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

CONTENTS

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections
by Anne M. Blackburn 1

Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūśā: The Purāṇatīkās
and the Ṭikās on the Four Nikāyas
by Primož Pecenko 61

A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks
on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka
by Thomas Oberlies 115

The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts
by Heinz Braun 147

On a New Edition of the Syāmarāṭṭha Tepitakaṭṭhakathā
by Peter Skilling 155

Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia
by Peter Skilling 159

Contributors to this volume 176

An Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XXVII 177

COPYRIGHT NOTICE

All rights reserved. Subject to statutory exceptions, no part of this
publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any
means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or
any information storage and retrieval system, without prior permission in
writing from the Pali Text Society, 73 Lime Walk, Headington, Oxford,
OX3 7AD, U.K.

© Pali Text Society 2002

ISBN 0 86013 407 5

First published in 2002

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire
Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Introduction

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

---

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

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

3Given the value of manuscripts on the antique market, it may be that incumbents aim to draw as little attention as possible to the texts within their possession.
There are considerable limitations to the material presented here. In the course of this research I lacked the time and assistance needed to construct a fully annotated catalogue of the manuscripts held in these collections. It is my hope, however, that the information provided below will stimulate the interest of those better prepared to conduct detailed manuscript examination, cataloguing, and preservation efforts. The collection at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihārāya is sadly neglected; we risk losing a number of valuable manuscripts. While better protected, the collection at the Śrī Dalaḷā Māligāva deserves serious attention because of its size, breadth, and evidence of donative practices. Despite its limitations, I hope that the information presented below will be of some use to scholars in Buddhist studies and, especially, to those working on texts and textual practices in South and Southeast Asia.

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

I stress the importance of reconstructing the contents of manuscript collections held in particular temples. An examination of temple-specific manuscript collections is valuable to scholars who seek a clearer understanding of the variations in Buddhist thought and practice across time and place in South and Southeast Asia. Attention to regional, temporal, and institutional variability in manuscript collections provides important, though by no means determinative, evidence of stability and change in textual practice and in many other types of Buddhist practice reflected by textual emphases. (These include protective rituals, meditation techniques, and so on.) In other words, such information provides important clues about the nature of the “practical canon” used by particular Buddhist communities. After turning to the temples and their manuscript collections in subsequent sections of this article, I conclude by noting several promising areas for research suggested by these collections.

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

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

---

4By “practical canon” I mean the units of text understood by their users to be part of a Tipitaka-based tradition and actually employed in the practices of collecting manuscripts, copying them, reading them, commenting on them, listening to them, and preaching sermons based upon them (Blackburn 1999, 284).
which I have relied for information on all collections apart from that held at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya do not group texts by author, genre, copying date, or date of donation. Some of the genre divisions that I have introduced may appear unusual to some readers. The collections examined here contain a substantial number of Tipiṭaka-based texts which may well have formed an important mode of access to the Tipiṭaka for students and scholars. In order to emphasize the ways in which Tipiṭaka texts appear to have been studied and transmitted through commentaries, condensations and compendia, I have grouped the latter texts with the Tipiṭaka texts for which they were composed, using the common three-fold division of Sutta-, Abhidhamma- and Vinaya-piṭaka. In addition, in order to draw attention to the significant presence of separately circulating texts from the Sutta-piṭaka, these texts and their commentaries are listed separately.

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

---

5I do not know when or by whom these labels were applied.
the library, several areas are set aside for small ritual offerings (such as flowers) to be made, and there is a coinbox for meritorious donations. The library is of substantial size. All of the manuscripts visible appear to be in a good state of preservation, and are typically held in glass cases. There is also a collection of printed books, primarily taken from Tipitaka editions. On 23–24 June, 1997 I was given permission to record the contents of the handlist.

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

Âṅguttara-nikāyā [6]
Âṅguttara-nikāyā-āṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūrana) [2]
Khuddaka-nikāya [3]6
Dīgha-nikāya [14]7
Dampiya Sannaya [2]
Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā [4]
Dhammapadaya [1]
Paṭiccasamuppādaya [11]
Petavastu-āṭṭhakathā [2]
Majjhima-nikāya [3]
Vimānavatthu-āṭṭhakathā [1]
Vimānavatthu Prakaraṇaya Kotasak8 [1]
Saṁyutta-[āṭṭha-?]kathā [1]
Saṁyutta-nikāyā-āṭṭhakathā [No. 14]
Saṁyutta-nikāya [3]
Saddharmāpāliya [1]
Saddhammapakkāsinī Paṭisambhidāṭṭhakathā [1]
Suttanipāta-āṭṭhakathā [2]

**Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)**

Āḷavaka Sūtraya [1]
Āḷavaka Sūtra Sannaya [2]

Āsivisopama Sūtraya [2]
Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Upoṣatha Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Kāranḍava Sūtra [1]
Kālakārāma Sūtra [1]
Kālakārāma Sūtraya [1]
Kusala Sūtraya [4]
Ghaṭikāra Sūtraya [1]
Cūlakammavibhaṅga Sūtraya [1]
Cūlahathhipadopama Sūtra Padārthaya [1]
Tuṇḍilovāda Sūtra [1]
Dārukhandhopama Sūtraya [1]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [3]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Devadūta Sūtraya [1]
Dhammacakkaya [314]
Dhammacakka(ya) Pada Ānuma [2]9
Dhammacakkaya Sannaya [3]
Dhammacakka Sūtraya [48]
Dhammacakka Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Brahmajālaya [17]
Brahmajālaya Sannaya [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtra [24]10
Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [3]
Mangala Sūtra [1]
Mahāsatipāṭhāna Sūtra [1]
Mahāsamaya Sūtra [1]
Ratana SūtRAYA [1]

---

6Including one dated BV 2428 [AD 1884].
7Including one dated 1873.
8Here and hereafter read kotasak as “piece” or “selection”.
9The pada ānuma contains the Sinhala syntax created by a sūtra sannaya but without the sannaya’s Sinhala-language explanations. See Bechert (1969, IX).
10Including one dated 1904 and one dated BV 2494 [AD 1950].
11Including one dated 1894.
Raṭṭhapāla Sūtra Pela Sannaya [1]
Vasala Sūtraya [1]
Veraṇjaka Sūtraya [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma [25]12
Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma Sannaya [18]13
Satipaṭṭhāna Pela [13]14
Satipaṭṭhāna Pela Pada Ānuma [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Pela Saha Sannaya [21]15
Satipaṭṭhāna Saha Sannaya [15]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra [596]16
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [5]17
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma Saha Sannaya [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Padārtha [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya/Sanna Sahita [20]
Satipaṭṭhānaya [54]18
Satipaṭṭhānaya Kotasak [2]
Saptasuriyagamana Sūtraya [9]
Saptasuriyagamana Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Sāra Sūtraya [1]
Sāleyya Sūtra [1]
Sāleyya Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Sigālovāda Sūtraya [2]
Sudarśanaya Sūtra [1]

Subha Sūtra Sannaya [1]

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

Cullavagga Pāli [1]
Pācittiya/Pārajika Pāli [1]
(Bhikṣu) Pātimokṣaya/Prātimokṣaya/Pātimokkha [5]
Pātimokṣa Sannaya [1]
Prātimokṣa Sannaya [1]
Pārajika Pāli [2]
Parivāra Pāli [1]
Pāli Muttaka Vinaya [1]
Pāli Muttaka Vinayavinicchaya Saṅghahaya [1]
Pāli Muttaka Vinayavinicchaya Saṅghahāva [1]
Buruma ["Burmese" or "from Burma"] Karmavākyaya [2]
Mahāvagga Pāli, Cullavagga Pāli, Parivāra Pāli [1]
Mūlasikṣa [= Mulsikha ; 1]
Mulusikavālaṇḍa [= Mulsikavālaṇḍa ; 1]
Vinaya-piṭaka [3]
Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅghahāva [1]
Samantapāśadikā Vinaya-atṭhakathā [1]
Sikkhāpada Valaṇjanī [1]
Samaṅgalavilāsinī Dīgha-atṭhakathā [1]

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

Aṭṭhasālinī-atṭhakathā [2]
Abhidhammāṭṭha/Abhidharmārtha Saṅghahaya/Saṅghahāva [3]
Abhidhammaṭṭhāra [1]
Abhidhammaṭṭhāraṣaya [1]
Abhidhammaṭṭhāratikā [1]
Abhidharmaya [1]
Abhidharma Kotasak
Abhidharmasāṅghahayaṭṭikā [1]

12 Including one dated 1943.
13 Including one dated 1897.
14 Including one dated 1906.
15 Including one dated 1735.
16 Includes manuscripts with the following dates: 1795, 1838, 1856, 1858, 1880 [2], 1881, 1882, 1889, 1895, 1896 [2], 1898 [2], 1903, 1906, 1913, 1916, 1917, 1918 [2], 1924, 1926 [3], 1928, 1946, 1950, BV 2416 [AD 1872], BV 2418 [AD 1874], BV 2446 [AD 1902], BV 2451 [AD 1907], BV 2483 [AD 1939].
17 Including one dated BV 2480 [AD 1936].
18 Including one dated BV 2483 [AD 1939].
Abhidhamma Saññā [illegible; pakaraṇa?] Kathā [1]
Abhidhamma Padipikā Sannaya [2]
Abhidhamma Pradipikā[va] [2]
Abhidhamma Pradipiya [1]19
Abhidhammasaptapakaranayya [4]
Dhammasaṅgāni Prakaranayya [4]
Puggalapaññatti Dhātu Prakaranayya [1]
Śaptani Prakaranayya [1]
Saptapakaranayya [1]

Jātaka Texts

Asadṛsa Jātakaya [1]20
Uposatha Jātakaya [1]
Umāndāva [3]21
Ummagga Jātakaya [13]
Kaviṣilumīṇa [1]
Kuṇāla Jātakaya [1]
Kudupū Jātakaya [1]
Kurudharma Jātakaya [5]
Kurudharmaya [10]
Kurudharmaya Kotasak [1]
Kusa Jātakaya [2]
Guttila Jātakaya [1]
Jātaka-āṭṭhakathā [1]
Jātaka Kathā Pota [1]
Jātaka Gāthā Sannaya [1]

Unidentified Nidānaya [1]22
Nim Jātakaya [1]

Nimi Jātakaya [1]
Bana [illegible] Jātakaya [1]
Manicora Jātakaya [1]
Vessantara Jātaka Kaviya [1]
Vessantara Jātakaya [6]
Vessantara Tīkā [1]
Saṃkicca Jātakaya [1]
Simhala Jātaka Kavaya [1]
Sutasōma Jātakaya [1]23

Miscellaneous Didactic Texts

Anāgatavamsaya [1]
Anāgatavamsaya Desanāva [5]
Āyuvardhana Kathā [1]24
Upāsakajanālāṅkāra [3]
Kathā-[illegible]-aya [1]25
Kathāvastu Pota [8]26
Kathāvastu Pota Kotasak [1]
Kathāvastu Prakaranayya [1]
Kathinānismsaya [2]
Kavmutuhara [1]27
Kusala Sūtra Dharma Desanāva [1]
Kosambi Varṣanāva [1]
Gīhi Vinaya [1]
Coraghātaka Vastuva [1]
Jinavamsaya [1]
Jinālāṅkāraya [1]

---

19This is dated 1924.
20See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603(183), (97) and (102).
21Umagga Jātaka in Elu Sinhala. See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (30)).
22I assume this refers to a nidānakathā.
23See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6604(21)).
24See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (95) 1).
26When kathāvastu appears with pota, saṅgraha, or in a compilation with sutta or kathā texts we should, I believe, expect it to be a “compendium of narratives”.
27See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6604 (30)).
Jinālankāra Vaṇṇāvā [1]
Thūpavamsaya [2]
Daḷada Sirița [1]
Dahamsoṇḍa? Vata Buddha Dharma Vastuva
Dāna Paricchedaya [1]
Dānaśīla Paricchedaya [2]
Dhātuvaṃṣaya [1]
Dharmapradīpiķāva [3]
Pūjāvaliya [9] 28
Pūjāvaliya Kotasak [2]
Praṇottara Saṅgharāya [1] 29
(Saṅghraha) Baṇa (Daham) Pota/Baṇa (Daham) Saṅgharavak [21] 30
Butsaraṇa[ya] [5]
Budhavamsa-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Budhavamsa Desanāva [2]
Bodhivamsaya [2]
Bodhivamsaya (Pāli) [1]
Milindapraṇaṇa [6]
Meghavaṇṇa [= Meghavaṇṇavastuva?, 1] 31
Maitrī-Vaṇṇāvā [6]
Rasavāhinī[ya] [2]
Lokasaṇṭhānaya [1] 32

28 Including one dated 1876.
29 See Somadasa (1959, 61). I have found no manuscript by this name in the other catalogues listed as references below.
30 Including one dated 1852. Baṇa pot, sometimes called baṇa daham pot, are monastic handbooks. They usually contain popular suttas (often with saṅnayas) and Jātaka stories, plus short disciplinary and meditation texts and common ritual chants. See also Blackburn (2001, Chp. 3). On saṅgharavak see Somadasa (1959, 92). The term saṅghraha sometimes appears before the central title words in order to indicate that the text is a compilation containing selected texts.
31 See Godakumbura (1980, 188).
32 See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (19)).

Vasagam (Baṇa) Pota [2]
Visākhā Vata [1]
Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathāva [1]
Visuddhimagga-tīkā [No. 15] 33
Visuddhimārgaya [1]
Visuddhimārga Sannaya [1]
Saddhammaprakaraṇaya [1]
Saddhammaprādīpiķāva [1]
Saddhamaratnāvaliya [1]
Saddharmalankārāya [7]
Saddharmalankārāya Kotasak [1]
Saddha[ṇa]?Saṅgharavata [1]
Saraṇābhimāṇaya [1]
Sāra Saṅgharāya [1] 34
Sāḷīrāja Vastuva [1]
Sinhala Thūpavamsaya [3]
Sulu Bodhivamsaya [1]
Sūvisivaraṇa/Sūvisivaraṇaya [2]
Śīla Paricchedaya [3]
Śrī Saddharmopavāda [= Saddharmāvavāda?] Saṅgharāya [1] 35

Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics
Aṭavisī Buduguṇa [1]
Amarasīṃhaya 36
Amarasīṃhaya Sannaya
Tun Saraṇaya [1]
Dāgot Pradīpiya [2] 37

33 Listed with the name “Moroduvē Dhammāṇanda”.
35 Listed with the name Suriyagoda Silavaṃsī Himi [= Svāmi].
36 Perhaps Amarasiṃha Aṭṭaka; see Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (11 XVIII).
37 See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (27)).
Namaskāra Sannaya [1]
Pirinivan Maṅgalaya [2]
Mihirapā[ṇ]nē Kāvyaya [1]
Mēghadūta Sannaya [1]
Budu Guṇa [1]
Budu Śatakaya [1]
Sadguṇālankāraya [1]
Sūriya Śatakaya [1]
Sūriya Śatakā Sannaya [1]
Śrī Navaratnālankāraya [1]38
Haṃsa Sandēṣaya and [illegible] Sandēṣaya [1]
[illegible] Sandēṣaya

**Grammars and Lexicons**

Ākhyāta padaya [1]
Ākhyāta Varanāgilla [1]
Abhidhānapradīpika [2]
Abhidhānapradīpika Sannaya [1]
Kārakupphamaṇjarī [1]
Kārakasaṇhā [1]partial
Nava Vāranāgilla [1]
Padasadhaniya [1]
Bāḷāva-bodhiya (= -bodhanam?) [1]
Bāḷāvatārā Sannaya [2]
Bāḷāvatāraya [4]
Mādhavana (= Mādhavanidānaya?) Padārthaya39
Rūpamālāva [1]
Rūpasiddhiya [1]
Lōvāda Saṅgarāva [1]
Vṛttamālāya [1]40

Vṛttamālākhyā Sannaya [1]
Sandhināma Sannaya [1]
Sandhikapaya [illegible] [1]
Sarasvatiya [1]
Śabdasārasajalinī [?] [1]41

**Meditation Texts**

Piṅkul Bhāvanāva [1]
Vidarśana Pota [1]

**Medical Texts**

Behet Guli Pota [1]
Bhesajamaṇjusā [1]
Mahāsāra Pradīpiya [1]42
Yōgamālāva Kāvi [1]43
Yōgaratnākaraṇa [3]44
Varayogasāraya [1]45
Sārārthasaṅgrahāva [2]46

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

Odisse (= Oḍiṣa?) [1]47
Catubhāṇavāra-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Guṇadosaya [1]
Dehi Kāpum Kavi [1]
Pirit Pota [1]
Piruvana Pota [2]48

---

40This is dated 1875.
41I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.
42Dated 1876.
43See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (111)).
44See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (111)).
45See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (108)).
46See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6612 (72)).
48Including one dated 1891.
Bali Kavi Potak [1]
Mantra Pota [3]
Satarabāṇavāra Sannaya [3]

**Historical Texts**
Attanagalu [Vihāra?] Vaṃsaya [1]
Alakēśvara Yuddhaya [1]
Āhālepola Varṇanāva [1]
Āhālepola Haṭanayā [1]
Imgrisi Haṭanayā [1]
Embekke Varṇanāva [1]
Kadaim Pota [2][49]
Guru Pota (Aitihasika Kathā Potak) [1]
Pāpiḷiyāṇe [Vihāra?] Sannasa [1][50]
Puṟāvṛtta (Laṃkā Itihāsaya) [1]
Mahā Haṭanayā [1]
Rājāvaṃsaya [1]
Vanni Kadaim Pota [1]

**Textual Compilations**
Abhidhammapakaranayā and Dhamma Saṅgrahaya [1]
Kadaim Pota and Rājaivaliya [1]
Kāka Jātakaya and Maitri Varṇanāva [1]
Kālakārāma Sūtra and Dhammacakka [1]
Kusala Sūtraya and Vāsagam Baṇa Pota [1]
Gāmānicanḍa Jātakaya and Kurudharma Jātakaya [1]
Jinavaṃsaya and Rāma Sandēsaya [1]
Dhammacakka and Brahmajāla [1]
Dhammacakka and Paṭiccasamuppādaya [1]
Dhammacakka and Sudarśana Sūtra [1]
Nāmaskāra Sannaya and Buddhavaṃsa Saṅgrahāva [1]

---

49See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (141–44)).
50See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6605 (12)).

---

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Navasikāragathā and Abhi-[illegible; māṭrkhā?] [1]
Nimi Jātakaya, Saddharmālāṅkāraya Kotasak and Gihī Vinaya [1]
Pujāvaliya, Kaṭhināṇisamśa and Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra [1]
Maliya Deva Kathāva, Pāramak Sīrīta, and Matalē Disāvagē Kadaim Pota [1]
Maitri Varṇanāva and Ruvanvālīsāya Itihāsaya [1]
Rājaratnākaraya and Narēndracaritāvalokapraddhipāva [1]
Viśakhavata and Vēna Kathā [= “other stories”] [1]
Vessantara Jātakaya and Kuru Dharma Kavi [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna and Dhammacakka [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Pēla and Dhammacakka Pada Ānūma [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Brahmajāla Sūtra [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Dhammacakka Sūtra [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Paṭiccasamuppādaya [1]

**Letters**
Unidentified Letter [1]
Durukara Lēkam Miṭṭiya [2][51]

**Miscellaneous Non-Sinhala Script Texts**
Buruma Potak [1]

**Illegible Nāmāvālīya Entries** [11]

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

**Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya**

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

51See Somadasa (1959, 83).
and educational practice that characterized the rise of the Siyam Nikāya (Blackburn 2001, esp. Chp. 3). The list of manuscripts held at Mādavela Rajamahavihārāya is thus of interest, providing suggestive evidence of 18th and 19th century monastic textual practices connected to the Siyam Nikāya. During my brief visit to the temple in July 1997, I was unable to see the condition in which manuscripts are currently held, or to examine them. The following list is taken from the incumbent’s handlist, entitled “Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaliya,” which I was given permission to transcribe. Note that a number of manuscripts are listed with monastic names. Some of these are clearly authorial annotations; others are perhaps the names of the monks by whom the manuscripts were copied and/or used. I have retained the numbers used in the handlist, since it is possible that they reflect a system of labeling used for the manuscripts themselves.

Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)

Aṅguttara-nikāya [Nos. 2,52 1153]
Udana [No. 77]
Dīgha-nikāya [No. 9554]
Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā [Nos. 10, 12,55 22, 30]
Dhammapadaya [No. 7356]
Paticcasamuppāda Vivaraṇaya [No. 9957]
Majjhima-nikāya [No. 34]
Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [Nos. 17,58 23, 40]
Saṃyutta-nikāya I [No. 3]

52No. 2 is listed with “[name illegible] visin liyanalada”.
53No. 11 is listed with “Dhammakīrti Siridevamitta Sthaviravan Vahansēn”.
54No. 95 is listed with “Ānanda Maitreyā Himi [= Svāmi]”.
55Nos. 10 and 12 are listed with “Sirisiddhartha Dhammānanda Mahasthaviravan Vahansēn”.
56No. 73 is listed with “Śri Dhammakitti Devamittābhidhāna Himi”.
57No. 99 is listed with “Rerukanē Vanavimala Himi”.
58No. 17 is listed with “Dhammakīrti Siridhāmmanandābhidhāna Himi”.

59Nos. 3 and 4 repeat this.
60No. 5 is listed with “SīripaññānandaAbhidhāna Sthaviravan Vahansēn visin sīmihala parivartanaya”.
61No. 19 is listed with “Śri Paññānanda Sādhana Sthaviravan visin”.
62No. 37 is listed with “Kāviśvara Sthaviravan Vahansē”
63Nos. 86 and 87 are listed with “Śri Saranāna Sthavira”.
64No. 29 is listed with “Śri Dhīrānanda Mahasthaviravan Nāyaka Himi”.
65No. 72 is listed with “Aryavanṣa Sthavira Svāminvahansē”.
66No. 63 is listed with “Paṇḍita Henpi[ta ??]gederē [illegible] Nāyaka Himi”.
67No. 6 is listed with “Ananda Maitreyā Mahanāyaka Sthaviravan Vahansēn visin sīmihala parivartanaya”; No. 7 with “Paññānanda [name illegible] Sthaviravan Vahansēn visin sīmihala parivartanaya”.
68No. 1 is listed with “Aṁḥbalangoḍa Dhammakusala Sthaviravan Vahansēn sīmihala parivartanaya”.
69No. 93 is listed with “Rerukanē Vanavimala Himi”.
70No. 20 is listed with an illegible name.
Abhidhamma-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)
Abhidhammāṭṭhakathā gathē [illegible] [No. 82]
Abhidhammāṭṭhasaṅgrahāya [No. 59]
Abhidharma Chandrikāva [illegible] [No. 10371]
Abhidharmāya [No. 98]

Jātaka Texts
Jātaka Pota [Nos. 13, 22, 24]

Miscellaneous Didactic Texts
Avavāda Paricchedaya [No. 89]
Kathānavamsāya [No. 8872]
Dhammasthāna Saṅgrahāya [No. 8473]
Nāgasena Vastuva [No. 60]
Paramitta Prakaranāya [No. 9474]
Pūjavaliya [No. 56]
[entry unclear; Pratāpa?] Dhammadesana [No. 79]
Pretavastuvārnanāva [No. 81]
Milindapraśnāya [No. 44, 55, 75, 6976]
Visuddhimārgaya [No. 2577]
Saddharmaratnākarāya [4178]
Saddharmaratnāvaliya [No. 4379]
Saddharmasaṅgrahāya [No. 9680]

71No. 103 is listed with “Mātara Śrī Dhammavamsa Himi”.
72No. 88 is listed with “Śrī Pradesara Nāyaka Sthavira”.
73No. 84 is listed with “[illegible] Śrī Saddharmmāṇanda Himi”.
74No. 94 is listed with “Rurukanē Vanavimala Himi”.
75No. 55 is listed with “Hinatikumbure Sumangala Himi”.
76No. 69 is listed with “Śrī Kamangalla Nāyaka Himi”.
77No. 25 is listed with “Buddhapecṣa [illegible] Mahasthavirayan Vahansen”.
78No. 41 is listed with “Vimalakīrti Mahasthavirayan Vahensē”.
79No. 43 is listed with “Dhammasena Mahasthavirayan Vahansē”.
80No. 96 is listed with “Dharma Śrī Ānandavāṃsya”.

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Saddharmāḷaṅkārāya [Nos. 35, 36, 38, 39, 4881]
Saṅgībana (“speech/preaching from the nikāyas”) [No. 5782]
Sārārthasaṅgrahāva [Nos. 46, 6583]
Sārasaṅgraha/Sārasaṅgho [Nos. 66, 71, 84] 80
Sudusaṅgrahāli Kathā [No. 7085]
Śīla Nirdeśāya [No. 91]
Śrāvaka-Śrāvikā Carita [No. 8386]
Śrī Saddharmāvavāda Saṅgrahāya [No. 3387]
Vimānavastu Prakaraṇāya [No. 9088]

Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics
Jinarājavanāsya [Nos. 49, 7889]
Jinavamsāda Mahākāvanāya [No. 5490]
Navadipika [No. 85]91
Raghuvaṃsāya [No. 74]92

Grammars and Lexicons
Abhidhānapradipikā [No. 76]

81Nos. 35, 36, 38 and 39 listed with “Dharmakīrti [illegible] Himi”.
82No. 57 is listed with “Yakuduvē [illegible] Sthavirayan Vahansē”.
83Nos. 46 and 65 are listed with “Vālīvīṭa Sāraṇākharā Saṃgharāja Himi”.
84Nos. 71 and 80 are listed with “Siddhattha Theravarena Himi”.
85No. 70 is listed with “Kaviśvara Sthavirayan Himi Pano”. I have found no text by this name in the catalogues referenced below.
86No. 83 is listed with “Nānavimata Śvāminde Vahansē”.
87No. 33 is listed with “Śrī Siddhartha Buddhakāritābhūdhanā Himi”.
88No. 90 is listed with “Ratanapala [illegible] Sthavira”.
89See also Sannasgala (1964, 599). I have not located this text in any of the catalogues referenced below.
90No. 54 is listed with “Medhānanda Sthavirayan Vahansē”. See also Sannasgala (1964, 644).
91No. 85 is listed with “Yagirāla Paññānanda Himi”. I am not certain that this is a verse text.
92No. 74 is listed with “Naravīla Dhammaratana Himi”. See Sannasgala (1964, 112–13).
Kaccāyana [illegible] [No. 47]
Bālavatāro [No. 50, 67, 101]
Mahārūpasiddhi [No. 53, 58]
Bālavatāra pucchāvissajjani [No. 42]
Bālavatāra Saṅghraya [No. 52]
Sidatsaṅgarā Sannaya [No. 51]

Medical Texts
Aṣṭapārīkṣāva [No. 26]
Vaṭikappakaraniya [No. 27]
Sārasamkṣepaya [No. 64]

Astrological and Other Protective Texts (see also Sutta-piṭaka Texts)
Piruvana Pot Vahansē [No. 8]
Satarabana varava Sannaya [No. 61]

Letters
Siṁhala Anuvādaya [No. 68]

Other Texts
Kāmayasangrahāva [No. 29]
Durvāda Vidarśanaya [No. 97]
Buddhāgama gāna [illegible] [No. 31]

93Nos. 50 and 67 are listed with “Siri Kumadagallabhīdāna Nāyaka Himī”.
94No. 53 is listed with “[illegible] Dipaṃkara Mahasthavirayan; No. 58 with “[illegible] Mahasthavirayan”.
95No. 42 is listed with an illegible name. See also Somadasa (1959, 64).
97See Sannasgala (1964, 673) who dates this text to 1927.
98No. 8 is listed with “Kumburupitiyē Vanaratanābhidhāna Mahanāyaka Himī”.
100Perhaps the same as Durvāda Hṛdaya Vīdārana (Sannasgala 1964, 742–43). No. 97 is listed with “Nalpavila Ratanasara Sāmi”.

Vimalārthavāhinī [No. 62]
Sṛtu [= sṛta?] Sangara-kavaniya [No. 32]

Illegible Nāmāvāliya Entries [Nos. 9, 92, 100]

Malvatu Vihārayē Saṃgharāja Pansala

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

Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)

101No. 62 is listed with “Śrī Dhammānandita Stavirayan Vahansē”. See also Somadasa (1959, 87).
102I have been unable to identify this text. It is listed with “D.M. Dhammaradina Mahatā”.
Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Saptasūriyodgamana Sūtra Sannaya [Nos. 81, 82]  
Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [Nos. 90, 93]

Vinaya-pitaka and Vinaya-pitaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)

Catupārisuddhaśīlaya [No. 87]  
Cullavagga Pāli [No. 17]  
Parivāra Pāli [No. 37]  
Pācittiya Pāli [No. 38]  
Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya [No. 34]  
Mahāvagga Pāli [Nos. 61, 123, 124, 125, 126]  
Mulsikha Baṇḍa Daham [No. 62]  
Vibhaṅga [No. 29]  
Sārārthadipani [No. 84]  
Sikkhavalāṅda [No. 85]  

Abhidhamma-pitaka and Abhidhamma-pitaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)

Abhidhamma Mūlaṭīkā [No. 6]

---

103 These may be the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 25 and 33.
104 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 32, containing the Apadāna Pāli bound with Buddhavaṃsaya Pāli and Itivuttaka Pāli.
105 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 14.
106 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 11.
107 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 29.
108 These may include the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 3, 4, 7 and 76.
109 These may include the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 20, 21 and 27. No. 27 is bound with an 1891 coin.

110 These may be the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 25 and 33.
111 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 30.
112 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 18. A Vinayavinicchaya-purāṇāṭikā appears in the glass cases, labeled No. 31. This does not appear on the handlist.
113 This is probably a monastic handbook, or baṇḍa daham pota, in which Mulsikha is the first entry.
114 The identification is tentative; no further title is given.
115 Though a text by this title could also be Saranāṅkara’s commentary to the catuhāṃsavāra I have listed it here given the presence of an encased manuscript labeled No. 16 and entitled Sārārthadipani (Vinayaṭīkāva).
116 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 26, which contains Sikkhavalāṅdavimisa, Dhammamāṭikā and Catupārisuddhaśīla.
117 A copy of Milindapraśnāyaka labeled No. 33 appears in the glass cases, while not listed on the handlist. The cases also contain No. 25, entitled Nāvā-[illegible]-buduguna Sannaya.
Kathāvastu [No. 30]\(^{118}\)
Dhammamātikā [No. 86]
Dhammasaṅgani Prakaraṇaya [Nos. 27, 28]\(^{119}\)
Puggalapaññatti [No. 40]\(^{120}\)

**Jātaka Texts\(^{121}\)**
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 1 [No. 111]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 2 [No. 112]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 3 [No. 113]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 4 [No. 114]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 5 [No. 115]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 6 [No. 116]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 7 [No. 117]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā, 8 [No. 118]
Jātaka-atṭhakathā Sannaya [No. 18]
Jātaka Pāli 11 [Nos. 121, 122]
Jātaka Pota [No. 96]
Jātaka Bhedapū ["abridged"] Pota [Nos. 119, 120]

Pirinivan Heḷa [No. 39]
Sulu Umandāva [No. 91]\(^{122}\)

**Miscellaneous Didactic Texts**
Gihi Vinaya [No. 13]\(^{123}\)

---

118 See treatment of kathāvastu pota in the Daladā Māligāva list.
119 These may be the encased manuscripts labeled Nos. 12 and 13. The latter includes also the Vibhāṅga Pakaraṇa and the Kathāvastu Pakaraṇa.
120 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 37/8, and entitled Puggalapaññatti Upakaraṇa Atṭhakathā.
121 The visible, encased, manuscripts contain two very large texts labeled Nos. 5 and 6, and entitled simply Jātaka Pota.
122 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 17 and entitled Ummagga Jātaka.
123 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 35.
124 The glass cases contain a manuscript with this title, but without label number.
125 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 2. It is bound with Mahākappīna Rajakathā.
126 These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 19, which does include the Maṅgala Sūtra Sannaya, composed in accordance with Sāratthasaṃuccaya and thus likely the work of Vālīviṣa Sarasamkara. They may also include the encased manuscript labeled No. 39, a small baṇa daham pota, and those labeled Nos. 32 and 13.
127 These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 49.
128 This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 24.
129 These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 27.
Tunliṅgurūpamāḷāva [No. 49]
Dhātupāṭa [No. 41]
Pañcikā Pradīpiya [No. 33]\(^{130}\)
Payogasiddhi [No. 36]
Bāḷāvatāraya [No. 46]\(^{131}\)
Bāḷāvatāra Kriyākāraka[-illegible-] Sannaya [No. 48]\(^{132}\)
Bāḷāvatārasuganṭhisāra [No. 47]
Moggalyāyana Vyākaraṇa [No. 63]

Medical Texts
Bhesajjamaṇjusā [Nos. 55, 56]\(^{133}\)

Astrological and Other Protective Texts (see also Sutta-piṭaka Texts)
Catubhānavārā Pāḷi [Nos. 14, 15]\(^{134}\)

Historical Texts
Lakdiva Vidiya [No. 69]\(^{135}\)

Letters
Saṃgharāja Lekham Pota [No. 67]\(^{136}\)

---

\(^{130}\) This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 22.

