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In ‘L’Origine Cinghalaise du P’raḥ Malay’ (Felicitation volume of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.M. Prince Dhaninivat, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 329–38), the late Eugène Denis S.J. (1921–86) stated that the École Française d’Extrême-Orient was to publish his 1963 Sorbonne doctoral thesis, which was entitled ‘Braḥ Māleyyadevatttheravatthu, Légende bouddhiste du saint thera Māleyyadeva. Texte établi d’après des manuscrits inédits en caractères cambodiennes, accompagné d’une introduction et d’une traduction, avec une traduction du P’raḥ Malay siamois qui en est dérivé’. Unfortunately this did not happen, and the article remains his only publication on the topic to date. Very few primary sources for the story — better, stories — of Māleyya¹ are yet available in the West, and Denis’ thesis has proved elusive to a number of scholars who have tried to find it: even those in Paris, including Denis’ Directeur de travaux, André Barea, seem to have had some difficulty in locating a copy. The Pali Text Society has acquired one through Professor O. von Hinüber, itself taken from a copy in the library of the University of Göttingen. It seemed to us that it would be useful to make available here Denis’ text, accompanied by a translation of it into English.² The story of Māleyyadeva is known to have been very important in the practice of traditional Thai Buddhism; but the text is also relevant to the matters of linguistic and literary history with which the JPTS is more specifically

¹ The Pali form of the name is spelt variously, as Maliya, Malaya, Māleyya, etc., sometimes with one of the suffixes -mahādeva or -deva; sometimes these suffixes are used alone (as in the text p. 58 below). For brevity I shall use Māleyya.

² Permission for the present publication has been given by Denis’ surviving sister, Mme Marie-Thérèse Saulnier: we are grateful to Jacqueline Filliozat for contacting Mme Saulnier on our behalf.
concerned. Denis’ edition was certainly intended as no more than a pioneering first attempt; more work must be done on other manuscripts before anything like a definitive version of this particular Māleyya text can be established. But it can already contribute to the further understanding of Pali in Southeast Asia, and to that of the literary history of the Pali tradition.

Denis’ Introduction contains four sections: I — ‘The Legend of P’raḥ Malay’; II — ‘The thera Māleyyadeva — Sinhalese sources; III — ‘The development of the legend — Southeast Asian texts’; IV — ‘The Influence of the legend in Southeast Asian countries’; and two accounts of manuscripts: V — ‘Description of the documents’ [in Thai and Pali, on which his edition and translations were based]; and VI — ‘A list of manuscripts of the P’raḥ Malay found at Luang Prabang and Vientiane’. There follow translations of the Māleyyadevathavatthu (hereafter Mth-v), of Chapter 10 of the Rasavāhini, and of the P’raḥ Malay [sometimes transliterated Phra Malai], and a Bibliography; and then the text of Mth-v, and of relevant sections of the Rasavāhini and Sahassavatthu, transcribed from Sinhalese editions.1 Some of the Introduction has been published, in the article mentioned above; for this reason, and also because new information has appeared in the thirty years since the thesis was written, what follows here is a summary (section III below), with additional information. A final section IV gives Denis’ description of the manuscripts used, and explains how we have established the text of Mth-v from Denis’ typescript.

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1 See also now P.S. Jaini’s edition of the Paṅḍasa-jātaka (2 Vols., PTS 1981–83); K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 144, 178, and the works cited there; and C. Hallisey, ‘Nībbānasutta: an allegedly non-canonical sutta on Nibbāna as a great city’. (See pp. 97 foll. below.)
thesis. I shall discuss empirical data in III below. Here I wish to quote some remarks of A.K. Ramanujan on the Rāmāyaṇa, which I think apply very well to the range of stories referred to as those of Māleyya, Vessantara, and ‘the’ Anāgatavamsa (the name not of a text but of a family of texts), three closely associated strands of the Theravāda tradition. Ramanujan writes of the many different ‘tellings’ of the Rāma story:

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the word tellings to the usual terms versions or variants because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or Ur-text — usually Vālmiki’s Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But ... it is not always Vālmiki’s narrative that is carried from one language to another.

The variety and number of different tellings lead him to suggest that

the cultural area in which the Rāmāyaṇas are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs ... [all] carry allusions to the Rāma story. These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context.1

Although the different tellings of the stories about Māleyya, Vessantara, the Bodhisatta Metteyya, and other future Buddhas, are not so varied as those of the characters of the Rāmāyana, Ramanujan’s choice of language here seems to me helpful in considering the origin and development of the Māleyya stories, as well as the relationships — both textual and contextual — between these stories and those of Metteyya and Vessantara. The particular telling found in this written text of the Māleyyadevathera-vatthu seems most likely to have occurred first in Thailand; but as Denis shows, the ‘pool of signifiers’ from which this ‘crystallization’ was taken began in Sri Lanka.

III

In the first section of his Introduction Denis cites previous notices of the Māleyya stories: in chronological order these are: E. Burnouf, Essai sur le pali (Paris, 1826), pp. 209–12; G. Cœdès (as above); L. Finot, Recherches sur la littérature laotienne (Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient XVII, 1917, pp. 65–66; P. Schweisguth, Étude sur la littérature siamoise (Paris, 1951), p. 129; Prince Dhaninivat’s review of a Thai re-publication of the 18th century ‘Phra Malai, royal version’, in the Journal of the Stam Society 1948 (1), pp. 69–72; A.B. Griswold (as above); and finally he refers to three tellings of the story, two in written form from Burma and Sri Lanka, and one oral chant (‘une vieille mélopée’) provided to him in writing by Ven. Wachissara from Southern Sri Lanka. The Burmese text is from the Madhurarasavāhīni Vatthu; the bibliographical details cited by Denis (as also in his article) can now be supplemented by H. Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, Burmese Manuscripts Part 2 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXIII, 2, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 192–93. Denis cites the Sinhalese text from a manuscript in the British Museum, referred to in D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of the Singhalese manuscripts of the British Museum (London, 1900);

it consists in verses, in variant form, from the Mth-v, which Denis gave as Appendix D (see p. 63 below).¹ Most of these verses are in fact found in the Sīhalavatthupakarana (hereafter Sīh), a text which Denis consulted in a Sinhalese edition, and which has since been published by J. Ver Eecke (née Filliozat) in Publications de l’École Franceaise d’Extrême-Orient Vol. CXXIII (Paris, 1980). Unfortunately he failed to notice that story III of that collection not only contains the verses, but indeed many of the elements of the Māleyya story as found in Mth-v.² In Ver Eecke’s edition of Sīh III, she cites similar sections from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the first is entitled bra māleyyasutra, with māleyyadevatheravanṇa (sic) in the colophon, and the second bra māleyyadevathera-vatthavannana (sic). In

1 Denis gives the number wrongly in the first section, and in his article, as 109: it is 129 on pp. 142–43 (as correctly noted in the thesis p. 47 note 109). In Wickremasinghe’s catalogue, the text is given as Sampindi-mahāṇidāna, ‘an extract from a Pali text as yet unidentified, accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary’. In C.E. Godakumbura’s Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts (in the Royal Library) (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 200, what would appear to be the same verses — Godakumbura cites the last in Pali, which is almost identical to Denis’ version — are found in a text called by him Devādadhi-dharmadesanāwa and dated at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th centuries. In K.D. Somada’s Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library, Vol. 2 (London, 1989) a number of texts with this or similar titles are found, none of which seem to contain the verses; on pp. 3–4, however, they are said to be in a work called Sampindi-mahāṇidāna (Mātreyā-Malīyadeva-sakacchā), described by Nevill as ‘a series of thirteen Pali Gāthās, accompanied by a free enlarged translation in Sinhalese’. W.A. de Silva’s Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Colombo Museum (Colombo, 1938) contains three texts, nos. 1450–52, with this same title. In Saddhatissa’s ‘Pali Literature in Cambodia’ (JPTS Vol. IX 1981), p. 181, he refers to a Sampindi-mahāṇidāna, ‘known in Sri Lanka as Mahāsamūḍipinditaniḍāna’. This text does refer to Metteyya, but it seems to have nothing to do with the Māleyya story; it is discussed and translated in part in Saddhatissa’s Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas (London, 1975), pp. 43–45.

2 Ver Eecke notes that there seem to have been some unclarities in the Sinhalese edition (op. cit., p. IV), which may perhaps account for the oversight.

her main text, story III ends with the words metteyyavatthu tatiyam. The modern Burmese bibliographical work Piṭakattamain states that Sīh was composed in Sri Lanka, but it is likely that its compilers ‘had access to materials current in Southeast Asia’,¹ and the title may well simply refer to the fact that most of its stories are set in Sri Lanka. This text must have been written before the first half of the 15th century, since it is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1442, but it remains uncertain whether some or all of it can be traced back to Sri Lanka.

It is, however, certain that some elements of the story — the pool of signifiers — can be traced back to Sri Lanka, and this is the subject of Denis’ section II, on the Sinhalese sources for the elder Māleyyadeva. The lack of reference to Sīh story III renders this section somewhat out-dated. Denis refers to previous discussions of monks called by various similar names, by T.W. Rhys Davids, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1901, pp. 889 foll., and by A.P. Buddhadatta, in the introduction to his Sinhala script edition of the Sahassavatthu, concluding that it is impossible to tell whether all the uses of the name concern one and the same person; he thinks that there was an original historical figure to whose name legendary elements were added. The texts which deal with Maliya/Māleyya etc. are, in the order treated:² Mp I 38–39, Ps V 101–03, Vism 241–42 (= HOS ed. VIII 49), Ja IV 490, VI 30, Mhv XXXII 49–50, Mhv-t 606. Although it is by no means clear that the similarity of names shows that we are dealing here with a single figure, historical or legendary, it is true that many of the stories concern excellence at preaching, which is one of Māleyya’s characteristics in Mth-v. Denis discusses only story 41 of Sīh, which is quite different from Mth-v, although the name Māleyyadeva does appear in it and it does have a generic resemblance to Mth-v in so far as it concerns the value of giving.¹ He then describes three stories found both in the Sahassavatthu and Rasavāhini; the former text is mentioned in the same inscription of 1442 mentioned above, and the latter is dated to the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.² The first resembles story 41 of Sīh; the second concerns giving, and has Maliyadeva (as the name appears there) conversing with Sakka on that subject. The faint analogy to the Māleyya story found in these stories is much stronger in the third, Sah story 77 and Ras Chapter 10, 1. Here Maliyadeva visits the Cūḷāmanji shrine in heaven with a layman, sees various gods and explains to the layman the good deeds done by them on earth which resulted in their rebirth there. At the end Metteyya appears³ and gives the layman a celestial robe; the latter returns to earth, and thereafter dies and is reborn in the Tusita heaven. (Ras is more elaborate than Sah, but the essentials of the story are the same.)

The third section, on the development of the legend in Southeast Asia, can be improved on now thanks to the work of Bonnie Brereton: see her article ‘Some comments on a Northern Thai Phra Mala Text dated C.S. 878 (A.D. 1516)’, forthcoming in Journal of the Siam Society; and her recent doctorate thesis at the University of Michigan, ‘The Phra Malai Theme in Thai Buddhist Literature: a study of three texts’ (1992). The thesis makes clear that, as mentioned above, there are a number of different ‘tellings’ of the stories involving Māleyya, Metteyya and Vessantara, in Pali and various vernaculars, some of them closely intertwined. Brereton’s article enables us to improve on Denis’ dating. The text discussed there, which very closely parallels Mth-v, is

¹ K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature, p. 154.
² Abbreviations used are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.
³ The Ras version given by Denis contains the very surprising phrase anekasatapacekabuddhabodhisattehi ca parivuto, used of Metteyya.
in the form of a nissaya: that is, what is presented as a Thai ‘commentary’ on a Pali text. One might conclude that a version of Mth-v in Pali was in existence at that time, but it is by no means clear that the nissaya form does not result in fact from a Thai story grouped around Pali phrases invented for the sake of linguistic and religious prestige. But clearly the contents of Mth-v, in whatever linguistic form, were already in existence in the early 16th century in something close to the Mth-v version. Many other aspects of Denis’ treatment remain valuable, however. He says that although the story of Māleyya was also known in Burma, the texts through which we can come to know it are primarily preserved in Thailand and Cambodia. (Information on mss. known to Denis can be found in his article, pp. 330–31 note 6. The manuscripts from which Buddhodatta made his Sinhalese edition of Sih, which Ver Eecke then transliterated in the Ee, were all in Burmese script.) The general structure of the story is, as he says, already present in the Ras and Sah versions. Certain narrative elements and emphases are changed in the Southeast Asian versions, and others added. The principal additions are, (i) in vernacular versions, extensive descriptions of the hells visited by Māleyya (which themselves draw on materials such as the Nimi-jātaka and the visits to hell by Moggallāna in the Mahāvastu), and in both vernacular and Pali versions; (ii) more elaborate tellings of the previous good deeds done by the inhabitants of heaven and of Metteyya’s bodhisatta-career; (iii) the connection between hearing recitations of the Vessantara-jātaka and rebirth at the time of Metteyya; (iv) the account by Metteyya of the degeneration and renewal of religion (itself taken, sometimes word-for-word, from the Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, which Denis curiously fails to mention); and (v) Metteyya’s account of the paradisiial conditions which will obtain when he is reborn on earth. Denis states that many of the developments of the part of the story concerning Metteyya are found in sections of the Saddharmālankārāya, a 14th century Sinhala work which is otherwise a translation of Ras. Given that the dating and provenance of these stories are uncertain, it cannot be decided if this Sinhala version is an indigenous creation or taken from texts originating in Southeast Asia.

The association between the Māleyya story and that of Vessantara has been discussed by S.J. Tambiah, Buddhism and the Spirit Cults of Northeast Thailand (Cambridge University Press, 1971), and L. McClung, The Vessantara Jātaka: paradigm for a Buddhist Utopia (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1975). Denis cites a Burmese author of the early 20th century who states that the two were recited together, and a Burmese inscription from 1201, which Luce interpreted as referring to successive recitations of the two texts. Brereton (1992) further explores the connection; manuscripts often contain the two stories together.

In the short fourth section, on the influence of the story in Southeast Asia, Denis discusses the times and occasions at which Māleyya texts were recited (the end of the Rainy Season Retreat, marriages and funerals, merit-making ceremonies) and adds some information about the manner of reciting the texts which is of interest not only for the social history of these stories, but also for our appreciation of the relation between written text and performance context. He cites K.E. Wells, Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities (Bangkok, 1939), p. 233, who reports that normally there were three reciters, one for Māleyya, one for Indra (Sakka) and one for Metteyya;

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1 This is also a feature, Denis remarks, of the Traibhūmi-kathā: see now the translations by G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, Les Trois Mondes (Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, Vol. LXXXIX, 1973) and F.E. and M.B. Reynolds, The Three Worlds (Berkeley, 1982).

2 According to W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon (Colombo 1956), p. xxxv note 2, called the Metteyya-vastu.

2 Denis cites G.H. Luce, Inscriptions of Burma (n.d.), Portfolio I Plate XXII lines 1–7.
and states that skilled reciters of the text could gain a considerable
reputation (he cites R. Lingat, ‘Le Wat Rajapratista’, Artibus Asiae
1961 Vol. XXIV p. 232). Denis made a tape recording of one of the last
celebrated reciters of the Mâleyya story then living in Bangkok. He was
a famous reciter of the ‘Liké’ form of ‘popular comic theatre’. The
passages chanted were from the earlier part of the Thai P’rah Malay,
concerning hells and the tortures endured by their inhabitants: the first
two passages were chanted by a monk in an ordinary tone; the next nine
by the reciter, ‘in the Petchaburi tone. The style is more complex and
dramatic’; the last seven passages were chanted by him in a manner
resembling that of the ‘Liké’ theatre. Denis adds that on a number of
occasions decrees were passed against this manner of chanting the P’rah
Malay, and goes on to give examples:

‘These recitations led often to excess. The crowd liked reciters who
acted the part of their characters and did not hesitate to make use of
comic gestures and tones. A decree of 1801 legislated on the subject: ‘on
the occasion of funerals, the “master of ceremonies” is forbidden to
invite monks to recite the P’rah Malai; only the P’rah Aph’ith’amma
[the Abhidhamma] is to be recited in an ordinary tone, not in the Indian,
Chinese, European or Môn tones . . . . If there are laypeople who want to
recite the P’rah Malay, they may do so, but should avoid a comic tone
[un ton plaisant (drôle)] . . . .’

A law of 1782 had already warned monks against reciting the P’rah
Malay and similar texts in a theatrical manner. It also throws an
interesting light on the popularity of devotion to Metteyya at that time.
It stated that “many people endeavour to accomplish all kinds of
meritorious acts so as to be able to meet [Metteyya], according to the
instructions given to P’rah Malay by [Metteyya] himself, who
recommended that everyone revere and listen to the Vessantara-jātaka in
One Thousand Verses in order to meet him in the future . . . . Monks who
preach the Law and laity who listen to the [Vessantara-jātaka] should
use the Pali [text] and the Commentaries; if they want to meet
[Metteyya] in the future, they should not use rhyming texts, and the
comical, theatrical manner of representing P’rah Malay, which is an
offence against the Vinaya’.”

IV

In the fifth section of his Introduction, Denis describes the Thai and Pali
manuscripts he used, and his reasons for making the edition of the Pali
Mth-v as he did; his remarks concerning the latter are:

‘For the Pali text [of Mth-v] we were able to use five manuscripts:

1. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (Mss Pali
No. 147), of which we have a photocopy. It is written in ‘mûl’
characters engraved on ola-leaves. There are 24 ola-leaves, thus 48
pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page contains only the title: ‘Brah
Mâleyyadevattheravatthum, 1 ph’uk (1 bundle). This is without doubt
the best preserved manuscript, and we reproduce it as the main text. We
refer to it as M1.

2. A manuscript in the Institut Bouddhique de Pnom-Penh [sic], given to
the Institut in 1930 by the Dânmnap monastery in Kampong Chnang
[sic] province. It is written in ‘mûl’ characters on 26 ola-leaves, thus 52
pages, with 5 lines per page. The Ven. Brah Gru’ Saîghasatthâ P.S.
Dharmârâma, of the Lycée Bouddhique of Pnom-Penh, has been kind
eough to copy this text for us in ‘mûl’ characters and to send us the
copy. We had asked him to transcribe it faithfully without standardising
the Pali. He writes that the manuscript cannot be old, as it is easily
legible. We have ascertained that the text of this manuscript is very
similar to that of the Bangkok manuscript, with only one interpolation
[see text p. 26 note 2]. We refer to it as M2.
3. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cf. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Pali de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. 2e fasc. No. 326*) (gift of the Société des Missions Étrangères). It is written in ‘mūl’ characters on ola-leaves. There are 18 ola-leaves, thus 36 pages, with one line per page, but the last ola leaf is for protection only and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya Sutrah* [sic]. The text is written in a good, regular hand. The title is in different handwriting and seems to have been added afterwards. Notes in Cambodian have been added on the first and second pages. This manuscript contains quite significant variations from M1. We have had to reproduce entire passages at the end of the notes [Appendices A, B, C]. We refer to it as M3.

4. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Paris, No. 658 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is in ‘mūl’ script on ola-leaves. There are 12 ola-leaves, thus 24 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page has the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera* [sic]. The text is incomplete and only covers the first part (the arrival of the 12 Junior Gods) and the beginning of the second part, finishing in the middle of a sentence. We refer to it as M4.

5. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, No. 659 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is written in ‘mūl’ characters on ola-leaves. There are 13 ola-leaves, but five are for protection only at the end, and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera athavannanā* [sic]. There are therefore only 7 ola-leaves left, thus 14 pages, with 5 lines per page. It is the shortest text; it is very incomplete, only covering the last part, and even the beginning of this part is missing. It begins in the middle of a sentence. This is not a continuation of No. 658 [i.e. M4], as one might think. The writing is neat and regular, very different from the preceding manuscript. Moreover the texts are not continuous. We refer to it as M5.

None of these manuscripts carries a date. A. Cabaton, in his *Catalogue*, dates manuscript No. 326 [i.e. M3] to the 18th century, and Nos. 658 and 659 [M4 and M5] to the 19th. We do not know on what he based these dates.

One can apply to the Pali of our manuscripts the remarks made by G. Terral (op. cit., pp. 263–64) on the *Samuddaghosajātaka*, and by F. Martini (op. cit., pp. 370 foll.) on the *Dasa-Bodhisatta-Uddesa*. Firstly, there are many copying errors. One constantly finds short *i* and *u* instead of long *i* and *ū*, dentals instead of cerebrals and vice-versa, aspirates instead of non-aspirates and vice-versa, etc. Moreover, syllables are often omitted, words miscopied (*karonto* in place of *kathento*), etc. In addition, it seems that the Pali of our texts has been strongly influenced by the Indo-Chinese languages spoken by copyists fairly ignorant of Pali, and perhaps even by the authors of our texts. We have not undertaken a systematic survey of all the grammatical anomalies, which would only repeat the studies of F. Martini and G. Terral. As far as possible we have transcribed the texts, with all their anomalies, such as we have found them in the manuscripts, restricting ourselves to adding occasionally, in parentheses, certain syllables which had evidently been omitted through negligence. We thought that these texts were sufficiently comprehensible transcribed as they are, without being standardised, and could thus contribute to future comparisons or studies carried out by qualified philologists.'

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The text given here — which has been prepared for publication by K.R. Norman and myself — follows Denis' edition as closely as possible, for the same reasons. On some occasions we have corrected what seemed in our judgement to be obviously typographical errors: for example, on p. 26 line 6 his typescript had *uppapajjati* in place of
upapajjati. It seems unlikely that all his mss. would have had the same mis-spelling, so we have assumed it is a typographical error by Denis. Similarly on p. 36 we have given samattam on line 8 for (for his samatam) and on line 12 -candamanḍalo (for -candamanḍalo, since he gives -mandalo elsewhere). Obviously we may not have made the right decision in every case. Where we found unusual spellings used consistently, e.g. Tāṁbapaññi (for Tambapaññi) we have left them as they were. Denis’ method of making an edition was perhaps a little unusual, since he transcribed M1 throughout, even where other mss. contained clearly what would usually be thought to be better readings: for example, on p. 21 line 9 he gives eva sammacintesi where M2 and M4 have evam samacintesi, which would be correct in standard Pali. In this particular case one might decide that the forms in M1 and M3 are simply errors; in other cases it might be better to assume that we have genuinely variant forms. In the present state of our knowledge, both of this text (and the family of texts from which it comes) and of Southeast Asian Pali more generally, it seems more prudent to present what is clearly not a critical edition, and hope that future scholarship will be able to clarify the usages involved so that — when more manuscripts are consulted — the making of a critical edition may become feasible. (There has been, of course, much debate about the very notion of a ‘critical edition’ in relation to South and Southeast Asian materials.) In my translation I have noted on the few occasions where it seemed necessary that I have adopted a different reading from that in M1; for the most part the issues involved in the variant readings will be obvious to those who know Pali, and irrelevant to those who do not.

May this publication honour the memory of Father Denis, and add to the scholarly reputation already acquired by his La Lokapaññatti et
nomo tassa bhagavato arahato sammasambuddhassa.\textsuperscript{1}

suranaramahiniyam\textsuperscript{2} buddhasethaṃ namitvā\textsuperscript{3}
sugatappabhavam dhammam\textsuperscript{4} sadhuṃ saṅghaṇi ca namitvā\textsuperscript{5}
sakalajanappasādaṃ Mālayyan\textsuperscript{6} nāma vatthuṃ
paramanayavicittaṃ sāmāsā ārabbhissan ti.\textsuperscript{7}
afite\textsuperscript{8} kira\textsuperscript{9} ratanapatiṭṭhānabhūte Lāṅkādīpasānkhātē\textsuperscript{10} Tāmbapanaṇḍide\textsuperscript{11}
paramiddhiṇāṇena pākaṭo\textsuperscript{12} Māleyyadevathero nāma eko therō\textsuperscript{13}
Kambojagāmaṃ nissāya Rohanajanaṃpade vihāsi.\textsuperscript{14} so pana\textsuperscript{15} therō
punappunaṃ nīrāye paccamānānaṃ\textsuperscript{16} nārakānaṃ\textsuperscript{17} pavuttim āharitvā
tesaṃ fītakānaṃ kathetvā dānādīni puññāni kārāpetvā tesaṃ udissa
puññānumodanena laddhapuññaphalena\textsuperscript{18} devalokaparīyane karonto
tatth' eva vihāsi. so pi iddhibalena devalokaṃ ca yamalokaṃ ca gacchati.
devaloke ratanattaye pasanānaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ mahantam

\textsuperscript{1} M4: om.
\textsuperscript{2} M4: suranamahiniyam
\textsuperscript{3} M2: buddhasethaṇa ca namitvā
\textsuperscript{4} M2: sugatappabhavaṇa dhhammaṃ
\textsuperscript{5} M2: sadhuṃ saṅghaṇi ca natvā; M4: sadhuṃ saṅghaṇi ca namitvā
\textsuperscript{6} M2 & M4: Māleyyaṃ
\textsuperscript{7} M2: ārabbhissan ti; M3: om. four preceding lines and replaces by namattu;
M4: ārabbhissan
\textsuperscript{8} M3 & M4: afite
\textsuperscript{9} M3: om. kira
\textsuperscript{10} M3 & M4: om. these two words
\textsuperscript{11} M2: Tāmbapanaṇḍiya dipe; M3: Tāmbapanaṇḍadipe; M4: Tāmbapanaṇḍiyam dipe
\textsuperscript{12} M3 & M4: om. these two words
\textsuperscript{13} M3: om. eko therō; M4: om. therō
\textsuperscript{14} M3 & M4: pavisi
\textsuperscript{15} M3: om. all of the passage between so pana therō and tasmiṃ gāme; M4: om.
all of the passage between so pana therō and so therō puṇṇahasamaye
\textsuperscript{16} M2: paccamānaṃ
\textsuperscript{17} M2: narakānaṃ
\textsuperscript{18} M2: puññāphalena

Journal of the Pali Text Society, XVIII, 1993, pp. 19–64
isiryaṃ¹ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca upāsako asukā ca upāsikā asukasmīṃ² nāma devaloke nibbattetvā mahāsampattim anubhavanti” ti manussānāṃ kathesi. yamaloke pāpamanussānāṃ mahantam dukkham disvā āgantvā “asuko ca asukā ca asukasmīṃ niraye nibbattetvā mahantam dukkham anubhavanti” ti manussānāṃ kathesi. manussā sāsane pasidanti pāpāni na karonti dānādīni puññāni nātakānaṃ kālakatānaṃ uddissimy ātā hē ekadivaṃ so therō puññhasamaye utthāyē° āsanā³ patta cīvaram ādāya piṇḍapātāma gahanatthāya gāmaṇī pāvīsi. tasmiṃ gāme⁴ eko daliyakapuriso⁵ mātū-upatthānām⁶ karoti. tasmiṃ kāle so gāmato nikkhamitvā⁷ niḥpannatthāya⁸ ekam saraṃ patvā tattha niḥtīv⁹ aṭṭha-niluppalapupphaṇī disvā tāni gahetvā¹⁰ sarā uttarīv¹¹ maggaṃ paṭipajjī.¹² tādā so therō āgacchantam¹³ santoṃ dantaṃ suguttam¹⁴ jītindriyam uttamarūpādharaṃ pattahattham disvā samuppanna-piṭipāmojjo yena therō ten’ upasaṅkamiṃ¹⁵ upasaṅkamitvā dasa-nakahasmodhānaka rupāṭakamalo¹⁶ therō vandītī¹⁷ saddhāya

bhaulātāya¹ aṭṭha-niluppalapupphaṇī therassa hetthe datvā paṇidhānaṃ² karonto imaṃ gātham āha³:

iminā pūpphadānena yattha yattha⁴ bhavāmi ‘haṃ jātisasasahassesu mā daliydo⁵ bhavāmi ‘han ti.⁶ therō aṭṭha-niluppalapupphaṇī⁷ gahetvā anumodanaṃ karonto imaṃ gātham āha⁸:

yam yam lūkham panītīṃ⁹ vā deti pasannamānasā¹⁰ viūkāmī tassa dānassā¹¹ yathā-ichchā samājhāti ti.¹² therō anumodanaṃ katvā¹³ eva sammacintesi¹⁴ “imāni aṭṭha-niluppalapupphaṇī kuhiṃ āropessaṃ¹⁵ cetiyam vā udāhu upari pabbate vā parinibbute vā¹⁶ mahābhodhiyaṃ¹⁷ vā bhagavato anuttaradhamma-cakkavattanāṭṭhāne vā” ti.¹⁸ puna cintesi “etāni thānāni sattakkhattum eva pūjesiṃ¹⁹” yan nūnāham devaloke Cūḷaṃanācetiyaṃ pūjesamī” ti.

