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# THE COLOPHONS OF THIRTY PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS FROM NORTHERN THAILAND

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## PREFACE

It was in the spring of 1972 that I first visited a Northern Thai monastery: a rural *wat*, some 3km from Lamphun Municipality. I was surprised by what I saw: a good dozen elderly men clad in faded and worn-out blue cotton shirts, their sunburnt faces laughing, some puffing sweet-smelling clouds out of their long green *khīīnōo* cigars, sitting on mats surrounded by hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts, undoing their wrappings, reading a little bit of this, a little bit of that, chatting and exchanging views about their favourite stories: Northern Thai literature, at that time almost unknown outside the region, appeared to be still pretty much alive among the Lan Na people — at least, in the hearts of the older generation. To see so many "simple folk" reading Northern Thai script at ease, and discussing literary works was surprising; what made me feel

perplexed, was the contradiction lying in the fact that most of these manuscripts had been left untouched, as I came to learn, for years, in half a dozen partly rotten, wooden caskets — a prey for termites, mice and mould.

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

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

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

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

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

contained in the colophons.

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

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

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

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

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

As may be inferred from the foregoing acknowledgments, the present study could be pursued due to a combination of favourable conditions; the most exceptional being the privilege of a continuous stay in Northern Thailand, made possible through the seconding of a lecturership for the M.A. Program "Lan Na Language and Literature" at the Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) since 1983. Furthermore, the work

was greatly enhanced by the results of previous research projects conducted by the author with the support of the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [DFG], Bonn) between 1971–1983. The texts under study were easily accessible, since a copy of a microfilm collection including the texts presented here, set up in 1972–1974 in the course of the Project "Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands", had been donated to Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai) by the German Foreign Office, in 1977/78. Thanks to a grant given to the above-mentioned M.A. Program by the Volkswagen-Stiftung, Hannover, in which were included two high-quality microfilm readers, these microfilms could be conveniently made use of for the present study.

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

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

Chiang Mai, April 1990

Harald Hundius

### Note on Transcriptions.

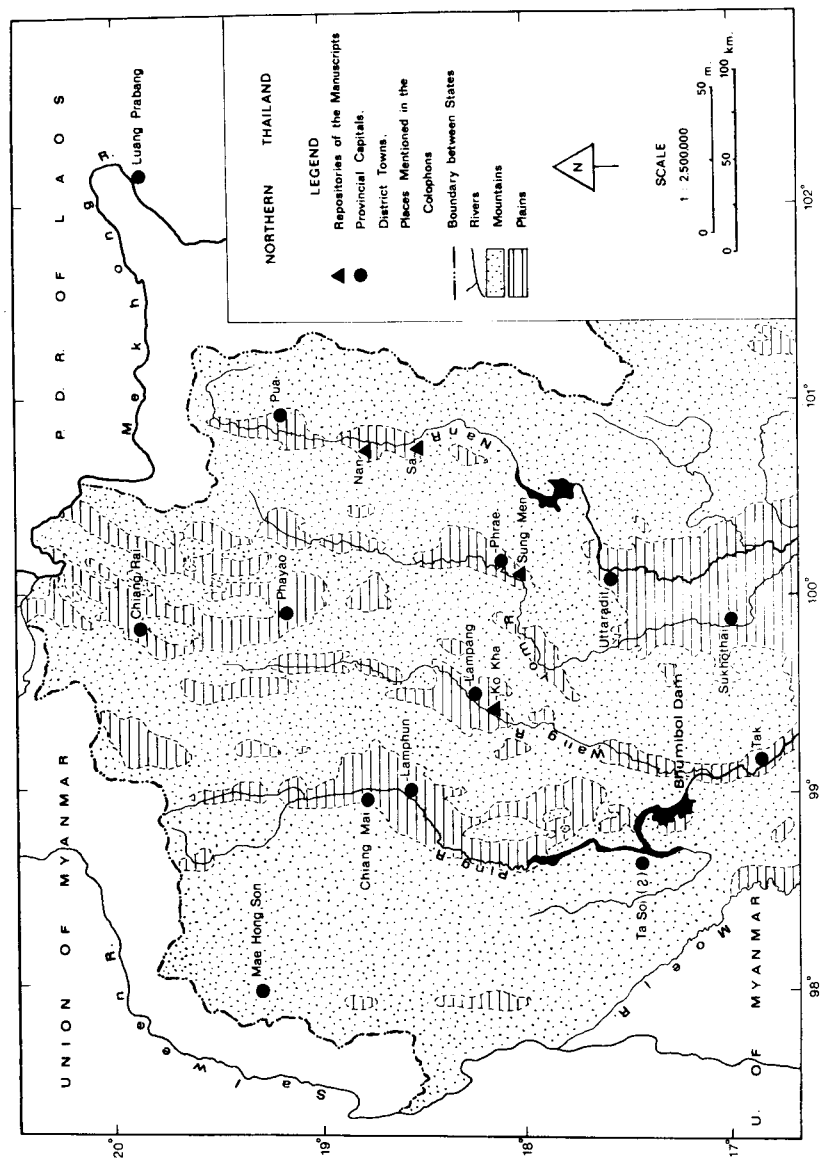
1. For the edition of the Colophons the Transliteration System as introduced in HUNDIUS 1990 (pp. 215 foll) is used. Its main features are explained in Part **B**, 1.1, below.
2. For phonematic transcriptions the system introduced by Mary R. Haas (see HAAS 1964 [for Central Thai], 1958 [for Northern Thai]; see Bibliography) is used, with some minor modifications stated in Part **B**, 1.2.
3. Names of persons, places and monasteries etc., as well as official titles and ranks mentioned in the colophons, when referred to in the translation or in the main text, are generally given in transliteration, however, in a simplified version of the system mentioned above (1.; for details see **B**, 1.1.2., § 18).
4. Commonly known names of persons, monasteries, towns or other

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

5. A number of Pāli and Sanskrit words and special terms, e.g. Buddhāsāna ("Buddha's Teachings"), Nibbāna (Skt: "Nirvāṇa"), peta ("hungry ghost"), akṣara ("character, letter") etc. are written in accordance with commonly used Romanization.

### List of Abbreviations\* and Signs

AD	Anno Domini (Christian Era)
BE	Buddhist Era (Christian Era + 543)
c.	century (Christian Era)
clf	classifier
CPD	A Critical Pāli Dictionary (begun by V. Trenckner, 1924–48)
CS	Cūḷasakarāja ("Little Era" = Christian Era minus 638)
CT	Central Thai (Siamese, Standard Thai)
Dc no	Documentation number, i.e. Item-Number in: Hundius (1976b; Verzeichnis der auf Mikrofilm erfaßten literarischen Dokumente aus Nordthailand [1972–1974]).
don	donor (of a manuscript)
foll	following
ms no	manuscript number (as recorded on microfilm)
n.d.	no date
no no.	no number (i.e. palm-leaf folio without pagination on the microfilm)
NT	North(ern) Thai (Tai Yuan, Kam Müang, Lan Na Thai)
P	Pāli
p	number of palm-leaf page(s) as recorded on microfilm
p.	page
r	recto
r.	reigned
Skt	Sanskrit
spp	sponsor or supporter (of the making of a manuscript)
v	verso



\* Abbreviations of names of Pāli works are those used in the CPD, as are the numbers attached to the Pāli titles which refer to the categorization used in that work. If those numbers are put in square brackets, the respective text is not mentioned in the CPD.

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

The following signs have been used:

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

## PART A : INTRODUCTION

## 1. Background: The Sources.

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

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

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

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

During this period, while numerous texts belonging to the Theravāda tradition were copied from foreign sources, the script that had come to be used for Pāli texts was adapted to be used for writing Northern Thai (NT), as well.<sup>1</sup> It is this type of script, the "Lan Na Dhamma Script" or /t̃uā m̃uəŋ/, as it is generally called by its users, which came to be the

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

main media of written communication from the 16th–17th century until well into the middle of the 20th century.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

\* Cf. P: *vohāra* "expression, speech".

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

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



independent kingdom, was enjoying a peak of cultural blossoming under King Müang Kāo (r. 1495–1526).

The colophons in four of the eleven holographs originating from this period, state that they were written in 'Daa "Sḡḡy (NT /tāa sḡḡj/, CT /thāa sḡḡj/; written according to the "General System": Ta Soi), once apparently a centre of Buddhist learning and Pāli studies, the location of which has, up to the present time, withstood scholarly endeavours.\*

It can be taken as a reflection of the political history of Lan Na during the following two centuries, rather than an accident, that only very few of the thirty manuscripts under study date from the 17th–18th c.: subjugated under Burmese suzerainty, the population was subjected to incessant warfare, foreign exploitation, and internal rivalries to such an extent that material and psychological preconditions for cultural and literary productivity must have been severely impaired.<sup>5</sup>

The majority of the remaining holographs stem from the early 19th c. when, after throwing off the Burmese yoke through an alliance with Siam, the five principalities of Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, and after its reconstruction, Chiang Mai, enjoyed, as vassal states under Siamese suzerainty, far-reaching internal independence and relative prosperity.

An individual to whom special recognition is due for his important part in the quest for literary reconstruction during this time, is a monk named Kañcana Mahāthera, mostly called [Gruu Paa Kañcana] among Northerners, who was probably a native of Phrae. The colophons taken from manuscripts made under Kañcana's aegis, while representing only a tiny part of his heritage, still do convey a glimpse of the political and socio-economic conditions under which this charismatic religious leader exercised his influence far beyond the boundaries of his home principality, over the entire region of Lan Na, and even into the kingdom of Luang Prabang.

The most recent holograph of the collection under study here was

\* See, however, Part B, Post-script to 05, Remarks, below.

5 This conclusion may be drawn from the conspicuous scarcity of manuscripts of that period to have so far come to light. The discovery, in 1968, of several caskets of palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in a cave in the present district of Mae Sarieng, the majority dating from the 17th c., also hints in this direction: obviously, the manuscripts had been brought into safety when the Tai Yuan population living in that area became caught in the crossroads of warring Burmese and Tai Yuan troops. Cf. Keyes 1970:232. In fact, 'Daa "Sḡḡy may also have fallen victim to the turmoils during the Burmese subjugation of Lan Na (cf. v. Hinüber 1988:23).

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

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

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

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

7 A detailed account of the politics of reform as pursued in the field of education, is contained in: Wyatt 1969. For the initiatives to expand secular as well as religious education into the provinces, including the North, see especially pp. 234 foll.

texts.<sup>8</sup>

While Northern Thai, despite the gradual introduction since the early twenties of a centralized secular school system based entirely on Central Thai, still remained the common medium of oral, and, at least in the religious sphere, written communication up to the period of World War II, an aggressive "National Unification Policy" enforced during the first years of the war, practically penalizing the study and teaching of Northern Thai language and script, dealt a severe blow to the monasteries of the North in their function as guardians of the literary tradition.<sup>9</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> See also Gosling 1983:92 foll.

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

endangered, is increasingly shared by the central authorities.

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

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

## 1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research.

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

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

<sup>10</sup> The microfilms, comprising about one thousand titles, are available both in the National Library, Bangkok (since 1974), and at Chulalongkorn University (Department of History, as a donation from the German Foreign Office in 1978/9), Bangkok; Chiang Mai University (Department of Thai, also a donation from the German Government), as well as at the Universities of Kiel and Göttingen, Federal Republic of Germany. A preliminary handlist of the texts contained in the microfilm collection, which include a large number of parallel versions, exists in the form of a computer print-out (see Hundijs 1976b) and is available upon request from the author.

Foundation and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. This led to the establishment of microfilm documentations which, taken over in 1981 by the newly established Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai University, comprises by now some 4,000 texts, the majority belonging to secular fields of knowledge such as traditional law, customs, astrology, history, medicine, etc. A selection of about a hundred texts written entirely in Pāli is also included.<sup>11</sup>

Since 1987, another project, aiming at the preservation of manuscripts in situ, that is at local monastic libraries, was started by Chiang Mai University's newly founded "Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture", with support from the German Foreign Office's Cultural Assistance Program. This project, which has been supplemented by a microfilming unit to record valuable manuscripts, will further enrich the source basis for Northern Thai, as well as Pāli, studies in the future.<sup>12</sup>

By making the manuscripts more easily accessible, and also by drawing the attention of scholars from abroad to the rich literary heritage of Northern Thailand, the microfilm projects appear to have motivated Western Pāli scholars once again to turn their interest to the Pāli tradition of this region, thus reviving a field of study which had been left unattended for more than half a century. For it was as early as 1915 that the great French scholar of Southeast Asian Studies, George Cœdès, had given proof of the existence of a significant Pāli tradition in the area of the former Kingdom of Lan Na. His "Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés

<sup>11</sup> Part of this microfilm documentation consists of manuscripts first recorded during 1972-1974 (DFG-Collection), which were re-microfilmed because of their special value (nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, and perhaps also 24 of the present study). In addition, the SRI surveys brought to light several previously unknown holographs. Included in the SRI collection is the oldest dated manuscript discovered to date in the North. This manuscript (a copy of parts of the *Jātaka-atthakathā-vanṇanā*), written in AD 1471 (CS 833), is also the second oldest known in Thailand (the oldest one, a copy of the *Sāratthapakāsini*, dates from AD 1440; see v. Hinüber 1985:3). According to figures mentioned in the printed catalogue of 1986a (Foreword, without pagination), a total of 13,726 phuuk comprising 3,694 texts, including an unknown number of parallel versions, had been photographed, as of March, 1986, on 145 reels of microfilm. In the meantime, they have increased, as Acham Phanphen Khruathai (M.A.) kindly informs me (May, 1989), by an additional twenty reels. The titles of the texts recorded, together with some basic additional data covering the contents of 145 reels, have been published in successive inventory lists or short catalogues (see Social Research Institute [ed.] 1986a-b).

<sup>12</sup> Since recording work began, in November 1987, some 200 reels have been microfilmed (as of May, 1989). In this project, which is scheduled to continue until September 1991, Northern Thai and Pāli manuscripts are classified and microfilmed separately, which will considerably facilitate working with the texts.

en pays thai", despite being outdated now in some respects, has remained a basic source for the study of this subject until today.<sup>13</sup>

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

When reading the editor's notes today, one is left wondering why Cœdès, who undoubtedly had access to Northern Thai, based his edition solely on "Southern", i.e. Siamese, sources without even mentioning the existence (or non-existence) of a single Northern Thai manuscript. His main sources in fact were versions printed in Siamese script which were checked with one manuscript each. These, as may be assumed, were written in "Khṛṣṇ", i.e. a variant of the Khmer, script which was customarily used for the transmission of Pāli texts in Siam until the end of the 19th c.<sup>14</sup>

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

In this context, it may be worth mentioning that, according to

<sup>13</sup> See Cœdès 1915.

