” or “to serve,” the middle (āṭmanapada) is used, even though the fruit of the action does not fall to the agent (gandحنavedṃeṣṭaḥvānapasvasāhāsiṣṣyapratyayatna-prakathānāyopayogeṣu kṛṇaḥ). He therefore suggests the following paraphrase: sante na sevaṭi iti attho yathā rājānaṃ sevaṭi: they do not serve the good men, on the grounds that the grammarians take, e.g. the expression “rājānaṃ pakurute” in the same meaning (etasmim atthe “rājānaṃ pakurute” ti saddaśāya mantenti).56 The suggestion is ingenious, and it is therefore

51 This speaks for the historical validity of the Aṭṭhakathā tradition, which in many cases has preserved the correct interpretation; cf. n. 39 supra.
52 He evidently took carāmase = carāmasi = carāma, because he quotes Ja IV 53,20: brahmacariyaṇaḥ carāma as a parallel.
53 This applies mutatis mutandis to the interpretation of bhavāmase in the following line of Sn 31; cf. Pj II 44,2–4.
54 Cf. Dhpr 217: tathā jana kurute piyam: such a man the world makes its friend.
55 For piyam = eastern acc. pl., v. Lüders, Beobachtungen, § 205.
56 Cf. Fausbøll’s translation which tries to do justice to the “Pāṇini” interpretation: he does not do anything that is dear to the good, which Lüders [op. cit., § 205] incorrectly claims does not do justice to the medium.

50 Cf. also Norman, Elders’ Verses II, n. ad Th 370–71; O. von Hinüber, Überblick, § 433.
nothing in the verse that would support this learned display of Sanskrit grammar. The clause *pahūtadhanaḍāḥaṇo 'si* is clearly syntactically co-ordinated with the clauses *bahu te vittam* and *bahu te dhanam*, and thus one cannot, without distorting the syntax of the verse, attribute the value of *āsāṃsā* to the usage of *āsi*.

Commenting on the phrase “*pahūtadhanaḍāḥaṇo 'si, yajassu, bahu te vittam, yajassu, bahu te dhanam,*” Buddhaghosa writes:

*pahūtadhanaḍāḥaṇo 'si ti, pahūtadhanaḍāḥaṇo bhavissasi abhisamparāyaṇa ti adhippayo, āsāṃsāyān hi anāgata pi vi-tamāṇāvacanam icchanti saddakoviddā.*

The intention (adhippayo) of [the clause] “you become” is “you shall become abundantly rich” is “you shall become abundantly rich in the future,” because (hi) those who are well versed in grammar (saddakoviddā) claim that, in the case of a wish (āsāṃsā), the present is also used in the sense of the future.

The grammarians to whom the author refers here are, as one would expect, Pāñjinins. In this case the Pāñjinin rule that justifies his exegesis is found in Pāñ III 3 [131+] 132: *āsāṃsāyām bhūtavac ca* in the case of a wish [the affixes that are used to express the present time or the past time] may [optionally, i.e., instead of the affixes expressing the future time] be used in the same way as when [the meanings are that of present time] and that of past time.

The intention of the reference of the grammarians becomes clear when one takes a look at Buddhaghosa’s paraphrase: *mahatāja, bahu te vittam dhanam ca, yajassu, ayatim pi pahūtadhanaḍāḥaṇo bhavissasi ti*. He simply wants to show that the Sn clause has the following underlying structure: May you offer [= if you offer] ... then you shall become abundantly rich. It is therefore clear that he is forced to give a reason for why the present form *āsi*, which he tacitly interprets as equivalent to *bhavati*, is used instead of the expected future. He consequently turned to the relevant Pāñini sūtra which would seem to justify his exegesis. However, there is

57 Cf. Pj II 169,16–17: *piyam ti piyamāṇo tussamāṇo modamāṇo ti attho.*
58 I translate *āsi = bhavatī* in accordance with Buddhaghosa’s intention; v. infra.

59 This is one of several indications that Pj I may not be by Buddhaghosa.
60 Cf.: *bhagavā me saraṇaṃ parīyanān, aghassa tātt hitassa ca vidhāṇā ti iminā adhippayenā etaṃ gacchāmi bhagāmi svāmī payupāpāmi ti evam vā jāmām, bhuhām ti, yesam hi dhūtānām gati attho, buddhi pi tesam attho, Sv 229.20–22 = Pj I 19.1–3.*
61 Unfortunately the purport of the entire passage was misunderstood by Nānāmoli who translated *samatādikaraṇapāhāvā* as “identical causativity” [v. Illustration, p. 10 foll.].
hi tam “buddho” ti visesitam saranam, tam eva esa gato ti [= Pj I 17,29-18,6].

The objector (codako) says: In the [proposition] “I go to the Buddha, [to] protection,” the one who goes to Buddha, [to] protection, may either go to the Buddha or to the protection. In either case (abhayaṭhā pi), however, the word [that denotes] one [of them, i.e. Buddha or saranam] is meaningless. — How can that be? — Because the verbal action of going does not take two object [kārakas (kammādvaya)]; for in this case the grammarians do not claim that there are two object [kārakas], in the same way as in [the proposition] “he takes the goat to the village.” Suppose you object that [the word that denotes one of them] is meaningful, in the same way as, for instance, [the word pubbam or disam in the phrase from S I 122,2]: “he goes to the eastern region, he goes to the western region.” This [assumption] is wrong (na), because it is not intended that [the word] Buddha and [the word] protection be co-referential [i.e., in apposition (buddhasaranānam samānādhikaranabhāvavassānadhipetato)]; for (hi) if it were intended that they be co-referential, even a depraved person who approached the Buddha would come to the Buddha as protection, because he has come to precisely that protection which is qualified as “Buddha” (buddho ti visesitam).

The first objection is based upon the grammarians’ assumption that √gam cannot be constructed with two accusatives — except in its causative form — in the same way as √ni. The example used for illustrating the opposition between √ni and √gam: ajam gāmam neti, is quoted from a related discussion in Mahā-bh [= ajām nayati grāmam, Mahā-bh I 335,13 ad Pān I 4 51].

