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

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

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

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

Pāli MSS. are kept in nine different collections:

1. Deposited collection
There is a series of MSS. placed temporarily in the Library and not strictly in its possession: a summary catalogue is given under the shelfmark Dep. Stol. on revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993.
2. **MS. Asiat. Misc.**
3. **MS. Burmese**
   See under 6. MS. Pali
   Collections of the Indian Institute, Oxford
5. **MS. Ouseley**
   For Ouseley collection A. D. 1844, see
   —Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript works in various oriental
     languages collected by Sir William Ouseley, London 1831
   —S.C. vol IV 1897, p. 671 under n°23083 308 and p. 673 under
     n°23190 415-416
     n°23191 417
     n°23192 418
6. **MS. Pali**
   For Pali collection, see
   —S.C. vol V 1905 p. 928, accessions 1844 formerly belonging to
     Ouseley collection (I have selected the MSS. which are) really in
     Pāli under
     n°30900a = MS. Pali a. 1 (Kammavācā)
     n°30900b = MS. Pali a. 2 (do)
     n°30900c = MS. Pali a. 3 (do)
     n°30900g = MS. Pali a. 8 (do)
     n°30900h = MS. Pali a. 9 (do)
     n°30900i = MS. Pali a. 10 (Samanta Pāśādikā)
     n°30900j = MS. Pali a. 11 (do)
     n°30900k = MS. Pali a. 12(R) (Vimatinodani)
     n°30900m = MS. Pali a. 14(R) (Temi Jātaka)
     n°30900o = MS. Pali a. 16 (Atthasāliṇī)
     n°30900p = MS. Pali a. 17 (Dhātukathā)
     n°30900q = MS. Pali a. 19 (R) (Saddassāratthajāliṇī)
     n°30900r = MS. Pali a. 20 see n° 31294, below
     n°30900s = MS. Pali a. 21 (R) (Vessantara Jātaka)

     n°30900t = MS. Pali a. 22
     n°30900u = MS. Pali a. 23
     n°30900v = MS. Pali a. 24
     n°30900w = MS. Pali a. 25
     n°30900x = MS. Pali b. 2(R) (Janananda)
     n°30900z = MS. Pali b. 5

   For the other Burmese, Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese MSS.
   collections, see
   —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 32 (corrections p. xii), accessions 1890-91 under
     n°31294 = MS. Pali a. 20(R) (Comm. on Suttapitaka)
     n°31295 = MS. Pali a. 38(R) (fragment of Bahudhātukasutta, &c.) olim
       MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)
     n°31296 = MS. Pali b. 15(R) (Abhidhammatthasangaha)
     n°31297 = MS. Pali b. 16(R) (Sāvatthi nidāna)
     n°31298 = MS. Pali b. 17(R) (Dhammuddesakathā) olim
       MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)
     n°31299 = MS. Pali b. 19(R) (Suttas, fragm.)
     n°31301 = MS. Pali b. 18(R) (Pāli and Sinhalese)
     n°31302 = MS. Sanskr. c. 122(R) (medical, Sanskrit and Sinhalese)
     n°31304 = MS. Sanskr. c. 125(R) (Vaidyālaṅkāra, Sanskrit and Pāli)
       —S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 56, accessions 1892 under
     n°31482 = MS. Pali b. 7 (Jātaka)
     n°31483 = MS. Pali e. 2
     n°31484 = MS. Pali e. 3
     n°31485 = MS. Pali e. 4
     n°31486 = MS. Pali e. 5
       —S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 78-79, (corrections p. xvi), accessions 1893
         under
     n°31602 = MS. Pali a. 33 (Anuvannanā of the Pātimokkhā) (!) olim
       MS. Burm. a. 3
       —S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 144-45, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions
         1896 under
n°32355 = MS. Burm. a. 4(R) (Nemi-jātaka)
n°32356 = MS. Pali g. 1(R) (extracts from the Tripiṭaka) olim
    MS. Burm. g. 1(R)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 160, accessions 1897 under
n°32537 = MS. Pali a. 32(R)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 175, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions 1896 under
n°32596 = MS. Pali a. 34 (Kammavācā)
n°32597 = MS. Pali a. 35 (do., on ivory)
n°32598 = MS. Pali a. 36 (do.)
n°32599 = MS. Pali a. 37 (do.)
n°32600 = MS. Pali b. 10(R) (Vidhurajātaka)
n°32601 = MS. Pali b. 11 (Mahosathajātaka-vatthu)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 209, accessions 1900 under
n°32925 = MS. Pali b. 12
n°32926 see n°32356, above
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 231, accessions 1902 under
n°33176 = MS. Pali a. 39(R)
n°33177 = MS. Pali b. 13(R)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 245, accessions 1903 under
n°33358 = MS. Pali a. 40
n°33359 = MS. Pali a. 41
n°33360 = MS. Pali a. 42
n°33362 = MS. Pali a. 44
n°33363 = MS. Pali a. 45
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 257, accessions 1904 under
n°33510 = MS. Pali b. 14 (Satipatṭhānasutta)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 306, accessions 1908 under
n°34170 = MS. Sinh. a. 4 (Satipatṭhānasutta)
n°34172 = MS. Sinh. b. 4(R) (Parābhava-sutta)
—S. C. vol VI, 1924 p. 324, accessions 1909 under
n°34688 = MS. Pali a. 46(R)

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

7. MS. Sanskrit
See under 6.

8. MS. Sinhalese
See under 6.

9. MS. Wilson
Wilson MSS., A. D. 1842 (we give in bold, actual shelf-marks as stated
in this catalogue) see:
—Aufeicht Th. Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscritorum,
    Oxford 1864 p. 363-64 and p. 374
—S. C. 1897, p. 644 under
n°22162. 51 = Quarto Series of Catalogues viii (Sanskrit) p. 363
    (Pāli-Burmese Lexicon)

n°22165. 54 = Quarto Series p. 364 (Pāli-Hindustāni lexicon)
n°22166. 55 = " p. 364 (Pāli-Burmese Jātaka, &c.)
n°22167. 56 = " p. 364 (Abhidhammapiṭaka, in Pāli and Burmese)
n°22415. 304 = " p. 374 (copy of n° 22165 above)

As a by-product of their researches, a number of celebrated
scholars attempted to identify and classify the Pāli manuscripts. They
produced tentative listings which were very incomplete. According to
Frankfurter and Childers 1880, Frankfurter 1882 and those who
followed them: Pe Maung Tin 1925 & Pearson 1971, there are only 34
Pāli manuscripts in the Bodleian. Recently my colleague Dr Jinadasa
Liyaranatne has drawn my attention to a number of Pāli items included in
the listing of the Sinhalese collection and encouraged me to describe
these hitherto unidentified works (Liyaranatne 1991 & 1992). Some of
the choicer items I describe here were included in a summer exhibition at the Bodleian Library. Following the leaflet entitled Catalogue of the Summer Exhibition of Important Recent Acquisitions, 19 June to 26 August 1995 issued in connection with the exhibition, we may list these items: n° 29 Abhidhamma MS. Asiat. misc. a. 34(R); n°30 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 128; n°31 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 109; n°32 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 103; n°33 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 114; n°34 Sinhalese alphabet MS. Pāli a. 38(R); n°36 Upāsakajānālawarapāli MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R); n°37 Phra Malai Dep. Stol. 111; n°38 Brahmajālasutta MS. Pāli a. 27(R).

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Adrian D. S. Roberts, the Keeper of Oriental books, Bodleian Library, who offered all facilities for the consultation of MSS. and gave his consent for the publication of this catalogue, kindly translating my French into English and improving my computer print-out survey, at a time when few persons in Europe are prepared to concern themselves with the care and proper listing of Pāli source material.
My warmest thanks go to Beatrice Chrystall, Dr. Sally Cutler-Mellick, Kate Crosby, Dr. Gillian Evison and Andrew Skilton for generously giving guidance.

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

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

Abbreviations & Bibliography

**Aufrecht 1864** Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus codicum sanscritorum*, Oxford, 1864


**CPD** A Critical Pāli Dictionary, begun by V. Trenckner, revised, continued and edited by Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Hans Hendriksen. Epilegomena to vol 1, by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen 1948, pp. 37*-69*

**EFEO DATA** is the Data base for consultation in Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 22 Avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris (FRANCE)

**Frankfurter & Childers 1880** Classified List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library [Manuscript handlist referenced Z. Fol. 1c, kept in the Oriental reading Room, Bodleian Library], Oxford, December 1880. [The Mss. marked + have been described by the late Professor Childers and his description has been entered verbally in the catalogue, offering some complementary details to the published list. Large in-fol. bound in black, ruled paper, Queen Victoria watermarks, Cansell 1844, fol. 9 written on recto only, 30 lines, described in English.

**Frankfurter 1882** O. Frankfurter, "List of Pali manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford", *JPPTS*, 1882, pp. 30-31

**JBRS Journal of the Burma Research Society**

**JPPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society**


**Ouseley 1831** Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript works in various oriental languages collected by Sir William Ouseley, London 1831 pp. 20, 24

**Pearson 1971** Oriental manuscripts in Europe and North America (Bibliotheca Asiatica 7) Zug, 1971


**PTS Pali Text Society**

**S.C. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ... with references to the Oriental and other Manuscripts**, compiled by F. Madan, Oxford 1895-1953
BODL. Dep. Stol. 103

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Ivory large plates; foll. 11 (ka-kam); 540 x 98mm; 5 lines, 30 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; brown lacquered edges, very fine gilded and red lacquered margins and 2 foll. decorations; 2 red lacquered wooden covers inside, outside decorated in a fine glass-inlaid work hman-zi shwei-chā in relief-moulded lacquer thavō technique with floral motifs.

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 109

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Ivory plates; foll. 15 (ka-khi); 535 x 67mm; 4 lines, 26 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 485 mm; numb. Burmese letters; brown lacquered edges, very fine gilded and red lacquered margins decorations; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red, wrapped in a traditional diamond shaped motif dark red and white cloth made of cotton, long plaited cord and attached a 17cm long copper label inscribed in Burmese.

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 111

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikkāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammamātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna
4. Sahassaneyya
5. Māleyya (in Siamese)

BODL. Dep. Stol. 112

1. [Abhidhammamātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna
2. [Sahassaneyya]—Paramatthapakaraṇa
3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

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

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 113

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikkāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammamātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga;

---

Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. [Sahassaneyya]
3. Māleyya (in Siamese)
Folding book, off-white khoi paper; 50 folds (not numbered); 655 x 140mm; 5 lines, 53 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink & in gold; Kham script; 17 paired ill. in the margins, 280 x 180 to 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. Some insect damage. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)
No date (19th c.)—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 114
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 650 x 150mm; 6 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 570 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine gilded and red painted decorations, fol 1a illustrating 2 scenes of the Vessantarajātaka (Vessantara leaving his palace for the hermit life is shown with his wife and their 2 children on a chariot, horse and 2 attendants; then follows the scene in which the 2 children are handed over to Jiūjaka); fol 16b illustrating scenes of Cetuttapabhātuṁ: prāñ krū; 2 gilded and red lacquered wooden covers, fine decorations on the outside.
Date: BS. 1296 = 1934 A.D.—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 128
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth or thick khoi paper?, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 9 (ka-[ko]); 540 x 102mm; 5 lines, 24 char., old square Burmese large script, 465 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers, 1st and last foll. black lacquered and gilded; fol 12a, Burmese colophon. Some foll. damaged.
Date in Burmese language in the colophon—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 129
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 10 (ka-[ko]); 500 x 82mm; 5 lines, 25 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, unusual punctuation; 460 mm; no numb.; no covers, 1st and last foll. red lacquered, silvered, decorated with red and gilded motifs; 1st fol, margins damaged but text complete.
No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 196
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 572 x 132mm; 6 lines, 38 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 542 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside carved into a frame with in addition a fine work of relief-moulded thayō with glass-inlay hman-zi shwei-chā decoration. Sumptuously produced.
No date—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 197
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (kha-gi); 525 x 95mm; 5 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside decorated in gold and red; colophon on 1st and last plates in red and gilded writing, large round Burmese script.
Jacqueline Filliozat

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

**BODL. Dep. Stol. 198**

*Kammavācā* CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

**BODL. Dep. Stol. 199**

*Kammavācā* CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

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

1. *[Abhidhammatānikā]* Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. Māleyya (in Siamese)
3. *[Sa]hassaneyya*

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered, in pencil European figures 1-199); 665 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 7 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

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

1. *[Abhidhammatānikā]* Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 50 folds (not numbered); 665 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 295 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered and green covers, brown edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

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

1. *[Abhidhammatānikā]* Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. *[Sahassaneyya]* fragment
3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

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

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

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

1. *[Abhidhammatānikā]* Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
3. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
4. Māleyya (in Siamese)
5. [Parītta] Mahākassapabojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVII); Mahāmoggallānabojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVIII); Mahācundaṭthera-bojjhaṅga CPD 2.9.1(XIX)

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Folding book, white khoi paper written on both sides; folds 17 (no numbering); 570 x 92mm; 5 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script in black ink, 470 mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, carved with fine floral motifs painted in black, red and gold colours. Insect damage, many holes, but text legible.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 18(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 19 (ka-khū mixed); 560 x 50mm; 5 lines, 45 char. large Laotian Tham script, 435 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, decorated in black lacquer with floral motifs painted in red and yellow colours.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 19(R)
Kammavācā Pāli-Laotian nissaya CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 79 ("a"- up to "la" and "am", then: ka, kā, ki, kī... khai); 615 x 60mm; 5 lines, 60 char. large Laotian Tham script, 510 mm; numb. Tham letters; red lacquered and gilded edges; 2 wooden covers red lacquered inside, black lacquered outside, gilded and decorated with floral motifs painted in black.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 20(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 20 (from "a" to "o" + ka, kha, ga, gha... etc. up to "ba"); 578 x 52mm; 5 lines, 55 char. large Laotian Tham script, 495 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 wooden covers gilded on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 21(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (ga-ghi); 580 x 61mm; 5 lines, 56 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; red lacquered then gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold with floral motifs, inside black lacquered.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 22(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (1-26); 532 x 60mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 450 mm; numb. name of figures written in Tham letters up to "dasa", then 11 up to 26 in Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered
wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold and green with floral motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R)
1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract, CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract, CPD. 2.1
3. Sahasanneya
4. [Abhidhammamātikā] Dhammasaṅgāni; Vibhaṅga; Dhūtukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā- paṭṭhāna
5. Māleyya (in Siamese)
Folding book, off-white khoi paper; 49 folds (not numbered); 660 x 142mm; 5 lines, 30-35 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 175mm; 2 brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)
No date (19th c.)—Purchased from R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-kho); 590 x 55mm; 4 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 27(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka, kha, ga, gha ... dha); 562 x 60mm; 5 lines, 48 char. large Laotian Tham script, 485 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 gilded wooden covers, painted in black, red, gold and brown with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (no numbering); 595 x 60mm; 5 lines, 56 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 550 mm; black lacquered and gilded edges, 2 wooden covers, black lacquered, gilded and painted in black with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993
BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 30(R)
Kammavācā  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 19 (1-15); 620 x 65mm; 5 lines, 80 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 520 mm; numb. Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 31(R)
Kammavācā fragment  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (kha-khu); 600 x 58mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs, inside plain black lacquered.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 32(R)
Kammavācā  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-khe); 585 x 60mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 465 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded and paint in black with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 33(R)
Kammavācā  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 17 (1-16); 595 x 62mm; 5 lines, 45 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 dark brown lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 34(R)
[Abhidhammamātikā] Pāli-Laotian nissaya
Palm-leaves; foll. 8 (1-7); 550 x 52mm; 5 lines, 82 char. small Laotian Tham script, 500 mm; numb. Laotian figures; red lacquered and gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 35(R)
Kammavācā  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (ka-khē); 585 x 58mm; 5 lines, 36 char. large Laotian Tham script, 460 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only.
No date (19th century)—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 36(R)
Kammavācā  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka, kha, ga, gha...da / 1-18); 560 x 52mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters and Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded floral motifs on the outside only.
Date: BS. 1147? = 1785 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 37(R)
Kammavācā fragment  CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka missing, khā-gi); 650 x 55mm; 4 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.
Date: BS. 1188? = 1826 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993
BODL. MS. Asiatic. Misc. a. 38(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves; foll. 30 (ka-gā); 570 x 55mm; 4 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script. 465 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

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

1. [Abhidhammadmatikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpattāhāna
2. Mahābuddhagunā
3. [Abhidhammadmatikā] (bis) Dhammasaṅgaṇi; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpattāhāna
4. [Sahassaneyya]
5. Pamsukulā

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

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

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

1. Horoscope, Iti pi so... & various yantras & mantras
2. Indāśāva
3. Mahāpattāhāna fragment

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

Illustrations & diagrams sometimes coloured black, yellow, red.

No date—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 4(R)

[Nemijātaka]—Nemijāt nissaya fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD.2.5.10
Palm-leaves; foll. 52 (mixed); 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines. 85 char. medium Burmese script, 385 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; no covers. According to Pe Maung Tin 1925: "... The author's name occurs on the leaf jkhā as Ramsālakāra, who is said to have made this fourth Burmese paraphrase."

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

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 14(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16
A single metal plate, red lacquered, gilded, (khi? or kʰi?), framed, protected by glass, approximately 550 x 135mm, 6 lines, one single cord hole, 30 char.; large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac; numb. Burmese letters.

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

BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

1. [Kaṭṭāyaṇa] Pāli grammar CPD. 5.1
2. Cariyāpiṭaka CPD. 2.5.15 Pāli-Burmese nissaya
3. Cariyāpiṭaka atthakathānām— [Paramatthadīpanī VII]

CPD. 2.5.15.1 Pāli-Burmese nissaya
Palm-leaves; foll. 109 (ka-jū) + 68 (ka-ŋū) + 268 (ka-phe); 492 x 56mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 52 char. medium Burmese script, 380 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 raw wooden covers inscribed in Burmese in brown paint by an unlettered
hand. In the box, a fly label in English, incorrect for this ms.: "A book on Science? taken from a Buddhist Monastery in Burma h 1764 A.D."

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

**BODL. Ms. Burmese b. 7(R)**

**Paritta** CPD 2.9.1 and horoscope? Pāli-Burmese

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

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

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

**Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā** fragment CPD. 2. 5. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 31 (ma-yah); 540 x 50mm; 5 lines, 55 char. medium and small mūḷ script, 450 mm; numb. mūḷ letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; margins and text: many emendations and additions in ink; no covers, but wrapped in a gorgeous red and blue cotton cloth woven with mango and floral decoration in gilded thread. (Phūk 13, contains: mahādhanabanījavathu, kīṣāgotamiḥ, pātācārām, maggavaggaṇāna, kukkutanḍakkhādikavatthu, baddhiyabhikkhuḥ, vaiputtakām)

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

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

[Dīghanikāya] CPD. 2. 1

1. Sut Silakkam pāḷītō [Silakkhandhavagga]
2. Sut Mahāvā pāḷītō [Mahāvagga]
3. Sut Pādeyya(or Pāheyya) [Paṭīkavagga]

Palm-leaves; foll. 323 (ka-be); 500 x 65mm; 12 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only; 1st fol. in ink "S. C. Malan, the gift of Col. Duncan; ... from Mandalay, 1875"; 1st cover, printed label: Indian Institute, Oxford, The Malan Library presented by the Rev. S. C. Malan, DD., Vicar of Broadwindsor January, 1885".

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

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

**Dhammasaṅgaṇīpakaraṇa** CPD.3.1

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

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

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

[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pārājika] CPD. 1.1

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

Date: BS. 2428 = 1885 A.D.—[Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold Esquire M.A., C.S.I; May 1887" but Bodleian records say "Provenance unknown"].
BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R)
[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—]Pārājikaṇā pālīto
CPD. 1.1
Palm-leaves; 5 bundles, fll. 207 (ka-ñë); 495 x 65mm; 2 cord holes; 10
lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters;
2 thick wooden covers, red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges. 1st to
fifth chapters.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)
Sandhi nyāsapadipahāraṇa
(This is not Nyāsa or ṇāsa or Mukhamattadipani CPD. 5.1,11)
Palm-leaves; fll. 63 (ka-cū mixed); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines,
72 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no
covers.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R)
Vithi lak rui Pāḷī-Burmese nissaya
Palm-leaves; fll. 35 (ka-gam); 500 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 84
char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red
lacquered edges, no covers. See Bechert 1979 n° 29, p. 33: "This is an
explanation of the vithi section of Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha..."?

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R)
Saddā ñye sum con Pāḷī-Burmese nissaya
Palm-leaves; fll. 7 (ka-ke); 510 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 68 char.
medium Burmese script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered
edges, no covers. (Unknown in CPD & Bechert 1979, Braun 1985)

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 8(R)
Samvāṇanā Pāḷī-Burmese nissaya
Palm-leaves; fll. 11; 495 x 50mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord-holes. 8
lines, 80 char.—Burmese script—Numb. Burmese letters.

No date—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, lacquered, gilded decorated in red; fll. 16
(ka-khi); 515 x 121mm; 6 lines, 28 char. in black lac, Burmese tamarind-
seed large script, 490 mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and
decorated in red. Wrapped in a cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo
slats, dark red, off-white and blue colours, geometric designs.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)
1. Vimānavaṭṭhupakaraṇa CPD. 2.5.6, 1(5)?
2. Vimānavaṭṭhuvanaṇā by Dhammapāla(?) CPD. 2.5.6, 1
Palm-leaves; fll. 22 (1-21) + 102 (ka-chū); 505 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 9
lines, 98 char. medium Sinhalese script, 450 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters;
2 wooden covers, painted on the outside in bright orange, decorated in
yellow and green on the borders with pālāpeti and katuru-mala motifs.
painted in black on the inside; copper pot sakīva in the shape of a lotus.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 11(R)
Mahāvamsa (incomplete)CPD 4.1.2
Palm-leaves; fll. 211 (ka-dau); 475 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 110
char., Sinhalese medium script, 415 mm; 2 wooden covers, painted in
bright orange, decorated on outside, pālāpeti and katuru-mala motifs
painted in black and yellow; silver pot sakīva in the shape of a lotus.
BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R)
Abhidhammatthasangaha CPD.3.8.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (dā-dhu); 595 x 65mm; 2 cord holes, 11 lines, 88 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R)
1. [Kammavācā—Pabbajjā] fragment CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (no numb°); 365 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 80 char., Sinhalese small script, 350 mm.