<sup>14</sup> See Cœdès 1925. According to remarks made by the editor, a lot of misprints and other errors had to be corrected, a task which benefitted substantially from the collation with the manuscripts mentioned above, thereby giving early proof of the fact to be observed ever since, that printed editions of Pāli texts in Thailand have to be used with considerable reservation and care. Cœdès, in 1966, made yet another important contribution to Pāli studies by writing a catalogue of Pāli (and Northern Thai) manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Library of Copenhagen (for details, see Bibliography).

Northern Thai oral history, several boat-loads of Northern Thai manuscripts were taken to Bangkok from monasteries in Lamphun in the late 18th or early 19th c. It was presumed that they were to be used for the restoration of the Buddhist scriptures which had been lost since the devastation of Ayutthaya, the former capital of Siam, by Burmese armies in 1767.<sup>15</sup>

No enquiries have been made about this event up to the present time; the whereabouts of the manuscripts remain an enigma, but it can at least be surmised, judging from the existence of numerous copies of Northern Thai works written exclusively in "Khõm" script, that they at least served their purpose before being allowed to pass into oblivion.<sup>16</sup>

It thus seems justified to draw the conclusion that factors related to cultural policy may have been decisive in preventing Cœdès, who worked in the archives of the capital during a time of "Nationbuilding", from getting hold of any direct witnesses of the Pāli texts of Northern Thai origin he studied and edited. Incidentally, this situation has remained basically unchanged, as it seems, until today: conspicuously, not a single one of a good dozen studies on, or editions of, Pāli texts from the Northern Thai tradition undertaken by Thai scholars during the past few decades made use of a Northern Thai manuscript.<sup>17</sup>

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

It was a compatriot of George Cœdès, namely Louis Finot, who, in

<sup>15</sup> Verbal communication by Singkha Wannasai in February 1972 who referred to information handed down through generations by the monk community of Wat San Ton Thong (NT /wā̄t sǎn tǒn thōŋ/), Lamphun (situated some 2km to the SW of the present city of Lamphun, on the way to Pasang). In 1786, a Council was convened in Bangkok with the aim of reassembling and reestablishing the Pāli canon. It took a whole century until the first printed version of the canon could appear. For details see v. Hinüber 1983:75.

<sup>16</sup> Prof. v. Hinüber has drawn my attention to the fact that a certain number of Northern Thai manuscripts found their way to Japan in the 19th c. as a gift by King Chulalongkorn; possibly at least some of these might belong to the above-mentioned ones which are not traceable at present.

<sup>17</sup> For details see v. Hinüber 1987a. The studies referred to are predominantly unpublished Master's degree theses. Written in Thai, they have remained unaccessible to scholars of Pāli in the West. As far as texts included in our collection of 30 are concerned, hints about studies and editions of Pāli literature undertaken by Thai scholars are given in the "Remarks" to the colophons.

1917, published a monograph entitled "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne". In this study mention is made and comments given on a considerable number of texts, the titles of which were, during the DFG Research Project, discovered to belong, in fact, to the literary tradition of Lan Na. Enquiries and surveys pursued in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Vientiane, and the Bibliothèque Royale, Luang Prabang, in 1974, pointed to the fact that Finot, in his study of 1917, had actually included genuine Lan Na manuscripts (examples of which, due to centuries of cultural exchange and co-operation, had been kept at those libraries) without, however, identifying them as such.<sup>18</sup>

The Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand thus had to wait for another 65 years until a German Pāli scholar, Professor Oskar von Hinüber, drew attention to them. O. v. Hinüber was able to give proof of the pre-eminent importance of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand for Pāli studies by showing, to mention one example, that ancient manuscripts from this region have preserved grammatical forms which, in the traditions of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, have been lost due to later recensions by learned monks whose alterations have created puzzles and problems unexplainable from the point of view of historical linguistics.<sup>19</sup> Yet the fact that a certain number of Pāli texts known to have been recorded on microfilm for over a decade, such as those included in this study, have not been classified until today, clearly reflects the present state of research.

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

<sup>18</sup> My earlier assumption that Finot's sources might have been Laotian versions, or adaptations, of these texts could be refuted when it was found that a number of the texts in question bore inventory numbers of the École Française d'Extrême Orient identical with the numbers given in Finot's study. (For details see Hundius 1976b).

<sup>19</sup> For details on the results of research done during the past six years, emphasizing the importance of the Lan Na tradition for the study of canonical texts and our knowledge of Pāli, see various articles written by O. v. Hinüber since 1983; for instance an article concerning the oldest known manuscript of the Milindapañha (= 04 of the present article), and the history of the Pāli language as reflected in the manuscript tradition of Southeast Asia. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988.

## 2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study.

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

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

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

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

- (1) ancient specimens of canonical or semi-canonical texts (e.g. nos. 08, 11; 04), as well as
- (2) texts which are either directly or indirectly connected with the Tipiṭaka (e.g. 01, 02, 03, 05, 06, 07).
- (3) Works of the Southeast Asian Pāli tradition are represented by nos.

- 12, 20 and 21, 23, possibly including nos. 09, 10.
- (4) Works composed by scholars from Lan Na or those generally ascribed to this tradition, are represented by 15 and 16, 17 and 18, 19, 24, 27 and 28.
- (5) Three works are of as yet unknown origin: nos. 22 (*Lokasaṅṭhāna*), 25 (*Vaṅsamālinī*), as well as 29 and 30 (*Paramaṭṭhavibhūsanī*), but may also be surmised to be of Southeast Asian origin, especially no. 25.<sup>21</sup>

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

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

<sup>20</sup> This category of texts, the majority of which can be affiliated with the "Paritta" genre, should be made the subject of a special study. For some relevant bibliographical data, see v. Hinüber 1987a:13.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Remarks to 25, below.

<sup>22</sup> It may be worth mentioning here that the non-canonical Jātaka tradition of Lan Na

It thus may be said that the thirty manuscripts included in our study can be regarded as a representative cross-section of the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand both with regard to their origin, and their content. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to attracting more interest in the Pāli tradition of Northern Thailand by making accessible the vernacular colophons of the thirty selected manuscripts.

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

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

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

(1) in transliteration,

(2) in phonematic transcription,

(3) in translation.

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

ad 1:

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

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

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

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

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

23 Incidentally, it was an Indologist, as it seems, who first drew attention to this fact, when searching for vestiges of the ancient Pāli tradition of Thailand. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988. Also, the first transliterations of Northern Thai colophons are to be found in his "Short catalogue of Pāli manuscripts kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok" (1987a).

has remained productive up to the present time. Most of the recent creations, written in Northern Thai, are adaptations from works written in the Shan States. About twenty examples which include works written by Singkha Wannasai in the seventies, have been included in the microfilm collection.

work.<sup>26</sup>

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

- (1) Northern Thai orthography does not seem to have ever been fixed into a definite and obligatory, generally accepted system; inconsistencies are rather the rule, since the earliest times from which written documents have survived. In view of the complexity of the writing system, especially where the rendering of vowels and tones is concerned, it can also be surmised that many scribes were not sufficiently competent to understand and maintain a given orthographical standard — which, at any rate, was never explained in an analytical way — and it is a truism to be witnessed all over the world that by mere copying, errors and mistakes are generated.
- (2) Part of the variations in orthographic usage seems to be related to different "schools" or local writing traditions which, like similar conventions elsewhere, are subject to change in the course of time.
- (3) Another category of allographic writings appear to reflect phonetic instability, or indicate an ongoing process of sound change.<sup>27</sup>
- (4) Furthermore, one has to reckon with exogene interference, as numerous Northern Thai manuscripts were written by Tai speaking people from the Shan States (Khün and Lü from the region of Chiang Tung) or Sip Song Pan Na (Chiang Rung) who had migrated into what is present Northern Thailand during centuries of constant

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

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

contacts and exchange.<sup>28</sup>

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

- (1) Information on the strains and schools of the literary tradition will, by helping to identify the writing usage of different times and different places, make it possible, for example, to trace transmission lines of important texts, or to determine the age and origin of literary works.
- (2) Material may be found for studies on the historical development of the language, and the interaction between dialects.
- (3) Historians might find the data helpful when trying to trace demographic migration patterns.
- (4) When the principles of textual criticism are to be applied in editing manuscripts, the allographic evidence found in the witnesses must be thoroughly analyzed in order to be able to identify the "Leitfehler", i.e. significant errors or variant readings which are instrumental for the tracing of transmission lines of codices, their status and their mutual affiliation.
- (5) Last, but not least, the details of the original writings are indispensable for any re-examination of interpretations and translations of the texts. In a situation where considerable numbers of ambiguous writings and inconsistencies must be coped with, and numerous homographies must be interpreted and differentiated in order to identify the semantic substance contained in the text, it is only by ensuring access to the original writing that the interpretation of a given lexeme by the translator can remain open for reconsideration.

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

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<sup>28</sup> It is worth mentioning, for example, that the inconsistency in writing and the failure to differentiate between the diphthong /aa/ and its phonetically related monophthong /əə/ is of significantly higher frequency in manuscripts from areas with large numbers of people from Khün and Lü descent (such as large areas in Lamphun, Phayao or Chiang Rai provinces) than in those from districts with predominantly Tai Yuan population: in Khün and Lü ancient /ia, ua, ua/ were monophthongized to /ee, əə, oo/, respectively.

assist the reader in identifying the lexemes.<sup>29</sup>

ad 2:

As for the phonematic transcription, the system developed by Mary R. HAAS — the one most widely used in Thai Studies — is used in a form adapted to Northern Thai. This will help in making the texts accessible to those who are familiar with the spoken language, especially anthropologists and social scientists.<sup>30</sup> Those who do not know Kam Müang, will still be able to identify lexemes which are cognate to Central Thai.

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

ad 3 :

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

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

### 3. The Colophons.

#### 3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pāli Manuscripts.

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

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

<sup>29</sup> For details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

<sup>30</sup> A useful introduction into spoken Northern Thai is given by Purnell (1962)

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>31</sup> See for instance v. Hinüber (1988: 7) who quotes an example where the editor of the *Samyuttanikāya* (L. Feer in his PTS edition of 1884), by not taking into consideration the information contained in the colophons of a manuscript that he used, overlooked a clear indication of the special importance of this source.



colophons presented in this study are taken, emerge as a special group due to their age and quality.

About half of them are dated from or can, in the case of four torsi, be attributed with a high degree of certainty to the 15th–16th centuries, an historical epoch when Lan Na — at that time still an independent kingdom — enjoyed a period of religious zest and cultural blossoming. The oldest among them thus bear witness to an important stage of Lan Na history, a period, however, from which written documents are rare and were, until not too long ago, understood to have survived exclusively in the form of epigraphy.<sup>32</sup> The majority of the remaining manuscripts date from the middle of the 19th century, a time when, after more than two and a half centuries of war and internal unrest under Burmese domination, conditions once again became more conducive to cultural concerns, and literary traditions were revived with renewed zest.

### 3.2 Content of the Colophons.

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

#### 3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts.

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

"Written ... in support of the Excellent Teachings of Buddha  
so that they may stay for five thousand years ... " (15 [6])

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

In the case of our Pāli texts, the making of a holograph is very often initiated by a senior member of the Saṅgha. The manuscript is made either by using monastic funds (cf. 03; 05) or by joining with a lay-person wishing to make a donation. As the colophons show, in the early 19th

century, the making of a manuscript was often a huge cooperative effort involving a monastic initiator (|muulasaddhaa, pathamamuulasaddhaa| or |"gau saddhaa|)\*, a 'leading lay supporter' (NT/Pāli: |upathambhaka| or |paccayaadaayaka, °daayikaa|) from the lay community, often a dignitary (up to the Rulers of Nan and Phrae, as well as the King of Luang Prabang), and 'all the members of the lay community'. Women donors, however, as is interesting to note, are usually identified in reference to their husbands, uncles, or — in one case — to their father.

The colophons do not give details on the preparation of the palm-leaves used for manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> Writing, or to be more precise, the engraving of manuscripts, was usually organized in such away that individual members of the monastery or the lay community, in general former monks or novices, were asked to copy a 'phuuk' (fasciculus), or several 'phuuk', each.

Obviously, it was a great honour — but at the same time an onerous task, and some degree of persuasion, or "social pressure" seem to have been applied. There is also evidence showing that a remuneration has been paid to the scribes.<sup>34</sup> In some cases, an individual monk or abbot explicitly states that he did the writing all by himself; such statements convey the feeling of special responsibility on the part of the scribe, and, at the same time, may be taken as an indication of the importance, and the quality of the work.

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

#### 3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means to Acquiring Merit.

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

\* Cf. the Pāli term *ādikammasādhaka*

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

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

<sup>32</sup> See A 1, p. 1, footnote 1, supra.

'bun' (< P *puñña*) and 'kam' (< P *kamma*), merit and demerit.<sup>35</sup>

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

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

### 3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit

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

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

What strikes the contemporary reader is the preponderance of spiritual and intellectual over material wishes that find expression in the

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

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

colophons: this seems to hold true for both lay-men and members of the Saṅgha, for men and women alike. Any distinction on the basis of the wishes expressed appears to be impossible, judging from our sources.

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

### 3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.

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

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

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

38 In an anthropological study of present-day Thai society, the suggestion is made that everyday concerns, like securing "good fortune" and "protection", are generally dealt with on the plane of spirits (cf. Mulder 2.1985:40, and *passim*). In fact, numerous indications can be found in Thai literature which appear to be in line with such an interpretation; see for instance Sunthṇ Phu's travel poems, in particular his Nirat Müang Kläng, composed in 1807. Cf. Hundius 1976a: 50 (stanza 5); 51 (stanza 17); 54 (stanza 54), and *passim*.

social recognition. It appears as a remarkable way of giving members of all social strata, including the farming population (but with the exception of the slaves, as may be assumed) an opportunity to cooperate directly in the most noble task of preserving the second part of the Triple Gem, the Dhamma, and thereby relate to it in a most intimate way — even though most of the scribes may not have understood the meaning of the words they were copying.

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

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

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

own life.