\(^{131}\) This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 9.

\(^{132}\) This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 38 and entitled Bāḷāvatāra Purāṇa Sannaya or that labeled No. 1 and entitled Gaḍalādeṇī Sannaya.

\(^{133}\) These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 43 and entitled Bhesajjamaṇjusā Sannaya, and that labeled No. 40 with the title Bhesajjamaṇjusā.

\(^{134}\) These may include the encased manuscript labeled No. 36 and bound in elaborate brass covers. It is interesting to note that this manuscript is copied in a very large script, apparently for recitation purposes.

\(^{135}\) See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (42)).

\(^{136}\) These are almost certainly letters by Vāḷiviṭa Saranāṃkara.

---

Non-Sinhala Script Texts
Kambhoja Pota ["Cambodian" or "from Cambodia"] [Nos. 10, 11]\(^{137}\)
Buruma ["Burmese" or "from Burma"] Tunpiṭaka Pot 40 [No. 97]\(^{138}\)

Other Texts\(^{139}\)
Saṃgharājasadhucaṇṭiyāva [No. 95]
Sulū Rājavamsya [No. 92]\(^{140}\)
Sīmā Vannanā [No. 68]

Illegible Nāmāvāliya Entries [No. 35]

Ridi Rajamahavihāraya

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

\(^{137}\) These may be texts brought from Siam during the eighteenth century, and written in Mūl script.

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

\(^{139}\) The visible, encased, manuscripts include a copy of Mahāvaṃsa Pāḷi labeled No. 50. This does not appear on the handlist.

\(^{140}\) This may be the encased manuscript labeled No. 23.
the image hall along with items to be used in the vihāra's perahāra, or annual procession. Access to the manuscripts requires the permission of the incumbent. Given permission to handle the manuscripts on 4 July 1997, I looked closely at about ten of them. The numbers with which the manuscripts were labeled were completely consistent with those listed on the vihāra's handlist, “Puskaṭa Pot Nāmāvaliya,” the contents of which I have reproduced below. This handlist was prepared by the Religious Affairs Department of the Sri Lankan government. The date of its preparation is not clear.

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

- Anguttara Saṅgīya Pāḷi Aṭūvā [No. 6]
- Cariyāpiṭakaya [No. 15]
- Dīk Saṅgīya [= Dīgha Nikāya] [No. 27]
- Petavatthu [No. 55]
- Manorathapūraṇī [No. 64]
- Majjhima Saṅgīyaṭṭha Prapañcaśudāni Aṭūvā [No. 65]
- Saṅyutta Saṅgīya Kotasak [No. 80]
- Sumanāgalavilāsīṇī Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā Vivaraṇaya [No. 87]

**Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)**

**Unidentified Sūtra [No. 86]**

- Dakṣinā Vibhaṅga Sūtraya [Nos. 25, 26]
- Dasmakpāvatum Sūtraya [Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24]
- Dasuttara Sūtraya Kotasak [No. 47]
- Dhammacakka [Nos. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41]
- Dhammacakkapavattana Sūtraya [No. 31]
- Paṭicecasamuppaḍa Sūtraya [No. 43]^{141}
- Paṭābhāva Sūtraya [No. 42]
- Brahmajāla Sūtraya [Nos. 61, 62, 63]
- Vammika Sūtraya [No. 67]
- Satipaṭṭhānaya [Nos. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77]

---

^{141} The designation sūtraya for this text is unusual among those manuscripts I have examined and those listed in Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 7).

**Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections**

- Satipaṭṭhāna Sannaya [No. 78]
- Vinaya-piṭaka and Vinaya-piṭaka-derived Texts (including those with commentary)
  - Pātimokkhaya [Nos. 44, 45]
  - Pālimutakavinayavinicchaya [No. 48]
  - Vinaya Potak [No. 68]
  - Vinē Sāratthadipaṇī-nam [= nāma] Tīkāva [No. 70]

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

- Abhidharmaya [No. 1]
- Abhidharmarthaśanāgraṇya [No. 2]
- Dhammasaṅgani Prakāsāṇya [No. 29]

**Jātaka Texts**

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

**Miscellaneous Didactic Texts**

- Anāgatavamsaya [No. 4]
- Anāgatavamsaye Desanāva [No. 5]
- Cullaniddesa [No. 13]
- Dhamma Upasaṅgrahaya [No. 28]
- Dhammapradipikāva [No. 30]
- Pūjāvaliya [Nos. 53, 54]
- Butsaraṇa [No. 59]
- Rasavāhinī [No. 66]
- Saṅhasaraṇaya [No. 81]
- Saddhammaratnāvaliya [Nos. 82, 83]
- Saddhammālaṅkāraya [Nos. 84, 85]
- Sela Sūtrayādikōṭa-ātisaṅgraha Baṇa Daham Pota [No. 88]
Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics
Chandas Pota [No. 14]
Jānakīharana [No. 19]^{142}

Grammars and Lexicons
Abhidhāna Sannaya [No. 3]
Kaccāyana [No. 12]
Pāli Nighañduva [No. 49]
Pāli Vyākaraṇa Pota [No. 50]
Bālavatāra Tiṅava [No. 56]
Bālavatāraya [Nos. 57, 58]
Brahmasirinighanḍuva [No. 9]
Saṁkṣepa Vyākaraṇa Pota [No. 79]

Medical Texts
Arīsta Śatakaya [? ] [No. 7]^{143}

Astrological and Protective Texts (see also Sutta-piṭaka Texts)
Pirīt pota [Nos. 51, 52]

Textual Compilations
Thūpavaṃsaya Pāli Pota and Abhidharmasaṅgrahaya [No. 20]
Pātimokkhaya and [illegible]-vinisa [No. 46]
Buddhavaṃsaya and Anāgatavaṃsaya [No. 60]
Vinayasaṅgraha Tiṅā and Kaṅkhāvītaranī [No. 69]

Texts Unidentified in Nāmāvaliya [Nos. 89-100]

Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya

Manuscripts held at Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya are likely to reflect the influence of late eighteenth-century textual practices since the image house, preaching hall, and library all date to restoration undertaken during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. According to one of the historical manuscripts held at the vihāraya, a substantial group of students formed at the temple after its restoration. This talpota mentions specifically the study of grammar, and says that manuscripts, including Tipitaka commentaries, Abhidhamma texts, and grammar books, were written and stored at the temple (Chutiwongs, et al., 1990, 36). An article in the Buddhist newspaper Budusarana (15 May 1988) states that some of the manuscripts held at the temple were brought by Siamese monks who visited Kandy and Kurunagala area temples in conjunction with the formation of the Siyam Nikāya and the introduction of upasampadā from Siam. This is consistent with the oral history given by the incumbent on 2 July 1997, according to whom the founder of the vihāraya’s current monastic paramparā studied with Vāliviṭa Saranāṅkara in Kandy before returning to Pādeniya to found his own group of students. Some of the manuscripts held at Pādeniya may pre-date the activities of Siyam Nikāya monks, however. According to at least one account, manuscripts, including Abhidhamma texts, were brought to Pādeniya from nearby Uvangirikaṇḍa (perhaps an araṇīka-identified temple with connections to Daṁbadeṇī Period monastic lineages) (Chutiwongs et al. 1990, 36).

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

^{142}See Godakumbura (1980, xxv).
^{143}The catalogue entry for No. 7 is unclear; this is a tentative identification. On this text see Bechert (1969, 121–22).
^{144}Personal communications from Profs. Jonathan Walters and P.B. Migaskum-bura.
Sutta-piṭaka Texts (including those with commentary)

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

Individual Sutta Texts (including those with commentary)

Aggikhandopama Sūtraya [No. 36]
Anūlīmāla Sūtraya [No. 181]
Āṭathāya Sūtraya [No. 92]
Unidentified Sutta Desanāva [No. 198]
Unidentified Sūtraya [Nos. 96, 107, 248]
Uposatha Sūtra Sannaya [No. 26]
Kusala Sūtra Desanāva [No. 82]
Kusala Sūtraya [No. 88]
Girimānanda Sūtraya [No. 10]
Cakkavattisīhanāda Sūtraya [No. 147]
Cullakamavibhaṅga Sūtraya [No. 138]
Todeyya Sūtraya [Nos. 21, 61]
Dakkhināvibhaṅga Sūtraya [No. 32]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Padārtha [No. 35]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [Nos. 31, 33, 100, 134, 145, 160]

145 Here nikāya is presumably a substitute for nipāta.

146 Rāsiyak means “several” or “a collection”.

147 This title suggests an interesting sermonic- or exegetically-based system of textual identification.
Saptasuriyodgamana/Suriyodgamana Sūtraya [Nos. 45, 223]
Saptasuriyodgamana Sūtra Sannaya [No. 126]
Sāleyya Sūtraya [Nos. 123, 191]
Sāleyya Sūtra-rtha Vākyāyāna [No. 129]
Subha Sutta [Nos. 142, 175]
Subha Sūtraya [No. 201]

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

Kudusikha Sannaya [No. 236]
Cullavagga [No. 152]
Bhikkhu Prātimokkha Pāli [without number]
Bhikṣu Prātimoka Sannaya [No. 20]
Bhikṣu Bhikṣuni Prātimokṣaya [No. 105]
Pācciti Pot Vahansē [No. 185]
Pātimokkhā Sannaya [No. 97]
Pārājika Pāli [No. 179]
Prātimokṣaya [Nos. 155, 174, 211; including 1 “Kotasak”]
Mulsikha [Nos. 57, 240]
Mulsikha Sannaya [No. 233]
Vinayakamma Pota [No. 214]
Vinaya-piṭakayē Potvahansaḷa 5 [No. 78][148]
Sāmaṇera Vastu [No. 136]
Sikhavālīḍa Vinisa [Nos. 108, 161]

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

Atthasālīni-āṭṭhakathā [No. 210]
Abhidharma Potak [No. 109]
Abhidharma [No. 84]
Abhidharmārtha Kamaṭahana [No. 52]
Dhammasaṅgaṇī Prakaraṇaya [No. 153]

149I take this description to mean fifty-six copies of the Umandāva, perhaps given as dāna.
150See also Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (24)).
151Kotasak should here be read as “selection”.

Jātaka Texts

Acchariyabhutadhammā Jātakaya [No. 212]
Unidentified Jātakaya [No. 127]
Dahamsonḍa Kathavastuva [No. 17]
Dūta Jātaka Dhammadesanāva [No. 196]
Pansiyapanas Jātaka Pota [No. 69]
Potvanselā 56 Samghika Umandāvayi [without number][149]
Mahāsūpina Jātakaya [No. 50]

Miscellaneous Didactic Texts

Anāgatavaṃsā Desanāva [No. 110]
Anāgatavaṃsā Pāli [No. 193]
Anāgatavāṃsa [Nos. 41, 235]
Kāṭhinānisaṃsā Dharmadesanāvak [No. 146]
Kāṭhinānisaṃsā [Nos. 29, 67, 188]
Kāṭhinānisaṃsā Simhala [No. 143]
Kosol Rajāta Pidimā-kirīmē Ānisaṃsaya-adāla Piḷiveḷa [No. 213][150]
Gihī Vinaya [Nos. 3, 30]
Thūpavamsāya [Nos. 37, 238]
Daḷaḍa Pūjāvalīya [No. 251]
Dasathūpa Kathā [No. 85]
Daham Kotasak [No. 101][151]
Dhammapradipikānaṃ [= nāma] Mahābhodhivaṃsa Parikathā [Nos. 2, 237]
Niyanāmika Dhamma Puṣṭakayek [= untitled dhamma manuscript] [Nos. 218, 219, 220, 231]
Pañcanivāraṇa Nirdeśaya [No. 23]
Pāraṇi Baṇa (Kopiyak) [No. 221]  
Puṇāna Baṇa (Kopiyak) [No. 164]  
Pūjāvalīya [No. 76]  
Baṇa Daham Pota [Nos. 9, 94]  
Basvana Puṇāna Baṇa Vastuva [No. 59]  
Buddhavāṃśaya [No. 135]  
Buduguna Vaṇṇanā [No. 195]  
Butsaraṇa [No. 246]  
Brahmapūjāvali 16 Paricchedaya [No. 25]  
Mahābodhiśīmaya [No. 166]  
Milindapātha Pāli [No. 162]  
Mettā Vaṇṇanā [No. 167]  
Met Budu Vaṇṇanā [No. 199]  
Ratnamālīcayya Vaṇṇanā [No. 27]  
Vyānavatthu Vaṇṇanā [No. 124]  
Visākha Vata [No. 68]  
Visuddhimagga Śīla Nirdeśaya [No. 95]  
Saṃkhyaṇāya [No. 16]  
Sakaskaḍaya [No. 131]  
Saddharmālaṅkāraya [No. 151]  
Saddhamaratnākāraya Kotasak [No. 132]  
Saddharmapāya[=-na? Sannaya?] [No. 43]  
Sāratthaśāngrahaya 7 Paricchedaya [No. 14]  
Śīla Paricchedaya [No. 15]  

Miscellaneous Verse Compositions/Poetics  
Aṣṭaka Paha [without number]  
Prāthārya Śatakaya [No. 157]  

Buddha Stotra Anuruddha Śatakaya [No. 113]  
Bhakti Śatakam [No. 180]  
Vandanā Gathā [No. 169]  
Vuttamāla [Sandēsa?] Śatakaya [No. 170]  
Vuttodaya [No. 156]  
Sūriyaśatakata Sannaya [No. 39]  

Grammars and Lexicons  
Abhidhānapradīpikā [Nos. 38, 60, 229]  
Eśu Nighandu (Pera sahita tava pātha) [without number]  
Nighandu Sannaya [No. 111, plus one without number]  
Pāli Nighanduva [No. 99]  
Pāraṇi Vyākaraṇa [No. 115]  
Bālavatāranam (= nāma) Prakaraṇayehi Sannaya [No. 1]  
Bālavatāra Vyākyāva [No. 137]  
Bālavatāraya/Bālavatāra [Nos. 7, 34, 40, 144, 154, 171]  
Bālavatāra Liyana Sannaya [No. 239]  
Bālavatāra Sannaya [Nos. 103, 110, 202]  
Varanāgilla [No. 139]  
Varanāgilla Pāli [Nos. 176, 187]  
Saṃskṛtalāṅgavi Saṅgaha Vargaya [No. 66]  
Suganṭhīsāra Gāta Padā [No. 11]  

Medical Texts  
Ipāraṇi Veda Potak [1 without number]  
Ipāraṇi Veda Potak Kotasak [1 without number]  
Śāra-nam (= nāma) Veda Pota [No. 241]  
Śāravaṅga Veda Potak [Nos. 243, 244]  
Yōgaratnākaraya [No. 58]  

---

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

153See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 2, Or. 6603 (100)).

154I am uncertain of this identification. See Norman (1983, 151).


156See Godakumbura (1980, xxxi).

157No. 229 is listed with “Moggallānaterun visin racita”.

158See Godakumbura (1980, 70).

159I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.

160I have found no text by this title in the catalogues referenced below.
Sārārtha Viśa Veda Potak [No. 242]

Astrological and Protective Texts (see also Sutta-piṭaka Texts)
Āraṅka [illegible] [without number]
Ipārani Pirit Pota [without number]
Jayamagul Gathā [No. 90]
Jinapanjājara [No. 75]
Pahamunē Hāmuduruvange Nāgarabodhi Pote [without number]
Pirit Desanā [No. 217]
Pirit Pota [No. 63]

Piruvānā Potvahansē [without number]161
Piruvānā Potvahansēla 3 [without number]162
Maṅgul Āgama (Unvahansē visin liyana lada) [without number]
Maṅgul Āgama Revata [without number]
Maṅgul Āgama Sunānda [without number]
Mantra Potak [Nos. 245, 247; plus 1 without number163]

Moggallāna Sutta [No. 79]164
Yantrayak [without number]165
Saptabojjhāṅga [No. 224]
Simābandhana Mantraya [No. 186]

Historical Texts
Talpota [Nos. 252, 252.1, 252.10, 252.11, 252.12; plus 2 without number]166
Maṅgul Āgama Piyaḍassi G[illegible] Himivārungē Upasampadā Sahitaka Talpota

Pādeni Vihāra Katikāvata [No. 249]
Hatthavanagalla [Vihāra?] Vaṃsaya [No. 140]

Textual Compilations
Aggikhandhopama Sūtraya and Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sūtraya [No. 81]
Āṭṭhānāṭiya Karanjīya [mettā?] Sūtrādi [No. 208]
Upasatha Sūtra Vyākhyānaya and Kālakārāma Sūtra [No. 182]
Jayamangalagāthā Atavisipirit Jinapanjājarāyaḍiyaya [No. 205]
[Illegible] Daham Kotasa[k] [No. 12]167
Dhammika Sūtraya and Dhammacakkka Sūtraya [No. 203]
[Illegible] Sūtra Isigili Sūtrādi [No. 150]
Miśra Potak [Nos. 117, 120]168
Raṭṭhapāla Sūtraya, Mahā[-illegible] Sūtraya and [illegible] Sūtraya [No. 122]
Vinaya Saṅgha [and?] Kōsalabimbīya Vaṃsaya [No. 114]
Subha Sūtraya Ātula Dharma Kopya [= “copy”] [No. 227]

Non-Sinhala Script Texts
Siyam (“Siamese” or “from Siam”) Dharma Pota (With gold decoration) [without number]

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

Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya

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

---

161 Listed with the name “Kalunomadinnā”.
162 Given the plural this presumably refers to three paritta texts.
163 The mantrapotaka without a number is described as ipārani mahānubhāva sampamna mantrapotaka.
165 The yantra without a number is described as ipārani yantrayak.
166 One of the talpota without a number is described as dāmala basaven racita ipārani talpata.
167 Again, here read kotasa[k] as “selection”.
168 A “mixed manuscript”, in other words a compendium of some sort.
169 No. 250 is listed as “eight manuscripts”.

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

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

The manuscripts contained at Hanguranketa are very poorly preserved. They are kept in a variety of drawers and cabinets in a special room upstairs in the temple complex, reached through the rooms in which regalia for the perahūra are kept. There was no handlist of manuscripts available for examination at Hanguranketa.\footnote{However, John Holt reports that he has been shown a manuscript list for Hanguranketa listing common Pāli texts. Personal communication, July 2000.} I suspect that the particularly poor state of the manuscripts at Hanguranketa reflects an unusual care-taking arrangement set in place for the temple. For reasons that are not fully clear to me, but that certainly result in tensions to this day, access to the manuscripts is not in the jurisdiction of the vihāraya’s incumbent, but rather in that of a lay official, the bharakāriya (“protector”), who possesses keys to the library. Since the manuscript holdings are not under monastic control, many of the usual motivations for their preservation are not in play at Hanguranketa.

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

Anāgatavāṃsa Desanāva [1]
Aṅguttara-nikāya [1]
Abhidhamma Kotasak [1]171
Abhidhamma-piṭakaṃ [2]172
Abhidhamma Pakaraṇa [1]
Abhidhamma[tha]saṅgraha Sannaya [1]
Unidentified manuscripts [2]
Ummagga Jātaka [1]
Cariyāpiṭaka [1]
Dīgha-nikāya [9]
Dīgha-nikāya Kotasak [2]
Dāṇḍyalamkāraya Saṃskṛta [1]
Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Dhammapada [1]
Dhammasaṅganī Pakaraṇa [1]
Dhammasaṅgīti [1]173
Nettipakaraṇa [1]
Paṭiccassamupāda, Majjhima-nikāya Kotasak and Saṃyutta-nikāya-
āṭṭhakathā Kotasak [1]
Pārājika Pāli Kotasak [1]
Parivāra Pāli [1]
Pācittiya Pāli [1]
Milindapañha Pāli [2]
Petavatthu, Therīgathā, and Theragathā [1]
Brahmajāla Sutta Sannaya Sahita [1]
Majjhima-nikāya [4]
Majjhima-nikāya-āṭṭhakathā [1]

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Mahāvagga Pāli [1]174
Vimānavatthu [1]
Visuddhimagga [2]
Visuddhimagga Kotasak
Yasodharā Vata [1]175
Sekhiyā [1]
Saṃyutta-nikāya [1]
Samantapāsādikā [1]
Siyam (“Siamese” or “from Siam”) Pota176 [1]

Second Glass Cabinet (moving inward from entrance)

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

---

171 Here again and throughout this collection, kotasak should be read as “selection”.
172 Including one marked sampuṇṇam.
173 See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or 6601 (100)).
174 This is bound within manuscript covers in unusually good condition.
175 This is labeled No. 37.
176 This is written in Mūl script, approximately 16" long × 8" wide, with gilded leaves.
177 This manuscript has gilded leaves.
178 See treatment of kathāvastu pota in the Daḷadā Māliğāva section above.
Kāmi (= Karma?) Vibhāgaya [1]
Kuru Dharmaya, Dhammacakkaya, and [illegible] [1]
Khuddaka-nikāya [1]
Khuddaka-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [180] [1]
Khuddakapāṭha [1]
Cakkavālādīpani Tīkā [1][181]
Cariyāpitaka Vaṇṇanā [1]
Cūlavagga Pāli [1]
Jātaka Kotasak [1]
Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Dampiya Aṭṭuvā [1]
Dampiyāva Sannaya [2]
Dīgha-nikāya [1]
Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Dhammapada [5]
Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Dhammapada Sannaya [2]
[Illegible] Niti Bhāgaya Simhala [1]
[Illegible] Nidānaṃ [1]
Pārājika Pāli [1]
Pārājika Pota [1]
Pātimokkha [1]
Pāli Upāsakajanālaṃkāra [1]
Pāli Thūpavamsaya [1]
Pāli Dāṭhāvamsaya [1]
Pāli Nighanḍu Sannaya [1]

Pālimuttakavinaya [2]
Pālimuttakavinayavincchaya [1]
Pāli Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta [1]
Piriya Kotasak [1]
Piriya Pota [2]
Majjhima-nikāya Tīkā [1]
Mahāvagga Pāli [1]
Mukhamattadīpaniya [1][182]
Rasavahini [2]
Rūpasiddhi Tīkā [1]
Saddhammaratnakaraya, Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Sannaya and
Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1][183]
Samantapāsādīkā-nāma Vinaya Saṃvaṇṇanā [1]
Simhala Jātaka? [1]
Simhala Dāṭhuvaṃsaya [1]
Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā [2]
Subodhālankāra Sannaya [1]
Sumangalavilasīni [2]
Vinaya Potak [1]
Vinayavinicchaya [1]
Vinayavinicchaya-aṭṭhakathā [1]
Vimativinodanāma-Vinayatīkā [1]
Visuddhimagga-tīkā [1]
Visuddhimagga Sannaya [2]

First Cabinet with Wooden Drawers (moving inward from glass
cases)[184]
Anāgatavamsa Desanāva [1]

180 This manuscript is nicely bound in metal manuscript covers, with some sort of
crest.
181 Perhaps related to Cakkavālādīpani-pakarana on which see von Hinüber
182 This is also known as Kaccāyana-tīkā (Somadasa 1959, 76). See also
183 This manuscript is bound within metal manuscript covers, in good condition
with jeweled decoration.
184 This and all following drawered cabinets were examined from top to bottom.
One drawer of this cabinet could not be opened.
Amāvatura [1]
Unidentified Manuscripts [9, including two greatly deteriorated]
Unidentified Vyākaraṇa [2, including one greatly deteriorated]
Unidentified Vyākaraṇa Kotasak and Daḷada Sīrita [1]
Unidentified Sanskrit Manuscripts [two greatly deteriorated]
Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Upāsakajanaṅkāra [185] [3]
Upāsakajanaṅkāra Siṃhala [1]
Ummagga Jātaka [1]
Kaccāyana [1]
Kaccāyana Vyākaraṇa [1]
Kaccāyana Kotasak and Siṃhala Sannaya [3]
Kathāvastu [2]
Kālakārāma Sūtaya [1]
Kurudharmaya [3, one greatly deteriorated][186]
Gaḍalādeṇiya Sannaya [1]
Cūlakamma Viṃhaṅgaya [1]
Jātaka Kathāvak [1]
Tun Ruvan Pota [1]
Thūpavāṃsaya [187] [1]
Daḷadāpūjāvaliya [2]
Daḷadāpūjāvaliya Kotasak [1]
Dukapāṭhāna [1]
Dhampiya Ātuvāgatapadaya Kotasak [1]
Dhammapradīpiṅkāva [2]
Dhutanagādapani Sannaya [1]
Namaskāra Gāthā [1]

185One of these manuscripts is very handsomely bound.
186The greatly deteriorated manuscript is bound with a V.O.C. coin dated 1733.
   Another manuscript is bound with a coin reading “King George Emperor of India”.
187The manuscript is beautifully bound.

Pajjamadhuva Sannaya [1][188]
Pāli Niṅghaṅduva Prathama Kotasak [1]
Pāli Vinayavinicchaya [1]
Piri Pota [189] [1]
Baṇalivīma Ānisaṃsaya [1]
Bāḷāvatāra Kiyana Sannaya Vyākaraṇa [illegible] [1]
Bāḷāvatāra Bhava Sannaya [2]
Bāḷāvatāra Liyana Sannaya [1]
Bāḷāvatāra Sannaya [2]
Bāḷāvatāra Sannaya and Pāli Varanāgīla [1]
Bāḷāvatāraya [3]
Buddhipāda[m?nāma Tīkā [1][190]
Mahābodhivaṃsaya [1]
Mahāvaṃs Pāli [3]
Viṃhavastu Āṭuvā [1]
Vuttodaya [1]
Rasvāhinī Pāli [1]
Rasvāhinī Sannaya [1]
Rūpamāla [2]
Rūpasiddhi [3]
Rūpasiddhi Sannaya [1]
Saddharmopāyana? [1]
Saddharmaratnāvaliya [1]
Saddhammasaṅgraha [1]
Saṅkhepa Kaccāyana [1]
Saṅgha Sarana [1]
Sāra Saṅgaha [1]
Sinhala Thūpavaṃsaya [4]
Sinhala Viṃhavastu [1]

189The manuscript is written in Pāli and Siṃhala, bound with a V.O.C. coin
dated 1734.
190See Somadasa (1959, 66) and Norman (1983, 151).
Second Cabinet with Wooden Drawers

Achariyabbinghutadharmasutta [1]
Anāgatavāṃsaya [1]
Ālāvaka Sutta [1]

Unidentified Manuscript

Unidentified Manuscript in Mūl Script [3; all with gilded leaves]

Unidentified Vaṃsa [1]

Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]

Uraga Jātakaya [1]
Kālakārāma Sūtraya [1]

Kurudharmaya [one greatly deteriorated]
Jātaka Pota [3]
Jātaka Pota Kotasak [2]

Dēvadatta Sūtra Sannaya? [one greatly deteriorated]
Pūjāvaliya [2]

Pretavastu Prakaraṇaya [1]
Majjhima-nikāya [2]

Baṇa Daham Pota [13, including one greatly deteriorated]
Butsaraṇa [1]

Butsaraṇa Kotasak and Anāgatavāṃsya Kotasak [1]

Butsaraṇa, Dānaśīla Paricchedaya, Rājāvaliya [illegible] Kotasak [1]
Buddhavāṃsaya Kotasak [1]
Buddhavāṃsaya Sannaya, [illegible] and Ratanasarana [1]

---

191See Somadasa (1959, 104).
192The first text of the pair is likely *Sīkkhāpadavaṇanā.* See Godakumbura (1980, xxx).
193One of these manuscripts includes *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣaya, Sekhiyā,* and some *sūtra sannayas.*

---

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Buruma Baṇa Pota194 [1]
Mahāsāmayya Sannaya Vaṇṇanāva [1]
Maitreyaṇā [one greatly deteriorated]
[Saddharmā?] Ratnāvaliya [1]
Vinaya Potak [one greatly deteriorated]
Vessantara Jātaka [two greatly deteriorated]
Saddhammaratnākaraya [3]
Saddhammaratnākaraya Kotasak [1]
Saddharmālaṅkāraya
Saddharmālaṅkāraya and Kathāvastuva Kotasak [1]
Saddharmālaṅkāraya and Kurudharmā Jātakaya [1]
Samaṇa Dahan Pota [2]
Samśkṛta Sārasvata Sannaya [1]195
Simhala Milindapraṇaya [1]
Siyam ["Siamese" or "from Siam"] Pota196
Siyam Baṇa Pota
Śrī Saddharma Sārārthaśaṅgahayā Simhala

Third Cabinet with Wooden Drawers197

Ajāsatta Kathāva [1]198
Anāgatavāṃsa Desanāva [1]
Āṅgulimāla Sūtraya [2]
Avavāda Paricchedaya [1]

Unidentified Manuscripts [33, including two greatly deteriorated]

Unidentified Pada Ānūma [5]

Unidentified Sannaya [1]

Unidentified Sutta [3]

194This is bound in tarnished metal covers. The manuscript leaves appear to have been originally gilded.
195See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6608 (36)).
196This manuscript and the following are very large, with gilded leaves and written in Mūl script.
197One drawer of this cabinet could not be opened.
198See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 6, Or. 6615 (108)).
Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Kathāvastu Pota Kotasak [1]
Kaṭhina [illegible] Sangrahaya [1]
Kadavuru Sīrita [1]\(^{199}\)
Kadaim Pota [1]
[Illegible] Sūtryaya and Kathāvastu Pota [1]
Kālakārāma Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Kurudharma Jātakaya [1]
Kurudharmaya [one greatly deteriorated]
Dahamsonḍa Jātakaya [1]
Dāyaka Pinkari Vastuva [1]
Devadatta Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Dhajagga Sutta [1]
Dhajagga Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Dhammapadaya Sannaya [1]
Dhammasaṅgrahaya [3]
Namaskāra Gāthā [1]
Namaskāra Sannaya [2]
Nidāna Pāṭhaya [1]
Paṭiccasaṁuppādaya [3]
Prātimokṣaya [3, including one greatly deteriorated]
Bāna Daham Pota [one greatly deteriorated]
Bālapaṇḍita Sūtra [1]
Bālapaṇḍita Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Butsaraṇa [1]
Buddhacarita and [illegible] [1]
Buddhapatījā Gāthā [one greatly deteriorated]
Brahmajāla Sūtryaya Āṭhavaṇṇanā [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma saha Sannaya [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtryaya [12]

Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [3]
Bhiṅśu Prātimokṣaya [1]
Mahāmaṅgala Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Mahāsatiṣṭhānaya [2]
Mahāsamaya Sutta Vaṇṇanā [1]
Mahāsudassana Sūtryaya [2]
Mahāsudassana Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Rājāvaliya [1]
Vandanā Gāthā [1]
Vedanā ? Sutta [1]
Veraṅja[ka?] Sūtryaya [1]
Vessantara Jātaka [2]
Visākhūposatha Sūtryaya [1]
Lakkhana Sūtryaya [1]
Satarāṇavara Sannaya/Pirit Sannaya Kotasak [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Kāyagāthā [1]\(^{200}\)
Satipaṭṭhānaya [66]\(^{201}\)
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra/Sūtryaya [5]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra and Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtra [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Saptasuriyodgama Sūtryaya [1]
Sāmanera Bāna Daham Pota [1]
Saraṇagamanā Sūtryaya, Dhammacakkaya, [illegible] Kathāva,
Devadatta Sannaya, Mahāsena Vastuva, [illegible] Kathāva,
Ānanda-[illegible] Kathāva, and [illegible] [1]
Saraṇaśīla Saṃviabhāgaya [1]
Sāleyya Sūtra Pada Anumā, Mahāmaṅgala Sūtra Pada Ānuma,
Angulimāla Sūtra Pada Ānuma, Saptasuriyodgama Sūtra Pada Ānuma, and [illegible] [1]
Sāleyya Sūtra Pada Ānuma, Veranja[ka?] Sūtra Pada Ānuma,

\(^{199}\)See Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 4, Or. 6606 (137)).