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

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)
Upāsakajanālānārapāli CPD. 2.9.4
Palm-leaves; foll. 98 (ka-cau); 458 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 88 char., Sinhalese small script, 390 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers decorated in orange paint on the outside with katurumala in the middle and palāpeti on the borders, black paint inside, decorated with yellow garlands reminiscent of the pistils of flowers. Cartouches in the middle, title and date inscribed in yellow paint, silver pot sākīya bearing the effigy of Queen Victoria. Mentioned in Liyanaratne 1991 "Upāsakajanālānakā, is a complete Pāli text in the Sinhala script, deposited among Sinhala manuscripts"


BODL. MS. Ouseley 308
Arakanese alphabet
Fol 2b "The Mug characters used in writing the language of Arakan called by those who used it, Merma-chegā" on one column facing "characters of Tibet, Bengal, Dewa Nagār, Hindostāny Nāgry, Mahājena Nāgry used in Bengal & used in Guzerat, the Power expressed in English Letters, the Power expressed in Persian or Taleek Letters". Part of a large plate showing "Characters which are analogous to the Dewa Nagar Alphabet". These characters were used currently for writing Pāli in Arakan. S.C. 1897 p. 671 "Quarto Catalogue xiii (Persian), 1934 (European)". Large copybook, bound in black leather, 345 x 240mm.

No date—S.C. 23083

BODL. MS. Ouseley 415
Samantapāsādikā Pāli- Burmese nis saya fragment
Illegible for those who do not know Burmese. Frankfurter Catalogue: "The Pāli text of the Pārañjika interlined with a Burmese translation—Imperfect. Of 412 leaves numbered from ka-gyi of which the ms. originally consisted only 240 are left ...". According to Ouseley Oriental Catalogue this MS. is said to consist of three separate ones: one of 140, one of 60, and one of 40 leaves." S.C. 1897 p. 673. "Sale Catalogue (1831) no 628 (Burmese)"

No date—S.C. 23190
BODL. MS. Ouseley 416
missing in the box
S.C. 1897 p. 673, "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 629-31 (Burmese)" S.C. 23190

BODL. MS. Ouseley 417 & 418
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16 fragments
Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded; foll. 2 (1st ola & no n°); 535 x 90 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine floral and hamsa motifs on 1st fol. and margins; very fragile, brittle and difficult to handle, gilding badly flaking to reveal palm leaf beneath, corners partly restored in leather and paper. S.C. 1897 p. 673, "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 632 & 717 (Burmese)"

No date—S.C. 23191-92

BODL. MS. Pali a. 1(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; fol. 16 (ka-khū); 535 x 90 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and hamsa motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 2(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; fol. 16 (ka-ḵhū); 530 x 92 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and hamsa motifs; 2 ochre-red lacquered, gilded wooden covers decorated in red with fine floral and geometrical motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 3(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, ochre-red lacquered, then coated with a gilded/silvered mixture and then painted in red; fol. 12 ([ka-kha]); 535 x 90 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 34 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, in black lac, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral and hamsa motifs; 2 wooden covers, dark red lacquered, decorated on outside only with floral motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 4(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves red lacquered, then coated with a gilded/silvered mixture and then painted in red; fol. 12 ([ka-kha]); 540 x 92 mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral & hamsa motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 5(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; fol. 16 ([ka-ḵhi]); 535 x 85 mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac, 495 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral & geometrical motifs. First and last leaves slightly damaged.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 5—S.C. 30900e—Provenance unknown.
BODL. MS. Pali a. 6(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded; foll. 13 (ka-kha); 540 x 95mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 25 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine floral and hamsa motifs on 1st, last foll. and margins; 2 red lacquered, gilded wooden covers, decorated on outside only with 9 and a half circles in red paint, floral and geometrical motifs; label on the 1st cover: "Taken from a Priest's chest in an Idol House of the deserted village of Myanoung on the Irrawaddy 35 miles below Prome April 17th. 1825—It was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Senior Proctor, the Revd. Joseph Dornford of Oriel College Nov. 8. 1830"; very fragile, brittle and difficult to handle, gilding badly flaking to reveal palm leaf beneath.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 7(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, silvered, painted in red; foll. 3 (ko, kõ, last one not numbered); 540 x 95mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lacquer, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; margins decorated with hamsa motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 8(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded palm-leaves, painted in red; foll. 2 (ki, kam); 535 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 505 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral motifs.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 9(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 5 (no numbering); 540 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 22 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; fine floral geometrical and hamsa motifs. Unusual decorations between the lines (minute checks, birds, foliage); punctuation in the shape of vihāra; corners slightly damaged.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 10

[Vinayaṭṭhakathā]—Samantapāśādikā CPD 1.2.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 308 (ka-yi); 515 x 68mm, rounded-off corners; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, dark red lacquered in the middle with festoons or zigzags (unusual); 2 wooden boards decorated on outside only with a garland of foliage in black, red and green, varnished both sides (European appearance, drawing and motifs style not Burmese). A label glued on 1st board indicates in English: Samantapāśādikā — Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka… Pārājikā, Pācitti, Mahāvagga, Cūlavagga, Parivāra… R. C. C. June 18. 1868

Date: BS. 1170 = A.D. 1808—Frankfurter 1882 no. 10—S.C. 30900i—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 11

[Vinaya-piṭaka—Mahāvagga]—Mahāvā nissya—Ratanamaṇjūsa vinaññ lak pan kyam Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. l2
Palm-leaves; foll. 276 (ka-be); 500 x 55mm; 2 cord holes: 8 lines, 65

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)  
[Samantapāsādikānavaṭṭīkā]—Vimattivinodani  
fragment CPD. 1,2,13
Vimattivinodaninayya (!) phūk 21
Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jhāñ̄ah); 540 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 5 lines, 68 char. Kham script, 460 mm; numb. Kham letters; gilded edges.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R)  
Temijātaka Pāli-Burmese nissya CPD. 2,5,10,1
Palm-leaves; foll. 67 (ka-cū); 500 x 52mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 63 char. medium Burmese script, 420 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle.

Date: BS. 11407 = A.D. 1778?—Frankfurter 1882 n° 15—S.C. 30900m—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 16  
[Dhammasanāṇīṭṭhakathā]—Atthasālinīpāṭh CPD 3,1,1
Palm-leaves; foll. 318 (ka-yē); 520 x 54mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, label: "Atthasālinī or Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasanāṇīṭṭhakathā which is the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19/[18]68"

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 17

[Adbhidhammapiṭaka]
1. Dhātukathā CPD.3.3
2. Yamaka CPD. 3. 6
Palm-leaves; foll. 44 + 367 (ka-ghē + gi-ao); 500 x 55mm, 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 88 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, label: "Dhātukathā and Yamaka ... R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"


BODL. MS. Pali a. 18

Mahāvamsa CPD. 4,1,2
Palm-leaves; foll. 256 (ka-to); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 86 char., Sinh. small script, 440 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only, decorated with black and yellow motifs of palāperi on borders and liyavāla in the middle; large copper potsakiya in shape of a flower; label: "This is Turnour copy. He obtained it from Kōtañgama Anunāyaka of Kandy Ceylon on the 8th April 1827." Frankfurter catalogue: "Published as far as the 37th chapter by the Hon. George Turnour Esqre with a translation and an introductory essay Ceylon 1837. The remaining parts have been published under orders of the Ceylon Government with a translation into Sinhalese by H. Sumangala High Priest of Adams Peak and Don Andris de Silva Batuwantudawa pandit. Colombo 1877, 2 vols.

No date—S.C. 24684—Frankfurter 1882 n° 19—Probably originally part of the collection purchased from W. H. Mill, 1849< >68?
**BODL. MS. Pali a. 19(R)**

Saddassāratthajālini CPD 5.4.6
Palm-leaves; foll. 27 (ka-khu); 490 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 66 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; label: "Saddassāratthajālini A Pali grammar. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19[18]68
No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 24—S.C. 30900q—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R)**

Various suttas (to identify)
Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (1+A-B+1-3+1-4+1-4+1-8); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 110 char., Sinh. small script, 480 mm; numb. European figures or letters; no covers.
No date—S.C. 30900r, corrected in 31294 (comm. on Sutta-piṭaka)—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman 18 Sept. 1890

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 21(R)**

Vessantarajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya fragment CPD. 2.5. 10,1
Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (ṭhaṃ, ṭhah, ṭa); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 65 char., Burmese medium script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers.
No date—S.C. 30900s—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 22**

Yamaka CPD. 3.6
Palm-leaves; foll. 330 (mixed); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese script, 418 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. For another part of this ms. see under next number.
Date: BS. 1161 = 1799 A.D.—S.C. 30900t—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 23**

Yamaka CPD. 3.6 (part of the ms. above)
Palm-leaves; foll. 184 (mixed); same material description supra + 2 wooden boards and a piece of ola, folded, in the shape of a paper cutter, used as a label to MS.
—S.C. 30900u—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 24(R)**

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Metal plates, gilded, decorated; foll. 16 (kā-khi); 536 x 120mm; 6 lines, 32 char. in black lacquer, tamarind-seed large script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red.
No date—S.C. 30900v—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 25**

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded, decorated in red; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 535 x 124mm; 6 lines, 26 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered and gilded wooden covers, decorated in red on outside boards only; wrapped in a bright red piece of velvet lined with green damask cotton; unusual cotton ribbon woven with blue and white, checks, red borders, 3.65 meters long.
No date—S.C. 30900w—Provenance unknown.

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**BODL. MS. Pali a. 26(R)**

[Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana]
Pāli-Burmese nissaya, 2 different copies, CPD. 1.2,16
1. Palm-leaves, silvered and decorated; foll. 7 (cha-[che]); 525 x 78mm; 7 lines, 55 char. large Burmese round script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese
letters; floral motifs painted in red, some worn away. Palm-leaves slightly damaged.

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

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

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

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
2. [Dighanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammaṁatikā] Dhammasaṅgani; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaṇṇatti; Kathāvattthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
4. Sahassaneyya
5. Mahābuddhaguṇā
6. Mahābuddhagunavāṇanā
7. Uṇhīsavijaya
Folding book, off-white khoi paper; 39 folds (not numbered); 660 x 95 mm; 5 lines, 35-55 char. Inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham compressed script; 10 paired illustrations in the margins, 221 x 190mm; 2 black lacquered, gilded frame covers, decorated with star motifs included in 9 roundels, corners restored, brown edges. Label glued inside the ms. "To Mr. Thomson Edinburgh a complete book, in the Siam language, found in Kandy, considered very old, and a great curiosity from (signature illegible)". In the box containing this ms., is found a letter in English from "B. Clough Ceyl (?) giving an account of the book with paintings from Siam 1819", addressed to M. C. Gibson Esq. who calls it: "Singh. Tallabannu."(?). Perfectly restored. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 32(R)**

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 33**

1. Mūlasikkhāpāṭth CPD. 1.3.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 11 (ka-kū)
2. Mūlasikkhadīkā CPD. 1.3.2,2
Palm-leaves; foll. 136 (ka-nāb)
3. Khuddasikkhātikā CPD. 1.3.1. 1 or 2?
Palm-leaves; foll. 217 (ka-dhi); 504 x 58mm; 2 cord-holes, 9 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese round script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, European ex libris.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 34
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded and decorated; foll. 16 (ka-khi); 510 x 110mm; 6 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered, wooden covers, outside gilded and painted in red with floral and animal motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 35(R)
Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16
Ivory plates; foll. 11 (ka-kam, wanting last fol); 535 x 80mm; 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, in black lacquer, 495 mm; numb. minute Burmese letters in red; gilded decoration with animal and floral motifs, punctuation enhanced in red and gilded, sometimes in the shape of vihāra. Many folios brittle or damaged; no covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 36(R)
Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered (plain); foll. 9 (kā-ke, half a leaf without numbering, kam, last leaf without numbering); 540 x 90mm; 5 lines, 36 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded floral motifs on the margins of last fol only. Many folios brittle or damaged; no covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 37(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khu); 530 x 82mm; 4 lines, 27 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral and animals motifs on 1st, last foll. and margins. Unusual decorations between the lines (checks); punctuation in the shape of vihāra sometimes built on pedestal?; fol "ko" cut into 2 pieces, bottom of the last fol damaged, preventing the complete reading of 2 lines and colophon; no covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)

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

No date.

2. [Majjhimanikāya]—Bahudhātukasutta & Isigili-sutta fragments CPD. 2.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 4 (13-16); 455 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 67 char. medium Sinhalese, 405 mm; numb. Europ. figures. Foll 1: namo buddhāya — evamme sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme — tatra kho bhagavā ... fol 4:—bahudhātukasuttanā pañcamo — evam me sutam ... rājaghe isigilihīm pabbate...

No date—S.C. 31295—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890
BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)
Samantapāsādikāya vinayasamvāṇanā nāya sārathadipaniyam catutthapārājikāvāṇanā fragment CPD. 1.2,12
Palm-leaves; fol. 165 (mixed); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 102 char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, red lacquered on outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 40(R)
Atthasālinī—Dhammasaṅganiṭṭhakathā fragments CPD. 3.1,1
Palm-leaves; fol. 99 (ki-chū, mixed, some missing); 510 x 62mm; 2 cord-holes, 10 lines, 75 char. medium Burmese round script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; no covers. Letter attached: St Kilda Hewlett Road Cheltenham, April 30, 1903, signature: A.W. Jamieson: "...the attached card explains the mode of their coming into my possession eleven years ago. There is this of contemporary history to mention perhaps of interest that the Burmese in their zest for trade had crept far into the Chin hills & valleys & had settle there. They were constantly raided & looted by the Hill tribes—Chin Boks & Chin Mehs etc—yet were permitted by them to build then(!) Poongi Chowns—far in among the valleys & foothills of a hostile country—when we arrived on the scene—to punish for a recent raid—all these Burmese settlements were deserted & it was in one of these village Chowns that my men found these M. S. S. Big chests crowned ...them lay about. As far as it was possible I had them protected & guarded but some stray leaves were looted & here they are & shall be very pleased if they possess sufficient interest for your acceptance..."

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R)
Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Pātimokkhaṇṇanā fragment CPD. 1.1,1
Palm-leaves; fol. 29 (mixed); 500 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 430 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers. Some leaves belonging to this ms. are kept under MS. Pali a. 44(R)

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 42(R)
Fragments (Paṭṭhāna?)
Palm-leaves; fol. 14; 530 x 55mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 82 char.; Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters. Beg.: hetu dhammam paticca maggā...ārammanapaccaye hetuyatīni na hetu paccayā ārammaṇaṃ tiṃ atitārammaṇanā hetu dhammam paticca attā dhammam ajjhattassā hetussa dhammassa ārammanapaccaye na paccayo ājhatto hetu dhammā bahiddhā bahiddhā hetussa dhammassa ārammanapaccaye na paccayo bahiddhā hetu ... akusalam ahetukam dhammam paticca abbākato hetuko dhammo uppajjati hetu paccaya abbākata ahetukam ... kusalam hetu sampayutthā dhammam paticca kusalo hetu sampayutto dhammo uppajjati ...

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 44(R)
Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Pātimokkhaṇṇanā CPD. 1.1,1 & Various fragments
Palm-leaves; fol. 9 (mixed); different sizes; 2 cord holes, 7 to 8 lines, medium Burmese; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle
and gilded edges, no covers. The leaves containing Kāṅkhāvītaraṇī belong to the above MS. Pali a. 41(R)!

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 45(R)**

1. **Fragment** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

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

No date.

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

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jū-ño); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 82 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers. **Beg. fol 1a**: ciram tiṭṭhatu sāsanām | cattāri saccāni dikkhasaccam samudayasaccam nirodhasaccam maggasaccam dikkham dikkhasaccam ... fol ñe, verso, line 7: 1 pariṇāvam niṭṭhitam | saccayamakam niṭṭhitam 1 ... cf. ed. PTS vol I, pp. 173-228

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 46(R)**

**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2.16

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 47(R)**

**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2.16

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 48(R)**

**[Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana]**

Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 1.2.16

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali a. 49(R)**

**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2.16

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 50(R)

1. [Abhidhammānātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. Dhammasahassanayya [Sahassaneyya]
3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 51

[Vinayapiṭaka]
1. [Parivāra]—Parivā pālītō CPD1.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 191 (ka-ṭam)

2. [Suttaviḥaṅga—Pācittiya]—Pācit pālītō CPD 1.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 120 (ka-ū); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 84 char. medium Burmese script, 402 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, bound with a long cotton ribbon interwoven with Burmese letters, off-white and blue.

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

BODL MS. Pali a. 52(R)

[Dīghanikāya]—Sut mahāvā pālītō naṅ Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 172 (thu-āh); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 402 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; no covers, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

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

BODL MS. Pali a. 53(R)

[Vinayapiṭaka—Pātimokkha—Kaṅkhāvitaranī]— Kaṅkhāvatthu pāṭh nissya fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 1.1,1
Palm-leaves; foll. 190 (ka-tē); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 85 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; a single cover, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 54(R)

Kaccāyana (grammar) fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 5.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 133 (ka-te); 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char., Burm. medium script, 380 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers red and black lacquered on outside only; wrapped in a white and ochre cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo slats.

Date: BS. 1200 = 1838 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925
BODL MS. Pali a. 55(R)
[Jātaka]—Catukkanipāt—Pañcanipāt nissya Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 252 (ka-pha); 510 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 88 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, wrapped in an off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats; piece of ola in the shape of an arrow engraved on one side: catukkanipātu?danissya + Burmese; engraved on the other side: pañcakkanipadanissya + Burmese
Date: BS. 1207 = 1854 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL MS. Pali a. 56(R)
1. Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī—Abhidhammatthasangahātikā CPD. 3.8.1.2
2. Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Bhikkhūpātimokkhavaṇṇanā CPD.1.1.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 85 (ka-ce) + 102 (cē-ṭu) mixed; 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 93 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers; wrapped in bamboo slats woven in a yellowish cotton fabric.
Date: BS. 1208 = 1846 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL MS. Pali a. 57
Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2.16
Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 11 (ka-khi or khī?, wanting at least one plate before the last one); 542 x 105mm; a single cord hole, 6 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; devata and floral motifs in red on 1st and last foll. and margins; some foll. lightly damaged; 2 red lacquered gilded covers, decorations rubbed entirely away.
No date—Donated by Mrs Littledale, 12 March 1926

BODL. MS. Pali a. 58
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16
Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 10 (kha-khō); 475 x 90mm; 6 lines, 26 char. in black lac, tamarind-seed large script, 450 mm; 2 wooden covers red lacquered inside; outside gilded upon relief-moulded lacquer (thavā) work and inlaid with small round mirrors in green, red and silver; wrapped in 2 different pieces of cloth, 1st: rectangle 550 x 290mm of lined red cotton fabric enhanced with bamboo slats and printed with floral motifs, birds and butterflies in black, blue, yellow; 2nd: 71 x 116cm rectangle of double facing blue fabric, check material on one side, striped on the other side, red bias sewn as a border.
No date—Donated by Mrs Hurry, 12 Nov. 1929

BODL. MS. Pali a. 59
Maṇisāramaṇjūsā—Maṇisāramaṇjū pāth CPD. 3.8.1.21
Palm-leaves; foll. 423 (ka-ē); 505 x 60mm; 10 lines, char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, wrapped in a printed cotton cloth, yellow, blue, brown floral motifs, bound with a long ribbon woven in green, yellow and off-white.
Date: BS. 1239 = 1877 A.D.—Donated by Mr. Walker, 30 May 1930

BODL. MS. Pali a. 60
[Jātakathavānṇanā] Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10.1
1. Kalyāṇīkyocā?
Palm-leaves; foll. 131 (ka-chū)
2. Ekānipāta jāt nissya
Palm-leaves; foll. 320 (ka-yi) + 2 foll. not belonging to this text; 498 x 58mm; 9 lines, 98 char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden
covers. piece of ola cut as a label, engraved: ekkanipāt jāt nissya ... kalyāṇikyo...

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R)
[Dighanikāya]—Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta CPD. 2.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 25 (1-25); 485 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Europ. figures.

No date—Bequeathed by Professor Sayce, 1933

BODL. MS. Pali a. 62(R)
Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16
Palm-leaves, black lacquered, silvered; foll. 8 (ka-ko); 525 x 78mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 40 char. large Burmese round script in black, 490 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 1st & last palm-leaves red lacquered, upper parts decorated in gold with floral motifs, inner parts, decorated margins red on silver; many palm-leaves damaged, text partly cancelled; no covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)
1. [Paritta]—Parit kri pālitō and various fragments Pāli & Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.9.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 154 (mixed, many blank leaves, many not inked, difficult to read); 485 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 108 char. medium Burmese round script. 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

2. [Bhikkhuni-Pātimokkha]—Bhikkhuni-Pātimo nissya and other texts fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 1.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 86 (mixed, many blank leaves); 470 x 53mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 92 char., medium Burmese round script, 382 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

Date: BS. 1231 = 1869 A.D.

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

No date

5. Mūlasikkhā fragment CPD. 1.3.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 10 (mixed); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 82 char. medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges.