Obviously, the opportunity to leave a personal mark in the Dhamma text and to link one's own name to it and thus save it from the law of impermanence "as long as palm-leaves last", must have functioned as an emotional reward, or compensation, for the painstaking effort of writing it.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, this phenomenon might be seen as just another strain of the well-known tendency in Northern Thai culture favouring personal expression, for which courting dialogues in narrative literature, as well as the former custom of /ʔəw sǎaw/ with its extemporizing exchange of witty courting verses between the younger people of either sex, bear ample evidence.<sup>40</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>40</sup> Examples can be found in Roongruangsri 3.1981. In this context, it may also be recalled that the genre of the travel poetry (*nirat*) which is unique in classical Thai literature for its personal character, is believed to have originated in Lan Na, where it has remained highly popular as a literary genre until today.

imply that their text may be used with confidence since "Monk X wrote it all by himself", and in quite a few colophons it is explicitly stated that the text had been thoroughly checked with the original (see, for instance, 15 [5]; 23 [5]; [10]). In some cases, even details of the time and place of origin of the original are given. In a number of manuscripts stemming obviously from one and the same scribe (05, 07, 08), after finishing the laborious work of copying a *phuuk* of a Pāli work, rather harsh exhortations are given to future users:

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

### 3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.

#### 3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae.

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

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

As can be inferred from the colophons of the manuscripts, the peak of the copying efforts lay in the 1830s. In 1835–36 no less than 242 palm-leaf manuscripts comprising 2,825 *phuuk* were copied in Luang Prabang

alone,<sup>41</sup> for the better part scholarly texts like (sub-) commentaries on canonical and post-canonical Pāli literature, Pāli Grammar, a great many of which are in bilingual (Pāli/ NT or /Lao) versions, including numerous works of the indigenous learned tradition, for instance a complete Nissaya version of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*.<sup>42</sup> The charisma of Gruu Paa Kañcana was so extraordinary indeed that the manuscripts collected under his aegis have been so well preserved by successive generations that they have been able to survive to the present day in a well-kept condition. Comprising well over 15,000 *phuuk*, this collection represents the largest one known to exist in a single place in Northern Thailand.<sup>43</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>43</sup> The holdings of Wat Sung Men have recently been recorded on microfilm under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project" mentioned above.

"Cau Raajawoñ, under the aegis of a highly revered Lan Na monk.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

Another historic centre of Pāli Buddhist literature, mentioned in the colophons of the oldest manuscripts under study, is a place called |'Daa "Sḡḡy| (NT /tâa sḡḡj/). This township has not yet been located; one may only surmise that it must have been a settlement situated on the banks of a river, probably the Ping River.\* 'Daa "Sḡḡy, according to what can be inferred from the colophons of a number of manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th to the second half of the 16th c., appears to have developed into a prosperous township, possessing a number of monasteries where many important Pāli manuscripts were made through monetary donations provided by apparently well-to-do citizens.<sup>45</sup> The highest ranking Buddhist dignitary of this township bore, according to ancient Northern tradition, the title Mahāsaṅgharāja.<sup>46</sup>

No archaeological vestiges or any historical evidence referring to 'Daa "Sḡḡy have as yet been found.<sup>47</sup> In addition, a considerable number of villages and monasteries is mentioned in the colophons, only a few of

<sup>44</sup> Cf. for instance the joint sponsoring of manuscript 19 (see below) by the Ruler of Phrae, the King of Luang Prabang, and his son, the "Cau Raajawoñ of Luang Prabang in which the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana may have played a mediating role.

\* See 05 (Post-script to Remarks), Part B, below.

<sup>45</sup> This may be inferred from what is indicated in the colophons of a number of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sḡḡy presently kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok, and described by O. v. Hinüber (in: JSS, 75, 1987, pp. 49 foll); mention is made, for instance, of amounts of money spent for their making: in one (no. 55, CS 893 [AD 1531]) the sum of "one hundred |ñḡḡn| ("pēn phatcāj lḡḡj nḡḡ) is mentioned; on several phuuk of another holograph (no. 61.), a split-up sum is given, viz. fifty /bàat/ for the writing (/kâa laaj mḡḡ/), one /fúḡḡ/ for the palm-leaves (/kâa laan/). In another colophon (front cover of no. 54., dated CS 923 [AD 1561]), the scribe speaks of gilded manuscript caskets /hīt kham/ made for a monastery named /wāt pàa màj/; the common tenor in all colophons of manuscripts from 'Daa "Sḡḡy is clearly that of a rather prosperous community.

<sup>46</sup> As far as the ecclesiastical status and authority of a "Mahāsaṅgharāja" in the context of 16th century Northern Thai rural society is concerned, this position cannot be compared, of course, with that of the "Supreme Patriarch", the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary, of present-day Thailand; it may, perhaps, have been comparable to that of a /cāw khaná? tambon/ of today.

<sup>47</sup> For more details, see Part B, Remarks to 04, 05, below.

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

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

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

### 3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example.

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

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

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

1. 05 Jātaka (*Paṇṇāsanipāta*) AD 1550, colophon (2)
2. 07 Jātaka (*Sattatinipāta*), same year, (1)
3. 08 Saṃyuttanikāya (*Sagāthavagga*) AD 1549, (2), (5), (6)
4. *Samantapāsādikā* (54, Collection of the Siam Society) AD 1561, Front Cover (see v. Hinüber 1987:48).

The colophons may be broken down into the following components:

- (1) ( The Pāli text of +) title  
 a. *Paṇṇāsanipāta*  
 b. *Sattatinipāta*  
 c. *Sagāthavagga*  
 d. *Samantapāsādikā*
- (2) (clf + ) demonstrative  
 a. an "nii "this"  
 b. "nii "
- (3) Subject (title or name of spp/don) + Predicate "to make"  
 a. mahaasaṅgharaajaa "cau + "saan  
 (b..., c..., d..., etc.)
- (4) Date: "in the Year of (name of Cyclical Year)"  
 a. nai pii koḍ seḍ  
 (b..., c..., etc.)
- (5) Cūlasakarāja + "ḍai + (number) + numerative (+ lāā)  
 a. cūlasakraaja "ḍai 912 tuua lāā  
 (b..., c..., d..., etc.)
- Translation of (1a) – (5a):**  
 "This [manuscript of the] *Paṇṇāsanipāta* was made at the behest of the Venerable Mahāsaṅgharāja in the Year of the Dog, CS 912".
- (6) a. phuu ḍai "Whoever ..."  
 b. kullaputṭṭ̣ ṭon ḍai "Whoever [among you], sons of good family..."  
 c. puggala ṭon ḍai "Whoever..."
- (7) a. au bai prasoṅ "takes out for worship ..."  
 b. au prasoṅ "takes [out for] worship ..."  
 c. au bai prasoṅ 'lāāw "having taken out for worship ..."  
 d. yūūm bai prasoṅ 'lāāw "having borrowed out for worship ..."
- (8) a. 'pḡ "ruu aṭṭha lāā sapdaa "cāān "dāā "not truly knowing the meaning and wording ..."

- b. 'pḡ "ruu aṭṭha lāā sapdaa "cāān "not clearly knowing the meaning and wording."
- (9) a. 'yaa nap plāān siia "do not make corrections ..."  
 b. 'yaa nap plāān siia 'ḍāā "  
 c. 'yaa plāān siia 'ḍāā "  
 d. 'gḡ 'yaa plāān siia 'ḍāā "
- (10) a. 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām "do not add any writing on it ..."  
 b. 'gḡ 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām 'ḍāā "  
 c. 'yaa khiian 'sai thāām "
- (11) a. 'pḡ ḍii "[that is an] evil [deed]..."  
 b. 'pḡ au "[if you] do not follow [my advice]..."
- (12) a. peen phreeṭ " [you will be reborn] as a peta ("hungry ghost ...")  
 b. peen phreeṭ jaam "
- (13) a. prasoṅ "lāāw "after worship ..."  
 b. 'mūūa prasoṅ "lāāw "
- (14) a. yia blan au maa 'soṅ 'ḍaṅ 'kau 'ḍāā "see to it that it is brought back again quickly ..."  
 b. yia blan au maa 'soṅ "wai 'ḍaṅ 'kau (= a.)  
 c. yia blan maa 'soṅ (= a.)
- (15) a. "saan yaak nak 'kāā "it was very hard to make it ..."  
 b. "saan yaak nak 'kāā naa jlāā " (= a.)  
 c. "saan yaak nak 'kāā jlāā " (= a.)
- (16) a. jāān "ḍuuay dūūn "do take good care!"  
 b. 'gḡḡy jāān "ḍuuay dūūn "  
 c. 'gḡḡy jāān "ḍuuay 'ḍāā "
- (17) a. "hūū puñ caaṃrōōn 'kāā "phuu peen daayaka "nan 'ṭḡḡ "dau nibbaan dūūn  
 "may the merit [acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna."

- b. 'cuñ peen pracaīy "gaam̐ juu daayaka "phuu "saan̐ "nan 't̐oḥ  
 "dau thōōñ amaṭanibbaan dōōn

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

- c. 'cuñ "hūū peen pracaīy 'kää an "ḍai lookiya lāā  
 lookuttarasampatti 'kää upaasikaa "phuu "saan̐ "nii dūūn rau 'gḥ  
 anumoodanaa "ḍuuay lāā

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

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

**05 (2):**

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

**07 (1):**

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

**08 (2):**

(1c - 5) + 6b + 7d + 14a + 15c + 16a + 17a

**08 (5):**

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

**08 (6):**

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

*Samantapāsādikā*, AD 1561, Front Cover:

1d + 3 + (...) + 6c + 7d + 14c + 16c.

As may be seen from the above analysis — to cite but two examples — the identification of components ⟨7a,b⟩ or ⟨11a,b⟩ as condensed conditional clauses (no conjunction is used!) would have been much more

difficult, or, at least, remained doubtful, had the general idea not been expressed several times and in various wordings.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Apart from a particularly condensed style which is characteristic for many of the older colophons, further problems arise from obsolete words or expressions, in our example, for instance, the following ones:  
 |prasoñ| "to worship"; |jaam| "to try"; |nap| (lit.:) "to count"; |yia| (lit.:) "to make" (cf. German: "mach, daß du sie [die Handschrift] schleunigst wieder zurückbringst!");  
 |sapdaa| < Skt/P śabda, sadda "sound, word, grammar": a form up to now only found in a number of colophons from 'Daa "Sḡy; here translated as "wording" (as suggested by O. v. Hinüber who also identified the form as such).

## PART B: THE TEXTS

### 1. Technical Remarks.

#### 1.1 The Transliteration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 1.1.1 Consonants.

##### 1.1.1.1 General Principles.

- § 1 Conforming with common usage, the consonant symbols of the Northern Thai script are transliterated according to their value in Pāli or Sanskrit.<sup>50</sup>
- § 2 Additional symbols created for the representation of consonant phonemes particular for Northern Thai are generally differentiated against the symbols from which they are derived by underlining.<sup>51</sup>
- § 3 Allographic rendering of word-final consonants, as well as significant form variants, are marked by index numbers.

##### 1.1.1.2 Rationale.

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

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

<sup>51</sup> Including the NT equivalent of CT /tɔɔ tàw/, since [t] is reserved for the equivalent of CT /dɔɔ dèk/ which is not represented in the Dhamma Script (where [d] is used instead), but is in others, e.g. the [Fak Khaam] and the [Daiy Nidees] scripts as well as in the traditional secular Laotian (and Northeastern Thai) alphabets often called [Daiy "Nqoy] Script.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Brown 2.1985, Gedney 1967, and especially Li 1977.

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



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

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

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

### 1.1.1.3 Specific Information.

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

§ 8 The "vowel carrier" symbol (equivalent to CT /ʔᵛᵛ ʔᵛᵛ/) is represented by |zero|, for in the Romanized text it is implicitly indicated by the spaces between words: any transliterated word beginning with a vowel symbol can therefore be understood to be written with the "vowel carrier" symbol in the NT text.<sup>53</sup>

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

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

and secondary graphs are rendered by a single symbol.

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

## 1.1.2 Vowels.

### 1.1.2.1 General Principles.

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

§ 11 NT vowel writings, whether consisting of a single symbol or of a configuration of elements, are generally rendered according to their phonological value according to the present spoken language.<sup>54</sup>

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

§ 13 The requirement to differentiate between allographic forms, which abound in Northern Thai manuscripts, is met by the use of index numbers. Basic writings which were identified as quasi-standard in a sample of representative documents of different periods and locations are set up as "graphemes" and Romanized accordingly, i.e. without number, while variant writings or "allographic forms" are marked with an index number starting from .2 upwards, relating to a reference list of allographic writings collected in HUNDIJS 1990: 215 foll.<sup>55</sup> To give an example, the adhortative particle /tḥʔ/ which would

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

<sup>55</sup> The graphemes were established after an evaluation of a broad cross-section of data

turn as |deiðah, deīðah, deið, deīð, deiððah, deīððah| etc., if transliterated according to the Pāli (or Sanskrit) value of each of its graphic elements, will be rendered as |dö, dö<sub>2</sub>, dö<sub>3</sub>, dö<sub>6</sub>, dö<sub>7</sub>, dö<sub>8</sub>| etc. in the present system.<sup>56</sup>

### 1.1.2.2 Rationale.

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

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

§16 In Romanizing NT vowel graphemes, the use of index numbers appears to be the most economical way of differentiating between allographic writings which include mutual overlappings between forms which should have been differentiated and used consistently,

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material, including manuscripts from the 15th to the 20th centuries, epigraphical documents, several traditional primers as well as more recent textbooks. Since the system has been set up for a practical purpose, i.e. as a tool for future editing of important primary sources, the graphemes are generally those writings which occur most frequently in a fair majority of carefully written manuscripts, most of which date from the 19th century.

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.1.2.3 Specific Information.

§19 By analogy to the phonematic notation, vowels interpreted as long are transliterated by double symbols; including, for the sake of convenience — and by analogy to the NT writing system where long diphthongs are separated from short ones — the first parts of the (phonetically long) diphthongs, viz. |iia| representing NT /ia/, |üüa| (/ua/), and |uaa| (/ua/) whose short variants are accordingly rendered as |ia| (/ia?), |üa| (/ua?), |ua| (/ua?).

§20 Written long vowels in closed "live syllables", i.e. those ending in a continuant (some of which have been shortened secondarily under conditions determined by tonal influences), are maintained as long, e.g. |peen| /pěn/ "to be", |ñöön| /ṅən/ "silver", |"ṭṭṭṭ| /tṭṭ/ "must", etc., as well as |-aaṃ| representing /-am/.

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

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

§23 The NT equivalent of CT /ʔaj máj múan/ which is occasionally used in ancient manuscripts, is rendered |aü|.