The next objection starts from the assumption that Buddha and saranam are in apposition (samānādhikaranabhāva). The idea is that saranam qualifies Buddha in the same way as the two adjectives pubbam or pacchimam qualify disam. In his tīkā [ad Sv 229,18-23] Dhammapāla claims

that it is necessary to complement the sentence according to its underlying syntax. In his view an iti, showing the apposition, has been elided after saranam. The correct reading, according to Dhammapāla, should therefore be: bhagavantam saranān iti gacchāmi.63 The author of Pj I objects to a similar view by pointing to the fact that, for instance, at S III 57,7: aniccam rūpaṁ aniccam rūpaṁ ti yathābhūtabhāya pājānāti, there is no iti found after aniccam, as one would expect.64 Consequently there is no need for complementing the sentence, which simply has to be interpreted as if an iti had been applied (payutto viya).65 The claim that saranān stands in apposition to Buddha or Bhagavantām would seem to be grammatically sound. Accordingly we should translate the canonical stereotype: I go to the Buddha as [my] protection.

[ B ]

1 [Paṭis-a 538,6-8 ad Paṭis II 4,4-6]

In this grammatical note Mahānāma deals with the semantical and syntactical conditions under which the past participle in -ta is constructed with the genitive. The passage commented upon reads:

na m’ ete bhikkhave samanā vā brāhmaṇa vā sāmanesu c’ eva sāmanasammatā brāhmaṇesu ca brāhmaṇasammatā.

I do not, monks, consider these recluses or brāhmaṇas to be recluses among recluses and brāhmaṇas among brāhmaṇas.

In this clause sāmanasammatā is to be construed with me, and Mahānāma therefore comments:

sāmanasammatā ti na mayā samanā ti sammata. sammata ti vattamānakālāvasena vuccamāne saddalakhaṇāvasena me ti ettha sānivaśanān eva hoti.

62 Cf. the corresponding discussion at Sv-ṭī P I 357,19-20 [ad Sv 229,18-23]: ettha ca nāyān gamusoṣḍhā nisaddālāyo viya dvikammako.

63 Cf. Sv-ṭī P I 357,21-23; bhagavantam saranān gacchāmi ti vattuṁ na sakkā; saranān ti gacchāmi ti pa vattabbaṁ. itisaddo c’ ettha luttandiddho.

64 The author evidently interprets the syntactical function of niccar as equivalent with, e.g., the predicative usage of ablatives in -to [< *-tas] used at S III 57,5 (attato).

65 Cf. Pj I 19,4 foll.
sananasammatā, i.e. I do not consider them as recluses. When [the past participle] sammatā is used in terms of the present tense, then (ettha) according to the grammatical rule, [the personal pronoun] me stands exclusively (eva) in the genitive.

Although Mahānāma refers to a specific Pāṇinian rule codified in Pāṇ II 3 67, his explanation also presupposes Pāṇ III 2 188. In this sūtra Pāṇini defines the semantical conditions under which the past participle in -ta is present in meaning: matibuddhipūjārthebhyaḥ ca: And after [the roots] that denote thought, understanding or respect [the past participle affix denoted kta is used in the sense of the present tense].66 This rule applies to the past participle sammatā [< sam + vman] which is subsumed under the Pāṇinian mati [< vman].

The rule that applies to the construction with me is found in Pāṇ II 3 67 where Pāṇini lays out the conditions under which a past participle in -ta is constructed with the genitive: ktasya ca vartamāne: And [the past participle affix denoted] kta (= -ta), when it is used in the sense of the present tense, takes [the genitive of the agent in construction].67 Since the enclitic form me, from a purely morphological point of view, is equivalent to the three case forms maya [= instr.], mayhaṃ [= dat.], and mama [= gen.], Mahānāma uses the delimitative particle eva in order to emphasise that in this particular syntactical construction it is only possible to interpret me as genitive.68

2 [Paṭis-a 481,26–32 ad Paṭis I 172,34]

This reference takes its point of departure in a pun based upon the phonological affinity of √ci with √ji. Commenting upon the word paricitā at Paṭis I 172,35: anāpānasati yassa ... anupubham paricitā yathā Buddhena desitā. Paṭis explains that sati is called paricitā [< √ci] because it conquers [jināti < √ji] bad and evil dharmas (satiyā parigghanhanto jināti pāpake akusale dhamme, tena vucaṭti paricitā). On this text Mahānāma writes inter alia the following commentary:

66 Cf. Kāś ad loc.: etadārthebhyaḥ ca dhārthbhyaḥ vartamānārthe ktrapravayyo bhavati: rājñām mataḥ, rājñām iṣṭāḥ, rājñām buddhāḥ, rājñām jñātāḥ, rājñām pūjitaḥ, rājñām arcitāḥ.
68 Cf. Buddhaghoṣa’s grammatical observations in Sv 28,8 foll. about the three meanings of me.

te ca dhammā satim avihāya attano pavattikkhane jinītum āraddhā ‘jitā ti vucaṭti, yathā bhuhjītum āraddho ‘bhutto ti vucaṭti. lakkhanam pan’ ettho saddassattho veditabbam. evam sante ‘pi parijītā ti vattabbe ja-kārasa ca-kāram katvā paricitā ti vutam ... imasmim athavikappe paricitā ti padam kattusādhanam.

And these [evil] dharmas that have started being conquered (jinītum āraddhā) at the moment, when he, without forsaking being mindful, applies himself [to the destruction of them], are said to have been conquered, in the same way as [someone who] has started eating (bhuhjītum āraddho) is said to have eaten. The rule, moreover, [that applies] in this case (ettha) should be known according to grammar (saddassathato). Even though [the word paricitā] in those circumstances ought to read parijītā, [the reading] paricitā is used by substituting the letter c for the letter j ... In this alternative meaning the word paricitā [in its identity with parijītā] is active (kattusādhanam).