\(^{200}\)Cf. Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 1, Or. 6601 (39V)).

\(^{201}\)The manuscripts bearing this label are of vastly varying sizes, which suggests that some include commentary or are compendium texts.
Fourth Cabinet with Wooden Drawers

Apāya-[illegible] Sārama [1]
Āsīvisopama Sūtra [1]
Unidentified Manuscript in Mūl Script [1]
Unidentified Sannaya Manuscript [1]
Unidentified Manuscripts in Sinhala Script [20]

Unidentified Sataka [1]
Unidentified Vivaraṇaya [1]
Upāsaka janālankāraya [1]
Uposatha Sūtraya [3]
Kathāvastu Pota [2]
Caturasatipaṭṭhāna [1]
Dasaśīla Paricchedaya [1]
Dahamsoṇḍa Jātaka [1]
Dumindagamanā Kathā and Mahābodhiyavāṃsa Gātapadaya [1]
Dhammacakkaya [2]
Dhammacakka Sannaya and [illegible] [1]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtraya [1]
Nākāt Pota [1]

Paṭiccassamuppādaya [1]
Paṭiccassamuppādaya Kotasak [1]
Pañcakkhandha [illegible] Yamakayantra Saranāṃ-[illegible] [1]
Pāli Varanāgilla [1]
Pīrit Sūtra [2, including one greatly deteriorated]
Buddhacarita [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtraya [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Mahāparākramabāhu Katikāvata [one greatly deteriorated]
Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Vistarayak [1]
Vimuttimārgaya [1]
Rāhula Kathāva [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Ātuvā [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Pada Ānuma [3]
Satipaṭṭhāna Vistara/Vistara Sannaya Sahita [4]
Satipaṭṭhāna [92, including one greatly deteriorated] 204
Satipaṭṭhāna Sannaya [4205]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtraya [5]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya [4206]
Sidatsaṅgarā [1]
Sūvisivaraṇayak [1]
Sūriya Satakaya [1]
Hōdiya Pota [1]

---

203 The top drawer of this cabinet could not be opened, nor could the sixth. The fourth drawer contained primarily text fragments without labels or binding. These are not included with “unidentifiable manuscripts”.
204 One of these manuscripts is bound with an East India Company coin but no visible date, one is bound with a British coin marked “61”, one is bound with a British royal seal and one is bound with an illegible coin.
205 These include one that appears to contain several other sūtra sannayas and a Jātaka text.
206 These include one with floral design on gilded leaves. This is the only manuscript with gilded leaves that I have seen in Sinhala script.
Almyrah (located at room's end facing the entrance)\textsuperscript{207}
Avavāda Paricchedayā [1]
Unidentified Manuscripts in Sinhala Script [43]
Unidentified Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Upasampadā Vata [1]\textsuperscript{208}
Kathāvastiya [1]
Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā Kotasak [1]
Damsakpāvatum Sūtra [1]\textsuperscript{209}
Damsakpāvatum Sūtra Pada Ānuma [1]
Dhammacakkappavattana Sūtraya [3]\textsuperscript{210}
Dhammacakkaya [39, including three greatly deteriorated]\textsuperscript{211}
Dhammacakka Sannaya [1]
Dhammacakka Sūtraya [3]\textsuperscript{212}
Dhammacakka Sūtra Sannaya [1]
Dhammāṇisamsaya [1]
[Para?]subha Sūtra [2]
Pūjāvaliya [1]
Brahmajāla Sūtra [1]
Maitri Vata [1]
Visuddhimārga, Satipaṭṭhānaya and [illegible] [1]\textsuperscript{213}
Rājāvaliya [1]

\textsuperscript{207}The almyrah included a plentiful collection of manuscript scraps not included in my references to “unidentifiable manuscripts”, and three unmarked monastic fans.

\textsuperscript{208}The manuscript is dated, but I was unable to read this date.

\textsuperscript{209}These include two manuscripts bound with a coin on which no date is visible.

\textsuperscript{210}One of these manuscripts is a tentative identification; it is bound with a British coin on which no date is visible.

\textsuperscript{211}These include one bound with a British coin on which no date is visible, and one manuscript dated 1899.

\textsuperscript{212}These include one bound with a coin marked in what appears to be faded Arabic script.

\textsuperscript{213}This is bound with a British coin on which no date is visible.

Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections

Satipaṭṭhānaya [2]\textsuperscript{214}
Satipaṭṭhānaya and Dhammacakka Sūtra [5]\textsuperscript{215}
Satipaṭṭhānaya, Dhammacakkaya, Āpayavastu and [illegible] [1]
Satipaṭṭhānā Sannaya [1]
Satipaṭṭhānā Sūtra and [illegible] Vaṭṭanā [1]
Satipaṭṭhāna Sūtra Sannaya [3]
Sāṇghrahadharma-[illegible] dharma [1]
Śrī Narayan [illegible ]Bamuṇa Mudiyanṣēla Pālī [illegible] Upasikāvā [1]\textsuperscript{216}

Conclusion

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

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

\textsuperscript{214}These include one bound with a coin marked with a crown, star, and lion but no visible date.

\textsuperscript{215}These include one with elaborate covers and binding.

\textsuperscript{216}This manuscript is dated 1939.

\textsuperscript{217}A preliminary discussion of the sannayas composed for Pāḷi suttas appears in Blackburn (2001).
by Pruitt (1994) in his study of Burmese nissayas), of the conventions of commentary and translation presumed by each genre, and of the devotional expectations (merit-making, access to buddhavacana, access to protection, and so on) that have guided their composition and use.

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

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

Anne M. Blackburn
Cornell University

REFERENCES


218 For examples of yantra texts see Somadasa (1987–95, Vol. 5, Or. 6613 (5) and 6612 (21) II).
Līnatthapakāsīnī and Sāratthamaṇḍūsā:
The Purāṇaṭiṅkās and the Tikās on the Four Nikāyas

In Pāli bibliographical sources the Tikās on the first four nikāyas are mentioned either:
(a) as two — more or less complete — different sets:
(1) the old set of four purāṇaṭiṅkās with a common name Līnatthapakāsīnī:
   Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Papaṅcasūdānī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Sāratthapakāsīnī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Tatiyā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāsīnī; and
(2) the later set of four Tikās with a common name Sāratthamaṇḍūsā:
   Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī-Tikā, Paṭhamā Sāratthamaṇḍūsā;
Papaṅcasūdānī-Tikā, Dutiyā Sāratthamaṇḍūsā;
Sāratthapakāsīnī-Tikā, Tatiyā Sāratthamaṇḍūsā;
Manorathapūraṇī-Tikā, Catutthā Sāratthamaṇḍūsā; or
(b) as a single set in which the first three Tikās are from the old set and
   are called Līnatthapakāsīnī (see (a-1) above) and the fourth Tikā is from
   the later set and is called Sāratthamaṇḍūsā (see (a-2) above), that is:
   Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Papaṅcasūdānī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Sāratthapakāsīnī-purāṇaṭiṅkā, Tatiyā Līnatthapakāsīnī;
Aṅguttaranikāya-Tikā, Catutthā Sāratthamaṇḍūsā.

I presented an earlier version of Part 1 of this article at the XIth World Sanskrit Conference, Torino, in April 2000.

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

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

The authorship of the purāṇatikās (called Līnathamapāsīnī) is usually ascribed to Dhammapāla and that of the later tikās (called Sāratthamaṇjūsa) is ascribed to Sāriputta of Polonnaruva. Although according to some catalogues of Pāli manuscripts held in various libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka, both sets of tikās exist in manuscript form, only the tikās belonging to the single set (b) have been published and the remaining ones belonging to the two sets (a) seem to have been ignored.

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

In Part II three parallel chapters (Ekānipāta-tikā III-V) from both Aṅguttara-tikās (Mpdpt and Mpt) will be compared and their major differences analysed in the light of the information about the nikāya-tikās given in Saddhamma-s. The comparison will further evidence my proposition (based on the information in Saddhamma-s, see Part I, 1.1.) that two sets of nikāya-tikās (Līnathamapāsīnī and Sāratthamaṇjūsa) were most probably compiled.

Part I: Bibliographical sources, manuscripts and printed editions

1. The tikās in Pāli bibliographical sources

Saddhammasaṅgaha

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

---


4On Sāriputta of Polonnaruva, see Pecenko, 1997, pp. 159–79; HPL, pp. 172–73.

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


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

7Saddhamma-s 90, 10–14: punāgato sakam desam sampatto 'Yodayām [= sampatto Ayodayām] puram, Paramarājābhīdhamāna mahārājena kārite, Lankaṁamahāvase vasatā santavattina. Dhammakittiyusūminā ... rācitaṃ idam Saddhammasamagahaṃ nāma sabhavo parinīthiṭham.

8This was first suggested by G. Coedès, 1915, p. 43. C.E. Godakumbura mentions the author of Saddhamma-s first as a “Siamese monk who wrote at Gaḷalādēniya in Ceylon during the 14th century A.D.” (1980, p. xxvii, n. 1) and a few pages later as a “thera from India who also bore the name
during the rule of king Paramarāja I (Borommoracha I, 1370–88). Paramarāja I was “a contemporary of the [author’s teacher] Dhammakīti who lived during the reign of [the Sinhala king] Bhuvanaikabahu V (1372–1408)”\(^9\). It is also known that the Buddhism practised in Ayudhāya at that time was the Theravāda of the Sinhala tradition.\(^10\)

In Saddhamma-s two sets of *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* are mentioned: Linatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā. Linatthapakāsini was written by the porāṇas\(^12\) and was a subcommentary (attahavanṇanā) on the athakathās of the entire tipitaka.\(^13\) The second set of *ṭikās* on the first four *nikāyas* was called Sāratthamañjūsā and was compiled — as a part of the “new” compilation of *ṭikās* on the entire canon — during the reign of Parakkamabahu I (1153–86) by the convocation of “elders” (thera bhikkhū)\(^14\) presided over by Diṅbulāgala Mahākassapaṭhānera, who was the first saṅgharāja in Ceylon and the most senior monk from Udumbaragiri-vihāra.\(^15\) The entire compilation was accomplished within one year.\(^16\)

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

tadanantaram sustainapitake Dīghanākāyaṭthakhāthaya Sumamalaghīlaṇinīya atthavanṇanam ārabhitvā mūlabhāsaya Māgadhikāya niruttīya paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavanṇanam ṭhapam. tathā Mājdhiṇa-maṇiṭṭhakhāthaya Papaṇcasūdaniya ... dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavanṇanam ṭhapam. tathā Sāyuttanākāyaṭṭhakhāthaya Sāratthapakāsiniya ... tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavanṇanam ṭhapam. tathā Anguttaranākāyaṭṭhakhāthaya Manorathapūranīya ... catuttha-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavanṇanam ṭhapam.\(^17\)

Saddhamma-s explains that the second set of *ṭikās* (Sāratthamañjūsā) was written because the existing set (Linatthapakāsini) “did not serve the purpose of bhikkhus residing in different countries”,\(^18\) the reason being that many ganṭhipadas (explanatory works which dealt with difficult expressions and passages) that belonged to the old set were written in the Sinhala language and what was written in Māgadhī had

---

\(^9\)Wyatt, 1984, p. 312.

\(^10\)Sirisena, pp. 101–102. According to Ceedès, 1915, p. 43, “Il est impossible de fixer la date à laquelle ce texte fut compilé, ce nom de Paramarāja ayant été porté par plusieurs souverains d’Ayudhya.”


\(^12\)On porāṇas see Adikaram, EHBC, pp. 16–18; F. Lottermoser, 1982, pp. 209–13.

\(^13\)Saddhamma-s 58.28–29: *piṭa-katkattayaṭṭhakhāthaya linatthapakāsanasanatham atthavanṇanam purāṇehi katam.* Although in this reference the *ṭikās* on the first four *nikāyas* are not listed explicitly, it seems probable that they were called Linatthapakāsini. H. Saddhatissa (“Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154) observes: “The Linatthavanṇanā is also called Linatthapakāsini ... The Saddhammasaṅgaha has freely used the word athavanṇanā for ṭikā and further amplified it as the Athavanṇanā for the purpose of elucidating the hidden meanings (Linatthapakāsanasanatham athavanṇanām)”. Cf. the title of Sv-pi, ed. by Lily de Silva: Dīghanākāyaṭṭhakhāṭṭkā Linatthavanṇanā.

\(^14\)Cf. Saddhamma-s 59.14–18: *atha kho therā bhikkhū ... atthavanṇanam ṭhapam;* 62.13: *piṭa-katkattayaṭṭkā ca ṭikācarivehi bhāsitā* [v. 7].

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


\(^16\)Saddhamma-s 60.25–27: ayaṃ piṭa-katkattayaṭṭhakhāthaya atthavanṇanā ekasaṃvačcaren’ eva nighita.

\(^17\)Saddhamma-s 59.23–35; cf. Saddhamma-s 61.21–23: *piṭa-katkattayaṭṭhakhāthaya ca linathassasakasanaṃ Sāratthadhīpaṇī nāma Sāratthamañjūsā pi ca (v. 18), Paramatthapakāsani mahātherhehi bhāsitā, sattānaṃ sabbabhāsanānām sā ahosi hitāvahā (v. 19).

\(^18\)Saddhamma-s 58.30–31: *tam saṃbhaṃ desantarāvāsinaṃ bhikkhunām atthāna na sādheṭi;* translation by Law, 1941, p. 84. Cf. Saddhamma-s 61.9–10: *piṭa-katkattayaṭṭhakhāthayaṃ linathassasakasanaṃ, na tam sabbaṭṭha bhikkhunāṃ atthoṃ sādheṭi sabbasaṃ (v. 12);* also O. V. Hinüber, HPL, pp. 172–73, § 374: “... older works no longer served the purpose of the monks in the twentieth century.”
been mixed and confused with (Pāli) translations (bhāṣantarā) of the Gaṇṭhipadas.19 The Linathapakāsiṇī set was nevertheless used as a basis for the new “complete and clear athavaṇṇanā”,20 the mistakes (“versions, translations” — bhāṣantarā) in the old tīkās were removed, but their essence was kept in its entirety.21

19 Saddhamma-s 58,31–59,2: kattha ci anekusu gaṇṭhipadesu Sihalabhāsāya niruttīyā likhiṭā ca kattha ci mūlabhasāya Māgadhikāya bhāṣantarāna samissamā ākulaṇ ca katvā likhiṭā ca. Law’s translation, 1941, p. 84: “Some were written in many terse expressions [gaṇṭhipada] according to the grammar of the Sinhala language, some were written in the dialect of Magadha, which is the basic language, but they have been confused and twisted by translation”; cf. O.v. Hinüber, HPL, p. 173, §374: “Particularly the Gaṇṭhipadas written in Sinhalese are difficult to understand (Sp-t [Bb 1960] 1.2,5–8) and [were] therefore summarized in Pāli.” On gaṇṭhipadas, see Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-pt, pp. 182–138; O.v. Hinüber, HPL, pp. 170–71, §§367–71.

See also Saddhamma-s 61,9–20 where the state of the Linathapakāsiṇī set is described in more detail. These two passages from Saddhamma-s (14th century), especially Saddhamma-s 61,9–20, are most probably based on a very similar passage from Sp-t Bb 1960 1.2,5–15 ascribed to Sāriputta of Polonnaruwa, who lived about two centuries earlier — at the time of the compilation of the Sārathamaṇṇūṣa set.

20 Saddhamma-s 59,2–3: mayam bhāṣantarā anapetavā paripūṣanā anākulaṃ athavaṇṇanamī kareyyamā ti.

Saddhamma-s 61,9–20 = Sp-t Bb 1960 1.2,15–16: bhāṣantarām tato hitvā sāram ādaya sabbaso l anākulaṃ karissamī paripūṣanaṃ vinicchayam. The introductory passages in the existing printed editions of Sv-pt E, Ps-pt Bb 1961, Sp-pt Bb 1961, and in the recently discovered manuscript of Mp-pt (see Part I, 2.2 and Part II below), which all belong to the old Linathapakāsiṇī set, are, with the exception of minor orthographic differences, practically identical. The introduction in Mp-t E 1996, which is the fourth (catutthā) tīkā of the later Sārathamaṇṇūṣa set, is considerably different from Sv-pt E, Ps-pt Bb 1961, Sp-pt Bb 1961, and the text in the manuscript of Mp-pt, and is much closer to Sp-t Bb 1960 and Sv-nt Bb 1961. See P. Pecenko, “Table of Parallel Passages” in Mp-t I: also H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154. For a detailed textual comparision of three parallel chapters from Mp-pt and Mp-t, see Part II below.

1.2. The Pagan inscription

The second important source of information about the tīkās on the four nīkāyas is the Pagan inscription of 1442 (804 BE) inscribed in the beginning of the rule of Narapāti (1442–68),22 less than three centuries after Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86). The inscription gives a list of 299 manuscripts,23 amongst which the tīkās on the four nīkāyas are also mentioned.

The titles of the tīkās given in this inscription are very similar to the titles given in Piṭ-sm (1989) (see 1.6 below),24 which in turn are also very similar to the titles of the Chaṭhasaṅgāyana editions of these tīkās. The tīkās on D, M and S are listed as follows:

the tīkā on D has three entries: tīgā silakhandhavā dighanikāy (no. 44), tīgā mahāvā dighanikāy (no. 45) and tīgā pādheyyavā dighanikāy (no. 46);25

the tīkā on M also has three entries: tīkā mūlapaṇṇāsa (no. 53), tīkā majhimapaṇṇāsa (no. 54) and tīgā upariṇaṇṇāsa (no. 55);26

and the tīkā on S has two entries: tīgā saṅgaṇhavā sanyut (no. 63) and tīgā khandhavaggādi sanyut (no. 65).27


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

24 Also Piṭakat-tō samuinh or Piṭakat sum mūn cā tanh. I consulted the edition of 1989.


In the section on A (List 934b45) two different ṭikās are listed: tīgā anguttuiv kri [mahā] (no. 75),\textsuperscript{28} which is translated by G. H. Luč and Tin Htway: “Greater Aṅguttara subcommentary” and further identified as Sāratthaṁañjūsā, and tīgā anguttuiv nāy [culla] (no. 76),\textsuperscript{29} which is translated: “Lesser Aṅguttara subcommentary”.

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

1.3. Gandhāravamsa

Gandhāravamsa (Gv), a much later work written by a Burmese araṇṇavāsin Nandapaññā\textsuperscript{30} probably in the 17th century,\textsuperscript{31} lists both atthavānānabhūta Saṃyutta-ṭīkā, II: Nidāna-Khandha-Saḷāyatanasā Mahāvagganam atthavānānabhūta Saṃyutta-ṭīkā. If the sequence of vaggas of Spk-pt given in the inscription was the same as in Pit-sm (1989) and in the Čatthasaṅgīyana edition the second entry should read tīgā nidānavaggādā saniyut and not tīgā khandhavaggādā saniyut. On variant recensions of Spk and Spk-pt which have a different order of the five vaggas, see Tseng, 2001, pp. xxvi–xxviii.

\textsuperscript{28}The title written on the first folio of the MS of Mp-t held in the British Library (Or 2089) is very similar: ṭikā ekkaniyāt aṅgutra kṛt. Cf. Pit-sm (1989) nos. 202–12: Ekaṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, Dukaṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, ... Das'āṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac, Ekaḍasāṅguttara-ṭīkā-sac; Mp-t B\textsuperscript{V} 1961 I–III: Sāratthaṁañjūsā nāma Aṅguttara-ṭīkā. In Burmese sac means “new, revised”, ṭīkā-sac therefore means the “new ṭīkā”, i.e. Mp-t, Catutthā Sāratthaṁañjūsā. In Pit-sm (1989) no. 202 it is also called Mahāṭīkā. All the Burmese words and sentences from Pit-sm (1989) which I quote here were translated into English by Elisabeth Lawrence, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.


\textsuperscript{30}Gv 80,5–6: iti pāmojñāṭhāyārāṇṇavāsinā Nandapaññācāriyena kato Cullagandhavāṃsa; Gv 79,26: Haṃsāraṭṭhaṭā Nandapaṇṇo ti visuto. Haṃsāraṭṭha is the Pali name for the kingdom of Pegu, the capital of which was Haṃsavatī. See PLB, p. 36.

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

Linathapakāsini and Sāratthaṁañjūsā. The first one is mentioned as:

Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādinām catunnaṃ atṭhakathānaṁ Linathapakāsini nāma ṭīkā\textsuperscript{32} and was, according to Gv, written independently by Dhammadāḷi-cāriyā.

Sāratthaṁañjūsā is mentioned only as Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya Sāratthaṁañjūsā nāma ṭīkā,\textsuperscript{33} a work written by Sāriputta.\textsuperscript{34} Further on, this work of Sāriputta, which was written at the request of Parakkama-bāhu, king of Lanka, is also referred to as Aṅguttar'āṭṭhakathāya navā ṭīkā gando.\textsuperscript{35}

According to Gv, the Linathapakāsini set consisted of the ṭikās on all the four nikāyas and Sāratthaṁañjūsā was the name of the ṭīkā on A only. To distinguish it from the older ṭīkā on A (Catutthā Linathapakāsini), Sāratthaṁañjūsā was also classified as a navā ṭīkā. This confirms the information given in the Pagan inscription where these two ṭikās are mentioned as the “lesser” (nay) and the “greater” (kṛt) ṭīkā.\textsuperscript{36} The other three ṭikās of the Sāratthaṁañjūsā set (Paṭhamā, Dutiyā, and Tatiyā Sāratthaṁañjūsā) are — as in the Pagan inscription — not mentioned at all.

1.4. Sāsanavamsa

Sāsanavamsa (Sās), a work “written in Burma in 1861 by Pañña-


\textsuperscript{32}Gv 60,11–12.

\textsuperscript{33}Gv 69,30–34: Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādinām catunnaṃ atṭhakathānaṁ ṭīkā-gandho ... attano matiyā Dhammadāḷi-cāriyena katā.

\textsuperscript{34}Gv 61,32–33.


\textsuperscript{36}Gv 71,10–14: Sāratthadīpanā nāma ... Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ṭīkā gando ti ime cattāro gandha Parakkamabāhu-nāma Āḷakeṇḍippāsārenā raṇā ayācitenā Sāriputtācāriyena katā. Cf. Pit-sm (1989) no. 202 where the later ṭīkā on Mp (Mp-t) is mentioned as “new greater ṭīkā” (ṭīkā sac kṛt).\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{37}See notes 27–28 above.
sāmi, tutor of King Min-dôn who held the fifth council a few years later,
\(^{38}\) does not give the names of the two sets of țiķās (Līnatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā); it simply states that the Dīghanikāy’-aṭṭhakathāya țiķā, Majjhimanikāyāṭṭhakathāya țiķā, and Samyutta

nikāyāṭṭhakathāya țiķā were written by Ācariya Dhammapāla Thera,\(^{39}\) and the Anguttaranikāyā-țiķā was written by Sāriputta Thera at the request of King Parakkamabāhu.\(^{40}\)

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

Sās also lists another much later țiķā on D called Sādhujavanilāsini

(Sv-nt)\(^{41}\) written by the saṅgharāja Nāṇābhivaṃsa.\(^{42}\)


\(^{39}\) Sās No. 1961 31.10–12: Visuddhimagassa mahātiķā, Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathāya țiķā, Majjhimanikāyāṭṭhakathāya țiķā, Samyuttanikāyāṭṭhakathāya țiķā sā ti imāyo ācariya-Dhammapalahero akāsi.

\(^{40}\) Sās No. 1961 31.13–14: Sāratthadīpanaṃ nāma țiķam, Anguttaranikāyatiķakā ca Parakkamabahurahā yi cito Sāriputthero akāsi.


\(^{42}\) Nāṇābhivaṃsa, also mentioned as Nāṇābhivisaṇadhajahahadhammarāja-gurūtha or Nāṇābhivisaṇadhassandhammanapatiṭhahammarāja-jāhirājaguru (Sās No. 1961 123.13–14, 25–26) was a sangharāja of Burma during the reign of King Bodōpayā (1782–1819) and also wrote, among several other works, Sādhhu-(jana)-vilāsini (Sv-nt) and Peṭakālamkāra, Netti-(nava)-mahātiķā (Netti-mhit). See PLB, pp. 77–78; Buddhaddatta, 1960, pp. 175–78; HPL, p. 176.

1.5. Sāsanavamsadīpa

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

Nāṇābhivaṃsa, who wrote Sādhujavanilāsini, Silakkhandhaviga-abhinavatiķā (Sv-nt), is mentioned as the author of “several books

\(^{43}\) PL, p. 182. Although most of the authors and books mentioned in Sās-dīp are from Ceylon, there are nevertheless also quite a few references to authors from India and Burma, e.g.: Aggavamsa (v. 1238), Buddhappiya (v. 1239), Dāthānaga (v. 1241), Colijācariya Sāriputtathera (v. 1244), Chappata (v. 1247), Nāṇābhivaṃsa (v. 1215), etc. See also the Contents, Vijānāpanam and Sūcīpatam (pp. i–vii) in Sās-dīp; PL, p. 311; Buddhaddatta, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 409–10.

\(^{44}\) The book has two title pages: the first one in Sinhala letters and the second in Roman letters. The Sinhala title page reads: Sakyamunivasse 2423 [1879 CE]. Sāsanavamsadīpa, ācariya-Vimalasērathādapatēna viracito, tassunumativā Balanāsara Vīrājāmaccena c’ eva taddhehe ca budhikhehe jahihe Kolamathānīkapāsan Sathāloka-vatasālāya muddāpito, Saugate sam-vachchare 2424 [1880 CE]; the second title page reads: The Sasanavamsa dip or The History of the Buddhist Church in Pali verse, compiled from Buddhist Holy Scriptures, Commentaries, Histories, &c., &c. by Acariya Vimalasara Thera. A.D. 2423 (Colombo. Printed at the Sathaloka Press for Balatasa Virasini Amacca and others, A.D. 2424.)

\(^{45}\) PL, p. 182.

\(^{46}\) Sās-dīp, vv. 1231–32: ... țiķā Dīgha-gamaṃsa ca, Majjhimaṭṭhakātā-țiķā Sāmyuttaṭṭhakathāya ca, ... Dhammapāla dhammahatī ratīth thādapatēna suttantānayadassānī.

\(^{47}\) Sās-dīp, vv. 1201–1203: Anguttaranīkāyaṭṭhakathā-țiķā ... therena Sāriputtaṇa kathā.
1.6. Piṭakat samuiniṃ

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

Piṭ-sm (1989) lists the same tīkās on the four nikāyas as the Pagan
inscription and Gv and, as already mentioned, the titles of the tīkās
given in all three sources are very similar.⁵¹ The names of the two sets,
Linathapakāsini and Sāratthamaṇjūsā, and the two authors, Dhamma-
pāla and Sāriputta, are mentioned as in Gv. The reference numbers of all
the tīkās on the four nikāyas listed in Piṭ-sm (1989)⁵² are marked with
asterisks, and according to this edition of Piṭ-sm that means the
manuscripts of all these tīkās are held in the National Library, Rangoon.

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

the Linathapakāsini on D is listed under three entries: Sus-

⁴⁸Sās-dīp, v. 1215: orefahvamsadhamlāsinpaitayatissaro, Nettijikādayo
eke gandhe viracayi sudhi.

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

⁵⁰Bechert 1979, p. xiii. In the edition of Piṭ-sm (1989) that I consulted, it is also
mentioned that the reference numbers of the texts are marked with asterisks if
manuscripts of them are held in the National Library (previously Bernard Free
samuiniṃ represents a rather complete catalogue of the Burmese National
Library too” (Bechert 1979, p. xxxiv). Cf. also Thaw Kaung, 1998, pp. 403–
14.

⁵¹See notes 24–28 above.


⁵³Piṭ-sm (1989) nos. 187, 189–90. Silakkhandhavagga-tīkā is listed as the “old”
(honh) tīkā, i.e. Sv-pṛ. Paṭhamā Linathapakāsini, to distinguish it not from
Sv-ṛ, Paṭhamā Sāratthamaṇjūsā, but from Sādhujaanavilāsinītīkā (Sv-nt)
which is in Piṭ-sm (1989) no. 188 listed as the “new” (sac) tīkā.


⁵⁷Translated by Elisabeth Lawrence. Piṭ-sm (1989) no. 199 reads: ekanguttara
tika-honh — mha | si-huill-kvyan anurādha-mruj anok badoartati-tha-kyoñ-
ne rhan-dhammapāla-pra-saññ | thi-tiikā honh-kāh ekanguttara | duk’-
annguttara | tikannguttara 3-kvamh-sā aphvañ tīkā-honh rhi-saññ | kyan-
catukanguttara | pañcaanguttara | chakkanguttara | sattanguttara | athi’-
annguttara | navaanguttara | dasanguttara | ekdasaanguttara-tuin aphvañ tīkā-
onh 8-con-kāh ya-khu-mran-ma-tuinñ-nuin-nam-tvān-ma-rhi-hu mhat-ëe ||
(word division as in Piṭ-sm (1989)).

some additional information about this tiñkā:

It was obtained by King Narapati of Pagan from Tambalpaniḍipā in Jambudīpa and was written during the reign of King Sirimahā-
parakkamabāhu by a monk who was an expert in dhamma and had three
names: Sāriputta, Sārītanuja, and Mahāsāmi. This new greater tiñkā (tiñkā sac
krit) has eleven manuscripts/bundles, and it is called Sāratthamañjūśa and
also Mahātiñkā.  

Although Piṭ-sm (1989) gives essentially the same information about
the tiñkās on the four nikāyas as the Pagan inscription and Gv, it is interest-
esting to note that the old tiñkā on A written by Dhammapāla is not men-
tioned as a part of the Linathapakāsini set. Piṭ-sm (1989) also does not list
any of the first three tiñkās of the Sāratthamañjūśa set (Sv-t, Ps-t,
Spk-t).

1.7. Critical Pāli Dictionary

The last bibliographical source I would like to cite is A Critical Pāli
Dictionary (CPD), Epilegomena to Vol. I, pp. 40*–41*, which was pub-
lished in 1948. Essentially it is very similar to the earliest bibliographi-
cal work, Saddhamma-s, because both sources mention two complete
sets of tiñkās, Linathapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūśa. According to CPD
the first set was written by Dhammapāla, and the second one by Sāriputta of Poḷonaruva. The tiñkās of the Linathapakāsini set are also
called puraññatiñkā (pt), while the tiñkās of the Sāratthamañjūśa set are
called just tiñkās (t). Sādhujanavilāsinī, a later tiñkā written by Nāṇabhiva-
ṃsa, is called navaṭikā (nt). For the first three tiñkās of the older set
(Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt), for the fourth tiñkā of the later set (Mp-t), and for
the new tiñkā on D (Sv-nt) some references are given to existing
published editions or manuscripts.  