- §24 Complementarily used allographs (positional variants), like the ones used for syllable final, and for interconsonantal position, respectively, are indicated implicitly, by word boundaries (cf. § 9, *supra*).
- §25 In the case of "dead syllables", i.e. those ending in /-p, -t, -k /, and /-ʔ/, where short and long vowels are crosswisely correlated with different tones, vowels are consistently differentiated as to their length, so as to allow for a correct identification of the tone. An ambiguous form like written |kōöḍ|, for example, must be interpreted either as /kəət/ "to be born" or as /kət/ "to intercept" etc. If the context leaves no doubt that the first is meant, it would be rendered |kōöḍ|, if the second one is meant, it would be written |kōḍḍ| (here the index number is used to indicate that in the original the symbol normally representing a long vowel is written).
- §26 Underlining of certain vowels (especially syllable final |-ā|, but also word initial |ī-|, |ū-| etc.) is used to indicate that the vowel writing as found in the original manuscript is following the rules for Pāli, instead of those for NT. The same applies for opposite cases, i.e. when, for example, the NT graph |oo| is used for writing |o| in a Pāli text.
- ### 1.1.3 Tones.
- Since tone indication in Northern Thai orthography, as found in the manuscripts, is marked by the same degree of inconsistency as in the case of vowels, a similar, though simpler treatment is applied.
- §27 The principle of preserving the evidence of the original is adhered to, while, at the same time, an interpretation of the tonal phoneme is given. Such an interpretation is often necessary for an identification of the lexeme.
- §28 The tonal phoneme considered to be the **correct** one in the context of a given word (or syllable) is marked by the respective tone marker **before** the lexeme, whereas the **actual** tone markation found in the manuscript, if different, is written **after** the transliterated word.
- §29 Symbols used are, in accordance with Thai usage, |' |, |" |, and

|zero|, or an elevated |°|, respectively; |zero| before a given lexeme indicates that no tone mark should be written for correct realization; an elevated dot or |°| after the lexeme is used to convey to the reader that in the original, contrary to the rules of orthography, no tone mark was written.

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

## 1.2 Note on the Phonematic Notation.

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

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

## 1.3 Note on the Pronunciation.

### 1.3.1 General Remarks.

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

### 1.3.2 Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.

#### Live Syllables\*

\* Syllables ending with a long vowel or /-m, -n, -ŋ, -w, -j/.

	Nan (Phrae)		Chiang Mai		Lamphun	
1. A2 /zero/	[35]	m-r	[33]	m-e	[33]	m-e
2. B1 /˘/	[33-22]	m-e	[22]	l-e	[22]	l-e
3. B2 /ˆ/	[21]	m-f	[31]	m-f	[31]	m-f
4. C1 /˜/	[44ʔ]	h-e	[44ʔ]	h-e	[44ʔ]	h-e
5. C2 /˘˘/	[5ʔ3]	h-f	[45ʔ3]	h-f	[5ʔ2]	h-f
6. A1 /˘˘/	[13]	l-r	[13]	l-r	[13]	l-r

### Dead Syllables\*\*

	Nan (Phrae)		Chiang Mai		Lamphun	
DS1 /zero/	h-r	[45]	ml-r	[34 - 23] //	m-r	[34] //
DS2 /˘/	h-e	[55]	h-e	[55] /˘/	h-e	[55] /˘/
DL1 /˘/	ml-e	[33 - 22]	l-e	[22] /˘/	l-e	[22] /˘/
DL2 /˘/	l-f	[21]	m-f	[31] /˘/	m-f	[31] /˘/

### Abbreviations:

A, B, C = historical tone classes; 1 = ancient voiceless, 2 = ancient voiced consonants; DS = dead syllable with short vowel, DL = dead syllable with long vowel (for details, see Li 1977). Tonal quality: m = mid, l = low, h = high; e = even, r = rising, f = falling; ʔ = concomitant glottal constriction.

### 1.3.3 Ambiguities of Pronunciation.

#### 1.3.3.1 Loss of /-ʔ/ in connected speech.

In connected speech, unstressed DS syllables ending with /-ʔ/

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

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

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

(Pāli/ Skt.)	(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>ṭikā</i> >	/tiʔ kǎa/	/tikǎa/	/tikkǎa/
<i>dīpanī</i> >	/tīʔ paʔ nii/	/tīpanii/	/tīppanii/
<i>jotaka</i> >	/coo taʔ kaʔ/	/cootakaʔ/	/cootakkaʔ/
<i>śakarāja</i> >	/saʔ kaʔ laa cǎʔ/	/sakalaacǎʔ/	/sakkalaacǎʔ/
<i>likhita</i> >	/līʔ khiʔ taʔ/	/līkhitaʔ/	/līkhitaʔ/
	/līkkhittaʔ/sobhatiʔ	/sōo phǎʔ tiʔ/	/sōophǎtiʔ/
	/sōophǎttiʔ/sthitaʔ	/saʔ thit/	/sathit/
	/satthit/		

etc.

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

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

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

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

<sup>58</sup> As to the tonal change of dead syllables in connected speech, see Hundius 1990: 74 foll.

colloquial pronunciation, are notated correspondingly.

### 1.3.3.2 Final particles.

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

/d̥ɛɛ, d̥ɛ̃ɛ, d̥ɛɛ/;  
/h̥ǎǎj, h̥ǎǎj, h̥ǎ(ǎ)j/;  
/naa/  
/n̥ǎǎ, "n̥ǎǎ/;  
/n̥ǎǎ, "n̥ǎǎ, n̥ǎ, n̥ǎ/  
/l̥ǎ, l̥ǎ, l̥ǎ/  
/?ǎǎ/

etc.

Such forms have been notated in accordance with present common usage.<sup>59</sup>

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

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

/cǎmlǎən/ >	/càmlǎən/	"to prosper"
/kǎmlǎŋ/ >	/kàmlǎŋ/	"strength"
/kǎmpɛɛŋ/ >	/kàmpɛɛŋ/	"wall"
/kǎmpii/ >	/kàmpii/	"holy scripture" (< Pāli <i>gambhira</i> )
/sǎmlaan/ >	/sàmlaan/	"to be well, happy"
/tǎmnaan/ >	/tàmnaan/	"chronicle"
/*pampeŋ/ >	/pàmpeŋ/	"to perform, pursue"
/*lāmpǎəŋ/ >	/lāmpǎəŋ/	"to contemplate"
/lāmbàak/ >	/lāmbàak/	"to be hard, troublesome"

etc.

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

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

in the original indicates a change of tone class.<sup>60</sup>

## 1.4 The Pagination of Palm-leaf Manuscripts.

The pagination of palm-leaf manuscripts is traditionally done by a combination of a consonant and a vowel written on the reverse side of each folio in accordance with the alphabetical order, the first phuuk starting with the first consonant of the alphabet, viz. *ka, k̄ā, ki, k̄ī, ku, k̄ū, ke, kai, ko, kau, kaṃ, kaḥ; kha, kh̄ā, khi, kh̄ī, khu, kh̄ū* etc. ...; *ga, ḡā, gi, ḡī, gu, ḡū* etc., providing a pagination for a total of 33x12 (= 396) folios or 792 pages. In cases of still longer manuscripts, the pagination may be further extended by adding a |-ya| to the consonants, viz. *kya, kȳā, kyi, kyī, kyu, kyū, etc.*, followed by *khya, khyā, khyi, khyī, khyu, khyū; gya, gyā, gyi, gyī, etc.*, and so on. Ideally, one phuuk would consist of 12 folios or 24 pages. In reality, however, variations and inconsistencies abound, especially in more recent manuscripts. (See, for example, the manuscript descriptions in Hundius [forthcoming], a critical edition of a Northern Thai Jātaka text [Balasaṅkhyā-Jātaka]). To facilitate location of, as well as quotation from text passages recorded on microfilm, Arabic numbers have been added. Since this has been done in general only for pages containing the main text, there are quite a number of palm-leaf pages to be found on the microfilm which have no pagination. These are, in the present study, referred to by (1) the abbreviation "no no.", and (2) by stating the number of the palm-leaf page they are preceded by, or they are preceding on the microfilm.

## 1.5 Glossary of Special Words.

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

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

	Siamese supremacy
'doon <sub>3</sub> dhaan	to make a thorough check
'dää	final particle; emphasiser
ḍii-hlii	lit.: "good, good; splendid!"
dö	adhortative particle
ḍii-hlii dö	emphasising formula at the end of a wish; mostly translated: "may this come true"
"gau saddhaa or muulasaddhaa, pathamamuulasaddhaa	initial or leading supporter of the making of a new manuscript (cf. Pāli <i>ādikammasādhaka</i> )
gruu paa "cau	highly respected senior learned monk mostly of high age
"hnaa dap (rap, dhap) "g(l)au	front cover folio
"hnaa dap (rap, dhap) p(l)aay	back cover folio
hnaan	former monk
maḍ	bundle (of palm-leaf fasciculi)
maḍ "ton	first bundle
maḍ k(l)aan	second bundle [of a set of three]
maḍ plaay	last bundle
"mai hlaap	wooden wedge of a palm-leaf manuscript, mostly indicating title(s), no. of phuuk, date of writing, name of monastery to which the ms belongs etc.
müüañ	(fortified) settlement or township, urban living-place, city, city state, principality, kingdom, land*
muulasaddhaa	same as "gau saddhaa (q.v.)
"nōyy	former novice
phuuk	fasciculus
phuuk "ton	first (lit. "beginning") fasciculus
phuuk plaay (paay)	last fasciculus
Rassabhikkhu	junior monk, i.e. a Bhikkhu who has received ordination a short time, possibly only one year or up to five (?)

\* For a discussion of the various meanings of |müüañ|, cf. Wyatt 1984:7–8.

	years ago. This, however, is only a guess.
saddhaa	(1) faith, confidence (in Buddha's teachings), (2) (member[s] of a) lay community
saddhaa baay nai	"internal", i.e. monastic supporter(s) of the making of a new manuscript or other common religious efforts
saddhaa baay nōḍk	"external", i.e. lay supporter(s) or sponsor(s) of common religious efforts
sissa	follower(s) of a senior or learned monk (Pāli: pupil, student)
wiiañ	area within city walls or fortification; sometimes synonymous with müüañ
yaam kōḥñ ṇaay	7.30–9.00; translated as "at the time of the morning drum"
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai	
'diiañ	9.00–10.30; "at the time of the forenoon horn"
yaam 'diiañ	10.30–12.00; "at noon"
yaam tuuḍ "jaay	12.00–13.30; "in the afternoon"
yaam kōḥñ lään	13.30–15.00; "at the time of the sunset drum"
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai	
'gaam	15.00–16.30; "at the time of the evening horn"

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

## 1.6 Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.

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

systems, see v. HINÜBER 1987b:15.

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

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

The following information is given:

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

12. The year according to the Christian era (AD); obtained by adding 638 to the Cūlasakarāja year.
- NB:** If no date is mentioned, the abbreviation "n.d." together with an estimate of the probable date is added. This estimate rests upon the physical appearance, the style of the script and the orthography used.
13. Name of the monastery where the original was found (in 1974).
  14. Location of the repository, i.e. district (Amphoe /ʔamphəə/) and province (/caŋwāt/).
  15. Beginnings of the Pāli texts, preceded by information concerning the location on the microfilm (if necessary).
  16. Location of the respective text in the generally used editions (as far as traceable). (This information is kindly provided by Professor O. von Hinüber).
  17. Ends of the Pāli texts and their location on the microfilm.
  18. Transliteration of the Northern Thai Colophons, preceded by their location on the microfilm.
- NB:** Shorter Pāli passages interspersed in the vernacular text are also transliterated. In some cases where lengthy portions written in Pāli (mostly wishes expressed by the scribes) are included in a NT colophon, these Pāli passages have not been transcribed, however. Any such case is identified.
19. Phonematic transcription of the transliterated texts.
  20. Translation.
  21. Remarks, containing information on special terms, comments on the translation, bibliographic data, etc.
- NB:** In accordance with the aim of the present study which is meant as an introduction into NT colophons, every NT colophon to be found on the microfilmed manuscripts is identified and treated in the way outlined above. Their presentation is done according to the order of their appearance in the manuscripts. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, identical colophons are identified as such and rendered only once. Those with only minor alterations from others previously presented, are given only in transliteration, while reference is given where the phonematic transcription and translation of the previous specimen can be found. In one case (no. 12, *Sadd*), due to particular

repetitiveness, the above-mentioned presentation according to the order of appearance of the colophons, had to be abandoned.

## 2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

### 01. DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

Roll 8, 035". Dc no 0227, ms no 693. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 883 = AD 1521. Wat Lai Hin (NT /wăt lāj hĩn/; see Remarks). Amphoe Ko Kha (NT /kɔʔ khaa/), Lampang.

#### Begins:

...]ñña dassanākāraṃ akāsīti jighacchati, *Dhp-a* III 261,19

**Ends:** phuuk 1.48 = *khaḥ* v , line 5

bhante vimānaṃ me naṭṭhaṃ na dāni kiṃ karissāmi 'ti vutte alaṃ devadhite, *Dhp-a* III 301,29

#### Colophon.

Front Cover Folio.

|pii<sub>4</sub> "ruuaṅ<sub>3</sub> "sai<sup>o</sup> sakraaja 883 tuua dhammapada "nii<sub>4</sub> mahaatheen suuar<sub>3</sub> prahyaa "cau<sub>10</sub> "saaṅ<sup>o</sup> "wai<sup>o</sup> peen muulasaasnaa bra gootama<sub>4</sub> "cau<sub>10</sub> 5 ban pii<sub>4</sub> (...)|

/pīi lúaṅ sāj sakalaacāʔ\* pèet lóʔj pèet sip sām túa thammāʔpatāʔ ní mahāathēen sūan phāñña cāw sāaṅ wáj pēn muulāsāasanaa phāʔ kootamāʔ cāw hāa pan pīi (...)/

\* Possibly the form |sakraaja| may have been read /sakhàatcāʔ/. To my knowledge, this particular writing has been found up to now only in manuscripts written in 'Daa "Sḡy; cf. **04** (1); **05** (2): cuḷa<sup>o</sup>; **06** (1); **07** (1), **08** (2, 5): cuḷa<sup>o</sup>, below. It could therefore be useful for the tracing of the place of origin of ancient holographs.

#### Translation.

In the Year of the Snake, [C] S 883, the Venerable Mahaatheen Suuar Prahya had this [manuscript of the] Dhammapada [-Aṭṭhakathā] made



as a foundation for the Teachings of Lord Gotama [so that they may last for] five thousand years.

### Remarks.

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

## 02. DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

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

**Begins:** p 1 = *ha r*, line 1

tena me tvaṃ pakkosāpito 'ti āha mahārāja kiṃ te saddo suto 'ti,  
*Dhp-a* II 6,8

**Ends:** p 46 = *lah v*, line 5

so kasāhi tāli[yamāno, *Dhp-a* II 39,3

### Colophons.

(1) p 3 = *hā r*, on left margin

|dhammapada lāa sundarapañño "saan° |  
/thammāpatā? lɛ sũntālā?pāñño sãŋ/

### Translation.

Dhammapada [-Aṭṭhakathā] - Made at the behest of Sundarapañño.