No date

6. Dhatumaṇḍu pāṭh fragment CPD. 5.5.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 14 (dhaṇu); 475 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese round script; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges. All bundles wrapped in a cotton cloth interwoven with bamboo slats and printed with floral motifs in yellow and blue. 2 envelopes written in English explaining the Buddhist religion. "Exhibited by T. J. Moore" A paper states "Lent by J. L. Thompson ..."

No date—Donated by J. L. Thompson, 1943
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No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 21—S.C. 30900x—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali b. 3(R)

Kaccāyana [Grammar by]—Sandhikappa CPD. 5.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 71 (ka-rū); 425 x 54mm; 2 cord holes. 7 lines, 68 char. medium Sinh. script, 380 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers; label: "Sandhikappa or Kaccāyana's grammar. Pali text in Sinhalese character. Perfect ... An inscription states that this copy was made for Dr. Mill by the orders of George Nadoris Mudliar in Nov. 1834." R. C. C. June 19/[18]68

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 5

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 7

[Jātakatthavaṇṇanā]—Ummaggajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10. 1
Palm-leaves; foll. 267 (dhō-jhyah); 475 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 70 char. medium Burmese round script. 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1158 = 1796 A.D.—S.C. 31482—Purchased from Quaritch. Nov. 1892
BODL. MS. Pali b. 8(R)

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


BODL. MS. Pali b. 9(R)

Paritta CPD 2.9.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 78 (khā, kh?, ga, gā, gi, gi etc... up to ņo + 1-9); 400 x 50mm; 3 cord holes, 5 lines, 35 char. medium mūl script; numb. mūl letters + mūl figures. Label on the box, in French "Manuscrit en caractères Indous sur olles (feuilles de Talipot)"

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R)

Vidhurājātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 118 (kā-[dhe], wanting: ka); 442 x 38mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 66 char. medium Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, no covers. Some palm-leaves slightly damaged.

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 11

Mahosathājātakahatvatthu—Maho vatthu Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 188 (khā-dō, mixed, wanting ka-kha); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 thick wooden covers.

BODL. MS. Pali b. 12

[Abhidhammpaṭṭaṇa]—Paṭṭhāna—Paṭṭhān nissaya
Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 3.7
Palm-leaves; foll. 307 (ka-rō, mixed); 495 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 422 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, dark red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, light brown lacquered, floral motifs in red and green on outside only; some palm-leaves and 1st cover, partly damaged.

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 13(R)

[Vinayapaṭṭaṇa—Suttavibhaṅga]—Pārājikaṁ pāliṁā
fragments CPD. 1.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 223 (ka-thā, some mixed); 495 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 thick wooden covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 14(R)

1. Mahāsātīpaṭṭhānasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 91 (ka-cai); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 80 char. large & medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 440 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

2. Satipaṭṭhāna pada ānuma Pāli-Sinhalese
Palm-leaves; foll. 39 (co-jhi); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 7-10 lines, 75 char. medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 440 mm; numb. Sinhalese
letters; both texts bound together, 2 wooden covers, roughly decorated in
red, black, yellow paint with palāpeti and livavāla on recto only. On last
cover, printed label: "Rev. A. Lawson, M.A.". Last ola in ink: John F.
Beer. Paper attached with explanations in English about the
Satipaṭṭhānasutta and adds: " Rev. J. Moscrop late missionary in Ceylon
[Bt. by the Bodleian 15 Ap. 1909(?)] lot 309 in Branch Sale Liverpool"

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 15(R)**

*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* fragment CPD. 3.8.1

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 16(R)**

*Sāvatthīnīdāna* fragments

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 17(R)**

[Dhammasaṅganiṭṭhakathā]—Atthasālini—

*Dhammuddesavārakathā* fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 3. 1. 1

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

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

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**BODL. MS. Pali b. 18(R)**

*Various fragments* Pāli & Sinhalese

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 19(R)**

*Various fragments* Pāli & Sinhalese

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 20(R)**

*Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta* Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali b. 21(R)**

*Dhammacakkapavattanasutta* CPD. 2.9.1(XXIA)

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

No date—SC. 33181—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901
BODL. Ms. Pali b. 23(R)

Paritta CPD 2.9.1
Folding book, off-white khoi paper; 45 folds; 380 x 100mm; 6 lines. 28 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink, punctuation enhanced in red; Burmese-Shan script; no numb. (added in pencil, European figures in the margins); 2 brownish lacquered covers. A yellow tape (or belt or band) with fringes is found in the box, 150 x 8, 5cm.

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 24(R)

[Temiyaṣṭāka]—Teminissya Pāli-Burmese nissaya
CPD. 2.5.10.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 56 (ka-ghāh); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 392 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges.

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

BODL. MS. Pali c. 2(R)

Vuttamālasandesāṣataka CPD. 4.5.8
Palm-leaves; foll. 37 (ka-gri) badly written. Donated by Dr. Mill, who bought it at Calcutta of some Sinhalese in Feb. 1835; enclosed is a transcription of the 1st portion of the Pāli text in Nāgari letters on paper, evidently by an European hand, probably by Dr. Mill himself?

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

BODL. MS. Pali c. 3(R)

[Majjhimanikāya]—Bālapaṇḍitasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.2
Palm-leaves; foll. 32 (ka-ga); 315 x 45mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. small Sinhalese script, 290 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers, pot sākiya made of a silver coin; two annas India 1862. Queen Victoria.

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

BODL. MS. Pali d. 1(R)

[Paritta]—Mahācundattherabojjhaṅga CPD. 2.9.1(XIX)
Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (ka-ki); 350 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 52 char. medium Sinhalese script, 260 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 1

[Pāpañcasūdani—Majjhimanikāya]—Assalāyanasutta[vaṇṇanā] CPD 2.2.1
Notebook, European paper, Dalton & Lucy Booksellers to the Queen, 28 Cockspur St. Charing Cross; foll. 1+17+1; 225 x 175mm; 20 lines, 25 char. medium Sinhalese script, 155 mm; no numb. 1st fol: "Assalāyanasutta and commentary (copied for Mr Davids of Ceylon in 1871) The Pali text in the Sinhalese character. Donated to the Bodleian Library the 4th of December 1871 Robert C. Childers". Cf. PTS ed. part III, pp. 408-412.

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 2

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°, from the Payogasiddhi, Balavatāro with notices of the Dhauli, gatha Pracrit dialects)
Note book, bluish paper, watermarks: Matthews 1859, foll. 120 (1-120); numb. in pencil; 215 x 180; written in ink and pencil on both sides; binding in boards covered with marbled paper; Singhi. alphabet + Burmese round and square alphabets (Burnouf "Essai sur le pali"). Old Siamese (mūl) alphabet. Asoka inscriptions alphabet (Prinsep J.R.A.S.
Bengal VII), Buddhist alphabet of Tibet (Csomo Körös), Nepalese alphabets (Hodgson in As. Researches vol XVI); 1. Sound. 2. Roots. 3. Inflection.

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

**BODL. MS. Pali e. 3**

**Pali grammar by Burnell** (Collections for a°)

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali e. 4**

**Pali grammar by Burnell** (Collections for a°)

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

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali e. 5**

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

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

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

**BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)**

1. [Dhammapada] extract CPD. 2. 5. 2
2. [Vinayapiṭaka—Mahāvagga—Bodhikathā] extracts CPD 1. 2
3. [Abhidhammahātikā]
4. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pārājika]? extract CPD 1.1
5. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pācittiya]?
6.? 7. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
8. [Dīghanikāya—Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD 2. 1
9. [Dīghanikāya—Mahāpadānasuttanta] extract CPD 2. 1

1 silver scroll; 900 x 50mm, recto only engraved, 8 lines, 186 char. minute Burmese round script, 760 mm.

No date—S.C. 32356—Purchased from J. & M. L. Tregaskis, 1896
BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 122(R)
Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 40: "Päli text with Sinhala commentary on letters of the alphabet".
Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 5(R)—S.C. 31302—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)
1. Vandanā gathā
Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (1-21) + 10 (1-10); cf. JPTS 1910-12 p. 153; see description infra.
2. Bhesajamañjūsa fragment CPD. 2.9.22
Palm-leaves; foll. 41 (4-43) wanting 1-3; 320 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 280 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters & figures. Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 42: "Three Buddhist texts (vandanā gathā) + Fragment of the Bhesajamañjūsa".
No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 7(R)—S.C. 31304—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)
Mahāsatiipaṭṭhānasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 146 (ka-ñā); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 60 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters. Last leaf, in ink: "Given to me by the Priest of the temple of Buddha Kandy Ceylon C. I. Teaching of Buddha."
No date—S.C. 34170—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)
[Suttanipāta—Parābhavasutta] fragment Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.5.5
Palm-leaves; foll. 9 (ka-ñā); 390 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. small Sinhalese script, 345 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.
No date—S.C. 34172—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. d. 12(R)
Sīvalī parītta CPD. 2.9.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 2 (double foliation: 18-19 & 1-2); 262 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 35 char. Sinhalese medium script, 230 mm; numb. Sinhalese & European figures.
Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515. "Remedies for snake bite and charms taken down from Veddas of Uva province, Ceylon by Mr. Bibile R. M of Bibile and Mr. E. D. Dharmasena, S. M. R. Uva".
No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)
[Kammapācā—Pabbajjā] CPD. 1.2.16
Palm-leaves; foll. 7 (1-5); 215 x 48mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 38 char. medium Sinhalese script, 190 mm; numb. European figures; 1st ola in ink: "This ms. contains the address made by a candidate for the Buddhist priesthood ..." Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515: "Book of Buddhist ritual: the five, eight and ten precepts, and Ordination. Pāli texts"
No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Wilson 51
Pāli dictionary with Burmese translation
Saṅsagaruik abhidhān [Amarakosa according to Judson?] transcript in Roman char.: Then-tha-garaik abeiddan
European white paper (watermark 1829 J. Whatman) bound with covers in yellowish cloth and spine in red leather; foll. 200, (Burmese foliation: ka-jō + 1-4 in figures, then missing, 10-11, then missing, ka-kham then missing, 1-32 then missing; European figures added in pencil 1-192); 395x245mm; 40 lines, 30 char. written recto-verso, Burmese large round script in black ink, neat calligraphy. 210 mm; 2 copies of letters, bound with the work:
1. "Extract from Major Burney's letter, Rangoon 5th July 1832: ... the former dictionary is copied from one which the Prince of Mokkha (?) kindly sent me, the latter (?) was proposed for me by the special ... of the king of Ava by his most learned brahmins. They have both cost a great deal of money and I hope Wilson [will] find them useful ..."

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

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

BODL. MS. Wilson 55

Pāli-Sanskrit-Hindi-Bengali multiscripts dictionary

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

Survey of the Pali manuscript collection in the Bodleian Library

Beg.: akkharam, akkhāna, akko, akkha, akkhi, akkhako, akkhadaso akkhabhani...

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

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

No date [Aufrecht: 1831]—S.C. 22165

BODL. MS. Wilson 55

A. Vessantarajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10.1

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

No date—S.C. 22166

B. Buddhavamsa—Buddhavaṃpaḷitō—Dhātu-bhajaniyakathā CPD. 2.5.14

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

No date (old script)—S.C. 22166
1. Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇa CPD. 3.1
Palm-leaves; foll. 121 (ka-ta, mixed); 495 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, ochre lacquered in the middle.
Date BS. 1153 = A.D. 1791
2. Dhammasaṅganipālitōnissaya Pāli-Burmese nissaya
Palm-leaves; foll. 115 (ka-ńu, mixed) + 36 bl.; same material description as above. See Aufrecht op. cit. p. 364
Same date?—S.C. 22167

BODL. MS. Wilson 304
Lexicon Palicum (Pāli vocabulary)
Foll. 106, European bluish white strong paper (watermark Balston & Co) bound with covers in brown leather, hand ruled in pencil, 28 to 20 lines; 310 x 245mm; 15 to 20 char. large Nāgari script on 3 columns, 170 mm; numb. Nāgari figures in black ink, supplied with European figures in pencil.
No date [Aufrecht: after 1827(!); must be after 1831, the date of the ms. transcribed according to Aufrecht himself]—S.C. 22415

INDEX OF PĀLI TEXTS
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Sut Silakkam pālito [Silakkhandhavagga]

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  MS. Pali b. 8(R)
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(All dates are converted from Buddhist era and given in A.D.)

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1791 BODL. MS. Wilson 56 Burmese script
1794 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R) Burmese script
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1799 BODL. MS. Pali a. 22 Burmese script
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A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

A. King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya

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


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

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

The Sanskrit text of the Kośabhāṣya was first published in 1967. The citation occurs in the ninth Kośasthāna, a prose appendix to the Kośa proper, devoted to the clarification of misconceptions about the person (padgala). The Sanskrit text opens with the phrase sīhāviro hi nāgasenah kalingena rājñopasamkramyoktah. Neither Pradhan nor Dwarikadas list any variant readings, and Yaśomitra does not repeat or comment on the name: we have thus only a single reading, kalingena rājñā. The Padgala-viniścaya has been translated into English three times: by Stcherbatsky from the Tibetan of a Peking edition of the Tanjur by Duerringer from the Sanskrit, and by Pruden from La Vallée Poussin’s French compared with the Sanskrit. The first two translators use the name Milinda, the former without remark, the latter stating in a note “here I use the better known title of this king, ‘Milinda’, rather than ‘Kalinga’, which is found in the text.” Pruden has “the King of Kalinga”; his n. 91 (p. 1370) reproduces La Vallée Poussin’s Yaśomitra (Buddha Bharati Series 9), Part IV, Varanasi, 1973, pp. 1209.10–1210.13.


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

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

11 rgyal po des could represent the instrumental, “by that king”, suggesting that the Sanskrit recension upon which the Tibetan was based included the word tena (= des) to make tena rājñā. des could also be read nes, but that strikes me as unlikely.
14 Q178, Vol. 7, rgyud pha, 108b5 klu'i rgyal po e la dan, 'dus pa dag dan: klu'i rgyal po = nāgarājā; e la = ela; dan = "and"; 'dus pa = mela; dag indicates here dual; dan = "and". A manuscript version reproduced in Tog dan gzuns grwa lna, The Tibetan Translations of the Mahāsannipātarakaśāstra and

A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya 85

Mahāvyutpatti § 3263: elo nāga-rājā = lug
Mahāvyutpatti § 3267: ela-varno nāga-rājā = lug mdog
Mahāvyutpatti § 4823: edakāh = lug
Mahāvyutpatti § 6177: edākṣi-puspam = me tog lug mig
Mahāvyutpatti § 7684: eda-mūkah = lug tiar ikug pa.

That 'du ba or 'dus pa = mela or related forms derived from the Sanskrit root MIL (to come together, meet, join, assemble) is also well established:10 in the Hevajra Tantra, 'du ba = milana, melā, and melāpaka, and 'dus pa = melā; in the Nāgānanda, 'dus pa = militia." We may thus conclude that the 'du of the Kośabhāṣya is equivalent to mila or mela.10 sbyin at the end of names in Tibetan regularly translates the Sanskrit -datta or -da: in this case we will prefer the latter.

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

Pañcarakṣā, A reproduction of a six part manuscript from Bhutan calligraphed by one Nag-dban-bsam-grub-rnam-rgyal-don-grub, published by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, Kyicu Monastery, Paro, Bhutan, 1978, p. 407.7 (ga 30a7) has only klu'i rgyal po 'dus pa dag dan, omitting ela.
12 As before, in the first two cases Minaev’s Mahāvyutpatti has eda: see his index, p. 152a.
13 'dus pa is the past participle of the infinitive 'du ba, “to come together”.
14 The references are from Lokesh Chandra, Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary. Supplementary Volume 4 (Śata-pitaka Series Vol. 374), New Delhi, 1993, p. 989b.
15 The use of equivalents in 'du = MIL in the Tibetan should rule out Minaev’s meda (see above, n. 12).
Minandra), and “la forme déformée” Minendra, influenced by Gandhāra. As far as I know in Pāli the name is always Milinda.\footnote{Gérard Fussman, “L’Indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité”, Journal asiatique CCLXXI, 1–2 (1993), pp. 72–73.}

Unfortunately our researches into the Tibetan do not enable us to reconstruct the name of the King with absolute precision or certainty. They do, however, allow us to establish certain significant points.\footnote{For earlier discussions of the king’s name, see e.g. T.W. Rhys Davids (tr.), The Questions of King Milinda, Part I (The Sacred Books of the East XXXV), [Oxford, 1890] Delhi, 1975, pp. xviii–xix, and Pelliot, pp. 384–85.} It is impossible to decide whether the first syllable had as vowel i (as in Pāli) or e (as in Greek and on Indian coins), since the root MIL allows both: although the Chinese of both Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang suggest the former.\footnote{It is important to recall that Jinamitra—described in the colophons of Vinaya translations as a “vinayadhara of the Ārya Mālasarvāstivādins and an ācārya of the Kashmiri Vaibhāsikas”—and dPal brtsegs were two of the greatest translators of the “early diffusion” (sna dar) of Buddhism in Tibet. During the period a royally sponsored commission, in which the two translators were leading figures, supervised and regulated translation work and fixed the Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Their translation of the Kośabhāṣya is thus highly reliable.} It is, however, certain that the second syllable began with la (as in Pāli and in Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang), and not na (as in Greek and in the Indian evidence): this is vouchsafed by the derivation of ’du from MIL. Whether the second syllable had as vowel a or i is not certain: mila- or meli- are more obvious, and agree with the Indian evidence supplied by Fussman, but mili- or meli- might also be possible—and it seems the Indic form transliterated by Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang was mili-.\footnote{As seen above, these are Min-lin-to and Pi-lin-to in Lévi’s transliteration; in that of Demiéville, they are Min-lin-t’o and Pi-lin-t’o.} The final syllable must certainly have been -da (Tibetan sbyin), and was not Sanskritized as -in)dra as in some manuscripts of the Stūpāvadāna (see below). We are thus left with a number of possible equivalents for ’Du sbyin: *Milanda or *Milinda, *Melanda or *Melinda (and perhaps also *Melinda, etc., and even Milinda).\footnote{But it strikes me that other Chinese forms—Mi-lan and Nan-t’o (see below) suggest an a against an i.}

What, then, should we make of the reading Kaliṅga-rāja of the Sanskrit Kośabhāṣya? It is important first of all to note here that, so far as I know, Kaliṅga is always transliterated and never translated into Tibetan. The Mahāvyutpatti, for example, transcribes Kaliṅga as ka lin ga (§ 4128) and Kaliṅga-rāja as ka lin ga’i rgyal po (§ 3589).\footnote{Yasunori Ejima, in his “Textcritical Remarks on the Ninth Chapter of the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya”, Tokyo, 1987, p. 21, has come to a similar conclusion. He remarks: “rgyal po des ’du sbyin (‘des’ ambiguous. ’du’ = ‘mela’, cf. Mahāvyutpatti 3291, ‘sbyin’ = ‘da’. Therefore ‘des ’du sbyin’ may be a rendering of something like ‘milinda’). Read ‘milindena rājñā’.” (I am grateful to Bhikkhu Pāsādika for supplying copies of the relevant pages of Ejima and Pruden.)} While it might be possible to explain -linga as a scribal error for -linda or -limda, it seems impossible in any script to explain the substitution of ka- for mi- or me-. Furthermore, the final part might well have been -lamda and not -limda (or -linda). Still, the dropping of a superscript vowel or its migration from the first to the second syllable—from Milanda or Melanda, etc., to Malinanda, Malinda, etc.—at some stage is by no means impossible, and a later scribe, faced with an unfamiliar Malinanda-, Malinda- or Malinḍa-rāja may have substituted the lectio familiaris Kaliṅga-rāja. We do not know how many intermediate copies, in how many scripts, the text went through before arriving at the present reading. Since the two Chinese and one Tibetan translations are unanimous in
suggesting a name equivalent to Milinda, the form Kaliṅga must be rejected, and some such explanation adopted.

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

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


A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakosabhāṣya

tāra samdarśanāyātām bhagavān indram abhavī milindro nāma rājāsmin deśe stūpaṃ karisyati.

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

De Jong gives two readings from manuscripts in Cambridge. A Milindo, B Milimo, and recommends the first.29 Here the Tibetan, as given by de Jong, transliterates the name as rgyal po mi lin dra zhes pa: “a king, Milindra by name”. The change from -inda to -indra might have been a Sanskritization made on the analogy of Indra, a frequent component of royal names or titles.30

The identification of our King with Milinda is further supported by the fact that in the Chinese parallel to Vasubandhu’s citation mentioned above, the dialogue is between a King *Nanda and Nāgaseṇa. In addition to Chavannes’ French translation, there is an English translation by Takakusu.31 As noted by Demiéville, the parallel is not from the independent Chinese counterpart of the Milinda-pañha, the

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29 P.L. Vaidya/Sridhar Tripathi (edd.), Avadāna-kalpalatā (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 23), Vol. II, 2nd ed., Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1989, p. 342.3. For textual history, see de Jong’s (foll. n.) Introduction. The Śūpāvatāra is translated and discussed at length by Demiéville, pp. 36–43.
31 This was already suggested by Demiéville (p. 39, n. 4).
*Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra,* but from the “Avadāna of the discussion between King Nanda and Nāgasena”, which is chapter 111 of the *Tsa pao tsang ching,* a collection of 121 avadānas translated into Chinese in 472 by *Kikkāya—who came from the “West”, perhaps Gandhāra or Kaśmir.*

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

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34 Taisho § 203, Nanjio § 1329. The latter gives a Sanskrit title *Samyuktaramapitaka-sūtra*; La Vallée Poussin (*Abhidharmaśastra V*, p. 264, n.), gives *Ratnakaranda-sūtra* with a question mark. Lewis R. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, 1979, § 1001) and the Hôbôgirî *Répertoire* refrain from giving any Sanskrit. C. Willemen, in his valuable study, “A Chinese Kṣudrakapitaka (T. IV. 203),” in *Études bouddhiques offertes à Jacques May à l’occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, *Études Asiatiques* XLVI-1 (1992), pp. 507–515, rejects *Samyuktaramapitaka-sūtra*, and suggests, if anything, *Kṣudrakapitaka*. Chavannes (tome III, pp. 1–145) translates generous portions of the text; see his remarks, p. 1, n. 1. The Chinese gives King Nan-t’o (Chavannes’ transcription) throughout: can this be an abbreviation of something like (Me)nanda? Takakusu, p. 16, concludes that Nanda “represents ‘Menander’ in its disguised form, or at any rate a part of the syllables ‘Menander’”; Pelliot, p. 381, explains the name as “une forme ancienne où le premier n du nom de Menandre n’était pas passé à l”; Winternitz, II 177, avers that Nanda is “undoubtedly only a Sanskritized form of the Greek Menandros”.
35 The translator and his name are discussed by Demiéville, p. 65, n. 4, and by Willemen, pp. 508–509.