60 The following sources are given: for Sv-pt, B* 1924 I–III (2,1,11); for Ps-pt
and Spk-pt, the transcripts (1934) from Burmese manuscripts of the National
Library (former Bernard Free Library), Rangoon (2,2,11; 2,3,11; cf. Piṭ-sm
(1989) nos. 191–98; for Mp-t, B* 1910 I–II (2,4,12); for Sv-nt, B* 1913–23
I–II (2,1,13). CPD, Vol. III, p. iv, mentions also Sv-t as “Sīlakkandhavagga-
tikā” by Dhammapāla, B* Vol. I–II, (Buddhasānasamitī), Rangoon, 1961”,
which is a mistake; this could be either Sv-pt B* 1961 I by Dhammapāla, or
Sv-nt B* 1961 I–II by Nāṇabhivaṃsa. Other editions and manuscripts of these
tikās will be discussed below.

61 CPD, nos. 2,1,12; 2,2,12; 2,3,12. The manuscripts of these tikās listed in
LPP will be discussed below.

62 CPD, no. 2,4,11.
Table 1: The tīkās on the four nikāyas in bibliographical works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D/Sv</th>
<th>M/Ps</th>
<th>S/Spk</th>
<th>A/Mp</th>
<th>Authorship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Sad-s*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>porūnas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14th cent.)</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>theras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Pagan</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1442)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Gv</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>Dhammapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17th cent.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Sās</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dhammapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1861)</td>
<td>(n)t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Sās-dīp</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>(p)t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dhammapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1880)</td>
<td>(n)t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6. Piṭ-sm (1989)</td>
<td>(p)t*</td>
<td>(p)t*</td>
<td>(p)t*</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>Dhammapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1888)</td>
<td>nt</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7. CPD</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>pt*</td>
<td>Dhammapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1948)</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>t*</td>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1. One set of tīkās on the four nikāyas

Sās and Sās-dīp mention only one set of tīkās, consisting of the three “older” tīkās (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt) ascribed to Dhammapāla and the fourth “later” tīkā (Mp-t) ascribed to Sāriputta. There is no distinction between Līnathapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā; all are just called tīkās. Besides the Chatthasangāya editions there exist several other editions and manuscripts of these tīkās. Because these are the only

2.2. Manuscripts and editions of the tīkās on the four nikāyas

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

---

63 Sad-s = Saddhamma-s.
64 The tīkās listed as Līnathapakāsinī (pt) or Sāratthamañjūsā (t) are marked with *.
65 Sv-nt, compiled by Nānābhivansa, will not be discussed from here onwards because it is a much later work. There exists a Chatthasangāya ed.: Sv-nt B° 1961 I–II; CPD, Epilegomena to Vol. I, p. 40*, mentions also Sv-nt B° 1913–23 I–II (2.1.3). The Chatthasangāya edition of this tīkā is available also on CS CD-ROM.
66 Sv-pt B° 1961 I–III; Ps-pt B° 1961 I–III; Spk-pt B° 1961 I–II;Mp-t B° 1961 I–III. The Chatthasangāya editions of these tīkās were reprinted by the Vipassana Research Institute, Igpuri, India (Spk-pt N° 1993 I–III; Ps-pt N° 1995 I–IV; Spk-pt N° 1994 I–III; Mp-t N° 1996 I–III), and are available also on CS CD-ROM.
71 MSS of Spk-pt are listed in: Lily de Silva, General Introduction in Spk-pt E°, pp. xi–xii (7 C MSS; these MSS are listed in LPP); LPP 1 39 (16 C MSS); Fausböll, 1890–96, p. 28 (1 B MS); H. Braun et al., 1985, pp. 126–28 (1 B MS); Rhys Davids, 1882, p. 52 (1 C MS); Piṭ-sm (1989) nos. 187, 189–90 (1
ones printed these tīkās are often considered to be the only existing tīkās on the four nikāyas.\textsuperscript{69}

2.2. Two Aṅguttara-tīkās

In the Pagan inscription, Gv, and Pit-sm (1989), an additional tīkā — not mentioned in Sās and Sās-dīp — is added: the old tīkā on A (Mp-pt), called Catuttāhā Linatthapakāsinī.

According to one of the latest editions of Pit-sm (1989) (nos. 199–201) an incomplete manuscript of Mp-pt (containing the old tīkā on the first three nipātas) is now held in the National Library, Rangoon.\textsuperscript{70}

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

B MS.

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


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

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

\textsuperscript{69}See for example HPL, pp. 167, 173.

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

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

2.3. Two complete sets of tīkās on the four nikāyas

Saddhamma-s and CPD mention two complete sets, Linatthapakāsinī (Sv-pṭ, Ps-pt, Spk-pṭ, Mp-pṭ) and Sāratthamaṇjaśā (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ). Here, three later tīkās are added: a tīkā on D (Sv-ṭ) called Paṭhamā Sāratthamaṇjaśā, a tīkā on M (Ps-ṭ) called Dutiyā Sāratthamaṇjaśā and a tīkā on S (Spk-ṭ) called Tatiyā Sāratthamaṇjaśā.

I am not aware of any printed edition of these three later tīkās (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ); it is also interesting to note that they are not mentioned in the Burmese bibliographical works discussed above. Somadasa’s catalogue Lankāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya (LPP), on the other hand, lists quite a few manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ.\textsuperscript{71} Since the catalogue also clearly distinguishes the purāṇaṭīkā (Linatthapakāsinī) from the later tīkās (navaṭīkā, dutiyaṭīkā) called Sāratthamaṇjaśā, it seems that Somadasa as well as the temple librarians who gave him information about the manuscripts held in their temples was clearly aware of the difference between these two sets of tīkās. In LPP the manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ are listed as follows:

Sv-ṭ: six manuscripts s.v. Dīghanikāya-dutiyaṭīkā, Paṭhama-Sārattha-

maṇjaśā: \textsuperscript{72}

1 C MS in Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kāṭalapalagoda.

\textsuperscript{71}See LPP, Vol. I, pp. 39, 71, 93. In 1995 I sent several letters to the temples in Sri Lanka listed in LPP and enquired about the tīkās held in their libraries, but I received no reply.

\textsuperscript{72}LPP, Vol. I, p. 39 (cf. below this entry s.v. Dīghanikāyapathamā-(purāṇa)-

-ṭīkā, Paṭhama-Linatthapakāsinī, Linatthapakāsinā, Linatthavannāna where

16 MSS of Sv-pṭ are listed).
Karandaṇiya, Vatugedara, Ambalamgoda (temple no. 348);
1 C MS in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doṇḍandūva (temple no. 365);
1 C MS in Sundarārāma Mahāvihārāya (Dhammnānanda Puṣṭakālaya), Ambalamgoda (temple no. 371);
1 C MS in Gangārāma Mahāvihārāya, Padavēta, Māhālla, Gālla (temple no. 381);
1 C MS in Subhadrārāma Vihārāya, Murutamurė, Hakmana (temple no. 487);
1 C MS in Kasāgal Rajamaḥāvihārāya, Uḍayaṇa, Hakuruvela (temple no. 717).
Ps-ṭ: eight manuscripts s.v. Majjhimanikāya-navajitkā, Dutiya-Sāratthamaṇjūsā: 73
1 C MS in Tapassarārāmaya, Moratunull, Moratuva (temple no. 64); 74
1 C MS in Saddhānākara Pirivena, Pinvatta, Pāṇaduraya (temple no. 153);
1 B MS 75 in Vanavāsa Rajamaḥāvihārāya (Paṇḍitaratna Pirivena), Yātrāmulla, Bentara, Bentota (temple no. 326);
1 C MS in Tapodhanarārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihārāya, Kātapalagoda, Karandaṇiya, Vatugedara, Ambalamgoda (temple no. 348);

73LPP, Vol. I, p. 71 (cf. below this entry s.v. Majjhimanikāya-purāṇajitkā, Dutiya-Linattha-ppakāsini, Linatthappakāsini, Linatthavanḍanā where 7 MSS of Ps-ṭ are listed). W.A. de Silva mentions also a manuscript of Majjhimanikāya-ṭikā, Paṇḍicasudāni-ṭikā, Dutiya-Sāratthamanjūsā (i.e. Ps-ṭ) held in the Library of the Colombo Museum; see de Silva, 1938, Vol. I, p. 36, MSS 108-109. However, the introductory passage quoted in the catalogue is identical with Ps-ṭ B° 1961 I 1,5-12 which indicates that the manuscript is most probably Ps-ṭ and not Ps-ṭ. See also Bangchang, 1981, p. xii.
74There is also a MS of Ps-ṭ held in the same temple; see LPP, Vol. I, p. 71, s.v. Majjhimanikāya-purāṇajitkā, Dutiya-Linatthappakāsini, Linatthappakāsini, Linatthavanḍanā.
75The Burmese manuscript listed here could indicate that in addition to Mp-ṭ, the other three later ṭikās (Sāratthamanjūsā I-III) were also known in Burma. Cf. the discussion on the Pagan inscription, Gv, Sās and Pṭ-sm (1989) in 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.6 above. Here further research about nikāya-ṭikās in Burma is needed.

Līnathapakāsini and Sāratthamaṇjūsā

1 C MS in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doṇḍandūva (temple no. 365);
1 C MS in Śīrivāḍhanārāmaya, Deṇagoda, Mādampē, Ambalamgoda (temple no. 367);
1 C MS in Jinaṭōkikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Udulkinda, Fort Mekdonald (temple no. 807);
1 C MS in Sundarārāmaya (Sunandodaya Pirivena), Mādampē, Aṭakalanpanna (temple no. 860).
Spk-ṭ: two manuscripts:
1 C MS held in Yaṭagala Rajamahāvihārāya (Heṭṭhāvala Pirivena), Uṇavaṭuna (temple no. 435) is listed s.v. Samyuttanikāya-navajitkā, Tatiya-Sāratthamanjūsā 76;
1 C MS in the same bundle with Spk-ṭ is mentioned s.v. Samyuttanikāya-ṭikā 77 and is held in Jinaṭōkikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Udulkinda, Fort Mekdonald (temple no. 807).

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

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

77LPP, ibid. Under the temple entry no. 807, the following note is added: mehi navajitkā, purāṇajitkā dekama misravi āta. This manuscript has also — as the Burmese MS of Mp-ṭ / Mp-ṭ discussed in Part I, 2.2, and Part II — both ṭikās (Spk-ṭ and Spk-ṭ) in one bundle.
In an email dated 23 May 2001, L.S. Cousins also informs me that Sister H. Vinita Tseng “on her visit to Taiwan last month ... obtained copies of some manuscripts (mostly Burmese) in a collection there. One was a ṭikā labelled Sāratthamanjūsā, apparently to Spk [that is, Spk-ṭ].” This is a further indication that, as stated in n. 75 above, in addition to Mp-ṭ, the other three later ṭikās (Sāratthamanjūsā I-III: Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ) were probably also known in Burma.
Part II: Catuthā Līnatthapākāsīṇī and Catuthā Sāratthamaṇjūśā

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

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

(1) Folios ka-ṭhai (140 fol.) contain seven nipātaṭṭikā of Mp-t; it begins with Paṅcakapiṭṭṭāṭṭi and ends with Ekādasaniṭṭṭi. On the left margin verso of each folio is written Aṅguttārīja-sāc pāṭh (du[t]yā) and the last folio of this section (ṭhai) has the title: Aṅguttāra-mahāṣṭikā, that is, Mp-t. According to the colophon the manuscript was edited by Paṅnājotābhidhaja in 1219 BE (1857 CE) in Bākarā monastery in Mandalay and copied by an unknown scribe in 1254 BE (1892 CE).

(2) Folios ṭho-po (108 fol.) contain the “old” Aṅguttārīja-ṭṭā (Aṅguttārīja-hōh), that is, Manorathapuruṇi-purāṇṭikā, Catuthā Līnatthapākāsīṇī (Mp-pt). On the left margin verso of each folio is written Aṅguttārīja-hōh pāṭh. This is the first manuscript of Mp-pt that is known to me; I am also not aware of any printed edition of the

---

78 The first four nipātaṭṭikā of Mp-t, Ekādasaniṭṭṭi–Catukaraniṭṭṭi, are in another manuscript held in the same library (Acc. No. 9816).
80 According to U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre, Rangoon, it is possible that more MSS of Mp-pt are held in the temple libraries in Burma. But because of the extensive use of the later ṭṭā (Mp-t), which replaced the older one, these manuscripts were probably not used much. In a letter dated 10 October 1995, Prof. U Ko Lay informs me that the bhikkhu teachers of advanced Piṭakas at the [Buddhist] University are not sure whether the old nipātaṭṭikā of Aṅguttara [Mp-pt] are still extant at all... [T]eachers in various monasteries have ... always used the new ṭṭā, the Sāratthamaṇjūśā of Sāriputta [Mp-t], also called Mahāṭṭikā, because... the expositions therein are, according to them, much better and preferable. The old Aṅguttaraṭṭikā appear to be out of use in Myanmar monasteries for a long time... for two reasons: only three ṭṭās have been listed in their libraries [cf. Piṭ-sm (1989) 199–201]; the remaining eight were never existent in Myanmar and... [even] the first three are not too well known amongst present day bhikkhu scholars. For the same reasons, the Sixth Council completely ignored the old Aṅguttaraṭṭikā and recited only the new ṭṭās [cf. Piṭ-sm (1989) nos. 202–12], the complete set of which was also published [i.e. Mp-t B6 1961]."
“old” Aṅguttara-ṭīkā.

The manuscript contains the āṭīkā on the first three nipaṭas only: it contains most of the ēkanipāṭa-ṭīkā (folios ṭho`1.-dho`10) and longer passages from ḍukanipāṭaṭīkā (folios dho`16-ṇa`8) and tīkanipāṭa-ṭīkā (folios na`8-po`4).  

The text on the first few folios of the newly discovered manuscript of Mp-πt is exactly the same (with minor orthographic differences) as in the other three “old” āṭīkās and in this respect differs considerably from Mp-τ. This is a very strong indication that the manuscript discussed here really belongs to the old Līnathapakāśini set.

The text on the last folio (po) ends abruptly in the middle of Tika-nilipāṭa-ṭīkā and a colophon follows. The title given in the colophon is Aṅguttāra-ṭīkā-hoṁ-pāṭh, the editor (visodhaka) who “collated” the text from “different readings” (samaṇḍiyā aṅna-pāṭhehi) is Jotābhīnā-mathera, who lived in Manipurpharaya monastery. The date of editing is not given and the date of copying is 1254 CE (1892 CE).

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

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

2. Three chapters from Aṅguttaranikāya-puraṇaṭīkā.

Catutthā Līnathapakāśini (Mp-πt)

This section contains the following three chapters from the manuscript of Aṅguttaranikāya-puraṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Līnathapakāśini (Mp-πt, see Part II, 1) and the differences from the parallel chapters in Mp-τ E<sup>e</sup> 1998 II:

Mp-πt, Ekanipāṭa-ṭīkā III: Akamaniyavaggo tatiyo (folio nu`5 - nu`5); cf. Akamaniyavagga-vanannā, a parallel chapter in Mp-τ II 36.1–38.12;

Mp-πt, Ekanipāṭa-ṭīkā IV: Adantavaggo catuththo (folio nu`5-8); cf. Adantavagga-vanannā, a parallel chapter in Mp-τ II 39.1–14;

Mp-πt, Ekanipāṭa-ṭīkā V: Anathavaggo pañcama (folios nu`8-8-ne`11); cf. Panhipha-acchavagga-vanannā, a parallel chapter in Mp-τ II, 40.1–60.17.

88Folio po`9-11 reads: Jotabhināmathera || Manippurpharavāsina || samaṇḍiyā aṅna-pāṭhehi || sādhukāyām bhisanakhatā || Sakkārajū 1254 || Jotabhināmathera is [Paññā]jotabhi-[dha]jānāmathera who also edited the portion of Mp-τ in the same bundle (see (1) above) and the editing probably took place approximately at the same time, i.e. around 1219 CE (1857 CE). According to U Nyunt Maung, Manippurphara was a name of a temple belonging to a larger monastic complex in Mandalay called Bākara.
These three chapters were chosen because they clearly demonstrate the differences between the two ṭīkās (Mp-pta and Mp-t) as described in Saddhāma-s. This is a short preliminary comparison of the two ṭīkās and final conclusions will be drawn only when a critical edition of the entire manuscript of Mp-pta is completed and compared with Mp-t.

Here the main text is Mp-pta and the differences in Mp-t are given in the footnotes. In two cases, where the additions in Mp-t are very long (see Part II, 2, n. 140 and n. 217 below), the entire text from Mp-t is given in the endnotes (see Part II, 2, endnotes (1) and (2) below). Since the text in the manuscript of Mp-pta has only a few orthographic errors, the above three chapters will be reproduced here in Roman transliteration without any changes. Mp-t stands here for Mp-t E 1998 II and Mp-pta stands for the manuscript of Aṅguttarani-kā-purāṇāti-kā, Catuttā Līnatthapakāsini (Mp-pta), described in Part II, 1, above.

[Akamaniyavaggo tatiyo]89

(1) 90abhāvita [52.1]91 ti samathavipassanāabhāvanāvasanāna bhāvitaṃ tathā abhāvitaṭṭā, tāṃ hi avaddhitā [52.1] ti vuccati paṭipakkaḥbhāhivaṃ paribrūhanabhāvato. ten’ āha bhagavā akammaniyaḥ hoti [52.3] ti.

(2) dutiyā vutta-paripāyena92 attho veditabbo [52.5], paṭhame [52.6] ti tatiyavaggassā paṭhamasutte. vaṭṭavasena [52.6] ti viṭṭakāvaṭṭavasena. tebhūmakaṭṭaṇ [52.8-9] ti tebhumakaviṭṭaṇaḥ.93 vaṭṭapaṭiḷābhāya kamman [52.9] ti viṭṭakavaṭṭassā paṭīlābhāya upanissayabhūtāṃ kammaṃ, tassa sahāyabhūtāṃ *kilesavaṭṭaṇ ti vadanti. tathā hi tāṃ vaṭṭapaṭiḷābhāya kamman [52.9] ti vuttaṃ.94 vaṭṭapaṭiḷābhāya kamman [52.10-11] ti viṭṭaṭṭadighamassa upanissayabhūtāṃ kammaṃ. yaṃ pana carahavanihbattakakamman,95 taṃ viṭṭapaṭiḷābhāya kammaṃ hoti, na hoti taṭṭapādakabhāvato. carimabhava-paṭisandhi viya pana vivaṭṭaṭṭupaniṣayo ti sakka viṇṇaṭṭum. na hi kaḍa ci tiḥetupaciṭṭisandhi yā vinī viṣesādhipaṇa sambhavati. imesu suttē [52.11] ti imesu96 paṭhamadutiyesu suttē97 yathākammaṃ vaṭṭa-vuttaṃ eva kathitaṃ.

(3) 98abhāvita ti ettha bhāvanā nāma samādhibhāvanā. sā yattha āsāṃkitaṃ, taṃ kāmavacarapatthāmamahākhulasacittāḥ-abhāvita ti adhippetan ti āha devamanussasampattiyo [52.15] ti ādī.

(4) catutthe yasā cittan [52.22] ti viṭṭavasena99 uppannaṃ cittaṃ100 adhippetaṃ, tasmā jātijarābyādhiranaraṇaṃsa-kādikkhassa anibbattana mahato atṭhāya saṁvattati ti yojanā veditabbā.

---

89 This title is given in Mp-pta at the end of this chapter: Mp-t III. Akamaniyavagga vanaṇāṇā.90 Mp-pta: tatiya-sa paṭhama.91 These numbers refer to page and line in Mp E 1973 I. 92 = Mp-t v. I.; Mp-t: vuttapiṇīyena.93 Mp-t: -bhūmaka-.94 Mp-t: kilesavaṭṭaṃ pā kammaggaḥanen’ eva sāgahitaṃ ti daṭṭhābhaṃ for *kilesavaṭṭaṃ ti ... vaṭṭapaṭiḷābhāya kamman ti vuttaṃ.*95 Mp-t: carimabhavanihbattakam kamman 96 Mp-t: pana 97 Mp-t: paṭhamadutiyesusutte (for: paṭhamadutiyesu suttē) 98 Mp-t: tatiya 99 Mp-t: -vasena’ eva 100 Mp-t: uppanacittan (for: uppannaṃ cittaṃ)
(5-6) **t**am hi cittaṃ vissaṭṭha-indavajirasadisam amogabhāvato.
Akamaniyavaggo tatiyo.125

[Adantavaggo catuttho]126

(1-2) **ad**antan [54, 6] ti cittaḥbhāvāṇāvīdhiṇā128 na dantaṃ.
*nibbisvānan [56, 9] ti samapiṣappāṇāmaggahalavasena vigataṃ visevānaṃ.*129


(5-6) **purimasado eva**132[54, 19] ti tatiyacatutthasado eva.


(9-10) **catthi**137 padehi [54, 23] ti adantādihi catthi padehi yojetvānavadasamāni138 suttāni vuttāni ti yojana.

Adantavaggo catuttho,139

[Anathavaggo pañcamo]140

(1) *umā va opamā, so eva attho, tasmiṃ bodhetabbo nipāto [55, 1].**.seyathā pi [55, 1] ti yathā ti attho. atthenā [55, 2] ti upameyyaththena. atthaṃ paṭhamāṃ vatvā pacchā upamāṃ dasseti atthaṃ upamāṃ pariṇāvwatā dasseti [55, 2] nāma, upamāṃ pana

---

125 = Mpt v.l. (= Mpt E, C 1923); Mpt: Akamaniyavagga vānāṇa niṭṭhitā.
126This title is given in Mpt at the end of this chapter; Mpt IV. Adantavagga vānāṇa; Mpt adds: catthassa paṭhame 128 Mpt: cittabhāvaṇāya vinā 129 Mpt: omits; *nibbisvānaṃ ti ... visevānaṃ.* 130 Mpt: omits.
128 This title is given in Mpt at the end of this chapter; Mpt IV. Adasatthassa paṭhame 128 Mpt: cittabhāvaṇāya vinā 129 Mpt: omits; *nibbisvānaṃ ti ... visevānaṃ.* 130 Mpt: omits.
129 = Mpt: vissavāsānāvāsana niṭṭhitā.
pathamaṃ vātva paccā attham dassento upamāya attham parivāretvā dasseto [55.4—5] nāma, tadubhayassā piāgataṭhānaṃ nidassento Vatthusatte viyā [55.3] ti ādīm āha.\(^{141}\)

kanakasadiso\(^{142}\) sāliphalassa bunde\(^{143}\) uppajjanakavālo sālisukaṃ\(^{144}\) [55.9], tathā yavasukaṃ [55.10], sukkasa tanukabhāvato\(^{145}\) bhedavato bhedo nātimaḥ hoṭī ti āha bhindissati,\(^{146}\) chavi\(^{147}\) chindissati ti\(^{148}\) attho [55.13] ti. yathā micchādhipitasāliśaṃ akkantā paṭṭhādi\(^{149}\) na bhindati bhinditum ayogabhāvena ṭhītattā, evam ācayagāmicittam avijjā sa bhindati bhinditum ayogabhāvena uppannattā ti ādhim attham dasseti micchādhipitena [55.14] ti ādhānā. atthasam thānesā [55.16] ti\(^{150}\) dukkhādissaccesu\(^{151}\) puckantādi\(^{152}\) cā ti atthasam thānesā. ghana-balahaṃ\(^{153}\) [55.16] ti cīrakālapiharbhāvenāti ativiya balahaṃ. mahāvismayaṭā yamahāpitipakkaḥ bhāvaya bhuhighāgamati ca mahāti avijjā ti mahā-avijjā. taṃ mahā-avijjā [55.17]. mahā-saddo [55.17] hi bahubhāvthato paḥ mahājāno ti adisu\(^{154}\) viyā,\(^{155}\) *vijjanti arahantamaggaṇāṇaṃ ukkamasagativijjānaṇena,\(^{156}\) tāṇhāvānaṃ nikkhantabheṇaṃ [55.19] ti tattha tāṇhā abhāvam eva vaddati.

akkantā ti ruli hoṭi\(^{157}\) ti āhā hatthena — pa — vuttan\(^{158}\) [55.25—56.1] ti. ariyavohāro [56.1] ti ariyadesavāsānaṃ vohāro. mahāantaṃ

\(^{141}\) This paragraph (*upamā va opamāṃ ... ādīm āha.*) is in Mp-t replaced with a much longer passage (Mp-t E\(^{2}\) 1998 II 40.1—52.5); the entire text of this addition is given in endnote (1) below (p. 96). This is a major difference between Mp-pt and Mp-t in this chapter.\(^{142}\) = Mp-t v.l.; Mp-t: kanakasadiso\(^{143}\) = Mp-t v.l.; Mp-t : tunde (other v.l. thunde, kunde, phunde)\(^{144}\) Mp-t : (sūka— (for:-sūka— (here and below))\(^{145}\) Mp-t : tanu—Mp-E\(^{5}\) : bhindissati ti\(^{146}\) Mpt = Mp E\(^{5}\) : chāvin\(^{147}\) Mp-t : chindissati ti\(^{148}\) Mp-t : -ādīm : cf. Mp-v.l. : thādhāti\(^{150}\) Mp-t adds: dukkhe aṇāṇam ti [Dhs § 1061] ādīma vuttas. Cf. Dhs §1061: dukkhe aṇāṇam dhukhasamudaye aṇāṇam dukkhamirodhe aṇāṇam dukkhaṇaḥrāgaḥ aṇāṇam dukkhaṇaḥrāgaghāṣaṇī aṇāṇam aṣṭa-patipādaḥ aṇāṇam puckantā apanante aṇāṇam puckantāpanante aṇāṇam idappacayata paṇcāccasamappannesu dhhammesu aṇāṇam ...\(^{151}\) Mp-t : dukkhaṭṭhasa caṭṭhasa accuse\(^{152}\) Mp-t : -ādīsu caṭṭhasa\(^{153}\) Mp-t = (Mp E\(^{5}\) : bahala— (here and below))\(^{154}\) Cf. Vism-mūla BhE 1960 I 452, 23—24.\(^{155}\) Mp-t omits: *vijjhanti — gatavijjānaṇena*\(^{156}\) Mp-t : ruli h’ esā (for: ruli hoti)\(^{157}\) Mp-t : akkantā t’ eva vuttan (for: hatthena — pa — vuttan = hatthena uppiṇītaṃ, rūhiḥsaddavasena pana akkantā t’ eva vuttan)}
Primoz Pecenko

[57,10] ti vātena āloloito.\(^{181}\) ten’ āha aparīsāṇhti [57,10] ti. vātabhihgate na vicitarangalasamākulaṭāyā\(^{182}\) parito na saṇṭhi\(^{183}\) aparīsāṇhti [57,10]. vātabhihgate na udakassa ca kalassa ca\(^{184}\) appabhihve na kalaiśhūto [57,11] kaddamabhāvapatto\(^{185}\) ti āha kaddamabhīto [57,11].

sūpiyo [57,12] muttasippiyādayo.\(^{186}\) sambukā [57,12] sānkha-pañkapavisesā.\(^{187}\)

carantham pā tiṣṭham pī [57,15] ti yathalābhavevaṇaṃ etam daṭṭhabbaṃ. āṃ eva hī yathalābhavevaṇaṃ das-setum etthā [57,15] ti ādi vuttaṃ.\(^{188}\) itaram pī [57,20] ti itaram pī dvayaṃ carantham pā tiṣṭham pī vuttaṃ.\(^{189}\)

pariyayanadheṇa\(^{190}\) [57,23] ti pāṭicchādītena. ta-y-īdaṃ kāraṇena āvilabhāvāsa dasanam.

dīthhaddhamme imasmiṃ attabhāve bhavo dīthhadhammikā [57,24], so pana lokiyo pi hoti lokuttaro pī ti āha lokiyalokuttaramissako [57,24-25] ti. pecca sampādetabbato samparāyo [57,25-26], paraloko. ten’ āha so hi paratha-atho ti paratha [57,25-26,58,1] ti. iti dvīdhāpi sakasantati-pariyāpanno eva gagito ti itaram pī saṅghaṭevā das-setum api cā [58,2] ti ādiṃ āha.

ayan [58,6] ti kusalakammapiṭhasaṅkhaṭo dasavidh dhammo. satthantarakkappāvasāne [58,7-8] ti idam tassa āsannaṃ bhāvāṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. yassa kassa ci antarakkappāvasāne\(^{191}\) ti veditābbo.

ariyānām yuttaṃ [58,11] ti ariyānāṃ ariyabhāvāya vuttaṃ. tato eva ariyabhāvo\(^{192}\) kātuṃ samatthānaṃ [58,11-12]. nāṇam eva neyyassa paccakkharaṇaṭhena dasanam ti āha nāṇam eva hī [58,13] ti ādi. kinn pana tan ti dibbacakkhuṇāṇādi [cf. 58,14-15].\(^{193}\)


anāvīlo [58,19] ti akālūso.\(^{197}\) ten’ āha parisuddho [58,19] ti ādi. sānkha-khuddakasevaḷam.\(^{198}\) yaṃ:

tilabijanakā [cf. Abb 690]

cittassa āvilabhāvo nivaraṇahetutu\(^{201}\) ti āha anāvilenā ti paṅca-nīvaraṇavipamuttanā\(^{202}\) [58,21] ti.


(8) 212cittassa parivattamāṃ uppādanirodho\(^{213}\) evā ti āha evam lahu\(^{214}\) uppajjīvā lāhu nirajjhanakā [59,11-12] ti.

adhimattapamāṇatathe [59.13] ti atikkantapamāṇatthe, pamāṇāti-

cakkhuviśiṣṭam²¹⁶ pi adhippetam evā [59.18] ti sabbassa pi cittassa
samānakhāṇātta vuttaṃ. cittassa ativiya lahu-parivattibhavaṃ thera-
vādena dipetuṁ²¹⁷ imaṃ māṇ pan’ atthe [59.18–19] ti ādi vuttaṃ.
cittasankhāra [59.21] ti sasampayuttam cittam vadati.²¹⁸ addhacālan [59.22] ti thokena ānaṃ upaddham. kassa pana upaddhan ti. adhikārato
vāhassā ti viśiṣṭāyati. addhacuddasana ti keci. addhacatutthan ti apane.
sādhikādiyaddhassatam²¹⁹ vāho²²⁰ ti dalham katvā vadanti, taṃ²²¹
vimānasitabbaṃ. catunāliko²²² tumbo [59.23].²²³

pucchāya abhāvena [60.6] ti sakkā pana bhante upamañña
kātya [60.8] ti evam pavattāya pucchāya abhāvena na kātya [60.6–7] upamā.
dhammadesanāparyoṣā [60.7] ti sannipatiparipāsya yathādhamma-
dhammadesanāparyoṣā paryoṣā.

(9)²²² pabhassaran [60.9] ti pariyoḍatām sabbhavaparipāsodhētha. ten’ āha paṇḍaram paharadhan [60.9] ti. pabhassaratādyayo nāma
vānadhātuuṃ labhanānakāvesa²²⁶ ti āha kim pana cittasa vanno
nāma atthī ti [60.11]. itaro arūpataṇa n’ atthī²²⁷ ti paṭikkhipetvā
pariyojakathā ayam tādisagga cittassa paripāsodhābhavāpi paṇṇanāyaya²²⁸
ti dassenta nilādīn²²⁹ [cf. 60.11–12] ti ādiṃ āha. tathā hi:

so evam samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyoḍate ti [D I 76.13 foll.]

²¹⁵Mp-ṭ: -āṭīta- ²¹⁶Mp-ṭ (= Mp Eṭ): cakkhuviśiṣṭam ²¹⁷Mp-ṭ: dipetuṃ
aidinā pana nayena sakalam pi iddhividham attham pāthamaṃ dassetvā pacchā upamaṃ dassento āha.

seyyathā pi brāhmaṇa puriso sārathiko sāragavesi ti [M I 198.20]
aidinā nayena sakalam pi Cūlasāropamasuttaṃ248 upamāya attham parivāretvā dassento āha.