There is no need to go into all the details of this exegetical tour de force: the basic intention is to show that paricitā = parijītā as a qualifier of sati [mindfulness] points to the fact that sati when practised properly (= paricitā) annihilates the evil dharmas. The reading paricitā is well attested in canonical Pāli where it occurs in similar contexts.70 Mahānāma obviously took the pun of Paṭis as an occasion for displaying his knowledge of grammar.

The reference itself is rather obscure, but from the context it seems clear that he must have thought of those cases — as shown by his remark that the word paricitā is active (kattusādhanam) — where a -ta participle [= kta] is used in an active sense, while at the same time having an inchoative sense, as indicated by the paraphrase jinītum āraddhā or bhuhjītum āraddho. A past participle in -ta is normally not used in the sense of the agent kāraka, i.e. in an active sense. In Pāṇ III 4 71, however, Pāṇini defines the semantical and syntactical conditions under which this is possible: ādikarmanī ktaḥ

69 Cf. the corresponding technical term of Sanskrit grammar kartṛśādhan, on which see Renou, Vocabulaire, s.v.
70 Cf., for example, S I 116,30; II 264,15.
kartari ca: the suffix "kta" is also used in the sense of the agent [kāraka], in the case of an inchoative action (ādikarmāṇi). The Kāśīka [q.v. ad loc.] illustrates this rule by the following examples: prakīrtāḥ kātām devadattaḥ: D. has started making a mat, and prabhukta odanam devadattaḥ: D. has started eating. In this example the word prakīrtāḥ or prabhuktaḥ is in agreement with the agent [kāraka] Devadatta, and it is therefore, according to Pāṇini syntactical theory, used in the sense of the agent [kāraka]. As shown by the example, the kta participle is constructed with the object kāraka [= kātām or odanam].

Although one would have expected Mahānāma to illustrate his analysis with a more appropriate example (the context requires pahutto, with the preposition pa [< *pra] indicating the inchoative aspect of the action, instead of bhutto), there is no reason to doubt that he refers to a grammatical rule similar to Pāṇi III 4 71. It is therefore surprising that his grammatical analysis does not reflect the Pāṇini technical vocabulary. For instance, he uses ārambha- for the Pāṇinian ādī. This would indicate that he may well be referring to Candrayākaraṇa which substitutes kriyārambhā [cf. Cand. I 3 28] for the Pāṇinian ādikārama(n), because the strict Pāṇinian tradition, from the Kāśīka and onwards, does not use a similar technical term.

Although Candragomin's grammar is written in the Pāṇinian tradition and does not deviate substantially from Pāṇi, it exhibits nonetheless noticeable innovations in its technical vocabulary. It is difficult to explain Mahānāma's usage of ārambha- in this particular context unless we assume that he is dependent on a Sanskrit model, which in the present case is probably identical with Candrayākaraṇa: it would only be natural for a Buddhist scholar to avail himself of the grammar of a fellow Buddhist scholar.

3 [Paṭis-a 567,12-16 ad Paṭis II 63,34-35]

This discussion shows that Mahānāma knew of the controversy over the semantical properties of the absolute suffix. I have dealt with Buddhaghosa's treatment of this question in Studies in the Pāli Grammarians

I, and I therefore refer the reader to the previous article in this series.73 I should add, however, that Buddhaghosa actually does seem to be aware of the problems involved in putting a strict Pāṇinian interpretation on certain constructions with the absolute, although it is difficult to decide from what he says whether or not he draws upon the grammarians' discussion of the problem.

The text in question occurs in Vism 653,21-28 where Buddhaghosa comments upon the same Paṭis passage as Mahānāma. Mahānāma copied verbatim most of Buddhaghosa's commentary. He deleted the introductory clause and inserted a reference to the grammarians' view before the concluding passage, where Buddhaghosa explains that the origination process of knowledge has to be taken as a unity. Mahānāma's intention was probably to complement Buddhaghosa's explanation by showing that it was also supported by the authority of the grammarians.

“nimittam patisankhā hānām uppajjati [= Paṭis loc. cit.].”74 kāman ca na pathamām jānīvā pacchā hānām uppajjati. vohāravasena pana “manah [Ee w.r. mā-] ca paticca dharme ca uppajjati manovinānān [= S IV 33,32]” ti ādīni viya evam vuccati [= Vism loc. cit.].75 Saddassathavidhi “pi ca “ādikcān pūnītivā tamo vighaccaṭi” ti ādīsi viya samāṇakāle ‘pi imam padam icchanti. ekattayaṇeva vā prīmica ca pacchimaṃ ca ekanāt kātā evam vuttan ti veditabbān [= Vism loc. cit.].

“Knowledge arises by reflecting (patisankhā) upon the object (nimittam).” And it is by no means the case (kāma na) that, after having previously become known, knowledge subsequently arises. The [above passage] is propounded in accordance with common usage (vohāravasena), in the same way as the [canonical proposition] “In dependence on the mind and the mental objects (dhamme) mental cognition arises;” and the like. The grammarians, moreover, acknowledge (icchanti)

74 Mahānāma has deleted the following passage from Vism 653,21: sankhāranimittim adhuvāh tāvākālikan ti aniccakākhyavasejanānāti.
75 Here ends the first part of the quotation from Vism. The second part begins with the concluding clause ekattayaṇeva... veditabbān.
past participle in -tā), as it occurs in Bv I 4b (buddho ayaṁ idisako naruttamo):

Buddho ti catusaccadhamme buddho anubuddho ti buddho,
yadhā:  
abhiññeyam abhiññāgam  
abhāvetabbā ca bhāavitām  
pahātabbām pahīnāme  
tasmā buddho ’smi brāhmaṇa [= Sn 558]  
Idha pana kattukārake buddhasaddassidhi datṭhābāb. (so punctuate)  
adhigatavisesehi devamanussahi sammāsambuddho vata so bhagavā ti evam buddhatta ṇatattā buddho.  
idha kammakārake buddhasaddassidhi datṭhābāb. buddham  
assā atti ti vā buddho buddhavanto ti atto. tam sabbām  
saddassathānusārena vedattabbaṁ.