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¹ M2: issariyaṃ
² M2: asuko ca asukā ca asukasmiṃ nāma
³ M4: om. utthāyē° āsanā
⁴ M2: pāvīsi; M3: tādā tasmiṃ gāmaṇā
⁵ M2: dalikapuriso; M3: dalikāpuriso; M4: daliddhapuriso
⁶ M3: mātā-upathākam; M4: mātū-upatthākaṃ
⁷ M3: om. gamāto nikkhamitvā and adds dalikapuriso
⁸ M2: niḥpannatthāya
⁹ M2: niḥtīvā
¹⁰ M3: replaces tāni gahetvā by tattha niluppalapupphaṇi gahetvā
¹¹ M3: sarā uttarīvā; M4: sarāni uttarīvā
¹² M3: paṭipajjī
¹³ M3: āgacchante
¹⁴ M3: sugatajītindriyaṃ; M4: sugutaṃ
¹⁵ M3: ten’ upasaṅkamitvā
¹⁶ M3: om. upasaṅkamitvā dasa .. kamalo and replaces it by pana; M4: om. dasa .. kamalo and replaces it by ca pana
¹⁷ M3: vandhitvā
¹ M3 & M4: bhaulātāya
² M4: (pa)nīdhānaṃ
³ M3: therassa adāsi adiṭṭhānakaronto āha instead of therassa .. imaṃ gāthām āha
⁴ M4: yattha tattha
⁵ M3 & M4: daliddho
⁶ M3: bhavāmi ‘haṃ
⁷ M3: niluppalapupphaṇī
⁸ M3: om. imaṃ gātham
⁹ M3: sukhaṃ panītaṃ
¹⁰ M3: pasanaṃpī dentiya
¹¹ M3: tena puññavipākena
¹² M3: samājhātu
¹³ M3: karonto
¹⁴ M2 & M4: evaṃ samacintesi; M3: eva samacintesi
¹⁵ M3: (ro)pessaṃ and adds here udāhu
¹⁶ M3: om. parinibbute vā; M4: om. upari pabbate vā parinibbute vā
¹⁷ M4: mahā(b)dhīyaṃ vā
¹⁸ M3: pavattitaṭṭhāne vā and om. ti
¹⁹ M2: pūjesi; M3: satam eva pūjessāmi; M4: pūjjesi
abhiññāpādakaṁ jhānaṁ samāpajjītvā jhānato
vutthāya hemahārseva
nabhaṁ uuttamma tāvade
sagge ṭhitā¹ yathā appadhaññā doṇe ṭhapitā² khippam eva khiyanti.³ bhante, ye keci devā bahūpuññā te⁴ ciraṃ sagge⁵ ṭhitā yathā bahūdaññā⁵ koṭhe ṭhapitā ciraṃ ṭhatvā na khiyanti.⁷ bhante, yathā appadhaññā jāṅa bahūsippā bahuñaññino⁶ kasivaniyājādi karontā jīvantā na dukkarā⁹ honti¹⁰ tathā appapuññā devā phalaṃ¹¹ bhujaṅjīva puna param puñṇaṃ¹² katvā pacchā saggasampattim¹³ anubhavanti. bhante, yathā bahūdaññā jāṅa asippā¹⁴ aṅnāñino¹⁵ kasivaniyājādi akarontā¹⁶ khinaññāññā¹⁷ pacchā¹⁸ daliddakatārā¹⁹ honti evaṃ pi bahūpuññā¹²⁰ deva¹²¹ phalaṃ anubhavantā paraṃ puñṇaṃ akatvā¹²² pacchā daliddakappattā¹²³ jatā. bhante, yathā appadhaññā jāṅa asippā aṅnāñino kasivaniyājādi akarontā daliddakatārā honti evaṃ pi appapuññā deva¹²⁴ phalaṃ anubhavantā paraṃ puñṇaṃ akatvā daliddakatārā honti. bhante, yathā bahūdaññā jāṅa bahūsippā bahuñaññino kasivaniyājādi karontā bhiyoso mattāya vaṭṭhanti² evaṃ pi bahūpuññā deva³ dānasīlādini karontā uddhaṃsotā vaṭṭhanti⁴ yāva nibbānan”⁵ ti.⁵ tam sutvā therī pasidīvā Sujampatiṃ⁶ pucchi “mahārāja, sabbe devā bhagavato cetiyaṃ vanditum āgatā; kim Arijayameteyyo bodhisatto āgamissati”⁶ ti.⁶ “āma, bhante” ti.⁶ “kāda āgamissati”⁶ ti.⁹ “bhante, aṭthamiyaṃ vā cattuddasiyaṃ vāⁱ⁰ pañnarasiyaṃ vā Metteyyo cetiyaṃ vanditum¹¹ āgato” ti.¹² “tena hi ajja aṭthamiyaṃ kīṃ so āgamissati” ti.¹¹ “āma, bhante” ti.¹¹ evaṃ¹¹⁴ there Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente yeva¹⁵ eko devaputto satapariyārhe saddhiṃ cetiyaṃ vandanathāya āgato. therī tam devaputtam āgato¹⁶ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi¹⁷ “devarāja, ayam kīṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.¹⁸ “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aṅnataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,

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¹⁸ M3 & M4: om. te; M3: apaṭṭā
¹ M2: sagge ṭhitā and om. text as far as yathā bahūdaññā koṭhe ṭhapitā
² M3: yathā dhaññāno ṭhapitā; M4: yathā dhaññā doṇe ṭhapitā
³ M3: khippam eva khayanti
⁴ M3 & M4: om. te
⁵ M3: sage
⁶ M3: yathā dhaññā
⁷ M3: na khayanti
⁸ M3: addā honti
⁹ M3: dukkarā
¹⁰ M3 & M4: om. honti
¹¹ M3: appapuññā jāṅa phalaṃ; M4: appapuññā phalaṃ
¹² M3: (pu)ṇaṃ
¹³ M2: saggasampattim; M3: sukhaṃ sampattim
¹⁴ M3: appasippa aṅnāñino
¹⁵ M3: addā honti
¹⁶ M3: karontā
¹⁷ M3: om. text as far as bhīyoso mattāya vaṭṭhanti
¹⁸ M2 & M4: om. pacchā
¹⁹ M2: daliddakā; M4: daliddhakā
²⁰ M4: bahū(pu)ṇaṃ
²¹ M4: om. deva
²² M4: na puñṇaṃ katvā
²³ M4: daliddhakappattā
²⁴ M4: om. deva

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¹ M2: om. jāṅa
² M3: bhīyoso mattāya vaṭṭhanti
³ M3: jāṅa; M4: om. deva
⁴ M2: vaṭṭhanti; M3: vadanti
⁵ M4: yā(va) nibbān ti
⁶ M4: Sujampatiṃ (M4 almost always uses this form, which will no longer be noted)
⁷ M3: bhagavato (sic)
⁸ M3: āgamissati ti
⁹ M2: kadāgamissati ti; M3: kadāgamissati ti; M4: kadāci āgamissati ti
¹⁰ M3 & M4: cattuddasiyaṃ
¹¹ M3: vanditu; M4: vandhītum
¹² M3: aṭṭhamiyaṃ vā so āgato ti
¹³ M3: om. āma bhante ti
¹⁴ M2: evaṃ therāṃ Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente; M3: therē Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente; M4: therēna Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente
¹⁵ M3: tam khaññā ṭeva eko devaputto satapariyārhe cetiyaṃ ...
¹⁶ M3: āgattaṃ; M4: ā(γa)taṃ
¹⁷ M3: om. Sujampatiṃ and puts pucchi at the end of the sentence; M4: om. Sujampatiṃ
¹⁸ M2: kim ayam devaputto Arijayameteyyo bodhisatto ti; M3: ayam Metteyyo bodhisatto ti; M4: ayam so Metteyyo bodhisatto ti
ayāṁ devaputto pubbe manussaloKE kim akāsi puṇṇan” ti. Sakko tassa puṇṇakkammaṁ ācikkhanto1 imaṁ gātham āha:

bhante2 so mānuse jāto3 daliddo4 tināhārako5
bhattapiṭaṁ ca6 bhuvjitvā kāke dajj7 ekapiṇḍikam7
ettakaṁ puṇṇakkammaṁ pi katvā so mānuse pana8
maranante sarītvā tam9 tena so upapajjati ti.

tena vuttaṁ:

kākādike tirachchāne dānaṁ datvāna koci pi
tas5 eva dānassa phalāṁ satam labhati dāyakō ti.

so devaputto āgantuṁ cetiyam padakkhiṇam katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā
gandhamālādihi pujetvā pācinadisābhāge nisidī.10
tadanantare eko
devaputto sahassaparivārehi11 sādhibhī āgantuṁ bhagavato cetiyam
pujanaththāya sarīrobhāsena sabbā disā obhāseti.12
thero tam disvā
Sujampatiṁ pucchi13 ādevarāja, ayāṁ kiṁ14 Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’
eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,
ayāṁ devaputto pubbe manussaloKE kim akāsi puṇṇan” ti. Sakko tassa
puṇṇakkammaṁ ācikkhanto15 imaṁ gātham āha:

bhante so mānuse jāto Gopālo nāma māñavo16

bhuvjanto attano bhagam1 deti gopālakassa ca2
tenā dānena so jāto sahassaparivārito3
cetiyaṁ vandanaththāya sahassen’ eva4 āgato ti.

tena vuttaṁ:

asile appapaṁesu5 dānaṁ datvāna koci pi
tas5 eva dānassa phalāṁ sahaSaṁ paṭilabhati ti.

so āgantuṁ cetiyam padakkhiṇam katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā
gandhamālādihi pujetvā pacchimadisābhāge nisidī.6 aparO devaputto
dasasahassaparivārehi7 āgantuṁ mahantena sarīrobhāsena8 sakala-
cetiyaṁantakam obhāseti.9 therO tam10 āgataṁ disvā Sujampatiṁ pucchi
“devarāja, ayāṁ kiṁ devaputto11 Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso,
bhante” ti. “katamo,12 mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “mahārājā,
ayāṁ devaputto pubbe manussaloKE kim akāsi puṇṇan” ti. Sakko tassa13
puṇṇakkammaṁ kathento14 imaṁ gātham āha:

bhikkhar15 datvā pure bhante sāmaṇerassa silino16
tenā puṇṇavipākena cavitvā saggam āgato ti.17

tena vuttaṁ:

1 M2: pakāsetvā; M3: aviKaronto
2 M2: puts here a part of the text which appears later in the other manuscripts
3 M2 & M4: manussajāto; M3: mānaso jāto
4 M3: dālido; M4: daliddho
5 M4: tināhārako
6 M3: bhataṁ pūtān ca
7 M4: dajj ekapiṇḍikam
8 M2: so mānusse pana; M3: so mano puna; M4: so manuso (pu)na
9 M3: sarītvāna
10 M3: atthāsi tadanantare nisidi
11 M3: sahassaparivāre
12 M3: sabbadīsa obhāsanti
13 M3: Sujampatiṁ pucchi
14 M3: om. kiṁ
15 M3: aviKaronto
16 M3 & M4: māñavo
17 M2: om. kiṁ; M3 & M4: om. kiṁ devaputto
18 M3 & M4: kattamo
19 M2: adds vacanam sutvā
20 M2: adds vakanaṁ suttvā
21 M2: bhaggam; M3: bhattam; M4: bhagam
22 M4: gopalasssa ca
so āgantvā cetiyāṁ padakkhiṇaṁ katvā aṭṭhādisāsū vanditvā uttaradisābhage nisidī.2 tadā eko devaputto timsahasassaparivārehi3 cetiyāṁ vandanathāya āgato. tero taṁ āgataṁ disvā Sujampatiṁ pučci “devarāja, ayaṁ devaputto Ariyametteyyo4 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “Katamo, mahārāja” ti. “ānātaro, bhante” ti.5 “devarāja, ayaṁ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṁ kathento aha7:

**Anurādhapure pubbe suciṣṭhina jivati**

bāhūpuṇḍikaro8 eso tantavāyo ti vissuto.9
matakānaṁ sarirāni10 jhāpetvāna tahiṁ tahiṁ
tam uddissa dakkhiṇaṁ ca silavantesa deti so11
bhesajjāṁ piṇḍipātaṁ ca12 cīvaram sayānaṁ.13
ten’ eva puññakammaṁ14 upajji tisate pure ti.15

so āgantvā16 cetiyāṁ padakkhiṇaṁ katvā aṭṭhādisāsū vanditvā gandhāmālādiḥi pūjetvā tadantarake nisidi. atha17 aparā devaputto cattālaṁ-

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1 M2 & M4: puthujane
2 M3: tas’ eva dānapahāṁ dasasahassam labhati
3 M2: gantvā
4 M4: adda ca
5 M3: aṭṭhāsi
6 M3: parivā(ṛ)hi
7 M3: om. ābharaneṇa
8 M3: obhāsetvā; M4: obhāsenṭi ti
9 M2: devarāja
10 M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto
11 M3: katamo
12 M3: kathento; M4: pa(saṁ)sento
13 M2, M3 & M4: piṇḍipātikabhikkhuno
14 M3: idha-m-āgato; M4: saggam āgato ’si ti
15 M4: sīlavanassā
16 M4: adda parivāro
17 M3: visattipačahasāsantī pi phalam labbhati dāyako

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1 M2: gantvā
2 M3: aṭṭhāsi
3 M3: adda āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the phrase
4 M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto
5 M3: bhante
6 M3: devaputtassa
7 M3: puts here the verses Haritālo mahāsetṭhi ... etc. which, in the other manuscripts, appear on page 30
8 M3: bahūpuṇḍikaro
9 M3: visutto
10 M3: sarire; M4: sarīraṁ ca
11 M3: tam uddissa yathā puṇḍanaṁ silavante yajeti so; M4: tam uddissa yathā yaṁhaṁ silante yajeti so
12 M3: piṇḍipātaṁ ca yajitvāna; M4: piṇḍipātaṁ ca datvā
13 M3: sayānaṁ
14 M3: bhikkhumaṁ silavantānaṁ; M4: bhikkhumaṁ sīlavanānaṁ
15 M3: uppajja tisate pure; M4: uppajja tisate pure ti
16 M3 & M4: adda bhagavato
17 M3: om. atha; M4: athako
sahassaparivārehi cetiyaṁ vandanatthāya āgato, thero taṁ āgataṁ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṁ devaputto” Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n” eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,4 mahārāja” ti. “ānihātaro, bhante” ti.5 “devarāja, ayaṁ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kiṁ akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa6 puññakammam kathento7 āha:

Haritało8 mahāsetṭhi Haritāle ca gāmaka
çagavya9 silasampanno siddhājīvena10 jivati.
silavantesu bhesajjan ca civaram pānabhojanam
dāvāya kammanipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.11

so āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṁ padakkhiṇan catvā atthadasāsu vanditvā
gandhamālādhiḥ pujetvā tadanantare12 nisidi. aparo13 devaputto14 paññāsa-
sahassaparivārehi cetiyaṁ vandanatthāya āgato.15 thero taṁ āgataṁ disvā

1 M4: calisa; M2, M3 & M4: add āgantvā
2 M3: om. āgato
3 M3 & M4: om. devaputto
4 M3: kattamo
5 M3: bhante
6 M3: devaputtassa
7 M2: karonto
8 M4: Haritālo
9 M2: cāturū; M4: pātavā
10 M2 & M4: siddhājīvena
11 M2: uppajji va tidase pure ti; M3: upajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti
12 M4: tadanantare nisidi
13 M3: apparo
14 M2: om. the following passage as far as Metteyyo bodhisatto ti
15 M3: paññāsa sahasihē āgantvā cetiyaṁ vandanatthāya; M4: paññāsa sahasihē
cetiyaṁ vandanatthāya āgato
16 M3 & M4: om. devaputto
17 M4: kattamo
18 M2: manussaloke ti
mātāpitunā athāya bhikkhunāṃ deti dakkhiṇaṃ¹
silavantesu² dādānaṃ yācakānaṃ anappakaṃ³
sādarena⁴ cutu⁵ tamhā uppajji tidasālaye ti.⁶
so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāṣu⁷ vanditvā
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁸ tadantarate nisidi. tadā eko devaputto⁹
sattasaḥassaparivārehi¹⁰ cetiyaṃ vandananthāyā āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ
disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi "devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹¹ Metteyyo
bodhisatto" ti. "n' eso, bhante" ti. "katamo, mahārāja" ti. "ānātaro,
bhante" ti. "devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe¹² manussaloke kim akāsi
puññan" ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:
sāmaṃtero pure¹³ āsi appamatto vibakkhāno¹⁴
buddhe dhamme ca saṃgho ca sakkaccam̄ payirupāsati.
un hodake na sitena rattindivam atandito¹⁵
sammapañjapipena¹⁶ sadā saṃgham upatthahi.¹⁷
tenā kammavipākena¹⁸ uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁹

¹ M3: bhikkhuyaññaṃ yajeti so
² M3 & M4: sillavantesu
³ M3: yācakānaṃ vanibbake
⁴ M3: sādha rena
⁵ M3: cutto
⁶ M3: uppa ja tidase pure; M4: uppa jja tidasā(la)ye ti
⁷ M2: aṭṭha(d)isāsu
⁸ M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā
⁹ M3: om. devaputto
¹⁰ M4: sattasaḥassasena(na); M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence
¹¹ M2 & M4: om. devaputto
¹² M3: om. devaputto pubbe; M2 & M4: om. devaputto
¹³ M2: pure
¹⁴ M3: appamattā pur' āsi paṭṭhīgā
¹⁵ M2: attandito
¹⁶ M3: sammaṇipadiyena; M4: sammaṇipena
¹⁷ M3: udakaseyyanāsanam
¹⁸ M3: tena vipākena
¹⁹ M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppa jja tidase pure ti

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāṣu vanditvā
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadantarate nisidi. tadā aparā³ devaputto
asitisahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandananthāyā āgato.⁴ thero taṃ āgataṃ
disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi "devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁶ Metteyyo
bodhisatto" ti. "n′ eso, bhante" ti. "katamo, mahārāja" ti. "ānātaro,
bhante" ti. "devarāja ayaṃ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan" ti.

1 M2: so gantvā
2 M3: adds bhagavato; M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā
3 M3: om. tada; M3: aparā
4 M3 & M4: asitisahassehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence
5 M4: om. āgataṃ
6 M3 & M4: om. devaputto
7 M2: adds devaputto
8 M2: karonto
9 M2: duttasa; M3: dugatassa
10 M2 & M4: paradimena
11 M2: goce rāṃ bhikkhuṃ disvā; M3 & M4: bhikkhusa goce rāṃ disvā
12 M2: tiṭṭhakam
13 M3: gehasāmi na jānti
14 M2: subhāsito; M3: subāsitā
15 M3 & M4: ayyassa silavanto so
16 M2: gharadhāresu
17 M3 & M4: pindipattaṃ
18 M2 & M3: tādiṣaṃ; M4: tādice
19 M3: sutvā gharassa sāmica
20 M3 & M4: subhāsehi
21 M3 & M4: pindipattaṃ
piṇḍapātaṁ
disvā Sujampatiṁ пуччи “devarāja, ayaṁ devaputto” Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “āññataro, bhante” ti.3 “devarāja ayaṁ devaputto⁴ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammanṁ kathento⁵ āha:

Tāmbapaṇṇiyaṁ dipe so⁶ Kaṇṇikārikagāmake⁷
disvā tathāgataṁ thūpanṁ⁸ kaṇṇikārena pūjāyi
cakkhuvāyapadipena⁹ siraśa¹⁰ pupphitena ca
vacasā dhūpakārena¹¹ manasā va sugandhitā.¹²
tenā kammavipākena upājji tidaṁ pure ti.¹³

so āgantvā cetiyaṁ padakkanśe kathā atthadisāsau vanditvā
gandhamālādihi püjetvā¹⁴ tadanantare nisidi. tadā eko devaputto

satasahasarpivārehi¹ cetiyaṁ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṁ āgataṁ

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1 M3 & M4: satasahassehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence
2 M3 & M4: om. devaputto
3 M3: om. aññataro bhante ti
4 M3 & M4: om. devaputto
5 M3: om. kathento
6 M4: dalido
7 M3: paradukkhamukule āhu
8 M3: viratto
9 M3: tiṇñakatthaṁ gahetvāna
10 M3: samā jīvena
11 M3: tadāparena samayena; M4: tadā aparena samayena
12 M3: bāhuṁ; M4: bāluṁ
13 M4: om. viyūhiṁvāna so tadā
14 M2: etam abravi; M3: eta bravi
15 M3: surūpaṁ
16 M4: om. me
17 M2: pabhassavaram
18 M2: ambhaggi yathā pājjalitena
19 M3: lobhaṁ hadayamāṁ
20 M4: (vi)cittakaṁ olaram
vandāmi⁴ cetiyāṃ varaṃ bālukā⁵ pakaṭaṃ mayā. kāyena vacā manasā saha puppehi pūjaya. silavante bharitvā⁶ yathāladdhaṃ dadāti⁷ so. tena kammavipākena uppaţji tidasālaye ti.⁸ so pi⁹ āgantvā cetiyāṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā⁸ gandhamālādīhi pūjeyvā⁸ tadanantare nisidi.

evaṇṭ dvādasahi devaputtehi upalakkhiṇaṃ⁹ pathamaṇa Māleyyavatthuṃ samattaṃ.

tadā Ariyametteyyo¹⁰ bodhisatto dasasatākiraṇaṇisākarapabhātireka-pabhāvārījehe koṭisatasahasassasurayuvatisuraputthehi parivārito tārā-γaneehi parivārito¹¹ jaladharapatalavirahitasaradasamayākāsasamuggato paripunṇacandamanḍalo viya virocamāno¹² dipadhūpagandhamālādīhi¹³ gāhāpetvā Tusiṭabhavanato otaritvā¹⁴ cetiyāṃ vandanaththāya sakala-tidasapurāṃ¹⁵ dibbobhāsena obhāsento¹⁶ dibbagandhehi pavāyanto¹⁷ anopamāya sakapakatililāya anopamena sakapakatisirivilāsena cetiyāṅganaṃ āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā¹ aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pūjetvā pācinadisābhāge² nisidi.

tena vuttaṃ:

tadā Ariyametteyyo koṭihi parivārito.³ purato ca satam kāṇṇa paċchato acchara satam dakkhiṇato satam kāṇṇa vāmaṭo⁴ acchara satam. tāsāṃ majhe ca⁵ Metteyyo tārā majhe va candimā.⁶ dibbaccharānaṃ rāmsīhi tāsāṃ ābharanassā⁷ ca jotaγaya dint sābā⁸ koṭicandappabbhā viyā ti.⁹ thero bodhisattāṃ dūrato¹⁰ āgaṭaṃ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devaraja,¹¹ ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “āma, bhante” ti. “devaraja, etaa¹² devakaṇṇa Metteyyassa purato āgaṭa¹³ setaramṣā¹⁴ setavatthā setābharanā pubbe manusaloke kim aκaṃṣu¹⁵ puṇṇan” ti. Sakko tāsāṃ puṇṇākammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devacchāra sābba pubbe jāta māṇusake¹⁶ uposathomhi divase puṇṇaṃ dānādikāraṃ¹⁷ karā setavaththāṃ setamālaṃ setagandhavilepanaṃ

¹ M3 & M4: vandāmi
² M2, M3 & M4: bālukaṃ
³ M2: bharitvā; M3: silavante; M4: silavantaṃ
⁴ M3: dadāmi
⁵ M2: uppaţji tidase pure ti; M3: uppaţja tidase pure; M4: uppaţje tidasaṭaye ti
⁶ M3: om. pī
⁷ M2: vanditvāna; M4: vandhitvā
⁸ M3 & M4: gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā
⁹ M2: upaļlikkhiṇaṃ
¹⁰ M3: om. ariya
¹¹ M4: om. tārāganeehi parivārito; M3: koṭisatasahasasehi devagaṇeehi parivārito in place of dasasatākiraṇa … tārāgaṇeehi parivārito
¹² M3: jaladharapatala … virocamāno
¹³ M2 & M3 & M4: … mālādīni
¹⁴ M2: otaritvā; M3: replaces cetiyāṃ vandanaththāya … koṭihi parivārito by parivārādaseto āha
¹⁵ M4: sākalaṭida(sa)purāṃ
¹⁶ M2: dibbobhāsanta
¹⁷ M2: vāyanto

¹ M4: om. padakkhiṇaṃ katvā
² M2: bhāγena
³ M2: koṭihi imo satasahasaparivārehi
⁴ M3: bāto
⁵ M4: va
⁶ M4: candhimā
⁷ M2 & M4: ābharassa
⁸ M4: jotaγaya dint sābba disā
⁹ M2: koṭicandappāb viyā ti [thuṣ in Denis’ ms.]; M4: koṭicandhappabha viyā ti
¹⁰ M3: duratām
¹¹ M3: om. rāja
¹² M3: ayaṃ etā
¹³ M2: āgaṭo; M3: gataṃ
ejotaγaya dint sābba disā
¹⁵ M2: aκiṃṣu; M3 & M4: aκāsi
¹⁶ M2 & M4: manusake; M3: manusaloke
¹⁷ M2: puṇṇādānādikaṃ; M4: puṇṇaṃ dhanādikaṃ
setam āhārakāṁ1 datvā buddhaseṭṭhassā bhikkhuno.2
ten’ eva puññakammanā3 Metteyyapūrato gatā ti.4
thero taṁ sutvā5 tāsaṁ puññakammanā pasāṁsanto6 puna Sujampatiṁ
pucchi “devarāja, etā7 devakaṁṇī Metteyyassa dakkhiṇapassena āgatā8
pitaraṁsā pitavatthā pitabharānaḷaṅkāṭā9 pubbe manussaloke kim
akaṁṣu10 puññan” ti. Sakko tāsaṁ puññakammanā kathento āha:
bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake11
uposathamhi divase puņñam śilādikāṁ12 karā
pitavatthāṁ13 pitamālaṁ pitagandhavilepanaṁ
pitam āhārakāṁ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassā bhikkhuno.
ten’ eva14 puññakammanā Metteyyadakkhiṇā gatā ti.15
thero taṁ sutvā tāsaṁ puññakammanā pasāṁsanto16 puna devarājānaṁ17
pucchi “devarāja, etā18 devakaṁṇī vāmapassena āgatā rattarāmśā19

rattavatthā rattabharāṇī1 pubbe manussaloke kim akaṁṣu2 puññan” ti.
Sakko tāsaṁ puññakammanā3 kathento āha:
bhante devaccharā4 sabbā pubbe5 jātā manusake6
uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṁ supuṭijita7
rattavatthāṁ rattamālaṁ rattagandhavilepanaṁ
rattam āhārakāṁ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassā bhikkhuno8
ratanathayaṁ9 pūjesuṁ Metteyyavāmato gatā ti10
thero taṁ sutvā tāsaṁ11 puññakammanā pasāṁsanto12 puna Sujampatiṁ
pucchi13 “devarāja, etā14 devakaṁṇī15 pacchimapasena āgatā sāmaraṁsā
sāmavatthā sāmabharaṇī16 pubbe manussaloke kim akaṁṣu17 puññan” ti.
Sakko tāsaṁ puññakammanā kathento āha:
bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake,18
uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṁ supuṭijita19
sāmavatthāṁ sāmamālaṁ20 sāmagandhavilepanaṁ

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1 M3: seta-āhārakāṁ; M4: setāhārakaṁ
2 M3: bhikkhūno
3 M2: tena puññavipākena
4 M3: Metteyyapūrato gatā
5 M4: (suti)va
6 M3: pasāṁsati; M4: pa(sañ)santo
7 M3: ayaṁ etā
8 M2: gatā
9 M2 & M4: pitabharānaḷaṅkāṭa; M3: pitēbharāṇi pitakārā devānaṁ
10 M2: akāsu; M3 & M4: akāsi
11 M2 & M3: mānussaloke; M4: mānusake
12 M2: mālādikāṁ
13 M3 & M4: pita is always written with short i in this passage
14 M2: tena
15 M3: Metteyyassa dakkhiṇāgatā
16 M3: pasāṁsati; M4: karonto (= kathento ?)
17 M2: Sujampatiṁ pucchi; M3: sudevarājānaṁ pucchi
18 M3: ayaṁ etā
19 M3: rattaraṁsā
20 M3: sāmavatthā sāmamālaṁ sāmagandhavilepanaṁ; M4: sāmavatthā sāma-
mālaṁ, and om. sāmagandhavilepanaṁ
sānamāhārakaṁ datvā buddhaṃbhassā bhikkhuno.¹
sānyamā saṃvibhātā ca² Metteyyapacchato gata ti.³
thero taṁ sutvā tāsaṁ⁴ puṇñakammasso pasāṁsanto⁵ puna Sujampatiṁ⁶
pucchi “devarāja,⁷ Metteyyo idisaṁ⁸ sampattiṁ labhati. kiṁ pana
puṇñam akāsī” ti.⁹ Sakko Metteyyassa¹⁰ puṇñam saṃkhepana
sāgarattikkamanasampamāya¹¹ pabbatārohanandhopamāya¹² ca¹³ paññāya
pākāsetvā puna saddhādhikapaññādhikaviriyaḥdhikasamkhātanaṁ tiṇḍaṁ
anappakkappacakkayavacimāma¹⁴ paññihatitividhasucarita-
cadhanapariccāga¹⁵-puttapariccāga¹⁶-bhāyāpariccāga-āpāpariccāgaja-
vitapariccāga-samkhātadānapārami¹⁷ tadanurūpasilanekkhamma-
paññāviriyaḥkhatissaccāditthānāmettupekkhā ti dasapārami¹⁸ dasa¹⁹-
upāpariⁱ⁰ dasaparamatthapārami ti sama²¹-tiṇḍapāramiyo puriṇānaṁ

¹ M3: om. this verse
² M3: sayamālavibhātā; M4: saññamā saṃvibhātā ca
³ M2: Metteyyaṃ pacchato gatā ti; M3: Metteyyapacchato gata
⁴ M2: om. tāsaṁ
⁵ M3: pasāṁsati
⁶ M2: adds ca
⁷ M3: the following passage as far as aham jambuddipaṅgato 'mhi mahārājā ti is
quite different. It is hard to read and what I have been able to decipher is
added at the end of the variant readings. See Appendix A.
⁸ M2: tadisaṁ
⁹ M2 & M4: akāsi
¹⁰ M[number omitted in Denis’ ms.]: adds va
¹¹ M2: sāgarattikkamanas-; M4: sāgarattikkamanas-
¹² M2: pabbatārohandhopamāya
¹³ M2 & M4: add attano
¹⁴ M2: vacimanto
¹⁵ M2: pañcamaṃhāpariccāga instead of dhanapariccāga which is included in the
list lower down; M4: always writes paricāga
¹⁶ M2: adds dhānpariccāga
¹⁷ M2: pāramita: M4: saṃkhātāni dānapārami
¹⁸ M2: mettavekkhātidasapārami; M4: metta-upekkhātidasapārami
¹⁹ M4: om. dasa
²⁰ M4: u(p)āparami
²¹ M2: om. sama

bodhisattanāṁ viriyādhikabodhisatto ariya Metteyyo bodhisatto ti
pakāsento imā gāthayo āha:
Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹ katvā puṇñāni nekadhā
setthasabbānaḥnibuddhehi na sakā tāni vakṣīṇumī²
ekadesa na vuttāni sasā³ sāgaratikkamo
andho va pabbatāroho patiṭṭham na labhissi.⁴
tatha Metteyyo puṇñāni⁵ anantāparimāṇakā
anappakkappe sambhāre sambhāritvāma sabbaso.
tayo hi bodhisattāsūṁ⁶ eko thāmādiko mato⁷
kapasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni saḷīsa⁸
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṁ;
eko saddhādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse⁹
kapasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭha pi¹⁰
pūretvā pārami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṁ;
eko paññādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse¹¹
kapasatasahassāni cattāri ca¹² asaṃkheyyāni
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṁ.
Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹³ tesāṁ thāmādiko mato¹⁴
kapasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni saḷīsa