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

aidinā nayena sakalam pi Alagaddasuttaṃ Mahāsāropamasuttan ti evam ādīni suttaṃ atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dassento āha. svāyaṃ idha pāthamaṃ upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā attham dasseti ti. [cf. Ps I 165.28-66.18]

ettha hi Cūlasāropamādisu pāthamaṃ upamaṃ vatvā tadanantarām upameyyatham vatvā puna upamaṃ vaddanto: upamāya attham parivāretvā dasseti ti vutto. Alagaddasuttadīsū249 pana attham pāthamaṃ vatvā tadanantarām upamaṃ vatvā puna attham vaddanto: atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā dasseti ti vutto. tena Vatthasutta-Linathappakāsiniyāṃ vuttaṃ:

upameyyatham pāthamaṃ250 vatvā tadanantarāṃ attham vatvā puna upamaṃ vaddanto:

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


248Mp-pṭ so ; Ps : Culla- 249Mp-pṭ Be 1958: Alagaddāpamasuttaṃ 250Ps-pṭ B 1961 (= Mp-pṭ v.l.) adds: upamaṃ 251Ps-pṭ Be 1961 I 268.19-21 reads: “attham” ti upamiyathatham. pāthamaṃ upamaṃ vatvā tadanantarām attham vatvā puna upamaṃ vaddanto: “upamāya attham parivāretvā dasseti” ti. “atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā” ti etthāpi es’ eva nayo. In Mp-t atthena upamaṃ parivāretvā is taken as a citation from Mp I 55.2, but this is clearly a citation from Ps I 166.2-3 where the reading is atthena upamaṃ and parivāretvā is implied.
tattha Vatthasutte tāva:

seyyathā pi bhikkhave vattham sāṅkiliṭṭham malaggahitaṃ. tam enaṃ rajako yasmiṃ yasmiṃ raṅgajāte upasaṃhareyya, yadi nilakāya, yadi pitakāya, yadi lohitakāya, yadi mañjīṭṭhakāya, durattavānṇam ev’ assa, aparissuddhaṃ vaṃ pattāttha bhikkhave vathassa. evam eva kho bhikkhave citte sāṅkiliṭṭhe duggati pāṭikāṅkha ti [M I 36.15–21]

ādīnā paṭhamanṇaṃ upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā upameyyatto vutto; na pana paṭhamanṇaṃ atthaṃ vatva tadanantarāṃ upamaṃ dassetvā puna attho vutto, yena kattha ci athena upamaṃ pariviṟṛvetvā dasseti Vatthasutte viyā [55.2–3] ti vadeyya.

tathā Pāricchattakopame pi:

yasmiṃ bhikkhave samaye devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pāricchattako kovilāro paṇḍupalāso hoti, attamanā bhikkhave devā Tāvatiṃsā tasmiṃ samaye honti: paṇḍupalāso dāni pāricchattako kovilāro, na cissara’ eva dāni pannapalāso bhavissati ... pe ... evam eva kho bhikkhave yasmiṃ samaye ariyasāvako agārasaṃ anagāriyam pabbaṭāṇa ceteti, paṇḍupalāso bhikkhave ariyasāvako tasmiṃ samaye hoti ti [A IV 117.5–18.16]

ādīnā paṭhamanṇaṃ upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā attho vutto.

Aggikkhandhopame:

passatha no tumbe bhikkhave amuṃ mahantaṃ aggikkhandhaṃ ādīttaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtan ti. evam bhante ti. tam kim maṅghatha bhikkhave katamaṃ nu kho varam yaṃ amuṃ mahantaṃ aggikkhandhaṃ ādīttaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtanā ālingetvā upasisiddheyā va upapiṣṭeyā ti, yaṃ khattiyakaṁ bhaṁ ṃ brāhmaṇa-kapitaṇṇaṃ va gahapatiṇṇaṃ va mudutulunahathapadaṇaṃ ālingetvā upasisiddheyā va upapiṣṭeyā ti [A IV 128.7–15]

ādīnā paṭhamanṇaṃ upamaṃ yeva dassetvā pacchā attho vutto, na pana paṭhamanṇaṃ atthaṃ vatva tadanantarāṃ upamaṃ dassetvā puna attho vutto. tasmā kattha ci athena upamaṃ pariviṟṛvetvā dasseti


keci pan’ ettha evam vanṇayanti:


tam pi kattha ci athena upamaṃ pariviṟṛvetvā dasseti Vatthasutte viyā Pāricchattakopana-Aggikkhandhopamādisuttesu viya cā [55.2–4] ti vattabbaṃ, evaṃ ca vuccamāne kattha ci upamāya atthaṃ pariviṟṛvetvā dasseti Lonambilasutte viyā [55.4–5] ti visum na vattabbaṃ Aggi-


Lonambilasutte pi hi:

seyyathā pi bhikkhave paṃḍito byatto255 kusalo sūdo rājānaṃ vā rājamahāmattam vā nānaccayehi256 sūpehi paccupaṭṭhito assa ambilaggehi pi titakaggehi pi katukaggehi pi madhuraggehi pi khārikehi pi akhārikehi pi lonikehi pi aloṇikehi pi.

sa kho so bhikkhave paṃḍito byatto kusalo sūdo sakassa bhattassa nimittam uggahāti: idam vā me aja bhattasūpeyyaṃ ruccati, imassa vā abhiharati, imassa vā bahuṃ ganhāti, imassa vā vanṇam bhāsati.

ambilaggaṃ vā me aja bhattasūpeyyaṃ ruccati, ambilaggaṃ vā abhiharati, ambilaggasa vā bahuṃ ganhāti, ambilaggasa vā vanṇam bhāsati ... pe ... aloṇikassa vā vanṇam bhāsati ti.

sa kho so bhikkhave paṃḍito byatto kusalo sūdo lābhi c’ eva hoti acehādanasu, lābhi vetana, ādhi abhiharanaṃ. tam kissa hetu.

tathā hi so bhikkhave paṃḍito byatto kusalo sūdo sakassa bhattanīmittam uggahāti.

evam eva kho bhikkhave idh’ ekacco paṃḍito byatto kusalo

253Mp-ṭ so; Mp-ṭ v.l. (= Mp-ṭ) omits 254This passage, here ascribed to keci, is clearly a citation from Mp-ṭ; see the beginning of Anathavaggo paṭcamano above. 255Mp-ṭ v.l.: viyatto (here and below) 256Mp-ṭ v.l.: nānaggaraschi
bhikkhu käye käyānupassi viharati ... pe ... vedanāsu ... pe ... citte ... pe ... dhamesu dhammānupassi viharati atāpi sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomannassa. tassa dhamesu dhammānupassino viharato cittaṁ samādhiyati, upakkilesa pahiyanti. so taṁ nimittaṁ ugganāhāti.

sa kho bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo bhikkhu lábhi c' eva hoti diṭṭh' eva dhamme sukhavihārānaṁ, lábhi hoti satismapajaññassa. taṁ kissa hetu. tathā hi so bhikkhave paṇḍito byatto kusalo bhikkhu sakassa cittassa nimittam ugganāhāti ti. [S V 151.5–52.10]
evaṁ paṭhamamaṁ upamamā dassetvā pacchā attho vutto.

Suvaṇṇākāra-Suriyopamādisuttesu viya cā [cf. 55.5–6] ti idaṁ ca udāharaṇamattena saṅghām gacchati Suvaṇṇakārasutattidu paṭhamamaṁ upamāya adassitattā. etesu hi Suvaṇṇakāropamasutte tāva:

adhicittam anuyuttena bhikkhave bhikkhunā tīni nimittāni kālona kālam manasi kātābbāni, kālona kālam samādhiṇimittāna manasi kātābbāni, kālona kālam pagghānānimittāna manasi kātābbāni, kālona kālam upekkhānimittāna manasi kātābbāni.

sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhave ekantaṁ samādhiṇimittāna yeva manasi kareyya, thānaṁ taṁ cittaṁ kosajjāya samvatteyya. sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhave ekantaṁ pagghānānimittāna yeva manasi kareyya, thānaṁ taṁ cittaṁ uddhaccāya samvatteyya. sace bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhave ekantaṁ upekkhānimittāna yeva manasi kareyya, thānaṁ taṁ cittaṁ na sammā samādhiyyaya asavānaṁ khayāya. yato ca kho bhikkhave adhicittam anuyutto bhikkhave kūlaṁ kālona kālam samādhiṇimittāna ... pe ... pagghānānimittāna ... pe ... upekkhānimittāna manasi karoti, taṁ hoti cittaṁ mudūn ca kammaniyān[257] ca pahhassaranā ca, ca ca pahhantu, sammā samādhiyyati asavānaṁ khayāya.

seyyathā pi bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsi vā ukkamaṁ bandhati, ukkamaṁ bandhitvā ukkāmukham ālimpeti, ukkāmukham ālimpetvā sanādānena jātārūpaṁ gahetvā ukkāmukhe

[257]A: kammanīyaṁ

Pakkhipitvā kālaṁ kālaṁ abhidhamati, kālaṁ kālaṁ udakena paripphoseti, kālaṁ kālaṁ ajjhupekkhati. sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsi vā taṁ jātārūpaṁ ekantaṁ abhidhameyya, thānaṁ taṁ jātārūpaṁ daheyya. sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsi vā taṁ jātārūpaṁ ekantaṁ udakena paripphoseti, thānaṁ taṁ jātārūpaṁ nibbāpeyya. sace bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsi vā taṁ jātārūpaṁ ekantaṁ ajjhupekkheyā, thānaṁ taṁ jātārūpaṁ na sammā paripākāṁ gaccheyya. yato ca kho bhikkhave suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsi vā taṁ jātārūpaṁ ekantaṁ ajjhupekkhati, taṁ hoti jātārūpaṁ mudūn ca kammaniyān ca pahhassaranā ca, na ca pahhantu, sammā upeti kammāyā. yassa yassa ca pilihandhanivakatiyā ākānhati, yadi paṭṭikāya yadi kūndalāyā yadi gīveyyakena[259] yadi suvaṇṇamālāya, taṁ c' assa attahām anubbhoti.

evaṁ eva kho bhikkhave adhicittam anuyuttena bhikkhunā ... pe ... sammā samādhiyyati asavānaṁ khayāya. yassa yassa ca abhiṇā-sacchikaranjyassa dhammassa cittaṁ abhininnāmeti abhiṇā-sacchikiriyā, tatra tatr' eva sakkhibbhabbatam pāpuṇṭi sati sati āyatane ti. [A I 256.29–58.15]
evaṁ paṭhamamaṁ attahām dassetvā tadanantarakaṁ upamaṁ vatvā puna pi attho vutto.

sattasuriyopame ca:

aniccā bhikkhave sankhāra, adhuva bhikkhave sankhāra, anassāśikā bhikkhave sankhāra, yāvaṁ c' idaṁ bhikkhave alam eva sabbasankhāresu nibbindītaṁ alam virajjituṁ alam vimuccitum. Sineru bhikkhave pabbatarājā caturāsītyojanasahassāni āyāmena caturāsītyojanasahassāni vithārena caturāsītyojanasahassāni mahāsasamudde ajjhogallo caturāsītyojanasahassāni mahāsasamudda accuggato. hoti so kho[260] bhikkhave samayo, yaṁ kadā ca karāha ca diğhassa addhuno accayena[261] bahūni vassāni bahūni vassasataṁi bahūni vassasahassāni bahūni vassasatasahassāni devo na vassati, deve kho pana bhikkhave

avassante ye keci 'me bijagāmabhūtāgāmā osadhiṇīvanappatayo, te uissussanti visussanti na bhavanti. evam aniccā bhikkhave sañkhārā, evam adhuvā bhikkhave sañkhārā, evam anassāsikā bhikkhave sañkhārā ti [A IV 100,5–18]

ādinā paṭhamaṃ atthaṃ dassetvā tadanantarāṃ upamāṃ vatvā puna pi attho vutto.

atha vā:264

suriyassa bhikkhave udayato etam puṇbaṅgamaṃ etam puṇbaṅnimittāṃ, yad idaṃ aruṇuggam. evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhuno ariyassa atthaṅgikassa maggassa uppādāya etam puṇbaṅgamaṃ etam puṇbaṅnimittāṃ, yad idaṃ kalyāṇamittā ti [S V 29,27–30,3]

yad etam Samyuttanāke āgataṃ, taṃ idha Suriyopamasuttan ti adhippetāṃ siyyā. tam pi kattha ci upamāya atthaṃ parivārevtā dasseti [55,4–5] ti iminā na sameti paṭhamaṃ upamāṃ vatvā tadanantarāṃ atthaṃ dassetvā puna upamāya avuttattā. paṭhamaṃ eva hi tattha upamā dassita, imasmiṃ pana sālīsūkpare upamāya atthaṃ parivārevtā dassento seyyathā pi bhikkhave ti ādim āhā [55,7–8] ti idaṃ pi vacanam asaṅghahitaṃ Vatthasuttassa imaṃ ca vissesabhāvato. ubhayathāpi hi paṭhamaṃ upamāṃ dassetvā pacchā aththo vutto, tasmā evam ettha pāṭhena bhavītabbām:


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

vāhasatānam266 kho mahārāja viññan [59,22] ti potthakesu likhanti,

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


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

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

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

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

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

264: A : bhūtāgāmā
266: A : vissussanti
265: Mp-ṭ omits
266: Mp-ṭ v.l.: upamāṃ yeva (for: yeva upamāṃ)

267: See Part I, 1.1 above (especially nn. 18–21).
added. For example, in Part II, p. 87, n. 90, where in Mp-ṇ tatiyassa [vaggassa] pathame [sute] is added before abhāvitaṃ tī.268

(2) Some additions are further clarifications of already existing explanations.269

(3) Some additions are explanations of additional words from Mp that are not included in Mp-ṇ.270

Among the corrections271 of the old ṭīkā (Mp-ṇ) found in Mp-ṇ the most important is a long passage272 that thoroughly analyses and corrects both the Mp-ṇ (the first paragraph of Anatthavagga)273 and a passage from Mp that the old ṭīkā (Mp-ṇ) comments upon. At the end it also suggests a better reading for the passage from Mp274 which the old ṭīkā (Mp-ṇ) does not explain properly. This correction is much longer than the first paragraph of Anatthavagga that it replaces. It is very interesting to note that Mp-ṇ cites, among many canonical and postcanonical texts, including Ps and Ps-ṇ, also the first paragraph of Anatthavagga from Mp-ṇ (i.e. the passage that it replaces) and introduces it with: keci pan’ etha evaṃ vaṃṇayanti.275 This is very significant because Ps-ṇ, for example, is introduced with: tena Vatthasutta-Linatthapakāsini-yam vuttam,276 but a passage from Mp-ṇ — another ṭīkā from the same Linatthapakāsini set — is simply ascribed to “some” (keci). Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruwa, to whom Mp-ṇ is ascribed,277 obviously considered this passage from Mp-ṇ to be one of the versions maintained by “some” (keci).278

In Mp-ṇ certain passages from Mp-ṇ are omitted; some of these passages279 should perhaps be included in Mp-ṇ and the reasons for their omission are not clear. However, they do not seem to be as significant as the additions and corrections discussed above.

The above comparison shows that the later ṭīkā (Mp-ṇ) is better organized (anākula) and more comprehensive (paripuṇṇa) than the old one (Mp-ṇ).280

**Conclusion**

From the above discussion of the nikāya-ṭīkās, their manuscripts and printed editions — with special emphasis on the two Aṅguttara-ṭīkās (Mp-ṇ and Mp-ṇ; see Part I, 2.2 and Part II) — we can conclude that it is most probable that two different sets of nikāya-ṭīkās were in fact compiled: the older set called Linatthapakāsini (Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ, Mp-ṇ) and the later set called Sāratthamañjūsā (Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ, Mp-ṇ). Although the two complete sets are mentioned only in Saddhamma-s (and in the much later CPD, see Part I, Table I), all the eight ṭīkās from the two sets seem to still exist (see Part I, Table II) either in printed editions (Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ, Mp-ṇ, see Part I, 2.1) or in manuscript form (Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ, Mp-ṇ, see Part I, 2.2–3). The manuscripts of Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ and Mp-ṇ discussed in Part I, 2.2–3281

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

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

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

271 See Part II, 2, nn. 94, 141, 179, 193.

272 Part II, 2, p. 96, endnote (1) = Mp-ṇ II 40.1–52.5.

273 See Part II, 2, n. 141, and endnote (1).

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

275 Mp-ṇ II 55.2–8; cf. Part II, 2, n. 141 and endnote (1).

276 Mp-ṇ II 42.10.


279 See Part II, 2, nn. 119, 129, 130, 189.

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

281 Although all the manuscripts of three later nikāya-ṭīkās (Sv-ṇ, Ps-ṇ, Spk-ṇ) are
have never been investigated and it seems that they have been neglected
by both the Theravāda tradition and modern Pāli scholarship.

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

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

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

evam saṅgūṁ tiṣṭipattāṁ pana tepiṭakassam buddhavacanassā
saṁvaññanābhāttā yā ca atṭhakathāhāyō savāvijjantī yā ca tāsam atṭhānpakāsanasavasena pāvattā tiṣṭhyo savāvijjantī manorāmāya
tantinayānucchāvā
bhāsaya ācārīyā Ānanda-ācārīya-Dhammapāḷādihī theravarehi
kāta,

tāsam pi atṭhakathātīkānāṃ saḍesīyamālāḥī c‘ eva videsīyamālāḥ ca
saṃsantītā tepiṭakassa viyā buddhavacanassā visodhanaipaṭivisodhana

vasena mahātherā pāvacananadassino saṁvaññanākāvidā paṭhasodhanam
akāṃsu,  
icc evam atṭhakathātiṣṭhyo pamāḍakhalāṭhāhikapiṣṭhapāṭhānām
nirakaraṇasavasena visodhitā c‘ eva paṭivisodhitā ca huvā Buddhasāsana
muddaṇayāntālaye samappātī suṣṭhā muddāpāṇāya.

This contradicts the information about the manuscripts of the nikāya-
tikās discussed above (see Part I, Table II). If the Chaṭṭhasāṅgāyana edited
“all the existing [nikāya] tikās” (yā ca tāsam atṭhappakāsanasavasena pāvattā
tiṣṭhyo savāvijjantī) “originating from Burma and from outside” (saḍesīya-
amālāḥī c‘ eva videsīyamālāḥ ca saṃsantītā), why were the manuscripts of
Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t and Mp-tp omitted? Further research is needed here.

Modern Pāli scholarship seems to agree to some extent with the Theravāda
tradition (i.e. the Chaṭṭhasāṅgāyana editions) that most probably only one
set of nikāya-tikās (i.e. Sv-tp, Ps-tp, Spk-tp and Mp-tp) still exists at present.

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

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

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

Cf. Part I, Table II above; HPL, p. 167, §§ 357; p. 173, §§ 375-376;
A.P. Buddhadatta, Pāḷisāhātyaya (Ambalangoda: Ānanda Potsamāgama,

For example, in Geiger 1956, §31 (literature), nn. 5–6. Fausboll’s “Catalogue
of the Madalay MSS. in the India Office Library”, JPTS 1894–96, is cited.
nikāya-tīkās discussed above — especially considering Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ and Mp-ṭ, which are usually mentioned as lost or non-existent — the information in the oldest bibliographic source (Saddhamma-s) appears to be the most reliable of all (cf. Part I, Tables I–II).

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

Primoz Pecenko
Brisbane

REFERENCES
Fausboll, V. 1894–96. “Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library (Formerly Part of the King’s Library at Mandalay)”, JPTS IV, pp. 1–52.

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

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


Līnatthapakāsīṇī and Sāratthamaṇṭuṣa


ABBREVIATIONS


A Aṅguttara-nikāya
B MS(S) Burmese manuscript(s)
C MS(S) Sinhalese manuscript(s)
CPD Critical Pāli Dictionary. V. Trenckner et al., eds. Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–.
CS CD-ROM Chāṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM (Versions: 1.1, 2.0, 3.0) published by Vipassana Research Institute (Website: <www.vri.dhamma.org>).
D Dīgha-nikāya
Dhs Dhammasaṅgaṇī
DPPN Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names
EncBuddh Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. G.P. Malalasekera, ed.
Gv Gandhāraṇīsa. I.P. Minayeff, ed. JPTS, 1886, pp. 54–79
HIL J. Gonda, ed. A History of Indian Literature. Wiesbaden, 1973–
K MS(S) Cambodian manuscript(s)
M Majjhima-nikāya
Mayrhofer, Manfred Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindo-

Mp-πṭ Manorathapūraṇa-purāṇatyākā, Catutthā Linnathapakāsini.
Mp-ṭ Manoratha-pūraṇa-purāṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Sāratthamaṇjūsā
Ps-πṭ Pāpāṇcasūdani-purāṇatiṅkā, Dutiṅkā Linnathapakāsini
Ps-ṭ Pāpāṇcasūdani-ṭīkā, Dutiṅkā Sāratthamaṇjūsā
recto
S Sāmyutta-nikāya
Sās-dip Sāsanavāṃsadip. Vimalasārathera, ed. Colombo: Satthālok Press, 1880. (For full details of the title, see note 44.)
Spk-πṭ Sāratthapakāsini-purāṇatiṅkā, Tatiṅkā Linnathapakāsini
Spk-ṭ Sārattha-pakāsiniṭīkā, Tatiṅkā Sāratthamaṇjūsā
Sp-ṭ Samantapaśādānika-ṭīkā (= Sāratthadipaṇī)
Sv-ṇṭ Sumanāgalavilāsinī-nada-ṭīkā (= Sādhula[na]vilāsinī)
Sv-πṭ Sumanāgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā, Patthāma Linnathapakāsini
Sv-ṭ Sumanāgalavilāsinī-ṭīkā, Patthāma Sāratthamaṇjūsā
verso
A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka

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

---

1These are composed of between twenty-four and thirty-one gāthās. The Sivi Jātaka has thirty-one gāthās (twenty-three ślokas and eight śivatubh/jagaf). Alsdorf, who has worked on this Jātaka, came to the conclusion that “there are two treatments of this popular narrative: one in t½/jag. and one in ślokas, and the editors of the Jātaka Book — or even an earlier poet — combined these two versions into one” (Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= Kl. Sch. p. 364)). Apart from this Jātaka, only the Mahāpalobhana Jātaka (no. 507) has more than twenty-nine gāthās (thirty gāthās). But there, several gāthās give the impression of being later additions (see gāthās 1–4 and 6), so that one can start with the assumption that originally this Jātaka was also correctly incorporated into the Visati Nipāta.
is quite corrupt and comprises forty-six verses. For this the Saṅkhatāla Jātaka (Ja V 161–77), which has various gāthās in common with the Campeyya Jātaka, will frequently be considered. The prose text (Ja IV, 456.27f.) explicitly refers to it, which should be particularly interesting for the history of the text.

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

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

The Jātaka opens with two śloka gāthās¹ of which some single pādas have parallels in other Jātakas ("floating pādas"). So 1ab (kā nu

¹The following twenty-two verses (gāthās of the Jātaka numbered according to Fausbøl) correspond as follows: Ja gāthā 1 = Mvu II 181,5*_8*; 2 = 181,10*_11*; 3 = 181,13*_16*; 4 = 181,18*_21*; 5 b/d = 182,9_*6*; 6 = 182,1*_4*; 7ab = 182,11*12*; 8 = 183,12*_13*; 9 = 183,2*_5*; 10 = 183,17*_10*; 11/12ab = 183,14*_17*; 13ab = 183,10*_20*; 14 = 184,1*3*; 15a = 184,18*; 15d = 185,9*; 16 = 185,5*_6*; 19ab = 184,15*_16*; 19cd # 184,6*_8*; 20ab = 184,10*_11*; 20d = 184,13* (185,2*); 23 = 185,11*_14*; 24 = 186,1*_4*; 30f = 187,2*; 31ac = 187,20*_21*; 36cd = 188,1*_2*; 39 = 188,2*_5*; 43 = 187,11*_14*.

²A list of suggestions for correction of the text of this Jātaka, which is corrupt in many places, is printed in an appendix to this article.

⁴Noted by Alsдорf 1977, p. 30, n. 21 (= KL Sch., p. 790 n. 21).

5It also refers to the Bhūriddatta Jātaka, with which the Campeyya Jātaka has g. 37a (= Ja VI 171,1) and g. 31a (= Ja VI 171,7) in common. That this is worthy of note is also shown by the Culladhammapāla Jātaka (Ja III 177–82), which is a "clumsy, coarse imitation of the Kṣāntivādī (named in the prose story)" (Alsдорf 1968a, p. 266).

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

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

⁸Cf. also Alsдорf 1957a, p. 202 (KL Sch., p. 186): "The bulk of both these texts consists of triṣṭubh verses, and it might be worthwhile to examine at the outset all the non-triṣṭubh stanzas with a view to ascertaining whether they are 'original' or whether there are grounds to justify the natural suspicion that they are secondary additions."

⁹Cf. Mvu II 181,5*8*, 10*_11*: kā nu vidhyādhyāvāta *usara viya tārakā | ... devi asi vā gandharvā na tvaṇi asi hi manta | nāhaṁ devi na gandharvā na mahārāja maṇuṣi | nāgakanyāhāṃ bhadrān te *arthinī iha āgata. According
originated in the Sattubhasta Jātaka (no. 402). Gāthās 2d, 3cd and 11–12ab may be compared with the almost literally identical gāthās 1–3 of the Junha Jātaka (Ja IV 97.8*-28*).

The reason for the nāga wife’s trust as she turns to the king with her request is explained in śloka gāthā 8, the first pāda of which has a parallel in Ja IV 320.8*, and the second pāda of which was a very popular set piece (see note 11 and CPD under āmutta); both together as pādas a and d in Ja IV 259.15*-16*: *solasithisahasānī sabbaānāmāra-bhāsītā | vicirahathabhāraṇā āmumattānākundālā ||.14

In the 1 1/2 ślokas 11–12ab the type and amount of the “ransom” to be offered for the freedom of the nāga are presented in more detail than in gāthā 9.15 These verses come from the Rohantamiga Jātaka, which is to Senart’s text, the Mvu reads *sarasī viya tārakah. Lüders (1954: §83) based on Senart’s mss reconstructs the “basic text” of the Mahāvastu as *osali viya tāloka (> asalā viya tāloka > usarā viya tārakah) (thus mss BC II 181.5*; the “visarga” of tārakah is merely a punctuation mark)), where *osali corresponds to Skt. *aṣati; *osali tāloka, that is, “the morning star.” Earlier, Charpentier (1909, p. 35) read *unarā viya tārakah with mss BC. Moreover, he conjectured that Mvu II 181.8* should read *na tvam manyām mānūgam, for which he refers to mss BC (na te anyām ma). For the conjecture *arthini instead of avīcī as transmitted, cf. Jones 1952, p. 175, n. 7.

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

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

12vibhvanacitā kapitindriyāsi, nettehi te vārīgānā savantii l kinn te naṭham kim pana pathyavanā, idhāgata nāri tad ingha bhāri ||. Cf. Mvu II 181.13*-16*: *vigrahratcitā vilutenrāvi, netrehe te vāri śravantii kinn te naṇaṁ hi kimci abhiprāthayaṃ, idhāgata *dāni na ṛghaṁ bhāri || (Senart 1890: pada a citrāntačita [see Edgerton 1953 s.v. viluta; on the confusion of c/v and tiḥh in Nepalese manuscripts see Regamey 1954, p. 517; cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 36], pada d ṛṇa).
Thomas Oberlies

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

For the textual criticism of śloka gāthā 14, it is sufficient to refer to Alsdorf's observation, "[an example, so frequently observed in the Jātaka, of the gradual versification of parts of the story originally left in prose (in particular indications of who is speaking)."¹⁷ Moreover, pādas cde = Ja VI 82,3*/5* (cf. 88,25*).

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

A peculiarity common to gāthās 14 and 25–28 is the citation of names (Kāśirāja, Kāśivaḍadhana,¹⁸ Campeyya¹⁹) which also includes adjective cattussa- at Ja IV 309.26* is an epithet of grāma- (cattussadāṃ grāmavaraṃ samiddhān). In Āryāśūra’s Jātakamālā the corresponding verse is caṭussataṃ grāmavaṃ samiddhaṃ (113,8*), which shows that the word was apparently no longer understood very early on (see also Kern 1891, p. 247 : Speyer 1895, p. 160, n. 2).

¹⁶mutto campeyyako nāgo rājānaṃ etad-abravi l namo te kāśirāj’ athu namo te kāśivaḍadhana l aṭhajalin te pagaḥṭhāmi passeyam me nivesaṇam l (of note is passeyam, which in fact means “I would like to see” Read “passeṣaṇi” (“See this palace of mine”); I wish to thank Prof. A. Wezler for suggesting this conjectured reading). Cf. Mvu II 184.1*-3*; mukto camppako nāgo kāśirājanāṃ bhāyati [prose] l namo te kāśinām nāgo rājā namo te kāśivaḍadhana l aṭhajalin te praghrhāmi paṣya rāja mo nivesaṇam l (Is the prose line Mvu II 184.1 to be corrected to a śloka: mukto *campeyyako nāga? Or is this a case where “the prose of the Mahāvastu adapts the hieratic form of words to a vyattagandhi” (Smith 1953, p. 121)? Manuscript L 1471 of the Pāli Jātaka also often reads “Campaka” (g. 26b, 27d, 28b).


¹⁸25b: SB L 1471 *vaddhano, EC *vaddhanā.

¹⁹Manuscript L 1471 in g. 26–28 always reads “Campaka” (see n. 16). Mvu also offers this form of the name, but only in the prose (e.g. Mvu II 177,14, 184,1). The title of the (Campeyya) Jātaka is referred to in Ja I 45,20 (tathā ... campeyyanāgarājakaile ... silapārimātya pūritattabahāvanān parimāṇam
gāthās 24²⁰ (Uggasena²¹) and 29 (Kāśirāja), but differentiates all these gāthās from those of the original Jātaka. That the king who frees the captured nāga is the King of Kāśi seems to be picked out of the last gāthā by the reductor (bārāṇaṃ nagarāṃ iddhapāṭhām, rajjaḥ ca kāreyi ...). Where the name Campeyya (gāthās 26–28) or Campeyyaka (gāthās 14 and 30) comes from, I cannot say. The composer of the prose, however, derives the name by adding the suffix -eya²² to the name of the River Campā,²³ where according to the prose (Ja IV 454,1f.) the dwelling place of the nāga is to be found. These facts seem to come merely from the wish of the prose writer to localize the story and to give the main characters names.

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

nāma netthi) and Papančasūdani II 617 (C = Ps E' III 9.1, Malalasekera 1937, p. 857). I would simply like to add the reference to Vism Chapter 9, § 33 (campeyyo pi nāgarāja hwtwa ahtiṇḍikena vīheṭhiyaṃaṇa manopadovamattam pi na uppādesi i yathāha ... (Carīyāpiṭaka 85–86)). Lüders has shown (1941, pp. 136ff.), that the titles in the Jātaka collection are recent and partly based on a misunderstanding of the text (cf. also particularly Mehendale 1970, pp. 125–29).

²⁰bherinniṣṭā paṇava ca saṅkhā, *dvajijum [l'avajjimus] uggasanaśa rāhno l pāyīṣī rāja bahu sobhamāṇo, purakkha nārīganaśa majhe l (24b: E avajjimus, B avajjimus, C avajjimus, Cb S L 1471 avajjimus, Nālanda avajjimus, S uggasanaśa). Cf. Mvu II 186,1*-4*: bheri mdandga pāṭahār ca saṅkhā, vādyenca venā ugrasaṇaḥāho l nirātī rāja mahātā balena, puraskṛto nārīganaśa madhye l and Harivamsa 94,14: vasudevaṃ puraskṛtya bheriśaṅkharahavāhyā saha l ugrasena yasau rāja vāsudevani-veśaṇam l — The verb forms *dvajijum, avajjimus (forms with a° are most probably wrong readings) and avajjimus, which CPD does not refer to (under avajj°) (so g. 24a in E), are aorists of the passive of the causative vādeti (avajjimus (so read) seems to be a double passive (on which see von Hinüber 2001. §458): vāda° > vajja° > avajj-iy-imus).

²¹Otherwise only referred to in the prose (Ja IV 458,13, 467,13, 468,22; cf. Mvu II 177.9, 178,19f., 179.6). The Harivamśa passage 94,14, cited in the preceding footnote, may be compared in particular.

²²By intensification (von Hinüber 2001, § 213) from Old Indic -eya-.