Buddha means [one who has] undertaken to know, [one who has] undertaken to recollect, 82 the norms of the four truths. As he says [in Sn 558]:
I have obtained insight into that into which one should obtain insight, and realised what has to be realised, and rejected what has to be rejected, therefore, brāhmaṇa, I am a Buddha.
In this [verse] the formation (siddhi) of the word “buddha” should be taken in the sense of the agent kāraka (kattukāraka), [i.e. in a transitive/active sense]. [Or, alternatively,] he is [called] Buddha because he is recognised and acknowledged by gods and men who have obtained eminence, in the following words: “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened.” In this case the formation of the word “buddha” should be taken in the sense of the object kāraka. Or (vā), he is Buddha because (iti) he has (assā atti) awakening (buddha [n.]), 83 that is, he is “one who possesses awakening

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76 Cf. the Pāniniian definition of pada (n.) in Pān. I 4 14: supṭhaṇtaṃ padaṃ.
77 For analogous examples, cf. AkBhās 455,7-8: sahābhāve ’pi ca kvāvati dipam prāpya tamo gatam; Vism-sn p. 1254,12: dipam prāpya tamo vigacchati.
78 For this term, cf. CPD s.v. ekattanaya.
79 Cf. vārttika 5 and Mahā-bh ad loc.
81 Cf. the discussion at Sadd 312,22–313,30.
82 The reason for this translation will appear from the analysis below.
83 Formally buddha (n.) is a neuter pp. used as a noun by analogy with neuter pp. forms in Sanskrit. Cf. Nidd 458,7 and 459,7 [ad Sn 957] and Pj I 16,2: buddhi, buddhaṁ, bodho ti partiyāyavacanānaṁ.
(buddhavanta).” All this should be known according to grammar.

Each of the three explanations which Buddhaddatta suggests here would seem to depend on Pāṇinian grammar, although it is obvious that he has to some extent reinterpret the scope of the relevant Pāṇinian rules so as to justify his grammatical analysis.

In the first alternative Buddhaddatta ascribes a transitive value to buddha. It is clear, that this explanation — illustrated with the quotation of Sn 558 — has canonical support, because the Niddesa, in its comment upon the meaning of the word buddha in Sn 957, uses two nominal derivatives from √budh, with a transitive [+ causative] value, to explain its meaning:

buddho ti ken’ aththa buddho? bujjhitā sassānī ti buddho,
bodhetā pajjāya ti buddho.\footnote{In this gloss bujjhitā is a derivative in -tr from √budjh [< passive stem √budhya-] to be construed with sassānī [= acc.], whereas bodhetā is an analogous causative derivative [< causative stem √bodhe-] in -tr, to be construed with sassānī [= acc.] and pajjāya [= dat./gen.].}

In what sense is he a Buddha? He is a Buddha because (iti) he [himself] knows the [four] truths, and he is a Buddha because he makes [them] known to mankind.\footnote{I.B. Homer’s translation is based upon a wrong punctuation of the text and thus confuses the point at issue.}

This analysis obviously presupposes that in Pāli — as in Sanskrit literature — one finds instances where a -ta participle is constructed with the accusative of goal, as in the above examples from Kacc-v. It clearly must rely on a distinctly Buddhist tradition because there is nothing in Pāṇinian grammar that justifies the interpretation of buddha and gata in this sense. Buddhapiya may have realised that Kacc departed from the tradition of...
Sanskrit grammar, because he quotes the illustration of the meaning of *buddha* in Kacc-v with the remark that the *tapaccaya* is here used in the sense of the present (*ta iti vattamāne*), which, of course, reflects Pāṇinian theory (cf. Pān III 2 188). In the following [Rūp 592 = Kacc 559], however, he quotes a slightly edited version of Kacc-v ad Kacc 559, with the remark that the *ta* suffix also occurs in the sense of *sabbakāla*. This clearly has no support in Pāṇinian grammar. Kaccāyana’s rule may ultimately derive from a commentarial tradition connecting *vibudh* and *vīgam*, which can be traced back to Buddhaghosa.

In connection with the interpretation of the Buddhist stereotype Bhagavantam sarāṇam gacchāmi, Buddhaghosa suggests taking *vīgam* in the sense of *vibudh*:

yesam hi dhātunam gati attho buddhi pi tesam attho, tasmā gacchāmi ti imassa jānāmi, bujjhāmi ti ayam attho vutto [Sv 229.22-24 = Ps I 131.4; qu. Nidd-a 442.6].

Because (*hi*) the verbal roots that have the meaning of movement also have the meaning of understanding, (*tasmā*) the [word] *gacchāmi* is said to have the meaning “I know”, “I recognize”.

A Sanskrit verse ascribed to a certain Rāhulapāda by Prakramabāhu II in Vism-sn 479.19-20 evidently reflects the same tradition, although it has not been possible to trace the discussion to any known Sanskrit source:

*buddha ity avagamanyo yo dhātuḥ paripatih yatas tajjihāḥ, gatyartho ity ato ’smā kartary api yujyate ’yam ktaḥ.*

Since (*yatas*) the verbal root *vibudh* is enumerated [in the dhātupātha] by those who know it, in the sense of understanding (*avagamanyo*), (*atas*) the *kta* suffix [*-ta*] is also correctly used (*yujyate*), in the sense of the agent

[kāraka, i.e., in an active sense] after [the verbal root *vibudh*] when it has the meaning of movement.

It is no doubt the affinity between *vibudh* as defined by *ava + vīgam* and the fact that Pāṇini in III 4 72 ascribes an active meaning to *kta* when attached to verbs expressing movement. This may very well have suggested the particular treatment of *buddha* in the grammatical literature.

Rāhulapāda is not known from other source. His date and the nature of his work therefore remain uncertain. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhaddatta has based his analysis on a similar tradition. Since there is a striking similarity between Buddhaddatta’s text and a text dealing with the same topic, which Aggavamsa quotes in Saddaniti [see below], there is reason to believe that Buddhaddatta has utilised material from a Pāli source which may well be a post-Kaccāyana source.