¹ M4: pi
² M4: vaṇṇetum
³ M2: adds va
⁴ M4: labhissāmi ti
⁵ M2: Metteyyapuṇñāni; M4: Metteyyassa puṇñāni
⁶ M2: bodhisattasu
⁷ M2: eko ca viriyādhiko mato (always written thus in M2); M4: om. the
passage up to eko saddhādhiko mato
⁸ M2: saḷīsa
⁹ M2: mānuse; M4: mānuse
¹⁰ M2: asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭha pi
¹¹ M2: mānuse; M4: mānuse(se)
¹² M2 & M4: om. ca
¹³ M2: tu
¹⁴ M2: tesahaviriyādhiko mato; M4: replaces this verse with viriyādhika-
Metteyyo tesu thāmādiko mato
pūretpā pārami sabbā1 Tusite upapajjati.2
cavitvāna tato kāyā sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissatī ti.
evaṃ Sakkena3 saddhiṃ there kathente yeva Metteyyo cetiyaṅganam4
āgantuṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhaṇāsaṃ vanditvā gandhamālādihi pūjetvā
pañcaṅgapatīṣṭhena vanditvā pācīnadosābhāge5 nisidi. bodhisattva tattha
nisinnam theraṃ vanditvā pucchi “kuto āgato si, bhante” ti.6 “ahaṃ
Jambūdīpyato ‘mhi,7 mahārāja’ ti. “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussaṃ
kim vattamānaṃ” ti.8 theru bodhisattassa panhām kathento āha:
sabbe te manussasattha sakakammena9 jīvīta10
samiddhā ca daliddā ca11 sukhiṭā dukkhiṭā pi12 ca
abhirūpā virūpā ca13 dīhāyukā appāyukā.14
samiddhā appakā honti daliddā15 ca bahūjanā;
sukhiṭā appakā honti16 dukkhiṭā ca17 bahūjanā;
surūpā appakā18 honti virūpā ca19 bahūjanā;
dīhāyukā appakā honti appāyukā ca20 bahūjanā.

manussa appakā honti tirachchanā bahūtāra1;
tasmā vadāmi ‘haṃ sabbe sakakammena2 jīvīta ti.3
bodhisattva thassama vacanam sutvā “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussa kim
bahuṣṇaṇīma4 karonti udāhu pāpanti” ti. “mahārāja,5 puṇṇaṃ karonta
appakā honti6 pāpanā karonta bahutarā honti” ti.7 “kim puṇṇaṃ
karonta,8 bhante” ti. “mahārāja, Jambūdīpamanussa keci danaṃ denti
ceki silaṃ rakkhanti keci dhammadānaṃ denti keci uposathā karonti
keci buddhapathimaṃ karonti keci vihāraṃ karonti keci avāsaṃ9 karonti
ceki vassāvaśaṃ denti10 keci cvaraṃ denti keci piṇḍapātaṃ11 denti keci
bhesajjaṃ denti12 keci bodhirukkhaṃ ropenti13 keci thupaṃ karonti14 keci
cetiyaṃ karonti15 keci āramaṃ karonti16 keci setuṃ karonti keci
cāṅkamaṃ karonti keci kūpaṃ khananti keci tattakaṃ khananti17 keci
parikkharaṃ denti keci dasavidhaṃ danaṃ denti18 keci mātupitu-
apathānaṃ karonti19 keci kālakatanaṃ nātakānam aththaya yaṇṇam20

1 M2: sambodhiṃ
2 M2: Tussitaṃ upapajji; M4: Tussitaṃ upapajjati
3 M2: Sakena
4 M2: cetiyaṅgane; M4: omits this passage up to and including nisinnam
5 M2: bhāgena
6 M3: bhante kuto āgato ti
7 M4: Jambūgato ‘mhi
8 M4: vattamānā ti
9 M4: sakakamma
10 M2 & M4: jivanti; M3: jivatā
11 M4: samiddhā ca daliddā ca
12 M3: sukhiṭā pi ca (om. dukkhiṭā)
13 M3: abhirūpā pi ca (om. virūpā)
14 M2: appayukā; M3: dīhāyu(kā) appakāyukā
15 M3: daliddā; M4: daliddhā
16 M3: sukhiṭā (ppa)kā honti
17 M2: ca
18 M3: appa(kā)
19 M2: om. ca
20 M4: om. ca; M3: appā(yukā)
karonti¹ keci ratanattayaṃ puṇjenti keci puttaṃ pabbājenti keci dharmaputtaṃ pabbājenti² keci buddhapatimaṃ puṇjenti evaṃ³ sabbāni kusalakammāni Jambūdpimanussā yathāsatyathābalaṃ yatha-ajjhāsayaṃ karonti⁴ ti kathesi.⁴⁴ “bhante, Jambūdpimanussā evarūpāni puññāni katvā⁵ kiṃ paṭṭhānaṃ karonti⁶ ti.”⁶ therō tassa manussānaṃ paridhānanaṃ karonto⁷ ahā:

deva ta puññhamattā paṃ kathvā kārenti vā pana paresaṃ vā anumodanti tuyhaṃ patthenti⁸ bodhiyā: iminā katapuññena dānasīlādinā pana⁹ Metteyyass’ eva buddhassa dassanaṇaṃ ca¹⁰ labhāṃhase¹¹; yāvānapajjate buddho Metteyyo devapujito saṃsāre saṃsaranantā pi¹² apāye na gamāṃhase.¹³ Jambūdpimanussā te puññāṃ katvā tadā pana evaṃ karimū paṇidhiṃ¹⁴ sabbatthāṇesu sabbadā ti.

bodhisatto Jambūdpimanussānaṃ pavattīṇa suttvā somanassaṃ patto¹⁵ huttvā¹⁶ evaṃ ahā “bhante, sabbe jānā mañ saṃsāṅutaṃ paṭṭam daṭṭhum¹⁷ patthento¹⁸ Mahāvessantarajātakaṃ ekadive yeva parinīṭhaṃ¹¹ sunantu; sahassapadipena vā puṇjeta vā sahassapadumena vā sahassanilappalena vā sahassa-indivarena vā sahassa-maṇḍarapupphena vā sahassadajenena vā sahassachattena vā sahassapajākena vā sahassayāņena vā sabbaṃ āharitvā dhammaṃ puṇjeta mama bodhiyāle mama sammukhā¹⁶ saha paṭisambhidāhī arahattaṃ paṭilabhissantī” ti, iti vatvā puna¹⁸ pāpamunussānaṃ attano buddhaddassanānaṃ alabhamānabhāvaṃ kathento gāthām ahā:

paṭighaṃ bhikkhunidīsaṃ⁹ karonti samghahedakhaṃ pañcānāntariyakammaṃ¹⁰ thūpaṃ bodhisāsa chedakaṃ¹¹ bodhisattaṃ ca mārenti¹² sāntaṃ saṃghassa hārača¹³

¹⁸ M2: patthento; M3: paṭṭhento (From this point onwards, the text of M3, although having virtually the same meaning, is set out slightly differently. We have transcribed the whole of it here as far as the verses: ... bhikkhu vā bhikkhuni vā upāsaka vā upāsikā vā mahāvessantarāmaṃ papphehi vā jātaka ekadiva yevasu sunanti sahassayāntena sahassadhupena sahassadipena vā sahassanilappalapupphena vā sahassapadumapupphena vā sahassa-umārapupphena vī cetiyassa puṇjeta vuddhapatimaṃ puṇjeta vā sabbe te kālaṃ kariva sattasampatthiṃ yathā parihūnijātīvama bodhiyāle mama sammukhā sahassasambhidāhāni arahattaṃ paṭṭam labhenti vatvā te dassento gāthām ahā ... )

1 M4: adds two phrases here: keci cetiyam karonti keci ārāmaṃ karonti; M4 ends here
2 M2: om. this phrase
3 M3: om. evaṃ
4 M2: katheti; M3: om. kathesi
5 M3: bhante manussānaṃ evarūpāni karontā
6 M3: kiṃ paṭṭhitaṃ kiṃ paṇidhānaṃ dakkhiṇodakaṃ pātettvā
7 M2: kathento; M3: paṇidhiṣkathento evaṃ ahā
8 M2: paṭṭhenti; M3: paṭṭheti
9 M3: dānaṃ silānaṃ pana
10 M2: dassanaṇaṃ ca
11 M3: labhāṃhase
12 M3: saṃsaranantā pi
13 M2: gamāṃhase
14 M2 & M3: paṇidhi
15 M2: somanussapatto; M3: somanassapatto
16 M3: om. huttvā
17 M2: saṃsāṅutappattām daṭṭhum; M3: saṃsāṅutadaṭṭhum
18 M2: om. puna
19 M3: paṭīghabhikkhunidīsaṃ
20 M2: pañcānāntariyakammaṃ; M5: pañcānāntariyakammaṃ
21 M3: bodhiḥ ca chedakaṃ; M5: bodhiḥ ca chedakā
22 M2: bodhisattakaṃ; M3: bodhisattassa mārei
maccherā ca pamādā ca na honti mama santike ti. 1
thero tassa vacanaṃ sutva evam ahā 2 "mahārāja, 3 sādhu te 4 vacanaṃ.
aḥaṃ 5 Jambudīpam anussānam kathessāmi. tvam 6 pana kadā buddho
bhavissati" ti. 7 "bhante, Gotamabuddhassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassa-
sahassāni śhātvā 8 antaradhāyissati. tasmiṃ antarahite 9 loke
akusalussananaṃ 10 bhavissati. 11 kusalan ti nāma mattaṃ pi 12 na bhavisati
pageva kusaluppatti. 13 tadā anukkamena 14 manusṣa virahita-
hirottappābhinnamariyādā 15 ayaṃ me 16 māṭādiṭhabhaginānattātisāṇāṃ
anuppādetvā ajelakakkuṭasūkhasamāgalaṃ ādayo viya nillajī 17
bhavissanti. 18 tadā te anukkamena 19 uussanna-akusalappayogena 20
vassasataparichchināyukato 21 manusṣa parihāyitā dasavassāyukā
bhavissanti. yadā pañcavassikadārakassa pañcavassikāya dārikāya 1 āvāho
vivāho 2 bhavissati tadā satthantarakaṃpo bhavissati. manusā
aṁnāmaṁnāṃ migasaṅkī 3 bhavissanti. tesam dandaṭṭi upakaranānaṃ hi
hattena gahitagahitaṃ yaṃ kiṃci 4 ubhodāhārakahuradharāsadisaṃ 5
āvudhaṃ bhavissati. te aṁnāmaṁnāṃ ghāṭessanti. 7 tesu ye manusṣa 8
paṇḍitā paṭhamam eva 10 tam vināsaṃ sutvā 11 pabbatantarādi 12
pavisītvā 13 ekikā nīlīyissanti. 14 te ṭhapetvā 15 avasesā sattāhaṃ
aṁnāmaṁnāṃ paharīṭvā 16 vinīsissanti. atha 17 sattame divase atikkante
attano attano nīlīyatṭhāṇā 18 nikkhamitvā aṁnāmaṁnāṃ āliṅgītvā
samaggasamvāhanaṃ 19 paṭilabbhīya yaṃ nūna 20 mayam 21 kusalakammas
kareyyā paṇātipāṭa virameyyāma 22 adinnādāna kämesu micchācāra

13 M2: samghahārakam; M5: saṃtaṃ samghassa hārikaṃ
1 M3: māma santī ti
2 M2 & M3: om. evaṃ
3 M5: devasantarūta
4 M3: sodha te (In M3 the following passage, up to the verses, is quite different.
What we have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant
readings). See Appendix B.
5 M5: om. ahaṃ
6 M5: adds kho
7 M2: bhavissati ti; M5: bhavitum gamissati ti
8 M5: thatvā
9 M5: antaradhāhite
10 M5: akusalāna usamāni
11 M5: bhavissati
12 M2: kusalan ti nāmaṃ mattaṃ pi; M5: kusalaṃ puṇḍran ti nāma mattaṃ na
honti
13 M5: paggeva kusalapuṇḍhāni karonti
14 M2: anukkamena; M5: om. tadā anukkamena
15 M5: manusā ahiṅkā ahotappā bhinnamariyādā
16 M5: sabbe janā
17 M2: nilajā; M5: nilajā
18 M2: bhavissati
19 M2: anukkamena; M5: atha anukkamena
20 M2: uussanna-akusalāna piyogena; M5: akusalā usanātehi kusalapāpehi
payogehi
21 M2: yukāto; M5: yukā
musāvādā surāmerayā pharuṣāvācā samphappalāvācā abhijjha byāpādā mīcchādīthīyāmā pativirameyāma puṇñāni karissāmā tī puṇñāni karissanti. atha dasavasāyukamanussānaṁ visativasāyukā dārakā bhavissanti; bhiyō puṇñāni karontāṇāṁ manussānaṁ dārakā anukkamenā tiṃsacatāṭsapaṇāṇasatṭhi5 sattati-asiti navutti8-sata-vassāyukā9 bhavissanti. anukkamenā dīvasasatāyukā puttā ticatūpaṇacchassata-āṭṭhanavasatāyukā sahasāyukā. bhaṃ pūnāni anukkamenā sahasāyukānāṁ dīvasasatāyukā puttā bhavissantip. ticatūpaṇacchassata-āṭṭhanavadasahassāyukā bhavissanti. atha manussā atirekataraṁ dhammaṁ caritva vassa-satasaḥsahassāyukā bhavissanti. atirekataraṁ dhammaṁ carantesu anukkamenā vassa-satasaḥsahassāyukā bhavissanti. tato param pāram atirekataram dhammaṁ caritvā asāṃkheyyāyukā bhavissanti. tādā sattānām jārāmaraṇānaṁ na paṇñāya ṣantisāṁ: putā ni paṃdamān āpajjissantī; tesaṁ āyuparihāyissanti. asāṃkheyyāyukata sattā pārihāyitvā vassakoṭi-vassasarāṣṭīyukā bhavissanti tato pārihāyitvā anukkamenā navutikōṭi-vassasarāṣṭīyukā bhavissantip. tato pārihāyitvā aṣṭivassasarāṣṭīyukā bhavissanti. tasmān samaye devo anvadhamāsāṁ anudasāhāṁ anupaṭaṇāhaḥ ca mājñhamāyāme pathavirasāṁ vadhento vassissati. tādā Jambūdīpo samiddho hoti sabbākalam pupphapalahalatāṃ gumbapāpādaphāharito kukkuṭasampātikā-gāmanigamasamākihī ca corakaṇṭhākavirahito appagataṭtiḥīhagahāno rājadhanisamujjalito sabbaratanasampanno sukhiṣto subhikko khemo17 bahu-annapānakkhajjhadhamasamappanno macchamāpaṇī upabhagopariḥbogasamiddho. tālākā sumadhurodakaparipūṇa sabbaththa bhavissanti. tādā bhante jāyapatikā avivādakā akodhanā.
pañcakamagunāsakhaṁ anubhavantā kasivaṇījādi kammāvirahīṁ sukhenā jivissanti. itiṁ purīsā na suttāṁ kantissanti na tattāṁ vāyissanti dibbavathāṁ nivāsissanti. purissā sadadhē saṁtuṭṭhā itthiyo saṁmikehi saṁtuṭṭhā; saṁyamaṁ purīsā parādārāṁ na karonti na itthiyo param purīsā karonti te piyā manāpā aṁnāmaṁnaṁ bhavissanti. sabbe te gāmanigamadhanadhaṁnañkaṅkhetavattupasahsuhuto na vivādaṁ karissanti; sabbe manussā surūpā uttamarūpadhārā aṁnāmaṁnaṁ piyā manāpā honti. kākā ulukehi saddhiṁ mettacīta majjāri ca undurehi saddhiṁ mettacīta migā migindehi saddhiṁ mettacīta naṅkula āsahpe saddhiṁ mettacīta bhavissanti sīhādayo migēhi saddhiṁ mettacīta honti evam aṁnāmaṁnaṁ paṭiṣattatiracchānaṁ sabbe mettacītaṁ labhissanti. yadda āsali ekabiyaṁ saṁjñāta āropitā; dve sakataṣaṁhassāni dve sakatasatāni ca dve sakatasattati c’ eva ambənaṁ soṣaṁ pi ca atho pi dve ca tumbāṁ tundulāṁ pajāyaretī. tadahāṁ bhante dasahassacakkavāḷavāśam devabrahmānaṁ āyācaṇaṁ sutva kālandasaddlepañcakamālayussathāṇāni pañcavilokanāṁ viķolētvā buddho manussalokanāṁ gamissami ti vatvā attano pāramiṣvannya vaṅgento aha: aham hi paripūretvā pāramiyo anekadhā kappasatasahassāni asaṁkheyāni solasa viriyādhiṁ bodhisattva racitvā demi dānakam yadda saṁbūnitaṁ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te. sīsam me racitam kathā aṭṭhinaṁ akkhayugalaṁ yacakaṇaṁ addānaṁ kappatoṭsatepi yadda saṁbūnitaṁ patto adhā na honti mānasū; yacitvā aṅgappacanaṅge dānaṁ datvā acesakaṁ yadda saṁbūnitaṁ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te. yadda saṁbūnitaṁ patto na adhānaṁ honti mānasū. 18

1 M5: adds pañcavassatitthiṁ purisānaṁ āvāho ca vivahā ca bhavissati
2 M5: om. gaṇa
3 M5: adds ca
4 M2: jivanti; M5: puts here the text about the spontaneous growth of rice. We reproduce it in note 16 below.
5 M2: na suttakantissanti; M5: tadā itthiyo suttaṁ na kantissanti
6 M5: sayissanti
7 M5: sadarāsapantuṭṭhā
8 M5: adds ca
9 M5: om. the passage between saṁyamā and aṁnāmaṁnaṁ piyāmanāpā bhavissanti
10 M5: tadā gāmanigamakhetavattupasahsuhūnādī heta vivā na karissanti
11 M5: om. this phrase and adds khattiyā macchā ca sabbe saṅpati-ādayo ca pañcasilāni rakhiṃsanti
12 M5: the text is different between kākā and aṁnāmaṁnaṁ: tadā kākā ca ulukā ca majjhā ca undurā ca miggā ca migginda ca naṅkula ca sappātī sabbe aṁnāmaṁnaṁ ...
13 M2: majjhāri
14 M5: adds hi
15 M5: om. sabbe and adds aṁnāmaṁnaṁ
16 M5: paṭiṣattihissanti
17 M2: ekasāli-ekabiyaṁ sayaṁjata
18 M2: tumbhāni
19 M2: ca jāyareti
20 M5: pañcamaṁhāvilokanāni
21 M5: om. buddho
22 M5: om. vaṇṇaṁ
23 M3: pi; M5: om. hi and writes paripūretvāna
24 M2: kappasatasahassāhi
25 M3: saddhaṅhiko
26 M2: caritvā
27 M2: me; M3: ca; M5: patto surūpā honti
28 M3: sīsamacitaṁ
29 M3 & M4: ca
30 M2 & M5: na adhānaṁ honti mānasū; M3: vikalaṅgā na honti ca
31 M2: caritvā aṅgappacanaṅge; M5: aṅgappacanaṅge
32 M5: demi dānaṁ acesaṁ
33 M2 & M5: me; M3: ca
34 M7: na vaṇṇanaṁ; M5: vaṇṇanaṁ
35 M2 & M5: muggā; M3: muggā honti tadā pana
dhammaṁ suttā pasidivā yācakānaṁ kathāṁ suniṁ
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto na badhīrā honti mānasā.
piyacakkhihi passāmi silavante ca yācave
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto na andhā honti mānasā.
ujjaṁ kāyaṁ karitvā 'ḥaṁ kāle dānāđike pana
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto na khujja honti mānasā.
osadhamē demi sattānaṁ bhayaṁ tesam pi no kare
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto tadā satta arogino.
mettā karomi sattānaṁ bhavasantaḥasanānaṁ
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto tadā Māra na honti te.
manāpā annapānāni manāpena dadāmi 'haṁ
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto samiddha honti mānasā.
manāpāni ca vatthāni manāpena dadāmi 'haṁ
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto surūpā honti mānasā.
manāpāni ca yānāni hatthi-assarathāni ca

dolā ca sivikā căpi yācakānaṁ dadāmi 'haṁ
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto sukhitā honti mānasā.
mocemi bandhanā satte dosato dukkhato pi ca
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto bhujissā honti pānino.
samaṁ mettā karitvā 'haṁ piyesu apiyesu ca
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto samā honti mahātalā.
tosemi yācave sabbe bhōjaneni dhanehi ca
yadā sabbaññutaṁ patto sītakāpupuṇṇā nadi.
yāṁ kiṁci kusalaṁ katvā mamaṁ pattihenti mānasā
saṁsārabhayabhiṭṭa te bhavisamā bhavamocako.
avījāghorapabhavaṁ mohajālasamākulaṁ
vyuhantām caturugēslo lokaṁ santarayiss āhaṁ.
kilesapākamakkhite tāṇhātakkārāsevite
saṁsāradisasamulhe mokkhamaggaṁ adesayiṁ.
Sañjive Kāḷasutte ca Tāpane ca Patāpane

1 M2, M3 & M5: suṇī
2 M3 & M5: na honti badhīrā taddā
3 M3 & M5: silavante; M2 & M3: om. ca
4 M2 & M3: ujukāyaṁ; M5: ujuaṁ khyāṁ
5 M3: khujja honti tadda pana
6 M2 & M5: osadham; M3: osathamā
7 M5: bhayaṁ tesam vinodayi
8 M3: aroginī
9 M3: mettikaromi
10 M2: bhayaṁ santassavināsanaṁ; M3: bhayaṁ santākasakarī pana (?): M5: bhavasantaṁ na kare
11 M2, M3 & M5: me
12 M2: manāpehi; M3: yācakānaṁ
13 M3: om. this half verse
14 M5: adds here a half verse yācakānaṁ yathākāmaṁ (?:), which is unmetrical
   and seems to be a scribal error
15 M3: om. this verse
16 M2: yānāni
17 M2: hatthi assarūpāni ca; M3: hatthi assā ratthāni ca
18 M2: hatthi assarūpāni ca; M3: hatthi assā ratthāni ca
19 M3: yācakānaṁ puna punaṁ
20 M2: manussā; M3: sattā yanti ca nibbatthi
21 M3: bandhanā sa(tte)
22 M2: dukkhito
23 M3: tadda puṇṇāni pānino; M5: bhujissā
24 M2: samamettem; M3: samametā; M5: samaṁ mettīṁ
25 M2 & M3: apiyesu; M3: om. ca
26 M5: patibala
27 M3: icchātehi dhaneni ca
28 M3: tadda puṇṇaṁ cindanaṁ tī; M5: sātodakena puṇṇā nadi; M3: adds athā
   metteyo taṁ evam āha
29 M5: kusalaṇaṁma kaṭvā
30 M2: mamāṁ paṭṭhenti; M3: mamāṁ pattenti; M5: maa paṭṭhenti
31 M3 & M5: bhavaṁ
32 M4: bhava mocako; M5: bhavamocay
33 M5: avījāgharapabhavaghoraṁ
34 M3: mohajālasa samāṁ kulaṁ
35 M3: lokaṁ santarayi āhaṁ
36 M2, M3 & M5: adesayi
37 M3: kāḷaṁ sutte ca; M2: adds samghāteroruve tadā mahāroruve c’eva
38 M2: tāpanapamahātāpame; M3: tāpame ca (pa)tāpame; M5: patāpene
Apāyā uddharivāna¹ dassessāmi parāyanan ti.² evaṃ ca³ pana vatvā bodhisatto "yathā 'ham, bhante, vadāmi tathā manussānaṃ kathetā” ti⁴ sānaṃ datvā dasanakkhasamodhāna-samujjalakarapūtīgamakulo⁵ sudhotakanakaphalakasadisanalatantara-sapatīṭhāpitisasamujuñjalakarupito manoranāma⁶ indanilamanimayaṃ Cūlāmanicetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atīthadīsāsu vanditvā pañanga-patiṭhītena⁷ vanditvā therāṃ āpucchitvā koṭisatasaḥassā⁸ saṃkhāya⁹ surayuvatī¹⁰ suruputtaparīsāya¹¹ parivutto tārāgaṇāparivārito¹² bahalajaladharatalaviraṭhakkagatalasamudito paripūṇacandamanaṃḍalo viya virocamāno Tusita¹³-puram eva gato.

tena vuttaṃ:

evaṃ anomavāno so Metteyyo cetiyan varan pujvatī puna¹⁴ vanditvā piṭhitvo va patikkami.
sabbā devaccharā pi ca¹⁵ pujvatī cetiyan varan
aṭṭhādīsāsu vanditvā piṭṭhito ca pāṭikkamun.¹
puṇṇamāyaṃ² yathā cando sarade va virocati³
tathā ariyametteyyo⁴ devamajjhe virocati.
migamajjhe yathā sihō⁵ gavamajjhe yath'⁶ usabho⁶
pakkhamajjhe yathā garuddho⁷ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.⁸
nagamajjhe yathā Meru⁹ sattaranamanandito¹⁰
naramajjhe cakkavatti¹¹ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.
tanumajjhe pāricchattako pupphamajjhe kokanado¹²
maṇīmajjhe vedurīyo devamajjhe yathā ayaṃ.¹³
pabbatagghe yathā aggī suddhantakanakaṃ yathā¹⁴
sabbe deve atikkamma vannatejena rocati¹⁵
Tusitabhananāṃ yanto¹⁶ devehi parivārito¹⁷
dibbasukhaṃ anubhutvā¹⁸ ciraṃ satte pamodati ti.¹⁹

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¹ M3: finishes with a short paragraph which differs a little from the other texts. We reproduce it at the end of the variants. See Appendix C; M5: taṃ khaṇe yeva
² M2: om.
³ M2 & M5: om. sammā.
⁴ M5: dhara-paramita.
⁵ M5: om. cūlamāṃ.
⁶ M2: pabhāpucchitvā
⁷ M2 & M5: add kilesā
⁸ M5: vicita-
⁹ M5: jana-
¹⁰ M2: add sasāra; M5: adds samsāra-
¹¹ M5: om. sāmāsaṃ addhānaṃ
¹² M2: atikkamanto
¹³ M2 & M5: pala-
¹⁴ M5: dvipada-
¹⁵ M2: om. varapāda-
¹⁶ M5: yāna-
¹⁷ M2: suddhā-
¹⁸ M2 & M5: pala-
¹⁹ M5: Jambū dipāgantvā
²⁰ M5: yathāha
tadă so devathero pi āpucчитvā surindakaṁ
cetiyaṁ puna vanditvā otaritvāna saggato
sohath hemahanṃso va3 pun’ āgacchati māṇusaṁ.
nigama5 rājadhanisu bhikkhaṁ piṇḍāya pāvisi ti.

so6 piṇḍapātapaṭikanto Metteyyassa pavattini Jambūdpamanussānaṁ ārocesi. manussā thera＄a vacanaṁ sutva pasannacitā dānādini puisaṇi kaṭvā āyuḥapariyosāne devaloke pūrayīṣu. so daliddakapuriso7 atthāniluppaladāya yāvajīvam8 uppaladānaṁ anussaritvā manussa-lokatvācittvā tāvatiṃsabhavān9 devaccharāhi parikīne10 naccigita-paṭācāgikakuturiyasanghuttte11 sāttaratanakahcittta niluppalapasāde nībatti.12 tassa akkanta-akkanta13-kāle paṭcavaṭṭaṁ ni uppalāni pade pade sampāṭicčίṃṣu. tassa mukhagandaṁ uppalagandaṁ14 viya sakaladeva-nagaram pavāyi.15 devā devithiyo uppalagandhaṃ ghāyitvā16 taṁ sevanti. sabbe devā tassa pade pade sampāṭicchanmaṁ17 uppalāṁ disvā Sakkassa devaraṇāno ārocesuṁ.18 Sakko taṁ19 tesam kathāṁ sutva tuṭṭhacitto hutvā tattha gantvā pucchi “devate, manussaloke kim akāsi

puṇṇaṁ1 evarūpaṁ sampattim labhasi” ti.2 yo3 Sakkassa vacanaṁ sutva evam āha “devarāja, ahaṁ pubbe manussaloke Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo4 mātarāṁ posento5 ekadivasamhi ṇhāpanathāya6 ekam saram gantvā tattha7 ṇhātvā8 atthā-niluppalaphāṇi disvā tāni gahetvā ekassa bhikkhuṇo datvā tena9 niluppaladānaṁ niluppalaphāṇe jāto ‘mhi10; mama akkanta11-akkantakāle pade pade uppalaphāṇi12 jāyati mama cakkhūvāyaṁ uppaladaladisaṁ13 uppalagandho viya me kāyo tena Uppalo nāma devaputto jāto ‘mhi” ti. Sakko tassa vacanaṁ14 sutvā pāmuditacito pasannamānaṁo hutvā15 tato pī16 niluppalaphāṇo gahetvā17 buddhassa cetiyan18 pūjesi so Uppaladevaputto19 yāvajjatanā yeva20 hoti.
tenā vuttaṁ:

puna bhave pi taṁ puṇṇaṁ Metteyyass’ eva santike21 dibbasukhaṇ ca bhūjītvā pupphadānaṁ idam phalaṁ.