²³Malalasekera (1937, p. 857) under “4 Campā” notes only this passage.
original gāthās of the Jātaka. None of these verses is necessary for the development of the story told in the Campeyya Jātaka. They depict more fully certain details which were only sketched in the original Jātaka (gāthās 1–3, worry and grief of the nāga wife); they explain other points (gāthā 8, the nāga wife finds refuge with the king; gāthās 11, 12, ransom money; 25–29, description of the palace); indicate who is speaking (gāthās 14, 30ab), or give the story a local, personal setting (gāthās 24, 29). If they are left out, a cogent plot remains, free of unnecessary repetition.

In the fourth gāthā there is a verse which fulfils all the requirements of the first gāthā of a Jātaka. Apart from the general introduction of the theme ("The Capture of the Nāga"), the identity of the speaker (the wife of the nāga) and her motives (a plea for the release of the nāga) are clearly indicated.

I–4 yam uggatejo urago ti cāhu, nāgo ti taṃ āha jano janinda l
tam aggahee puriso jīvikatho, tam bandhanā muicinga pati mam’ eso ll24

The one who is also (ca) called the snake of powerful energy, the people call nāga, O king. He was caught by a man who is making a living from him. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

The characterization of the nāga as uggateja- elicits a question from the king which is posed in similar form in gāthā 34 of the Saṅkhāpāla Jātaka (5b = Ja V 172,16*), where the snake had earlier been described

24b: ES<sup>4</sup> āhu jano (Sa<sup>4</sup> (āhu) manussaloke instead of jano janinda; cf. Ja V 137,27* mahāvā ti nam āhu manussaloke), L 1471 āhu jano, C B āhu janā. Cf. Mvu II 181,19* nāgo ti nam āhu janā janendra. E<sup>4</sup> āhu jano may be compared with Ja VI 336,17* (ālikaṃ bhāsati [yaṃ] dhūtī saccaṃ āhu mahālikā l (grammatical cty.: āhu ti āha katheti [ayam eva vā-pātho]) where the singular in pāda 1 suggests that the same be assumed in pāda 2 as well. Cf. Norman 1969, p. 136, on Th 57, ayam āhu purāṇiyā kuji (see CPD s.v. āha ("wrongly taken = ahoisi, Th-a’)); on a similar case in the Mahāvastu (Mvu II 96,5*: te dāni rṣaya ... rājānaṃ ... uvāca) cf. Leumann and Watanabe 1970, p. 79, n. 638.

25<sup>appānubhāva- tam mahānubhāva-v, tejassīnaṃ hanti atejavanto</sup> | kim-eva
dāthavudha kim paticca, hathathham āgaichi vanibbakānaṃ ll (see below, "Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhāpāla Jātaka", ad g. 34c).

26<sup>5b: SB āgačchī, C vanibbakāsaka</sup>. —<sup>5c: Should the words be separated as nāgakaṇī etam athāma? Cf. also g. 38c</sup> nāgarāje tam athāma (= Saṅkhāpāla Jātaka 28c, 30c, 42c (see below, "Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhāpāla Jātaka", ad g. 28c). — Mvu II 182,6*-a*: katham vijānyea gṛhiṇāgā, sa ugratejo balastāhānavanto l durāsado duhprasahe bhujamgo, hastavam āgačche vanipakasaya ll.

2<sup>Compare Edgerton 1953b s.v. hastatva- for the expression hathathham gacchati</sup> (and similar expressions at Ja I 244,10*, III 204,19*, and VI 318,23*). He also gives a reference to CPD 2 atha- 2., where Sinhalese -ata is compared, citing Geiger, Litt. u. Spr. der Singh., §40B. With Pāli hathathham gacchati cf. AMg. hathaṭham āgāyā, Ut IV XIV 45 — another example of the craving for distinctiveness of Jainas and Buddhists in regard to their terminology" (Meyer, <em>Hindu Tales</em>, pp. 111–12, n. 3).

28See Alsford 1977, p. 33, n. 36 (KL Sch., p. 793, n. 36), and Edgerton 1953b s.v. vanīpaka- "beggar". According to the prose version of this Pāli Jātaka, this should be translated as "showman" (O.v.H.).

29Attention should be paid to the syntax of the compound. Cf. Senart’s note to the Mvu text (Senart 1890, p. 530) : “How can one believe that...”. As for gṛhiṇāgā, judging by nighṛiṇāgā, line 4 on the following page, gṛhiṇa is to be understood literally in the sense of nighṛiṇa: ‘who has suppressed the nāga’, that is, ‘who has concealed his strength and appearance as a nāga’.”
termite mound (according to the prose version, 460.20), where he was eventually taken captive.\textsuperscript{30}

III–6 nagaram pi nāgo bhasmāṃ kareyya, tathā hi so balavir’yūpapanno l dhammaṃ ca nāgo apacāyamāno, tasmā parakkamma tapo karoti \textsuperscript{32}

The nāga could reduce a [whole] town to ashes, he is so strong and powerful; but out of reverence for the Dhamma he resolutely practises tapas.\textsuperscript{33}

IV–7 cātuḍḍasāṁ paññarasīna cā rāja, catuppatthe sammati nāgarājā l tam aggahi puriso jīvikatthe, taṃ bandhanā muñca paṭi mam’ eso \textsuperscript{34}

On the fourteenth and fifteenth [days\textsuperscript{35} of the half-month] the nāga king stayed at a crossroads, O king. There he was captured by a man, who is [thus] earning his living. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

In the following gāthā the wife of the nāga expresses her plea for the release of her husband from captivity and for him to be treated without violence — to match the nāga’s own behaviour.

\textsuperscript{30}Cf. Jā Jā IV 330.3*–6*, anujjagāmi uraga (id)dujivha, dāthāvudho ghoraviso si sappa l khudam ipēśam adhivāsayaṇo, kasmā bhavām posathiko nu dīgho, and Ja VI 174.3*, uposathāṃ upavassanto semi vammikamuddhāni (cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 29 (= KL Sch., p. 789)).

\textsuperscript{31}Cf. Jā VI 172.25*–28*, cātuḍḍasāṁ paññarasīna cālāra, uposathāṃ niccam-upavasāmi l athāgānum solasa bhajoṭtā, rajjuṃ gahetvāna dalhaṇ ca pāsāṃ l l

\textsuperscript{32}6a: nagaram pi (‘*– ‘) see Smith 1949, p. 1151. Pāda d = 36d (= Jā VI 173.12*). Mvū II 18.1*–4*: nagaram pi nāgo bhāmikareyya, tathā hi dhāv ca balapapeto l dhammaṃ tu nāgo aphaēyamāno, hastavam āgacche vanipakasya l; Senart 1890, pāda c: ayaṃ yācamāno (cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 37, and Jones 1952, p. 176, n. 2).

\textsuperscript{33}For the translation cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 33 (= KL Sch., p. 793).

\textsuperscript{34}Ja: E pannarasīna ca, Sā cātuḍḍasā paṭar̥ash ca rājā, SP C pannarasīna ca, B L 1471 pañcādasāmin (cf. on this vo Hinüber 2001, §402). Cf. Mvū II 182,11*–14*: caturasaṃ pañcādassam ca aṣṭamim, catuppathe gacchati nāgarājo l osṛṣṭakāyo vicaranto nāgo, hastavam āgacche vanipakasya l (cf. Thi 31 cātuḍḍasā pañcādassā yā calva pakkhasa atthāmi with pāda a).

\textsuperscript{35}Here, the date is surely meant (cf. uposathadivasa-) because the laity keep the uposatha during the day by fasting, etc.

V–9 dharmena mocehi asāhāsena, gāmene nikkhena gavam satena l osṛṣṭakāyo urago caratu, puṇṇaththiko muccatu bandhanasā l \textsuperscript{36}

In accordance with the Dhamma, release him without violence by means of [the gift of] a village, gold jewellery [or] of a hundred cows. The nāga should leave, having lowered his body.\textsuperscript{37} He who [after all only] wanted to gain merit, should be released from captivity.

In the next gāthā (VI–10) the king agrees to this request in the same words (a principle of “oral poetry”).\textsuperscript{38} As indicated above, both the following verses (11, 12) were added later only to give more details of the extent of the ransom.

VII–13 vināpi dāna tava vacanam janīṇa,
muñcemu naṃ uragaṃ bandhanasmā l
osṛṣṭakāyo urago caratu, puṇṇaththiko muccatu bandhanasmā l \textsuperscript{39}

Even without a gift, O king, we will release this nāga from captivity on the strength of your word.\textsuperscript{40} ...

\textsuperscript{36}9d: E SB L 1471 muccatu, C muccatu. Cf. Mvū II 183.2*–5*: dharmena mocehi asāhāsena, grāmene niṣkena ca gośatena l osṛṣṭakāyo nighramānagā, puṇyāththiko muccatu bandhanasā l

\textsuperscript{37}osṛṣṭakāya- seems to denote the non-aggressive posture of snakes which have “lowered their bodies”. As a peaceful attitude is appropriate for someone practising the uposatha, snakes are described thus when celebrating this day (cf. S III 241.15: ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena-m-iddh ekacce anacchā nāgā uposatham upavasanti osṛṣṭakāya ca bhavanti ti). I am indebted to Prof. Dr Albrecht Wezler for this explanation.

\textsuperscript{38}Here too read muccatu with E (SB L 1471 muccatu). Mvū II 183.7*–10*: ... moceyyam, ...l osṛṣṭakāyo ca bhujamgo gacchatu, pītto ca sampadyatū nāgarājā l

\textsuperscript{39} pró: hypermekmet pāda, in view of L 1471 vināpi dāna tava and C ṭha for tava perhaps read vināpi dāna te vacanam janīṇa (‘*– ‘*– ‘) typically hypermetric because of the deferred caesura (Ov.H.), 13b: Sā L 1471 muccemi; 13d: C muccatu, E SB L 1471 muccatu. — Mvū II 183.19*–22*: vinā tu dāna vacanām narendra, muñcemi imam dharmiko nāgarājā l mahānubhāvo paralokadarśi, mahāhālo so ca sa samvihēthyo l

\textsuperscript{40}Cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 30, n. 23 (= KL Sch., p. 790, n. 23): “vinā pi dāna tava vacanam nar’ inda (g. 13): according to Mvū II 183.19* vinā tu dāna vacanām narendra, ECSB vacanam is to be corrected to nā (or abl. -aṃ?)” For the
A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka

Even if the wind were to carry off a mountain, sun and moon were to fall to earth, and all rivers run backwards, I would not, O king, tell an untruth.⁴⁴

X-17 nabham phaleyya uddadhi pi susse, sâmyataye bhûtadhârâ vasundharâ li siluccayyo meru sâmûlam ubbahe, na tv-ev’ aham raja musâ bhaneyyaṁ(li)⁴⁵

The sky could burst, the ocean dry up, the creature-carrying earth could coil itself up [and] Mount Meru rip out its own roots,⁴⁶ but I, O king, would not tell an untruth.

As regards verses 19–22, there is no doubt that they belong to the old gāthā content of the Jātaka. They build up a picture of the risk which a visit to a nāga represents and show the nāga and his kin as true “venerators of the Dhamma of the Righteous”, grateful and true to their word.

XI–19 tumhe kho cettha ghoravisā uljārā, mahâtejâ khippakopâ ca hotha li mama kâranâ bandhanasmâ pamutto, arahasi no jânitum ye katâni(li)⁴⁷

---

⁴⁴Compare Ja III 62.18*: ambho na kira saddheyyam yaṁ váto pabbatam vahe li pabbatam ca vahe váto sabbâm pi paṭhavim vahe li “Who could ever believe that the wind would lift a mountain from the earth? I And yet the wind would sooner carry I the mountain away, even the whole mountain I” (Lüders 1921, p. 218).

⁴⁵17b: EC sâmyataye (read: sâmyat’ ayam “this [earth] could coil itself up” (?)), S sâmyataye, L 1471 sâmyatyeyum (corrected to sâmyataye (read: ‘vataye’), B sâmyataye; 17d: S⁵ L 1471 tv-evâhaṁ.

⁴⁶I take sâmûla as Skt. svamûla-, following a suggestion of O.v.H. Päli ubbahe (“tear out”) comes from Old Indic ud-vrhai which survives in Prakrit uuvhai (cf. Pischel §489) with the verbal adjective uuvádhã- or uuváccha- (cf. Wackernagel 1937, p. 833 (= Kl. Sch., p. 415)). Cf. Ja V 240.23* sâmûlam api abbahe. On the other hand, the commentary explains: evam mahâsnerupabbato samalo uṭṭhâyo purânapaṇam viyâ akâše pakkhandayya (Ja IV 462.26*), taking sâmûla- to be a bahuvihi (= mûlaena sahitâ) and ubbahe = udvâhe (cf. also CPD s.v.).

⁴⁷19a: BCS tumhe khottha, L 1471 tumhe kho cettha (read: kho (cf. Alsdorf 1968a, p. 59) or with Fausbôll tumhe ‘ttha kho’); EBCSp. 9kopi, S⁵ L 1471 9kopā: 19c: B mâmâraññâ (Fausbôll’s mama kâranâ scans = –); 19d: L 1471 arâhâsî (= –), E L 1471 jânitye (read jânitaye), C jânityaye, Cks
You are indeed large, terribly poisonous and of great brilliance; you are also quick to anger. Through me you have been freed from captivity. I expect you to be grateful to me.

Anyone not grateful for a deed done for him such as this should roast in a terrible hell, should find no bodily comfort, should die imprisoned in a basket.

Let this be your true promise. Be free from anger, not contentious. And all your nāgā kin shall avoid the supāṇṇas as [men] avoid fire in summer.

The following gāthās, which have in part been included verbatim in the Vimānāvaththu, give a typical description of the magnificent dwelling places of the nāgās. In the course of transmission, the original description of the palace in triṣṇubs had inserted before it a second description in ślokas, which, in part, verbally reflects the older

56Ja 30 ab = Vv 17.1a; Ja 31a = Vv 36.2a; Ja 31b = Vv 64.13c; Ja 32a. 35a = Vv 44.11ab; Ja 33ab = Vv 11.1ab; Ja 34ab = Vv 6.8cd, 8.8cd; Ja 35ab = Vv 44.3cd, 84.32bc.
version. The following $1^\frac{1}{2}$ triṣṭubḥs (gāthās 29 and 30 ab) could not have belonged to the old gāthā collection either, if the grammar in the case of g. 29 is taken as the only criterion. Moreover, as is so often found, 30ab merely puts into verse an indication of who is speaking (see above, p. 119).}

XVI–30 vimānasetthāni imāni tuyham, āḍiccāvaṇṇāni pabhassarāṇi l
n’ etādīsāṁ aththi manussalokā, kimmatthīyāṁ nāga tapo karosi l{l
These magnificent palaces of yours shine like the sun. There is nothing like this in the world of men. What [then] is your reason for practising asceticism, nāga?

XVII–31 tā kambukāyūradharā suvatthā, (vaṭṭāngulī tambatalūpapāṇā) paggayha pāyenti anomāvanā l
n’ etādīsāṁ aththi manussalokā, kimmatthīyāṁ nāga tapo karosi l{l
These beautifully clad [nāga maidens] are wearing bracelets and armlets. (They have [beautiful] rounded fingers, copper-red palms and soles.) [These nāga maidens] of unparalleled beauty offer drinks with outstretched [arms]. There is nothing ...

---

60Cf. 26cd (āḍiccavaṇṇānupaniham kamsavijūpabhassaram) with 30d (āḍiccavaṇṇāni pabhassarāṇi).

61Gāthā 29 can only be translated if a type of “split compound” is assumed (see CPD Epileg. 33* and Oberlies 2001, pp. 122–23): nāgakaṭṭhā ... ganena for *nāgakaṭṭhāganena; see also the explanation of the grammatical commentary Ja IV 465.cf. (read nāgakaṭṭhāganena caritam with B4 B8 L 1471, or rather kaṭṭhāganena caritam with C6 S9 (= Ja VI 313,19–20')).

62The number of lines in a verse should not vary either in a strophic system of metre such as the Indian (Ch.W.).

63Of: B kīm pathhayam.

64Pāda b could easily be omitted (Ch.W.). Cf. footnote 60.


---

A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka

XVIII–32 najjo ca kheṃa puthulomamacchā, adāsakuntābhirudā sutithā l
n’ etādīsāṁ aththi manussalokā, kimmatthīyāṁ nāga tapo karosi l{l
And the rivers are quiet, [the home of] broad-scaled fish. Their magnificent banks resound with birds living in freedom. There is nothing ...

XIX–33 koṭcā mayūrā diviyā ca hamsā, vaggussarā kokilā sampatanti l
n’ etādīsāṁ aththi manussalokā, kimmatthīyāṁ nāga tapo karosi l{l
Cranes, peacocks and heavenly geese, sweet sounding cuckoos fly [around] together [there]. There is nothing ...

XX–34 ambā ca sālā tilakā ca jambuo, uddālakā pāṭalīya ca phullā l
n’ etādīsāṁ aththi manussalokā, kimmatthīyāṁ nāga tapo karosi l{l
Mango, sal, tilaka, and roseapple trees, uddālakas and pāṭalīs stand in full bloom. There is nothing ...

XXI–35 imā ca te pokkharāṇaṃ samantato, diviyā ca gandhā satatam *sampavanti l

---

632a: CS L 1471 temā, B te ‘mā; 32b: SP L 1471 adāsakuntā”, S adāsakuntā (cṛt: adāsakuntābhirudā ti adāsakuntāhate sakunehi), C aṭa sakuntābhirudā (C9 as one word; cṛt: aṭasakuntāhate sakunehi abhirudā), B aṭasakuntā (cṛt: aṭasakuntāhate sakunehi abhirudā) (the aṭa bird is named in the Vessantarā Jātaka VI 539,11* (cṛt: dabbimukhasakuna) and Cone, under adāsakuntābhirudā and aṭa is inclined to accept atasakuntābhirudā as the correct reading); 32d: B kīm pathhayam.

65Cf. Lüders 1897, pp. 118f., n. 5, where he refers to this passage (Ja IV 466,1*). But in the transmission of the text, the inclusion of khemā is problematic. Should we perhaps read temā with BCS L 1471 and connect this with temeti (see PED s.v.)? Is the meaning: rivers “full of water”? (O.v.h.).

66CPD s.v. explains adāsakunta- as formed by haplography from *adāsakuntaka-. The correctness of this explanation is doubtful, however, in view of the reading of BCSL (cf. footnote 64; cf. also Bollée 1970, pp. 89f.).

6733d: B kīm pathhayam.


6934a: jagaṭī pāda (cadence –•–); 34d: B kīm pathhayam.

70pāṭalī is the trumpet-flower tree, Stereospermum suaveolens (Cone and Gombrich 1977, p. 97, n. 2).
only gāthā 36 would remain as the “original” answer of the Campeyya Jātaka to the question posed in gg. 30–35.

But the question *kimatthiyam nāga tapo karosi* of gāthā 39 of the Sankhapāla Jātaka also requires an answer, so we find ourselves facing a similar textual historical problem there. The fact that the Sankhapāla Jātaka with its fifty-two triṣṭubhs 74 is placed in the Cattālīsa-nipāta shows that, like the Campeyya Jātaka, it was extended by at least three gāthās during revision.

If we look at the last four gāthās of this Jātaka, then it seems clear to me that the original ended with gāthā 48, which answers the question posed in gāthā 1 (*kathāṃ nu vijtīṇi pahāya bhoge, pabbajī ...*) in pāda d (*saddhāyā aham pabbajito mhi rāja*). Gāthās 48cd and 49 also occur in the Theragāthā and Majjhima-nikāya, as follows:

| gāthā 48b | Th 782d | M II 73,19, 20 |
| gāthā 48c | Th 787c | M II 73,19, 20 |
| gāthā 48c | Th 787d, 789a | M II 74,7f |
| gāthā 49 | Th 788 | M II 74,9–12 |

Earlier, the Sankhapāla Jātaka probably ended with gāthā 48, pādas bcd of which belong to the large store of “floating pādas.” 75 Subsequently, the three gāthās 49–51 were added, praising Āḷāra’s decision to live as an ascetic by general maxims, while g. 49 came in naturally because it followed two pādas very similar to g. 48cd in the Majjhima-nikāya and Theragāthā. 76

71 *n’ etādisaṃ athi manussaloke, kimatthiyam nāga tapo karosi* II 71

From all sides, heavenly scents always pervade these lotus pools of yours. There is nothing ... 72

The following six gāthās (36–41) pose the most difficult textual problem of the Campeyya Jātaka. They are also found as gāthās 40–43 and 50–51 in the Sankhapāla Jātaka. Let us look at these gāthās individually.

The question posed six times, *kimatthiyam nāga tapo karosi*?, definitely requires an answer, so that either gāthā 36 or perhaps gāthā 39 must have followed gāthās 30–35. It is fairly certain that gāthā 38 of the Campeyya Jātaka has been borrowed from the Sankhapāla Jātaka, which is shown by the choice of words of this gāthā (cf. Sankhapāla Jātaka gg. 31b, 34c to mahānubhāva-; cf. Sankhapāla Jātaka g. 28c (see also 30c) to *pucchāmi tām nāgarāje tām atthaṁ* 73). This implies that gāthā 39 also originates from the Sankhapāla Jātaka as a necessary answer to the question (*seyyo ito kena manussaloko*) posed in gāthā 38. Thus

735a: *jagatī pāda* 97ni (S *pokkharāṇī*) *samantato* (−‘−−−’), L 1471 samantā (triṣṭubh pāda − ‘−−’); 35b: EC *dvīya* (C *dvīya*) *ca* (‘−−’) *gandha satataṃ sampatantī* (sampatantī is from gāthā 33, where it is in the right place, and has been moved through aberratio oculi (sampa- twice)), S *dvīya* ca (‘−−’) *... sampavāyanti* (L 1471 om. ca), B *dibba ca gandha satataṃ pavāyanti*; the commentary reads 35b: S 4 *dvīya gandha ti ... dibya gandha pavāyanti*; EC 4 *dibba ca gandha ti ... dibbaganḍha vāyanti*; 35d: B *kīṁ patthayam*.

72 The syntax of the gāthā causes difficulties. As gandha is the subject (cf. Ja III 91,14* vāti cāyam tato gandho, Ja III 189,14* vāti gandho timirāṇaṃ, and Mahābhārata 1,175,10 gandho ... pravāyati), pokkharāṇī must be the accusative dependent on sampavantī. Cf. Vv 84,32 (dīvī ca gandha surabhī pavantī 1 te sampavāyanti idam vimānaṃ ... ) and Th 528 (dumāni ... samantato sabbadisā pavantī). But should it not mean “the lotus pools emit heavenly scents”? Should it read: *imāya te pokkharāṇī samantato, “around this lotus pool of yours” (samantato with genitive)? Or imā ca te pokkharāṇī samantato, *dvīva ca *gandha satataṃ [sam]pavantī “these lotus pools of yours continually waft heavenly scents in all directions”*? The grammatical commentary explains: tāsu pokkharāṇīsu satataṃ dibbaganḍha vāyanti.

73 Perhaps kāmehi might be added as well (cf. Sankhapāla Jātaka g. 25d).
These considerations point to the conclusion that the composer of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka took gāthās 36–39 from the Sankhāpāḷa Jātaka (gg. 40–43), which would by no means be unusual. It is a well-known fact that the Jātaka writers “sometimes, instead of practising original composition, were engaged in a kind of jigsaw puzzle”.

Presumably, gāthās 40 and 41, commending the decision of the nāga (kāhāmī jātimaranassa antam), also do not belong to the original Campeyya Jātaka. These are “floating stanzas” which were adapted to different contexts (cf. Ja III 306,15*16*, 22*25*, IV 453,15*, 16*, V 478,22*), but they do not fit well here.

XXII–36 na putthahetu na dhanassa hetu, na āyuno vāpi janinda hetu l manussayoniṁ abhipatthāyino, tasmā parakkamma tapo karomi l Not for a son, not for riches, nor for long life, O king, but because I am striving for rebirth as a human, do I assiduously practise asceticism.

A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka

XXIII–37 tvam lohitakko vihatantaramso, alamkato kapittakesamassu l surosito lohitacandananena, gandhabbarājā va disā pabhāsasi l With red eyes, broad back, adorned, trimmed hair and beard, you brighten all directions like a Gandhabba king, well rubbed with red sandalwood.

XXIV–38 deviddhipatto si mahānubhavo, sabbehi kāmehi sāmaṅgibhūto l pucchāmi tam nāgarāje tam-attham, seyyo ito kena manussaloko l Divine miraculous powers you have attained [already]. You are powerful. All you have wished for has been given to you. So I ask you, O king of the nāgas, the following: ‘How is the world of men better than this [your world]?’

XXV–39 janinda nāṇṇatra manussalokā, suddhi ca saṁvijjati saṁyamo ca l ahaṇ ca laddhāna manussayoniṁ, kāhāmī jātimaranassa antam l Nowhere, O king, but in the human world is there purity and self-discipline. And on attaining rebirth as a human, I shall prepare for an end to birth and death.

Amongst the last three gāthās of the Campeyya Jātaka, only g. 42 causes critical difficulties in the text, but in my opinion they are insurmountable ones. Even the oriental editions offer no variant readings.

---

77Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= Kl. Sch., p. 364). See also Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 (Kl. Sch., p. 409).
78Gāthā 40: addha ha ve svetabbā sapaṇṇā, bhahussatā ye bhahūthānacintino l narīyo ca [“ - -”] disvāna tavaṇ ca nāga, kāhāmī puññāni anappakāṇī l; 40c: SB L 1550 nāriyo. EC tavaṇ ca, SP B8 tavaṇ ca, B8 S8 tvā ca (on tavānu[du]vant cf. Trenchner 1879, p. 76 (= 1908, p. 129) and Bollée 1970, p. 93) : 40d: E puññāni (typographical error). “Certainly the wise are to be honoured, the learned who have wide-ranging knowledge. As I have seen you and the[se] women, o nāga, I will perform many meritorious [deeds].” (On ha ve cf. Caillat 1980, p. 56, n. 64; on pāda b, cf. Ja III 346,50* bahūnī thānāni vicintayittā. — g. 41 addha ha ve svetabbā sapaṇṇā, bhahussatā ye bhahūthānacintino l narīyo ca [“ -” disvāna mamah ca rāja, karohi puññāni anappakāṇī l “As you have seen me and the[se] women, o king, perform many meritorious [deeds].” (41c: SB L 1550 nāriyo ; 41d: E puññāni (typographical error).
8036b: S8 B B8 L 1471 cāpi (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Sankhāpāḷa Jātaka”, g. 40b).
8237d: E CSB L 1471 disā pabhāsasi, jagatī pāda (/- - - -). Or to form a tristubh pāda should we read m.c. disā pabhāsī (/- - - x) (Ch. W.)? Cf. B8 and B8, which do in fact have pabhāsi at the parallel place in the Sankhāpāḷa Jātaka, g. 41d (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Sankhāpāḷa Jātaka”, g. 41d).
83Following Alsdorf’s translation (see CPD s.v. antaramsa-) of g. 14 of the Bhūridatta Jātaka (Alsdorf 1977, p. 47 (= Kl. Sch., p. 807)). According to PED (s.v. antaramsa-), “with broad breast”.
84For pāda b cf. Mv II 187,22* (divyehi kāmehi sāmaṅgibhūtah).
8539a: L 1471 nāṇṇathāva; 39b: S8 L 1471 suddhi va, C8 suddhi ca, C8 suddhi ca, SP B suddhi va ... va. Cf. Sankhāpāḷa Ja g. 43b: C suddhi va ... saṁyamo va (C8 cty: saṁyamo), SB L 1550 suddhi va (S8 va) ... saṁyamo va (exactly as the cty in S8 and B8), and Mv II 188,5* (ms B) saṁvidyate (-iti) ‘sod[hi] va saṁyamo va (cf. Smith 1953, p. 124). For a comparison of the content, see Ja III 47,14*15*: so hi nāna ito gantvā yoniṁ laddhāna mānasīṁ l vadaṇṇhu silasampanno kāhāmī kusalāṃ bhāmū. 
which are (metrically) correct. Pāda c exhibits a false cadence (sovançagnarāṇi = - - l ̃ v ̃ - - -). Moreover, kāraya (L 1550 kāreyya, - v ̃ r ̃ or - - -), taken by SC (L) into pāda c, gives the verse 14 syllables. Furthermore, rūpyassa, now moved into first place, would have to be read as three syllables *rūpyassa (third syllable short). The construction in all cases remains obscure. Who is the subject of haritvā ... kārayal kāreyya and karontukarontu? The only solution I can offer is Fausbøll’s suggested emendation, g. 42cd: i to haritvā suvançagna gharāni, rūpyassa c (sic) pākāraṃ karontu. The translation must necessarily remain uncertain.

XXVI–42 idaṛ ca me jātarūpaṃ pahūtaṃ, rāśi suvançassa ca tālamattā l
ito haritvā sovançagharāni, [kāraya] rūpyassa ca pākāraṃ karontu ll
Here, this is my plentiful [unworked] gold and here a pile of [worked] gold, as high as a palm tree. [This] you may (?) take with you from here and ... build [yourself] golden houses and a wall of silver.

XXXVII–43 *muttāna ca vāhasahassāni pañcā, vejur̥yamissānaṃ ito haritvā l
antepure bhūmiyaṃ santharantu, nikkaddamā hohiti nirāja ca ll

SC = E; 42a: L 1550 imaḥ; 42c: L 1550 haretvā, B haritvāna suvançā (thus also the city); 42cd: SC take kāraya to pāda c, L 1550 kāreyya (taken into pāda c) ... karontu, B karassu rūpyapākaram karontu. For the correspondence of (ECS) kāraya and (B) karassu see von Hınıber 2001, §415, and Oberlies 2001, p. 199.


A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka
Five thousand coaches of pearls mixed with beryl you are to take from here and spread them on the floor of your palace [so that] it becomes free of dirt and dust.

Silver, gold, pearls, and jewels count as the special property of snakes (cf. Ja II 296,12*-14*: rajataṃ jātarūpaṇ ca muttā vejurīyā bahū l te ca tena asantuṭṭhā bhiyoyo-bhiyyo akhāṇisumī ll te tatthāsīvīso ghoro tejasī tejasā hani l). 88

XXVIII–44 etādasam āvasa rājaṣṭṭhā, vimānasethām bahu sobhamānām l bārāṇasim nagarāṃ iddhahītaṃ, rajjā ca kārei anomaṇapaṇā || 89
O best of kings, live in such a magnificent palace, which shines brightly, [and also] in the flourishing city of Vārāṇaśī. Reign [there], you who are so full of wisdom.

If this reconstruction of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka is correct, then it follows that the Campeyya Jātaka of the Mahāvastu must be directly based on the Pāli version. Various Jātakas found in the Jātaka as well as in the Mahāvastu should be studied with regard to their relationship to each other in order to lend support to the conclusion reached here. 90

Thomas Oberlies
Göttingen

86On snakes and jewels see Gaefke 1954.
8944c: SB iddham phītam.
90Different versions of the Campeyya Jātaka in Buddhist literature are analysed by Hahn 1995.
Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhāpāla Jātaka (Fausbøll V 161–77)

4a: BCS vanijja, B D L 1 5 5 0 vāṇijjaṃ and commentaries (vāṇijjan ti). vāṇijja(ṃ) scans as (i) it ends with a short nasal vowel).

4b: Hypermetric triṣṭubh (B D bhojanapatte). Should we not read pathe *’dadasāsim (third syllable short) instead of pathe addasāsim, which is correct in the cadence of 39a? (O.V.H., Ch.W.)

7a: BCS L 1 5 5 0 sakamu niketaṃ (‘) cf. g. 47c, Ja III 349,22* and Ja IV 341,42.

7c: Read with BCS S D L 1 5 5 0 māṃsāni (‘) (cf. Smith 1949, p. 1154).

7d: Probably *kho is to be read instead of (ES) vo (Ch.W.) or eastern (BC) ve = Skt vai (cf. Lüders 1954, § 231) (O.V.H.).


10b: For the translation see Hinüber 1985, p. 61.