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36 The phrase is discussed by Demiéville, p. 66, n. 6.
37 In order that the reader may compare the two versions, I reproduce the relevant texts and translations below.

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

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

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

North-western Prakrit. The text may be studied in Demiéville’s annotated French translation. The Na-sien ching (*Nāgasena-sūtra*) in 1 roll, translated by Gunabhadrā between 435 and 455, was based on the same original as the preceding. It was lost by 664.

(3) The bāhirakathā and the first 7 vaggas of the Pāli Milinda-pañha. The consensus of scholarship is that these opening sections correspond to the original text, which was brought to Ceylon and translated into Pāli by about the beginning of the Common Era (with the proviso that much of the narrative material in the bāhirakathā was composed in Ceylon). For example, Pelliot concluded “il me semble certain que le Milindapañha primitif s’arrêtait là où les versions chinoises le terminent, c’est-à-dire à la page 136 du tome I de la traduction de M. Rhys Davids” [= Trencnker, p. 89]. Norman (p. 111) has “from the fact that the words divisions introduced into a translation (followed also by I.B. Horner in her Milinda’s Questions) and not supported by the texts, I rather hope that future discussion of the Milinda will abandon the reference to Rhys Davids’ “Books”.

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88 See Demiéville, pp. 4–21.
89 Demiéville, pp. 7–9 and 21.
90 That is, up to p. 89 of V. Trencnker, The Milindapañha, London, [1880] 1962, or p. 96 of the Chaṭhasangiti edition (ChS). The “original” portion of the Pāli is usually described as the first three “Books” (I to III) of the Milinda-pañha. This description, as far as I can tell, derives from a division of the text into seven “Books” introduced into his translation by Rhys Davids (see his remark on p. 100, n. 1, at the beginning of his “Book III” “the chapters go straight on because Books II and III are really only parts of one Book”). No such division is found in Trencnker, or in the ChS or Siamese editions. In fact, the issue of the structure is complex, and the internal table of contents (Trencnker, p. 2, ChS 2.12) divides the work into six parts, with two further subdivisions (the Siamese edition, p. 4.11, also lists six parts and two subdivisions, but with differences in order and phraseology). The “original” text extends beyond the 7th vagga (which ends at Trencnker p. 87.20, satatto vagga; ChS 94, penult arūpadhammavatthāna-vagga satatto) to what might be called the conclusion, which ends on p. 89 (ChS 96). Since it is unsound to refer to

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

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

(4) The remainder of the Pāli Milinda-pañhā. The consensus of opinion is that the remaining chapters—which are entirely absent in the Chinese*Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra—were composed in Ceylon, after the basic Indian text had been translated into Pāli, and appended to that text at a later date.* While I agree that they are not part of the “original” text, I feel that they may have been composed in India and circulated independently—that is, that they could represent another development of the rich Indian Milinda tradition—and later translated into Pāli and conjoined with the basic text. My reason is that the later books contain many purportedly canonical citations that are not found in the Pāli canon, as well as citations attributed to different persons than in the Pāli. That is, the author(s) must have consulted a different canon. It seems impossible to decide whether the later part is a compilation from several different works, or a single work.*

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

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

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

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

One other point may be mentioned. Trenckner noted that “the opening phrase [of the Milinda-paṇha] tanyathā 'nusiyate is not found in any other Pāli writing’. A similar phrase, tadyathā anusūryate, is used to open the prose of stories in the Sanskrit Buddhist jātaka or avadāna genre, such as the Mairakanyakāvadāna, the Jātakamālās of Āryasūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, and the Kalpanāmanditikā. (Yaśomitra in his Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā prefers śrūyate hi, while the Suvarnavarnāvadāna opens with evam anusūryate.)

B. Translation of Vasubandhu’s citation

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

C. The parallel from the Tsa pao tsang ching

C.1. Chavannes

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

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

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

C For similes with mangos in the Milinda-paṇha, see Trenckner pp. 46, 72, 77, 263.

C Chavannes, Cing Cente Contes..., pp. 123–24, and Takakusu, JRAS 1896, p. 20. I reproduce the two translations, including their transliterations of the Chinese names, as they stand.
acides?” Le roi répondit: “Dans mon palais il n’y a aucun arbre de cette sorte; comment pouvez-vous me demander si ces fruits sont doux ou acides?” (Na-k’ia-) sseu-na reprit: “Je vous répondrai moi aussi de la même manière; tout l’ensemble des cinq viscères ne constitue point le moi; comment pouvez-vous me demandez si ce moi est permanent ou impermanent?”

C.2. Takakusu

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

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

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

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

D. Vasubandhu’s citation: texts

D.1. Sanskrit text

eṣa ca granthāḥ pūrvakair eva nirmocitāḥ / sthaviro hi nāgasaḥ tasya kalingena rājñopasmakmyoktaḥ / prčchyeyam aham bhadvantam

80 bahubollakāś ca śraṇāḥ bhadvant / yadi yad eva prčchyeyam tad eva vyākurya iti / prčcheyty uktah prṣṭavāṇ / kim sa jivas tac charirām anyo jivo ‘nyac chariram iti / avyākṛtam etad ity avocat sthavirāḥ / sa āḥa / nanu bhadvantāḥ pūrvam eva pratījñāṁ kānto nāyād vyākartyavami iti / kim idam anyad evoktam avyākṛtam etad iti / sthavira āḥa / aham api mahārājaṃ prcdheyam bahubollakāś ca rājāno bhadvant / yadi yad eva prcdheyam tad eva vyākurya iti / prcdcheyt uktah prṣṭavāṇ / yas te ‘ntahpure ṣmravīkṣas tasya kim amlāni phalāni āhosvita mahurāṇi tir / nava mamantahpūre kaśicd ṣmravīkṣo ‘ṣtity āḥa / nanu mayāḥ pūrvām eva mahārājaḥ pratījñāṁ kārito nāyād vyākartyavami iti / kim idam anyad evoktam āmra eva nāstī iti / sa āḥa katham asato vrksasya phalanām

brtan kū sde la sogs pas so; Laksanānusārini (376b8) sna ma dag kho nas žes bya ba ni gnas brtan kū i sde la sogs pa dag gis so.

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

81 prchcheyt uktah prṣṭavān Pāśadikā.

82 bahubollakāḥ Pāśadikā: see above.

83 prchcheyt uktah prṣṭavān Pāśadikā.

Continues...
D.2. Tibetan text

'dud pa6 di ni sna ma dag kho nas kyan bkrol66 te/ rgyal po des 'du sbyin gnas brtan klu'i67 sde'i thad du 'oṅs nas btsun pa dge sbyon68 mams ni smra ba maṅ ba lags so/ gal te gan dris pa de ŋid (Q101b) lan 'debs na/69 bdag ' dri bar ' tshal lo ṣes smras so)/ dirg sol ṣes smras pa dahn/ ci lags/69 srog de ŋid lus lags sam/ srog kyan gzhan lags70 la/70 lus kyan gzhan lags ṣes dris so/ gnas brtan4 gyis 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no ṣes smras pa dahn/ des smras pa/ bdag gis sna nas btsun pa gzhan lhn bstan par mi bya'o/ ṣes dam 'char gsol73 ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du 'di skad du/74 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no ṣes gzhan kho na gsuṅs3/ gnas brtan gyis ṣes smras pa/ rgyal po chen po rgyal po mams ni ṣes smra ba maṅ ba lags so/

gal te gan dris60 pa de ŋid61 lan 'debs na bdag kyan 'dri62 bar 'tshal lags so/ dirg sol ṣes smras pa dahn/ khyod kyi slas la ṣin ljon pa a mra6364 yod pa gan yin pa de'i 'bras bu mams66 ci skyur ram66 'on te (67) mnaṅ lags ṣes60 dris so/ bdag gi slas69 la ṣin ljon pa a mra60 ŋid 'ga' yan med do69 ṣes (G385b) smras so/ bdag gis sna nas rgyal po chen po gzhan lhn bstan par mi bya'o/ ṣes dam 'char gsol72 ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du 'di skad du/76 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no ṣes gzhan kho na gsuṅs3/ gnas brtan gyis ṣes smras pa/ rgyal po chen po rgyal po mams ni ṣes smra ba maṅ ba lags so/
Supplement to The Concordance of the Buddhist Birth Stories

Introduction

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

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

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

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

ABHINĪŚKRAMANA
TPS: No. 25 TAN 73 PL 109 P 469
Story: Life story of Buddha.
References:
Budge (1923) Baralam and Jēwsēf
Pal (1988) 201 Pl 64 Buddha’s early life
Peri (1959) Barlaam Legende
Motif-Index TMI: T 617

AKATAṆṆU
CJ: I 220-1, MAL: I 1
Story: Having been treated courteously, a merchant refused to reciprocate. In turn, when the merchant needed some favor again - he was refused.
References:
Babay (1980) Babay, Rafael: A Favor for a Favor, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, (TEM-41), 1980 # 9 “Two Friends” (IFA 10199)

Folktales Type AT: 613, 893

AMARĀDEVĪ-PAṆHA, Chandapathapaṇha
CJ: I 254, FJ: I 424, MAL: I 147
Story: Mahosadha was testing Amarā about her virtues. She was outstanding in her behavior and intellect.
References:
Adam of Cobsam (1462) The Wright’s Chaste Wife, in Furnivall, F J (1865) publ. Early English Text Society
Árnason, Jón (11864) Icelandic Legends, Story of Geirlaug and Groedari
Barbazan-Méon (1808) De la Dame qui Attrape un Prêtre, un Prévôt et un Forestier, III: 296>
Basile (1932) II: 9, The Paddock I: 197-203

Boccaccio (1982) Decameron VIII: 8
Burton, R F (1886-8) Supplemental Nights... V: 253>: Good Wife of Cairo, and of her Four Gallants
Burton R T (1865) Thousand Nights and a Night
VI: 172 The Lady and her Five Suitors
Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Seven Vazirs, First Tale of Sixth Vazir
Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Sindibād p. 181 >
Clouston, W A (1887) A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories p. 240 >
Clouston, W A Popular Tales and Fictions, Vol. II: The Lady and her Suitors p. 303-5; Temal Ramakistnan p. 305-7
Coelho A (1879) Contos populares portugueses, Lisbon, Sixty seventh story
Cunningham (1879) 53
Damant, G A The Touchstone Indian Antiquary (1873), vol. IX, p. 2-3
Darvish Makhlis of Isphahān: Thousand and one Days
Dasent, George Webbe Popular Tales from the Norse Mastermaid (1912)
Falla, Manuel de Based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcon: The Corregidor & The Miller’s Wife Three-cornered hat (1916-9)
Forteguerri, Ser Giovanni Novelle edite ed inedite, Bologna, (1882) Eighth novel
Gonzenbach, Laura (1870) Sicilianische Märchen, Leipzig p. 859-62, No.55
Ināyatū-ʿllāh: Bahāʾi-Danish = Spring of Knowledge
J 546 Mahā-ummagga VI: 185-7
Liebrecht, Felix (1851) John Dunlap’s Geschichte der Peosadichtungen, Berlin No. 72 b
Mizrahi (1967) #6 Handicraft delivers from death (IFA 1625b)
Montaiglon (1877) IV-106: Constant du Hamel
Nakshabi, Ziya-u’Din: Tūṭī Nāma Tales of a Parrot, Graz (1978) ADV Fourth Night
Noy (1962) #4 Wisdom of Life
Penzer (1924) I: 153-64; 168; 172-81 Devasmitā; I: 42-4 The entrapped suitors; I: 29-36 Upakṣā
Penzer (1924) Yavamajhakiyā
Rappoport (1937) 168-73 The Clever Peasant Girl
Sansovino, F (1603) Cento novelle, Venice IX:8
Shaykh Izzat Ullah (1712): Gul-i-Bakāvali = The Rose of Bakāvali
Stokes, Maive (1879) Indian Fairy Tales No. 28
Straparola, Giovan Le Piacevoli Notti, Venice 1567 II: 5
Francesco da Caravaggio
Swan, Charles & Gesta Romanorum No. 69
Wynnard Hooper (1876) Thorburn, S S (1876) Bannūr Our Afghan Frontier, London Mélusine p. 178
Verdi: Falstaff Libretto: Arrigo Boito, based on Shakespeare’s Merry Wives of Windsor and King Henry IV
Folktale Type AT: 875, 1730
Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

ÄSAMKA
CJ: III 161-4, MAL: I 299
Story: Near the hut of a hermit a girl was born in a lotus. She descended from the heaven of 33. The hermit adopted the beautiful girl. A king came around & fell in love with her. The hermit agreed to give her away on condition of guessing her name. For 3 years he tried. At last with a hint he guessed it right.
References:
Noy (1963) 4 Les choses qu’il vaut mieux faire 35-40
Noy (1963) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux 142-52
Noy (1968) 51 La fille savante du rabbin et son mari qui ne savait encore plus 229-32
Folktale Type AT: 725, 851A, 900-III, 931
Motif-Index TNI: L 161

CANDAKINNARA
CJ: IV 179-82, MAL: I 845
Story: King notices a kinnara couple. Candā the Kinnari wife is beautiful. King wants to get her, kills the husband & offers her the throne. She refuses & laments bitterly the loss of her beloved husband.
References:
BP II 264>
Eberhard (1965) 136; 291
Gaster (1924) # 308; 378
Noy (1968) 25 L’homme qui n’a jamais prête serment 125-36
Thompson and Roberts (1960) No. 938
Yehoshua (1969) # 12 The clever wife (IFA 7667)
Folktale Type AT: 465-II, 930-III
Motif-Index TMI: H 931.1, K 978
CENDRILLON, Cinderella
Macdonald (1988): 143-9 Cendrillon au Tibet
Story: Orphan adopted and abused by stepsisters meets prince who
rejects the stepsisters and marries the orphan.

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

CROSSING OF GANGES
Le Coq (1922): VI 13 78-9 PL 13
Story: Miracle of B. to impress believers.

References:
Schlingloff (1994) 571-81

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CONCORDANCE OF BUDDHIST BIRTH STORIES

CULLA-DHANUGGAHA, Little Archer
CJ: III 144-8, FJ: III 219-24, MAL: I 884
Story: Treachery of women. Husband trying to kill a bandit. He asks
wife for a sword -- she hands it to the bandit (whom she suddenly
desires.) The bandit kills husband, but observing her character he
abandons her. He took her jewelry.

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

DABBHAPUPPHA
CJ: III 205-7, MAL: I 1059
Story: Two otters caught a fish. Unable to agree how to divide the booty
they presented the problem to a jackal for arbitration. He gave the tail to
one, the head to the other, and kept the meaty part to himself.

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

CJ: II 69-73, MAL: I 1055
Story: Of four ascetic brothers in the Himālayas the oldest became Sakka. He gave to his three brothers three magic objects: a razor-axe, a drum and a bowl. A wild boar possessed a gem, which carried its rider through the air. A shipwrecked sailor stole the gem and flew to the Himālaya, where he found the three brothers and exchanged his gem for the three magic objects. With those objects he killed the brothers and repossessed the gem.
References:
Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 105-41
Yehoshua (1969) #6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
Folktales Type AT: 560-III, 563, 567, 569, 926
Motif-Index TMI: D 1470.1, D 1470.1.42, D 1472.1.7

DEVATĀ-PAṆHA

CJ: III 101, MAL: I 1106
Story: Riddles asked and solved by the wise Mahosadha in J 546 Mahā-ummagga.
References:
Cheichel (1970) #3 The emir, the Jewish counselor and the sheep (IFA 8464)
Noy (1970) #22 He who has found a wife, has found a great friend (IFA 114459)
Folktales Type AT: 875, 891
Motif-Index TMI: F 645

DĪGHĪTIKOSALA,

Dighatissakosala, Dighatissa, Dighakosala, Kosalarāja
CJ: III 139-40, FJ: III 211-3, MAL: I 1087
Story: Enmity is not wiped out by enmity, only non-enmity wipes out enmity.

Supplement to The Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories

References:
Dhammapada 5. “Hatreds never cease by hatred in this world; by love alone they cease. This is an ancient law”.
223. “Conquer anger by love; Conquer evil by good; Conquer the stingy one by giving; Conquer the liar by truth”.
Mahābhārata
Udyogaparva 38. 73, 74: “Conquer the anger of others by non-anger; Conquer evil-doers by saintliness; Conquer the miser by gifts; Conquer falsehood by truth”.
Motif-Index TMI: B 449.1

DĪPI

CJ: III 285-6, MAL: I 1089
Story: Panther accuses she-goat of having trod on his tail. When goat says she came flying, in front of panther, he still devours her alleging that she scared a herd of deer, thereby spoiling his prey.
References:
Alexander (1989) 51 Three gifts 162-4
Noy (1963) 4 Die Sünde des Schafes ist die schwerste 27
Noy (1968) 29 Le chat noir 156-7
Folktales Type AT: 51, 111A, 123, 126, 248A, **1583
Folktales Type B: 540, 780, 1255, 1256
Motif-Index TMI: B 780, J 144, J 357, K 561.1.1, K 650, K 931, K 1710, K 1715, K 2285, K 2323, L 310, U 243, U 30, U 31, U 110

DŪBHIYAMAKKAṬA

CJ: II 48-9
Story: A desperately thirsty monkey got some water. He made grimaces at his benefactor and left droppings at his head.
He punished the accusers and the defendant such a way that the servant won a great amount of money from the accusers.

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

Folktale Type AT: 947, 1534, 2042
Motif-Index TMI: J 1172, J 1173, J 1179, K 248

GHOSAKA
Burlingame (1921): I 79, 247
Story: Miraculous escape from death seven times, fulfilling a prophecy at birth.

References:
Gaster (1925-8) 1057-64 Parallels to the Legends of Candrabāhā

Folktale Type AT: 930 I-II
Motif-Index TMI: K 978, M 312, M 370, M 371

HĀRITA
CJ: III 295-7, MAL: II 1324
Story: Young man, upon death of his parents became a hermit. Wandering he arrived to Benares and stayed in the royal park. The king saw him, invited him to stay and built a quarter for him in the park. He lived there for 12 years. When the king had to leave to quell a border turbulence, he asked his queen to look after and feed the hermit. She did so. Once the hermit got back late, the queen was waiting at the window to see him coming for his usual meal. The queen hastily got up, her robe fell off. This aroused the hermit, got hold of the hand of the queen, drew her to himself. Both enjoyed each other. On his return the king confronted them, both confessed. The hermit said: “There are four passions in this
world, great king./ That in their power are over-mastering:/ Lust, hate, excess and ignorance their name;/ Knowledge can here no certain footing claim”. (Emotion outweights logic.)

References:
Ryusen (1981) Pl 21
Folktales Type AT: 318

I NEVER LOSE ANYTHING
Chavannes (1910-34): No. 118 v 1: 389-90; v4: 144
References:
Gaster (1934) # 6 Observance of the Sabbath Rewarded I: 10-11
Folktales Type AT: 736A
Motif-Index TMI: N 211.1

KAKKATA
CJ: II 235-7, MAL: I 472
Story: A huge crab catches an elephant’s foot in his claw. Wife of elephant pleads for him and he was let to go free. Then he trampled the crab to death.
References:
Parimoo (1995) 164>
Folktales Type B: 86
Motif-Index TMI: B 876.2.1, K 910

KALYĀNAKĀRI
TPS: No. 32 TAN 74 PL 110 P 474
Story: Mother has two sons: the good Kalyānakāri or Kṛtajñī or Kṣemākāra and the bad Pāpakāri or Pāpamkāra or Vikṛtajñī. Good brother saves the bad one, who in turn blinds the good one.