(2) p 5 = *hi r*, on left margin

|"wai° kap bra dhaaḍ "cau<sub>10</sub> lambaan lāa |  
/wáj kap phã thât cãw lampaañ/

### Translation.

[Made] for [the worship of] the Great Relic of Lambaan.

(3) p 9 = *hu r*, on left margin

|dhammapada sundara "saan° "wai° kap bra<sub>2</sub> dhaaḍ "cau<sub>10</sub> laambaan |  
/thammāpatā? sũntālā? sãŋ wáj kap phã thât cãw lampaañ/

### Translation.

*Dhammapada* [-aṭṭhakathā] - Made at the behest of Sundara [pañño] for the [worship of the] Great Relic of Lambaan.

### Remarks.

According to colophons (2) and (3), the manuscript was meant as a Dhammadāna (a gift; offering) for worship of the Great Relic of Lampang which is enshrined in the great stupa of Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (NT /wãt phã thât lampaañ lūŋ/), situated in the present district (Amphoe) of Ko Kha, about 15km to the West of Lampang (and some 3km from Ban Lai Hin).

**03. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Mahosathajātaka**

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

**Begins:** no no. = *ka* v, preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.  
namo tass' atthu. pañcālo sabbasenāyāti, *Ja* VI 329,20

**Ends:** p 46, line 5  
gāmvāsino pokkharaniṃ pe[sentu, *Ja* VI 341,29

**Colophon.**

Front Cover Folio (in very small characters).

|maḥoosathaḥ maḥaathēen (p)aa "cau<sup>o</sup><sub>10</sub> (riiañ) suuñ, "wai<sup>o</sup> kap waḍ (un?) müüañ, nai wiiañ|

/mahōosatha? mahāathēen baa(?) cāw liaṅ(?) sūṅ wáj kap wāt (?un?)  
muaṅ naj wiaṅ/

**Translation.**

*Mahosatha[-Jātaka]*. The Venerable Mahaathēen Paa (?)\* Riiñ Suuñ [had this manuscript made] for Waḍ (..) Müüañ in the city [of 'Daa "Sḡy?].

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

**Remarks.**

In Thai and Lao tradition, if not generally in Southeast Asia, the Pāli word for "medicine" is spelled *osatha* (regular form: *osadha*). This holds true also for the Paññāsa-Jātaka manuscript M (Mandalay) used in the PTS edition of the Burmese version of the "Fifty Jātakas". Cf. JAINI 1981, 83:passim. The style of the script and the manuscript itself are very

similar in appearance to the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts found in Wat Lai Hin which originally belonged to monasteries in 'Daa "Sḡy. See also Remarks to 04.

**04. MILINDAPAÑHA 2.6**

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

**Colophons.**

(1) phuuk 15, p 58

|sakraajaḥ "ḍai<sup>o</sup> 857 t<sub>2</sub>uua naü<sub>2</sub> pii ḍap "hmau<sup>o</sup><sub>10</sub> milindapañhaa naay sin praḥyaa "saan<sup>o</sup> "wai<sup>o</sup> kap ḥḡḡ<sub>4</sub> piṭaka 'daa<sup>o</sup> "sḡy<sup>o</sup> lää|

/sakalaacā? \* ḍāj pèet lóḡ hāa sip cet tūa naj pīi ḍap māw mīlintā?pañhāa  
naaj sīn phāññāa sāṅ wáj kap ḥḡḡ pitaka? tâa sḡḡ/

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

**Translation.**

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

(2) phuuk 2.1 = *ghaḥ* r; 2.48 = *khaḥ* v; phuuk 7.28 = *chaḥ* v, on left margin

|milindapañhaa naay sin praḥyaa "saan<sup>o</sup> "wai<sup>o</sup> kap ḥḡḡ<sub>3</sub> piṭaka 'daa<sup>o</sup> "sḡy<sup>o</sup> |

/mīlintā?pañhāa naaj sīn phāññāa sāṅ wáj kap ḥḡḡ pitaka? tâa sḡḡ/

**Translation.**

Milindapañhaa - Made at the behest of Naay Sin Prahya for the library of [a / the Monastery in] 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

**Remarks.**

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

**05. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Paṇṇāsanipāta**

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

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

**Ends:** p 46, line 5

datvā piyaṃ ummadanti adiṭṭhā

addhā piyā mayhaṃ janinda eṣā, *Ja* V 219,7\*

**Colophons.**

(1) Front Cover Folio, on left margin.

[kap waṣ srii 'u<sub>3</sub>r<sub>3</sub> müüa<sub>3</sub>, [3] yo<sub>2</sub>ṣṣa "dau<sub>10</sub> "faa nai müüa<sub>3</sub>, [3] 'daa° "sḡḡy° lää|

/kap wāt salii ?ùn muaṅ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj muaṅ tâa sḡḡj lee/

**Translation.**

[Made] for Waḍ Sree 'Ur Müüa<sub>3</sub> {Yossa "Dau "Faa} in Müüa<sub>3</sub> 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

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

[paṇṇāsaṇipāta jaataka mahaasaṅgharaajaa "cau<sub>10</sub> "saan° nai<sub>4</sub> pii ko<sub>2</sub>ḍ se<sub>3</sub>ṣ cuḷasaḅkraaja [2] "ḍai° 912 tuua lää "phuū ḍai au pra<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>n° 'pḡ° "ruu° aṭṭha lää sapdaa "cään° "ḍää° 'yaa° nap khiian [3] 'sai° thääm 'gḡ° 'yaa° plään siia<sub>4</sub> 'ḍää° 'pḡ° au peen phreeḍ, (müüa<sub>3</sub>) pra<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>n° "läaw° yia<sub>4</sub> blan au [4] maa 'so<sub>2</sub>n° 'ḍaṇ° 'kau° 'ḍää° "saan° [yaak] nak 'kää° naa jlää jään "ḍuuy° (düün)|

/pānaasa? nīpāata? caataka? mahāsaṅghā?laacaa cāw sāṅ naj pīi kot set cūnlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee phūu ḍaj ?aw phasōṅ bḡ lūu ?attha? lē? saptaa cēṅ tēe jāa nāp khiian sāj thēem kō jāa pēṅ sīa dēe bḡ ?aw pēn phēet mūa phasōṅ léew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ ḍaṅ kāv dēe sāṅ ñāak nāk kēe naa calee cēṅ ḍōj tuun/

**Translation.**

*Paṇṇāsanipāta-Jātaka* [this manuscript was] made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasaṅgharaajaa in the Year of the Dog, CS 912.- Whoever [among you] takes [this manuscript out for] worship, [if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording, do not add any writing on [it]: do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice], [you will] be [reborn as] a *peta*. After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care!

**NB:** the wording is partly obsolete today (see Part A, 3.3, supra, footnote 48). |prasoṅ|: < Skt *praśams* "to praise"; |pə au|: cf. the idiomatic expression: /thāa bə ʔaw kam .../ "if you don't listen ...".

### Remarks.

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

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

### Post-script.

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

### 06. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Tīṅsanipāta

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

**Begins:** 2 = *ka* v, line 1

namo tassa bha[ga]vato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.      kīṃchando  
kīṃadhippayo, *Ja* V 1,3

**Ends:** 46 = *khaṃ* v, line 5

deva eko yakkho dissamānarūpena, *Ja* V 22,11

### Colophon.

Front and Back Cover Folio.

|pīi, kaap se,ḍ {8} sakraaja "ḍai" 876 tīṅsanipaata mahaa upaasaka  
buua gaam 'taan' müüa,ṅ "saan" "wai" kap waḍ suuar, khuua "nan" (?)|

/p̄i k̄aap set sakalaacā? dāj p̄et lóʝ cet sip hok [t̄uā] t̄iṅsa?n̄ip̄āata?  
mahāa ʔubaasaka? pua kham t̄aṅ m̄uaṅ s̄āṅ wáj kap wāt s̄ūan kh̄ūa  
n̄án/

### Translation.

Year of the Dog - [C] S 876. [This manuscript of the] *Tiṅsanipāta* was made for Waḍ Suuar Khuua at the behest of the Great Layman Buua Gaṃ ʔTaañ Müüañ.

### Remarks.

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

## 07. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Sattatinipāta

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

**Begins:** p 1 = ka r, line 1

devatānusi gandhabbo 'ti, *Ja* V 312,15

**Ends:** p 41, line 5b - p 42, line 1a

Soṇananda-jātakaṃ dutiyaṃ. iti jātakaṭṭhakathāyavijātaka-  
paṭimaṇḍitassa Sattatinipātassa [42.1]tthavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā, *Ja* V 332,26

### Colophons.

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

|sattatinipaata jaatakā an "nii₂ m̄haasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° nai₄ pii  
ko₂ḍ se₃ṣ [2] cuḷasakraaja "ḍai 912 tuua l̄ää "phuu° ḍai₄ au bai praṣo₂ṅ  
'yaa° nap khiian 's[3]ai° thāam 'yaa° plāān₃, s̄iia₄ 'ḍāā° 'p̄q° ḍii₂ peen  
phreeḍ jaam praṣo₂ṅ "l̄ääw° [4] yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂ṅ 'ḍañ° 'kau₁₀ 'ḍāā°  
"saan° yaak nak 'kāā° 'ḡoḡy° jāān "ḍuuay° ḍüün|

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

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

|ga ka ka kha kap waṣ srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃ṅ yo₂ṣ "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüañ₃  
'daa° "s̄oḡy° "h̄nii° l̄ää|

(For phonematic transcription and translation, cf. 05 (1); |'h̄nii| "here")

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

|m̄haasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° l̄ää|  
/mahāsaṅkhālaacaa cāw s̄āṅ l̄eē/

### Translation.

Made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasaṅgharaajaa.

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

|kap waṣ m̄haasro₂h̄maṇṇa srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃ṅ yo₂ṣ "dau₁₀ "faa° 'daa°  
"s̄oḡy° "h̄nii° l̄ää|

/kap wāt mahāasalōmmanā? salīi ʔùn m̄uaṅ n̄ōt táw fáa t̄āa s̄ōʝ n̄ii l̄eē/

### Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ {Mahaasrohmaṇa} Srii 'Ur Müüañ {Yo₂s "Dau "Faa}, here in 'Daa "S̄oḡy.

**Remarks.**

The words in {} constitute epitheta ornantia; the first, "Great Noble" (< Skt śramaṇa), only found in this manuscript, may very well (according to a suggestion made to me by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri) refer to the Mahaasaṅgharaajaa which could be taken as a hint that it was this monastery where the highest-ranking Buddhist dignitary of 'Daa "Sḡḡy resided. The second, "renowned up to the Heavens", is used in the colophons of several other manuscripts from this monastery (cf. **05** [2]; **08** [1, 4, 7]).

**08. SAṂYUTTANIKĀYA 2.3; Sagāthavagga**

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

**Begins:** 1 [= phuuk 3], p 1 = *nā* r, line 1  
pavi]vitto bhante āyasmā sārīputto, SNI 63,28

**Ends:** 2 [= phuuk 4], p 36 = *jaḥ* v, line 5  
sandasseti samādape[ti], SNI 113,3

**Colophons.**

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

|"saan° "wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ, yo₂ṣṣa "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüañ,  
'daa° "sḡḡy° "hmiī° lää|

/sāṅ wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn maaṅ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj maaṅ tâa sōj nīi lee/

**Translation.**

Made for Waḍ Srii 'Un Müüañ {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüañ 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

(2) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page|paaliī sagaathawagga an "nii° naañ gaam baa miia, 'hmüün° "nḡḡy

traa "saan° nai pii kaḍ "rau₁₀ cuḷasaakraaja "ḍai° 911 tuua lää [2b] kulaputt  
to₂n ḍai au bai praṣo₂ñ "läaw° yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂ñ° "wai° 'ḍañ° 'kau₁₀  
'ḍää° "saan° yaak nak 'kää° [3b] jlää jāñ "ḍuay° düün "hüü° puñ,  
caamröön 'kää "phuu peen daayaka "nan° 'tḡḡ° "dau₁₀ nibbaan düün|

/baaliī sakaatha?wākkā? ?an nīi naaṅ kham paa mia mēun nōj thalāa  
sāṅ naj pīi kat lāw cūnlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee  
kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōṅ léew ñīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ wáj ḍaṅ kàw  
dèe sāṅ ñāak nāk kèe calee ceṅ dōj tūun hūu bun cāmləon kèe phūu pēn  
taañāka? nán tòḍ táw nīppaan tūun/

**Translation.**

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

**NB:** |kulaputt ton ḍai|: the use of the clf /ton/ (which is common in NT when referring to members of the Saṅgha, including holy objects like Buddha statues etc., and the Royalty can be taken as an indication that it is specifically (younger) monks and novices who are addressed.

(See also **05** [2], above).

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

|"wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ 'daa° "sḡḡy° lää|  
/wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn maaṅ tâa sōj lee/

**Translation.**

[Made] for Waḍ Srii 'Un Müüañ, 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

(4) phuuk 3, last folio, no no., preceded by p 48, on left margin

|"wai° kap waş srii 'un° müüan<sub>3</sub> yo<sub>2</sub>ssa [2] "dau<sub>10</sub> "faa° nai müüan<sub>3</sub> 'daa°  
"sqoy° "hnii<sub>3</sub> lää|

/wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn muəŋ n̄ōtsa? táw fáa naj muəŋ tâa s̄ōj nīi lee/

### Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ Sree Un Müüan {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüan 'Daa  
"Sqoy.