11c: Read (with S) tada ’ss’ aham (B tadā ’ss’ aham, C tadassaham, S tada ’ss’aham). Thus also 27b (cf. Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = Kl. Sch., p. 409). Cf., however, CPD s.v. 5’assu.


13a: agamāsi is to be read ‘, otherwise syllable three long (O.V.H.).

13c: BC samotataṃ jambuhi vetasāhi, L 1 5 5 0 samādhiṣaṃ jambuhi vedasāhi, S samonataṃ (S a samonataṃ) jambuhi vedasāhi.

14d: hadayangamaṃ (thus all mss) is to be read ‘ (O.V.H.). Otherwise, all readings hadayangama- are to be read as four syllables (cf. Ja IV 345,5* and 470,16/20). On the grounds of the ten-syllable śloka pāda (sic) hadayangama hadayanissitaṃ (Ja IV 345,5*, 420,1*), one might suspect that it is an old hadayangama- (cf. Skt hṛdaya-) that had been overlaid during the course of transmission (cf. *hadanissita, Ja III 215,3*, 390,24*, for the transmitted hadayanissita—).

15a: BCS L 1 5 5 0 pitā alāra (‘) (Fausbøll conjectures c’ alāra (cf. 37a and 50c)).

15d: C s S a alāra (sic) passa me nivesanam, B C P S P = E.

17a: Against all mss with CPD (s.v. añāvikālā). Note that “u and ū and i and ī can hardly be distinguished in the mss” (O.V.H.).

A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka

18c: All mss = E. Hypermetric (Ch.W.). Read rajataggalāṃ *sonnamayaṃ [*soṇnamāṃ] uḷāraṃ? Ja VI 203,8* (yāpanā subhaṃ sonnamayaṃ uḷāram) indicates the former.

19: All mss = E (19c: L 1 5 5 0 paripūrṇa, BCS paripūrṇa; 19d: B P C S a sonpaṇṇaSa). What do the feminine adjectives refer to? (Fausbøll wishes to correct all to -am).

20: All mss = E (B āruhya). The verbum finitum is missing, unless the absolute functions as such.

20d: Read yath’ assa bhāryā mahesi ahosi with anapestic scanion of mahesi (see Oberlies 2001, p. 15); cf. 23d and 26a (Ch.W.).

21a: Read velurjyamayā (Ch.W.).

22a: All mss = E. Read tato mam urago (‘) (cf. CPD s.v. 3’atra).

22b: L 1 5 5 0 nīsādapayi.

22c: Read (with B C P S) atra bhavaṃ (cf. CPD s.v. 3’atra).

23a: L 1 5 5 0 aññatāca.

23d: Read (with BCS B D L 1 5 5 0) bhāryā va (Dutoit V 173, n. 1, already declared himself in favour of this reading (Ch.W.).)

24b: Read with BCS L 1 5 5 0 soṇṇamayādyā pātiyā; (jagatī pāda: cadence ‘). Cf. Ja IV 18,14*: paggayha soṇṇamayādyā pātiyā.


24d: upanāmaya is to be read ‘ (O.V.H.). (BCS = E) bhatta scans ‘ (i.e. it ends with a short nasal vowel).

25a: turyēhi is to be read ‘ (O.V.H.).

25c: Read (with BCS P and L 1 5 5 0) nipat mahantam (‘).

26a: bhāryā scans ‘ (O.V.H.).

26b: BCSP L 1 5 5 0 attamaṇjāha (cf. CPD s.v. attamaṇjāha- and Lüders 1941, p. 142, who draws attention to attaḥkathāyam pana sumajjāh ti pātho in the commentary).

26c: Read with BCS P L 1 5 5 0 kāmakāra (add the entry kāmakāra: “fulfilling the desires” in CPD; Cone includes it, but with the wrong reading kāmakāro of C = E).

27b: uttari (so Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = Kl. Sch., p. 409) seems unnecessary (Ch.W.).

28a: Read (with BC) adhicca-laddham (see also CPD s.v.). Item 29a.

28b: All mss = E. Fausbøll proposes reading *ādu.

28c: BCS B D L 1 5 5 0 have nāgarāje tamaṇ attham which Alsdorf (1977, p. 39, n. 54 = Kl.Sch., p. 799, n. 54) interprets as nāgarāj’ etam attam. But nāga-
Thomas Obleries

rāje may well be a vocative ending in -e (cf. Caillat 1970, pp. 18–19, and Obleries 2001, p. 170).

29a: Hypermetric trialshub pāda (and also 29b). L 1550 omits the second na.

30a: brahmacariyaṁ scans – – – (= brahmacariyāṁ). Item 33a.

30c: Cf. 28c.

31a: Jagatī pāda ([Maga]dhānām issaro – – – –). Between gāthās 32 and 33 in BCS (not in S) and Bds there is an additional verse ≠ Vidhurapandita Jātaka 252 = 276, where 251cd = (Sankhāpāla Jātaka) 32cd, 253ab = 33ab, 254a = 33c; cf. Alsdorf 1971, pp. 49f., 52f. (= Kl. Sch., pp. 406f., 409f.).

mānaḥ ca gandhaḥ ca vilepanāḥ ca l padipiyam yānaṃ upassayaḥ ca l acchādanam sayanam ath’ annapānaṁ l sakacca dānāni adhamam taṭhā l B, Bp pacipayam annapānaṁ, adamma ; Bp acchādanam sayyam ath’ annapānaṁ, sakacca dānāni adhamma taṭhā ; C annapānaṁ (pāda c is hypermetric; read sayyam ath’ with BP?).

34c: appanuḥbhāvā (thus all mss) “on the basis of” (CPD s.v. differs).

35a: All mss avagataṁ (item 36a), a transformation of an old aorist form anagata (S annagataḥ < annagataḥ) into a verbal adjective (other explanation in CPD s.v. avagata-: “anugata influenced by aor. anagata”, referring to udapattā (on the latter cf. Hinüber 1974, pp. 69f.).

35b: BC nānagam, SP nānagam, S nānagam (na is omitted). L 1550 nānagam (na is omitted here, too). CPD (s.v. anu-gacchati) proposes reading *anavagā.

37a: BCS L 1550 pātacadasīn.

39c: sīrīya ca scans – – – –

40b: L 1550 vāpi.


41d: Jagatī pāda (disā pabhāsasi – – – –). Or is pabhāsi to be read with Bv l. and B? (Ch.W.). Cf. also Fausbøll’s C, which has pabhassī, and see n. 82 above.

42c: Cf. 28c.

43a: B SP L 1550 saddhī vā ... samyamo vā, S saddhī va ... samyamo vā, C saddhī vā ... saṁñīvamo vā (cf. Campeyya Jātaka 39a saddhī ca ... samyamo ca (vv.22 l. vā ... vā); see n. 85 above).


44a: Jagatī pāda (– – – –).

45b: CPD (s.v. upaṭṭhahati) conjectured *upatiṭṭhāre.

45c: CS L 1550 kaccin nu te nābhisamittho koci (S kaccin). B kaccin nu taṁ nābhisabhittho. E ex. conj. nābhisamittho (see CPD s.v. abhisamati).

46b: Unmetrical paṭivihito should probably be emended (Ch.W.).


47d: BCS ossajissu (BP ossajissu); cf. CPD s.v. uṣsajī/jjati.

49a: Jagatī pāda (– – – –). B dumanphalānīva. Gāthās 48ab and 49 are also found at M II 74.7–12 (all mss dumanphalāneva) and Th 787cd and 788 (all mss dumanphalānīva (cf. also Norman 1969, p. 238, ad loc.)), pādas 49ab are also found at Ja IV 49.5.12* (where all mss also have dumanphālaṁ‘ eva).

49b: daharā is to be read = – – – (O.V.H.).

50c: S tuvaṇa ca (ECB tavaṇ ca); cf. n. 78.

FAUSBØLL’S TEXT OF THE SANKHAPĀLA JĀTAKA

4a vaṇijja // 4b pathe addasāsim hi milācaputte // 7a sakam niketanam // 7c maṃsaṃ bhokkhamā pamodamā // 7d mayam hi vo sattavo pannagamā // 10a taḥ assu // 10b yaṃ naṃthuho patimokkhaḥ’ assa pāse // 11c tad ass’ aham // 12c dukkho hi luddhe punā punāgamā // 13a agamāsi so rahadam vippasannam // 13c samotatam jambhi vetasāhi // 14d hadayaṅgamaṃ // 15a tvam me si māta ca pitā ca aḷāra // 15ef pahutabhakkhaḥ bahu-annapānaṁ l masakāsāraṁ viyā vāsavassvā // 17a anāvākula // 18c rajataggāmaḥ sovalāmaḥ utāram // 19 maṃjanīya sovalāmāyaḥ utāram l anekacātī sitatam sunimittā l pariṇā paññāhī alamkatāhi l suvanākāyārādhārāḥ rāja // 20 so sankhapi lāmāmarūpo l pāsādaṃ āruya anovamano l sahassathambham atulanabhāvaṃ l yath’ assa bhāryai mahāśeḥ ahośi // 21b veśaṁyamā // 22a–c tato maṃ urgo hatte gahetvā l nisādaṃ pumukhāṁ āśaṃ sīram īdān āśaṃ tathāvhamā nisātū // 23a aṇṇā ca nāti taramānarūpa // 23d bhāryai ca bhātī patiño piyassa // 24b–d paggaya sovalāmaḥ pāṭiyā l anekasūpaṃ vividhāṃ viyājanāmaḥ l upanāmayi bhāṭa manuṇhāraṃ // 25a turiyā // 25c tatuttarī maṃ nipati mahāntam // 26a–c bhāryai maṃ’ etā tīsaṭa alāra l sabb” attakhājī puṇḍumuttrāḥ l alāra etā su te kāmākāra // 27b tadass’ aham uttariṇi pacchabhāṣiṇi // 28a adhicca laddhaṃ // 28b sovalākataṃ udāhu devehi dinnam // 28c nāgaraṇa hita thātham //
A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka

ABBREVIATIONS

Editions and manuscripts:

B^p Burmese ed. of the Pāli, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ (1960)
B^s Burmese ed. of the Athavaṇṇanā, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ (1960)
B = B^p + B^s
B^d, B^s Burmese mss in Fausbøll ed.
C^p Sinhalese ed. of the Pāli, Simon Hewavitane Bequest (1937)
C^a Sinhalese ed. of the Athavaṇṇanā, Simon Hewavitane Bequest (1955)
C = C^p + C^a
E European edition (Fausbøll)
Fausbøll = E

L 1471 a manuscript of the Campeyya Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha near Lampang, written in the year C.S. 833 = A.D. 1471
L 1550 a manuscript of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Srt Ur Meiın in Dā Soy (Thā Soi), now in the Vat Lai Hin, written in C.S. 912 = A.D. 1550, in the year of the dog (pi kad seś).91
S^p Siamese ed. of the Pāli, Syāmaraṭhassā Tepiṭakaṃ (1926)
S^a Siamese ed. of the Athavaṇṇanā, Syāmaraṭhassā Tepiṭakaṃ (1927)
S = S^p + S^a
Vv Vimānavatthu, PTS ed.

Other abbreviations:

Ch.W. suggestions by Prof. Dr Chlodwig H. Werba
Cone Margaret Cone, A Dictionary of Pāli, Part 1.
CPD A Critical Pāli Dictionary
cṭy commentary
g(g). gāthā(s)
jag. jagatī
Kl. Sch. Kleine Schriften, J.v. Glascnapp-stiftung
O.v.H. suggestions by Prof. Dr. Oskar von Hinüber
PED The Pali Text Society’s Pali–English Dictionary
tr. triṣṭubh

91I am grateful to Prof. von Hinüber for this reference (see also Hinüber 1988, p. 14 with n. 48 (on the allocation of sigla)).
Thomas Oberlies

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Malalasekera, G.P. 1937. Dictionary of Pâli Proper Names. PTS.


The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts

1. Looking through editions of the texts of Buddhist scriptures in Pāli and through catalogues of manuscripts from Theravāda Buddhist countries, it appears that, as a rule, the final remarks in Burmese manuscripts are not mentioned. They are not found in descriptions of manuscripts given in editions of the texts or included in the entries for a codex in catalogues of manuscripts. This can be ascribed both to the editors’ and revisers’ insufficient knowledge of the Burmese language and to their reluctance to invest too much time and effort in the elucidation of passages forming no part of the text at the end of manuscripts along with final remarks which can be understood as colophons in the stricter sense. Usually, there is merely a note of the formal data, and the title and date of completion of writing.

The three volumes of the catalogue Burmese Manuscripts\(^1\) contain detailed descriptions of manuscripts in German libraries. Thanks to the ruling that the beginning and end of manuscripts are to be reproduced in

---

\(^1\) Burmese Manuscripts (Bur. MSS), Part I, compiled by Heinz Bechert, Daw Tin Tin Myint, Daw Khin Khin Su (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979); Part II, Catalogue numbers 156–431, compiled by Heinz Braun, Daw Tin Tin Myint, with an introduction by Heinz Bechert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985); Part III, Catalogue numbers 432–735, Heinz Braun, compiler, assisted by Anne Peters; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996). This essay is based entirely on the material in these volumes of this catalogue of manuscripts. The reader is therefore requested to consult the introduction to Part I for further information. As regards the abbreviations used here, see the List of Abbreviations in Part 3. [Since this article appeared, Part IV, Catalogue numbers 736–900, has been published: Anne Peters, compiler; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000).]
exact detail, it is now possible to look more closely at the colophons of a great number of codices from the point of view of form and content. This essay is an attempt to bring some order into the series of partly formulaic final remarks so that we can establish what means were at the disposal of the scribe when he either followed set rules or inserted his own remarks.

2. The volumes contain 735 catalogue numbers, which represent an equal number of manuscripts with a single text in which the beginning and end are usually clearly recognizable. In this context it is of no importance whether a text is a work complete in itself, a chapter of a work, or part of a group of texts. One hundred and fifty manuscripts have to be left out of this study

because the manuscript description did not include an account of the colophon,
because the colophon is not available due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript,
or because the text ends without any final remarks.

3. Of the remaining 585 codices considered in this study, 52 lack dates. The scribes end the text either by simply citing the name of the text [349] or by adding one of the formulae of aspiration below (see 3.3–5) to indicate the end [527, 689], or they are content with the comment

... prīhi [saññi (B: əː ñi / əʊəɾ) [692(6)], ... aprīh su rok prīh (əʊəɾ: əː, əʊəɾ əː / əʊəɾ) [607]
... is ended

which in many cases is no more than a translation of the preceding niṭṭhito, -tā, -taṃ [618] that is usually found at the end of Pāli texts. Only a few manuscripts have quite differently formulated Burmese additions from which the end of a text may be inferred.

3.1. There are 533 manuscripts (approximately 72% of the studied

material) that are dated. Only 42 manuscripts have incomplete indications of time (10 have only the year [224]; 11 only the year and month [240]; 14 have the year, month, and day of the fortnight [154]; 7 have all the information apart from the time of day [649]). The remaining 491 codices offer the precisely formulated date apart from the time of day which is typical of Burmese manuscripts, for example:

sakkarāj 1245 khu na-yun la chanh 2 rak 2-nañh-lā re ne 3 khyak tīh akhyim tvañ Chanh nisya kui reh kāh rve prīhi ji. [668 with slight emendations]

On Monday (2-nañh-lā ne), the second day (2 rak) in the half month of the waxing moon (la chanh) of the month April/May (na-yun) of the year 1245 (1245 khu) of Burmese chronology (sakkarāj) [= A.D. 25 April 1883] at the time of three strokes [= 3 o'clock p.m.] I [the scribe] completed (prīhi) the setting down (reh kāh rve) of the text Chanh nisya [word-for-word translation of the Vuttodaya text].

About three fifths of the colophons have this form, while in two fifths the writers qualify their activity by adding the verb 'on mrañ saññi (əʊəɾ əː əʊəɾ əː):

[Name of text] kui reh kāh rve prīhi 'on mrañ saññi. [131]

I have successfully completed the setting down [of the text so-and-so].

Apart from occasional deviations in the wording, only the following variations in the form of the final remarks are regularly found:

4Fortnight of the waning moon: la chut (əʊəɾ), full moon: la prāññ (əʊəɾ), new moon: la kvay (əʊəɾ).
the day of the week may occasionally be missing, as the day of
the corresponding fortnight has already been given [13]:

instead of sakkarāj the following may be found:

ći prīh lac sakkarāj kāh ...

As far as [the year of] Burmese chronology in which the setting
down of this work was completed is concerned ... [560].

This beginning of colophons in four-syllable verse form [228, 565]
was so familiar to the writers of at least 83 colophons, that they took it
over for their prose versions.

The order in which the individual dates and times are given —
namely, the year, month, fortnight (waxing or waning moon, full moon,
new moon), day in the fortnight and its corresponding designation, and
the time of day as well as the final remarks on the completion of the
setting down of a text — are components of a fixed formula with which
the writers usually ended their work. This is the case, at least, for the
300-year period which it has been possible to survey up to now. Only a
very few manuscripts (in the material to hand, only 10 manuscripts)
have final remarks, for the most part undated, which deviate entirely
from the usual form.

3.2. Apart from a final remark which only gives the time of completion
of writing, the scribe may refer in a verse and a few set phrases to his
skill and to his own personal concerns, namely the expression of the
religious merit inherent in the act of writing (P. puñña, Burmese konh
mhu, ṣaṭṭi: q), and his hopes and desires regarding his own progress
and that of his family, or even of all beings, toward salvation.

The following Pāli verse is found at the end of almost all
manuscripts:6

6Saddhamma-s, JTTS (1890), p. 65 (noted by Peter Skilling, Bangkok). English
translation by B.C. Law, A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions

The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts

akkharāṃ ekamekaṇ ca Buddhharūpasamāṃ siyā,7
tasma ṣi paṇḍita poso likheyya piṭakattayam. [97]

Every letter should be like a statue of the Buddha, therefore only
an educated man should write the Tipitaka.

Skills related to the production of a religious object enjoyed
particular esteem for that reason alone. The production of a book — in
Burma mainly a palm-leaf manuscript — and the setting down of the
words of the Buddha, which were considered to be immeasurably
valuable, were regarded as particularly respected activities. It therefore
goes without saying that only someone who knew the teachings and had
writing skills would have been considered qualified to undertake it.

3.3. As a rule after the date, but often immediately after the end of the
text, there is a set phrase which shows that the process of writing was a
religious act whose aim was earning puñña [707]:

nibbānapaccayo hotu. [705]

May [this religious duty, the writing of the text.] be a means of
[my attainment of] Nirvana.

3.4. The following formula serves the same purpose:

pu di āh (q 8 ṣaṭṭi: [482] or pu, di āh ṣaṭṭi praṇī cuṃ pā lī i. (q
8 ṣaṭṭi: qh [gq, q ½ ḍh s]), [699]

The syllables pu, di and āh8 are abbreviations for the concepts
pubbenivāsānussati (“knowing one’s past abodes”), dibbacakkhu (“the
divine eye”) and āsavakkhaṇa (“destruction of the taints”) which, with
three further concepts, form the group of the so-called abhiṇā9 or six
“higher spiritual powers”. Those named here are also known as the

7In Burmese texts: akkharā [nt. pl.] ... Buddhharūpaṃ samam.
8Cf. Burm MSS, Pt. i, p. xxv (a); pubbenivāsa is to be corrected to pubbe-
nivāsānussati.
1972), s.v. abhiṇā.
tevijā ("threelfold wisdom"), the realization of which is identical to the 
atthe attainment of salvation. Thus, the set form of words may be translated 
as follows:

May the knowledge of my past abodes, the divine eye, and the 
destruction of taints [in me] be completely accomplished.

3.5. The last of the stock phrases is the following:

nat lā sādhu khō ce sov. ( nhắn nhơn làm phiền) [456]  
May gods and men call out, "Well done!"

This set phrase is occasionally expanded by the scribe by naming 
people who are near to him so that they may share in his religious merit 
(puñña) [384]. From time to time he may also refer to the "gain" or 
"advantage" (akyuih, ṭhí: ) which he can acquire from setting a work 
down [419]. Or he may express the wish to be born again at the time of 
the future Buddha Metteyya (Maitreya) to achieve release as his disciple 
and with his help [312]. Wordings such as Arimadera (arimadera) [419] or 
Arimideyya (ārīma) [312] occasionally require a second look in order 
to recognize that the reference is to Metteyya.

3.6. The three pathanā or aspirations just mentioned are almost always 
found next to the date. There is no preference for one set phrase rather 
than another nor any particular order in which they are found:

no set phrase: 146 colophons [1]
only nibbānapaccayo hotu: 69 colophons [66, 254]
only pu di ăh or pu di ăh nīkān prāṇī cum pā lūi ī: 90 colophons 
[102, 108]
only nat lā sādhu khō ce sov: 21 colophons [721]
nibbānapaccayo hotu and pu di ăh, etc.: 86 colophons [554]
nibbānapaccayo hotu and nat lā sādhu khō ce sov: 26 colophons 
[708]
pu di ăh, etc., and nat lā sādhu khō ce sov: 21 colophons [77]
all three phrases together: 32 colophons [505]
On a New Edition of the Syāmaratṭhassa
Tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā

A Thai-script edition of the Pāli commentaries was published in Bangkok on 12 August, Buddhist Era 2535 (1992), in honour of the fifth birth cycle of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand. The set consists of forty-eight volumes, hard-bound in blue. The first Siamese edition, published in 2463 (1920), has long been out of print.

According to Chao Khun Rājakavi of Wat Bovoranives, who supervised the work, the strict editorial principle was to retain the text of the original edition without any changes apart from corrections of obvious typographical errors, and to add any comments or comparisons to the footnotes. These make reference to:

M = Mrammama = Burmese-script edition
Yu = Europe = Pali Text Society editions.

They record, for example, words not found in the Siamese edition (M. etthantare ... dissati), words in the Siamese edition not found in another edition (M. ayam pātho natthi), and variant spellings. They also refer to preferable (yuttataram) readings.

The first volume has the full title:

Syāmaratṭhassa tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā
samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā
pathamo bhāgo
mahāvibhaṅgavānṇanā
vajirāṇānena mahāsamaṇena
ādo sodhitā
mahātherasamāgamassa ganthādhiṃkaṛhe
puna sodhitā
2535
buddhasake mudditā
syāmaratṭhassa rājadhiṃkaniyam
mahāmakuṭarājāvidyālayena pakāsitā
2535.

At the beginning of each volume there is:

The official symbol of the fifth birth cycle of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit (in colour)
A photograph of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, bearing the caption Sirikitti Paramarājīnī (in colour)
Tiratanaṇañāmaṇghā (homage to the Three Gems: in Pāli)
Pada ray2 krai namāskāra brah rātanatrāy (Thai verse translation of preceding)
Tepitakakkathāpatthakamuddanārambhakathā (on the undertaking of the publication of the Aṭṭhakathā: in Pāli verse)
Gām nām nai kāra cāt bimb gāmbhir arrthakathā haen brah traipitak (Thai verse translation of preceding)
Kittanapattam (Table of contents).

At the end there is an index (padabhājanīyānukkamo).

The titles of the volumes are as follows:

1. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Mahāvibhaṅga-vanṇanā
2. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mahāvibhaṅga-bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅgavanṇanā
3. Samantapāsādikā nāma vinayaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Mahāvagga-vanṇanā
4. Sumangalavilāsini nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Silakkhandhavagga-vanṇanā
5. Sumangalavilāsini nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mahāvagga-vanṇanā
6. Sumangalavilāsini nāma dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Pāṭikavagga-vanṇanā
7. Papañcasūdāni nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Mūlapanñasa-vanṇanā
8. Papañcasūdāni nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo) Mūlapanñasa-vanṇanā
9. Papañcasūdāni nāma majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (tatiyo bhāgo) Majjhima-panñasa-vanṇanā, Uparipaṇnasa-vanṇanā ca
10. Sāratthappakāsini nāma sāmyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā (pathamo bhāgo) Sagāthavagga-vanṇanā
Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia

This article reports on recently discovered citation inscriptions from three sites: Angkor Borei in Cambodia, Si Thep in Siam, and Go Xoai in Vietnam. As far as I know the inscriptions from the first two sites have not been published in a European language. The section on Go Xoai is a summary of an article published in Bangkok in 1999.

I use the term “citation inscription” for lithic or other engraved records that give excerpts from Buddhist texts. Such inscriptions are not original compositions, although they may be combined with original material. In South-East Asia the greatest concentrations of citation inscriptions known to date are in Burma (from the Pyu kingdom of Śrīkṣetra) and Siam (from the Dvāravatī period on).¹ Smaller numbers have been found in Java, Borneo, and the middle Malay peninsula.² Very few have been found in Laos, or in Cambodia and Vietnam, in the areas known to historians as Funan, Chenla, and Champa.

1. Preliminary report on a Pāli inscription from Angkor Borei, Cambodia

An inscription of considerable importance and interest was recently excavated at Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia, a site that scholars have tentatively identified as the capital of the ancient kingdom of Funan. I am grateful to Dr Michel Tranet (Minister of Culture and Fine Arts, Kingdom of Cambodia) for making a copy of an estampage of the

¹See Peter Skilling, “The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-East Asia”, Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 20.1 (1997), pp. 93–107, for a preliminary and already outdated list.

²I do not count here the clay sealings inscribed with ye dharmā or dhāraṇīs, which have been uncovered in their hundreds at several sites in the region.

I am grateful to Ven. Dhammasāmi and Steven Collins for their corrections and comments.
inscription available through the good offices of Dr Olivier de Bernon (École française d’Extrême-Orient, Phnom Penh).

The text is engraved in Pallava script on the four faces of a rectangular clay brick. At present further details about dimensions, context, and find-spot are not available. In general the script resembles that of some of the ye dhamma inscriptions from Siam, such as those on bricks from Phra Pathom Chedi (Nakhon Pathom), that engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image kept in Wat Mahathat (Ratburi), or the Sūgaramatiariprācchā inscription from Site 2 in Kedah. Some letters are peculiar, but a detailed palaeographical study must await a better reproduction of the epigraph than that available to me at present. Long vowels, nīggahita, and conjunct consonants are all clearly marked. On palaeographic grounds the inscription may be dated to the seventh or eighth century.

The language of the inscription is Pāli. Until the discovery of the Angkor Borei inscription the earliest Pāli epigraph known from Cambodia was K. 754, the record of a donation made by Śrīndravarman (Sirisirindavamma) in Śaka era 1230 (1308 CE), from Kok Svay Cek south of the Western Barai near Angkor Wat. Śrīndravarman’s record is bilingual, inscribed on a stone stele 1.70 metres in height, one side with twenty lines of Pāli verse in ten sūkhas, the other with thirty-one lines of Khmer prose. If K. 754 is no longer the earliest Pāli inscription in

---

3“Pallava” is a catch-all label for the early scripts of South-East Asia, which are modelled on scripts from South India related to those used by the Pallavas. The dates ascribed to undated inscriptions in this paper are only approximations.


5My transcription follows the line-breaks of the original: I have supplied line numbers in parentheses at the beginning of the lines. Neither verses nor faces are numbered. My provisional numbering of faces and sides starts with the ye dhamma verse and then follows the sequence of the yadā have verses in the Mahāvagga. I have separated the words, written without break in the inscription, and placed letters that are indistinct within parentheses. I hope to improve on the readings when a better copy becomes available.

6In each case, after the half-verse ending with brāhmaṇaṇa, there follow two letters or symbols that I am unable to decipher, indicated here by “...”.

Cambodia, it remains the earliest bilingual. As an early epigraph from the period during which the Mahāvīhāra Theravādin Vinaya lineage of Sri Lanka was introduced to (or rose to prominence in) the region, it bears witness to the change of classical language from Sanskrit to Pāli. K. 754 also remains the earliest dated Pāli composition from Cambodia, since, as we shall see, the Angkor Borei inscription is a citation of classical texts. The next dated Pāli inscription, also a composition, is that of Vat Nokor (K. 82), dated Śaka 1488 (1566 CE).

Text of the inscription

Face 1

(1) ye dhamma hetupabhañña tesassañ āha
tathāgato āha
(2) tesassañ ca yo nirdho evaṁvādī mahāsamanño [1]
(3) yadā have pāṭubhavanti dhammā ātāpāṇino jñāno brāhmaṇaṇa
(4) .. 6 athassa kāṇkhā vappaya(ṃ)ti savvā yato pajiṇāti sahetu
(5) dham(ṃ)a(ṃ) [2]

Face 2

(1) yadā have pāṭubhavanti dhammā ātāp̣āṇino jñāno brāhmaṇaṇa ..
(2) athassa kāṇkhā vappayanti savvā (ya)to khayaṁ paccayānaṁ avedi [3]

Side 1

(1) yadā have pāṭubhavanti dhammā ātāp̣āṇino jñāno brāhmaṇaṇa ..

Side 2

(1) athassa kāṇkhā vappayanti savvā viddhyān titthati mārasenaṁ [4]
1.1. The ye dhammā verse
The first text is the ye dhammā gāthā, which needs no introduction. There are numerous epigraphic examples from mainland and maritime South-East Asia, in Pāli, Prakrit, and Sanskrit, from Arakan to the Malay peninsula to Java to Borneo. The many examples from Siam, inscribed in varieties of the Pallava (or rarely, Nāgari) script on a wide range of objects and materials, have not yet been subjected to a comprehensive palaeographical and linguistic study. The verse as given in the present inscription agrees perfectly with the Vinaya Mahāvagga.7

This is only the second ancient ye dhammā inscription to be discovered in Cambodia. The other example, engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image from Tuol Preah That (to be discussed in section 3.1), is not in Pāli but in a related Prakrit.

1.2–4. The yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā verses
Like the ye dhammā verse, verses 2 to 4 are found in the Vinaya Mahāvagga. The three verses in upājīti metre come at the beginning of the very first chapter, Bodhikathā.8

Verses 2 and 3 agree with the Mahāvagga, with the exception that in pāda b the inscription has jhāyino against the jhāyato of the Mahāvagga and that pāda c has sāvvā in place of sabbā. Jhāyino is a respectable alternate to jhāyato. The use of -vv- in place of -bb- in early South-East Asian Pāli has been noted by von Hinüber, and since confirmed by further inscriptions.9 To these we may add the present document, in which ba and va are clearly distinguished.

Verse 4 also has jhāyino and sāvvā. Here the last two pādas differ

from the Mahāvagga. The inscription repeats pāda c of the preceding verses, and ends with vidhūpyan titthati mārasanam. Presumably the scribe or stone-carver has dropped the -pa- of vidhūpayan, and the pāda should read vidhūpyan titthati mārasanam with the Mahāvagga. Note also the use of dentals rather than retroflexes in the -tha- of titthanti. More serious is the inscription’s complete omission of the last pāda of the Mahāvagga version. Whether this is to be put down to error or to genuine recensional variation cannot be said.

I give here the Mahāvagga text according to the Pali Text Society edition, indicating words or phrases that differ from the inscription by placing them in italics.

yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā atūpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa
ath’ assa kaṇkhā vapayanti sabbā yato paṭānāti sahetudhamman ti.

yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā atūpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa
ath’ assa kaṇkhā vapayanti sabbā yato khayaṁ paccayanaṁ adevi ti.

yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā atūpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa
vidhūpyaṁ titthati mārasanam surīyo ’va obhāsayaṁ antalikkhaṇ ti.

The Bodhikathā verses are also given in the Udāna of the Khuddhaka-nikāya, one in each of the first three suttas of the first chapter, Bodhivagga.

The yadā have verses in other inscriptions
The Angkor Borei inscription is not the only epigraph to give the yadā have verses: they have enjoyed currency in inscribed form over a wide area and a long stretch of time. The prose of the Bodhikathā from the beginning up to the end of the first yadā have verse is given in an early inscription from Kunzeik in Burma.10 All three yadā have verses are engraved on an octagonal stone pillar, unfortunately in fragments, from Sap Champa (District Chai Badan, Lopburi, Siam) which is dated to the

7 Vin I 40,38 (unless otherwise noted, references to Pāli texts are to editions of the Pali Text Society by volume, page, and line).
8 Vin I 2,3–26.
Seventh or eighth century.\(^{11}\) The second verse is inscribed on a broken stone slab from Ban Phrommadin (District Khok Samrong, also in Lopburi Province), and is dated to the eighth or ninth century.\(^{12}\) These dates are arrived at on palaeographic grounds.