1 M5: so kim katvā
2 M2: labhati ti
3 M2 & M5: so
4 M2 & M5: om. Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo
5 M5: poseti
6 M2: nāhānatthāya
7 M5: om. tattha
8 M2: nāhātvā; M5: adds pana
9 M5: te ten’ eva uppaladānaṁ
10 M5: atṭhaniluppalaphāṇe jāto; M2: jatehi
11 M5: atikkanta
12 M5: niluppalam
13 M2: uppaladāsasāṁ; M5: cakkha- uppaladāsāṁ
14 M5: kathāṁ
15 M5: om.
16 M2: om.; M5: so
17 M5: niluppalam gahetvā
18 M5: buddhapatimāṁ
19 M5: om. uppaṁ
20 M5: yāvajjattameva
21 M5: Metteyyassa va santike
tasma hi pañḍito poso Metteyyabuddhasantike
papunitum pañidhaya danaśilādikam kare.
yo yo yaṁ yaṁ bodhisattva vacanassānuśārino
puññaṁ karoti so so ca Metteyyadassanaṁ varaṁ
labhissati dukkhas+ antaṁ karissati anāgata.
saṃsāre saṃsaranto pi apāye\(3\) na gamissati ti.

iti Mālayyadevatherassa\(4\) vaṇṭanā niṁthita.
nibbānapaccayo hotu anāgata bhavissanti\(5\)

† E. Denis

Appendix A (see note 7 on page 40)

M3: devarāja Metteyyo kiṁ kammaṁ (= puñña-kammaṁ ?) katvā idaṁ sampatiṁ
labhati bhante ahaṁ kathāṁ jānitabbaṁ sabbaññabuddho pana sakā (= sakā ?)
tassa sampatiṁ vannetuṁ Metteyyo budhassapadām pathetvā loka-
bhavāmopanāthaya ma dhanissambhāram karonto dānādāci (= dāṇādīni ?)
manussasampatideto anekakoṭikappadānapārāmi katvā silarakkhitum saṭṭa-
sampatidento jhānaṁ kārīnaṁ brahmasampatidento anekakoṭikapp-
nekkhabānapārāmi katvā dukkhadassanaṁ sotāpattimagghapalām dento
anekakoṭikappapānaṁpārāmi katvā aniccaddassanaṁ sakkhihaṁ gāmaggam (=
sakkhaṁ gāmaggam ?) dento anekakoṭikappavirayapārāmi katvā anatta-
dassanaṁ (= anattaddassanaṁ ?) anāgāmimaggam dento anekakoṭikapp-
khantipārāmi katvā tiṣakkhaṁ upekkhānaṁ arahattanā dento anek-
akoṭikappasaccaṇapārāmi katvā pāṇavadhāvajitaṁ aṭṭhaṅgikam dento anek-
akoṭikappo-adhiṭṭhānapārāmi katvā dukkhadassanaṁ saṃsāraniṁbhānaṁ dento
anekakoṭikappametuttipākhaṁ katvā anantaṁ lāṇaṁ paṭṭhayaṁ sabbe sattanaṁ
upanāthaya samaṁ juto anattā (= anatta ?)-bodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva
anantasilālaṁkāre dento anantabodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva
kilesasocanāṁ samādhiyedento anantabodhisambhāram katvā anantakappe yeva
pāpacehdanaṁ paññāsaṅkhaṁ dento anantabodhisambhāram katvā anantakappe
yeva saṃsārannavattikaṁ vimuttidento anantabodhisambhāram karonto
ananakappe yeva mokkhapathanaṁ niṭṭukāmo niṇaṁ dento ananta-
bodhisambhāram karonto kappo yeva tayo bodhisattā eko bodhisattā eko
paññādhiho eko viraẏādhiho eko sadhdhiho naṁ kappasatasahassadhiṁkāṁ koṭicatāi saṃskheyāṁ pārāmiyo akāşi viraẏādhiho
kappasatasahassadhiṁkāṁ aṭṭha asamkheyāṁ pārāmiyo akāsti sadhdhiho pana
kappasatasahassadhiṁkāṁ sojasa asamkheyāṁ pārāmiyo akāsi Metteyyo pana
saddhādhiho naṁ Metteyyasambhāro (= sambhāra ?) samuddoya (= samuddo
yathā ?) pārāmiyo hoti ekadesaṁ vutpan devo pāsā Sốomuddo (= Somuddo
yathā ?) vuttati andho yadhā pabātārohe yeva tasma bhante na sakkomi tassa sambhāram pakāsetum tathā
Ariyametteyyo anekasahasaparivārehi āgantvā yojanaparimandalaṁ
Culāmuniciyaṁ ca ākāśaparimandalaṁ ca dibbobhāsenā pharitva cetiyaṁ
patikk hinan kam江县 anekasahasassuriyamanḍalaṁ viya siñerapadikk hinan kam江县
aṭṭhādāsaṁ vanditva gandhamālādhi pūjtavā sattaratanayaṁ māḷāviciyaṁ
ppardanaṁ saṁ siso tūtūctvā cetiyaṁ pūjtvā pācincadvāre niśidī tadā
cetiyaṁ gaṇamāḷāviciyaṁ (siśe-) pariṇaṁ osadhitarakarasi viya ahosi sakala-
indaranaṁ ekaganda ahosi bodhisattva yena thero ten' upasaṅkhami
upasaṅkamitvā theram vanditvā ekamaṁ naśidī theram etad avoca bhante kuto
āgata ti ... ?
M3: mažiau sodha te vacana Jambudipamanussa kathessani tvam pana kada buddho bhavissasi ti bhante Gotamabuddhassa sasana pañcavassahassini thatvav antarañhivyissanti tasmam antarañhte loke akusalpannassa kusanla ni na janañi paggeva kusaluppati tadah manusssaa virahita-hirotpapbhinnamariyadâ má-ta-pitabhaginisaññam anuppâ ajjelakakkaragigàasanâdava viya nilajjâ bhavissanti usannâkusalena ahyavassasatah hinam hinâ anukkammen’ eva dasavassayyuka maggedarâka pañcavassâ ca pañcavassâ va darâka avâhio ca tesam dvinam bhavissati tividho sattantararakkapppaabhikkantararakkapppa rogantararakkapppa sattantararakkapppa idha sattantararakkapppa vedigañño (= veditabbo ?) tadah manusssaa ahyâmaññam miggasanñaññam patilabhisanti hattena gahita ubhato dháräkhurasadisa xavdhâ bhavissati te ahyâmaññam pañhâravîtvinassanti tesu te manusssaa pandhata pathhamma eva tassa vinnasath samatâh yסותadhiyam gahetvâ pabbatakanadarâdisa pavisîta na-nilisayi te tesu thapetvâ avasesa samatâh ahyâmaññam pañhâravîtvinassati sahâkalâpahram eva mahâbhavissati atha sattaham divase atikante attano attano niliyithânaâ nikkhâmatvâ ahyâmaññam samâla labhivâ âliîgîtvâ samaggaññam patilabhivâ yunana mayam kusalakammam kareyamâ pañhâpata paîrâyemâma adinâmânâ kamesu mîchchâcarâ musvâdâ pisuvâtâvâca pharserasvâca sampapphalaîvâca abhijjâ byaîpâda mîchchâdiyita fai jhâviyemâma ti ime dasakusalamakammam pañhâsamodhânetvâ te puretuâm abhâhissi ata dasavassayyukam manusssanâ visatvassayyukam darâka bhavissanti atha bhîyeyo tesu dhammam pretenaîsattisattisapâpânâsas ti anukkammena dve vassasatayukam bhavissanti tinecattîripaçchasaatta-attahanavassassahass dvetinicattîripaçcha-dasavisissi-tilpapphalaîpapphasaâtisattisattisattisattisassasathî vaddante navamitpsavassassahass ahyâmañhussesse te attakaraññam dhammam caranteso vassassatassahassa ãya (= ãyuk ?) bhavissanti attakaraññam dhammam caranteso vassassatojisaßham ãyu(ka) bhavissanti tathâ sattanam járamanâna na phâfâyante puna na pamâdam âpâjantti tesam ãyañ parihârayissanti asamîkheyya ãyañ pa(r)iîhyîtvâ vassasatojisasathâ tato satassasathâ parihârayîtvâ navuttivassasathasathî avissasathassathî vathasses tabha samaye devo aghamâsasam uddhasâhas anupaçcâhâna ca majhìhyamaye paîhavirasa vassato vassati tadah jambudipam sabbattha samiddho hoti yadda padamûnîcakkala thulâ-latâgumbapadapattalabarhita kukkanasapîtakagamamiggamarajadhâni samâkinnco ca arâjadhâni aparappagatadhiyihago rájadhâni samuñjâlito sabbaratana-sampanno subhikkhho khoemo bahu-annapânakâjhabhojananam seyya meya macchâmasadâi abhâbhagaparihiggsasamiddho bhante yadayajjajapititak avivadâka ako(dha)na heti paçcakamakusam anuhavantti tadah manussoke gampleissi yadda sabbaparisà kasañibhâjakorantë sabbabhojag anuhavantti tadah manussoke gantvâ tadah ittio na suttanù kantiken pi rukkhe dibbavatthe

M3: thero Meteyyassa gamanañ varoç pasitiv devarajanañ âpucchitvâ cetiyam vandhitvâ Jambudipam sampatto Kambujagamañ pindaya pavisî pinnipâtam gahetvâ pattikiko tato pathhâyâ Meteyyassa va pavuttim Jambudipammanussanânaâ èrocasi manusssaa ùhara vassanâm sutvâ dâñhini puññhâni katvâ ahyâhapariyoysëvâ devaloke puvirüsyo suppañhâyakayo tena tâvatisambhavane pupphapàsàde devapuriyinë nibbatti nacagitapacচ온gkâriyajamaghatte akkantakale paîcavâna-pañhâna pade pade jhâ tassa palaavigo viya mukko sakala devanagare vâyati Sakko pagevâ tassa pade pade upalama disvâ tuhacchito ahesum Sakko ãha devate pubbe kim akhà puññhâna evam rûpam sampattilabhahi ti Upaladevaputo yathâ tathâ visajhessi Sakko te vassanâm sutvâ pâmuditacchito upalapupphhâni gahetvâ cetiyam puñjëv sakalâyam tato vassati ti tena pathmasangitikàcariyajinañdesita dharmam sadhâhaya pasadajananâttha kathento ãha te yusñënti sa sakkaçcàm Vessantarama jinañdesita ye ca korânti puññhâni silâdini padâyaka te subhante passayya Meteyyasugatañ varanti Mâleyyadavatharâvâpannà nibhita brah Mâleyyavayavalelakahapappissantà (?) buddhañ sarananâ gaccâmhi dharmam sarananâ gachâmhi sanghah sarananâ gachâmhi iti pi so bhagavaâ a(r)aññam sammâsambuddho vijja

Appendix C (see note 1 on page 57)

Appendix D (see Introduction page 7)
THE STORY OF THE ELDER MĀLEYYADEVA

Translated by Steven Collins

Honour to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Enlightened One! Bowing to the excellent Buddha, (who is) to be revered by gods and men, to the Teaching which originates from the Happy One,¹ and to the virtuous Monastic Order, I will undertake (to tell) in brief the story of Māleyya, replete with supremely good advice² and edifying for all.

In the past, the story goes, in the island of Tambapanṇī, (also) called the isle of Lankā, where the (Three) Jewels were established, a certain elder by the name of Māleyyadeva, famous for the excellence of his supernatural power and knowledge, lived in Rohana province supported by (alms given in) the village of Kamboja. The elder repeatedly brought back news of the beings roasting in hell: recounting (this news) to their relatives he inspired them to make merit by almsgiving and the like, and he made them aim for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (hell-beings). By the force of his supernatural power he travelled to both heaven(s) and hell(s): after seeing the great majesty of laymen and women in heaven who had faith in the Three Jewels, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a layman or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a heaven and experienced great happiness; after seeing the great suffering of miscreants in hell, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a man or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a hell and experienced great suffering. People gained faith in the

¹ On sugata as an epithet of the Buddha see Norman (90: 154), who renders it ‘one who is) in a (particularly) good way’.
² For naya as ‘advice’ see Nāṇamoli (62: xli–xliii), who translates more literally as ‘guide-line’.
teaching and did no evil; they dedicated merit (acquired through) almsgiving and the like to their dead relatives, and aimed for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (dead relatives).

One day the elder got up in the morning, took his robe and bowl and went to the village to collect alms. In the village (lived) a poor man (who) looked after his mother. At the (same) time he went out from the village to bathe; he came to a pond, took his bath, and saw eight blue lotus flowers. He picked them, got out of the pond, and started on his way (back). Then he saw the elder coming (towards him) bowl in hand, (looking) calm, restrained, well-controlled, his senses mastered, with perfect bearing. Joy and delight arose in him, and he went up to the elder and greeted him respectfully with his hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together. With great faith he gave the flowers to the elder, and made an aspiration in this verse:

By this gift of flowers, wherever I am (reborn) in a hundred thousand births, may I not be poor!

The elder took the eight blue lotus flowers, and gave thanks in this verse:

Whatever (a person) gives with a faithful mind, whether coarse or choice,¹ has a successful result according to (the donor's) wish.

¹ Reading evam samacintesı with M3.

² ‘Shrine’ translates cetiya; the translation omits the first vā, and takes udāhu as an interrogative introducing the list of alternative sites in the locative. (Sīh III p. 5 has kūhiṃ āropessami mahācettaye udāhu cetiyagiripabbate udāhu mahābodhimhitā punassa etad ahosi.) Denis translated here ‘Où déposerai-je ces huits fleurs de lotus ? aux pieds du cetiya, situé sur la Montagne, ou à celui situé a l'endroit du Parinirvāna, ou a celui situé près du grand arbre de la Bodhi, ou a celui situé à l'endroit de la mise on route de la roue de la Loi incomparable ?’ In a note he refers to the fact that four ‘shrines’ commonly grouped together in this way are the sites of the Buddha’s birth at Lumbini, his Enlightenment, First Sermon and final Nirvāṇa. He remarks that the order is different here, and that the site of his birth is ‘curiously replaced by the cetiya “placed on the mountain”’; speculating that this might refer to the Cūḷāmaṇi cetiya on Mt. Meru, in the heaven of the Thirty-three. He notes that manuscript M4 omits both this and the Parinirvāṇa cetiya, while M3 omits the latter; and states that ‘the Siamese translation of the Tikā Māleyyadevathera’ (sic) mentions only three cetiya-s: those at the top of a mountain, at the place of the Parinirvāṇa and of the First Sermon, while ‘the Siamese text of the Pra Malay’ mentions only the cetiya at the Bodhi-tree.

³ The long compound is difficult to analyse satisfactorily. The seven ‘precious things’ (literally ‘jewels’) are: gold, silver, pearl, gems, beryl, diamonds, and coral.
king of the gods, had reverently caused (this) delightful sapphire (shrine) to be set up, so that all the gods could worship (there). The Blessed One himself had cut off his top-knot (of hair) with a sword grasped in his cotton-soft, webbed hand, and had thrown it into the air with the aspiration ‘if I am to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha may my top-knot not fall to the ground’; it did not fall to the ground, and (Sakka) caught it in a splendid gold casket which he carried on his own head (and then made the shrine for it). (The elder) worshipped (at the shrine) with the eight lotus flowers, walked around it keeping it to his right, paying reverence to the eight directions and with a five-fold prostration, and sat down on the eastern side. Thus it is said:

He attained the fourth meditation level, the basis for supernatural knowledge, and emerging from it rose up instantly into the sky like a golden swan; in the time it takes to snap one’s fingers he arrived at the shrine in front of (the) Vejayanta palace, (where he) worshipped and paid reverence.

At that moment Sakka, king of the gods, came with his retinue and worshipped the right tooth of the Blessed One and the Cūḷāmaṇi-shrine with various kinds of garlands, perfumes, ointments and the like;

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1 This has been taken to refer to (i) 'touching the ground with forehead, waist, elbows, knees and feet' (PED citing Childers, s.v. pañca-patiṭṭhita), (ii) a 'kneeling aṭṭāji salutes in which the forehead, edges of the hands and the knees touch the ground' (Masefield 89: 32 note 22), or (iii) touching the ground with forehead, elbows and knees (Bareau 62: 251).
2 Reading uggamma with M2.
3 M3 and M4 omit this paragraph and read more simply: ‘The elder rose up into the sky on that very day and in the time it takes to snap one’s fingers stood in front of the Vejayanta palace [reading therọ tadahe va vahāsam abbhuggantā acchārasamkhātamatam pi . . . ; for tadahe va see CPD s.v. aha]. He saw the shrine and feeling joy paid reverence to it; he worshipped with the eight blue lotus flowers, walked around (it) keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions and stood at one side’.

seeing the elder sitting down he went up to him, paid reverence and sat down to one side. All the groups of gods paid reverence to the shrine, walking around it keeping it to the right, (and then) paid reverence to the elder and sat down all around (him); so too did all the divine maidens, who paid reverence to the elder with a five-fold prostration. Sakka, king of the gods, asked the elder: ‘Sir, where have you come from?’ ‘Great king, I have come from the Rose-Apple island to pay reverence to the shrine.’ Then the elder asked Sakka: ‘Did you have the Cūḷāmaṇi-shrine set up?’ ‘Yes, venerable sir, I had it set up to be worshipped by the gods.’ The elder asked: ‘King of the gods, these gods did good deeds in the human world and were reborn here to enjoy divine happiness; why do they make merit now?’ ‘Venerable sir, these gods make merit in the desire to go beyond the world of the gods.’ 2 Sir, gods who are of little merit do not remain long in heaven, just as a few grains put in a wooden trough are quickly used up; whereas gods who are of much merit remain long in heaven, just as a lot of grain put in a granary remains (there) for a long time and is not used up. Similarly, sir, just as people with little wealth (but) with a lot of skill and knowledge, if they engage in farming, trade and the like make a living without difficulty, gods of little merit who enjoy (its) result (but) then make further merit experience heavenly happiness afterwards. Venerable sir, wealthy people with no skill or knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like, (soon) use up their wealth and afterwards become quite poor: in just the same way gods of much merit who experience (its) result without making further merit afterwards are born in a poor state. Just as poor people with no

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1 Jambudīpa, the continent south of the cosmic centre Mt. Meru, corresponding (at least) to what are now India and Sri Lanka.
2 I have previously rendered devaloka simply as ‘heaven’. In this context there is, perhaps, some ambiguity as to whether upari means ‘above’, in the sense that the gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three wish to be reborn higher in the cosmic scale, in one of the Brahma-worlds, or whether it means ‘beyond’ in the non-spatial sense of transcending heavenly rebirth in nirvāṇa (perhaps by means of rebirth on earth at the time of Metteyya). See text below.
skill and knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like become (even) poorer, so too gods of little merit who experience (its) fruit without making further merit become (even) poorer; (conversely) just as rich people with a lot of skill and knowledge who engage in farming, trade or the like prosper even more, so too gods of much merit who give alms, practise morality, and so on, go upstream (in the stream of life) and prosper, (even) as far as nirvāna.'

When the elder heard this he was pleased, and asked Sujā’s husband (i.e. Sakka): ‘Great king, all the gods have come to pay reverence at the shrine of the Blessed One; is the future Buddha Metteyya coming?’ ‘Yes, venerable sir.’ ‘When will he come?’ ‘Sir, he has come (in the past) on the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth days (of the lunar month).’ ‘So — today being the eighth — is he coming (today)?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ While the elder was thus conversing with Sakka, a junior god came with a hundred-fold retinue to worship at the shrine. The elder saw the junior god arrive and asked Sakka: ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else, sir.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a poor grass-cutter who (once) when eating a leaf used for wrapping food gave one piece as an offering to a crow; after doing even so small a meritorious deed he moved on (through life) in the human

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1 If bhattapītān is correct, it is the direct object of bhuñjitvā; the word usually refers to a leaf used for wrapping cooked rice, and I assume the point is that the man is so poor this is all he has to eat. The word ekapindika then refers not to one ball of rice but to one piece of the leaf given as ‘alms-food’ to the crow. Denis renders more simply ‘comme il mangeait un sachet de riz bouilli, il en donna une portion à un corbeau’.

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The junior god came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the eastern side.

Immediately afterwards another junior god came to worship at the shrine of the Blessed One with a thousand-fold retinue, illuminating all the regions with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him and asked Sakka ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a young brahmin by the name of Gopāla; (once) when eating he gave a portion to a cowherd, and through that gift he has been born (here) with a retinue of a thousand. He has come with (his) thousand-fold retinue to worship at the shrine.

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1 I derive saritvā from sar, to move, flow (as in samsāra); Denis seems to have taken it as being from sar, to remember, since he translates the last line ‘s’en étant souvenu au moment de la mort, il a transmigré et est re-né ici’, although it is unclear whether his last two verbs gloss upapajjati (mss. uppapajjati) or he was taking saritvā in both the senses mentioned here.
Whoever gives a gift to those who are without virtue and of little merit, as a result of even that gift receives a thousand(-fold).

He arrived, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the western side.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of ten thousand, illuminating the whole shrine area with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same replies]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, (once) in a former life he gave alms to a virtuous novice, and through the maturation of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an ordinary person\(^{1}\) who is virtuous, as a result of even that gift the giver receives ten thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the southern side.

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\(^{1}\) Reading puthujjane with M2 and M4; i.e. someone who has not advanced to any of the stages of the Buddhist spiritual path.

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Another junior god came, with a retinue of twenty thousand, illuminating the whole area of space\(^{1}\) with the splendour of his body and his ornamentation. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka explained his meritorious deed in this verse:

This one gave alms to a monk on his alms-round at (one) time (in the past); because of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to a virtuous monk, as a result of that same (gift) the giver receives twenty thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the northern side.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of thirty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was formerly a weaver in Anurādhapura, who lived a life of purity (and was) well-known as (a person) of great merit; at various places he cremated the bodies of the dead, and transferred to (each dead person) the merit acquired through

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\(^{1}\) Ākāsa-mandala, lit. 'circle of space'; for the term in meditative visualisation see Vism 175 (PTS ed., = HOS V 26).
giving\(^1\) to the virtuous gifts (such as) medicine, almsfood, robes and lodgings. Because of this meritorious action he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of forty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was a very wealthy man\(^2\) (called) Haritāla, generous and virtuous, who lived a life of faith\(^3\) in the village of Haritāla; he gave medicine, robes, food and drink to the virtuous, and by the maturation of these deeds was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

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\(^1\) Literally 'having cremated the bodies of dead people here and there and dedicating (to them) the (merit acquired through) gift(s), he gave ... '. The verb *uddissati*, 'to point out' or 'refer to', also has the specialised meanings of designating the recipient of a gift or of the transferred merit acquired from a gift (see CPD s.v.); *dakkhinā* simply means 'gift', but is common, in the *Peta-vatthu* for example, as a term for what PED calls (s.v. *dakkhinā*) 'a donation given to a "holy" person with ref. to unhappy beings in the Peta existence, intended to induce the alleviation of their sufferings; an intercessional, expiatory offering'. I assume therefore that the weaver is being said to have transferred merit to the dead he cremated by giving gifts to 'the virtuous'. As Denis points out in a note, the force of *tahim tahir* is probably that these were either abandoned corpses or those of people who had no relatives to bury them.

\(^2\) *Mahāsēṭṭhi*, a 'great' banker or merchant.

\(^3\) Reading *saddhājīvena* with M2 and M4.

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He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with fifty\(^1\) thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was (re)born as king Saddhātiṣsa in the island of Tambapanni, the brother of Abhayadutthā\(^2\); serene in mind and respectful to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order, permanently restrained in the five (rules of) virtue and observing the eight Precepts on Uposatha day(s),\(^3\) giving to the virtuous, devoted to liberality, not stingy\(^4\); by the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of sixty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

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\(^1\) Reading *paññāsa-sahasṛṣṭhi* with M3 and M4.

\(^2\) i.e. Duṭṭhadhamma, destined to be at the right side of Metteyya as his first chief disciple; Saddhātiṣsa was destined to be at Metteyya's left, as his second chief disciple; see DPPN s.v.

\(^3\) Reading *paśīcāsa [or -sīle] saññamo niccam*, with *saññamo (= samyamo)* as an adjective: cp. text p. 40 line 2 and p. 50 line 4, translation p. 81 and note 3, p. 88 and note 2.

\(^4\) Reading *dadānaṁ ... amaccharo*, and taking *dadānaṁ* as a present participle.
Abhayadātiha by name, a provider of the four requisites (to monks), he paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; he had a relic-shrine built for the Tathāgata and (a sprig of) the Bodhi-tree planted, gave gifts to monks for the sake of (transferring merit to) his mother and father,\(^1\) giving lavishly to the virtuous and beggars. He died a reverent death\(^2\) and was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of seventy\(^3\) thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

In a former life he was a novice (monk), diligent and wise, who paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; untiringly night and day he constantly provided the Order with hot and cold water, brooms and lamps. By the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

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\(^1\) See note 1 on p. 74 on dakkhinā.

\(^2\) The story of Duṭṭhadāmānī’s death and entrance into the Tusita heaven, which he delayed in order to listen to monks reciting, is told in the Mahāvaṃsa Chap. 32.

\(^3\) Reading sattati-.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of eighty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Born into a family of poor (people), he lived on what was given (to him) by others. (Whenever) he saw a monk on his alm-round he would stand (in front of) other people's houses and alert (any) house-owner who was unaware (that a monk was there) with elegant words (such as): ‘master, a venerable virtuous (monk) is standing at the doors of (your) house, give generously whatever alms-food you have to this excellent (person)’. On hearing this the house-owner would say to him kindly ‘Well spoken, my friend, I will give almsfood; take almsfood and present it to the elder’. By speaking in this way he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of ninety thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers].\(^1\) Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

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\(^1\) Denis’ text, based on M1, omits Sakka’s reply n’ eso bhante ti here, but this is a scribal error: it is found in M2, M3 and M4.
In Tambapaṇḍi Island, in Kaṇḍikārika village, he saw a stūpa of the Tathāgata and worshipped it with a Kaṇḍikāra (flower), and with his eyes as a lamp, his head as (a bunch of) flowers, his voice as incense and his mind as perfume; by the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of a hundred thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Formerly he was a poor grass-cutter in Anurādhapura who refrained from killing, was good and established in the (Three) Refuge(s); he followed a proper livelihood by cutting grass and fire-wood. On one occasion when he had gone alone to the river he saw (some) silver sand; he carried it away, built a shrine and said happily: ‘Oh, my shrine is beautiful! It sparkles like a beryl, (it) shines and blazes like a fire; (it is so) beautiful it stirs the heart, (it is) lovely, glorious: I worship the excellent shrine I made with sand, I honour it with body, speech and mind, (as well as ) with flowers’. He fed virtuous (monks) and gave (them) what he had. By the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

Then the noble Metteyya, the future Buddha, came down from the Tusita realm to worship at the shrine. He was attended by millions upon millions of junior gods and goddesses, who shone with a light brighter than that of the moon with its thousand rays; he (himself) shone like a full moon in a cloudless autumn sky, surrounded by clusters of stars. They were (all) holding lamps, incense, perfumes and garlands. His celestial radiance filled the whole city of the Thirty-three (gods) with light, gave off a celestial smell, and with his characteristic incomparable grace and charm he came to the shrine-terrace, walked around it keeping it to his right, paid reverence to and worshipped the eight directions, and sat down on the western side. Therefore it is said:

Then the noble Metteyya (came), attended by tens of millions, with a hundred divine young maidens in front, a hundred behind, a hundred to his right and to his left. Metteyya in their midst was like the moon in the midst of stars; everywhere was illuminated by the rays of the divine maidens and of their jewels, like the light from ten million moons.

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1 Kotisatasahassa, 'one hundred thousand crores'; a crore is usually taken to be ten million.
2 Reading -ādīni with M2, M3 and M4. I have not followed the exact order of the Pali here, for the sake of smooth English.
The elder saw the future Buddha from afar, and asked Sakka ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya the future Buddha?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ ‘King of the gods, these divine young girls coming in front of Metteyya, with their (shining) white rays, clothes and jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human world?’ Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Venerable sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by giving gifts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave white clothes, white garlands, white perfumes and ointments, and white food to the excellent Buddha’s monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit and again questioned Sakka: ‘King of the gods, these divine young girls coming on the right of Metteyya, with (golden-)yellow rays, (golden-)yellow clothes and wearing golden jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human (world)?’ Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by keeping the (moral) precepts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave yellow clothes, yellow garlands, yellow perfumes and ointments, and yellow food to the excellent Buddha’s monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again questioned Sakka [in a similar way, about the divine young girls to Metteyya’s left, with red rays, clothes and jewels]. Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching\(^1\) on Uposatha day, and gave red clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and red food to the excellent Buddha’s monks; they honoured the Three Jewels and (so) are coming on Metteyya’s left.

[Again the elder praised their deeds and then questioned Sakka about the divine girls behind Metteyya, with dark-coloured rays,\(^2\) etc.] Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching on Uposatha day, and gave dark-coloured clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and dark food to the excellent Buddha’s monks; with restrainment, shining,\(^3\) they are coming behind Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again asked Sakka ‘What merit did Metteyya make that he should have attained such happiness?’ Sakka’s capacity to elucidate\(^4\) Metteyya’s merit can be

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\(^1\) Either taking supūjitā in an active sense, as Denis suggests, or reading supūjetvā with M3 (here and in next verses). See note 3 below.

\(^2\) Sāma, Skt. śāma can refer to a number of dark colours. Denis chooses ‘blue’, perhaps because, as K.R. Norman writes (personal communication) ‘other references to groups of people with different cloured robes, etc., usually have blue, yellow, red, white, which would suggest that sāma might be taken as = nila “blue”’.

\(^3\) As Denis remarks, sāmyamā must be taken as an adjective here. He derives samvibhātā from vi-bhaj, to give a share (of), and says that this, like supūjitā in the previous verses, is a past participle used actively. The past participle passive from vi-bhaj is usually vibhaṅgata, however, and I prefer to derive the form from vi-bhā, to shine. K.R. Norman suggests (personal communication) that supūjitā may be metri causa for the absolute supūjetvā.