(5) *ibid.*, in the middle of the page

|paalīi sagaathawagga samyuttanikaay an "nii<sub>3</sub> naan gaam baa miia,  
'hmüün° "noyy° traa "saan° nai pii kaḍ "rau<sub>10</sub> cuḷa[2]sakraaja "ḍai° 911  
tuua lää kulaputt ton ḍai au bai pra<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>n° 'yaa° nap plään<sub>3</sub> siia<sub>4</sub> 'gō° [3]  
'yaa° nap khiian 'sai° thääm 'ḍää° 'pō° ḍii<sub>3</sub> peen phreed jaam pra<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>n°  
"läaw° yia<sub>4</sub> blan au maa 'so<sub>2</sub>n° "wai° [4] 'ḍan° 'kau<sub>10</sub> 'ḍää° "saan° yaak nak  
'kää° 'gōyy° jään "ḍuuy° düün 'cuñ<sub>3</sub> "hüü° peen pra<sub>2</sub>caiy 'kää° an "ḍai°  
yañ lookiyā lää lookuttara sampatti 'kää° upaasikaa "phuu° "saan° "nii°  
düün rau<sub>10</sub> 'gō° anumoo[6]ḍanaa "ḍuuy° lää|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkā? sāṅñūtta?nikāaj ?an nīi naaŋ kham paa mia  
mèun n̄ōj thalāa sāaŋ naj pii kat lāw cunlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw l̄ōj sip ?et  
tūa lee k̄nlābut t̄on daj ?aw paj phasōŋ jàa nāp p̄eŋ s̄iā k̄ō jàa nāp  
khīan s̄aj th̄eem d̄eē b̄ō d̄ii p̄ēn ph̄eēt caam phasōŋ l̄eew n̄iā? pan ?aw  
maa s̄ōŋ wāj dàŋ kàw d̄eē sāaŋ n̄āak nāk k̄eē k̄ōj c̄eŋ d̄ōj t̄uun c̄uŋ h̄eū  
p̄ēn phatc̄aj k̄eē ?an ḍāj n̄aŋ lookiñā? l̄ē? lookuttalā?s̄ampatti? k̄eē  
?ubaasikāa phūu sāaŋ nīi t̄uun law k̄ō ?anūmootanaa d̄ōj lee/

### Translation.

This [copy of the] Pāli [text of the] *Sagāthavagga*, [being part of the]  
*Samyuttanikāya*, was made at the behest of Naañ Gaam Baa, the wife of  
'Hmüün "Noyy Traa, in the Year of the Cock (|pii kaḍ "rau|), CS 911.  
Whoever [among you], sons of good family, takes [this manuscript out  
for] worship, do not [try to] make any corrections; do not add any writing  
on [it]; [that is an] evil [deed; you will] be [reborn as a] *peta*! After  
worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it

was, indeed, to make it, so do take good care! - May [the merit acquired  
by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the  
laywoman-donor's attainment of the Mundane as well as Supermundane  
states.\* May I also express my sympathetic joyfulness [for this  
meritorious deed].

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

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

[same as (2), above, until ---] |911 tuua lää "phuu° ḍai au pra<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub>n° 'pō°  
"ruu° aṭṭha lää sapdaa "cāān° 'yaa° nap plään siia<sub>4</sub> 'yaa° khiian 'sai°  
thääm 'pō° ḍii peen phreed jaam ... 'gōyy° jään "ḍuuy° düün 'cuñ<sub>3</sub> peen  
pra<sub>2</sub>caiy "gaam juu daayakā "phuu° "saan° "nan° 'ṭō° "dau<sub>10</sub> thōōn  
amātani[5]bbaan dōōn|

/... k̄āw l̄ōj sip ?et tūa lee phūu daj ?aw phasōŋ b̄ō lūu ?attha? l̄ē? s̄aptaa  
c̄eŋ jàa nāp p̄eŋ s̄iā jàa khīan s̄aj th̄eem b̄ō d̄ii p̄ēn ph̄eēt caam ... k̄ōj  
c̄eŋ d̄ōj t̄uun c̄uŋ p̄ēn phatc̄aj kám cuu taañāka? phūu sāaŋ nán  
t̄ō t̄aw th̄ōŋ ?amātani[5]ppaan t̄eōn/

### Translation.

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

**NB.** The written form transliterated here as |aṭṭha| /?attha?/ (< P *aṭṭha*  
"meaning, sense") is ambiguous: it allows for another reading, i.e.  
|aṭṭh| /?at/ "id." Both forms are found in NT literature. The first

may be considered as the more learned variant prevailing in literary style, the second one, representing an old loanword in NT, is predominantly used in everyday speech.

(7) *ibid.*, on left margin

|"saan° kap waş srii 'un₃ müüaṅ, yo₂ssa "dau° "faa° nai müüaṅ, 'daa° "sqṛy° "hnii° lää|

/sãaŋ kap wãt salīi ?ùn m̄aŋ ñõtsa? táw fáa naj m̄aŋ tâa sōj nīi læ/

### Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüaṅ {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüaṅ 'Daa "Sqṛy.

### Remarks.

On the contents of this manuscript, see O. v. HinÜBER 1983:80.-

|gaaṃ baa|: /kham/ "gold, golden"; /paa/ (prima facie): "to lead, take somebody to some place personally". This would make, semantically, a rather strange name. A different interpretation, suggested by Prof. Udom Roongruangsri, seems more convincing. As is well known, words like /këew/ "jewel" or /kham/ "gold" are widely used in NT names as decorative expressions of affection and should not be taken as part of the genuine name. Cf. names like /kham ?ãaj/ etc. where only the second element can be considered as the real personal name. Taking into account the Thai habit of affectionately, or out of familiarity, calling people by only the last syllable of their full names, the real given name of |Naaṅ Gaaṃ Baa| may have been |Bimbaa| "mould, moulded" (< Skt/P bimba) which would make a very common girl's name. For a similar case, see |Sään Gaaṃ Daa| in 20, phuuk 12.

## 09. PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ [3.3.?)

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

**Begins:** p 1 = *jha* r, line 1

sahajātapa]ccayā va na honti sahajātadhamavasena pana nissayapaccayādihi pavattisabbāvato tasmi vāre patikkhitteso vāro parihāyati evam idhā 'pi aññamaññapaccayadhamavasena sahajātādihi pavattisabbhāvato tasmim paṭi[2]kkhitte so (v)āro parihāyati, *Tikap-a* (N° 1972) 213,5=(B° 1956)471,21.

**Ends:** p 37 = *ne* v, line 6

vipulavisuddhabuddhinā Buddhaghoso 'ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena therena katā sakalassā 'pi abhidhammapīṭakassa aṭṭhakathā mahā anantañāṇavisayassa paṭṭhānamahāpakaraṇassa aṭṭhakathā anantañā, *Tikap-a* [end of text]

### Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio.

" 5 *Paṭṭhānamahāpakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* "

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

|na 5 sa{a}kraja 945 m̄a- mää ch̄nam₂ p° upaasikaa 'mää ciam peen pratyayadaayikaa|

/hãa sakalaacã? kãw lój sìi sip hãa mã?mee sanãṃ patthãanã? mahãapakalãñã? ?atthakathãa ?ubaasikãa mēe cīam pēn phatñãñã?taañkãa/



**Translation.**

[phuuk] 5 - [C] S 945, Year of the Goat.- [The making of this manuscript of the] P<sup>o</sup> was supported by the lay-woman named Ciiam.\*

\* |'mäa ciiam| lit.: "Mother Ciiam".

**Remarks.**

This text has been edited in *Tikap, Dikap*, cf. CPD, Epilegomena 3.7,1; further: The Pañcappakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā, vol. III Yamaka-Paṭṭhāna-Aṭṭhakathā, ed. by M. Tiwary. Nalanda 1972 (N<sup>o</sup>). (O. v. Hinüber). Note the Sanskrit form *pratyayadāyikā* (instead of the Pāli word *paccayadāyikā* also used in the colophons) which appears to be rather unique.

**10. ABHIDHAMMA-GUḶHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 3.9.3**

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

**Begins:**

]lena balena cā 'ti adhippāyo. jarāmarāṇasaṃbandhā [commentary on *Vibh-a* 188,20 ] 'ti jarāmarāṇahetukā anabhisambandhā 'ti bhoye ...

**Ends:** p 47, line 4b-5

aṭṭhakathācariyassa hi nāma kattā Buddhaghosena 'ti vuttam. samattan ti dhammasamma[5]tam paṭiccasamuppādadhammatam paṭi vijjhatū 'ti attho majjhimaṃ vā paṭipadaṃ ariyaṃ aṭṭhamgikamaggaṃ. sammohavinodaniyā vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya guḷhaditthadīpa[48.1] nā(!) niṭṭhitā

**Colophons.**

(1) Front Cover, r

|nāk puñ<sub>3</sub> †juuañja† "tāām° "saan° lāā  
mahāa ñāaṇasaṃuddamaṅgala- meedhaawii "cau<sub>2</sub>° peen upathambhaka  
"saan|

/nāk bun (cuṅcā? ?) tēem sāṅ lee

mahāa ñāanāsamūttā?maṅkālā?meethaawii cāw pēn ?upathāmphāka?  
sāṅ/

**Translation.**

Written by the pious Juuañja (?) - supported by the Venerable Mahaa Ñāaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii.

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

(2) *ibid.*, rear side

|Sammohavinodaniya Guḷhatthakathā lāā "saan° "wai° 'būūa<sub>3</sub>° "hūū°  
jōotakā buddhāsaasanaa traap<sub>3</sub> 'tōō<sub>3</sub>° "dau<sub>2</sub>° jaraa lāā|

/sāmmooha?wīnootāññā? kunhatthakathā lee sāṅ wāj pēa hūū  
cootaka? pūthā?śāasanaa thalāap tōō tāw calaa lee/

**Translation.**

[The Pāli text of] the G<sup>o</sup> - Made to support Buddha's Teachings so that they may survive as long as the palm-leaves last.

(3) p 48, line 1

|mahāa ñāaṇasaṃuddamaṅgala "cau<sub>2</sub>° uppathambhaka "saan  
Sammohavinodaniyā Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya Guḷhatthadīpanā(!) niṭṭhitā |

/mahāa ñāanāsamūttāmaṅkālā? cāw ?uppathāmphāka? sāṅ .../

**Translation.**

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

(4) Back Cover, r

|gu|ḥadiipanii lāā "saan° "wai° 'büüa; "hüü° jootaka buddḥasaasanaa  
lāā|  
/kunhatiipanii lee sāaṅ wáj p̄ā hūū cootaka? p̄ūthā? sāasanaa lee/

### Translation.

[The Pāli text of the] G° - Made to support Buddha's Teachings.

### Remarks.

This text, a subcommentary on *Vibh-a*, was previously unknown.

## 11. DĪGHANIKĀYA 2.1; Sāmaññaphalasutta

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

**Begins:** Front Cover [no no.] r, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.  
evaṃ me suttaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā, *DNI* 47,2

**Ends:** p 75, line 5a

]kaṃ dhammakajānaṃ j[ī]vitāna vo rope(ss)atha imasmim̄ ye  
vassabh(e)sane virajaṃ (vi)tamaḷaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ upajjissa(t)ati.  
idaṃ avoca bhagavā attama[, *DNI* 86,7

**Colophon** [in Pāli].

p 76, line 1a

[*Sāmaññapha*]lasuttaṃ dutiyaṃ

### Translation.

[*Sāmaññapha*]la-suttaṃ - 2nd [sutta of the *DN*].

### Remarks.

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

## 12. SADDANĪTI 5.2; Author: Aggavaṃsa (AD 1154)

Roll 8, 171". Dc no. 0241, ms no 843. 18 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete; phuuk 8, 21-26, 28, 29, 32-40. Last bundle (?). CS 923 or 953 = AD 1561 or 1591, respectively (see Remarks). Wat Phumin (NT /wāt phuumin/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

**Begins:** phuuk 8, p 1, line 1a

iti nipaccate [E° nipphajjate] tvañ ca uttama sattavo sattavā sattavanti,  
*Sadd* 648,14

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

ari[5]maddanapuravāsīnā aggavaṃsācariyena kataṃ  
Saddanittipakaraṇaṃ(!) niṭṭhitaṃ. pamāṇato idaṃ pakaraṇaṃ sattatiyā  
bhāṇavātehi sattatumthehi [read: sattuttarehi] gāthāsatehi ca  
niṭṭhaṅgataṃ, *Sadd* 928,21

### Colophons.

(1) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, r

|cu|ṣaṅkraaja "ḍai; 9°(2)3 tuua sre;ḥ naū pii, ṛakaa dai,ya bhaasaa  
'waa° pii, "ruuañ; "rau, saddanitti phuuk, 8 luu,k, naañ khaaw srii,  
'y,uu° "paan 'daa° huua rūūan (sic!) ban "hüü° "saan° kap  
buddḥasaasnaa |āā|

/cūnlāsāṅkhāatcā? ḍāj kāw ló; saaw (?) sāam tūa salet naj p̄i lākāa  
tajñā?phaasā wāa p̄i luāṅ lāv sattānitti? phūuk p̄et lūuk naaṅ khāaw  
salī jūū bāan tāa hūa luan pan hūū sāaṅ kap p̄ūthā? sāasanaa lee/

### Translation.

CS 9(2?)3 - Completed in the Year of the Goat (|pii rakaa|), [which corresponds to] the year called |"ruuañ "rau| in the Dai tradition. [This copy of] the 8th phuuk of the *Saddanīti* was made in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings at the behest of the son/ daughter\* of Naañ Khaaw Sree who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rūūan Ban.

\* By the term |luuk| no indication is given as to the sex of the "child"; |luuk| may also be plural: "sons and/or daughters, children". Native speakers however feel that in this context, the scribe is referring to a single donor.

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

(2) phuuk 24, Front Cover Folio, r

|phuuk<sub>4</sub> 24 cu|asaṅkakrajja "ḍai" 9(2)3 tuua sre<sub>3</sub>jh naü pii, rakaa dai<sub>4</sub>ya bhaasaa 'waa' pii, "ruuañ" rau<sub>2</sub> saddaṇiṭi luuk<sub>4</sub> naañ<sub>4</sub> khaaw srii<sub>5</sub> mii 'y<sub>4</sub>uu' 'daa' huua rüüan ban mii kusalaḥchan "haü" "saan" "wai" kap saasnaa bra buddha "cau" 'ṭṭo' "dau" 5000 wassaa phuuk<sub>4</sub> 24|

/phùuk saaw sîi cūnlāsāṅkhàtcā? dāḅ kāw lóḅj saaw (?) sām tūa salet naj pīi lākāa tajñā?phaasāa wāa pīi lúaj lāw sattānīti? lūuk naaḅ khaaw salīi mii jūu tāa hūa luan pan mii kutsala?sañ hāḅ sāḅj wāj kap sāsanaa phā? pūthā cāw tōḅ tāv hāa pan wātsāa phùuk saaw sîi/

### Translation.

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

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

(3) phuuk 33, Front Cover Folio, r

|... "hūü" "saan" mii mahaa wajirapañño "cau" peen upathambhaka : 33|

/... hūü sãḅj mii mahāa wātcīlā?pañño cāw pēn ?uppathāmphāka? sām sip sām/

**Translation** (last part).

... Made at the behest of ... , the Venerable Mahaa Wajirapañño being [the leading monastic] supporter. [phuuk] 33.