[ i i ]

Buddhaddatta’s second alternative, according to which “*buddha*” has an passive value (*kamma*), would also seem to be supported by Pāṇinian grammar. In Pāṇini III 4 [69 +] 70: *tayor eva kṛtya-kta-khalarthāḥ*: [the suffixes whose meaning is denoted by] “kṛtya [= -tavya, -aniya and -ya],” [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] “kta [= -ta]” and [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] “khal” are only used in the sense of these two [i.e. action (*bhāva*) and object *kāraka* (*karma*)].

According to Pāṇinian grammatical theory, a -ta participle is used in the sense of the object *kāraka* when it occurs in a passive construction, in agreement with the [theoretical] object, which itself is identical with the grammatical subject of the sentence. The example used by the Kāśikā for illustrating this particular syntactical function of “kta” [ad loc.]: *kta karanī: kṛta kato bhavatā* “a mat [= kama] is made by you,” shows clearly the theoretical presupposition that underlies Buddhaddatta’s explanation: in the same way as the word *kṛta* qualifies the object *kata* as made by someone, the word *buddha* qualifies the object Buddha as recognised by gods and men (*devamanussah*), and therefore it can be interpreted as the object *kāraka*.

There is reason to believe that Buddhaddatta’s explanation is based upon a source which was also known to Aggavamsa. In Saddaniti he refers to the view of certain [grammarians ?] according to whom the formation of “*buddha*” can be interpreted in terms of the object *kāraka*. In support of this

88 Cf. Patis-a 485.25-26: gamanathānah dhātunah bujjhanaththā, bujjhanaththāpi dhātuyo gamanathā honi tasmā ... 89 tasmā is to be construed with *hi* [= yasmā]. 90 This is a reference to sa-Dhātup I 911: buddhā avagamane.
theory, he quotes a text which is almost identical with Buddhadatta’s explanation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Buddhadatta and Aggavamsa utilised the same source:

\[\text{keci pana kammena}^{91} \text{pi buddhasaddassa siddhim icchantat evam nibbahanam karonti: sammasambuddho vata so Bhagavà ti adhigatagunayasethi khinàsavehi bujjhitabbo ti buddho ti} [\text{Sadd} 482.1-4]\]

Some [grammarians ?], however, taking the formation of the word “buddha” in the sense of the object [kăraka, i.e. in a passive sense], analyse it as follows: buddha means that he should be recognised (bujjhitabbo)\(^{92}\) by those persons whose defilements have been annihilated and who have obtained distinctive qualities, in the words “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened”!

Unfortunately it has not been possible to trace the quotation to the work from which it was taken. It therefore remains unclear whether it is a purely grammatical source — which Aggavamsa’s way of quoting it would indicate — or whether it is an unknown piece of canonical exegesis. If it should be the latter, it must be fairly late because Buddhadatta is the only Pālī commentator to mention it. In similar contexts in Vism, Pātis-a, etc. we find nothing of the same nature. It probably stems from a Pālī source. If this were not the case, Aggavamsa surely would not have failed to identify it. It is remarkable that he does not refer to Bv-a [quoted in several places in Sadd], since he is conscientious in supporting his grammatical statements with quotations from the cts and ākāśas.

The last alternative would seem to be based upon an extension of the scope of Pān V 2 [94+] 127: arśa-ādiḥīyoc ‘c: the [taddhita] affix ac [= -a] is [used in the sense of the suffix denoted matup, i.e. in the sense of “whose it is” or “in which or in whom it is”] after [the class of words = ākritigana] beginning with arśah. We can safely assume that Buddhadatta had this particular sūtra in mind because Mahānāma, in a context where he addresses

the meaning and derivation of the word buddha, supplies us with the information necessary for identifying it. We find the text in Pātis-a 486,20-22, which was quoted verbatim by Upasena in Nidda-a 442.33-443.2. The text reads:

\[\text{buddhi, buddham, bodho ti paryāvaścanan etam. tathā yathā nilarataragunayoga “nīlopatō,” “ratto patō,” ti vuccati, evam buddhigunayoga “buddho” ti nāpetum vuttam hoti} [= \text{Pj I 16,2-5}].\]

“buddhi, buddham, bodho” are synonyms. In that case, just as one says that a piece of cloth is blue or red on account of the blue or red quality inherent\(^{93}\) [in it], so on account of the quality of illumination inherent [in him], the word “buddha” is used to denote [him as “Buddha”].

The idea is basically the same. The only difference is that this text is sufficiently explicit to identify the relevant grammatical context. Among the words included in the ākritiśana to which Pānini refers, are words denoting colour (vārṇa),\(^{94}\) which is reflected in the two examples used by Mahānāma. The idea that the possessive suffix matup is deleted from words denoting colour goes back to Kātyāyana’s vārttika 3 (guṇavacanebhnyo matupulo) on Pān V 2 94.

2 [Bv-a 67,33-68,2]

This etymology of the word brāhmaṇa [< brahma + vān] is basically the same as the one that occurs in Buddhaghosa’s cts. Buddhadatta has only inserted the reference to the grammarians’ view to complement Buddhaghosa’s explanation.\(^{95}\)

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91 The reading kammena is problematic. It might be suggested that kemme [loc.] is read for kammena which is difficult to construe.
92 The presence of the kṛtya form [= ger.] of √budh would seem to be an allusion to the Pānjinian rule in Pān II 4 70 quoted above.
93 The term yoga, evidently, belongs to the philosophical context of Nyāyavaśeṣika ontology; cf., for example, Vātsyāyana ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 61: yogāt — kṛṣṇena rāgena yuktah śītakāḥ kṛṣṇa ity abhinidhyate.
94 Cf. Kāśikā ad Pān V 2 127.
95 Cf., for example, Sp 111,12-15 = Sv 244,10 = Ps I 109,23: brahmaṁ aparīti brāhmaṇo, mante sajñāyati ti attho, idam eva hi jātibrahmaṇanāṁ niruttavacanam, ariyā pana bāhiatpāpayati brāhmaṇaṁ ti vuccanti.
There is no rule that justifies Buddhadatta’s claim that anu governs the acc. in the sense of the genitive. Such a remark is absent from the analogous analysis in Bv-a 238,32–35, and one cannot therefore exclude the possibility that it stems from Buddhadatta himself. He may have based it upon the fact that pacchato, in the paraphrase tathāgatassa pacchato yanti, is to be constructed with the genitive. As it appears from the way in which the problem is formulated, Buddhadatta deals with the syntactical and semantical properties of the so-called karmapavacanīyas [cf. Buddhaghosa on ithambhūtakkhyāna, q.v. supra; cf. Bv-a 238,32–35 ad Bv XX 5, q.v. infra].