\(^4\) -opāmaya ca paṁṇāya pakāsetvā, literally ‘elucidating it with an understanding comparable to ... ’. I have broken up the long Pāli sentence, which is not without linguistic problems, into more manageable English.
compared to a hare (trying to) cross the ocean, or a blind man (trying to) climb a mountain, but he elucidated it briefly (as follows): there are three (types of future Buddha), called those who excel in faith, those who excel in wisdom, and those who excel in energy; Metteyya is one who excels in energy.\(^1\) (All) future Buddhas, by means of the three-fold good conduct (consisting in) control of body, speech and mind, accumulated over many ages,\(^2\) fulfill thirty perfections altogether: ten (ordinary) perfections, ten higher perfections, and ten perfections in the ultimate sense. The perfection of generosity comprises the sacrifice of wealth, children and wife [= ordinary perfection], the sacrifice of (one’s own) limbs [= higher perfection] and the sacrifice of (one’s) life [= perfection in the ultimate sense];\(^3\) and correspondingly (there are three levels of) the perfections of morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, loving-kindness and equanimity. He spoke these verses:

> The merit which Metteyya the future Buddha made over and over again — not (even) the excellent omniscient Buddhas could describe it (all) — cannot be told (even) partially, just as a hare crossing the ocean or a blind man climbing a mountain would not attain (their) goal\(^1\): in the same way Metteyya’s merit is infinite, boundless, (since) he accumulated the necessary conditions (for enlightenment) completely, during many aeons. There are three (kinds of) future Buddhas: one is known as he who excels in energy,\(^2\) who fulfills all perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the second) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in faith, who fulfills all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and eight uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the third) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in wisdom, who fulfills all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and four uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment. The future Buddha Metteyya is known as one who excels in energy; he has fulfilled all the perfections during a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and has been reborn in the Tusita (heaven): when he dies from that body (and is reborn on earth) he will attain Full Enlightenment.

While the elder was conversing thus with Sakka, Metteyya came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., paid reverence with the five-fold prostration, and sat down on the eastern side. The future Buddha saw the elder sitting down there, paid reverence to him and asked ‘Where have you come from, venerable Sir?’ ‘I have

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1. This classification of bodhisattvas would seem to be a Southeast Asian invention, found elsewhere in published Pali texts only at the very end of the *Dasabodhisattvadesa* (Martini (36): text p. 335, transl. pp. 367–68), where it is associated with three kinds of person, from a group of four, found in earlier literature (A II 135, Pp 41, Nett 7). The alternative version of this section cited in Appendix A from M3 says that Metteyya was ‘one who excels in faith’, although Denis gives no alternative for *thāmādhiko* in the following verses from that ms.

2. Reading *anappakappopecita-kāyāvācimānopanihita-tividhasacaritena*.

3. There is a certain amount of confusion in different texts as to which actions constitute which level of the perfections. This doubtless arises because the prefix *upa-* often denotes a ‘minor’ level of what it is prefixed to, whereas the term *upapārami* occurs second in the list: compare Ja I 25 and Bv-a 59 with Bv-a 113, and cf. Cp-a 272. I follow Horner (78: 89 and note 1, 162–63) in taking *upa-* in the sense of ‘superior’ (cf. CPD s.v.) or ‘higher’.

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1. This is clearly the sense of *patīthā* here, although it is an unusual use of the word. Similarly, the general sense is quite clear in the sentence as a whole, despite the inelegant syntax of the Pali.

2. In the prose version *viriya* appears here in place of *thāma*; they can be regarded as synonyms.
come from the Rose-Apple Island, great king.' 'Venerable Sir, what is happening among the human beings in Rose-Apple Island?' The elder answered his question by saying:

Everyone there lives according to their (past) deeds, rich and poor, happy and unhappy, attractive and unattractive, long-lived and short-lived. The rich are few, the poor are many; the happy are few, the unhappy many; the attractive are few, the unattractive many; the long-lived are few, the short-lived many. Human beings are few, there are more animals; that is why I say that everyone lives according to their (past) deeds.

The future Buddha heard what the elder said (and asked) 'Sir, do the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make much merit or demerit?' 'Great king, those who make merit are few, there are more who do evil.' 'Sir, how do they make merit?' He explained 'Great king, some human beings in Rose-Apple Island give alms, some preserve morality, (or) give the gift of The Truth, keep the Upasatha day(s), make images of the Buddha, build monasteries or residences (for the Order), give rains-residences, robes, almsfood (or) medicine, tend the Bodhi-tree, build stūpas, shrines, parks (for the Order), causeways (or) walkways (for meditation), dig wells (or) canals, give (the monastic) requisites (or) the ten-fold gift, look after their mother and father, offer sacrifice for the sake of dead relatives, worship the Three Jewels, have their son enter the Monastic Order (as a novice), or worship the Buddha-image: the human beings in Rose-Apple Island do all these deeds of merit, according to their capacity, their strength and their inclination'. 'Sir, when the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make merit in these ways, what wishes do they make?' The elder recounted the aspirations in these words:

Your Highness, when they make even a (small) measure of merit, or cause others to make merit, or transfer their merit to others, they make an aspiration for enlightenment (in relation) to you: 'by the merit acquired through giving, morality and the like, may we gain sight of the Buddha Metteyya himself, (and) while the Buddha Metteyya is not reborn (on earth, but remains in heaven) worshipped by the gods, may we, moving through rebirths, never go to a hell'. In this way the human beings in Rose-Apple Island, everywhere and always, make merit and then make an aspiration with regard to you.

The future Buddha, joyful to hear (this) news of human beings in Rose-Apple Island, said 'Sir, let everyone who wishes to see me when I have attained Omniscience listen to a complete recitation in one day of the Great Vessantara Birth-Story; if they worship with a thousand lamps or a thousand lotuses, a thousand blue lotuses, blue water-lilies, Mandāra-flowers, flax-flowers, a thousand banners, parasols, flags or vehicles, and bring everything to worship the Teaching, they will attain arahantship along with the analytical insights at the time of my Enlightenment (and) in my presence'. Then he
recounted how evil humans would not attain the sight of his Buddhahood, in these verses:

(Those who) violently mistreat nuns, make a schism in the Order, commit the five actions which bring immediate retribution,¹ destroy a stūpa or Bodhi-tree,² murder a future Buddha or take away the peace of the Order: (these) wicked and negligent beings will not be in my presence.

The elder listened to these words and said ‘Great king, what you said was good! I will recount (it) to the human beings in Rose-Apple Island. But when will you become Buddha?’ ‘Sir, the dispensation of Gotama Buddha will last five thousand years and (then) disappear. When it has disappeared there will be an abundance of bad actions in the world. Even the word ‘good’ will not exist — how much less the occurrence of good (actions)! Gradually human beings will lose (all) conscience and (sense of) shame, breaking (all) rules: they will not consider ‘this is my mother, my daughter, my sister or grand-daughter’, and will be (as) shameless as goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, jackals, dogs, and the like. Then gradually, because of their abundant bad actions, from (having) a lifetime fixed at a hundred years, human beings will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of ten years. When there is taking and giving in marriage³ between five year old boy(s) and girl(s), then will occur an ‘intervening period of the sword’. Men will regard each other as animals; whatever they (can) grasp in their hands⁴ will become a weapon like a two-edged (sword) or a single-edged razor, (and) they will kill each other. The wise among them, as soon as they hear of

the destruction, will go to the mountains and hide by themselves; all the rest apart from them will attack and destroy each other within seven days. When the seventh day has passed, they will come out, each one from his hiding-place, embrace each other and come into harmony with each other, (saying) ‘let us do good, and abstain from killing, from theft, sexual misdeeds, lying, intoxicating drink, speech which is malicious, harsh or frivolous, from envy, ill-will and wrong views — let us make merit!’ (And so) they will make merit. Those who live ten years will have children who live for twenty; and as human beings make more and more merit, their children will gradually live for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety and a hundred years. Children will gradually live for two hundred years, (then) three, four, five, six, seven, eight and nine hundred years, (and then finally) a thousand. Gradually, the children of those who live a thousand years will live for two thousand; (then) for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten thousand. Then human beings will practice religion still more, and will live for a hundred thousand years; as they practice religion still more, there will be those who live for millions and millions of years¹; practising religion still further than this, they will live for an incalculable amount of time. Then old age and death will not be known among (these) beings; but again they will become negligent, and their length of life will diminish.² From (having) an incalculable length of life, men will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of millions and millions of years³; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of ninety thousand years; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of eighty thousand years. At that time it will rain (only) in the middle of the night, every fortnight, ten

¹ These are: matricide, parricide, killing an Arahant, causing a Buddha to shed blood, and creating schism in the Order.
² Reading bodhi cachedakā with M5.
³ Reading avākavivāho with M5.
⁴ Reading with M5 yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitam tan tam ....

¹ Reading koṭisatasahassāyukā with M5; literally a hundred thousand crores; on koṭi see p. 79 note 1.
² Assuming āyu parihāyissati.
³ Assuming (vassa-)koṭisatasahassāyukā, as at M5 above; see note 1 above.
days or five days, increasing the fertility of the earth. The Rose-Apple Island will be prosperous (and) continuously filled with flowers, fruits, thickly-clustered garlands, and trees; (it will be) crowded with villages and towns (only) a cock’s-flight (apart), free from thieves and robbers, without (any) grasping at (wrong) views, (and) blazing with royal cities; (it will be) replete with all treasures, happy, with abundant alms-food and at peace, replete with great amounts of food and drink, hard and soft food, fish, meat and the like, prospering with wealth and possessions. The reservoirs will be everywhere filled with beautifully soft water. Then, sir, husbands and wives will enjoy the pleasures of the five senses without arguments or anger; farmers, traders, and the like will live happily without (needing to) work; men and women will not (need to) spin thread or weave the loom, (but) will wear celestial clothes. Men will be content with their wives, and women with their husbands; restrained, men will not commit adultery nor women make another man their husband, (but) they will be loving and pleasant to one another. No-one will stir up quarrels because of villages, towns, wealth, crops, fields, property or soil; all human beings will be handsome, with beautiful bodies, (and will be) loving and pleasant to each other. Crows will become friendly with owls, cats with mice, deer with lions, mongooses with snakes, lions with deer, and so on: in this way all animals which are (usually) enemies will be friendly to each other. Then, from one grain of self-growing rice (will come already-husked grains: two thousand two hundred and seventy cartloads will be (for them as easily had as) sixteen ambana-measures and two tumba-s. Then I will

= listen to the entreaty of the gods and Brahmás living in the ten thousand-fold world system; I will make the Five Considerations, as to time, place, continent, family, and age-limit of the mother; (and) I will come as Buddha to the human world.’ When he had said this, in order to praise his own perfections he said:

During a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen incalculable aeons I fulfilled the perfections variously, acting as a future Buddha excelling in energy, and gave gifts: when I attain omniscience no-one will be deformed. Putting ornaments on my head and ointment on my eyes I gave to beggars for millions and millions of years: when I attain omniscience no human being will be blind. Ornamenting all parts (of my body) I gave a complete gift: when I attain omniscience, no-one will be deformed. I told no lies and did not deceive anyone who asked (me for something): when I attain omniscience, no human being will be dumb. When I heard the Teaching I was glad, and I listened to what supplicants said: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be deaf. I looked at virtuous supplicants with loving eyes: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be blind. With upright body I gave gifts and the like at the proper time: when I attain omniscience no human being will be humbached. I gave beings medicine(s) and got rid of the danger (from disease): when I attain omniscience, then beings will be in good health. I practised loving-kindness, destroying beings’ fear and

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1 Literally ‘the nutritive essence of the earth’, pathavirasa (spelt thus in text); it is said that seeds take up this ‘earth-essence’, along with liquid, or ‘the nutritive essence of water’ (sineha, aporasa) to produce growth: S I 134, A I 32, V 213, Spk I 250, Fj II 5–6, etc.
2 Again, assuming samyamā is being used adjectivally.
3 I translate the text of M5, cited here by Denis but occurring in that ms. after the sentence ‘farmers … will live happily without (the need to) work’. Similar sentiments are expressed at Anāg vv. 27–29, and for the interpretation here see Leumann (19) ad loc. The Anāg reads ambanam solasam, ‘one sixteenth of an ambana’.
1 Reading caritvā with M2.
2 As Denis notes, the forms and tenses of the verbs in these verses are odd. The translation assumes all Metteyya’s assertions about himself refer to the past, and all predictions about others refer to the future.
3 Reading vinodayi with M5.
terror: when I attain omniscience, then there will be no Māras.\footnote{Māra, literally death, is a name given to various phenomena and gods, all of which/hom are malevolent in some way; see DPPN s.v.} In a pleasant way I gave pleasing food and drink: when I attain omniscience human beings will be prosperous. In a pleasant way I gave pleasing clothes: when I attain omniscience human beings will be handsome. I gave to supplicants pleasing vehicles, elephants, horses, chariots, palanquins and litters: when I attain omniscience human beings will be happy. I freed beings from bondage, from hatred and suffering: when I attain omniscience, living beings will be free. I practised loving-kindness equally to friend and foe: when I attain omniscience, the ground will be even. I made supplicants happy with food and wealth: when I attain omniscience rivers will be full of cool water.

(Then Metteyya said this:)\footnote{This is found only in M3, but marks a natural break in the verses.}

When they have done any (act of) merit human beings, full of fear of rebirth, aspire to (see) me; I will free them from existence. I will cause (them) to cross to the further shore of the world, (this world) whose fearful origin is ignorance, which is entangled in the net of delusion and carried away by the four floods. I (will) teach\footnote{The verbs in this sentence and the next are in the aorist.} the way to liberation to those who are smeared with the dirt of defilement, who follow after the thief (which is) craving, and have gone astray in (all) the regions of rebirth; I will teach the way to heaven to beings in the hells (called) Saññiva, Kālasutta, Tāpana, Patāpana and Avici. I will cut from (their) bondage beings who are bound by the ties of ignorance and caught in the net of craving, and make them attain nirvāna. The city of nirvāna, without old age or death, has a fence of wrong views and a door bolted by the sixty-two views: with the key of the Eight-fold Path I will open up (this door) for beings. I will give the medicinal stick of wisdom to beings whose sight is spoilt through being covered with the darkness of lust and hatred, and clean their eyes. I will give the excellent medicine of understanding to beings who are sick with grief, who suffer much, and who are oppressed by old age and death,\footnote{The epithets here must be taken to refer to ‘beings’, although they are in the accusative singular and not genitive (used for dative) plural.} and (so) cure (them). I will suffuse with the light of understanding (the world) with its gods, asuras and humans, gone astray in the darkness of delusion,\footnote{Again, the grammar is faulty here, although the sense is clear.} and take away the darkness. I will raise from hell those who are falling, helpless and without refuge, into the hells, and show them the way to the further shore.

When he had said this the future Buddha told (the elder): ‘Sir, recount to human beings what I have said’. With his shining hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together, and putting the shining añjali-greeting (thus made) firmly to his forehead, (itself) like a well-washed plate of gold, he walked around the delightful sapphire Cūḷāmaṇi-shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and made a fivefold prostration, and took leave of the elder; escorted by millions and millions of junior gods and goddesses, shining like a full moon, risen to the top of the sky freed from masses of dense cloud (and) surrounded by clusters of stars, he went to the Tusita city. So it is said:

Thus the supremely beautiful Metteyya worshipped at the excellent shrine, again paid reverence, and left keeping his face
towards (the shrine).\(^1\) And all the celestial maidens worshipped at the excellent shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and left (likewise). Just as the moon shines on an autumn full moon night, so the noble Metteyya shone among the gods. Like a lion among deer, a bull among cows, a Garuda among birds, so was he among the gods. Like Meru among mountains, adorned with the seven jewels, a Universal Emperor among men, so was he among the gods. The Pāricchattaka\(^2\) among trees, the lotus among flowers, beryl among gems, so was he among the gods. Like fire at the top of a mountain, like refined gold, surpassing all the gods he shone with the fire of his beauty. Going to the Tusita realm, surrounded by gods, he experienced divine happiness and caused beings to rejoice\(^3\) for a long time.

The elder\(^4\) (possessed, as if he) was adorned with a multitude of ornaments, unlimited good qualities, such as the four perfect virtues — the supreme virtue of restraint by the Monastic Rule, the virtue of sense-restraint, the perfect virtue of right livelihood and the virtue of dependence (only) on the four requisites (of the Monastic Life). At the same moment (as Metteyya left) he paid reverence to the Cūḷāmaṇi-

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1 *Pitthito*, lit. ‘backwards’.
2 A tree in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.
3 Taking *pamodati* in the sense of the causative *pamodeti*; perhaps the text should be emended.
4 The Pali has a single long sentence here, beginning with ‘at the same moment (as Metteyya left)’; I have changed the long string of epithets applied to Māleyyadeva and to the golden swan into separate sentences. M3 has a different and shorter ending section, reproduced in Appendix C. The sense is much the same, but it adds in the last sentence of the prose: ‘whoever listens attentively [assuming *sunaṭi sakkaccam*] to the Vessantara (Jātaka), taught by the Conqueror, and whatever benefactors make merit and (practise) morality and the like, (they will all) hear [assuming *sunaṭi*, used for the future tense] the excellent Happy One Metteyya, (their) support [taking *passayam* as equivalent to *apassayam*].

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Then the elder (Māleyya-)deva took leave of the king of the gods, paid reverence again at the shrine and came down from heaven. He shone like a golden swan as he came again to the human (world) and went for alms in towns and royal cities.

As he returned for alms he announced to the people of Rose-Apple Island the news of Metteyya. When they heard what the elder said people were glad and made merit through giving and the like: at the end of their lives they filled up the divine worlds. The poor man who had given the eight blue lotus flowers remembered that gift of lotuses all his life; when he died (he went) from the human world and was reborn in the realm of the Thirty-three, in a blue-lotus palace inlaid with seven jewels.

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1 i.e. he returned to earth from heaven.
2 There is probably a pun intended here between *vana* as ‘forest’ and *vana* as a synonym for *tanhā*, ‘craving’. The image is of Māleyyadeva returning from heaven like a swan through a forest, both of which are metaphorically elaborated.
3 i.e. not the same as the ‘grace’ or ‘charm’ of a Buddha, *Buddha-liḷā*. 
crowded with celestial maidens and ringing with the sound of dancing, singing and the five kinds of musical instrument. As he walked lotuses of five colours (appeared to) receive each foot; the odour from his mouth pervaded the entire city of the gods like the perfume of a lotus. The gods and goddesses smelt the lotus-perfume and followed after him; they all saw a lotus receiving each foot, and told Sakka, king of the gods. When he heard their tale he was delighted, and went there (to him) and asked 'God, what deed of merit did you do in the human world to obtain such happiness?' He listened to what Sakka said and replied 'King of the gods, formerly in the human world I lived in Mithilā supporting my mother; I was a young man called Piṅguttara. One day I went to a certain pond to bathe. When I had bathed there I saw eight blue lotus flowers; I took them and gave them to a certain elder. Because of that gift of blue lotuses I have been born in a blue-lotus palace; as I walk lotus flowers come into existence at each step, my eyes are like blue-lotus petals, my body has an odour like that of a blue lotus, and I am born (here) as the junior god named Blue-lotus'. When Sakka heard this he became joyful and glad; he took blue-lotus flowers and worshipped at the shrine of the Buddha. The junior god Blue Lotus is still there today. So it is said:

To enjoy (the result of) that merit, and divine happiness, in a future birth in the presence of Metteyya — this is the result of a gift of flowers. Therefore the wise man who aspires to be in the presence of Metteyya should practice alms-giving, morality and the like. Whoever remembers the future Buddha's words and does any act of merit, will gain the advantage of seeing Metteyya, and will in the future make an end of suffering;

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1 J VI 347–49 tells a different story of a young man from Mithilā, in north India, with this name; perhaps the Māleyyadevattheravatthu has borrowed the names, although this is clearly the same person as at the start of the story, in Kamboja village, Rohana, Sri Lanka.

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1 Denis states that in M1, the only ms. in which it occurs, the word bhavissanti [for bhavissati] seems to have been written later, to complete the verse. Presumably the 'cause' for attaining nirvāna here is copying the manuscript and/or listening to its being recited.
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NIBBĀNASUTTA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA ON NIBBĀNA AS A GREAT CITY

The pages that follow carry a preliminary edition and translation of the Nibbānasutta, an “allegedly non-canonical” Pali text

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I would like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, Steven Collins, Jacqueline Filiotot, and P.B. Meegaskumbura in the preparation of this edition and translation. All read over a preliminary transcription of the manuscript and each made many suggestions for improving the text. Professor Wijayawardhana’s and Steven Collins’ comments also aided me in translating the text. P.B. Meegaskumbura made many helpful comments on the introduction. It was, however, only through the generosity and kindness of Jacqueline Filiotot that this edition was even possible. She made a copy of the original manuscript available to me and also made it possible for me to learn how to read māl script. Finally, she compared my initial transcription with the original manuscript and made a number of improvements in the reading of the manuscript itself.

2 I use this appellation to refer to texts which begin with the standard phrases of a sutta — “Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam ...” — but are not found in standard editions of the Pali canon. The term comes from K.D. Somadasa, who uses it in his Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), Vol. I, p. 27. I prefer this label to the alternative designations “apocryphal” or “counterfeit”, since it is less likely to pre-judge the whole issue of the status of such texts; see Charles Hallisey, “Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-Canonical Sutta,” Journal of the Pali Text Society, XV (1990), pp. 156–58. The use of the term “apocryphal” for texts whose inclusion in the Canon might be contested has been popularized by Padmanabh S. Jaini; see especially “Ākāravattārasutta: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” Indo-Iranian Journal, 35 (1992), p. 193. The label “counterfeit Sutta” has been applied to the Dasabodhisattupattikathā by the Ven. H. Saddhatissa (The Birth
probably of Southeast Asian origin. This edition is preliminary in two important ways. First, as will be discussed below, it is based on a single manuscript and it must be frankly admitted that no textual criticism which uses only a single exemplar can be taken as more than provisional. Second, the readings suggested for establishing an acceptable text must also be taken as strictly provisional, given the limitations of our knowledge of Pali language and literature in Southeast Asia.\(^1\) While I hope that in the future the discovery of other manuscripts and the further study of Southeast Asian Pali will make it possible to improve on this provisional edition, I think that in the meantime the Nibbānasutta can make a contribution to our understanding of both the literary history and the conceptual patterns of the Theravāda Buddhist traditions.

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\(^1\) Stories of the Ten Bodhisattvas and the Dasabodhisattvappattikathā [London: Pali Text Society, 1975], p. 16.

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The Nibbānasutta, as an allegedly non-canonical sutta, belongs to a class of Theravādin literature which has been unduly neglected by scholars. Such literature, however, was apparently known to and accepted as authoritative by Buddhaghosa. In Atthasālīni, he makes a point by referring to “a sutta which was not composed at a council.”\(^1\)

We can begin to have a more accurate estimation of the significance of such texts by carefully considering their role as instructional aids and vehicles for the transmission of the “Way of the Elders.” When we do so, we see that the production of allegedly non-canonical suttas in the Theravāda is not always analogous to the creation of the Mahāyāna sūtras, superficial similarities notwithstanding, in so far as they frequently did not formulate new teachings.\(^2\) Such compositions were apparently one response to a fundamental problem continually faced by the Theravāda, a problem which was recognized by Louis Finot seventy-five years ago: “The Buddhist Canon is not an easy study: it discourages by its mass and its difficulties the enthusiasm of the most fearless … . It was necessary to be concerned about making this rudis indigestaque moles accessible, either by condensing it in the form of a summary, or by combining scattered elements from this or that part of the doctrine, or finally by simply detaching from this immense book (i.e. the tipiṭaka) some leaves which interested more particularly the

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\(^1\) Asl 65.

\(^2\) Of course, some allegedly non-canonical texts include notions which appear novel when compared with norms accepted in the Pali Canon. See Ven. H. Saddhatissa, The Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas, pp. 7–14, and P.S. Jaini, Ākāravattārasutta, pp. 197–98. A more extreme example of novelty in an allegedly non-canonical sutta is found in the Sinhala-language Sumana Śūtraya, a work dating to the colonial period of Sri Lanka’s history and described by Kitsiri Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millenialism (Kitsiri Malalgoda, “Millenialism in Relation to Buddhism”, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 42 [1970], pp. 424–41).
spiritual life or the practice of the community.”1 These different responses, however, are not easily distinguished. The Nibbānasutta appears to be a combination of the first two types of response specified by Finot: it is a summary, although it gathers together in a significant way material scattered in the Pāli canon and commentaries. Moreover, allegedly non-canonical suttas like the Nibbānasutta, circulated individually, as did even those texts which we might somewhat ironically call “uncontestedly canonical suttas”; but they also circulated in a variety of ad hoc anthologies.2 The co-existence of summaries and anthologies with collections of the more diffuse canonical literature parallels the analogous tension in the Theravādin tradition between the actual diversity of thought and practice noted by historians and observers of the contemporary Theravāda and an assumption of doctrinal systematicity idealized by Theravādin intellectuals and by scholars of the Theravāda.

Recognizing that the canon was generally transmitted in condensed parts and in summaries is of course relevant for reconstructing the range of Buddhist thought and practice operative in any given historical context. But although we are now beginning to appreciate better the importance of such texts for our understanding of “Buddhism on the ground,” we still have little idea of the actual numbers of such texts, the extent of their originality, or the processes of their composition. The Nibbānasutta makes a valuable contribution to the pool of information that will be necessary for answering the latter questions.

The Nibbānasutta displays, at least in part, the processes through which summaries and new suttas were created in the Theravāda tradition. As a discourse, the Nibbānasutta is organized around a narrative about a man journeying to a great city. This short narrative is subsequently used to order a series of metaphors about Buddhist practice, salvation, samsāra, and nībāna in a coherent, if loose, fashion. It is striking that a similar metaphorical reinterpretation of a narrative is used to provide a summary of doctrine and practice in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and its commentary. The canonical passage, which is part of a conversation between the Buddha and the Sakyan prince Vappa, reads:

Just as, O Vappa, a shadow of a tree (thūṇam) is seen, and a man might come there, bringing a hoe and basket, and he might cut the tree at the root, and having cut the root, he might dig it up, and digging, he might lift up the roots, even as much as a

tube holds of the fragrant usīra root. He might break up that tree piece by piece, and destroying it piece by piece he might chop it, and chopping it, he might splinter it, and then dry it in the wind and heat, and having dried it in the wind and heat, he might burn it with fire and turn it into ashes. Having turned it into ashes, he might scatter it in a strong wind or wash it away in a river with a swift current. Thus the broken roots of that tree whose shadow appeared are uprooted and completely destroyed and in the future will be things that do not arise again. Just exactly so the six satatavihāra are attained by the monk whose mind is completely freed.¹

The commentary, the Manorathapūrani, finds in the connecting adverb evam an opportunity to explain the metaphorical significance of this narrative:

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¹ A II 199: seyyathāpi Vappa thūṇam paticca chayā paññāyati, atha puriso āgaccheyya kudālapijakam ādāya, so tam thūṇam mule chindeyya, mule chetvā palikhaneyya, palikhanetvā mūlāni uddharyeyya antamoso usīrānālīmattāni pi. so tam thūnam khandhākhandikam chindeyya, khandhākhandikam chetvā phāleeyya, phāleeyā sakalikam sakalikam karīyeyya, sakalikam sakalikam karītya vātātāya visoseyyeyya, vātātāya visoseyya evam hi 'ssa Vappa yā thūṇam paticca chayā sā uccinnamūlā tālāvatthukatā anabhāvakatā ayatim anuppādhammā. evam eva kho Vappa evam sammāvimitcittassa bhikkhuno cha satatavihāra adhigatā honti. PTSD defines satatavihāra as “a chronic state of life”; PTSD s.v. satata, p. 672. They are modes of life limited to those who have destroyed the āsavas.
It should be noted that although this narrative resonates with the imagery of the great tree of kilesas in the Nibbānasutta, its imagery of uprooting roots is in fact more prominent throughout Theravādin literature; for a locus classicus of this metaphor, see Dhp 338.

Just exactly so¹ this is the application of the simile here: individual life is to be known as like the tree (rūkko), the kamma of good and bad deeds is like the shadow of the tree, the yogāvacaro is like the person desiring to put a stop to the shadow, wisdom is like the hoe (kuddāla, i.e. mammyat), concentration is like the basket, insight meditation is like the tool for uprooting (khanitti), the opportunity for destroying ignorance with the path of the arahant is like the digging up of the roots with the spade, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the sensory elements is like the the opportunity for breaking up (the whole tree) piece by piece, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the elements of sense-perception is like the opportunity for chopping (the tree), the opportunity for seeing the influence of the physical elements is like the opportunity for splintering (the tree), the opportunity for creating mental and bodily exertion is like the opportunity for drying (the broken parts) in the wind and heat, the burning of the kilesas with knowledge is like the burning (the pieces) with fire, the continuing existence of the five khandhas is like the making of ashes, the un mendable cessation of the five khandhas is like the scattering of the destroyed roots in a great wind or washing them away in the current of a river, and the state of the non-manifestation, without any further arising, of khandhas which are the fruits of previous actions in a new birth is to be known as being like the attained condition of non-manifestation because of the scattering (in the wind) and the washing away (in the river).²

¹ The term evam is sometimes glossed in the commentaries as being a “term of comparison” (upamāvacana); see for example Pj I 208.
² Mp III 179–80: evam eva kho ti ettha idam opammasamsandanam: rukkho viya hi attabhāvā doṭthabbo, rukkham paticca chayā viya kusalākusalakammam, chayam appavattam kātukāmo puriso viya yogāvacaro, kuddālo viya pañhā,
In the quotation above, the Manorathapūrani names the interpretive strategy which it employs to connect these two passages as opammasamsandana. The presence of this same interpretive strategy in the Nibbānasutta suggests that its composition may have followed a generic pattern already well-established in earlier texts; that is, the general process at work in the creation of summary texts included the use of models found in other texts. This suggestion finds some confirmation when we look at the serial simile of the “city of Nibbāna” in the Nibbānasutta which itself seems to build on patterns already present in the commentaries and other types of Theravādin literature.