Supplement to The Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories

References:
Noy (1979) # 6 The wonderful healing leaves (IFA 10.125)
Folktales Type AT: 613, 673
Motif-Index TMI: N 451, S 165

KANHADĪPĀYANA
CJ: IV 17-22, MAL: I 502
Story: False accusation leads to order of execution by a careless king, who did not investigate the case.
References:
Benfey (1859) I: 479-86; 499-501
Benfey (1859) II: 326-7; 345-6
J 332 Rathalathī
Kalila and Dimna VII 45-199
Rappoport (1937) 173-5 A wise Lion or the Dervish and the Honey Jar
Folktales Type AT: 178, 780
Motif-Index TMI: H 171.1, H 252, K 650

KAPIRĀJA, Monkey king, Suraṃsumāra, Markata
FJ: II 158-60, MAL: II 1172
Story: Crocodile’s wife craved for a monkey’s heart. Husband made friends with a monkey & offered to take him over to the other shore. When monkey realized what the purpose was, he told crocodile that his heart was on a tree on the other side. Getting close, the monkey jumped into a tree & laughed at his “friend”.
References:
Parimoo (1995) 164>
Steel (1894) 230-3 The Jackal and the Partridge
Folktales Type AT: 91
Folktales Type B: 535, 678
Motif-Index TMI: F 1041.1, H 252, H 1212.4, K 544, K 561.3, K 726, K 961.1, T 571

KATTHAHĀRI
CJ: I 27-9, MAL: I 490

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

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

Folktales Type AT: 736A, 873
Motif-Index TMI: H 252

KHARAPUTTA, Son of donkey, Senaki

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

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

Folktales Type AT: 517, 670 II-III, 671, 207A
KUṆĀLA, Cuckoo bird, of beautiful eyes


Story: “Joseph and Mrs. Potiphar”

References:
2 Samuel XI
Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-95
Alexander (1989) 57 King and his vezir 174-8
Basile (1932) II: 6 She-Bear I: 170-8
Basile (1932) IV: 6 The Three Crowns II: 43-53
BP I: 276>
BP II: 234-51; 267-71
Chauvin (1892-1909) III: 145-7
Cheichel (1970) #9 King Solomon’s three counsels (IFA 8600)
Cosquin (1922) 73 > La Légende du Page de Sainte Élisabeth de Portugal
Edgerton (1926) Vol. XXVI: 263-66
Mutalammis Encycl. of Islam I: 335
Parimoo (1995) 164>
Schwarzbain (1939) 173-96 Female fickleness
Tzedaka (1965) #1 The daughter of Amran (IFA 6379)
Folktales Type AT: 318, 870C*, 875D*
Motif-Index TMI: H 171.1, K 2111, P 282.3

KURUNGA-MIGA-II

CJ: II 106-7

Story: Antelope, woodpecker, tortoise against hunter. When antelope was caught in a snare, the tortoise gnaws the net to pieces, the woodpecker delayshunter to give time for antelope to escape. When tortoise was caught by the hunter the antelope distracts him and tortoise escapes.

References:
Noy (1968) 25-8 Le coq, l’âne et le chien

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

KUSA

CJ: V 141-64, MAL: I 651

Story: Search for girl in the image drawn by Prince. He was ugly but wise, due to his Karmic fate.

References:
Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-85
Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan espoused by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8
Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9
Basile (1932) II: 6 She-Bear I: 170-8
BP II: 234-51; 267-71
Edgerton (1926) XXVI: 263-66 Birth of Vikramāditya, father a cursed Gandharvan in skin of ass
J 419 Padmāvatī
Neumann, Erich (1956) Amor and Psyche
Noy (1968) 13 La tête d’âne qui voulait épouser une princesse 94-7
Noy (1968) 71 L’oiseau d’or et l’oiseau d’argent 232-6
Parimoo (1995) 124>
Thompson (1951) 98
TPS No. 68 Padvavati
Folktales Type AT: 425C, 873
Motif-Index TMI: D 735.1
KUṬAVĀṆIJA-II
CJ: II 127-9, MAL: II 659

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

References:
Cheichel (1973)  # 10 A real epidemic (IFA 9150)
Eberhard-Boratav (1953)  243 Zimmermann and Goldschmid 337
Noy (1965)  55 Los comieron los ratones 147

Folk tale Type AT: 1592
Motif-Index TMI: J 1530, J 1531.2

LA DISPUTE DES DEUX DÉMONS
Chavanes (1910-34): No. 277 v 2: 185-6; v 4: 167

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

References:
Kagan (1965)  
# 8 The Princess on the glass Mountain
(IFA 6084)

Noy (1967)  
# 2 The magic hen (IFA 7303)

Weinreich (1988)  
40 The Magic Fish and the Wishing Ring
115-9

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

Folk tale Type AT: 405, 518, 566, 567, 926
Motif-Index TMI: D 1520.11

MAHĀ-UMMAGGA, Big tunnel
CJ: VI 156-246, FJ: VI 329-478, MAL: II 465

Story: Wise Mahosadha becomes king’s adviser. Other courtiers envy him and try to destroy him with intrigues and posing impossible tasks. He overcomes all provocations and retains his high position.

References:
Alexander (1989)  64 Cutting cloth 192-3
Apocrypha  Susanna
Cheichel (1970)  # 13 The Christian Duke and his Jewish
financial adviser (IFA 8235)
Falah (1978)  # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter’s son
(IFA 1193)
Gaster (1924)  # 429; 441
Mizrahi (1967)  # 5 Bahlul and the clever Maiden
(IFA 1625a)
Noy (1962)  # 4 Wisdom of Life (Amra the clever girl)
Noy (1962)  # 5 Three Questions of a King
Noy (1968)  10 Le jugement dans l’affaire du miel et d’or
72-4
Noy (1979)  # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a
great friend (IFA 11459)
Weinreich (1988)  75 The Bishop and Moshke 114-5
Zabara, Joseph ben Meir  The Clever Judge, p.215-6 in Schwarz (1935)
Folk tale Type AT: 178A, 178B, 425, 875, 916, 920C, 922, 922A, 922C,
926, 981, 1641-III, 1651, 1730
Motif-Index TMI: B 122.8, B 331, F 645, F 1041.1, H 486.2, H 561.4,
H 1010, H 1024.1.1.1, J 123, J 151.1, J 1144.1, J 1153, J 1153.2,
J 1171.4, J 1179.7

MAHĀKAPĪ-I
CJ: III 225-7

Story: Monkey saves his troop using his body as bridge.
References:
Gaster (1925-8) 1243-8 Das Herz auf dem Lande
Folk tale Type B: 692
Motif-Index TMI: B 555, K 650

MAHĀŚĀRA J 92
CJ: I 222-7, MAL: II 567
Story: Monkey steals pearl necklace. Many innocent people accused. King’s minister investigates, suspects the monkey. To find the thief he orders all monkeys to be let loose with necklaces, bracelets and anklets on. When the thief saw that, he became jealous and produced the pearl necklace.
References:
Benfey (1859) I: 172; 196
Pal (1988) 197 Pl 60
Ramaswami, Ragu (1901) 78 > Indian Fables
Uther (1993) 513 Ida von Toggenburg 456
Wesselski (1925) 42 Das Urteil über die Elstar 114
Folk tale Type B: 291
Motif-Index TMI: J 1141.1

MĀṆDHĀTU J 258
CJ: II 216-8, MAL: II 445
Story: Icarus motif. Ambitious, injudicious king, not satisfied with everything he got; he wants the whole world. It leads to his downfall.
References:
Pal (1988) 196 Pl 59
Parimoo (1993) 24-43
Folk tale Type AT: 836
Motif-Index TMI: C 773, F 1021.2.1, L 420, L 421, Q 338

MĀṆṆAVIDRĀVA
TPS: No. 26 TAN 73 PL 109 P 470
Story: Temptation & attack of meditating Buddha.
References:
Motif-Index TMI: H 252

MUNIKA J 30
CJ: I 75-6, MAL: II 641
Story: Bull complains of hard work, while boar is only fed. He finds out the ultimate fate of the boar (slaughter).
References:
Marcus (1966) #21 The Consultant Ass (IFA 6951)
Folk tale Type AT: 214*
Motif-Index TMI: L 456

NIGRODHĀ, Banyan tree J 445
CJ: IV 22-7, FJ: IV 37-43, MAL: II 68
Story: Three friends slept under a tree. One of them overheard cocks disputing. One cock bragged: whoever eats my fat will become king, whoever eats my middle flesh will become commander-in-chief and whoever eats my bone-flesh will become the treasurer. The one who heard that talk climbed on the tree, grabbed the cock, cooked it and distributed the fat to Nigrodha, the middle flesh to the other guy and he ate the bone-flesh. All predictions proved to be true.
References:
Kings 5: 13 “Solomon spoke also to beasts and birds”
Yehoshua (1969) #6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
Folk tale Type AT: 567A-II, 670 II-III
Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, H 171.1, M 312.3, N 451
NIGRODHAMIGA, Banyan-Deer, Gazelle-king, Nyagrodhamrgha  J 12
CJ: 1 36-42, FJ: 1 145-53, MAL: II 69
Story: Deer king, provided king’s kitchen daily with a deer to save mass killing of his flock. When the lot fell on a pregnant doe, he offered himself for slaughter. The amazed king stopped the killing.

References:
Steel (1894) 129-43 The Two Brothers
Folktale Type AT: 890, 910K
Folktale Type B: 808
Motif-Index TMI: T 412

PADMĀVATĪ
TPS: No. 68 TAN 84 PL 120 P 508
Story: Padmāvati, daughter of an ascetic in the forest hermitage, was beautiful. King Brahadatta on a hunt met her, fell in love, asked her to his palace. Women in harem were jealous. They falsely accused and besmirched her. King believed and ordered her killed. Deity of father’s hermitage saved her by Act of Truth.

References:
Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan married by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8
BP II: 392-3 Grimm: 96 Recueil des frères # 375 VII: 95
Eberhard-Boratav (1953) # 239 55 versions
J 531 Kusa 320-7 Oral version
Littman 320-7 Oral version
Noy (1968) 15 Le Prince dont tous les souhaits furent exaucés 101-5
Noy (1968) 45 Les Princes perdu 209-14
Noy (1970) # 7 The weaving that saved the queen (IFA 8870)

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CJ: III 69-70, MAL: II 715
Story: King’s chaplain was on his way to his village estate. A caravan blocked his way. He got impatient and struck the caravan leader with his goad-stick. The stick ricocheted and hit his own forehead. He complained to the king, who without examining the case confiscated the caravan. The king’s chief judge reversed the order.

References:
Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter’s son (IFA 1193)
Marcus (1966) # 10 The three Brothers (IFA 6260)

RKSAPATI
Story: Three versions about an ungrateful man saved by the bear: 1) he points out the bear who saved him to a hunter; 2) shoves him from the tree to a lurking lion; 3) does both.

References:
Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter’s son (IFA 1193)
Marcus (1966) # 32 There is no pity in Man’s heart (IFA 5319)
Folktale Type AT: 75, 154, 154 IV, 160, 161
Folktale Type B: 1134, 1179
Motif-Index TMI: K 2315
SACAMKIRA

CJ: I 177-81, MAL: II 995

Story: A prince was swept away in the middle of a river during the storm. He, a snake, a rat and a parrot were saved by an ascetic. They all promised him a reward. The animals fulfilled the promise, but not the prince.

References:

Feer (1901) 174
Hertel (1909) I: 74; 214 > Katharatinākara
Hertel (1909) I: 130
Noy (1968) 14 L’homme qui rendit le mal pour le bien 97-100
Rückerts, F (1868) III 252 Gedicht “Von Menschen Undank und der Tiere Dankbarkeit” in Brahmanischen Erzählungen, Poetische Werke
Wesselski (1925) 56 Die Dankbarkeit 153-5

Folktales Type AT: 160, 554
Folktales Type B: 1122
Motif-Index TMI: B 437.1, B 469.9, B 491.1, B 531, B 583, W 154.2.2

SAMMODAMĀNA

CJ: I 85-6, MAL: II 1065

Story: In unison quails could avoid being captured by raising the net together flying away, while quarreling they were caught.

References:

Noy (1968) 1 Le Coq, l’âne et le chien 25-8
Folktales Type AT: 125, 233B
Folktales Type B: 1056
Motif-Index TMI: J 1024, K 640, K 1715.3, U 160

SAMBHAVA, Youth, Simbha

CJ: V 31-7, FJ: V 57-67, MAL: II 1061

Story: Chaplain sent all over to find definition of “good” & “truth”. Finally a 7-year old boy resolved his doubts.

References:

Alexander (1989) 1 Mother’s heart 51-3
Alexander (1989) 59 Answers of Jewish minister 179-80
Alexander (1989) 64 Cutting cloth 192-3
Alexander (1989) 92 Clever boy and king 234-6
Apocrypha Susanna
Avitsuk (1965) Avitsuk, Jacob: TEM 1964, IFA, Haifa, 1965 # 27 The Tree that absorbed Tears
Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine (IFA 8168)
Eberhard-Poravka (1953) 294 Der Kaufmann und sein Lehrling 337
Gaster (1924) # 429; 441
Gaster (1934) # 144 The Old Man and the Snake and the Judgment of Solomon I: 276-80
Gaster (1934) # 199 The Woman who hid her Gold in a Jar II: 452-6
Ginzberg (1946-61) III 257 n. 7-10
Koen-Sarano (1994) 195-203 El mazal i la hohma 195-203
Marcus (1966) # 14 King learns from children (IFA 4839)
Noy (1966) Noy, Dov: Tunisia, IFA, Haifa 1966 # 10
Noy (1968) 10 Le jugement dans l’affaire du miel et d’or 72-4
Noy (1968) 47 L’orphan qui savait dévoiler les secrets 217-30
Noy (1979) 39-17 Thanks to King Solomon’s Trial (IFA 11093)
Noy (1979) # 20 The boy’s three questions (IFA 11137)
Thompson (1951) 145 The Folktales
Tsedaqa (1965)     #1 The daughter of Amran (IFA 6379)
Folktales Type AT: 921, 922, 926A, 1620
Motif-Index TMI: A 530, H 524.1, H 711.1, J 1113, K 445

SAÑJĪVA, Resurrection, Byaggha     J 150
CJ: I 319-22, FJ: I 508-11, MAL: II 1001
Story: Pupil learned a spell how to raise the dead, but did not know how to stop the spell. He used the spell on a dead tiger. The tiger became alive & killed him.
References:
Basile (1932)     IV: 6 The three Crowns II: 43-53
Cheichel (1970)     #2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
Gaster (1924)     #441
Ginzberg (1946-61)     VI: 286 n. 31
Noy (1967)     #11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)
Noy (1968)     18 Le médecin et son assistant 112-5
Rappoport (1937)     195-9 The creation of the Golem
Schwarbaum (1968)     360-1
Folktales Type AT: 155, 325, 565, 678
Motif-Index TMI: D 806, D 965, D 1500, D 1635, D 1711.0.1, D 1810.4, J 563, J 1172.3, J 1804, J 2411.4, R 1117

SIRI     J 284
CJ: II 279-82, MAL: II 1138
Story: A stick-gatherer at night overhead two cocks fighting and abusing each other. One cock boasted: if anybody eats my meat - will become a king; my exterior - will be commander-in-chief; my bones - a chaplain. The stick-gatherer caught the cock, killed & his wife cooked it in a pot. Going to bathe in the river, they put the pot on the bank. A breeze blew it into the river. Downstream an elephant-trainer picked it up. At mealtime an ascetic stopped in. They offered him the pot (unaware of its importance). The ascetic divided the pot: meat to the trainer, exterior to
the wife, and he ate the bones. Events materialized according to the prediction.
References:
Yehoshua (1969)     #6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
Folktales Type AT: 567A, 567A-II, 670 II-III, 926
Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, M 312.3, N 451

SIVI     J 499
CJ: IV 250-6, MAL: II 1153
Story: Sivi's story presents four versions of self-sacrifice: 1) giving away his eye; 2) his flesh; 3) his head; 4) his body.
References:
Cheichel (1973)     #4 100 grams of a flesh of a Jew (IFA 9321)
Folktales Type AT: 890
Motif-Index TMI: A 1598, H 252, J 1161.2

SUDATTA
TPS: No. 35 TAN 75 PL 111 P 476
Story: The religious and humble Sudatta disobeyed the proud king's ordinances in maintaining his practices of rituals. Severely punished by the king, he distributes his wealth and retires.
References:
Mizrahi (1967)     #10 Reverence to prayer at Day of Atonement (IFA 7065)
Folktales Type AT: 929
Motif-Index TMI: T 232

SUDHANA
TPS: No. 64 TAN 83 PL 119 P 501
Story: Prince Sudhana (S.) & Manoharā (M.). King Dhana had a Nāga, whose presence augured prosperity. An enemy king wanted to acquire that Nāga by dispatching men to capture it. Nāga saved by a hunter. As a reward the Nāga gave him a magic noose. Hunter gave the noose to his
son, who was able to capture with it M., a beautiful Kinnari princess. He gave M. to Prince S. They married. S. was sent to conduct a campaign. S. gave to his mother the queen a miraculous gem to safeguard M. in his absence. There was a rivalry in the king's court between two chaplains: the favored & the unfavored one. The unfavored chaplain was looking for an opportunity to take revenge on the favored one. This came about when the king had a bad dream & consulted the unfavored chaplain. He suggested to the king to sacrifice M. to the gods. This was almost done, had not M. been rescued by the miraculous gem in custody of the queen. With that M. flew back to her Nāga world. Before entering her world she visited a hermit & asked him to tell the returning Prince S. where she went & entrusted a ring for S. The returned S. was frantically searching for M. & by chance met the hermit, who fulfilled the charge given to him by M. This led to their happy reunion.

References:
Basile (1932) IV: 3 The Three Animal Kings II: 21-6
Bocaccio (1982) X: 9 762-80
Penzner (1924) II: 76 The Ring of Recognition
Schieffner (1882) Introduction XLIX-L
Folktales Type AT: 400
Motif-Index TMI: B 652.1, D 361.1.1, H 94, H 324

SUMĀGADHĀ
TPS: No. 93 TAN 90 PL 126 P 526
Story: Pious daughter converts her whole family to Buddhism from Jainism.
References:
Noy (1970) #22 He who has found a wife, has found a great good (IFA 11459)
Folktales Type AT: 875, 875D
Motif-Index TMI: F 645

SUPPENOM
J 489
CJ: IV 198-205, MAL: II 1258
Story: Two motifs: 1) two friends who later became kings promised to wed their future children; 2) at wedding festivities groom could not be made to laugh until a dancer performed a "half-body" dance.
References:
Basile (1932) Frame Story I: 3
Basile (1932) III: 5 The Cockchafer, the Mouse and the Grasshopper I: 257-64
Noy (1968) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux 142-52
Parimoo (1995) 164 >
Weinreich (1988) 7 Wisdom or Luck 5-8
Folktales Type AT: 559-I, 571-III, 930, 945II
Motif-Index TMI: 591.2, H 252, N 640

SUTASOMA
J 537
CJ: V 246-79
Story: King became cannibalistic by tasting human flesh offered to the unwitting king by his cook. This caused panic in the populace. With help of brave Sutasoma he was converted to his previous habits.
References:
Alexander (1989) 4 Repentance of cannibal 60-7
Alexander (1989) 94 Two brothers responsible for each other 237-8
Parimoo (1995) 124 >
Folktales Type AT: 406, 768
Motif-Index TMI: B 243, G 11.7, G 51, G 78.1, H 252, K 815.17, N 101, S 262
SUVARNAVARṆĀVADĀNA
Mitra (1882):
Story: Three incarnations: 1) old bhikṣu wanted to get rid of a new monk Ajita. Accused him falsely for sexual excesses, exclaiming: “you deserve the stake for your crime”. 2) the old bhikṣu reborn as Virūpa, an ugly creature, cause of calamity; 3) again reborn as Suvarṇavaraṇa a beautiful and devoted youngster, falsely accused of murder and was put on stake for execution. Every time he was rescued because he performed the rite of caityavrata (honoring the caitya). - Karma served the purpose of a “rational excuse for the apparent absence of justice in the world” (G. Scholem).
References:
Noy (1963) 32 Schwili: Die Königstochter und der Sohn des Zauberers 101-6
Folk tale Type AT: 759**

TACCHASŪKARA J 492
CJ: IV 216-21, MAL: I 986
Story: Wise boar helped to save his herd of wild boars from a harassing tiger. He organized the herd, captured & devoured the tiger. The same wise boar got rid of a sham ascetic who used to help a tiger to devour the boars. The herd elected him to be their king. They seated him in a fig tree & sprinkled him with water from a conch shell. This is the origin of the coronation ceremony on a figwood chair & sprinkling from a conch shell.
References:
Noy (1968) 1 Le coq, l’âne et le chien 25-8
Folk tale Type AT: 125
Folk tale Type B: 35
Motif-Index TMI: J 1020, K 1715.3

TAKKĀLA
CJ: IV 27-31, MAL: I 981
Story: Wicked wife persuades husband to kill his old father. He goes to the cemetery with his young son. Starts to dig a grave for his old father. When the young son starts to dig another grave “Whom is it for?” asked the father. “For you, when you get old.” They went home & he chased away his wife. (Blames wife instead of his own malice!)
References:
Yehoshua (1969) # 13 Honor your Father (IFA 7668)
Folk tale Type AT: 980, 982
Motif-Index TMI: J 121.1, K 214.2, N 451

TAKKĀRIYA
CJ: IV 153-61, MAL: I 984
Story: Chaplain discovers that his wife had a look-alike lover: tawny brown. Chaplain persuades king to sacrifice a tawny brown man to enable a building to be built. The stupid husband tells his perfidious wife about it. The word spreads around looking for a tawny man. Wife warns all of them to flee. The only one remaining is her husband.
References:
Cheichel (1968) # 2 The Turning Wheel (IFA 7905)
Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine (IFA 8168)
Noy (1968) 29 Le Chat Noir 56-7
Noy (1970) # 20 The boy’s three questions (IFA 11137)
Schwarzbach (1968) 254-5
Folk tale Type AT: 980C
Folk tale Type B: 1015, 1168
Motif-Index TMI: J 21.45, J 2143.1, N 101, N 331, S 241, S 261
TESAKUNA
CJ: V 59-64, MAL: I 1037
Story: King finds a nest with three eggs. Young birds hatched, adopted by
king as his children. They give him good advice how to rule: 1) do not
attempt the impossible; 2) regret nothing that is past; 3) believe no
impossible tale. The king failed on all three.
References:
Ausubel (1948) 628 The Wise Bird and the Foolish Man
Budge (1923) 5 The Nightingale and the Fowler XXII–
XXIII
Budge (1923) 63-7 The Parable of the Hunter
Burton (1888) VI: 169 The Three Teachings of the Bird
Campbell, Marie in Patai (1960): The Three Teachings of the
Davids (1880) Bird XXXIII-XXXIX
Gaster (1924) # 39 The Bird’s Three Advices 149-50
Hammond (1927) Lydgate, John: The Churl of the Bird 102-40
Jacobs (1896) Introduction commentary LXX, 80, 190;
Appendix II page CXXI
MacDonald (1895) The Three Teachings of the Bird - three
versions
Parker (1914) III 256, 354
Rapport (1937) 175-6 Three Precepts

THE BRAHMAN AND THE MONGOOSE
Penzer (1924): V:138-9
Story: A Brahman left his infant in care of a trusted mongoose while he
was called to perform a ceremony. A snake crept to the bed of the child
ready to bite him. The mongoose jumped at the snake and killed it. The
returning Brahman saw at the entrance the mongoose with its bloody
mouth. Believing that the mongoose killed the child he stoned the faithful
animal.