4 [Bv-a 114,12–13]

In this case Buddhadatta deals with the well-known fact that the word aṅhatra [= Sanskrit anyatra] is constructed with the ablative.

n’ atti aṅhatrā ti aṅhatralakkhanārā saddasatthato gahetabham. tato dasa pāramito aṅho buddhakārakadhammo n’ atti ti attho.

[As regards the clause] “there is no [other] except ...,” the rule concerning the word except (aṅhatra) should be sought in grammar. The meaning is that there is no other norm that creates a Buddha, than the ten pāramitās.

It is not clear what rule of grammar Buddhadatta has in mind. In the Pāṇinian tradition there appears to be no explicit rule about the case with which Sanskrit anyatra is to be constructed. There is reason to believe, however, that Buddhadatta is thinking of Pāṇi II 3 [28+] 29: anya- … -yukte, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that a noun, when constructed with anya, is put in the ablative. Buddhadatta’s own paraphrase [with aṅha + abl.] supports the assumption. He presumably extended the scope of the Pāṇini sūtra so as to cover the usage of aṅhatra, which is treated as a substitute form for the locative. Aggavamsa is apparently the only Pāli grammarian to formulate a rule for the case syntax of aṅhatra: aṅhatrayoge pañcamī tatiyā ca: the ablative and the instrumental are used in construction with aṅhatra [Sadd 703,22].

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96 For references, v. PED s.v. 1bāheti.
In this short remark Buddhaddatta focuses on a peculiar grammatical construction where an action noun (dassana) is to be constructed with a nominal in the accusative:

dassanē pa tam buddhan ti tassa buddhassa dassanē pa ti attho. idisesu pa sāminvacanam payojenti (Be payuj-) saddaviduno (Be saddasatthavidū).

By seeing the Buddha: The meaning is “by the sight of the Buddha”. In such cases, however, the grammarians use the genitive.

It is not normal practice in Pāli or Sanskrit to construct an action noun with the accusative. In such a case one would normally expect the genitive (genitivus objectivus) of the nominal that is syntactically dependent on the action noun. The grammarians to whose usage Buddhaddatta refers are no doubt, in this as in other cases, identical with the Pāniniāns, because Pānini addresses this usage in Pān I 3 65: kartrkarmanoh krti: when used with a word ending with the suffixes denoted krt [i.e. primary derivatives], [the genitive] is used in the sense of the agent [kāraka] or the object [kāraka].

In this text Buddhaddatta deals with the syntactical peculiarity of the karmapravacānyā anu.

tatttha caturāṣṭisahassāṇi sambuddham anu pabbajjun ti tathā annānattato sambuddhan ti upayogavacanaṃ katan ti veditabbam. sambuddhassa pacchā pabbajīmśū ti attho. lakṣṭhām saddasatthato gahetabbam.

In this case one should know that in the verse “eighty-four thousand who had gone forth after The fully Awakened One,” the [word] “sambuddham” is put in the accusative because it is constructed with “anu”. The meaning is “they went forth after the Fully Awakened [had gone forth]”. The rule is to be sought in grammar.

Buddhaddatta deals here — like Buddhaghosa in connection with his analysis of the verb abbhuggacchati [v. supra] — with the linguistic category karmapravacānyā. Pānini deals specifically, in Pān I 4 84: anu lakṣane, with the usage of anu when used in the the sense of a sign (lakṣāne). The idea is that the thing denoted by the word governed by anu, assumes the function of the cause of the verbal action. Consequently anu means “after” in a logical sense, i.e. in the sense of “as a consequence of”, or “because of.” It is, of course, debatable whether Buddhaddatta is correct in assuming that anu has this specific force in the verse upon which he comments. However, the relatively few occurrences of the verb anupabbajati in Pāli would seem to suggest — in contrast to the usage of abbhuggacchati — that we interpret anu in the sense of a karmapravacānyā, although its usage in the Pāli is not absolutely parallel to the usage defined by Pānini. In the Pāli it is questionable if anu can be treated as syntactically disjunct from the finite verb. For instance, in Vin II 180,6: Sakyakumārā bhagavantam pabbajjatam anu pabbajjanti, it would seem to be treated as an ordinary preposition constructed with a noun in the accusative (bhagavantam), in agreement with an explicit not finite verb-form (pabbajjatam). On the other hand, the Pāli grammatical literature would seem to be correct in ascribing a causal function to anu in this particular context: Sakyakumārā went forth after [= because] bhagavan had gone forth. Kacc-v ad Kacc 301: kammappavacānyāyutte uses an analogous canonical example for illustrating the rule about kammappavacānyā: pabbajitam anu pabbajīmsu [= D II 30,11] = Sadd 716,13 (§ 586).