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

(4) phuuk 22, Front Cover Folio, r

|namatthu jina(v)arapavara t̄cuua waad̄t̄ cu|asaṅkakraj "ḍai" 9°53 tuua sre<sub>3</sub>jh (written: srajhee) saddaṇiṭti phuuk<sub>4</sub> 22 luuk<sub>4</sub> naañ khaaw srii, 'y<sub>4</sub>uu' "paan" 'daa' huua rüüan ban "hūü" "saan" peen praḥcayā 'kää' ñaṅṅa(...)|

/nāmātthu? cīnā?wālāpawālā ... cūnlāsāṅkhàt dāḅ kāw lóḅj hāa sip sām tūa salet sattānīti? phùuk saaw sōḅj lūuk naaḅ khaaw salīi jūu bāan tāa hūa luan pan hūü sãḅj pēn phatcañā? kēe ñaanā(...)/

**Translation** (last part).

... CS 953 - completed. *Sadd* - phuuk 22: made at the behest of the son/daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban ... as a contribution to [the attainment of] (...) knowledge (...).

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

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

|saddāṇiṭṭi maḍ plaay saddāṇiṭṭi phuuk<sub>4</sub> 8 luuk<sub>4</sub> naañ<sub>4</sub> khaaw srii,  
'y<sub>4</sub>uu° 'daa huua rūūan ban "hūū° "saan° kap buddh<sub>4</sub>saasnaa|

/sattānīti? māt pāaj sattānītti? phūuk pèet lūuk naaṅ khāaw salī jūu  
bāan taa hūa huān pan hūu sāaṅ kap pūthā? sāasanaa/

### Translation.

*Sadd* - last bundle [See Remarks]. *Sadd* - phuuk 8. Made at the behest of the son/ daughter of Naañ Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rūūan Ban, in support of Lord Buddha's Teachings.

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

(6) phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio, r

|sakkaraaja 953 pii, tho<sub>4</sub> daiy<sub>4</sub>bhaasaa 'waa° pii, "ruuañ<sub>3</sub> "hmau°  
gimhantaraḍuu ḍūūa<sub>3</sub>n 7 "khūn° 15 'gaam° (sic!) saddāṇiṭṭipakarāṇa maḍ  
plaay mahaa aggasaamii, "cau<sub>2</sub> waḍ candamoḷii, srii, saddhammakitti  
"saan° ka kha ko |

/sakkalaacā? kāw lōj hāa sip sāam pīi tho? tajñā? phaasāa wāa pīi  
lūaṅ māw kimhanta? lāduu ḍuan cet khūn sip hāa khām  
sattānīti? pakalānā? māt pāaj mahāa ?akkāsāamii cāw wāt cāntā? moolii  
salī satthammākitti? sāaṅ/

### Translation.

[C] S 953 - In the Year of the Hare (|pii tho|) called |pii "ruuañ "hmau| in the Dai tradition, in the Hot Season, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waxing moon. *Sadd* - last bundle; made at the behest of Mahaa-Aggasaamii the Venerable Lord Abbot [of this monastery (?), i.e. Wat Phumin?] Candamoḷii Srii Saddhammakitti.

**NB:** The words following |"cau waḍ| obviously refer to the holder of an ecclesiastical title (cf. [7] phuuk 32, below, where the double appearance of the word |"cau| leaves no doubt about this), and not the name of a monastery which one would normally expect to find at this position. Therefore, the name of the monastery can only be surmised. Virtually an identical colophon (only the words [7] "7th" and |"khūn| "waxing" do not appear) is engraved on the recto side of the Front Cover Folio of phuuk 23. Similar colophons (however, without year, name of Cyclical Year, month, day, etc.) are to be found in phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio v, as well as in:

(7) phuuk 32, Front Cover Folio, r

|saddāṇiṭṭipakarāṇa somḍe<sub>2</sub>cch "cau<sub>2</sub> waḍ candamoḷii, srii,  
saddhammakitti "cau<sub>2</sub> "saan° phuuk<sub>4</sub> 32|

/sattānīti? pakalānā? sōmdet cāw wāt cāntāmoḷii salī  
satthammākitti? cāw sāaṅ phūuk sāam sip sōḅ/

### Translation.

*Saddānīti-Pakarāṇa* - Made at the behest of the Venerable Lord Abbot Candamoḷii (here written: Candamoḷii) Srii Saddhammakitti. - phuuk 32.

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

|saddāṇiṭṭipakarāṇa "ḍai° (... .. "hmau°) hnañsūū hnūūa capap 'nūn°  
'daan° khiian pii sakkaraaja 855 (tuua)|

/dāj ... māj nāṅsūū nūa cabap nūṅ taa khīan pīi sakkalaacā? pèet lōj hāa  
sip hāa tūa/

### Translation.

(...) the previous holograph [ i.e. the one from which this manuscript was copied?] was written in [C] S 855 (= AD 1493).

**NB:** On the front cover folio, recto side, of phuuk 40, the title Sadd is written additionally in Khmer script, accompanied by some further notes in Khmer script, the last three words seemingly to be read /cop paj ləəj/ "... has come to the end".

### Remarks.

The mention of the date of writing the original manuscript, from which the present one was copied, is very rare. As for the date of the manuscript found at Wat Phumin, two conflicting years are given: CS 9(2)3, Year of the Goat [pii rakaa], and CS 9(5)3, Year of the Hare [pii thə] (the latter date appears on phuuk 21 and 23 only). In fact, the middle of the 3-digit-numbers, as they appear in the colophons, can be interpreted as both either "2" or "5". It could be tempting then to assume that some of the phuuk were actually written at different times, i.e. one part in CS 923, the other one 30 years later? The puzzle centering around the correct date of this manuscript has, indeed, a few more components. One is the fact that all colophons were quite obviously written by the same scribe, in an orthography of undoubtedly very ancient style; how can it then be explained that two different cyclical years are mentioned (Year of the Hare vs. Year of the Goat) which match with CS 923 and 953, respectively?

Another strange fact is the mention, on the Front Cover colophon of phuuk 8, that this phuuk belongs to the same "last bundle" of the Sadd like all the other fasciculi: this would mean that the last bundle of this text must have consisted of 40 phuuk — a number fairly exceeding the normal size of palm-leaf bundles the largest ones of which generally comprise not more than 20-24 phuuk. Although it would be tempting to think of possible answers to the problems, it is preferred here to wait for a more detailed study of the manuscript which is about 300 years older than the one used by Helmer Smith for his edition of this important Pāli grammar. For a study of old NT orthography, the colophons of this manuscript offer some interesting pieces of evidence one of which is the consistent differentiation between the equivalents of [ai] (/ʔaj máj maalaj/) and [aü] (/ʔaj máj múan/), a characteristic which is also found in the colophons of other early Pāli manuscripts of this collection, for instance in **04** (Mil). Another peculiarity is the shape of the character |ɣ<sub>4</sub>| used for representing ancient /\*ʔj/ (or /\*ʔñ/, resp.): a digraphic combination of

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

### 13. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.11 [?]; Vessantarajātaka- [aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-] ṭīkā ("ṬĪKĀ MAHĀVESSANTARA")

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

**Begins:** p 1 = *jha* v, line 6

]va āgantvā imaṃ brahāraṇaṃ pattomhi tayo bede ca jānāmi mahallako ca homi na taruṇo tvaṃ eva r[ū]passa mayhaṃ puttasaṅkhāta dhaṇaṃ datvā saggaṃ gamissase vā[2] [sa]ce tvaṃ |pa|ñcubho, [commentary on *Ja* VI 544,20\*]

**Ends:** p 46 = *ñah* v, line 6

]nāya pana mando 'ti aññāṇīti vuttattā ca. mando bhogavināse cāḍhake muj(j)ā paṭusvā 'pi abhidhānappakaraṇe vuttattā ca. kiṃ nu jhāyasi kiṃ kāraṇāma yasi (adā?) [commentary on *Ja* VI 565,5\*]

### Colophons.

(1) p 26 = *na* v, left margin

|kap waṣ paak<sub>4</sub> ŋuua|

/kap wāt pàak ŋua/

### Translation.

[Made for] Waḍ Paak ŋuua.

(2) no no., preceded by p 46 [= *ñah* v]

[ṭikāa mahāaweessantara<sup>ṭ</sup>ajātaka<sup>ṭ</sup> an "nii" "saan<sup>ṭ</sup> nai pii<sup>ṭ</sup> plöök<sup>ṭ</sup>, yii  
cuḷasakraaj "ḍai" 940 tuua lāā]

/tikāa mahāawêetsāntalā? caataka? ?an nī sāaṅ naj pii pèak nīi  
cūnlāsakhāat dāḷ kāw lōḷj sīi sip tūa lee/

### Translation.

[This copy of the] ṭikā\* on the *Mahāvessantarajātaka* was made in the  
Year of the Tiger [pii pöök yii], CS 940.

\* ṭikā (P): 'subcommentary'

**NB:** This and the following text belong to the same manuscript.

### Remarks.

This text is different from the *Linatṭhappakāsini*, on which see v.  
HINÜBER 1985:15-20; its relation to the *Mahāvessantaravivaraṇa*  
preserved in the National Library, Bangkok (cf. v. HINÜBER 1983:83), has  
still to be investigated. (O. v. Hinüber).

### 14. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā

Roll 9, 043". Dc no 0251, ms no 758 (previously no. 758 [3]). 1 phuuk (= phuuk 3), 6 lines. Incomplete. CS 940 = AD 1578. Wat Bun Yuen. Amphoe Sa, Nan.

**Begins:** p 1 = *tha r*

puritatta evaṃ taṃ bhavantaṃ mañamano ahan taṃ putte yācituṃ  
āgami dāsathāya putte me yācito dehi tvanti yojanā. evaṃ ādito  
paṭṭhāya pañcannañ ca mahānadināṃ upatti veditabbā, [commentary on  
*Ja* VI 543,6\*]

**Ends:** p 48 = *caḷ v*, line 6

pakampitvā nirantaraṃ anekasatarāvaṃ anekasahassarāvaṃ nadanti  
ravanti uccārenti ahoṣi. saddo te tidivaṃ gato 'ti sādhu<sup>ṭ</sup>kārasaddo tava  
dā, [commentary on *Ja* VI 571,9\*]

### Colophons.

(1) The following Pāli colophon is written on the reverse side of the Front  
Cover Folio (preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.):

|*ṇa ca phuuk, 3. idaṃ aṭṭhakaṭṭhā Mahāvessantarajātakaṃ mahātherena  
Sujātanācakena paññāvisesaṃ nāma antevāsi(...)[2] tvā ārāme  
Sippikamukhe nāma thapitaṃ |* |23|

### Translation.

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

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

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

|"saan<sup>ṭ</sup> "wai" kap waṣ paak<sup>ṭ</sup> ṇuua|  
/sāaṅ wāj kap wāt pāk ḡua/

### Translation.

Made for Waḍ Paak Ṇuua.

**NB:** Another colophon which is identical with (2) is engraved on the left  
margin of p 3; there is only one difference: instead of |ṇuua| "bull,  
ox", the morphological variant |wuua| is used.

**Remarks.**

This text is not identical with the Jātaka-Atthavaṇṇanā. (O. v. Hinüber).

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

Roll 8, 75". Dc no 0235, ms no 721. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1195 = AD 1833. Wat Sung Men (NT /wāt sùuṅ mēn/; CT /wát sũuṅ mēn/). Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

**Begins:**

namass' atthu. anantaka cakkavāḷaṃ ve yena gataṃ asaṃsayam natvā saddhammasaṅghan taṃ lokaviduṃ anantaḡuṃ nānāganthesu sāratham gahetabbaṃ samādiya karissā 'haṃ subodhattaṃ cakkavāḷakadīpaniṃ anusuyyā nisāmetha api labheta chekata[2]nti. tattha cakkavāḷaṃ nāma lokadhātum

**Ends:** phuuk 10, p 47, line 2c-4

yaṃ manussakaṃ vassa[3]sattaṃ t[ā]vatīṃsānaṃ eso eko rattindivo |pe| tena saṃvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesam āyuppamaṇaṃ. manussagaṇanā[4]ya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṭṭhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmānaṃ eso eko, *Cakkav* (S° 1980) 188,20.

**Colophons.**

(1) Front Side of "mai hlaap.

[tuua paaḷii cakkawaalādīpanii mii sip phuuk, lāā gruū paa "cau kañcanaṃ araññāwaa[2]sīi müüaṇ 'brāā peen "glau° saddhaa lāā sissā "cau dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nōok, mii māhaaraaj "cau° müüaṇ 'brāā lāā māhaaraaj "cau° müüaṇ 'naan peen "glau° [3] lāā pajaanaarattha dañ muuar, "brōom kan "saañ yañ akkhradhamm, kambii an "nii "waiy joodhakā (!) buddhasaasnaa 5 ban braṃ wassaa lāā "saañ nai müüaṇ 'naan° lāā]

/tūa baalii cakkawaalātīpanii mii sip phūuk lee khuu baa cāw kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi muuṅ phēe pēn kāv satthaa lē? sitsa? cāw taṅ muan satthaa paaṅ nōok mii mahāalāat cāw muuṅ phēe lē? mahāalāat cāw muuṅ nāan pēn kāv lē? pacaanaalāttha? taṅ muan phōom kān sāṅ ṇaṅ ?akkhalātham kāmpii ?an nīi wāj coothāka? pūtthā? sāasanaa hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee sāṅ naj muuṅ nāan lee/

**Translation.**

The Pāli text of C° - consisting of 10 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruu Paa Kañcana, Müüaṇ 'Brāā, as initiating monastic supporter together with his followers, and the Royal Ruler of Müüaṇ 'Brāā as well as the Royal Ruler of Müüaṇ 'Naan as leading lay supporters, and all the common people [of both states] joined in sponsoring the making of this Dhamma manuscript, wishing thereby to ensure that the Teachings of Buddha (Pāli: Buddhasāsana) will last for 5,000 years. Made in Müüaṇ 'Naan.

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

[paaḷii cakkawaalādīpanii phuuk, tōn dañ muuar, mii sip phuuk, [2] culasakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai| [3] (s. line 1)

/baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk tōn taṅ muan mii sip phūuk cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan nēṅ lōj kāv sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj/

**Translation.**

[The] Pāli [text of the] C° - First phuuk; [altogether] consisting of ten phuuk. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake (plii 'kaa "sai|).

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side.

|"saañ 'müüaṇ sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai lāā /sāṅ mūa sakhàat ḍāj pan nēṅ lōj kāv sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj lee/

**Translation.**

Made in [C] S 1195, Year of the Snake.