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References:
CJ VI 186-9
J 332 Rathalattthi
Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 103-14
Motif-Index TMI: B 331.2
TIPALLATTHAMIGA
CJ: I 47-50, MAL: I 1013
Story: Young stag caught in net, feigned death to make his escape.
References:
Noy (1968) 2 La ruse de renard 28-32
Folktales Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A, 239
Folktales Type B: 504, 996
Motif-Index TMI: K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860
UCCHANGA, Lap/womb, Apronfull, Uccanga, Udariya
CJ: I 164-6, FJ: I 306-8, MAL: I 340
Story: Three men were taken prisoners alleging they were bandits.
Woman claimed them. The king presented her with a dilemma: if she take
only one person with her of the three: husband, child or brother, which
one should she pick? She picks the brother, who is irreplaceable (the
other two could be replaced). The pleased king released all three.
References:
Basile (1932) IV: 9 The Raven II: 72-82
Folktales Type AT: 985
Motif-Index TMI: A 530, P 253.3
UCCHIṬṬHABHATTA, Left-over food, Nana
CJ: II 117-20, FJ: II 167-9, MAL: I 341
Story: Husband found wife’s lover in the storeroom.
References:
J 199 Gahapati
Folktales Type AT: 985
Motif-Index TMI: K 1561

UPAKOSĀ
Penzner (1924): I 32-44, 167
Story: Virtuous wife traps suitors, hides them in baskets & takes them to
king’s court.
References:
Alexander (1989) 54 The Wise Queen 169-70
Folktales Type AT: 1730
Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

UTPALAVarNĀ
Chavannes (1918-34): No. 188 v: 2 54, v:4: 154-5
Story: Being insistently pursued by a young man she asked for the
reason. He said she likes her lotus-like eyes. She tore them out & sent
them to him. This is according to the Tripitaka XIX, 7, p. 7 ro. and XVII,
2, p. 54 ro. However, according to Tawney-Penzer: Kathā sarit sāgara
(III: 19-20) it is a prince who tore out his eyes, because the wife of a
merchant was charmed by them. While so far no Pāli jātaka or avadāna
seems to describe the story (?) or an illustration has been found, a
personal communication by Prof. Jean Fontein (11/30/97) indicates that
an up-to-date unidentified freeze on the main wall (II: 35) of the second
gallery at Barabudur seems to correspond to the Tawney-Penzer story.
References:
Basile (1932) III: 2 The Girl with the Maimed Hands
I: 232-41
Bin Gorion (1934) IV: 283
BP I: 295-311 to Grimm No. 31 “Das Mädchen
ohne Hände”
Cahier (1867) Charasteristiques des Saints, in Revue
Celtique V: 130

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Eisler, R Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt, München,
1910, p. 150
Lamotte (1944) I: 260-3
Lamotte (1944) II: 875
Liebrecht (1879) 441 Essay on the Sources of Barlaam and
Josaphat
Marguerite (1959) No. X
Parker (1910-4) II: 198
Pauli, Johannes Schimpf und Ernst, ed. Bolte, Berlin, 1924,
vol. I: 13 & vol. II: 258
Penzner (1924) 3-III: 19-21 Prince who tore out his own Eye
Stokes (1877) 65 St. Brigid
Tubach (1969) # 4744 Temptation resisted by mutilation,
p. 359. Many references.
Wirth, A Danae in christlichen Legenden, Wien, 1892,
p. 45

Folktales Type AT: 706
Motif-Index TMI: T 327

VALAHASSA
CJ: II 89-91, MAL: II 838
Story: Five hundred merchants shipwrecked on the island of goblins
(Ceylon). They were enticed by those women (in beautiful shape). The
leader of the group observed that these goblins devoured their victims as
soon as new shipwrecks arrived. The Flying-horse showed up asking if
they wanted to return to their homes. Only half of them grabbed the
opportunity.
References:
Kurata (1987) PI 45
Meech-Pekarik (1981-2) P 111-8 F 2-6
Parimoo (1995) 164 >
Folktales Type AT: 314-III
Motif-Index TMI: G 264.3

VAṬṬAKA-II
CJ: I 261-2, MAL: II 816
Story: Quails were caught, fattened & sold. One quail refused to be
fattened, fasted till he became all skin & bone. The fowler took him out of
cage to examine him, he flew away & regained his freedom.
References:
Sharma (1978) 24-6 Santha Bahu
Folktales Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A
Folktales Type B: 501, 504, 510, 996
Motif-Index TMI: K 520, K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860

VEDABBHA
CJ: I 121-4, MAL: II 920
Story: Two robbers obtain treasure. They slaughter each other due to
extreme greed.
References:
Alexander (1989) 5 Sheppard who found livelihood 67-9
Bezemer 24-6 Volksdichtung aus Indonesien
Falahl (1978) #27 The pardoner’s tale
Grimm (1856) Brüder Lustig
Hechal Hechal, Edna: TEM #42 (unpublished)
#6 Treasure finders
Marcus (1966) #6 The end of a wicked man (IFA 3801)
Noy (1962) #3 Moses our Teacher
Noy (1967) #8 The poor woodcutter who trusted God
(IFA 7315)
Noy (1967) Pardoner’s Tale
Schwarzbaum (1939) 4-5 Introduction by Eli Josef

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Schwarzbaum (1947) 97-105 “The liar and the loaves of bread” in
Edoth (Hebrew)
Tupper (1941) 415-38 The pardoners tale
Folktales Type AT: 763
Motif-Index TMI: K 1685

VELUKA
CJ: I 114-5, MAL: II 934
Story: A hermit kept a viper as a pet, in spite of warnings against it. Once
he was away for days. On his return the hungry & angry viper bit him.
He died.
References:
Cheichel (1970) #2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
Gaster (1924) #441
Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n. 31
Noy (1967) #11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)
Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1
Folktales Type AT: 155

VESSANTARA
CJ: VI 246-305, MAL: II 944
Story: Prince Sudāna=Vessantara=Viśvāntara gives away everything.
The classical story is too long even to abstract, it is a must reading in any
of the references.
References:
Bacot (1923) Three Tibetan Mystery Plays
Pal (1988) 117 F 40
Pal (1988) 177
Pal (1988) 203 Pl 60
Parimoo (1995) 124 >
Motif-Index TMI: B 801

Denver Leslie Grey
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A Note on *Dhammapada* 60
and the Length of the *Yojana*

I. *Dhammapada* 60 and its counterparts

*Dhammapada* 60 is the first verse of the *Bāla-vagga*, “The Chapter on Fools”. It may be rendered as follows:

Long is the night for one who is sleepless;
long is the league for one who is weary.
Long is samsāra for the fool
who does not understand the Good Dhamma.

In the Pāli and Patna *Dhammapadas* the verse is in the *Bālavagga*; in the *Udānavarga* it is in the *Anityavarga*. The first part of the *Anityavarga* of the *Udānavarga* from Subaśī, which should have contained the verse, is lost, as is the entire *Bālavarga* of the “Gāndhāri *Dhammapada*”, which might have contained the verse. A perfect equivalent to the *Udānavarga* verse is cited in the *Mahākarmavibhanga* as “a gāthā spoken by the Lord”, and lines c and d are cited in Bhavya’s *Tarkajñāla*, as preserved in Tibetan translation.

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A Note on Dhammapada 60 and the Length of the Yojana

Tarkajvālā 167.28

damchos rnampar mišes pa'i// byis pa la ni 'khor barin/"

Chinese Udānavarga I,18

To him who does not sleep soundly the night seems long. To him who is tired the road seems long. For the fool birth and death are long-lasting. Few hear the good law.¹⁰

Both the Pāli and Patna Dhammapadas give bāla in the plural, as does the Tibetan of the Udānavarga and the Mahākarmavibhanga (in both byis pa rnam s). The Sanskrit Udānavarga (and the Chinese Udānavarga in English translation), the Sanskrit Mahākarmavibhanga, and the Tibetan Tarkajvālā citation give bāla in the singular. The Tibetan Udānavarga has rgyan grags = krosa in place of yojana; this is probably a slip of the translators. The Udānavargavivaraṇa and the Tibetan Mahākarma-vibhanga have dpag tshad = yojana.

II. The setting (nidāna) of the verse

Prajñāvarman, in his Udānavargavivaraṇa, gives three nidānas for the Udānavarga verse:¹¹

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⁸ Lévi’s text is based on the Narthang blockprint, compared with the Peking (p. 183, n. 1). I assume that Narthang reads ma, as given by Lévi. Peking reads here ni (Q1005, Vol. 39, mdo šu, 291b2). The reading should rather be the negative mi.


(1) When the monks were gathered, seated together in the assembly hall (bṣi gnas kyi khan pa), this chance discussion arose: “What, venerable ones, is that which is called ‘long’ (dīrgha)?” Some said, “The night is long for one who is awake”. Others said, “The yojana is long for the weary traveller”. Overhearing [their discussion], the Lord spoke this verse.

(2) According to others: A deity (deva) came and asked the Lord:

“What is long for one who is awake?
What is long for the weary traveller?”

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12 Cf. the stock introduction at Śayanāsanavastu (Raniero Gnoli, The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu, Rome, 1978, p.3.9 sambahulānām bhiksūnām upasthānāsatālāyām sannisāmitānām sannipatiṭṭānām ayam evam rūpābhūd antarākathāsamudāhāraḥ; Kosa-vybāhyā (ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, IV 1066, antepenult); introductions to MN 119 and 123 (III 88.18, 118.12) sambahulānām bhikṣhunām upasthānāsatālāyām sannisīṇānām sannipatiṭṭānām ayam antarākathā udāpādhī; Karmaprajñapti, Upāyikā-īkā (see below). It seems that here bṣi gnas kyi khan pa = upasthānāsatālā (Pāli upasthānasatālā); bṣi stan frequently translates forms of satkṛ, which is one of the senses of upasthāna. upasthānasatālā is frequently rendered as rim gro’i gnas, the form sanctioned by the Mahāvyutpatti (Mv 5565; MPS 2.1-4; Vinayavastu, Sanghabhedavastu, Q1030, Vol. 42, ‘dul ba ce, 155b7, 156a1, 2 = Raniero Gnoli (ed.), The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sanghabhedavastu, Part II, Rome, 1978, p.75.25 foll.). But there are, for Tibetan, a surprising number of alternates:

rim ‘gro’i khan pa (Karmaprajñapti, Q5589, Vol. 115, mnon pa khu, 112a3);
dpon sa’i khan pa (Vinayavibhanga, Q1032, Vol. 42, ‘dul ba je, 1a3, 5, 7, 8 = Sanghabhedavastu, loc. cit.);

bkad sa (MPS 19.1, 2, 4, 5; at Mv 5562 bkad sa = mandapa);
\'dan khan (Kosa-vybāhyā, Q5593, Vol. 117, mnon pa chu, 303b7);
mdun ma (Samathadeva, Abhidharmakośopāyikā-īkā, Q5595, Vol. 118, mnon pa thu, 58b6, 59a4);

bṣiṭen bkar gyi gnas (Śayanāsanavastu, Q1030, Vol. 41, ‘dul ba ne, 179a5, b5 (dkur for bkar).

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What is long for the fool?
I beg your answer to these riddles.”

The Lord replied, “Night is long for the wide-awake”, and so on.

(3) Others say that this verse was spoken [by the Lord] with reference to (ārabhya) the sleepless King Prasenajit and a weary traveller.

The first nidāna, which I will call the “official” one—the nidāna transmitted by Prajñāvarman’s school, the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin—is a summarized version of a stock opening employed in both (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin sūtra literature. The nidāna might therefore be drawn from a canonical text. The second nidāna, attributed to “others” (gžan dag = anye)—that is, another school—may also be canonical, since it resembles the short sūtras in which a deity or other figure approaches the Buddha and asks a riddle in verse, to which the Buddha replies in verse. Such sūtras are common in the Deva- and Devatā-samyuttas of the Sagātha-vagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, although no counterpart to Prajñāvarman’s citation is found there or elsewhere in Pāli. The third nidāna, also attributed to “others”, resembles the short nidānas given at the head of the stories in the Dhammapada-atthakathā. For the present verse that text gives the following nidāna:13

imam dharmadesanam satthā jetavane viharanto pasenadikosaḷaṁ c’ eva aṁatararaṇa ca purisam ārabhya kathē.

The Teacher gave this religious instruction when he was staying in the Jetavana, with reference to [King] Pasenadi of Kosala and a certain man.

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13 Dhammapada-atthakathā, Aṁnatarapurisa-vatthu, (Mm) III 100.3; (PTS) II 1.3.
The Dhammapada-atthakathā gives a long story\(^{14}\) in which King Pasenadi of Kosala, out touring the city, glimpses the wife of “a certain poor man”,\(^{15}\) becomes infatuated with her, and spends a sleepless night.\(^{16}\) The reference to “the sleepless King Prasenajit” of the UvViv fits the Dhammapada-atthakathā story, but the “weary traveller” does not, since the “certain poor man” of the latter is a resident of the city, and is taken by the King into his service (with a sinister motive). Nonetheless, Prajñāvarman’s reference suggests that, as in other cases, he knew an exegetical tradition on the Udānavarga/Dhammapada that was related to that of the Theravādins.

III. The length of the yojana

The Dhammapada-atthakathā, commenting on the line “long is the league to him that is weary” (dīgham santassa yojanām), defines a yojana as equal to four gāvuta: yojanāṃ ti yojanam pi catugāvatamattam eva.\(^{17}\) The Vibhanga-atthakathā states that 80 usabha are a gāvuta, and four gāvuta a yojana: asīti usabhāni gāvutam, cattāri gāvutāni yojanam.\(^{18}\) The Abhidhānappadippikā adds one more measurement:

\begin{quote}
A gāvuta is 80 usabha, a yojana four gāvuta; a kosa is 500 dhanu.
\end{quote}

The Pāli Text Society’s Dictionary (p. 250a) defines gāvuta as “a linear measure, a quarter of a yojana = 80 usabhās, a little less than two miles, a league”. For yojana (p. 559a) it has “a measure of length: as much as can be travelled with one yoke (of oxen), a distance of about 7 miles, which is given by Buddhaghosa as equal to 4 gāvutas”, referring to the Dhammapada-atthakathā definition given above. It does not give kosa (p. 230ab) or dhanu (p. 335a) in the sense of measurements.

Medhamkara’s Lokadipakasāra gives the relation between kosa and gāvuti:\(^{20}\)

\begin{quote}
dhanu pañcasatam kosam kosam cattāri gāvutam gāvutāni ca cattāri yojanaṃ ti paucattāti.
500 dhanu are a kosa, four kosa are a gāvuta; four gāvuta are called a yojana.
\end{quote}

\(^{14}\) (PTS) II 1–19; (Mm) III 100–114: Eugene Watson Burlingame (tr.), Buddhist Legends, Part 2 ([1921] London 1979), Part 2, pp. 100–111.

\(^{15}\) (Mm) III 100.9; (PTS) II 1.12 aṇñatarassāpi (PTS aṇñattarassāpi) duggatapurissassa bhariyā.

\(^{16}\) (PTS) II 5.10, rañño pi tam rattim niddam alabhantassa; 5.20, rājā niddam alabhanto.

\(^{17}\) (Mm) III 109.20; (PTS) II 13.4.


\(^{19}\) Phra gambhir abhidhānappadippikā ru bacakānukram bhāsapāli plae pen thai (Mahāmakutārājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2508 [1965]), p. 53. vv. 196cd, 197a.

\(^{20}\) National Library-Fine Arts Department, Lokadipakasāra, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], Chap. 7, p. 544.18.
A similar verse is found in the *Samkhya-pakāsaka-pakarana* and *Cakkavāladipani*.22

dhanu pañcasatam kosaṃ catukosaṇ ca gāvutam
gāvutāni pi cattāri yojanaṇi ti pavaucati.

The same figures are given by Daśabalaśrimitra in Chapter 5 of his *Sanskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścayā*, “Analysis of Matter and Time” (*Rūpa-kāla-viniścayā*).23 The chapter gives a brief account of the components of atoms (paramāṇu) and of measurements of size from the atom up to the yojana, according to the Vaibhāṣikas. To this the author appends three lines of verse “from the tradition (āgama) of the Ārya Sthavira nikāya”:

guṭu dom la brgya rgyan grags tsal la ba lan
gros//
ba lan 'gros bzi dpag tshad do// žes so//

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23 National Library-Fine Arts Department, *Cakkavāladipani*, Bangkok, 2523 [1980], p. 208.7, with the sole variant ca for pi in line c (= Lokadipakasāra). The *Cakkavāladipani* is citing the *Lokadipakasāra*: the source is given at the beginning of the section (202.11, vuttam lokadipakasāre) after which Sirimangala introduces his citations with vuttam tathā eva. For this text see Supaphan, *op. cit.*, 405–18.


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500 dhanu are one kosa; four kosa are one gāvuta;
four gāvuta are one yojana.

Although the measurements are the same, the citation does not exactly correspond to any of our sources, since it gives all three measures in three lines. It is closest to the *Lokadipakasāra* and *Samkhya-pakāsaka* versions. Medhamkara wrote the former at Muttamanagara (Martaban) in Ramaṅgadesa in the 14th century. Nāṇavilāsa, author of the latter, was probably a Northern Thai monk from Chiang Saen of the late 15th to early 16th century,24 while Sirimangala (a student of the preceding, who wrote a commentary on the *Samkhya-pakāsaka*) compiled the *Cakkavāladipani* in the kingdom of Lanna (Chiang Mai) in BE 2063 (CE 1520).25 Since Daśabalaśrimitra probably lived in the 12th or 13th century, his citation is the earliest known source that includes the equation 4 kosa = 1 gāvuta.26 The equation is not found in the *Abhidhānappadipikā*, composed by Moggallāna in the Jetavana Monastery at Pulatthipura towards the end of the 12th century.27

Non-Theravāda sources give different definitions. Prajñāvarman’s *Udānavarga-vivarana* has: “in this case a yojana equals a distance of four kroṣa” (dpag tshad ni ‘dir rgyan grags bzi lam mo).28 The same figure is given in the Śārdūlakarnāvadāna and the

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27 I would not be astonished if more on measurements, including perhaps the figure in question, occurs in the *Tikā* literature.
29 1100.5.
Lalitavistara; the former refers to a “Magadhan yojana”, the latter to a “Magadhan kroṣa”.²⁹ In both texts 1000 dhanu = 1 kroṣa. The Vaibhāṣika definition given by Daśabalaśrīmitra (D 119b5, Q 18a3) is “500 dhanu are one kroṣa; eight kroṣa are one yojana”. This agrees with the Abhidharmakosā (III,87cd, 88a).³⁰ (Yaśomitra does not add any comments.)³¹ Hsüan-tsang (second quarter of the 7th century) gives the same figures.³² The Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon Mahāvyutpatti (beginning of the 9th century) gives only one measurement, dhanuḥ paṇca śatāni kroṣah.³³ In sum:


³³ Mvy 8205.

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500 dhanu = 1 kroṣa (Theravāda, Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang, Mahāvyutpatti);
1000 dhanu = 1 kroṣa (Śāradālakarnāvadāna, Lalitavistara);
4 kroṣa = 1 yojana (Prajñāvarman, Śāradālakarnāvadāna, Lalitavistara);
8 kroṣa = 1 yojana (Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang);
16 kroṣa = 1 yojana (Theravāda).

Monier-Williams defines a kroṣa as “the range of the voice in calling or halloowing’, a measure of distance (an Indian league, commonly called a Kos = 1000 Daṇḍas = 4000 Hastas = 1/4 Yojana; according to others = 2000 Daṇḍas = 8000 Hastas = 1/2 Gavyūṭi.ž For he defines a yojana as “a stage or Yojana (i.e. a distance traversed in one harnessing or without unyoking; esp. a particular measure of distance, sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly = 4 Kroṣas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations = 2 1/2 English miles, and according to some = 8 Kroṣas”.³⁵ His sources thus give some of the definitions used by the Buddhists, but as part of different systems of measurement. Evidently, and naturally enough, a number of systems coexisted, and the definition of the yojana varied with time, place, tradition, and context.³⁶ It could hardly have been a matter of sectarian dispute for the Buddhists, although it may have had some significance in the interpretation of the Vinaya.³⁷

³⁵ ibid., p. 858a.
³⁷ See e.g. The Entrance to the Vinaya, Vinayamukha, Vol. I, Bangkok, 1952, pp. 235–36. The Lokadipakāsāra (544.7 foll. = Cakkavāladipani 207b.21 foll.) mentions two types of yojana: brahmādi-yojana and bhūmyādi-yojana. The first, used for cosmic measurements such as the size of the moon, continues...
In Section IV I give a translation, in Section V the Tibetan text, of Chapter 5 of the *Samskrta-samskṛta-viniścaya*. Daśabalaśrimitra's description of atoms agrees with that of the *Indriyānirdesa* (Chap. 2) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁸ His enumeration of measurements of size and units of time, both given in ascending order, agrees on the whole with that of the *Lokanirdesa* (Chap. 3) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁹ The relative antiquity of the enumerations of size and time is shown by the fact that they are given in the *Lokaprajñapti*, a "canonical" text of the (Mūla) Sarvāśtaśādīn Abhidharma.⁴⁰

The *Vibhaṅga-atthakathā* gives a series of ascending measurements of size, starting from the atom.⁴¹ The same figures are

sun, and *vimānas*, is that of Daśabalaśrimitra's verse. The second, used for the measurement of land, mountains, and physical distance, will be described below.