Buddhaddatta noticed that the pp. pabbajitam was absent in Bv, and he found a justification for its absence in the grammatical literature. It is not possible to decide whether Buddhaddatta relied upon a distinct Pāli grammar, but the nature of his analysis and the context in which it occurs makes it reasonable to assume that he knew Kaccāyana’s grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The example chosen by the authors of the vutī in this particular instance is not merely a Pāli reproduction of an example taken from a Sanskrit grammar but is distinctly canonical, and its presence in Kacc-v would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a tradition which aimed at illustrating the rules of Pāli, not merely by means of Pāli translations of examples taken over directly from Sanskrit grammar, but
through genuine canonical quotations. This tendency reached its peak with Aggavamsa, who is claimed, by the author of the Kaccayana-vanana, to have based his grammar on the Pali.⁹⁷

(to be continued)

PÅLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES VII

FIVE PÅLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED,² or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. gandhana “harming”
2. pāreti “to be successful”
3. marissa “going to die”
4. vivicca-sayana “a secluded lodging”
5. sosinna “very wet”/sosina “very cold”

1. gandhana “harming”

In his investigation of the phrase vāntam āpātaṃ “to drink one’s vomit”,³ Alsdorf mentioned the Pali word gandhana found in the compound kula-gandhana at It 64.9:

atijātaṃ anujātaṃ puttam icchanti pandita, avajātaṃ na icchanti yo hoti kula-gandhana.

“Wise men desire a son of higher birth or equal birth; they do not desire a son of lower birth, who harms the family”.

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Journal of the Pali Text Society, XIV, 219-25
This is glossed: *yo hoti kulagandhano ti kulacakedado kulavināsako. chedanathho hi idha gandha-saddo, “uppala-gandha-paccattikā”* ti ādisum viya. keci pana kuladhamsano ti pathanti. so ev’ attho (It-a II 57.13–16). For this meaning of *gandhana* the editor of the PTS edition of It-a, M.M. Bose, drew attention to *anham gandhana-kileso palibuddhana-kileso n’ atthi, kilesa-ganthati-rahitā mayan ti evam vādūya laddhanāmanavasena Nigantho (Sv [Ee] 144,24–26)*, but Be here reads *ganthana-* and this is probably correct, in view of the fact that it is intended to explain *nigantha*.

Alsdorf points out that the v.l. *kusajantuno* for *kulagandhano* and the variety of explanations: *kulagandhano ti kulacakedado kulavināsako kuladhamsano* in the cty showed that the word was unfamiliar and obsolete. He rejected the suggestion in PED that it should be “corrected” to *kulagāraka*, basing his rejection on the occurrence of *anitama-gandhinia* at Ja IV 34,17* (māham kule anitama-gandhino ahum, explained: attano kule sabbapacchimako c’ eva kualapāpo ca mā assam, 34,24*), and māham kule antimagandhinia ahum, 35,19* (explained: attano kule pacchimikā palāpabhātā mā assam, 35,27–28*). CPD explains *gandhinia* as a new stem from *gandhini*, feminine of *gandhi(n)*, and sees kule antimagandhinia as a blending of *kulagandhano* and kul’antima.

Alsdorf rightly saw that the word *gandhana* must mean something like “destroying, spoiling, disgracing”, as does PTC, but he thought that there must be some connection with *gandha* “smell”, and he suggested that some such meaning for *kula-gandhana* as “one who brings the family into bad odour, who makes the family stink” might not be altogether unacceptable.

I do not know why Alsdorf did not refer to the root *gandha* “to injure, hurt” (Skt Dhātupātha xxxiii, 11) or the noun *gandhana* “hurting, injury” (Skt lex.). These meanings are attested not only in the Skt grammarians, but also by the Pāli authorities. It is quite clear that this is the meaning we have here. Although it is not wise to accept the existence of all words quoted in the Skt

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4 See Vin III 33,19 (gandhaṁ ti hadayāṃ vuccatı̄, tam uppātenı̄ ti uppālagandhā, uppālagandhā eva paccattikā uppālagandhapaccattikā, Sp 268,8–10). Cf. Sadd 548,2–3: gandhasaddo ca uppālagandhattho ti ettha chedane vattari ti dathhabbo; 585,12: ettha pana gandhasaddassa chedanaṭṭ开发建设 “... ” (quoting It 64,9) ti ayam pāli niḍaṇanam.  
5 s.v. *gandhana*.  
7 CDIAL 4016.  
8 Alsdorf, op. cit., p. 25 n. 5.  
9 PTC III 268b.
root *prā* "to fill", rather than the denominative of *pāra*. It therefore means "to fulfill, to make full, complete", i.e. "to be capable of completing, finishing something", "to do something successfully". The same meaning is found in Pkt, where Hemacandra (IV.86) teaches *pārei* as the equivalent of *sāknotī*. The same equivalence is given in Pāilacakchi-nāmamalā (202), where, however, the editor Bühler was able to see that the word is not of *deśī* origin, but is a development from Skt *pārayati*. PSM, doubtless misled by the fact that Hemacandra teaches it as a *deśī* word, separates it from *pārei* < Skt *pārayati*, although giving the same references there as for the *deśī* word *pārei*.

The meaning of the two references is therefore: (1) Let us give up; we are not successful" and (2) "I strive, (but) I am not successful".

The v.l. *pādemi* is doubtless an example of the not uncommon alternation of *r* and *d*.  

3. *marissa* "going to die"

PED lists this word with the form *marissam*, but strangely states that this is a present participle = future. It occurs at Ja III 214,11*: *matam marissam rodanti ye rudanti lapanti ca*. It is glossed: *ye va loke matah ca marissanta ca rodanti*, 214,16*. It is included by Geiger in his section dealing with future participles in *-nt* from the future stem (§ 193). Geiger gives a cross-reference to § 97.2, from which we can deduce that he is calling attention to the fact that this is a participle which has gone over to the -a declension by dropping -nt, i.e. it is accusative and the equivalent of Skt *marisu Matham*. Geiger refers to Pischel § 560, where *āgammam* is quoted from Āyārama-sutta I.3.3.3 as being both nominative and accusative. This, then, is another example of a future participle with a short -a stem, i.e. in *issa* rather than *-issanta*.