The verses continued to be inscribed in the Ratanakosin or Bangkok period. They are given on the nineteenth-century gold plates installed in a cetiya at Wat Pho (Wat Phra Chetuphon) in Bangkok. The first yadā have verse is inscribed as a caption to a relief panel representing the Awakening on the eastern face of the base of a gold-plated cetiya in the central sanctum of the cetiya at Wat Bovoranivet, also in Bangkok. There the verse is described as the first udāna of the Blessed One (idaṃ tassa bhagavato paṭhamaṃ udānaṃ).

What is the importance of the verses, and why were they selected for inscription? We cannot, of course, read the minds of those who conceived of and sponsored the inscriptions, and we do not possess any ritual manuals from the period (if there were any, since many of these practices were transmitted orally). It is, however, certain that the verses have a claim to pre-eminence: in the literature of all known Buddhist schools they are spoken by the Blessed One immediately after his Awakening.

The Theravādins preserve two traditions regarding the first words spoken by the Awakened One (paṭhamabuddhavacanaṃ). According to the Samantapāsādikā, the honour goes to the anekajāti sansāraṃ verses from the Dhammapada,\(^{13}\) although “according to some” the yadā have pāṭubhavanti dhammā verses merit this status.\(^{14}\) But while the yadā have verses occur in the narrative of the events after the Awakening in the Vinayas of known schools, including, of course, the Theravādin Mahāvagga, the anekajāti verses have no canonical narrative context, since they are transmitted only in collections like the Dhammapada. It is not clear when or where the latter came to be designated as paṭhamabuddhavacana by the Theravādins. In the Shan-chien-p’i-p’o-sha, the Chinese translation of a Vinaya text related to the Samantapāsādikā, both traditions are reported.\(^{15}\)

In his commentary on the Udānavarga, the North Indian scholar Prajñāvarman gives two nidānas for the anekajāti verses. The first, most probably the one generally accepted by the Sarvāstivādin tradition to which Prajñāvarman belonged, reports that the verses were recited by the Buddha to an unspecified monk. The second gives a nidāna reported by “others”:\(^{16}\)

Others say the verses were spoken by the Bodhisattva beneath the bodhi tree when minions of Māra came to disturb his mind.

This nidāna agrees with the Theravādin tradition in situating the verse at the site of Awakening, but places it at a different point: before the Awakening, when the Blessed One was still a bodhisattva.\(^{17}\) From these references (and others may well be preserved in other sources, such as the Chinese Dharmapada literature) we can conclude that, as with many verses of the Dhammapada and Udānavarga collections, the anekajāti verses had no ancient narrative context, and as a result the nidānas supplied by different schools or traditions disagree.


\(^{16}\) Michael Balk, ed., Prajñāvarman’s Udānavargavivarana, Vol. 2 (Bonn, 1984), p. 903.30, gčan dag ni byaṅ chub kyi šiṅ druṅ na bzung pa na būd kyi pho na la sogs pas sms pa’i phyir ’ön pa na byaṅ chub sms dpas gsun s so ’by gsar ro.

Whatever the case, the anekajāti verses are given in South-East Asian inscriptions, often together with the yadā have verses. I cite here several examples from Siam. They follow the yadā have verses on the above-mentioned octagonal pillar from Sap Champa. They are cited on a gold plate found in the main cetiya at Wat Phra Non (Tambon Phra Non, District Nakhon Luang, Ayuthaya Province), now in the Chao Phraya National Museum in Ayuthaya. The inscription, in Tham Lanna letters, dates to the twentieth century BC (that is, about the fifteenth century CE). The anekajāti verses are given twice on the nineteenth century gold plates in the cetiya at Wat Pho (Wat Phra Chetuphon), Bangkok. In the second case they precede the three yadā have pāṭubhavanti dhammā verses.

In addition to inscriptions, the anekajāti verses are included in the collections of ritual texts in the large illuminated khoi paper manuscripts of central Thailand while the yadā have verses are given in the Royal Chanting Book, where they bear the title Buddhā-udāna-gāthā. Both are recited to this day by members of the Northern Thai, Central Thai, and Burmese saṃghas, especially during the consecration of Buddha images. In Nepal, at the Śākyasimha Vihāra in Patan (Lalitpur), Theravādins recite the anekajāti verses in Pāli together with a verse translation into Newar by Prajānānanda, a former Saṃghamahānayaka.

Sanskrit parallels to the yadā have verses
As noted above, in the available narratives of the different schools, the yadā have verses are spoken after the Awakening, although not necessarily at the same point. The Sanskrit Catuspāriṣaṭ-sūtra of the Central Asian Saṃvatīstāvādins reports that after staying at the residence of Mucilinda Nāgarāja the Buddha returned to the seat of Awakening (bodhināḍa) and contemplated conditioned arising in natural and reverse order for one week, remaining in the same cross-legged posture. At the end of the week he emerged from samādhi and uttered seven verses: parallels to the three yadā have verses of our inscription plus four others based on the same model. The account in the Saṅghabheda-vastu of the Gilgit Vinaya is similar. In the Sanskrit Udānavarga, as restored from fragments from Central Asia, the verses are further developed on the same pattern to make a set of thirteen verses, placed at the end of the last chapter, Brāhmaṇavarga (XXXIII). In all three traditions there are some variants. The verses that correspond most closely to our verses are given in the Table. The number in parentheses at the end of each verse gives its position within the set of the particular tradition.

The Catuspāriṣaṭ-sūtra introduces the verses as gāthā (7.5, tasyāṁ velāyaṁ gāthā babhāše), as does the Saṅghabheda-vastu (I 127.24, tasyāṁ velāyaṁ gāthā bhāṣate). Vasubandhu, in his commentary on the Gāthāsamgraha, cites them as an example of the udāna-aṅga in the twelve-fold classification of the Buddha’s teaching. In the Mahāvagga and Udāna the verses are described as udāna, introduced by the stock phrase: atha kho bhagavā etam atthaṁ viditvā tāyaṁ velāyaṁ imaṁ udānaṁ udānesi. The Mahāvastu uses the phrase only for the third verse: atha kho bhagavān tāye velāye imaṁ udānaṁ udānaye.

2. Two Pāli inscriptions from Si Thep in Siam
Two fragmentary Pāli inscriptions from the archaeological site of Si Thep (now the Si Thep Historical Park, Petchabun Province), are displayed in the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai. Si Thep was an important moated city during the Dvāravatī period or the second half of the first millennium of the Christian Era, and is the northernmost find-spot of old Pāli epigraphs in Siam. Among the antiquities

18Supaphan, op. cit., pp. 70–73.
19See e.g. Samut khoi (Bangkok: Moradok Thai, 2542 [1999]), p. 193.
21Information courtesy of Ven. Vipassī (Dhammārāmo), Wat Bovoranives, Bangkok, 1 January 2002.

22I am grateful to Amara Srisuchat (Director, Ramkhamhaeng National Museum) for permission to examine and photograph the inscriptions.
23Although convention dictates that one place Si Thep within the “Dvāravatī period”, I do not place it within the Dvāravatī polity, suspecting that Si Thep
2.1. Paṭiccasamuppāda inscription

The fragmentary inscription is engraved in Pallava letters on the two sides of a circular stone object, the function of which is not known. The text is drawn from the Bodhikathā of the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya, which describes how just after his Awakening the Buddha sat for one week in the same posture beneath the Bodhi Tree, the “Tree of Awakening”, experiencing the bliss of liberation, and contemplating dependent origination (paṭiccasamuppāda). The text preserved in the inscription, given here in bold type, agrees perfectly with that of the Mahāvagga: 25

25The inscription, which is kept in the Long An Provincial Museum, was published by Ha Van Tan in an appendix to Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai, eds., Van Hoa Oc Ea: nhung kham pha moi/Oc Ea: Recent Discoveries (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1995) (I apologize for the lack of appropriate diacritics for Vietnamese). Ha Van Tan has published an additional note on the inscription, “Ghi chu them ve minh van o Go Xoi (Long An),” in Nhung phat hien moi ve khoa co hoc nam 1997 (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1998), pp. 694–696. For a detailed study see Peter Skilling, “A Buddhist inscription from Go Xoi, Southern Vietnam and notes towards a classification of ye dhammā inscriptions”, in 80 pi satsadachan dr. prasert na nakhon: ruam bot khwam wicchakan dan charuk lae ekasam boran (80 Years: A collection of articles on epigraphy and ancient documents published on the occasion of the celebration of the 80th birthday of Prof. Dr. Prasert Na Nagara) (Bangkok, 21 March 2542 [1999]), pp. 171–87. I am grateful to Olivier de Berron (Phnom Penh) and Ian Glover (Ditton Priors) for providing materials essential to this research.

The text in the inscription is:

ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetuṁ tathāgato aha
tesam ca yo nirdho evamvādi mahāsamaṇo II

3. A gold-plate inscription from southern Vietnam

A gold-plate citation inscription was discovered at Go Xoi in Long An, a province south of Tay Ninh and west of Ho Chi Minh City, which borders the Prey Veng and Svay Riang provinces of Cambodia. 26 It is complete and undamaged. The text is inscribed in five lines of clear, careful script on a gold plate, which seems to have been folded lengthwise into four equal parts at some point in its history. The following

26The inscription, which is kept in the Long An Provincial Museum, was published by Ha Van Tan in an appendix to Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai, eds., Van Hoa Oc Ea: nhung kham pha moi/Oc Ea: Recent Discoveries (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1995) (I apologize for the lack of appropriate diacritics for Vietnamese). Ha Van Tan has published an additional note on the inscription, “Ghi chu them ve minh van o Go Xoi (Long An),” in Nhung phat hien moi ve khoa co hoc nam 1997 (Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 1998), pp. 694–696. For a detailed study see Peter Skilling, “A Buddhist inscription from Go Xoi, Southern Vietnam and notes towards a classification of ye dhammā inscriptions”, in 80 pi satsadachan dr. prasert na nakhon: ruam bot khwam wicchakan dan charuk lae ekasam boran (80 Years: A collection of articles on epigraphy and ancient documents published on the occasion of the celebration of the 80th birthday of Prof. Dr. Prasert Na Nagara) (Bangkok, 21 March 2542 [1999]), pp. 171–87. I am grateful to Olivier de Berron (Phnom Penh) and Ian Glover (Ditton Priors) for providing materials essential to this research.
reading is based on the published photograph.\(^{27}\)

(1) ye dhammā hetuprabhavā tesāṃ hetum tathāgato avaca tesañca yo niruddho evaṃvādi mahāsamano ||
(2) duṣkham duṣkhasamutpāda duṣkhassa ca atikkamo aito aṭṭhāṅgiko maggo duṣkhopaṃsāmāṃgiko ||
(3) tadyathā || duṣkhalo ṭo pāṇḍakeli kauranṣe || keyyūre || dantile || dantile || svāhā||
(4) tadyathā ē adhame anvare anvare parikūṭa nīta nīta puṣkarādhaḥaḥ ē jala khama khaya iliṃ
(5) liki limili kīṛti caramudre mudramukhe svāhā||

The script is a variety of South-East Asian Pallava, similar to that of the Khao Rang inscription from Aranyapratheva (Prachin Buri), which bears the date Śaka 561 = 639 CE; the Khao Narai inscription from Saraburi, dated paleographically to the twelfth century CE (= seventh century CE); and the Wat Sema Muang inscription from Nakhon Si Thammarat, which bears a date equivalent to 775 CE.\(^{28}\) We may therefore suggest a seventh or eighth century date.

The inscription contains four texts: the ye dhammā verse, the duṣkha duṣkhasamutpāda verse, and two mantras.

3.1. The ye dhammā verse
The first text is the ye dhammā verse, in a recension close but not identical to the Pāli. In the Go Xoai inscription, the use of sa instead of retroflex ʂa in tesāṃ, tesañ, and mahāsamano — in all three cases quite clear — is noteworthy. In both cases the genitive plural third person pronoun tesāṃ (tesañ) has short a, which agrees with the Pāli form. For the aorist of vac, the record has avaca, where the Pāli has āha and some Sanskrit versions have (hy) avadat.\(^{29}\) Versions of the verse with avaca

\(^{27}\) My transcription follows the line-breaks of the original; I have supplied line numbers in parentheses at the beginning of the lines.

\(^{28}\) Charuk nai prathet thai (Inscriptions of Thailand) (Bangkok), I 35–39, II 46, and I 187–222, respectively. I am grateful to Kannika Vimokasam (Silpakorn University) for her guidance regarding the paleography.

\(^{29}\) The form avaca (aorist of VAC) is known in Pāli: see PED 598a, s.v. vatti, which refers to Ja I 294 and Pvi II 3,19.

are known from other inscriptions. Especially intriguing is the fact that one other example of the avaca version is known from the region, engraved on the back of a standing Buddha image from Tuol Preah That in Rolan Cak, Kompong Speu province. The image, 0.925 metres in height, is now in the Musée Guimet, Paris (MG 18891). Coës describes the inscription as being “en petits caractères pré-angkoriens, d’aspect assez ancien”.\(^{30}\) It has been assigned to the seventh century on the basis of paleography.\(^{31}\) The text reads:

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā tesāṃ hetum tathāgato avaca tesañ ca yo niruddho evaṃvādi mahāsamano.

The language of the record, a Prakrit related to Pāli, differs from the Go Xoai inscription in only one place: hetuprabhavā in place of hetuprabhavā.

As far as I know, the Go Xoai gold plate inscription is only the second ye dhammā inscription to have been found in Vietnam. One other comes from further north, from Champa, at a site in Khanh Tho Dong village, Chien Dang canton, huyen Ha Dong. Here some bricks were found, and an image of the Buddha, 21 cm in height, seated “à la mode européenne sur des lotus peu distincts”. On the back is the ye dhammā “glossièrement gravée”.\(^{32}\) Neither the image nor the inscription has been published.

3.2. The duṣkha duṣkhasamutpāda verse
The second text in the Go Xoai inscription is the duṣkha duṣkha-

\(^{30}\) K. 820, in Inscriptions du Cambodge VII, 109; for the image see Helen I. Jessup and Thierry Zéphir, eds., Angkor et dix siècles d’art khmer (Paris, 1997), p. 149. Except for a misprint there is no difference between the readings of Coës (JC VII) and Kamaleswar Bhattacharya (in Jessup and Zéphir, p. 41). “Pre-angkoriens” is equivalent here to “Pallava”.

\(^{31}\) Jessup and Zéphir, op. cit., p. 149.


samuppādaṃ verse, which summarizes the four truths of the noble. It is known from three other inscriptions, one from India and two from Siam. The Go Xoai inscription has ariya, a form known from inscriptions from Amarāvatī and elsewhere. The verse is slightly Sanskritized, with duḥkha, -samutpāda, and upasama side by side with attāṅgiko maggo. The sole genitive is in -ssa rather than -sya. The Go Xoai inscription gives the phrases listing the four truths in the nominative case. In all other cases that I know of — whether inscriptions or texts — the four truths are given in the accusative.

3.3. Mantras
The verses are followed by two mantras, which open with a traditional tadyathā and close with a traditional svāhāḥ. I do not know their source. They are typical of protective incantations (rakṣā mantras) of the early period. The Go Xoai mantra is the longest mantra inscription that I know of from mainland South-East Asia.33 Short syllabic or “seed” (bīja) mantras inscribed on gold plates have been found in Kedah and in Indonesia.

Conclusions
The inscriptions presented here add significantly to our knowledge of epigraphic use of Pāli in South-East Asia. Si Thep is the northernmost site of ancient (pre-tenth century) Pāli inscriptions so far known in Siam. Angkor Borei is the southernmost site, and the inscriptions are the first early Pāli records to be found in Cambodia. If the use of Pāli can indicate the presence of the Theravādin school, and I believe that it generally can, then the inscriptions are further evidence of an early presence of the school in the region. On the other hand, the language of the inscriptions on the Go Xoai gold plate and Tuol Preah That Buddha image reveals the presence of a Buddhist school other than the Theravāda. What school cannot be said, but that more than one school was active in the region is not surprising.

33 I exclude here the clay tablets, some of which are imprinted with a long dhāraṇī.

The three sets of inscriptions from three different areas all include the ye dharmā verse, confirming its importance throughout the region (if this is something that needs to be confirmed). The Angkor Borei inscription offers a further example of the epigraphic use of the yadā have verses, the Si Thep stone that of the paṭiccasamuppāda, and the Go Xoai inscription that of the dukkham dukkhasamuppādam verse.

Why were identical texts inscribed at different sites throughout the region? Why should epigraphic practice be similar at several centres of Buddhist culture during the 6th to 8th centuries? One possible explanation may be sought from ritual. The ye dharmā verse was and is a key verse in consecration ceremonies. In Northern India it was recited in the consecration of caityas by at least the late Pāla period. In Nepal and Tibet it has been and is recited in the consecration of caityas, images, thangkas, and books. The engraving of the ye dharmā verse on images and caityas — so common in Pāla India, and also in South-East Asia — may be seen as a physical expression, an inscribed relic, of their consecration.34

In South-East Asia — that is, amongst the Thai, Khmer, and Burmese, the Pāli texts given in the inscriptions dealt with in this paper — ye dharmā, paṭiccasamuppāda, yadā have and anekajāti — are chanted in the consecration of both images and cetiyas. It may not be too far-fetched to conclude that the inscribed bricks or metal plates are physical relics of cetiya consecration rituals conducted during the Dvāravatī, Funan, and Chenla periods, and that current practice is the product of ritual continuity.

Can this hypothesis, which remains to be tested against textual and ritual traditions, explain all of the citation inscriptions of South-East Asia? Can it explain, for example, the “public” inscriptions (those not installed within a cetiya but engraved on pillars or stones), such as those

34 The same is probably true of the inscribing of the ye dharmā verse at the end of colophons in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet (and the very few examples from Central Asia). I am grateful to William Douglas (Oxford) for pointing out the connection.
on the octagonal Sap Champa pillar, which include the *yadā have* and *anekajāti* verses? If on the one hand I am wary of imposing a single explanation on all citation inscriptions, on the other I see no reason why the ideology of consecration should not have embraced the *dhammacakkas*, one of which stood atop the Sap Champa pillar. Given the importance of the *dhammacakkas* to Dvāravatī Buddhist cult, the question is certainly worth asking.

Peter Skilling
Nonthaburi

---

Sanskrit versions of the *yadā have pāṭubhavanti dharmā* verses

**Mahāvastu II 561–62**

*yadā ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*athāsya kāṃkṣā vyapānyanti sarvā*  
*yadā prajānāti sahetudharmā*  

---

**Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra 7.6, 9, 13**

*yadā tv ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*hy ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*athāsya kāṃkṣā vyapāṇīti sarvā*  
*yadā prajānāti sahetudharmā*  

---

*Sāṅghabhedavastu I 127–28*

*yadā ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*athāsya kāṃkṣā vyapāṇīti sarvā*  
*yadā prajānāti sahetudharmā*  

---

**Udānavarga, Brāhmaṇavarga (XXXIII)**

*yadā tv ime tu prabhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*athāsya kāṃkṣā vyapāṇīti sarvā*  
*yadā prajānāti sahetudharmā*  

---

*yadā ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*athāsya kāṃkṣā vyapāṇīti sarvā*  
*yadā kṣayāṇaḥ pratprayāṇām upaṇiti*  

---

*yadā ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*vidhūpayāṁs tiṣṭha mārasainyām*  
*buddho hi saṃyojanavipramuktaḥ*  

---

*yadā ime prādūr bhavanti dharmā*  
*ātāpino dhīyāyato brāhmaṇasya*  
*vidhūpayāṁs tiṣṭha mārasainyām*  
*buddho hi saṃyojanavipramukta iti*  

---
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Dr Anne M. Blackburn
Department of Asian Studies
Cornell University
388 Rockefeller Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853–2502
U.S.A.

Dr Primoz Pecenko
Department of Studies in Religion
The University of Queensland
Brisbane
Queensland 4072
Australia

Prof. Dr Thomas Oberlies
Feldbergstrasse 8
D–79194 Gundelfingen
Germany

Dr Heinz Braun
Calsowstrasse 20
D–37085 Göttingen
Germany

Mr Peter Skilling
68/123 Prachanivet 4
Prachachun Road
T. Tasai, A. Muang, Nonthaburi 11000
Thailand

An Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XXVII


Balbir, Nalini. The I.B.Horner Lecture 1997: Jain–Buddhist dialogue: Material from the Pāli scriptures

Bangchang, Supaphan na. A Pāli letter sent by the Aggamañña of Siam to the royal court at Kandy in 1756

Bareau, André. The Theravādins and East India according to the canonical texts

Bechert, Heinz. The Baudhāyana of Indonesia: A syncretistic form of Theravāda

Blackburn, Anne M. Notes on Sri Lankan temple manuscript collections

Braun, Heinz. The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts

Buddhadatta, Aggamañña of Polvatte, ed. Paramatthavinichaya by Anuruddha

Collins, Steven. Kalyāṇāmitta and kalyāṇāmiṭṭātā

Cone, Margaret. Patna Dharmapada. Part I: Text

Cousins, Lance S. The Patthāna and the development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma

Denis, Eugène, ed., and Steven Collins, intro. Brahmañña of Polvatte

Exell, R.H.B., tr. Rūpārūpavibhāga by Buddhaddatta

XXVI.1–42

XII.185–212

IX.1–9

IX.10–21

XXVII.1–60

XXVII.147–53

X.155–226

XI.51–72

XV.89–126

XVIII.65–96

See Denis, Eugène

XIII.101–217

XXII.1–34

IX.22–46

XVIII.1–64

XVI.1–12
Oskar von Hinüber

178

Documents useful for the identification of Pāli manuscripts of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand

A survey of Burmese and Siamese Pāli manuscript collections in the Wellcome Institute

The commentaries to the Anāgapattamāsa in the Pāli manuscripts of the Paris collections

Catalogue of the Pāli manuscript collections in Burmese and Siamese characters kept in the library of Vijayasundarārāmāya, Asgtiriyā

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

Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library

Gombrich, Richard F. A new Theravādin liturgy

Old bodies like carts

Three souls, one or none: The vagaries of a Pāli pericope

Two notes on Visuddhimagga IX: 1. The etymology of puggala; 2. An imperfect form in Pāli

A note on Ambapāli’s wit

Making mountains without molehills: The case of the missing stūpa

Why is a khattiya called a khattiya? The Aggañña Sutta revisited

The monk in the Pāli Vinaya: Priest or wedding guest?

Report of the Pāli Text Society for 1994

Grey, Leslie. Supplement to the concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories

Hallisey, Charles, ed. Tunḍilovāda: An allegedly non-canonical sutta

A propos the Pāli Vinaya as a historical document: A reply to Gregory Schopen

ed. Nibbānasutta: An allegedly non-canonical sutta on nibbāna as a great city

Hazlewood, Ann Appleby, tr. A translation of Pañcagaditipā

tr. Saddhammapāyana The gift offering of the true Dhamma

Hinüber, Oskar von. The ghost word dviṭhitaka and the description of famines in early Buddhist literature

---. Two Jātaka manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok

---. The oldest dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

---. An additional note on the oldest dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

---. Remarks on a list of books sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th century

---. Khandhakavatta: Loss of text in the Pāli Vinayapitaka?

---. The arising of an offence: āpattisamutthāna

---. The Nīgamanas of the Sumangalavilāsinī and the Kathkhāvitaranī

---. Chips from Buddhist workshops: Scribes and manuscripts from Northern Thailand

---. The Paramatthajotikādīpani, a fragment of the sub-commentary to the Paramatthajotikā II on the Suttaniṭā

---. Tuvaṭṭaṭuvaṭṭeti Again

---. Lānē Nā as a centre of Pāli literature during the late 15th century

---. See Mettanando Bhikkhu.

Horner, Isaline Blew. Keci “some” in the Pāli commentaries

Hundius, Harald. The colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand

Hüsken, Ute. The legend of the establishment of the Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-Piṭaka

Jackson, P. A note on Dhammadūpa(s)

Jaini, Padmanabh S. Tirthamkara-prakṛti and the Bodhisattva path

Jong, Jan Willem de. Fa-hsien and Buddhist texts in Ceylon

Jurewicz, Joanna. Playing with fire: Tārīyasaṃputpāda from the perspective of Vedic thought

Kahrs, Eivind G. Exploring the Saddanītī

Kalupahana, D.J. The philosophy of history in early Buddhism

Khantipālo, Bhikkhu. Where’s that sutta? A guide to the discourses in the numerical collection

---. Two Jātaka manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok

---. The oldest dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

---. An additional note on the oldest dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

---. Remarks on a list of books sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th century

---. Khandhakavatta: Loss of text in the Pāli Vinayapitaka?

---. The arising of an offence: āpattisamutthāna

---. The Nīgamanas of the Sumangalavilāsinī and the Kathkhāvitaranī

---. Chips from Buddhist workshops: Scribes and manuscripts from Northern Thailand

---. The Paramatthajotikādīpani, a fragment of the sub-commentary to the Paramatthajotikā II on the Suttaniṭā

---. Tuvaṭṭaṭuvaṭṭeti Again

---. Lānē Nā as a centre of Pāli literature during the late 15th century

---. See Mettanando Bhikkhu.

Horner, Isaline Blew. Keci “some” in the Pāli commentaries

Hundius, Harald. The colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand

Hüsken, Ute. The legend of the establishment of the Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-Piṭaka

Jackson, P. A note on Dhammadūpa(s)

Jaini, Padmanabh S. Tirthamkara-prakṛti and the Bodhisattva path

Jong, Jan Willem de. Fa-hsien and Buddhist texts in Ceylon

Jurewicz, Joanna. Playing with fire: Tārīyasaṃputpāda from the perspective of Vedic thought

Kahrs, Eivind G. Exploring the Saddanītī

Kalupahana, D.J. The philosophy of history in early Buddhism

Khantipālo, Bhikkhu. Where’s that sutta? A guide to the discourses in the numerical collection
Sutta in the Pali Nikayas and their implications for our appreciation of the Buddhist teaching and literature.

XXI.35–28

---. Case histories from the Pali canon II: Sotāpanna, sakadāgāmin, anāgāmin, arahat – the four stages case history or spiritual materialism and the need for tangible results.

XXV.153–70

Matsumura, Junko. Remarks on the Rasavāhinī and the related literature.

XX.1–42

Mellick Cutler, Sally. The Pali Apadāna collection.

XXVI.105–17


XVI.71–75

Mills, Laurence C.R. The case of the murdered monks.

XII.1–47

Mori, Sodo. Uttaravihāraṭhatkathā and Sārasamāsa.

XX.163–70

Nihom, Max. Kāmaloka: A rare Pali loan word in Old Javanese.

An Index to JPTS Volumes IX—XXVII

proclamation". 9. Patta-nikkujjanā/-ukkujjanā (n. f.), “turning down/up the alms-bowls”

IX.127–44


XVIII.131–47

Liyanarate, Jinadasa. Pali manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library.

XX.43–161

—- South Asian flora as reflected in the twelfth-century Pali lexicon Abhidhānapaddikā.

XXII.59–72

—-. A Pali canonical passage of importance for the history of Indian medicine.

XI.79–109


XV.29–87

Manné, Joy. Categories of sutta in the Pali Nikāyas and their implications for our appreciation of the Buddhist teaching and literature.

—-. Case histories from the Pali canon I: The Sāmaññaphala Sutta hypothetical case history or how to be sure to win a debate.

—-. Case histories from the Pali canon II: Sotāpanna, sakadāgāmin, anāgāmin, arahat – the four stages case history or spiritual materialism and the need for tangible results.

IX.145–55

Norman, Kenneth Roy. Devas and adhidevas in Buddhism.

X.23–36

---. Pali lexicographical studies III: Ten Pali etymologies.

XI.33–49

---. Pali lexicographical studies IV: Eleven Pali etymologies.

XII.49–63

---. Pali lexicographical studies V: Twelve Pali etymologies.

XIII.219–27

---. Pali lexicographical studies VI: Six Pali etymologies.

XIV.219–25

---. Pali lexicographical studies VII: Five Pali etymologies.

XV.227ff.

---. Pali lexicographical studies VIII: Seven Pali etymologies.

XV.145–54

---. Index to JPTS volumes IX—XIV.

XV.213ff.

---. Pali lexicographical studies IX: Four Pali etymologies.

XVI.77–85

---. Pali lexicographical studies X: Two Pali etymologies.

XVII.215–18

---. Pali lexicographical studies XI: Six Pali etymologies.

XVIII.149–64

---. Index to JPTS volumes IX—XVIII.

XVIII.177–80

---. External sandhi in Pali (with special reference to the Suttanipāta).

XIX.203–13

---. Pali lexicographical studies XII: Ten Pali etymologies.

XX.211–30

---. Book review (Catalogue of the Burmese-Pali and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine).

XXVI.161–64

Oberlies, Thomas. Pāli, Pāṇini and “popular” Sanskrit.

XXIII.1–26

---. A study of the Campeyya Jātaka, including remarks on the text of the Sāthkhāpāla Jātaka.

XXVII.115–46

Pecenko, Primoz. Sārikutta and his Works.

XXIII.159–79

---. Linathapakāsī and Sārathamaṇṇūsā: The puruṣṭikās and the ōkās on the four nikāyas.

XXVII.61–113
Penth, Hans. Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on the History of Lān Nā’s Buddhism  
XXIII.43–81

Pind, Ole Holten. Studies in Pāli grammarians I: Buddhaghosa’s references to grammar and grammarians  
XIII.33–81

———. Studies in Pāli grammarians II.1  
XIV.175–218

Prütt, William. Reference to Pāli in 17th-century French books  
XI.119–31

XIII.1–31

———. Additions to the Burmese manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.  
XXIV.171–83

Rahula, Walpola. Humour in Pali literature  
IX.156–74

Roock, A. Index of K.R. Norman’s Collected Papers I–VII  
XXVI.169–231

Ruegg, David Seyfort. A further note on Pāli gotrabhā  
IX.175–77

Saddhatissa, Hammalava. Pāli literature in Cambodia  
IX.178–97

———, tr. Nāmarūpasamāsā: The summary of mind and matter  
XI.5–31

———, ed. Nāmacāradhipikā  
XV.1–28

Schopen, Gregory. The stūpa cult and the extant Pāli Vinaya  
XIII.83–100

———. The ritual obligations and the donor roles of monks  
XVI.87–107

Skilling, Peter. The Rakṣā literature of the Śrāvakayāna  
XVI.109–82

———. A citation from the *Buddhavamsa of the Abhayagiri school  
XVIII.165–75

———. Theravādin literature in Tibetan translation  
XIX.69–201

———. Vīmūtīmagga and Abhayagiri: The form-aggregate according to the Sāṃskṛta-sāṃskṛtaviṇiścaya  
XX.171–210

———. The Sāmuddhe verses and later Theravāda Buddhology  
XXII.150–83

———. On the school-affiliation of the “Pāta Dharmmapada”  
XXIII.83–122

———. New Pāli inscriptions from South-east Asia  
XXIII.123–57

———. A note on King Milinda in the Abhidhamkosabhashya  
XXIV.81–101

———. A note on Dharmmapada 60 and the length of the yajana  
XXIV.149–70

———. Praises of the Buddha beyond praise  
XXIV.195–200

———. The sixty-four destructions according to the Sāṃskṛta-sāṃskṛtaviṇiścaya  
XXV.112–18

———. On a New Edition of the Śyāmaratthasa Tepitakatthakathā  
XXVII.155–58

———. Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia  
XXVII.159–75

Somaratne, G.A. Intermediate existence and the higher fetters in the Pāli Nikāyas  
XXV.119–52

XXI.199–213

Thiradhammo Bhikkhu. Corrections to The Book of the Discipline  
XIX.65–68

Warder, A.K. Some problems of the later Pāli literature  
IX.198–207