Moreover, as indicated by the passages found in the Nibbānasutta which are taken from the Majjhima Nikāya and the Theragāthā, the process of creating new texts included the direct use of materials found in older texts. We see a similar use of older material in other allegedly non-canonical suttas, such as the Tundilovādasutta and the Ākāravattārasutta. Indeed, the process of making new texts out of the materials of older texts seems to have become quite common in the later Theravāda; we can refer here to such Pāli texts as the Jinakālamāli.

piṭakaṃ viyā saṃādhi, khanitti viyā vipassanā, khanittiyā mūlānaṃ palikhanakālo viyā arahattamaggena avijjāya chedanakālo, khandākhandam karanakālo viyā khandhavasena diṭṭhakālo, phālangakālo viyā āyatanaṃvasena diṭṭhakālo, sakali karanakālo viyā āhārvatesaṇa diṭṭhakālo, vāṭāape visossanakālo viyā kāiyakacetasikassa (taking variant reading for kāiyakacetasikassa) viriyassa karanakālo, agginā dahanakālo viyā nānena kilesānaṃ dahanakālo, masikaharanakālo viyā dharamāṇaka-paṇcakhandhakālo, mahāvāte opunanakālo viyā nadisote pavāhanakālo chinnamālaṇaṃ paṇcannaṃ khandhānaṃ appajissadhiṇikoṇdo, opunapavāhanahi appaṭṭhitakhaḥ bhāvupagamō viyā punabbhave vipahkkhandhānaṃ anupādāna apavannakakkhāvo veditabbo.

1 See as well A II 201 and Mp III 181–82; Vism 346; Sv (I) 127.
2 For example, Mil 330–45; see as well Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pt III 78.
3 Compare Tundilovāda 176–77 and Bv-a 121; Tundilovāda 186 and Bv-a 121; see Jaini, Ākāravattārasutta, 197, 199, 200 note 13, 201 notes 14–15, 209 note 21.

the Pathamasambodhi, the Jinamahāniḍāna and the Saṅgītiyavamsa, all composed in Thailand. It should be noted that one result of this process of composing new texts would be a blurring of the distinctions between canonical and non-canonical literature.

An awareness of the special problems which the Theravāda faced in transmitting a systematic, but complex doctrine abstracted from a large and diffuse literary tradition is important for understanding the continuing literary activities of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. This awareness above all allows us to acknowledge the conditions under which new suttas, such as the Nibbānasutta, could have been composed and accepted in the Theravāda; it is easy to see that the very idea of a closed canon might well have functioned more as a rhetorical marker than as a strictly closed list in contexts where the canon circulated and was known in its parts rather than as a whole. But we should be careful not to limit the ramifications of this fact to the admission that “new” texts could probably find some acceptance in such contexts; we could make this admission and still care little for the contents of these individual suttas on the grounds that they seem to add little to the scholarly understanding of the doctrinal orientations of the

Theravāda. This would be unfortunate, since their condensed format may in fact display relative emphases of doctrine and practice within the Theravādin traditions which might otherwise be hard to discern.

We have so far noted the elaboration of the metaphor of “the city of Nibbāna” in the Nibbānasutta as an illustration of the processes involved in the composition of new texts in the Theravāda. When we turn to the contents of the Nibbānasutta, we see that this metaphor is indeed a helpful device for listing and linking a variety of doctrinal items and practices; the different parts of a city are associated with various aspects of Buddhist life. It is thus easy to see that such a metaphor could be conducive to the Nibbānasutta’s functional role as a summary of the Dhamma. While recognizing this, we should be careful not to ignore the role that such imagery may have had in generating “religio-aesthetic experiences” which would have enriched an understanding of particular doctrinal points and which may have also motivated individuals to practice the Buddhist religious life.¹

As already noted, metaphorical applications of a city to the constituents of Buddhist life have a long history in the Theravāda; examples are found in the Milinda-pañha as well as in the Madhuratthavilāsini, the Sumangalavilāsini, and the Tuṇḍilovādasutta.² We can find a very pleasant example of such an application in the Saddharmaratnāvaliya, a thirteenth-century Sinhala translation of the Dhammapada Atthakathā, a book which itself was intended to be an instructional aid to those on the way to the city of Nibbāna³:

Thus, having begged for alms in the countryside of the arahat, he arrived finally at the city of the Teachings of the King of the Universe, the Enlightened Buddha.

That city had a long wall made of Morality, a moat made of the restraints, Fear and Shame, a city gate of Wisdom, with lintels of Effort, a protective column of Faith, and watchmen of Mindfulness. It had a nine-storied palace of the Nine Spiritual Attainments, four roads of the Fourfold Path going in four directions and the Three Signs, Impermanence, Sorrow, and Soullessness, pointing in the three directions. It had also the Hall of Justice named the “Rules of the Monastic Order” and a royal thoroughfare called “The Path of Mindfulness.” There were market stalls selling the flowers of Higher Knowledge, stalls selling perfumes of Moral Conduct, and fruit stalls selling the Fruits of the Path. There were also stalls selling medicinal preparations of The Dharmas of the Thirty-Seven Constituents of Enlightenment¹ for curing the disease of Defilements, and which could destroy Decay and Death. In addition, there were stalls full of the gems of Moral Conduct and Contemplation, which could bring Enlightenment. There was a stall that was filled with the blessings of high status, wealth, long life, good health, good looks, and intelligence; and also the blessings of the human world, the heavenly worlds, the Brahma worlds, and of nirvāṇa.²

¹ The possible danger of overlooking the significance of metaphors in “religiao-aesthetic experiences” was emphasised to me by P.B. Meegaskumbura. In this regard, it is thus worth noting the prominent place of metaphorical sequences in both the Ākāravattārasutta and the Tuṇḍilovādasutta.
² Mil 330–45; Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pī III 78; Tuṇḍilovāda 192–94.

¹ I have modified Obeyesekere’s translation at this point.
² Obeyesekere, Jewels of the Doctrine, p. 207; this is a translation of Saddharmaratnāvaliya (Colombo: Sri Lanka Oriental Studies Society, 1985), I.126. This passage obviously owes much to the account of the “City of Righteousness” in Mil 330–45.
Each of these associations between a Buddhist idea or practice and a part of a city could be interpreted, apparently, through a process of comparison which would specify on what basis the two things are juxtaposed in the metaphor; the Suman galavilāsini describes this process as asking “What is it like, because of what?” The tikā on the Dīgha Nikāya, for example, glosses the simile that sila is like a wall by saying: “Silā is like a wall because it has the nature of protecting completely those who attain it.” It is particularly interesting, as a comparison with the similar application of the metaphor in the Nibbānasutta, that there is no fixed association between the parts of a city and a Buddhist counterpart. For example, the door or gate (dvāra) to the city of Nibbāna is variously said to be sila, dāna, the ariyamagga, and nāna. This variability is further evidence that the different examples of the serial simile of the city of Nibbāna may be the products of different applications of a common process rather than derivations from a single source.

This variability also suggests that the serial simile might be derivative from and secondary to a more fundamental conventional metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, which itself is linked to the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a “place”. In this regard, quite significantly, the contents of the Nibbānasutta help us to understand and thus to appreciate better the cognitive import of this conventional metaphor which is found throughout much of Theravādin literature, including Buddhaghosa’s commentaries. On the basis of what can be seen in the Nibbānasutta, we may be able to avoid the temptation to dismiss a common image of this sort as an over-used “literary ornament” or “figure of speech”, since we see in this text that it may not actually function as such. Rather, we can see that such common images are probably better understood as “conventional metaphors”, part of the normal ways that Buddhists talk about, conceive and even experience their own situations.1

When the Nibbānasutta, using the method just mentioned, compares Nibbāna to a collection of good things (sudhammā), on the grounds that both are collocations or combinations (samodhāna), it makes a point which is quite relevant to understanding the image of a city as a metaphor for Nibbāna. In this context, we can recall that a city is sometimes defined on the basis of its combining a physical layout with buildings, and inhabitants, and with this in mind, we can see that it is...

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1 I say “apparently” since as I mentioned in the introduction to Tunḍilovādasutta (p. 163), it is not always self-evident what the similarities between the two juxtaposed elements might be, and most often we are dependent on commentarial glosses to specify the intended similarities.

2 Sv (III) 881: tattha ‘kim kena sadisam ti ce ... . This might be an allusion to the method of instruction mentioned in the Nangalīsa Jātaka (Ja 1448): “elicitng comparisons and reasons” (upamaḥ ca kāranaḥ ca kathāpeti). The method is explicitly used in the Nibbānasutta when Nibbāna is compared to the moon, the sun, the earth, a mountain, the ocean.

3 Sv-pT III 78.

4 Tunḍilovāda 177.

5 Tunḍilovāda 174, 193.

6 Sv (III) 851; this is a common gloss on the notion of “the door to that without death” (amatadvāra) — see M 1353, S 1137, Vin 15, etc.

7 Nibbānasutta, see p. 122 below.

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2 See, for example, Bv-a 66–67 (on Bv IIA 3–4): “(3) The City was complete in all respects. It engaged in every industry, (4) was possessed of the seven kinds of treasures, crowded with all kinds of people; prosperous as a deva-city, it was a dwelling place for doers of merit. Therein complete in all respects means: possessed of all the constituent parts of a city, with city gateways, halls and so forth. ...” (I.B. Horner, translator, The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (London:
which are usually considered to be early, that is the Vinaya and the four Nikāyas. The metaphor coheres, however, with another conventional metaphor in the canon — that conditions and experiences are places (ṭhāna), and thus I do not think that there would be anything automatically controversial or objectionable about it as a piece of imagery. Without speculating about the actual origins of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, we can at least say that it may have been used as an image because it evoked and elaborated the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a place, which is found in the canon. Furthermore, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna was apparently grounded in the canon by commentators’ reinterpreting canonical references to cities as references to the city of Nibbāna. For example, Sāriputta uses a simile of a border city and its watchman to convey his limited knowledge of the Buddha’s maximal greatness in the Sampāsādaniyasutta and in the Mahāparinibbānasutta; this simile is glossed in Buddhaghosa’s

University of Hamburg, 1992), p. 213. Analogous applications of the metaphor of a city are also found in medieval Indian Buddhist inscriptions; see the references to muktipura (thirteenth century) found at Grosrawa (Indian Antiquary 17 [1888], p. 310); to jinapura (thirteenth century) found at Bodhgaya (Indian Antiquary 10 [1881], p. 342); and to praśamapura (fifth century) found at Ajanta (Ghulam Yazdani, Ajanta [Delhi: Swat Publications, 1983] Pt IV, p. 115). The metaphor is also found in the Chinese translation of the Dhammaputta version of the Mahāparinibbānasūtra; see André Béreau, En suivant Buddha (Paris: Lebâud, 1985), p. 289. This text apparently takes “entering the city of nirvāṇa” as referring to parinirvāṇa. The diversity of these examples suggests at least that the metaphor of the city of nirvāṇa was in common usage among the different Buddhist traditions. I wish to thank Gregory Schopen for bringing the insessional, Aśvaghoṣa, and Dhammaputta examples to my attention.

1 As the entry on “nibbāna” in the PTS says: Nibbāna “is a reality, and its characteristic features may be described, may be grasped in terms of earthly language, in terms of space (as this is the only means at our disposal to describe abstract notions of time and mentality);” PTSD, s.v. nibbāna, p. 362b. See as well PTSD, s.v. thāna.
Commentary as referring to the city of Nibbāna.\footnote{Sv (III) 881. The commentary on the Mahāparinibbānasutta refers readers to this gloss; Sv (II) 538. For similar incidental glosses using the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, see Ap-a 291 (on verse 133); Bv-a 155; Vv-a 284.} The tīkā to this passage then uses the metaphor to extend understanding and insight through the same process of comparing and giving reasons we have already noted: "Nibbāna is like a city because it is to be approached by those seeking it, and because it is the condition (thāna) of the attainment of sukha without any dangers for those who reach it."\footnote{Sv-pṭ III 78.}

We can gain some further understanding of the connotations of the metaphor as a whole if we look at two different uses of the image of the city in the Dhammapada Atthakathā. The first compares the mind to a city and comments on the stanza, "Securing this mind as a citadel".\footnote{Dhp 40: nāgarūpamān cittam idaṃ ṭhapetvā.}

As a city: A city having a deep moat, encircled by a wall, containing gates and watchtowers, is firm from outside; inside, it is fitted out with well-apportioned streets, squares, crossroads, and shopping areas. Thieves come from without, saying, "Let us loot it!" [But] being unable to enter, [they] remain as if confronting, and being checked by, a [mighty] rock. As one standing in the city [attacks such] a horde of robbers with many kinds of weaponry — single-edged [weapons], and so on — in exactly the same way, securing: making firm his "insight-mind", as if it were a citadel .... \footnote{John Ross Carter and Mahinda Paliyawadana, translators, The Dhammapada, (New York: Oxford, 1987), p. 128.}

The second application of the city metaphor in the Dhammapada compares the body to a shed for storing grain which in turn is said to be a city, in part because it is constructed with various

parts, and also because such a shed is a "protected structure."\footnote{Dhp 150; Carter and Paliyawadana, p. 217.} We see in these two uses of the metaphor associations which are obviously shared with the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna. First, all three applications apparently assume that a city is defined by its various constituent parts, arranged in an ordered whole which is "firm from outside," that is a stable and independent condition in its own right. The image also portrays Nibbāna as a pleasing place inside. This holistic image would seem, then, to lend considerable coherence to a theoretical vision of Nibbāna and its connection to Buddhist soteriological practices.

Finally, I would like to note that the image of the city of Nibbāna could suggest a continuum between Nibbāna and the possible forms of rebirth found in saṃsāra. The same conventional metaphor that "defines" existential conditions as "places" (thāna), which we have already seen with reference to Nibbāna, was also used with respect to some forms of rebirth which are possible in saṃsāra. Heavens, above all, are defined as cities.\footnote{See, for example, S IV 202; Vv-a 285; Ja I 47, 49, 52; The Three Worlds According to King Rûng, pp. 218, 223–35, 250. The realm of the dead is also sometimes compared to a city or even called a city: yamapura; see The Three Worlds According to King Rûng, p. 68 and W.F. Gunawardhana, Guttila Kāvyā Varnanā (Colombo: Lake House, 1962), p. 208 (verse 317). For a discussion of the symbolism of the royal city in the Sinhala Buddhist pantheon, see Gananath Obeyesekere, The Cult of the Goddess Pattini (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 50–56.} This homology between heavens and Nibbāna as "cities" creates, in turn, a double relation between Nibbāna and saṃsāra. On the one hand, they are still different kinds of things, and are thus best understood doctrinally as opposed to one another, as when we contrast asaṅkhata Nibbāna with saṅkhata saṃsāra, or when we contrast the sukha of Nibbāna with the dukkha of saṃsāra. On the other hand, heavens as "cities" could also be construed as merely, even if immeasurably, different in degree from the "City of Nibbāna." As the
Traibhūmikathā, a fourteenth-century Thai-language cosmological treatise, says: “The treasure of Nibbāna brings a high degree of pleasure, happiness, and tranquility; nothing can be found to equal it.”¹ This sequence of images of cities may lie behind the location of Nibbāna at the pinnacle of a cosmological hierarchy as has been frequently noted in ethnographic studies of contemporary Theravādin Buddhism.

The manuscript utilized here is now kept in the collections of the École Française d’Extrême Orient in Paris under the reference number EFEO Pali 30. It is a short manuscript, four ola leaves in length, and is written in the mūl script. It contains two texts: the Nibbānasutta, and a fragment of another text called the Jarāsutta. A covering leaf is inscribed: bra mahānagaraniṁbānasūtravāṇanā niṭṭhitā / buddhassa parinibbānato atṭhapāṇāsādhike catusatadvesahassame byagghasamvacchare sīṭesena (?) likkhāmi tamidam. The alternative title given here, Mahānagaraniṁbānasuttavāṇanā, specifies what may have been taken as the main point of the text, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna; I have followed this covering-leaf’s example in the title of this paper. Given the blurring between canonical and non-canonical literature which we noted above, it is significant that the title given here and at the end of the text seems to suggest that it is a commentary (vaṇṇanā) on a sutta.²

If the covering-leaf title, Mahānagaraniṁbānasuttavāṇanā, is a true alternative title for this text, then it may provide some evidence that the text was composed in Thailand or Cambodia, since the tappurisa compound of the city of Nibbāna is formed in the manner standard in Thai and Khmer, rather than in the manner more commonly found in classical Pali (i.e. Nibbānanagarā).³ There is nothing about the language

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¹ The Three Worlds According to King Ruang, p. 329.
² A similar alternation between sutta and vaṇṇanā is found in the Ākāravattārasutta; see Jaini, Ākāravattārasutta, 194, 209.
³ I would like to thank Professor Oskar von Hliniber for pointing this out to me.

or contents of the text which allows us to suggest even a probable date of composition.¹

We can say more about the manuscript than the text. Given the origins of the collection at the École Française d’Extrême Orient, it seems probable that this manuscript was prepared in Cambodia. Moreover, the inscription on the covering leaf gives some valuable information about the date of the preparation of the manuscript. Despite a persistent problem² with the Pali here, we may translate this last passage as providing a date for the copying of the manuscript: “I wrote this in the year of the tiger, two thousand four hundred fifty eight years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha.” If we take 544 B.C.E. as the traditional date for the parinibbāna of the Buddha in Southeast Asia, this would give us a date for the manuscript about the year 1914–15 C.E.³ The dating according to the Buddhist Era seems to agree with the dating to the year of the Tiger in the twelve-year cycle. At the end of the manuscript the scribe has given his name and expressed his aspiration in

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¹ Given that the linguistic variations found in this text, such as the suppression of geminate consonants, are also common in Southeast Asian Pali, it seems unlikely to me that such “irregularities” could be used as satisfactory evidence to establish a text’s date.
² I am unable to make any sense of sītesena, although perhaps it further specifies the date of copying the manuscript, with the date written in a system like “the so-called ka-ta-pa-ya system” found in Sri Lankan and Burmese manuscripts; for references to this system of writing numbers, see Burmese Manuscripts Part 1, compiled by Heinz Bechter, Daw Khin Khin Su, and Daw Tin Tin Myint (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1979), pp. XIX–XX. This sentence appears in a number of other manuscripts in the collections of the École Française d’Extrême Orient in Paris with some variation in the spelling of this word; see the covering leaves to EFEO Pali 28, Rathasenañātaka (sātesena), EFEO Pali 31, Arabhimbajñātaka (sījesena), EFEO Pali 32, and Candasañājñātaka (sījesena).
³ For some brief comments on the reckoning of dates in “Cambodian” manuscripts, see C.E. Godakumbura, Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts, (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1983), p. xvi.
copying the manuscript: “Aham Indujotam ikkhitam Buddhāsane Buddhho homi anāgatā.” The notion of becoming a Buddha in the Buddhāsana is intriguing, although the aspiration to become a Buddha is quite frequent in manuscript colophons in Sri Lanka.¹

My attempts to find another copy of the text have not met with any success. The Nībbānasutta does not seem to be among the Cambodian manuscripts which have been copied by the Cornell University preservation project in Phnom Penh.² Although a text of the same title is listed by Louis Finot in his survey of manuscript holdings in Laos, Finot’s note seems to suggest that this text was related to the Mahāparinībbānasutta of the Dighanikāya.³ George Cœdès has described a Lao-language text with the title Nībbānasutta in his catalogue of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; from his description, it does not seem likely that this text is a translation of the Pali Nībbānasutta with which we are concerned here.⁴ There are three texts with a very similar title listed in the Catalogue of Palm-leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University 1978–86, but I have not been able to compare these texts with the manuscript transcribed here.¹ The title does not appear in K.D. Somadasa’s survey of the manuscript holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries.²

Since this is a first and necessarily provisional edition of the text, I have only attempted to transcribe accurately the manuscript available to me. I have made no emendations in the text as it is found in the manuscript, but I have given alternative readings in the notes in order to make some sense of the Pali or to clarify the Pali by comparison with the better known forms of classical Pali. Some of these clarifications are merely for the convenience of the reader since the text itself is quite consistent in its own usage, even if it is irregular by the standards of classical Pali, as for example with the creation or suppression of consonant geminates (such as -ññ- which are normally written -ñ- here).³ The edition provides numbers for each leaf (1a–1b, etc.), but also includes the letter-sequencers (ka-ki) given in the manuscript itself.

NIBBĀNASUTTA

[1a (ka)] Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Savatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍakassa ārāme. Tasmiṃ kho Bhagavā bhikkhunā⁴ āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasosam.⁵

¹ This aspiration is very common in the manuscripts found in the Nevill Collection in the British Library. See, for examples chosen almost at random, the eighteenth century copy of the Dhammapada Sanne (Or. 6600[52]) and the nineteenth century copy of the Aggikkhandopama Sutta Pada Ānuma (Or. 6599[6]), found in Somadasa, pp. 21, 110.
² I would like to thank Dr. Judy Ledgerwood for her kind assistance in checking whether the Nībbānasutta was among the texts microfilmed by the Cornell University Project.
³ Cœdès, p. 66. Cœdès, it should be noted, was hardly impressed by this text, and described it as “un discours assez banal.” It apparently includes an account of some rich merchants being freed from the preta world and ascending to a devaloka from hearing that sutta, something which is completely missing from the text edited here.
⁴ Read bhikkhunām.
⁵ Read as paccassosam; on the suppression of geminates in mūl manuscripts, see Martini, p. 371, and Terral, pp. 312–13.


¹ The more usual phrase would be sātham sabayaṃjanaṃ.
² Read kevalaparipunnaṃ.
³ Read dharmacariyam; full stop added. Compare these sentences to M I 280 and Nett 5.
⁴ Read sunātha.
⁵ Read paccassum.
⁶ Read paṭipanno; Jacqueline Filliozat noticed that the palmleaf is inscribed paṭipanno, but the manuscript was corrected in ink to paṭisanno.
⁷ Read addassa; see Terral, p. 311, for inversion of terminates in aorist forms.
⁸ Read dakkhaṇahaththe.
⁹ Read orimatiram; see Terral, p. 310, for the confusion between long i and short i.
¹⁰ Read paratiram.
¹¹ Read chaddetvā or alternatively chādetvā. I think the former is preferable; see Terral, p. 314, for denticles replacing cerebrais and Terral, pp. 312–13, for the suppression of geminates.
¹² From nahāyati; read nahāvā. See Terral, p. 337, concerning nahāvā as an acceptable form.
¹³ Manuscript adds a stop here.
¹⁴ Full stop added.
¹⁵ Manuscript adds a stop here.
¹⁶ Read pajaḥitvā.
¹⁷ Read araṇe.
¹ Read anubandhantā; on added geminations in “Cambodian” manuscripts, see Terral, pp. 310–11.
² Read jāti.-
³ Read pariṇakāyō.
⁴ Read addassa.
⁵ Seems to be a case-confusion by contamination?
⁶ Read samsāradukkhataraṇaṃ.
⁷ Read abhippasaddā.
⁸ Read orimatiram.
⁹ A better reading might be muttī.
¹⁰ Read chaddetvā or alternatively chādetvā.
¹¹ Read nahāvā.
¹² Read paṇṇā.
¹³ Read daṭṭhhabbā.
¹⁴ Read vilimpetvā.
¹⁵ Read sillaṃdhami.
¹⁶ Read ujum maggapatipanno.
nibbānamage\textsuperscript{1}–tanatalam\textsuperscript{2} samphasanta\textsuperscript{3} viya kilesamahiruha\textsuperscript{4} adassa\textsuperscript{5} abhaya\textsuperscript{6} ca. Kilesamahiruho\textsuperscript{7} nibbānamaggasacchādīto.\textsuperscript{8} Kidiso\textsuperscript{9} kilesamahiruho? Pañcakhandhabhūmitalasanno avijāvijapabhavo\textsuperscript{10} kāyavacimanoduccaritabhāvasitaṃ\textsuperscript{11} jalavarasiṃci.\textsuperscript{12} Lobhabiruyha\textsubscript{13} pula\textsubscript{14}–dhārītī dosasākāḥparikīnno\textsuperscript{15} mohapallavapattaganībhūto anuparamānakurasampanno\textsuperscript{16} vičchikicchā\textsuperscript{17}–piṭjarapito\textsuperscript{18} thinimidaṃ bhusabhāharito\textsuperscript{19} ahirikamanoṭappavikasitakusumo\textsuperscript{20} jātijārābyādhirarana– jālasāṅchanno\textsuperscript{21} [2b] narakatiracchānepa–asurakāyavisesa\textsuperscript{22}–dijaganak- khādītaphalo evarūpo kilesamahiraho\textsuperscript{23} nibbānamaggasacchādīto.\textsuperscript{24} Tamcchinditum\textsuperscript{25} vaṭṭati ti. Yadi chindanto na sāmaṇṇasatthena\textsuperscript{26} chindi

\textsuperscript{1} Reading nibbānamagge would seem most obvious, but see next note.
\textsuperscript{2} Read tam thalam. It is also possible for the manuscript to be read ganatalam (t and g are easily confused in mūl script) and perhaps the scribe may have intended to write nibbānamaggena.
\textsuperscript{3} Read samphassantan.
\textsuperscript{4} Read mahirūhaṃ.
\textsuperscript{5} Read addasa.
\textsuperscript{6} Read perhaps bhaya ca? Full stop added.
\textsuperscript{7} Read mahirūho.
\textsuperscript{8} Read saṅchādīto.
\textsuperscript{9} Manuscript adds a stop here.
\textsuperscript{10} Read avijāvijāpabhavo or alternatively avijāvijāpabhavo.
\textsuperscript{11} Read kāyavacimanoduccaritabhāvasitas.
\textsuperscript{12} Read pallavarārasi ca; or perhaps jalavāram siṃci?
\textsuperscript{13} Read virūha–.
\textsuperscript{14} Read phala, or alternatively mūla.
\textsuperscript{15} Read parikīnno.
\textsuperscript{16} Read anuparamānakurasampanno.
\textsuperscript{17} Read vičchikicchā–.
\textsuperscript{18} Read piṭjarapito.
\textsuperscript{19} Read thinimiddhabhusabharito?
\textsuperscript{20} Read ahirikamanoṭappavikasitakusumo.
\textsuperscript{21} Read alternatively jātijārābyādhirarana–jālasāṅchanno.
\textsuperscript{22} Read -vīsesa–.
\textsuperscript{23} Read kilesamahiruho.
\textsuperscript{24} Read nibbānamaggasāṅchādīto; full stop added.
\textsuperscript{25} Read tam chinditum.

\textsuperscript{26} Read sāmaṇṇasatthena.

1 Read yadi chindanto ... chindati ... chindati yevāti.
2 Read aṅnathā; see Terral, p. 315, for replacement of an aspirated consonant by a simple consonant.
3 Read nisitasamādhisilāya.
4 Read sampassamāno.
5 Read maṇīṭati.
6 Read majhāṃ?
7 Alternatively to previous note, read here niravasesam, or take this second nirasesam chinditvā as an unintentional repetition.
8 Read silamayadaddhalaparikkhāro.
9 Read sunītea–.
10 Read aṭīte.
11 Read sankilesamahiruhe; this reading and the one preceding are not entirely satisfactory.
12 Read paṇhāyati.
13 Read sītalaththena.
14 Read kilesasussanatthena.
15 Read surīye.
16 Read pathavi.
17 Read selendo or selindo.
18 Read sambhatasthena, or alternatively, sambhūtaththena.


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1 Read pathavi.
2 Read sitam.
3 Read ajāti-ajārā-abyādhi-amaraṇaṁ?
4 Read sadvāra-.
5 Read sattālakam; it might also be possible to read satalākam.
6 Read parikhaṁ.
7 Read savitthi.
8 Read sapadipajalitaṁ.
9 Read sasitajalapriṇaṇaṁ.
10 Read savālukam.
11 Read sacakkavāka-.
12 Read jivamjivaka-.
13 Read Silappākaraṁ.
14 Read dvārām.
15 Read attālakam or alternatively talākam.
16 Read samādhī-attālakam or alternatively samādhītalākam; see previous note.
17 Read parikhaṁ.
18 Read tā; the structure of the passage (kiṁ taṁ …) may have discouraged the use of feminine or plural forms.
19 Read vithiṁ.
20 Read cattālisasamathakammatthānavithi.
21 Read Kin.
22 Read Viriyathambham.
Tumhe ārabhathāṁ nikkhamathā yuñjathā buddhasāsanē dhunāthā maccuno yesanīṁ naḷāgāranī va kuñjaro.\(^3\) Yo imasmīṁ Dhammavinaye appamatto viharati pahāya jatisaṁsāram\(^4\) dukkhasaṁtāṁ karissathā.\(^6\)

Santam paṁitam\(^7\) apasamsavā\(^8\)-abhayam accutam ajāti-ajarā-khemaṁ nibbānāṁ nāma bbyadisan\(^9\) ti.\(^10\)

Nibbānasuttavaṁchanā niśhitī.\(^11\)

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\(^1\) Read ārabhathā.  
\(^2\) Read senam.  
\(^3\) Compare to Th 256 = S I 156 = Mil 245. See also Lokapaṁñatti, edited by Eugène Denis (Lille: Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1977), Vol. I, p. 5.  
\(^4\) Read jatisamsāram.  
\(^5\) Read dukkhasaṁtāṁ.  
\(^6\) Read karissati.  
\(^7\) Read paṁitam.  
\(^8\) Read apasamsavā.  
\(^9\) Read bbyadisan ti.  
\(^10\) Compare to the closing verse of Tūndilovādasutta (here emended from what appears at Tūndilovāda 194):  
Santam paṁitam amalāṁ sivam abhayam accutam  
Ajarām amatam khemaṁ nibbānāṁ nāma idisuṁ ti

\(^11\) Read niśhitī.
Trust\(^1\) is to be seen as like when he took it with his right hand. Mental calm\(^2\) is to be seen as like the climbing on the corpse. Crossing the suffering of *samsāra* is to be seen as like abandoning the near shore. Freedom is to be seen as reaching the other shore. The karma-born body is to be seen as like the corpse which he threw away. Wisdom is like him bathing; shame-and-modesty are like his putting on fine cloth; the perfume of virtue\(^3\) is like the perfume with which he adorned himself. The fruits of the stream-winner, once-returner, and arahant are like the ornaments with which he adored himself.\(^4\) The eightfold path is to be seen as like the straight road he went on. The great city of Nibbāna is like the great city he went towards.

There he saw a dreadful great tree of defilements (which looked) as if it were blocking\(^5\) that place on the road to Nibbāna. The great tree of defilements covered the road to Nibbāna. What was this great tree of defilements like? It was sunk in the earth of the five aggregates, its origin was the seed of ignorance, and it was a mass of sprouts which were supported by the condition of misbehaviour in body, speech, and mind. It bore fruits which grew from greed, and it was surrounded by branches of hate. It had a host of leaves and sprouts of delusion, it possessed small\(^6\) red and yellow shoots of doubt, and it bore the heavy (weight of) sloth and torpor.\(^7\) It had flowers blossoming with shamelessness and lack of remorse and was covered with the moisture of birth, old age, sickness, and death. Its fruit was eaten by flocks of birds, (beings with) the particular bodies of hell-dwellers, animals, ghosts, and

asuras. The tree of defilements which was like that covered the road to Nibbāna.