³⁹ See *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome II, pp. 177–80. I am indebted to La Vallée Poussin's valuable notes. Unfortunately the sections of the third chapter of the *Abhidharmadipika* and its *Vibhaṅsāprabhāvṛtti*, in which the information might have occurred, are lost: see Jaini, p. 115, n. 1.


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The figures and names are quite different from those of the Vaibhāṣikas, with the exception of the equations 7 likkha = 1 ūkā; 7 ūkā = 1 dhañnamāsa; 7 dhañnamāsa = 1 angula, which may be compared with the 7 likṣa = 1 yūka; 7 yūka = 1 yava; 7 yava = 1 anguli-parvan of the Vaibhāṣika system (see below).

The *Abhidhānappadīpika* does not enumerate the units of time. For these we may turn to Medhakara's *Lokapakṣāra*:⁴³

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⁴² *Abhidhānappadīpika* vv. 194–96; *Lokapakṣāra* p. 544:10–15; *Samkhya-pakṣāka* Ch. 1, vv. 2–5; *Cakkavāladiṇī* 207, penult.–208.4. Cf. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–51. According to the *Lokapakṣāra* and *Cakkavāladiṇī* this is the bhīmyāyī-yojana.

⁴³ *Lokapakṣāra* 546.1. I quote the verse from the *Cakkavāladiṇī* (see following note) because it appears to be corrupt in the *Lokapakṣāra*. 
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IV. "Analysis of Matter and Time": Chapter 5 of the Samskṛtāsāmkṛta-viniścaya

[1. The components of the atom]

Herein, the sublest aggregation of matter (sarvasūkṣma hi rūpasamghātaḥ) in the world of sentient beings and the receptacle world (sattva-bhājana-loka) is called the atom (paramāṇu). That beyond which nothing smaller can be known is the atom.

[1.1. The atom in the Sensual Realm (kāmadhātu)]

In the Sensual Realm (kāmadhātu), without sound and without faculty (kāmadhāṭav asabdako ‘nindriyaḥ), an eight-substance-atom arises (aṣṭadravyaka utpadyate). Therein, these are the eight substances (aṣṭau dravyāṁi): earth (prthivi), water (āp), fire (tejas), wind (vāyu), visible-form (rūpa), odour (gandha), taste (rasa), and touchables (spraṣṭavya). When sound is added to these, there is a nine-substance-atom (navadravyaka). The atom of the body-faculty (kāyendriya) comprises nine substances. Therein, the nine substances are the aforementioned eight substances and the body-faculty-substance. When endowed with sound, there is a ten-substance-atom (daśadravyaka). The atoms of the other faculties comprise ten substances. Therein, the ten substances are the aforementioned nine substances and the substance of each individual faculty. When endowed with sound, it becomes an eleven-substance-atom (ekādaśadravyaka). This is taught:

44 Cakkavāladipani 208.15–209.14.
46 See, for example, the measurements listed by the 19th century Tibetan polymath Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé (Koṇ sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas, 1813–99), in Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra, and Dzog-chêd, Ithaca, 1995, pp. 158–59 (time); 166–69 (space).

47 The Sanskrit given in parentheses up to this point is for the most part drawn from Kośabhāṣya, Indriyānīdṛṣṭa, pp. 52.24–53.8.
48 The verse is Kośakārikā II,22 kāme ‘ṣṭadṛavyaka ‘sabdah paramāṇur anindriyaḥ; kāyendriyāḥ navadravyāḥ daśadravyo ‘parendriyāḥ. I cannot explain (and for now ignore) the double negatives of the Tibetan, which do not fit the prose or the Kośa verse.
In the Sensual [Realm] the atom has eight substances
without sound and without faculty.
With the body-faculty there are nine substances;
with the other faculties there are ten substances.

[1.2. The atom in the Form Realm (rūpadhātu)]

Because it is taught that in the Form Realm (rūpadhātu) there is
neither scent nor taste, the atoms there are made up of six, seven, or eight
substances respectively, according to the above-mentioned system:
nothing more needs to be explained (rūpadhātau gandharasayor abhāva
uktas tena tatrtyāḥ paramānavaḥ saṃaptāśadravyākā ity utkarupatvāt
na punar ucyante).49

[2. Measurements of size]

In this way, the form that is reached in order of decreasing size,
is the atom (rūpasya apaciyamānasya paryantah paramānukh).50 The
first eleven categories of atom, etc., are [multiples of] seven, as follows:51

7 paramānu are 1 anu (rdul phran = Koṣa)
Mvy rdul phra mo
7 anu are 1 loha-rajās (lcags)

49 The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from Kośabhāṣya, Indriyanirdesa,
p. 53.17–18.
50 The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from Kośabhāṣya, Lokanirdesa,
p. 176.11.
51 See Kośabhāṣya, Lokanirdesa, 176.14–177.7, ad Kośakārikā III.85d–88a;
Tibetan equivalents (“Koṣa”) from Kośabhāṣya Tibetan, Q5591, Vol. 115, nnon
pa gu, 177b6 foll.; Mvy § CCLI, nos. 8190–8206. See also La Vallée Poussin,
Cosmologie, pp. 262–63. The list is given in English translation from the Tibetan
at Jamgon Kongtrul, op. cit., p. 168.

52 Kośabhāṣya and Kongtrul add here 7 loha-rajās = 1 ab-rajās (Mvy 8193,
Koṣa chu rdul), 7 ab-rajās = 1 śaṣa-rajās, not given by Daśabalaśrimitra.
53 avi-rajās, Mvy 8195.
54 Also described in the Kośabhāṣya as tad-udbhava = de las byun ba: that is, the
louse (yūka) comes from the louse-egg (liksā).
As for surface measurements:\(^{55}\)

24 anguli are 1 full hasta (khru gan = Mvy)
Kośa khru
4 hasta are 1 full dhanu (gžu gan = Kośa)
Mvy 'dom\(^{56}\)
500 dhanu are 1 krośa (rgyan grags)
Mvy, Kośa idem\(^{57}\)
8 krośa are 1 yojana (dpag tshad)
Mvy, Kośa idem.

According to the tradition (āgama) of the Ārya Sthavira nikāya, however:

500 dhanu are one kosa;
4 kosa are one gāvuta;
4 gāvuta are one yojana.

[3. Time (kāla)\(^{58}\)]

The limit of time (kāla-paryanta) is the moment (kṣaṇa).\(^{59}\) A moment is described as the time it takes for one atom to pass to another atom.\(^{60}\) Alternately, for a strong man to snap his fingers is 65 moments,\(^{61}\) or, some say, 37. 120 moments are called one tatāśa; 60 tatāśa are one lava; 30 lava are one mūhārta, which is also called a nālikā;\(^{62}\) 30 mūhārta are one day-and-night (ahorātra); 30 days are one month (māsa); 12 months are one year (saṃvatsara).\(^{63}\)

[4. Chapter colophon]


V. Tibetan text of Chapter 5 of the *Saṃskṛtāsamkṛta-viniścaya*\(^{64}\)

[1] 'dir sems can dañ snod kyi 'jig rten dag gzugs 'dus pa thams cad kyi phru na ni rdul phra rab ces (D: zes Q) brjod do// gṇi las ches chuñ ba šes par bya ba med pa de ni rdul phra rab po//

[1.1] 'dod pa'i khams su sgra dañ bral ba dañ dbañ po spañs pa'i rdzas bryad ldan skye bar 'gyur ro// de la rdzas bryad ni 'di lta ste/ sa dañ/ chu dañ/ me dañ/ ruñ dañ/ gzugs dañ/ dri dañ/ ro dañ/ reg bya'o// 'di

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\(^{55}\) logs la gzal bas: cf. Koṣabhāṣya p. 176, ult pārvikṛśa u; Koṣabhāṣya Tib. 178a2 nos su bya na ni.

\(^{56}\) Koṣabhāṣya 177.2 dhanuṁ, vyāsenety arthaḥ (Koṣabhāṣya Tib. 178a2 khru bzi la gūn gan no. 'dom gan no žes bya ba'i thug go.

\(^{57}\) This is the distance of an aranya: Koṣakārika III,87cd krośa 'ranyam ca tan amata Koṣabhāṣya Tib. 178a2 rgyan grags de la digon par 'dod.


\(^{59}\) Koṣabhāṣya 176.11 kālaśya paryantah kṣaṇo.

\(^{60}\) Koṣabhāṣya 176.13, yāvatā paramānōh paramānvantaram gacchati.

\(^{61}\) Koṣabhāṣya 176.13 balavat puruṣācchatusamghātamātreyena pañcaśasthī kṣaṇā atikramantī abhidhārīmikāḥ. For puruṣācchatusamghātamātreyena see Mvy 8226 and L'Abhidharmakośa III 178, n. 1.

\(^{62}\) The term is transliterated as na-li-ka.

\(^{63}\) See Koṣabhāṣya 177.7–20.

\(^{64}\) Stobs bcu dpal bṣes gyen, 'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa, Q5865, Vol. 146, no mthar bstan bcos ro, 17b3–18a7; D3897, dbu ma ha, 119a6–120a2. All variants are recorded except for the use of the śad (danda), in which there are only two variants—the omission of the śad in Q after dan in d̄rī dan/ro dan', as given by D.
A Note on Dhammapada 60 and the Length of the Yojana

Mams su sgra rab tu bcug pas rdzas dgu ldan 'gyur ro// lus kyi dbaṅ po'i rdul phra rab ni rdzas dgu (D11b) ldan de/ de la rdzas dgu ni 'di lla ste/ rdzas bryagad po de 'nid dañ lus kyi dbaṅ po'i rdzas so// sgra dañ bcas pa na rdzas bcu'o// dbaṅ po gžan mams kyi rdul phra rab ni rdzas bcu ldan no// de la rdzas bcu ni 'di lla ste/ rdzas dgu po de 'nid dañ dbaṅ po rañ rañ gi rdzas so// sgra dañ bcas pa na rdzas bcu geçig tu 'gyur ro// gsuṅs te/

'dod na phra rab rdzas bryagad de (D: ｶ Q) // sgra med pa min dbaṅ med min//
lus dbaṅ ldan la rdzas dgu'o// dbaṅ po gžan ldan rdzas bcu'o//⁶⁵

¹.² 'dis ni gzung kyi khams na dri dañ ro dag med par gsuṅs pa des na/ de dag na ni rdul phra rab dag ni rim pa bzin du rdzas drug dañ bdun bryagad do 'žes gsuṅs pa'i tshul 'nid kyi ni ci yah brjod par mi bya'o//

². de lla gzung 'di 'nid kyi 'grīb bzin pa na mthar thug pa na ri rdul phra rab po// rdul phra (Q18a) rab la sog's pa'i sgra bcu geçig ni' gon ma bdun 'gyur te/ 'di lla ste/ rdul phra rab bdun la rdul phran no// rdul phran bdun la lcags so// lcags bdun la ri bon no// ri bon bdun la lug go// lug bdun la glaṅ no// glaṅ bdun la 'ni zer ro// 'ni zer bdun la rdul lo/ rdul bdun la sro ma'o// sro ma bdun la sīg go// sīg bdun la nas so// nas bdun la sor mo'i tshigs so// sor mo'i tshigs gsum la mdzub mo'o// logs la gžal (D: bžal Q) bas/ sor mo 'ni su bzi la khru gaṅ no// khru bzi la gzu gaṅ no// gzu lha bryga la rgyaṅ grags so// rgyaṅ grags bryagad (Q: bryga D) la dpag tshad do// 'phags pa gnas brtan pa'i sde pa'i luṅ las kyaṅ/

⁶⁵ Cp. Košakārikā II,22 at Košabhāṣya Tibetan 70b3 foll.:
'dod na dbaṅ po med pa dan//
sgra med phra rab rdul rdzas bryagad//
lus dbaṅ ldan la rdzas dgu'o//
dbaṅ po gžan ldan rdzas bcu'o//.
Dr Allen Thrasher of the Library of Congress called my attention to a few manuscripts that have come to (or back to) the Southeast Asia Section since I made the list published in JPTS XIII, pp. 1–31. This has made it possible to correct some entries and add new ones. There have also been a number of new palm-leaf manuscripts given to the library. Burmese-Pāli 129–153 were given by E. Gene Smith in 1993. They were bought in Thailand. Burmese-Pāli 158 and 159 were given by Mrs Mildred Goldthorpe. Burmese-Pāli 160 is an illustrated manuscript on paper recently acquired by the library.

William Pruitt

Abbreviations


**Burmese-Pāli 1.** A text on Buddhist law (according to Poleman). Cf. Poleman, no. 5542, which I originally identified as corresponding to Burmese-Pāli no. 47 (34.5 cm. [when folded] × 61 cm.; 23 lines to each half sheet; there are 19 double sheets of rice paper sewn at the top—not 9 sheets as stated in the note to Burmese-Pāli 47). An address label is included with the date Jan. 9, 1905, stamped on it. The return address given is Rev. O. Hanson, Bhamo, Upper Burma. The text is written in black ink and is in Shan.

**Burmese-Pāli 47.** Correction: This manuscript contains 18 ff., 32 × 47 cm., with 20 lines per page.

**Burmese-Pāli 125.** Kaccāyana, incomplete; 69 ff. (khe-gō, ȵē-ȵā, thi-tō). Date: 1886 (at the end of all sections). (5.5 × 48.9 cm.; 9 lines.)

- Chapters:
  1. Nām[akappa], ff. khe-gō
  2. Sandhi[kappa], ff. ȵē-ȵā:
  3. Kāraka[kappa], ff. thi-tho
  4. Samāsa[kappa], ff. tho-ći
  5. Taddhit[akappa] (Taddit), ff. ɖu-ɖā:
  6. Ākhyāta-sutta, ff. dha-dhè
  7. Kibbidhāna-sutta, ff. ɖho-ɾi
  8. Uṇhādi-sutta, ff. nu-ȵā:
  9. Sadda attha suttam, ff. ta-tō [the first number is mistakenly written “ka”].

**Burmese-Pāli 126.** Kaccāyana, incomplete; 10 ff. (ka-kō). Date: 1758. (5.5 × 51.3 cm., 7 lines.)

- Chapter: Samāsa[kappa] (Samāt), ff. ka-kō.

**Burmese-Pāli 127. Lokadippa kyam:** (လမ်ဒပ် ကြည်).

A parabaik (folded, white paper, accordion style) written in black ink on both sides and with gilded edges. The paper is attached to magnificent wood covers with decorative patterns in relief and inlaid with green, plain, and red bits of glass. The unnumbered folds have 9 lines to a page. The text is not the same as the work of the same title in Bur MSS 1 no. 99. It is in Shan.

**Burmese-Pāli 128.** Correspondence concerning a Burmese manuscript. Boxed with the letters is a fragment of a palm-leaf MS with a few letters on it, a photo and enlargement of 2 ff. of a MS mentioned in the correspondence (Sadda kri.). There are two letters to Mrs Cornman from Betty White, one dated Dec. 6, 1939, and the other May 4, 1940. The second letter encloses a letter from John R. Peal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta), dated April 20, 1940, and one from S.K. Chatterji, Philological Secretary of the RASB. Mr Chatterji identifies Mrs Cornman’s MS as Kaccāyana’s Pāli grammar.

The copyist’s name, he says, is “Sa Nyaungtaing Aung Myaung” (Ca ṇom Tuṅ Oo Myom, 胞 libs စိုး ၊ ပဲ).

**Burmese-Pāli 129. Visuddhimagga-ṭikā** (Visuddhimag tīkā pāṭhā), ff. ka-pā: (incomplete). Pāli. No date. (6.5 × 51.5 cm.; 10 lines.)


Additions to Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress

Nissayas of various grammatical texts. In Pāli except for Q, which is in Burmese.


(2) Kaccāyanabheda nissaya, ff. dhe–nā:


(L) Pañāma, ff. pō–pha


(Q) Recak khyā ’amyui–myui: (అయిమి, అయిమి;), ff. ma–yū

Burmese-Pāli 136. Anuṭṭikā (in 6 sections; at end of section 5 [f. nē, line 1]: Puggalaṅkhaṇaṭṭi-tikā), ff. ka–nō. Date: 1900. (6 × 47.5 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 137. 237 ff. with text (ka–no). Pāli. Date: 1897. (6 × 50 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) Mahāniddesa-atṭhakathā (Mahāniddesa atṭhakathā), ff. ka–nām

(B) Cūlaniddeṣa-atṭhakathā, ff. pā–no
Burmes-Pāli 138. 205 ff. with text (ka–da). Pāli. Date: 1902. Donors: Ko Rhve Thvan: (ကြာသင်,oksəgə suffxxi) and his wife. (6.5 × 50.3 cm., 12 lines.)

(A) Majjhima-paññāsa-ṭīkā (ff. ka–cho) (sub-commentary on second part of the Majjhima-nikāya)

(B) Uparipaññāsa-ṭīkā (ff. cho–nē) (sub-commentary on third part of the Majjhima-nikāya)

(C) Sucittalaṅkāra (Sucittalaṅkārāgangha) (ff. no–da)

Burmes-Pāli 139. Ṭīkā-dvāra nissaya, 192 ff. with text (ka–tho, dā–thi). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1900. Donors: Ko Rhve Bhō and Ma Rhve Sac. (6.2 × 49.3 cm.; 11 lines.)


1. Sandhi-nyāsa (ff. khā–ge), incomplete
2. Nāma-nyāsa (ff. go–je)
3. Kāraka-nyāsa (Kāraka-ṇās) (ff. jhā–ṇīnu)
4. Samāsa-nyāsa (Samās ŋāp) (ff. ŋī–tām)
5. (Taddhis-ṇās) (ff. tā–tāha)
6. (Ākyat ŋās) (ff. ŋā–nī)
7. (Kit-ṇās) (ff. nī–thē)
8. (Uṇhād-ṇās) (ff. thē–dha)

Burmes-Pāli 141. Saddaniti nissaya, incomplete, 249 ff. with text (ka–po). Pāli-Burmese nissaya (a translation of a work by Aggavamsa). Date: 1900. (5.9 × 7.4 cm.; 10 lines.)

Chapters:
1. Sandhi (Saddaniti-sandhi nissya) (ff. ka–ghā)
2. Nāma (Saddaniti-nam nissya) (ff. ŋa–ju)
3. Kāraka (Saddaniti-kāraka nissya) (ff. jū–tām)
4. Samāsa (Saddaniti-smās nissya) (ff. thā–te)
5. Taddhita (Saddaniti-taddhit nissya) (ff. tē–tō)

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6. Ākhyaṭa (Saddaniti-ākhyaṭ nisya) (ff. dam–nā)
7. Kita (Saddaniti-kit nisya) (ff. pa–po), incomplete

Burmes-Pāli 142. Maṇisāraṇaṃjūsā (incomplete), 246 ff. with text (ka, gham–mi). Pāli. (A commentary on the Abhidhammatthavibhāvani by Ariyavamsa, Gandavamsa 65, 75; Bode, 42.) (5.9 × 7.4 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 143. 228 ff. with text (ku–ge, je–de, do–yi). Pāli. (6.2 × 50.1 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) Dhammapada (incomplete) (ff. ku–khi)
(B) Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā (incomplete) (ff. khi–ge, je–de, do–yi)

Burmes-Pāli 144. Parivāra (Vinaya-pitaka) (incomplete), 282 ff. with text (khā–me). Pāli. Date: 1910. (5.7 × 10.2, 10 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 145. 239 ff. with text (cō–yē). Date: 1904. (6.5 × 19.2, 11 lines.)

(A) Saṅgruih ganthi sac (cō–dō), Pāli-Burmese nissaya (incomplete, see Bur MSS II 384)
(B) Saṅgruih adhipāṭṭi Saṅgruih adhipāṭṭi nissaya (kō–dō, dyā–yē), in Burmese (cf. Lib. of Con. 41 [C])


(A) Sagāthavagga (Sagāthavagga-samyut pāli-tō yōyō yōyō yōyō) (ff. ka–cō)
(B) Nidānavagga (ff. co–di)
(C) Khandhavagga (ff. du–nā)
Burmes-Pāli 147. Samantapāsādikā (Mahāvā atthakathā nisya), 219 ff. with text (ka–dhi). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1859. (6.1 × 40 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 148. Mahāvagga nissaya (Dīgha-nikāya; Sut Mahāvā nissya ပြည်သူများ) by Ariyalankāra, 259 ff. with text (ka–phe). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1805. (6.3 × 51.3 cm.; 9 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 149. 274 ff. with text (ka, khi–bhā). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1877. (6.1 × 49.1 cm.; 10 lines.)

(A) Gambhiratthadesanā (ff. ka, khi–nu), incomplete
(B) Manusaccāruttavikāsani (ff. nū–di), incomplete? (only a few words are written on f. di in pencil)
(C) Cakkākaravinicchaya (f. di–nō)
(D) Udānadipani (ff. nam–ba)
(E) Vodānadipani (ff. bā–bhā:)

Burmes-Pāli 150. Pāli, Pāli-Burmese nissaya. 171 ff. with text (ka–thū, ka–go). (6.1 × 48.7 cm.; 11 lines.)