The other example Geiger gives in § 193 is *paccassam*. PED does not list the form *paccassam* s.v. *pacceti*. It occurs several times in a set of passages in Vin I 255,24--265,20, where a bhikkhu goes away after *kañhā*-cloth has been made, saying to himself: *paccassan ti, or idh' eva imaṁ civaram kāressan na paccassan ti*. The word is glossed: *na paccassan ti na puna āgammassam* (Sp 1112,15), i.e. it is a first person single future form, with the secondary ending *-am* instead of the primary ending *-āmi*. This is not uncommon in Pāli.

It is therefore surprising that Geiger lists *paccessam* (§ 193) as an example of the future participle in *-nt* from the future stem. What is even more surprising is that he rejects Müller’s suggestion that *karissam* (Dāth III 80) is such a participle, on the grounds that it is clearly the first person single = *karisyāmi*. This would appear to be precisely the mistake which Geiger is making with *paccessan*.

4. *vivicca-sayana* “a secluded lodging”

In his cty on the reading *vevita-sayanena* at GDhp 65, Brough discussed the compound *vivicca-sayana* at Dhp 271. He stated: “The reading *vivicca*- which has become current in the Pāli text was doubtless adopted by Fausbøll as a lectio difficilior, but it really has little to commend it. It is apparently unknown to the manuscripts used for the edition of the Pāli cty, which have the more natural reading *vivitta-*. The antiquity of the latter is guaranteed by the Pkt, and it therefore seems reasonable to reject *vivicca-*. PED does not list either *vivicca-sayana* or *vivitta-sayana*, nor does it refer to Dhp 271 under either *vivicca* or *vivitta*.

In their translation of the Dhammapada and the Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā, Carter and Palihowadana nevertheless read *vivicca* (although not as a compound with *sayananena*), and note that although PDhp 272 has *vivitta*, Udāna-ν XXXII.31 has *vivikta*, GDhp has *vività* and Dhp-a (PTS ed.) has *vivitta*, the Dhammapada pūrāṇa sannaya (granthis padda vivaraṇa sahita) does read *vivicca*.

It would seem, then, that there is rather more support for the reading than Brough thought, and there is no very compelling reason for opposing

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10 See MW, s.vv. *pārayati* and *prē*.
11 See Brough, GDhp, p. 255 (ad GDhp 259).
12 See Geiger § 150.
13 Brough, GDhp, p. 191.
14 They are, in general, opposed to Brough’s suggestions, and it is possible that their acceptance of this reading is not unconnected with Brough’s rejection of it.
16 Dhp-a III 399,12.
Fausbøll’s adoption of the reading. From Brough’s reference to “the more natural reading vivitta-”, I assume that he found it difficult to construe the absolutive vivicca. This need cause us no difficulty. It is, despite Carter and Paliwhawadana, to be taken as a compound with sayana, and the whole is to be regarded as a syntactical compound. Such compounds, composed of an absolutive and a noun, were discussed by Hendriksen. He pointed out that they were to be interpreted as having developed from combinations of a verb-form and an absolutive belonging to it. He suggested that the syntax of a compound such as viceyya-dāṇa “giving with forethought” is derived from viceyya dadāti “he gives with forethought”. The syntax of this phrase is taken over, giving the syntactical compound viceyya-dāṇa. In the case of vicicca-sayana, we may suppose that the underlying structure is vicicca sayanan kappeti “going apart he makes his bed”, from which vicicca-sayana was extracted.

5. sosinna “very wet”, sosina “very cold”

PED suggests these readings at Ja I 390,31* where Ee reads: sotatto sosito, without v.l. The pāda is two syllables short, and Fausbøll suggests adding aham after sotatto. The pāda is glossed: sotatto ti sūriyasantāpena suttatto, sosito ti himodakena sussto suṭṭhu tinto, 391,1–2. Be reads sotatto sosinno c’ eva, and glosses: sūriyasantāpena suṭṭhu tatto, sosinno ti himodakena susinno suṭṭhu tinto. The cty does not explain whether the difference is between day and night or summer and winter.

Although PED does not note it, the verse recurs at M I 79,29–30. There the pāda reads: soatto so sino (Ee Ce so; Se sosino; Be sosinno c’ eva). The gloss is more detailed than in Ja: sotatto ti divā atapena rattiṃvana-umsāya sutatto. sosino (Ee so; Be sosinno) ti rattiṃ himena divā himodakena sutinto (Be suṭṭhu tinto), Ps II 48,27. The difference is, therefore, between summer, when it is hot by both day and night, and winter, when the night is cold and the day is both wet and cold.

The inclusion of the word tinto in the gloss on both passages shows clearly that the commentators understood a word meaning “wet” rather than one meaning “cold”. If this is so, then we can accept that the correct reading is -sinno. We may assume that -sina replaced -sinna via a script where long vowels and double consonants were not written, producing *-sina, the scribal change being helped by the presence of himena and hima- in himodakena in the gloss. The alternation between -sito and -sino was probably helped by the similarity between ta and na in some forms of the Brāhmi script, including the Sinhalese variety, and the near identity of the meanings of the two words.

On the other hand, were it not for the gloss -tinto, we might well feel that there was an intended antithesis between being too hot by day and too cold at night because of frost. In that case, the correct reading might be -sino “congealed, frozen” (< Skt śina). We could then assume that the scribal tradition underlying Be had interpreted the received *-sino in the light of udaka in the gloss himodakena “sleet (?)” and produced -sinno.

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17 H. Hendriksen, Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pāli, Copenhagen 1944, pp. 157–58.
18 s.v. sosita.
19 The cadence —— in a prior śloka pāda is unusual, and we might rather think that the original form of the verse was so sutatto so susinno, with so and su-coalescing.

20 Despite the identity of form, I believe that Se sino is an error, not a reminiscence of this ancient reading.
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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

Dr H. Hundius,
Department of Thai,
Faculty of Humanities,
Chiangmai University,
Chiang-Mai,
Thailand 50002.

O.H. Pind,
Critical Pāli Dictionary,
Købmagergade 52,
DK-1150 Copenhagen K,
Denmark.

K.R. Norman,
Faculty of Oriental Studies,
Sidgwick Avenue,
Cambridge CB3 9DA.
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