“It would be right to cut it down,” (he thought). Although he was cutting it, he did not cut it with a common sword, he did not cut it with an axe or even with an adze. But, in a different manner, it was possible to cut it with an axe of the knowledge of the Path sharpened on concentration and virtue.\(^1\) Just as, O monks, (a man) equipped and having the necessary requisites, taking a very sharp axe, enters the forest and seeing a great tree, he thinks, “What should I cut first?” Thinking “Now I will cut the root,” he cuts the root, then the top, and then the middle. Having cut it completely, he goes on satisfied. Just so, the *yogāvacaro*, equipped with the sevenfold subjects of meditation and having requisites brilliant with virtue, takes his well-sharpened axe of Path-knowledge, and cuts the isolated\(^2\) tree\(^3\) of the defilements in the middle of the forest and so he gains happiness. When the tree of defilements is overcome,\(^4\) the great city of Nibbāna is clearly seen.

In what sense is Nibbāna spoken of? Nibbāna is like the moon in the sense that it is cool, and it is like the sun in the sense that it dries up defilements. Nibbāna is like the earth since it is a support, like a mighty mountain\(^5\) since it is unmoving, like the ocean since it is the treasury\(^6\) of jewels, like good *dhammas* since it is a collocation. But this

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1. *nissasamādhisilena.*
2. *viveka.*
3. *sākhām.*
4. *attta samkilesamahiruhe.*
5. *selindo,* literally “lord of rock.” *Sela* also means “crystal,” and it might be recalled here that Nibbāna is called a crystal city in a Shan chronicle, *The Pādaeng Chronicle,* see *The Padang Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated,* translated by Sao Sāimōng Mangrāi (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1981), p. 100.
6. *sambhata.*
Nibbāna is not the earth, it is not water, it is not light, it is not wind, it is not cold, it is not heat. It is the great city of Nibbāna because it is without birth, old age, sickness, and death, because it is calm, peaceful, permanent,\(^1\) the place of happiness.

The great city of Nibbāna has an encircling wall, a gate, a watchtower, a moat, streets, a bazaar, a pillar, an interior (place), a bed, a couch, the brightness of lamps, a lake filled with cool water and sand; it is frequented by bees and by flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks and heron. What is that encircling wall? The wall of virtue.\(^2\) What is that gate? Knowledge is the gate. What is that watchtower? The watchtower of concentration. What is that moat? The encircling ditch of loving kindness. What are those streets? The streets of the forty meditation topics.\(^3\) What is that bazaar? The bazaar of the constituents of enlightenment. What is that pillar? The pillar is effort. What is that interior (place)? The interior place of the books of the Abhidhamma. What is that bed? The bed of renunciation. What is that couch? The couch of release. What is that brightness of lamps? The brightness of the lamps of the vision that comes with liberating knowledge.\(^4\) What is that lake? The lake of meditation. What is that cool water which fills it? It is filled with the cool water of compassion. What is that sand? The eighteen kinds of Buddha-knowledge are the sand. What are those bees that frequent it? Those who are free from the cankers\(^6\) are the bees which frequent it. What are the flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks, and heron which frequent it? Buddhahs, arahants and those who are free of defilements and faults\(^1\) are the flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks, and heron which frequent it. Thus the great city of Nibbāna is peaceful, a refuge, the topmost, and thus the final goal.

By what, in what, does one go? Not by an elephant carriage, nor by a horse carriage, nor by a royal horse carriage, nor a pallenquin, nor by a litter, nor by (wearing) sandals, nor by going barefoot.\(^2\) One ought to go to it in a different manner, by taking refuge in the Buddha, by taking refuge in the Dhamma, by taking refuge in the Saṅgha, and by listening to the teaching of the Dhamma in texts like this.\(^3\) Anyone who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha does not go to misfortune, (but rather) he attains a place of happiness.” Then the Lord taught the monks Dhamma-verses connected with Nibbāna. It was said by him:

Exert yourselves, go forth, devote yourselves to the Buddha's teaching. Knock down the army of death as an elephant knocks down a reed-hut.

Whoever will dwell vigilant in this doctrine and discipline, eliminating journeying-on from rebirth to rebirth will put an end to pain.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) dhuvaṃ.
\(^2\) silapākāraṃ; perhaps a pun on silāpākāraṃ, a wall of stone.
\(^3\) See Vism 187 where the metaphor is also used.
\(^4\) vimuttaññadassana.
\(^5\) The translation is necessarily loose. More literally it would be “What is it that is frequented by bees?”
\(^6\) khīnasava, i.e. arahants.
Nibbāna is shown to be peaceful, excellent, without fear because it is not producing (anything else), permanent, without birth, without old age, full of peace.

The exposition on the *Nibbānasutta* is finished.

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**PA LI MANUSCRIPTS OF SRI LANKA IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

Out of the rich collection of Pāli manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University Library, forty-two Sri Lankan manuscripts, written mostly in the Sinhala script, are listed below. In a few cases, the Roman script is used. Most of the manuscripts are written on palm-leaves, some on paper. They all belong to the 19th century.

This list is the result of a rapid survey of these manuscripts undertaken especially with the aim of identifying the unidentified items.¹ In the short period (eleven working days, from 7 to 19 October 1991), sixty-six manuscripts were examined, the forty-two Pāli manuscripts referred to above, and twenty-four Sinhala manuscripts, including six medical texts.²

The Sinhala manuscripts have, however, a relevance to Pāli literature due to the fact that Sinhala literature is predominantly inspired by Buddhism. Especially, the Jātakas have provided the themes for the bulk of Sinhala literary works right up to modern times. With regard to the list of Sinhala manuscripts given in the Appendix, it is worth remembering that the *Saddharmāḷankāraya* (item 13) and the *Sad-

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¹ I am grateful to Prof. Dr Ronald E. Emmerick, Prof. K.R. Norman and Mr R.C. Jamieson (Keeper of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Oriental Department of the Cambridge University Library) for being instrumental in organising that survey, financed by the Rapson Fund.

² A list of these Sinhala manuscripts is given in an Appendix at the end of this paper.
Pāli Dharma and it therefore should be listened to respectfully by everybody".¹ The other titles themselves betray their relation to Buddhism.

Item no. 30 below, Add. MS. 972 (13), is given under Pāli manuscripts, because only the Pāli stanzas of the Rājaratnākaraya (a chronicle written in Sinhala, with Pāli stanzas interspersed) are given in this particular manuscript. The Rājaratnākaraya proper, Add. MS. 971 (8), is included in the Appendix (see ed. P.N. Tisera, 1929).

Four manuscripts mentioned below are from the Scott Collection, identified here for the first time.

Out of the forty-two Pāli manuscripts listed here, twenty-three belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids. Some of these were especially copied for him and some others were purchased by him during his tenure of office in the Ceylon Civil Service. Rhys Davids had procured these manuscripts from widely separated parts of Sri Lanka: Anuradhapura in the North-Central Province, Kalutara in the Western Province, Galle and Matara in the Southern Province.

Rhys Davids had, in fact, published a “List of Pāli manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library” in JPTS 1883: pp. 145–46, with forty-four entries. However, twenty-two manuscripts listed below are omitted in that list although ten of them (items 1, 14, 20, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 40 below) belonged to Rhys Davids himself. The reason for this omission may be that those ten manuscripts were not in the possession of the Cambridge University Library at the time the list was published in the JPTS.


Most of the notes written by Rhys Davids on the manuscripts give valuable information not only regarding the names and status of the scribes,¹ place and dates of copying, but also regarding the sources of the copies,² and the particular value of certain texts. For instance, regarding the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (Add. MS. 1957), he remarks that “it was not collated for the edition of the text published in the Pāli Text Society’s Journal 1884”. Again, regarding the Mahāvamsa, Add. MS. 964 (20), he observes that it is “a very correct and valuable copy”.

The Cariyāpiṭaka, Add. MS. 936 (13), is a collation of various manuscripts, including a Burmese text and commentary. The Milindapañha, Add. MS. 1251 (19), according to its colophon, is based on a Siamese copy, for the section beginning with the Archer’s question to the end.

Two of the undermentioned manuscripts had belonged to N.C. Macready, Government Agent of Puttalam: Abhidānappadīpiṇī sannaya (Add. MS. 923) and Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations (Add. MS. 924).

The Kālakārāmasutta (Or. 904) was presented to the Cambridge University Library by Mr G. Le Strange, on 14.6.1914. This is a rare example of a miniature-size palm-leaf manuscript (16 folios, 65×5 mm), showing the scribe’s skill.

¹ E.g. the Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations, Add. MS. 924 (14), was written by the Deputy Chief monk of the Chilaw Pattu of Pitigal Kāralē.
² E.g. the Khuddakapāṭha extracts, Add. MS. 931 (8), were copied from a Burmese manuscript.
The Mahā-Satipāṭṭhānasutta sannaya (Or. 1734) was bequeathed to the Library by Sir Ellis Hovell Minns.

The Jinacarita was donated to the Library on 20.4.1906 by H.D. Rouse.¹

Among the works belonging to this collection, attention may be drawn to the value of the Abhidhammappadipikā sannaya as a Pāli lexicon. The Abhidhammappadipikā has been edited in Sinhala characters by the famous Buddhist prelate, the late Waskaduwe Subhuti, with Sinhala and English interpretations, index of the different elements of compound words occurring in the stanzas, two separate indexes on homonyms and indeclinables, an index of all the words, along with the references to stanzas in which they occur, and the text of the Ekakkhara kosa, a Pāli lexicon composed by a Burmese Buddhist monk by the name of Saddhamma Kitti (fifth ed., Colombo 1938). A paper on the Araññavagga of the Abhidhammappadipikā, section dealing with the names of trees and plants, will be published subsequently in the JPTS.

LIST OF PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS

(1) Abhidhammatthasamgaha

Up to the ninth chapter: Kammatthana vibhāga.

Paper, 67 written pages. Title page, verso: “This m.s. was copied at Kalutara, Ceylon, in 1885 for me. It was not collated for the edition of the text published in the Pali Text Society’s Journal 1884. Rh.D.” Add. MS. 1957 (9).

(2) Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī or Abhidhammatthasamgaha-ṭīkā.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 570×60 mm, ka, 1 to cu, 86 (folio gā numbered twice) + 2 fly-leaves, one at the beginning, one at the end. Add. MS. 1960 (22).

(3) Abhidānapaddipikā sannaya.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 270×60 mm, [ka] to thām, thah. On the underside of the upper wooden cover: sgd/ N.C. Macready (left margin); sgd/ T.W. Rhys Davids (right margin). Add. MS. 923 (10).

(4) Ambaṭṭhasutta vaṇṇanā (Extract).


(5) Bāḷāvatāra.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 360×50 mm, ka to gl. Add. MS. 957 (14).

(6) Bāḷāvatāra sannaya.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 365×50 mm, ka to ŋam. Upper side, left bottom of upper wooden cover: “15/6 63 (?) W.C.M. T.W. Rhys Davids”. Add. MS. 958 (14).

(7) Bodhivamsa.


¹ This must be Dr W.H.D. Rouse, who had given a list of Pāli words (c to ŋ) for the compilation of the PTS’s Pali-English Dictionary. (See ibid., p. vii).
(8) *Brahmajālasutta*, with Sinhala commentary.
Incomplete. Palm-leaves, 510×55 mm, *ka* to *ghi* + 8 fly-leaves at the end.
Two beautifully painted wooden covers. Scott. LL.I.5 (2).

(9) *Brahmajālasutta*.
Pāli text from *ka* to *kho*, Sinhala commentary from *khau* to *ghe*, Sinhala sanne from *ghai* to *jhū*. Palm-leaves, 435×60 mm. Writing completed in 1752 of the Śaka era [1830 A.D.]. MS belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids. Add. MS. 956 (17).

(10) *Brahmajālasūtra sannaya*. 1
Palm-leaves, 435×55 mm, *ka* to *jṟ*. Folio 1, margin decorated with floral designs and human and animal figures. Name of a monk, Sirimānanda, written in ink on folio 1 and folio *jṟ* (end). T.W. Rhys Davids has written the title in Roman script, with an annotation, and signed and dated: Galle. 31 Jan. 1871, on back of folio 1. Add. MS. 955 (17).

(11) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.
Paper, 44 leaves. Add. MS. 935 (8).

(12) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

(13) *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*.

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1 In Sinhala works, Sanskrit loan words are often used instead of the Pāli term. Hence *sūtra, dharma* etc.


(21) Mahāsatipatthānasutta. (See item 34). In two parts: ka to cį: Sinhala translation of Pāli text, cį to jhā: sanne. Palm-leaves, 415×60 mm. Folio numbering letters blackened only up to kho. Bequeathed to the Cambridge University Library by Sir Ellis Hovell Minns. Or. 1734 (17).

(22) Mahāsatipatthānasutta. (See item 34). Two Sinhala sanna, the first containing more exegetical matter. Palm-leaves, 480×55 mm, (1) ka to ci, (2) ci to chah. The second part is placed at the beginning of the manuscript. In numbering folios, the ka series has been omitted. Two wooden covers painted with usual floral designs. Add. MS. 3683 (19).

(23) Mahāvagga [Pāli Mahāvagga]: senāsanakkhanda sannaya etc. Title page: (Rhys Davids’ hand): “Inheritance &c. of property given to Buddhist priests or priesthood, Galle 1871”. Paper, 22 written pages. Pāli texts in Sinhala and Roman scripts. Mahāvagga-senāsanakkhanda (sannaya); Vinayālankāra (sic), ch. XXI; Wiḥāra Vinischaya (sic) (Roman script, Pāli text followed by English translation); on the turning aside of advantage, Pāli muttaka-vinaya (Roman script); Makasajātaka (Sinhala script); Extract from the Mahāvamsa [73.1 to 73.80] (Sinhala script); Mahāvagga; senāsanakkhanda (Sinhala script); tomtom beater’s song (Sinhala script); 2 pages, with seal, “Kachcheri, Anuradhapura”; “Chapters of Narendra-caritāvalokanapradīpika”. Add. MS. 952 (8).

(24) Mahāvamsa. Incomplete. Ends at 100.292 (nİ v2). Palm-leaves, 440×55 mm, ka to ta + one fly-leaf at the end. Following folios are in duplicate: n, chu, chū and tah. Following folios are numbered with three aksaras each: thį, thį, the (one leaf); dįl, dįl, dhe (one leaf). Add. MS. 962 (17).


(27) Milindapaṇhā. Complete. According to the colophon, the text from the Archer’s question to the end is based on “the book brought from Siam”. (Siyamdesato ànitapotthakato issatathassa paṅhato paṭṭhāya pariyosāna-
(28) Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations: declensions, conjugations, nouns.
Palm-leaves, 360×50 mm. Three texts: (1) ka to kām; (2) kaḥ to khaṭ; (3) khā to khe. Colophon in Sinhala (khe r7) means: “Grammar books written for the Government Agent of Puttalam, by the Deputy Chief monk of the Chilaw Pattu of Pitigal Korale. Year sixty-nine”. Upper side of folio 1: (Rhys Davids’ hand): “Written for N.C. Macready Esqr by the priest of the 2nd rank in the Chilaw district of the Puttalam Division of N.W. Province of Ceylon. Written in 1869. Bought after Mr McReady’s death by T.W. Rhys Davids”. Written in the middle: “Akhyata Waranagila” (sic) [Conjugation of verbs] Add. MS. 924 (14).

(29) Petavatthu.

(30) Rājaratnākara.
Pāli gāthās only. Paper, 8 written pages, 203 stanzas (199 in the printed ed.). A list of references to the sources of some of the stanzas of the text is given at the end (p. 8). T.W. Rhys Davids writes at the back of p. 8:

"Rājaratnākara without the sanne. It differs a little (a few verses being omitted and a few added) from the text contained in my other copy. Nov. 1870". Add. MS. 972 (13). See Add. MS. 971 (8): Rājaratnākaraya.

(31) Rasavāhinī.

(32) Raṭhapālasūtra arthavyākhyānaya.
Complete. Palm-leaves, 520×55 mm, ka to ga + one fly-leaf at the end. Folio 1, right margin: sgd/ “T.W. Rhys Davids. C.C.S.” Add. MS. 970 (20).

(33) Samyutta Nikāya.
Complete. Palm-leaves, 620×65 mm, ka to bū + one fly-leaf at the beginning. Folio khām bears the numbering ka as well; from folio ju. Arabic numerals are inscribed in parallel, starting with 1. Arabic numeral 243 in folio bū at the end is not the exact number of the last folio, as two consecutivefolios are numbered the. Folio ka (1), left margin: “This m.s. of the Samyutta was bought for me at Galle in 1884. T.W. Rhys Davids”. Paper label on upper wooden cover: “Add. 1961 Samyutta. Bought from P.T.S. Received Jan. 31, 1887”. Add. 1961 (24).

(34) Satipatthānasutta sannaya.
Complete. Palm-leaves, 490×60 mm, ka to gho. Neatly written. Two plain wooden covers. Scott. LL.5.1.

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1 The same endorsement is found in MS, BN Pāli 359 in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. See Jacqueline Filliozat, Catalogue des manuscrits pâlins des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées, to be published by the PTS in collaboration with the Bibliothèque nationale and the École Française d’Extrême-Orient.
(35) Sigālovādasutta.

(36) Udāna.

(37) Udāna.

(38) Vānsatthappakāsini. Commentary on the Mahāvamsa.

(39) Vibhaṅga.

(40) Vimānavatthu.
Complete. Paper, 72 written pages, interleaved. Colophon (p.72) means: “Thus completed the Vimānavatthu vannanā, done by Ācariya Dhammapāla. Thus completed the Vimānavatthuppakarana”. Title page verso, (Rhys Davids’ hand): “This m.s. was copied in the district of Matara, Ceylon, through the instrumentality of Abraham Mendis &c in 1884 for T.W. Rhys Davids”. Add. MS. 1956 (9).

(41) Visuddhimagga.

(42) Visuddhimagga sannaya.

APPENDIX

LIST OF SINHALA MANUSCRIPTS

(1) Astrological notes. Palm-leaves, irregular folio numbering. Or. 1162.

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1 Atapattu Mudaliyar was the title given to the Interpreter/Translators to the Government Agents of Colombo and Galle under the British administration. (Sinhala Šabdakošaya, Colombo 1937, Vol. I).
(2) Atanagaluvansa (Sinhala prose version of the Pāli Hatthavanagalla vihāravamsa). Palm-leaves, 62 folios. Add. MS. 926 (8).

(3) Bible (Fragmentary Sinhala translation). Palm-leaves, 1 to 117. Add. MS. 3329 (16).

(4) Christian sermon in Sinhala, based on ISAIAS XI:9: “They shall not hurt, nor shall they kill in all my holy mountain; for the earth is filled with the Knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea”. Palm-leaves, 1 to 9. Or. 874 (14).

(5) Đūna paricchedaya (extract from the Pariccheda pota), and Kukkura Jātakaya. Palm-leaves, ka to ci. Or. 766 (16).

(6) Elu Ummadāva (Sinhala version of the Ummagga Jātaka). Palm-leaves, ka to ñahi. Scott. LL.5.17.

(7) Guttila Jātakaya [kaviyaya]. Palm-leaves, 1 to 50. Add. MS. 932 (18).

(8) Kosalabimba vāranāva etc. (Collection of Buddhist tales, including the Jātakas: Kuḍupa, Svarṇākaraṭaka, Serivānīja, Padamānavaka, Silavimamsa, Silānīmamsa, Dahamsoṇda). Palm-leaves, 3 parts, irregular folio numbering. Add. MS. 2596 (20).


(10) Panegyric (2 verses with paraphrase) in honour of Governor Sir Edward Barnes, invoking blessings on him. Palm-leaves, 1 to 2. Add. MS. 339 (2).


(13) Saddharmālaṅkārāya (Extracts) etc.: Svarṇātilakā vastuva, Buddhennyā vastuva, Pādapiṭhikā vastuva + Utpalagandha vastuva + Javanahamsa and Svarṇākarkaṭaka Jātakas. Palm-leaves, ka to īñič. Add. MS. 1003.

(14) Suciloma pretavata etc. (Extracts from the Petavatthu, Saddharmaratnavali etc.: Kavandha pretavata, Matasūra kathāva, Daruvana satdēna vadā kana pretiyagē kathāva (Tale of the peti who gave birth to seven children and ate them), Kāli yakinnagē kathāva, Patipūjikāvangē kathāva, Ubbarī kathāva, Mahākāla upāsakayangē kathāva, Vaira bāṇi kathāva (the tale of hatred), Maduāṅganā nice gama demala dorautvehi bili viḍḍahugē kathāva (the tale of the angler at the Tamil gate of the village named Maduāṅganā), Tiṅkūḍa pretavata, Revatī vata. Palm-leaves, ka to ghà. Scott. LL.3.1.

(15) Sermon in Sinhala based on the Raṭṭhapālasutta. See Majjhima Nīkāya II.82. Palm-leaves, ki to khī. Add. MS. 339 (22).

(16) Siyabasmaldama (Sanskrit Svabhāṣāmālādāma, Sinhala versification of the story of Vijaya, first king of Sri Lanka). Palm-leaves, ka, 1 to gu, 37. Add. MS. 993 (17).

(17) Thūpavamsaya. Palm-leaves, ka to ñū. Or. 898 (19).

(18) Weligama gal sannasa A.D. 1470. (After building the Rājakulavāḍana Vihāra to offer merit to king Sirisaṅgabo Śri Bhuvanekabāhu, the Minister Kalu Parākrama decrees the continuation of the services to the

(19) to (24) Six medical manuscripts: Or. 958 (9), Or. 1163 (9), Or. 1720 (11), Or. 2270 (7), Add. MS. 300 (10), Add. MS. 966 (8).

The following manuscripts in the above list belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids: *Attanagalavamsa* ("1867 A.D. Written at the spot for T.W. Rhys Davids"); *Guttīla Jātakaya* (kāvyaya) (sgd/ T.W. Rhys Davids, Colombo 1872); *Narendracaritāvalokana pradipikā; Rājaratnākaraṇa* ("Anuradhapura, Oct. 1871. Copied from a m.s. at Talāwe Wihāra by Deva Arnolis for T.W. Rhys Davids C.S.").

The *Pansiyanapana Jātakapota* belonged to G.H. Muller, and the *Siyabasamadana* to William Alexander Arneves (?).

Manuscript Scott. LL.3.1 has the title *Vimanvatayi* (Pāli: *Vimānavatthu*) inscribed on the upper side of folio *ka* and at the end of the text (folio *ghā*). But it is really a collection of Buddhist tales taken from the *Petavatthu*, the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* etc.

Items 3 and 4 above are important documents for the study of Christian literature in Sri Lanka and the development of the Sinhala language in that field.

The two wooden covers (*pot kamba*) of the *Thūpavamsaya* (Or. 898) are beautifully painted on the underside with scenes from the Vessantara *Jātaka*, especially the scene where the Bodhisatta gives away his son Jāliya and his daughter Kṛṣṇajinā to the Brahmin Jūjaka.

The medical manuscripts will be analysed in detail in a separate paper on the same lines as the "Sri Lankan medical manuscripts in the Bodleian
PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES XI

SIX PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED, or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. kaddhati “to drag”
2. tiracchānakathā “gossip”
3. pacchābandha “rudder”
4. mātaṅg’araṇṭha “elephant forest”
5. vidha “buckle”
6. setṭhi “dregs”

1. kaḍḍhati “to drag”

PED explains this word as a dialect form which is alleged to equal Skt karṣati. It compares Pkt kaḍḍhāi “to pull, tear”, and khaḍḍā “pit, dug-out”. It also refers to Bloomfield’s article (see below).

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3 See PED, s.v. kaḍḍhati.

Journal of the Pali Text Society, Vol. XVIII, 1993, pp. 149–64
CPD\(^1\) says that okāḍḍhati is a denominative from \(o + kaḍḍha < kaṭṭha < \text{Skt} \ kṛṣṭa\), which is the past participle of √\(kṛṣ\) “to drag”. For the form with \(o\)- it compares Pāli apakaḍḍhati and avakaḍḍhati, and BHS okāṭṭati.

Earlier discussions of kaḍḍhati include the following suggestions:

1) Weber (perhaps for the wrong reason) suggested that the word which he at first read as āṭṭana in Hāla’s Sattasai 109 was to be derived from ākrṣṭa.\(^2\) He mis-quoted\(^3\) Hemacandra IX 187 (where Hemacandra states that kaḍḍhai is one of the six ādesas of the root \(kṛṣ\)). By 1881 Weber had decided\(^4\) to read āḍḍhaṇa, quoting Marāṭhī kāḍhanem in support of his decision.

2) S. Goldschmidt\(^5\) derived kaḍḍhai < ∗kaṭṭhai < ∗kṛṣṭati, without stating specifically that it was a denominative verb.

3) E. Leumann stated\(^6\) that pakaḍḍhijai was the passive of a verb from the past participle passive pakaḍḍha (= prakṛṣṭa) and referred to Goldschmidt and to Hemacandra IX 187, as had Weber already before him.

4) J. Bloch, discussing Marāṭhī kāḍhnem, followed the derivation < kṛṣṭa.\(^1\)

5) Geiger\(^2\) said that kaḍḍhati = ∗kardhati, which he described as a side-form of kāṛṣati, etc. He gave no explanation of the structure of ∗kardh-. It might be taken as an extension in -dh- to kar-, in the belief that kāṛṣ shows an extension in -s-, but there seems to be no evidence for a root kar with the meaning “drag”.

6) Bloomfield\(^3\) suggested a derivation < ∗kṛzd. He presumably saw an extension in -d- to kṛṣ-, cf. Burrow’s suggestions for lūth- and lūd- from lūṣ-, and khet- and hīd- from hēṣ-.\(^4\) Turner, however, said\(^5\) that Bloomfield’s suggestion was phonetically unjustified (presumably because of the unexpected aspiration < \(s + d\)).

7) Lüders\(^6\) gave examples of the change of -ṭt(h)- > -ḍṭ(h)-, but denied\(^7\) the derivation < kṛṣṭa and acquiesced in Bloomfield’s suggestion. He seemed to base his objection on the fact that kaḍḍhati occurs only rarely in canonical texts, the more common forms being based upon kass-. His implication was, therefore, that kaḍḍh- is a non-Eastern form, and he supported this statement by quoting New Indo-Aryan developments from Western languages only. This is, however, to ignore the fact that various forms from kaḍḍh- occur in Jain canonical texts, which would seem to

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\(^1\) See CPD, s.v. okāḍḍhati.
\(^6\) Das Aupāpātika Sūtra, 1883, Index p. 130, s.v. pakaḍḍhijai.
\(^7\) Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons, §§ 151–58.
make the existence of the Eastern form of the word indisputable. Turner, in fact, quoted derivatives from Eastern New Indo-Aryan languages also.

8) Turner\(^1\) stated that the phonetic or analogical replacement of Middle Indo-Aryan -ṭṭh- by -ddḥ- is unexplained. Since there is also evidence for a word *gaddhati, he suggested that, with an alternative -k- and -g-, it is probably non-Aryan. It is not clear why he ignored the other changes of -ṭṭh- > -ddḥ- which Lüders gave.

I would accept the suggestion followed by Leumann and Bloch because of the existence of BHS okattati (this, as Edgerton points out\(^2\) and as Lüders accepts in a footnote,\(^3\) is what the MSS read, with occasional occurrences of -ṭṭh-). This seems to me to suggest a form < -krṣṭa. There are other examples of -ṣṭ- becoming -ṭṭ-, e.g. the spellings ovatṭa and ovutṭa (< -vrṣṭa), and maitta < mṛṣṭa found commonly in Pāli.

The fact that the Pāli canonical preference is for kass- (although kaddh- is not totally avoided, as already noted), and kaddha- is found more commonly as the commentarial gloss, I regard as an example of the phenomenon that I have noted elsewhere\(^4\) — that what one sect regards as canonical another treats as commentarial, and vice versa. I assume, therefore, that texts with both kaddh- and kass- came to Ceylon from mainland India, but the Theravādin reductors generalised one in the canon and the other in the commentaries.

One objection to the view followed by Leumann and Bloch is the infrequency of denominative verbs made from past participles. Most

\(^1\) CDIAL p. 133, s.v. รกัฏdd.
\(^2\) BHSD, s.v. कात्तति.
\(^3\) Lüders, Beob., p. 125 note 3.
I must make it clear that when I write of "denominative" verbs, I mean verbs made from nouns (or adjectives), i.e. the stem of the noun (or adjective) is taken over as a verbal root. They are not necessarily conjugated as denominative verbs would be in Sanskrit, i.e. I do not thereby imply that they are Class X verbs. We can see this from examples of this type of formation in Sanskrit.

We find in Sanskrit both cūṇayati and ghūrnati (and ghūrnayate can be deduced from ghūrnāyamāna) as denominative verbs from past participles of verbs which are no longer used in Sanskrit, although they, and derivatives from them, exist in Middle Indo-Aryan, e.g. (*ghē-?), *ghurati,1 ghulai and gholai = ghūrnati (Hc), gholira (Sattasai 391 and Erz.); (*cf-?), cūraissam, cūriadu (Karpūranañjarī), cf. *cūra.2

2. tiracchānakathā “gossip”

References for tiracchānakathā, and other compounds of tiracchāna, can be found in PTC and in PED, and the word can also be found in the commentaries upon the various canonical texts listed there. To these can be added Pj II 564,5–6 (ad Sn 922): gāmakathāya āvaraye sotam ti tiracchānakathāto sotam āvareyya. This is derived from Nidd I 367,27 foll., which is listed in PTC. It is variously translated: "animal-talk, wrong or childish talk",3 "low conversation",4 "inferior matters",5 "worldly talk",6 "inedifying conversation".7 The last might be thought to be the nearest to, and is perhaps influenced by, Buddhaghosa’s definition at Sv 89,16–17, which see below. To these translations can be added: “aimless talk”,1 “frivolous chatter”,2 and “childish talk”.3

The list of 32 types of tiracchāna-kathā which is given at Nidd I 367,27 foll. also occurs at M III 113,17 foll., but there they are not called tiracchāna-kathā, but kathā hiṁ γamma pothuñjākā anariyā anatthasamhitā, which is another way of saying that tiracchāna-kathā = gāma-kathā. The meaning of gāma-kathā is “village talk, i.e. the sort of talk that goes on in villages, i.e. gossip”, as is made clear by the little snippets given as examples at Ps III 221,20 foll., etc. There the adjective gehasitakathā is used — “household gossip”. When it is said to be one of the five ādīnavas arising from fire,4 we must suppose that a fire leads to useless talk and gossip about it, on the lines of: “Do you remember the night X’s house burned down?” I would suggest that Hare’s translation “tales of animals”5 is way off the mark.