(A) Yamaka, incomplete
1. Citta-yamaka (Cittayamuik pāli-tō စိန်ဝေါ်တို့ တွင်) (ff. ka–go), Pāli
2. Indriya-yamaka (Indriya-yamuik နှင်းဝေါ်တို့) (ff. gō–thū), Pāli
(B) Buddhaghosasuppatti (ff. ka–ko), Pāli
(C) Buddhaghosasuppatti nissaya (ff. kam–go), Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Burmes-Pāli 151. Sumangalavilāsini (Sut pāthe:yya-atthakathā nisya စာမေးပို့ပါ:ဗုဒ္ဓရာပါတီ), Pāli-Burmese nissaya, incomplete, 253 ff. with text (ka–nā:, tā, ti [1], tī [2], tu–dhū, dhē–phā). Date: 1903. (6.4 × 49.4 cm.; 11 lines)

Burmes-Pāli 152. Gambhiratthadesanā, 187 ff. with text (ka–te). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1882. (6.3 × 50.6 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 153. Samantapāsādikā (Pārājikan atthakathā pāth) (first section of the commentary), 285 ff. with text (ka–bho). Pāli. Date: 1902. (6.2 × 51 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmes-Pāli 154. Silakkham Gaṭṭhi (Silakkha-atthakathā gaṭṭhi), 236 ff. with text (ka–nē). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1900. (7.2 × 50.6 cm.; 11 lines.) A nissaya of texts from the Dīgha-nikāya commentary (?).


Burmes-Pāli 157. Dhammarāsi, 220 ff. (ka–dhi [no f. cha, two ff. tam]), by Rhvaṅ Nānāmahī (according to note glued on front cover). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1867. (6.1 × 50.5 cm.; 10 lines.)


Burmes-Pāli 159. Abhidhammatthasangahadipani (Abhidhamma-dipani, Dipani, Dipāni), 186 ff. (ka–phū, f. chi has right half broken off). Pāli. Date: 1874. Donors: Mon Rhve Ci ဝေါ်တို့ and Ma Khon: (တွင်ကြာ), (6.3 × 48 cm.; 10 lines.)
Burmese-Pāli 160. Burmese astronomical-astrological MS. Parabaik on native, handmade paper with gouache, 34 ff. Some damage to first two ff. (missing some illustrations and text) and to the last fourteen ff. (some text missing on one f.). Burmese. Date: mid-19th century. (41 × 15.5 cm.) Note from seller: Possibly of Sgau Karen origin. This MS was apparently acquired by an American missionary in Burma in the mid-19th century. He began an English translation on the MS itself; he writes, however, that he no longer had time and must leave off. Each folio is divided into ten squares with illustrations in the top part and descriptive text in Burmese underneath (approximately 307 images in all). On the front cover, in black ink on a small piece of Western paper glued on: “B.37.”

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Sources for the Study of the
Maṅgala and Mora-suttas

1) Maṅgala-sutta

In an earlier article I noted the existence of two Tibetan versions of the Maṅgala-sutta. The first, the bkra śis chen po'i mdo = Mahāmaṅgala-sutta, is a translation of a Theravādin version, included in the set of “13 new translations” done by Pandita Ānandaśri of Ceylon and Thar pa Lotsaba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po in about the first decade of the 14th century. The second is an anonymous translation of a version of an unknown school, bearing the title lhas žus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa = Devaparipṛcchā Maṅgalarāhā.¹ These two versions have been translated side-by-side by Feer, who noted that “quoique [Devaparipṛcchā Maṅgalarāhā] renferme plus de stances que l'autre, et que l'ordre des stances y soit interverti, la commune origine des deux textes est facile à reconnaître”.² In addition to the two Tibetan parallels, there is a third version, preserved in Chinese translation. It is

¹ Peter Skilling, “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, JPTS XIX (1993) 129–30, 183. Since the second version is anonymous, it cannot be dated with certainty. It is likely, however, that it was translated during the early diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (the sna dar). The lDan dkar Catalogue, which dates to the early 9th century, lists a number of titles under the category bkra śis kyi rnam grans = *Maṅgala-paryāya (§ XVIII). Our text might be, for example, the bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa chen po = *Mahāmaṅgala-gāthā (no. 476, in 30 slokas), or the bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa = *Maṅgala-gāthā (no. 478, in 26 slokas) (references to Marcelle Lalou, “Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-srong-lde-bcan”, Journal asiatique, 1953). For svasti-or maṅgala-gāthā see Peter Skilling, “The Rāksā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna”, JPTS XVI (1992) 129–37.


included in a recension of the Dhammapada, the Fa chữ p’i yū ching, where it makes up the whole of Chapter 39 (the last), entitled Mahāmangala.\(^3\) The correspondence was noted by Beal over a century ago. The prose nidāna is entirely different from that of the Pāli,\(^4\) and the order and contents of the verses also differ. In Beal’s translation, I have found only four verses that immediately bring to mind Pāli counterparts, but many individual lines also correspond to the Pāli. The Fa chữ p’i yū ching is an early witness, translated during the Western Chin dynasty (CE 290–306),\(^5\) and a new translation and comparative study of this short but important text is a desideratum.

In the *Mangala-varga*, Chapter 12 of his *Satyasiddhi* (or *Tattvasiddhi*) Śāstra, Harivarman cites three verses from the *Mangala-gāthā*.\(^6\)

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\(^2\) Beal (op. cit., p. 23) noted that the nidānas assigned to the verses of the Fa chữ p’i yū ching are entirely different from those of the Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā.

\(^3\) Date from KBC 1020.


So says the Mangala-gāthā:

> The most auspicious is the Buddha who is the highest teacher and the wisest leader amongst men and gods.
> The most auspicious is the person who has firm faith in the Buddha and keeps pure conduct.
> The most auspicious is to serve the learned, not to approach the ignorant and [to] pay homage to the worthy of homage.

Aiyaswami Sastri notes that “of these three verses only the third agrees with the Mangala-sutta, verse 2”. The first two verses have no counterpart in the Fa chữ p’i yū ching.

Verse 3 of the Pāli Mangala-sutta has a parallel in prose and verse in the Cakka-sutta, the first sutta of the Cakka-vagga of the Catukka-nipāta of the Anguttara-nikāya (AN II 32).\(^7\) The Pāli Mangala-sutta reads as follows:\(^8\)

> *paṭīrīpaṃdesavāso ca pubbe ca kātapuṇñatā attasammapāṇidhi ca etam maṅgalaṃ uttamaṃ.*

To live in a favourable place, to have accomplished merit in the past, to have a proper goal for oneself—this is the highest auspiciousness.

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\(^7\) The reference was noted by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith in their edition of the *Sutta-nipāta*, originally published in 1913 (p. 46, n. 9). The title is from the uddāna, p. 44.13, cakko. Cf. also *Netipakarana*, p. 29.14–19.

\(^8\) *Suttanipāta* v. 260, p. 46; *Khuddaka-pāṭha* p. 3.5.
The Tibetan Devapariprečcha-mangala-gāthā reads:9

yul bzaṅ gnas dan grogs mchog dan//
son chad bsod nams byas pa dan//
sems ni legs par gtan byas pa//
de ni bkraś sīs dam pa yin//

To live in an auspicious place, to [have] excellent company,
to have accomplished merit in the past,
to have properly directed one’s mind—
this is the highest auspiciousness.

The Cakka-sutta lists four “wheels” or “blessings” (cakka).10 Wheels number 1, 3, and 4 have counterparts in v. 3 of the Pāli Mangalasutta, and wheel no. 2 may be compared with the paṇḍitānaṃ ca sevā of v. 2b. The Tibetan Devapariprečcha-mangalagāthā gives counterparts of all four cakka, in the order 1, 2, 4, 3, with a variant in 3, citta (sems) where the Pāli has atta.

Sources for the Study of the Mangala and Mora-suttas

cattār’ imāni bhikkhave cakkāni yehi samannāgatānam
devamanussānaṃ catucakkam pavattati, yehi samannāgata
devamanussā na cirass’ eva mahatattaṃ veppalatam pāpuṇanti
bhogesu. katamāni cattārī?

(1) paṭiriṇapadesavāso
(2) sappurisūppassayo
(3) attasammāpanidhi
(4) pubbe ca katapuṇṇatā.

imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri cakkāni yehi samannāgatānam
devamanussānaṃ catucakkam pavattati, yehi samannāgata
devamanussā na cirass’ eva mahatattāṃ veppalatam pāpuṇanti
bhogesū ti.

paṭiriṇaṃ vase dese ariyamittakaro siyā
sammāpanidhisampanno pubbe puṇṇakato naro
dhāṇam dhanam yaso kiti sukhaṇī c’ etam adhivattati.

There are, O monks, these four wheels: for gods and humans who possess them there occurs a fourfold blessing, by means of which gods and humans soon attain greatness and plenitude in wealth.11 What are the four?

(1) to live in a favourable environment
(2) to associate with worthy persons
(3) to have a proper goal for oneself, and
(4) to have accomplished merit in the past.

It is interesting that while the Pāli version refers to “wealth” (bhoga), the Sanskrit refers to “wholesome dhammas” (kuśala-dharma: see below).
These, O monks, are the four wheels...

The man who lives in a favourable place, who makes friendship with the noble ones, who possesses a proper goal, and has made merit in the past—grain, wealth, fame, honour, and happiness come to him in abundance.\(^\text{12}\)

A Sarvāstivādin counterpart of the Cakka-sutta is incorporated into the Sanskrit Daśottara-sūtra from Central Asia.\(^\text{13}\)

catvāro dharmā bahukarāḥ, catvāri devamanusyaṇām cakrāṇi yair deva...(text fragmentary)...yamānā vṛddham vaipulyam āpadyante kuśalair dharmaiḥ. katamāni catvāri?

(1) pratirūpo desāvāsaḥ
(2) satpurusāpaśraya
(3) ātmanā ca samyakprāṇidhānaṁ
(4) pūrve ca kṛtapunyātā.

A counterpart from a text of the Sāmmatiyas is cited in Daśabalaśrimitra’s Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya.\(^\text{14}\)

Sources for the Study of the Mangala and Mora-suttas

\'khor lo bzi žes bya ba nī/ \'khor lo chen po bzi ste/ 'di ltar/ mthun pa'i yul du gnas pa dan/ skyes bu dam pa la brten pa dan/ bdag gi smon lam yan dag pa dan/ snon bsod nams byas pa'o// de dan yan dag par ldan pa'o//

The four wheels: there are four great wheels (mahācakra): to live in a favourable environment, to associate with worthy persons, to have a proper aim for oneself, and to have accomplished merit in the past. He is endowed with these.

The four are listed in the Mahāvyutpatti, a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon of the early 9th century, under the title “The four wheels of gods and humans” (catvāri devamanusyaṇām cakrāṇi, lha dan mi'i \'khor lo bzi'i min):

(1) pratirūpadeśa-vāsah, 'thun pa'i yul na gnas pa
(2) satpurusāpaśrayam, skyes bu dam pa la brten pa
(3) ātmanāḥ samyakprāṇidhānaṁ, bdag nid kyis yan dag pa'i smon lam ttab pa
(4) pūrve ca kṛtapunyātā, snon yan bsod nams byas pa'o.

The four cakras are given in verse in Nāgārjuna’s Suhrlekhā (v. 61):\(^\text{15}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{12} Cfr. Manorathapūrāṇi II 379.6 sukhaṇ c’ etam adhivattati sukhaṇ ca etam puggalam adhivattati avattharatī attho.}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{13} Kusum Mittal, }\text{Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im älteren Buddhismus (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfundern IV), Berlin, 1957, § IV, I, p. 61. The parallel in the Pāli Daśuttara-sutta (DN III 276.5–8) gives only the bare list of the four, similarly described as catvāro dharmā bahukārā.}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{14} Daśabalaśrimitra (sTobs buc dpal bṣes gśen). 'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa, Q5865, Vol. 146, no mṭihar bstan boos ņo, 162b8. For this text see Peter Skilling, “The Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrimitra, Continued...}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{15} Mvy § LXXXIII, nos. 1603–7.}\)
mthun par gyur ba'i yul na gnas pa dan/
skyes bu dam pa la ni brten pa dan/
bdag riid legs smon sgon yan bsod nams bgyis/
'khor lo chen po bzi ni khyod la mna'17

You possess these four great wheels (mahācakra).17
dwelling in a favourable environment,
association with worthy persons,
a proper goal for yourself,
and accomplishment of merit in the past.

2) Mora-paritta

The Pāli Jātaka gives a prose story of a golden peacock twice,
as the Mora-jātaka (No. 159) and the Mahāmora-jātaka (No. 491).18
The basic narrative has a parallel near the end of the Bhaisajyavastu of
the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya19 and in the Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī.20
A parallel to verse 2 of the Mora-sutta occurs in the Mahāmāyūrī-
vidyārājñī, with additions and variants and with the lines in a different
sequence:21

17 It is interesting that of the texts studied here, only the Sāmmatiya citation and
Nāgārjuna describe the four wheels as “great” (mahā).
des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung,
Cf. the translation and discussion (which notes the relation to the Pāli jātakas) in
21 Takubo, p. 6,ult; cf. also 38.17–39.1; 42.16–20.

Mora-paritta22

Mahāmāyūrī

nama' stū buddhāya nama' stū bodhayate
nama' stū muktāyā nama' stū mukte
nama' stū śaṅtāyā nama' stū śaṅtaye
nama' vimuktāyā nama' vimukte

ye brāhmaṇa vahita-pāpa-dharmā23
sabbadhamme
temane nemate ca mamā
pālayantu
namā' aththu buddhānam
namā' aththu bodhiyā
namo vimuttānam namo
vimuttiyā.

The Mahāmāyūrī is a cumulative work that draws on diverse
sources, and has parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Bhaisajyavastu, the
(Mūla)Sarvāstivādin Upasena-sūtra, and the Theravādin Mora-jātaka,
Khandavatta-jātaka (No. 203), and Vinaya.24 In the present case the
prose narrative is close to, or derived from, the Bhaisajyavastu, but the
verse, not found in the Bhaisajyavastu, resembles a verse of the Pāli
Mora-jātaka.

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22 Jātaka II 34.12.
Turfanfundern X), Göttingen, 1965, 33:13a and Radhagovinda Basak (ed. with
brāhmaṇo vāhitapāpadharmo; Udāna 3.20, Vinaya I 3.5 yo brāhmaṇo
bāhitapāpadharmo.
Praises of the Buddha beyond Praise

The recollection of the Buddha according to the iti pi so formula is an ancient practice, recommended by the Sakyan Sage himself in the Dhajagga-sutta (Sagāthavagga, Samyutta-nikāya). The formula lists nine qualities of the Buddha, which came to be known as the navabuddha-guna. It was recognized early on, however, that the qualities or virtues of the Buddha were without limit. The idea that the Buddha is beyond praise (aparimānavanno) is expressed in a stock passage uttered by several leading brāhmaṇas of the time, such as Sonaṇḍana, Kūṭadanta, and Ĉañki, each of whom is reported to declare: 1 “I have mastered only so many of the praises of the respected Gotama, but this is not the full measure of his praises: the respected Gotama merits unlimited praise”. 2

1 DN I 117.14 ettake kho aham bho tassa bhoto gotamassa vanne pariyaṇṇaṁ, no ca kho so bhavam gotamo ettakavanno, aparimānavanno hi so bhavam gotamo: also at DN I 133.23 (Kūṭadanta-sutta) and MN II 168.3 (Ĉañki-sutta). There does not seem to be any parallel passage in the Chinese version of the Sonadanda-sutta: see Konrad Meisig, “Chung Têh King—The Chinese Parallel to the Sonadanda-Sutta”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), Kalyāṇa-mittā: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume, Delhi, 1991, p. 55.

2 “And so far only do I know the excellencies of the Samana Gotama, but these are not all of them, for his excellence is beyond measure”: T.W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I, [1899] London 1973, p. 150; “However much I might praise the ascetic Gotama, that praise is insufficient, he is beyond all praise”: Maurice Walshe, Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha, London, 1987, p. 128; “To this extent I, sirs, know the good Gotama’s splendour, but this is not the (full) extent of the good Gotama’s splendour—immeasurable is the splendour of the good Gotama”: I.B. Horner, The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-nikāya), Vol. II, London, [1957] 1975, p. 358; “This much is the praise of Master Gotama that I have learned, but the praise of Master Gotama is not limited to that, for the praise of Master Gotama is

Continues...

This natural statement, which culminates a long eulogy of the Buddha, was later rephrased as a general principle: “The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, merit unlimited praise”. In the Apadāna, Gatasaññaka Thera refers to the Buddha Tissa as “an ocean of unlimited virtues” (anantagunasāgara). What had started out as a rather straightforward fact took on a mystical flavour.

The following passage shows how this concept was presented in Siam at the beginning of the 19th century. It is taken from the Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā, also known as the Traibhūmi chabap luang, which was composed at the behest of Rama I, the first king of the Chakri Dynasty, by Phraya Dharmapriyā (Kaew) in Culasakkarāja 1164 or BE 2345, that is CE 1802. The citation is from the beginning of the first chapter (pathamapariccheda), on homage to the Three Gems (kham namakār phra ratanatray). The prose is in Thai, the verses in Pāli.

The Holy (phra) Buddhaguna (virtues or qualities of the Buddha) are endless (ananta), vast (viṭṭhāra), and wide, and their limit cannot be reached: it is beyond the ability of all the deities, such as Indra or Brahma, to enumerate (barananā) the Holy Buddhaguna to the limit or to the end. It is the same even for the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha (Phra Sabbaññabhuddha Chao): he can enumerate his own holy qualities, but even he is unable to enumerate them to the limit and to the end. Though he may continue to enumerate them, his life-span (phra janmāyu) will be exhausted before [he can finish]: it is impossible to know the end or know the limit of the Holy Buddhaguna. The matter is suitably explained by these verses:

>sahassasiso
7 pi ce poso sise sise satam mukhā
mukhe mukhe satam jivāḥ jivakappo mahiddhiko
na sakkoti ca vannetum
8 nisesam satthuno gunam.

Even if a person had a thousand heads—
each head with a hundred mouths,
each mouth with a hundred tongues—
and even if he could live for an aeon
and possessed great supernormal power:
he would still be unable to enumerate
the virtues of the Teacher in full.

buddho pi buddhassa bhaneyya vannam
kappam pi ce aññam abhāsamāno

1 -sise Traibhūmi: I follow here the Khmer citation (see below), to read -siso.
2 vannetum Traibhūmi: I follow here the Khmer citation, to read vannetum.
khīyetha kappo cīradīgham\textsuperscript{9} antāre
vanṇo na khīyetha tathāgatassā.

If a Buddha were to speak in praise of a Buddha, speaking nothing else for an aeon’s length, sooner would the long-standing aeon reach its end, but the praise of the Tathāgata would not reach its end.\textsuperscript{10}

The first verse may be explained as follows: a man possessing great supernormal power (mahiddhi-ṛddhi) conjures up (nrmit) a multitude of heads, 1000 in number. Each of these heads has 100 mouths, and each of these mouths has 100 tongues—this amounts to 100,000 mouths and to 10 million tongues. The man has a long life-span, as long as one aeon (kappa). If he does not engage in any other activity at all, but devotes himself only to the praise of the Holy Buddhaguna, throughout the day and throughout the night, until his aeon-long life-span is exhausted—he would nonetheless be unable to enumerate the Holy Buddhaguna to the end or to the limit.

The second verse may be explained thus: Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha has a long life-span of an aeon; if he does not preach on any other subject at all, but, as in the previous example, preaches only on the Holy Buddhaguna of Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha, throughout the day and throughout the night, and continues preaching until the end of that long stretch of time, to the limit of his aeon-long life-span—the Holy Buddhaguna of Somdet the Holy Tathāgata the Ten-powered one (Daśabala) would not yet be exhausted.

I have not been able to trace the origin of the first verse, which is also cited in Pāli in a Khmer “Itipiso” text.\textsuperscript{11} The second verse, however, is well attested in the commentarial literature, being cited without specific attribution in (at least) the following sources:\textsuperscript{12}

—\textit{Dīgha Āṭṭhakathā}, commenting on the \textit{Sopadaṇḍa-sutta} (DN 4);\textsuperscript{13}
—\textit{Dīgha Āṭṭhakathā}, commenting on the \textit{Samposādaniya-sutta} (DN 28);\textsuperscript{14}
—\textit{Majjhima Āṭṭhakathā}, commenting on the \textit{Cāṇki-sutta} (MN 95);\textsuperscript{15}
—\textit{Udāna Āṭṭhakathā}, commenting on the third sutta of the \textit{Jaccandha-vagga} ;\textsuperscript{16}
—\textit{Cariyāpiṭaka Āṭṭhakathā} (twice).\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{9} Traiḥkūmi only reads \textit{cīra-}, against the \textit{cīra-} of the \textit{āṭṭhakathā} (see below).


\textsuperscript{12} I have culled the references from the notes to the Chhatthasaṅgīti editions. The verse is usually introduced by \textit{vuttam h’ etam} (\textit{vuttam pi c’ etam}, \textit{vuttañ c’ etam}, etc.).

\textsuperscript{13} (PTS) 288 (not seen); (ChS) [I] 257.8; (Mm) I 356.8; (Nālandā ed.) 315.25 (cf. comment in \textit{āṭṭh}, ChS [I] 318.7–10).

\textsuperscript{14} (Mm) III 80.8; (ChS) [III] 61 (not seen).

\textsuperscript{15} (Mm) III 388.16; (ChS) III 209 (not seen).

\textsuperscript{16} (ChS) 305, bottom; (Mm) 426.4. A similar statement is made in prose at (Mm) 542.1–4.

\textsuperscript{17} (ChS) 9.1; 324.12; (BhB) 13.8; 506.7.
—Apadhāna Atthakathā;¹⁸
—Buddhavamsa Atthakathā;¹⁹
—Dighanikāya-tīkā (Līnatthappakāsanā).²⁰

The references show that the verse was well-known by 5th century, the
time of Buddhaghosa, as well as to the commentators Dhammapāla and
Buddhadatta.²¹

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¹⁸ (ChS) II 91.17.
¹⁹ (PTS) 135.9; (BhB) 250.1; (ChS) 163 (not seen).
²⁰ Silakkhandhavagga-tīkā (ChS) 51.1.
²¹ The idea of talking for an aeon or more is found in the Vimalakīrti-sūtra:
Étienne Lamotte, L’Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa). Louvain,
1962, pp. 257–58. Lamotte (n. 17) refers to a similar hyperbole in the
Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.