The commentarial explanation aniyānikattā (or -iyy-) saggamokkhamagganām tiracchānahūtā kathā tiracchānakathā (Sv 89,16–17) comes into the “folk etymology” category. Buddhaghosa is here taking tiracchāna in its sense of “crossways”, and is explaining that this type of talk lies crossways, i.e. is an impediment, to the ways to release. It is not specifically condemned for bhikkhus in the Vinaya. The chabbaggiyā bhikkhus are rebuked for making a loud noise with their wooden shoes (Vin I 189,2–3) or for going to the village at the wrong time (Vin IV 165,1–2), rather than for tiracchānakathā. Nevertheless, it is designated as unsuitable (na kho pan’ etam ... tumhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ

1 ČDIAL 4497.
2 ČDIAL 4888.
3 PED, s.v. tiracchāna-kathā.
7 M. Walshe, Thus have I heard, p. 70.
includes the word pacchābandha: so kañcana-mahānāvāya pacchā-
bandho (Be so; Ee reads -ddh-) viya satthu padānapadikam anugāṇchi,
Mp I 182,11. This word is not listed in PED. It is used of something
which follows behind a ship, and presumably means “rudder”. A similar
reference occurs for kañcana-nāvā “golden ship”, which is not listed in
CPD: so kañcana-nāvāya pacchābandho (Ce so; Be and Ee read -ddh-
viya satthāram padānapadikam anugacchati, Th-a III 134,29 = Ap-a
264,24.

It is to be noted that the reading -baddho in the first reference is
that of Ee; Be reads -bandho, whereas in the second reference -baddho is
the reading of Be and Ee; Ce reads -bandho, i.e. Ee consistently reads
-baddho, whereas Be is inconsistent. I think that the noun bandha (or
ābandha) is more likely to be the correct reading “the behind equipment,
the equipment behind”, rather than the past participle baddha (or
ābaddha) “(the thing) tied on behind”.

4. mātaṅg’araṇī “elephant forest”

This collocation of words occurs in two consecutive verses in
Dhp and elsewhere in Pāli:
eko care mātaṅg’araṇī va nāgo (Dhp 329 = M III 154,23* = Vin I
350,10* = Ja III 488,23*) and
appossukko mātaṅg’araṇī va nāgo (Dhp 330 = M III 154,26* = Vin I
350,13* = Ja III 488,26*).

Max Müller1 seems to have omitted mātaṅga in his translation
of Dhp: “let him walk alone ... like an elephant in the forest” and “[let a
man walk alone] ... with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest”.

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Radhakrishnan was inconsistent, translating the first time "walk alone ... like an elephant ... in the forest" but then "let a man walk alone with few wishes like an elephant ... in the elephant forest". Acharya Budharakkhita translates it as "elephant forest" in both verses. Kalupahana similarly translates it as a compound in both verses: "like the elephant in the Matanga forest". Miss Horner translates it as "elephant-jungle" in both verses in both M and Vin.

All these translations have in common the fact that they do not follow, and make no comment upon, the commentarial tradition. Carter and Palihawadana, however, who also translate: "like the elephant in the Mātanga forest", point out that in so doing they are going against the commentary which explains: mātāṅgo araṇṭe va nāgo ti yathā ca "ahāṁ kho ākiṃṇo viharāmi hatthihi hatthikalabhehi hatthicchāpehi chinnaggārī c’ eva tināṇi kāḍāmi, obhaggobhaggāca sākābhāṅgāṃ kāḍāmī, āvilāni ca pāṇiyāni pivāmī, ogāhantassa ca me tināṇa ca hatthiniyo kāyaṃ upanighamsantiyo gacchanti, yan nūṇāham ekko ganamāḥ vāpakaṭṭho vihareyyan" ti evam paticikkhitvā āyaṃ me tena gamanato mātāṅgo ti laddhanāmo, imasmo araṇṭe āyaṃ hatthināgā yūhām pahāya sabhīryapathesu ekko sukham carati, evam pi eko careyyā ti atho, Dhp-a IV 29,16–30,9.

Similarly, Ps IV 206,12 foll. (= Sp 1151,26 foll. = Ja III 489,25 foll.) explains: mātāṅgaraṇṭe va nāgo ti mātāṅgo araṇṭe nāgo va.

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1 S. Radhakrishnan, _The Dhammapada_, London 1952, p. 162.
2 Acharya Budharakkhita, _The Dhammapada_, Kandy 1985, p. 61.
3 David J. Kalupahana, _A Path of Righteousness: Dhammapada_, Lanham 1986, p. 144.
6 ibid., p. 494 note 15.

Carter and Palihawadana justify their rejection of the cty on the grounds that the sandhi of \(-o + a- \rightarrow \tilde{a}-\) seems unusual. They draw attention to two references to the name of a forest named Mātaṅgaraṇṭa connected with the outcaste Mātanga, quoting DPPN as their authority. One of these references is Mil 130,7, where I can see no mention of the outcaste Mātanga, nor does the text seem to justify Malalasekera's statement that Mātaṅgaraṇṭa, which occurs with Daṇḍakārāṇṭa, Mejjharāṇṭa and Kaliṅgāraṇṭa, is the same as Mejjharāṇṭa. These four forests are the same as those at M I 378,20–21, to which DPPN makes no reference, although it does refer to Ps II 615 (= PTS ed. III 88,11), where Mātaṅgaraṇṭa is commented upon. It seems just as likely that Mātanga in this name is a geographical location, and I have considered elsewhere a number of compounds where Matanga (which presumably underlies Mātanga) seems to be a geographical feature. A specific geographical location, however, seems unlikely in the context of the Dhp, since it is not clear why anyone should wander alone or have few desires like an elephant in the Mātaṅgaraṇṭa more than in any other place. If, then, we are dealing with a compound, it is more likely to mean nothing more than "elephant forest", and it would be a synonym of nāgavana which occurs in Dhp 324 and elsewhere in Pāli, and also in one of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts.

It is perhaps worth considering whether the unusual sandhi is sufficient reason for rejecting the cty's explanation. I cannot at the moment quote another example of the sandhi of \(-o + a- \rightarrow \tilde{a}-\) but if the

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1 K.R. Norman, "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies (I)", _JOI_(B), IX, 1960, pp. 268–73 (pp. 271–73) (= CP I, pp. 15–20 [pp. 18–20]).
2 See PTC II, p. 460, s.v. nāgavana.
3 Pillar Edict V(1).
word were a compound, then we should have expected mātāṅgāraṇṇe, and we must assume that the shortening to mātāṅgaraṇñe is metri causa, to avoid -- - in the break in the middle of a Tristubh pāda. If we assume that mātāṅgāraṇñe was an earlier form of the word(s), then we can state that the sandhi of -o + a- > -ā is certainly not unparalleled, e.g. raṭāham (< rato + aham) Sn 461, anuttārayam (anuttaro + ayam) Sn 690, orākāyam (< orako + ayam) Sn 692, and probably vivattacchaddāsi (< vivattacchaddo + asi) Sn 378. There are other examples in Dhp itself: yāayam = yo ayam 56; appassutāyam (appassuto + ayam), 152; and with shortening of the vowel before a double consonant y' assa = yo assa 389.1

To support their translation Carter and Palihawadana quote PDhp 10–11: mātāṃgāraṇṇe, but this is no more conclusive than Pāli mātāṅgaraṇṇa, since it too can be taken in both ways. On the face of it mātāṅgāraṇye in Udāna-v 14.16, which they also quote, is conclusive, because this can be only be taken as a compound. This form of the word cannot be due to the metre, for if the BHS redactor had wished to follow the explanation of the Pāli cītes, then he could have written mātāṅgo 'raṇye, with no change of scansion. A moment's thought, however, shows us that this is not as conclusive as we might wish. If the BHS redactor received mātāṅgāraṇne in his exemplar, but did not have access to the same commentarial tradition as we find in the Pāli cītes, then it is inevitable that he would have taken it as a compound, and "translated" accordingly. Even if he received the same commentarial tradition, it is possible that, being trained in Skt grammar, he would have had the same distaste for the unusual sandhi, and would have rejected this explanation, like Carter and Palihawadana.

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Another reason for the rejection of the commentarial explanation by modern translators is probably because they find it difficult to include two words for “elephant” in the same sentence. As noted above, some of the commentators avoided this problem by assigning the meaning “large” to nāga. We may, however, avoid this problem by assuming that mātāṅga is not the name of a particular elephant as the Dhp-a seems to imply, but a type or breed of elephant, perhaps one coming from the Mataṅga region. The epithet would then give the hearer some idea of the quality of the elephant, as Meenakshi suggests, just as sindhava “coming from Sindh” was used as an epithet of excellent horses. In this connection we should note the collocation of words for “elephant” in: koṇcaṃ kāhiṭi mātāṅga kaviṭo satṭhihāyaḥ, Ja VI 497,2*.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the evidence for the interpretation of mātāṅg’araṇñe in Dhp 329–30 is nor sufficient for us to be able to say decisively whether we are dealing with two separate words or a compound. Much depends upon the value which we place upon the commentarial tradition, and there are many scholars who believe that, although it has long been standard practice to consult the Theravāda commentarial interpretations in order to interpret a difficult passage in an early text, every possible effort should be made to avoid the influence of the traditional commentarial interpretations on their own analysis. I would agree wholeheartedly with the view that commentaries are frequently misleading because they are usually the product of a different social and historical background, and the information they give is sometimes unreliable and occasionally incorrect. I would, however, regard it as perverse to ignore completely all the information they give,
and would rather hope that it might be possible to evaluate commentarial information, and to determine what is likely to be reliable, and what not.

In this particular case, I should like to propose the principle of explicatio difficiler, which states that when two or more explanations are equally possible, preference should be given to the one which involves the greater difficulty. In this particular case, by far the simpler explanation is to take mātānagaraṇa as a compound, which is what the Udāna-v-redactor and all the modern translators I have quoted have done. The Pāli commentarial tradition, however, has adopted the more difficult explanation which involves taken mātāg and araṇa as two separate words, and presuming the existence of the sandhi of -o + a- > -a- (via -ā-, I believe). This sandhi is rare, although well authenticated, and it would seem perverse for the commentarial tradition to have proposed and followed this more difficult explanation, without alternative, unless it was made on good authority.

5. vidha “buckle”

In the Nepali folios of the Vinaya-pitaka recently studied by Professor von Hinüber we find the variants vedha and vēhā for Pāli vīḍha (which is said to mean “buckle”). Taking these together with the readings vīṭha and vīṭha which are found in some oriental editions of the Vinaya, Professor von Hinüber was led to suggest a connection with BHS vēṭhaka. If this is right, then presumably the correct reading is vīṭha or *vēṭha, with the i/e alternation.

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2 See PED, s.v. vidha.
5 aṅgī pamsum khipanti aṅgī setṭhim khipanti aṅgī gomayam khipanti, D III 88,30 = 89,5.
6 setṭhin ti chārikam, Sv 869,24.

This word is not listed in PED. It occurs in a list of things which are said in the Aggaṇaṇa-sutta (§ 16) to have been thrown at those indulging in methuna. Buddhaghosa explained it as ashes.

It is to be derived < Skt *śiṣṭ < śis “to remain”, and means “remainder, dregs”. One might argue that Buddhaghosa’s gloss is justifiable, as ashes are the remainder from a fire, but the usage in New

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1 K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies I”, JOL(B) IX, 1960, pp. 268–73 (CP I, pp. 15–20 [p. 16]).
3 K.R. Norman, Elders’ Verses I, p. 154 (ad Th 143).
4 aṅgī pamsum khipanti aṅgī setṭhim khipanti aṅgī gomayam khipanti, D III 88,30 = 89,5.
5 setṭhin ti chārikam, Sv 869,24.
Indo-Aryan suggests that it is liquid dregs which are intended. If this is so, then Buddhaghosa was merely guessing the meaning from the context, perhaps with the knowledge of a marriage ceremony where ashes were thrown.

A CITATION FROM THE *BUDDHAVAMSA OF THE ABHAYAGIRI SCHOOL

It is well known that the Theravādins of Sri Lanka were divided into two main rival branches, the Mahāvihāravāsins ("Residents of the Great Monastery") and the Abhayagirivāsins ("Residents of Abhayagiri Monastery"), and that after more than a thousand years of contention for legitimacy and patronage, the former won out, and the latter disappeared. The Theravādins that we know today is the Mahāvihāra tradition, as settled in the main by the prolific commentator Buddhaghosa in the 5th century; the later Pāli literature of the sub-commentaries (ṭīkās) and manuals, although subject to a variety of influences, also belongs to the Mahāvihāravāsin lineage.

No undisputed Abhayagiri text has survived. The Pāli Saddhammopāyana and the Questions of Upāli and Vimuttimagga.


2 Translated into English by Ann Hazelwood, JPTS XII, pp. 65–168.


1 See CDIAL 12480.
both in Chinese translation, have been ascribed to the school, but there
is some debate on the subject. In my view there is sufficient evidence
to conclude that the last named was not a Mahāvihāra text, and that it
was either composed by or (if written in India) adopted and transmitted
by monks of the Abhayagiri lineage. I will present this evidence in a
separate article.2

The Abhayagiri monks were broad-minded in outlook; they
maintained contacts with foreign Buddhist schools, and themselves
established bases in India and in South-east Asia. An inscription from
Ratu Baka in central Java, dated 792 A.C., refers to the Abhayagiri-
vihāra of the Sinhalese. The presence in North India of the Abhayagiri,
or of an affiliated Sthavira tradition with similar views, is shown by
the fact that a chapter of the *Vimuttimagga was translated into Tibetan
around 800 A.C., and that lengthy sections were cited by Daśabalaśrimitra, a North Indian scholar, probably in the 12th century,
in a work preserved only in Tibetan translation.3 A similar tradition is

Sanskṛtāṃśaṃkṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrimitra", in Buddhist Studies Review,
Vol. 4, no. 1, 1987, pp. 7–8 and 16.
1 See K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature (Jan Gonda [ed.], A History of Indian
Literature, Vol. VII, fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 29 and accompanying note,
and pp. 159–60. The most recent contribution to the debate is K.R. Norman’s
“The Literary Works of the Abhayagirivihārins”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), Kalyāna-
mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume, Delhi, 1991, pp. 41–
50, which gives an extensive bibliography.
2 “*Vimuttimagga and Abhayagiri: The Form-aggregate according to the
Sanskṛtāṃśaṃkṛta-viniścaya” (forthcoming), in which I will also discuss the
date of the Chinese translation and the name of the translator, about which there
has been considerable confusion.
3 See Skilling (op. cit., p. 16) for references. Some of the shorter passages cited
by Daśabalaśrimitra “from the Āgama of the Ārya Sthaviranikāya”, which are
not yet traced in Pāli (Skilling pp. 7–8), may possibly be drawn from non-
Mahāvihāra — that is North Indian Sthavira or Abhayagiri — sources. An
Abhayagiri is referred to in the concluding Khmer portion of a Vajrayānist
Sanskrit inscription, dated 1066 A.C., from the vicinity of Nakhon Ratchasima
possibly attested in South-east Asia at an earlier date, since
*Sūmghabhara, who translated the *Vimuttimagga into Chinese in the
second decade of the 6th century, was from Funan, but whether he
obtained the text there, from India, or in China itself is not clear.

We cannot say with absolute certainty that the scriptures of
the Abhayagiri were transmitted in Pāli, although this is most probable,
since there is evidence that the two branches shared the same Piṭakas,
with a few relatively minor differences.1 Had the Abhayagirivāsins
adopted a Sanskrit *Tipiṭaka, their rivals would surely have been quick
to point this out; but no such accusation is found in available literature.
The disputes between the school and the Mahāvihāra described in the
Pāli chronicles, although frequently the result of a struggle for royal
patronage, are usually in some way connected with Vinaya; although
the Mahāvihāra accuses the Abhayagiri of harbouring “heresy” —that is,
leaning towards the Mahāyāna — this seems more of a blanket charge
than the real cause of contention. The kings of Sri Lanka made periodic
attempts to reunite the two groups, which should have been impossible
had they adhered to completely different Vinayas, and the points upon
which the two branches differ, as described in the *tikās, are significant
only in a Theravādin context.

in Central Siam: see Chirapat Prapandvidya, “The Sab Bāk Inscription: Evidence
of an Early Vajrayāna Buddhist Presence in Thailand”, in The Journal of the
location of this Abhayagiri (note that the inscription names only an “Abhaya
Mountain” (giri), where images of “Buddhalokeśvāra” and others were installed
and later renovated, and not a vihāra) is unknown, and it is not clear whether the
toponym should be related to the Abhayagiri school of Sri Lanka.
1 See Bâteau, Les sectes bouddhiques, pp. 242–43, and Heinz Beckert,
“Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna”, in German
Scholars on India, Vol. 1, Varanasi, 1971, p. 11.
Even the overseas branches of the Abhayagiri would likely have kept their sacred canon in Pāli (as do the Mahāvihāravāsins to this day), although they may have composed some treatises in Sanskrit. Examples of scriptures of several Buddhist schools have been preserved in a number of Prakrit dialects, both in manuscript and inscription, and even Sanskrit texts such as the Rāmānuja-saṅgārāhakāra or the works of Candrakīrti and Śāntideva cite Prakrit passages in the original. Thus, although a trend towards Sanskritization was certainly evident in some schools, notably the Sarvastivādins, Mūlasarvastivādins, and later Dhamaguptakas, there was no compulsion to adopt Sanskrit.

A tantalizing brief citation of an Abhayagiri text is preserved in Tibetan translation in the Tarkajvalā of Bhavya.1 The Tarkajvalā is Bhavya’s commentary on his own Madhyamakahādaya-kārikās; only the latter is extant in Sanskrit.2 As is all too often the case, the exact dates of Bhavya — who is also known as Bhāvaviveka and Bhāviveka — are not known. Ruegg suggests ca. 500–70, with a question mark.1 Tārānātha states that he was born in South India, where he received pravrajya and mastered the Tripiṭaka.2

Chapter 4 of the Tarkajvalā, Śrāvakatattvāvatāra, is a mine of precious information on the tenets and scriptures of the Śrāvaka schools.3 The Abhayagiri citation occurs in the context of Bhavya’s response to the contention that monks should not honour or worship a layman, that is, an unordained bodhisattva. He states that “in the texts of most of the eighteen schools (nīkāya), it is clearly stated that a bodhisattva should be honoured” and goes on to cite examples from the scriptures of seventeen schools.4 Of these, the Abhayagiri citation is seventh.

Bhavya describes the work from which he draws his citation as ‘phags pa gnas brtan pa ’jigs med ri la gnas pa rnams kyi sans rgyas kyi rigs khri ’nis ston: “the Twelve-thousand Lineage of the Buddhas of the Arya Sthavira Abhayagiriśins”. The title consists of two elements:

1 Derge (= D) 3856, dbu ma, dza, 177a7–b2; Peking (= Q) 5256 in D.T. Suzuki (ed.), The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, Vol. 96, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957, bstan ’gyur, mdo ’grel, dbu ma, dza, 192b1–6. I am grateful to Dr. Josef Kolmaš of the Oriental Institute, Prague, for providing photo-copies of the relevant sections of the Derge.

2 For this work, and the thought and work of Bhavya in general, see David Seyfort Ruegg, The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy In India (Jan Gonda [ed.], A History of Indian Literature, Vol. VII, fasc. 1), Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 61–66; see also the same author’s “Towards a Chronology of the Madhyamaka School”, in L.A. Hercus et al. (edd.), Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday, [Canberra, 1982] Delhi, 1984, pp. 508, 512–13. Chapter 1 (verses, with Sanskrit, and commentary) has been translated by V.V. Gokhale, “Madhyamakahādaya-kārikā Tarkajvalā, Chapter 1”, in Chr. Lindtner (ed.), Miscellanea Buddhica (Indiske Studier V), Copenhagen, 1985, pp. 76–107. Part of Chapter 3 has been edited and translated by Shotaro Iida, Reason and Emptness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism, Tokyo, 1980.

3 Ňan thos kyi de kho na ’nīd la ’jug pa, D 144a7 foll.; Q 157b2–218b8 = 123 folio sides. Of these, only about 17 folios have been translated and studied in the form of the independent treatise on the schools extracted from the Tarkajvalā, bampo 13 (D 148a4–155b6; Q 161a3–169a5 = Q 5640, Vol. 127, ’dul ba’i ’grel pa, u, 177a1–187b2): see André Bareau, “Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques attribués à Vasumitra, Bhavya, et Vinitadeva”, Ile partie, Journal Asiatique, 1956, fasc. 2, pp. 167–91.

4 D 175a7, Q 190a6, sde pa bco brgyad phal chen gyi ’gzhun las kyan 1 byan chub sems dpa’i phya’gya bar rab tu grags te. The section runs from D 175a7–179b1, Q 190a6–195a2. In a forthcoming article entitled “Bhavya’s Citations from the Scriptures of the ’Eighteen Schools’” I will study this section.
sans rgyas kyi rigs and khri ŋis ston. Sans rgyas = Buddha (plus kyi, to make the genitive); rigs translates a number of Sanskrit terms, such as kula, gotra, jāti, varṇa, vanśa, nihāya. On the basis of the (admittedly brief) context and Pāli usage, *Buddhavamsa seems a likely equivalent.1 The second element, khri ŋis ston, is a number, 12000 = dvādasa-sahassa. The title as a whole may be somewhat tentatively rendered into Pāli as *Dvādasa-sahassa-buddhavamsa.

A question arises: does the figure 12000 refer to the number of Buddhas, or to the size of the text, measured in ślokas? In either case, the Pāli or Sanskrit title would have been the same. In the former case, one would rather expect the translation to read sans rgyas khri ŋis ston gi rigs, “the lineage or succession of 12000 Buddhas” (but the translators, faced with a brief citation from an unfamiliar text, might have failed to understand the title). While I have not found any references to a group of 12000 Buddhas in the Mahāvihāra texts, the Abhayagiri tradition may have been different. If the latter is the case, the translation may be compared with the Tibetan titles of Prajñāpāramitā texts: the Aṣṭādaśāsāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, for example, is rendered as Šes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri bṛgyad ston pa.

I have not been able to trace the verses, or any similar verses, in the Buddhavamsa of the Mahāvihāravāsins. They thus seem to come from a uniquely Abhayagirivāsin text. The brevity does not offer us much information about the tenets of the school. We learn that it accepted ten perfections (pārami); these are not named in the citation, but it is likely that the broader Sthavira tradition agreed on the subject, since the list of the non-Mahāvihārin *Vimuttimagga (pp. 188–89) agrees with that of the Mahāvihāravāsins. The citation adds to our meagre knowledge of Abhayagiri literature, and gives us an example of

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1  The chapter in question was translated by Vidyākaraprabha and dPal brtsegs. While the origin of the Indian manuscript, or indeed of any other texts translated in the period, is not stated, it is clear that Tibet’s religious relations were with Kashmir and Magadha, from which most of the translators hailed. That the text would have been obtained from Lanka or South India is unlikely. Why the text was selected for translation is not known; I assume that it was chosen by the Indian translator(s) because it was highly regarded in their homeland, which again points to North India.

2  For a note on the quality of the Tibetan translation of the Tarkajālá, see V.V. Gokhale, pp. 76–77. I am grateful to Paul Harrison for reading the draft of this article, and making perspicacious suggestions.
Peter Skilling

1. "The Buddha’s son, the bodhisatta, should be honoured by all the world (loka): [he is] limitless in wisdom (paññā), virtue (sīla), and the wisdom of liberation (paññāvimutti).

2. Donning the suit of great armour (sannāha) he attains inconceivable (acinteyya) power; fulfilling the ten perfections (pārami), he realizes the dhammas of a Buddha.

3. All the world (loka) should pay homage to [the bodhisatta], shrine (cetiya) for all the world; there is no [member of the] community (sangha) who equals him in wisdom, virtue, or concentration (paññā, sīla, samādhi).

4. With the exception of the omniscient (sabbaññu) Buddha(s), [in] the world including the gods there is no one who should not honour [the bodhisatta] who is honoured by all the world."

The section as a whole concludes: "Therefore, since it is proven that according to the scriptures of the eighteen schools bodhisattvas who have generated the initial aspiration [to Buddhahood], etc., are to be honoured, it is to be known that the Mahāyāna is included within (antargata) the eighteen schools".1

The three-fold division of the Theravādins of Sri Lanka into Mahāvihāravāsins, Abhayagirivāsins, and Jetavanīyas was well-known in India, although Bhavya himself does not refer to it.2 That he does not cite the scriptures of the other two schools may simply indicate that he did not have access to them, or that he deemed the Abhayagiriśins to be representative of the Theras as a whole, and thus felt that a single citation sufficed. The Buddhavamsa and the Jātakanidāna of the Mahāvihāravāsins may in fact be cited to support Bhavya’s case. In the Sumedhakathā, after the bodhisatta as Sumedha has stretched himself out in the mud so that Dipaṅkara may walk over him without dirtying his feet, we read3:

Dipaṅkaradasabalo ca bodhisattam mahāsattam pasamsitvā aṭṭhahi pupphamutthihī pūjetvā padakkhinam katvā pakkāmi; te pi catusatasahassā kīnāsava bodhisattam puppehe ca gandhehi ca pūjetvā padakkhinam katvā pakkamiṃsu; sadevamamussa pana tath’ eva pūjetvā vanditvā pakkamiṃsu.

"Dipaṅkara of the Ten Powers commended the Bodhisatta, the Great Being, honoured him with eight handfuls of flowers, circled him respectfully, and departed. The four hundred thousand [arhats] who had destroyed the cankers also honoured the Bodhisatta with flowers and


2 See the lists given by Barea, Les sectes bouddhiques, pp. 24–26.

perfumes, circled him respectfully, and departed. Gods and men as well honoured and worshipped him then and there, and departed.

In this passage, the Buddha Dipaṅkara himself honours the Bodhisattva, who is a layman, a brahman ascetic, as do the arhat monks. In this the *Buddhavamsa* and Jātakaniḍāṇa of the Mahāvihāravāsins go farther than the *Buddhavamsa* of the Abhayagirivāsins, since v. 4 of Bhavya’s citation excludes the Buddha from the need to honour the bodhisattva. This is the text of the commentary, which dates in this form to the 5th century. A verse from the *Buddhavamsa* itself, which should go back some centuries earlier, gives a simpler account:

\[
ye tatth’ āṣum jinaputtā padakkhināṃ akamṣu maṃ
devā manussā asurā ca abhivādetvāna pakpakum
\]

Those Victor’s sons [the arhats] present there paid their respects to me; the gods, humans, and asuras,\(^2\) having honoured me, departed.

Here only the arhat monks (jinaputtā) pay respect to the lay Bodhisattva; it is not stated that Dipaṅkara does so. Thus the *Buddhavamsa*, its commentary, and the Jātakaniḍāṇa may be cited in support of Bhavya.

Appendix: Tibetan text

1. saṅs rgyas sras po byaṅ chub sems/
   'jig rten kun gyis phyag bgyi’o/

---

1 v. 76 of the *Buddhavamsa*; v. 86 of the Jātakaniḍāṇa is similar.
2 Humans, nāgas, and gandhabbas (narā nāgā ca gandhabbā) according to the Jātakaniḍāṇa.

---

2. go cha chen po’i go bgos nas/
   bsam gyis mi khyab dbaṅ thob ciṅ/
   pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs gyur nas/
   saṅs rgyaschos mams mīṅ gnor pa//

3. ’jig rten kun gyis mchod rten la/
   ’jig rten kun gyis phyang bgyi’o/
   šes rab tshul khrims tīṅ ’dzin gyi\(^3\)//
   de daṅ mīṅ pa’i dge ’dun med//

4. ’jig rten kun gyis phyang bgyis pa//
   saṅs rgyas kun mkhyen ma gtiṅ’ pa’i//
   lha daṅ bcas pa’i ’jig rten ni/
   ’gas kṣaṅ phyag mi bya ba min//

žes ’phags pa gnas brtan pa ’jigs med ri la gnas pa mams kyi saṅs rgyas kyi rigs khri nīs ston las ’don to//

Bangkok

Peter Skilling

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1 Dag D, bdag Q. The latter, “self, lord, master (adhipati, ātman, pati)”, seems unlikely in combination with paṅhā, sila, and paṅhāvimuttu; I have therefore followed D, dag, which simply indicates the plural.
2 Gyis (instrumental) D; gyi (genitive) Q.
3 Gyī (genitive) D; gyis (instrumental) Q.
4 Gyis (instrumental) D; gyi (genitive) Q.
5 Gtogs D; rtogs Q.
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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

Professor Steven Collins,
Dept of South Asian Languages,
University of Chicago,
Foster Hall,
1130 East 59th Street,
Chicago, IL 60637,
U.S.A.

Professor Charles Hallisey,
Harvard University,
Committee on the Study of Religion,
Phillips Brook House, 3rd Floor,
Cambridge,
Massachusetts 02138,
U.S.A.

Dr Jinadasa Liyanaratne,
31 rue de Séquigny,
F-91700 Ste.-Geneviève-des-Bois,
France.

K.R. Norman,
6, Huttles Green,
Shepreth,
Royston,
Herts SG8 6PR.

Peter Skilling,
49/20 Soi Ruam Rudee 3,
Ploenchit,
Bangkok 10330,
Thailand.
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