## (4) Front Cover Folio, reverse side (preceding p 2 = ka v)

|tuua paali c° phuuk, "ton lāā somḍe, ch mahaaraaj müüa, n'naan "saan  
"gaam juu gruu paa kañcana araññawaasii müüa, n'braā nibbāna paccayo  
hotu |

/tūa baalii cakkawaalātipanii phūuk tōn lee sōmdet mahāalāat mvaṅ  
nāan sāṅ kám cuu khuu baa kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasii mvaṅ phēe.../

**Translation.**

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

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

|paali c° phuuk, "thuar, soṇ, cuḷasakhraaj ... (s. above, colophon [2],  
line 2) "saan nai müüa, n'naan lāā 'thoṇ, dhaan (sic!) "lāāw° taam capap  
'klau° |

/baalii cakkawaalātipanii phūuk thūan sōṅ cūnlāsakhāt dāḷ pan nḥ  
lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāḷ sāṅ naj mvaṅ nāan lee thōḷ thaan  
léew tāam cabap kàw/

**Translation.**

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

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

|mahaawan bhikkhu rikkhitta "waiy "gaam juu warabuddhasaasanaa  
bra goodom "cau, 'tōḷ "dau, pañcasahassa wassaa traap  
phoṭṭhakatapatta aayu pamaana "dāa 'ciñ lāā|

/mahāawan phīkkhu? līkkhitta? wāj kám cuu walā? pūthā? sāasanaa  
phā? koodom cāw tō tāw pāna? sahatsa? wātsāa thalāap  
phōṭṭhakatapatta? ?aañū? pamaanā? tēe cìṅ lee/

**Translation.**

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

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

|pripunṇa "lāāw° yaam 'dīa, n'kāā "khaa "noṇ lāā na sobhati sak  
yaad lāā [2] mahaawan bhikkhu khiar, paañ 'müüa 'yuu waḷ "ton hnu, r,  
"naam saa lāā 'pō{ }° 'jaañ hlaay lāā|

/palīpunnā? léew nāam tīṅ kēe khāa nōj lee nā? sōphāti? sak jāat lee  
mahāawan phīkkhu? khīan pāṅ mēa jūu wāt tōn nūn nām sāa lee bō  
cāṅ lāaj lee/

**Translation.**

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

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

|80000 4000 "khaa khōḷ "hūu° naa puñ, "gaam juu tuua "khaa peen "glau°  
lāā guu paa aacaan 'bōḷ 'māā 'bii "noṇ, 'juu° gon "dāā dīi-hlii dō [2] pugḷ  
"phuu dai "dai 'lau, 'gōṇ "biccarānaa bai" dō tuua 'pō nāam heeḷ cai 'pō  
"tañ lāā|

/pēt mēun sīi pan khāa khōḷ hūu naa bun kám cuu tūa khāa pēn káw  
lē? khuu baa ?aacān pōḷ mēe pīi nōṅ cūu khon tēe dīi līi tē? pukkālā?  
phūu daj dāḷ lāw kōḷ pītcalanaa paj tē? tūa bō ṅaam hēt cāḷ bō tāṅ lee/



**Translation.**

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

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

[cu]ṣakkaṛaaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai rikkhitta paan 'müüa;  
saṭhi[t] saṃraar waṣ ṇuua ḍāān 'ḍaan "tai wiiañ, (written: wiiaṛ<sub>3</sub>) "nan°  
lāā paarii, cakkawaalāḍipañii, phuuk<sub>4</sub> (.) lāā ḍüüa<sub>3</sub>n 12 oḍk<sub>3</sub> 6 'gaaṃ  
'braaṃ° 'waa "ḍai wan meeñ-'maan° deey<sub>2</sub> (sic!) lāā|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan nūṅ lóḍj kāw sip hāa túa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet  
līkkhitta? pāṅ mūa sathit sāmīaan wāt ḡua deeṅ ḍāan tāj wiaṅ nán lee  
baalii cakkawaalāḍipañii phūuk (?) lee ḍuan sip sōḍḍj ?ḍok hok khām  
phām wāa ḍāj wan meṅ māan taj lee/

**Translation.**

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

\* This monastery still exists today.

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

[s]akkaṛaaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai somḍe<sub>3</sub>cc ma[2]haaraaj  
anantaraya raajaadhiraaj "cau droñ raaja[3]saddhaa ton swööy nai  
nandapurii "ḍai "saañ yañ dhāmm tuua paa[4]ii c° an "nii° "waiy  
jootakkaṛa wārabuddhaṣaa[5]ssnaa 5 ban wāssaa nibb[ā]napac[c]ayo hotu  
me|

/sakkalaacā? ḍāj pan nūṅ lóḍj kāw sip hāa túa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet  
mahāalāat ?anantalīñā? laacaathilāat cāw thaloṅ laacāsathaa tōn  
sawḍḍj naj nantāpuliī ḍāj sāṅ ṇāṅ tham túa baalii cakkawaalāḍipañii  
?an nīi wāj cootakka? walāpūthā?śāasanaa hāa pan wātsāa nīppaanā?  
patcañoo hōotu? mee/

**Translation.**

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj {"Cau}\*, Great Royal Ruler of Nandapurii [Müüān 'Naan], faithfully sponsored the making of this manuscript of the Pāli text of the C°, wishing thereby to ensure that Buddha's Excellent Teachings will last for 5,000 years. - May this [meritorious deed] contribute to my attainment of Nibbāna!

\*NB: This and similar mentions in the colophons of phuuk 9 and 10, as well as those to be found in 23, 29, and 30, are referring to "Cau Mahaayassaraaja (CT name /cāw mahājót/ who ruled over the Siamese vassal state of Nan from AD 1825 to 1835. (The same colophon is to be found on the 2nd cover folio of phuuk 10).

(11) phuuk 9, no no., preceded by p 45

[s]akkaṛaaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy somḍe<sub>3</sub>cc parammapobbitt  
sihaa anantaraya raajaadhiraas "cau droñ raajasaddhaa jootakka  
buddhaṣaassnaa nibbānapac[c]ayo hotu nic[c]aṃ [2] dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ|

/sakkalaacā? ḍāj pan nūṅ lóḍj kāw sip hāa túa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet  
palammbōpīt sihāa ?anantalīñā? laacaathilāat cāw thaloṅ laacāsathaa  
cootakka? pūthā?śāasanaa .../

**Translation.**

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Somḍec Parammapobbitt Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj\*, [Royal Ruler of Müüān 'Naan], faithfully supported Buddha's Teachings ...

\*see NB to (10).- Virtually the same text is to be found in:

(12) phuuk 10, 3rd Cover Folio

|somḍe,cc parammapoḍbitt anantaraya raajaaddhiraas "cau droṅ  
raajas°...|

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

### Remarks.

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

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

Roll 8, 90". Dc no 0236, ms no 709. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete. CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (/wāt cáaṅ kám/; present official CT name: /wát cháaṅ khám wōoráwihāan/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

### Begins:

namo tass' atthu. anantaka cakkavāḷaṃ ve yena gataṃ asaṃsayaṃ natvā  
sadhamaṃsaṅghan taṃ lokaviduṃ anantaḡuṃ nānāganthesu sāratham (!)

gahettabbaṃ samadiya (!) karissāhaṃ subodhatthaṃ  
cakkavāḷa (la) dipani a[2]nusuyyā nissametha ...

**Ends:** phuuk 10, p 47, line 2b

eso eko rattindivo tāyaratti[3]yo māso tena māsenā dvādasamāsiyo  
saṃvaccharo (bhū)tena saṃvaccharena dibbānipañcavassasatāni tesam  
āyuppamāṇaṃ. manussagaṇaṇā yanavuti [4] vassasatasahassāni. yaṃ  
manussakaṃ vassasataṃ tāvatimsānaṃ eso eko rattindivo |pe| tenu  
saṃvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesam āyuppamāṇaṃ.  
manussagaṇaṇāya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṅghīṇi ca  
vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmānaṃ eso  
eko, *Cakkav* (S° 1980) 188,20

### Colophons.

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

|(...) "sai sṛaḍe,ḷjh "khau maa nai ḍūuar, 11 "khūn° 'gaam 1 'braam 'waa  
"ḍaiy wan 1 daiy "ruuaṅ, me,ṣ (...) "ḍaiy 11 tuua pariḡuṇṇa "lāāw°  
yaam (...) teeja phla pur, an "khaa "ḍaiy "tāam dhammaḡadaan an" 'juū°-  
'waa° paa[2] (...) "waiy "gaam juu saasnaa gootama "cau traap 'ṭoḡ "dau  
5000 bra wassaa "nii "dāā ḍii-hlii nibbāna[m] paramaṃ su{k}khaṃ  
nic[c]aṃ dhuvam dhuvam (...) phla pur, an "khaa "ḍai tāam dhammaḡadaan  
an "nii 'cuṅ, "hūū peen (...) pattha uppā[3](...) tuua "khaa lāā 'bōḡ° 'māā  
'bii "noḡṅ, 'juu gon "hūū "ḍaiy "hwaay roḡḡ, ḡoḡḡ, müüa,ṅ neerabbaan nai  
aṅaagatakaan an" cak, maa baay "hnaa "nan 'cuṅ, cak, mii "dāā ḍii-hlii  
nic[c]aṃ dhuvam dhuvam 'ciñ° ḍō|

/(...) sāj saladet khāw maa naj duan sip ?et khūn khām nūṅ phām wāa ḍāj  
wan nūṅ taj luṅ mēt (...) ḍāj sip ?et tūa palīpūnnā? léew ṅaam (...)  
tēecā? phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem thammātaan ?an cūw wāa baa[lii  
cakkawaalātīpanii] wāj kām cuu sāasanaa kootamā? cāw thalāp tōḡ  
tāw hāa pan phā? wātsāa nī tēe dii lī (...) phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem  
thammātaan ?an nī cūḡ hūū pēn (...) pattha? ?uppa(...) tūa khāa lē? pōḡ  
mēe pīi nōḡḡ cūw khon hūū ḍāj wāaj lōḡt ḡōḡt muaṅ neelāppaan naj  
?anaakātākāan ?an cak maa paaj nāa nān cūḡ cak mii tēe dii lī nīcāṅ  
thūwāṅ thūwāṅ cūḡ tō?/

**Translation.**

(...), at the beginning of the 11th [lunar] month, on the 1st day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the day [named] |"ruuañ meḍ| [in the] Dai [tradition] (...) [this copy of the 2nd phuuk of the C°] was completed at (...) time. [May the] power of the merit\* that I have earned by writing this Dhamma gift which bears the name "[The] Pāli [text of] C°" support the Teachings of Lord Gotama throughout the five thousand years - may this come true, indeed, [and may] the power of the merit\* that I [have earned] by writing this Dhamma gift [support] me and my parents as well as each of my brothers and sisters so that they all may safely swim across [the ocean of Saṃsāra] and reach the realm of Nibbāna in future times that lie ahead - may this wish come true!

\* lit.: "May the power of the fruit of the merit ...".

(2) no no. , preceded by p 41 (2 lines):

|cu|ṣakkaraja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍūūa,n sraawaṇṇ gūū-'waa° ḍūūa,n 10 hooraa rāam 2 'gaam° 'braam 'waa "ḍai wan kuñ(ja)waa|ḍa thñai daiy 'waa wan aṅgaan yaam cak, kḥḥḥ, lāān 'klāā "khaa |ḍā dhammajeey, bhikkhu rikkhitta wiggaha "tāam khiiar, plaañ 'mūūa; 'yuu meettaa peen "cau aaraammadhi[2]patti waḍ 'daa° mahimsaa 'dii° "nan 'ciñ° cak, rap raajani,mon 'hāān mahaaraaj rikkhitta paali dhamm, an° 'juū°-'waa° cakkaawa|ḍadipañii an° "nii "waiy "hūū° peen 'dii° "hwai saa sakkarā puujaa "waiy kap saasnaa bra gootama traap 5,000 bra wassaa |ḍā|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāḅ pan sōḅ lōḅ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj duan salaawan kuu wāa duan sip hōolaa lāām sōḅ khām phām wāa dāj wan kūncā?waa|ḍ? thaṅḅ taj wāa wan ?anḅkaan nāam cak kōḅ leeḅ kē khāa lee thammacaj phīkkhu? līkkhitta? wīkkāha? tēem khīan pāḅ mūa jūu mēettaa pēn cāw ?aalaammāthippati? wāt tāa mahīṣāa tīi nān cīḅ cak lāp laacānīmon hēḅ mahāalāat līkkhitta? baalii tham ?an cūu wāa cakkawaalātipañii ?an nūi wāj hūu pēn tīi wāj sāa sakkalā? pūucaā wāj kap sāasanaa phā? kootamā? thalāap hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee/

**Translation.**

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the month [called] |sraawaṇa| [according to the Khmer tradition], i.e. the 10th lunar month, on the 2nd day of the waning moon, i.e. the day called |kuñjawaara| [in the Khmer tradition], |wan aṅgar| [in the Mon tradition, and ...??... in the] Dai [tradition], just before the time of the sunset drum.- Written by Dhammajaiy Bhikkhu. The writing was done while I was staying, spreading Loving-Kindness [among the lay community] as Abbot of the monastery called Waḍ 'Daa Mahimsaa, after having received the Royal invitation of His Majesty the Great Ruler [of Mūūañ 'Naan] to join in making a manuscript of the Pāli work named C°, in order to enable people to pay their worship to it, and enhance the Teachings of Lord Gotama throughout the 5,000 years of [their predicted duration].

(3) phuuk 5, p 41, line 4

|sraḍe,ḅh "lāāw° yaam tuuḍ, "jaay 'kāā "khaa |ḍā bindaa bhikkhu |ḍā khiiar, "ḍuuay ton eēñ ḍīiaw; "cau |ḍā-naa|

/saladet léew nāam tūt cáaj kē khāa lee pintaa phīkkhu? lee khīan dōḅ tōn ?eeḅ diaw cāw lee naa/

**Translation.**

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

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

|"khaa khiiar, "gaam juu du 'bii° hluuañ "cau dhammajeey, waḍ "paan 'daa mahimsaa 'kāā "khaa |ḍā "khaa khiiar, paan 'mūūa; 'yuu° meettaa sādhaa "paan hnaaḍ tuua 'pḅ nāam sak glaay khau, 'daan gūḍ yaak, ja (!) 'aan tēem dhii (!) 'hḷḷ° 'nḥḥ° öö, öö, [2] cuṅḍasakkabḍa "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "khii "gaan "tāam haa"|

/khāa khīan kām cuu tū? pīi lūḅ cāw thammacaj wāt bāan tāa mahīṣāa kē khāa lee khāa khīan pāḅ mūa jūu mēettaa satthaā bāan nāt tūa bō

ɲaam sak kaaj khǎw tǎan kǎi nǎak ca ʔaən tǎm thii lǎ "nǎɔ\* ʔəə ʔəə [2]  
 cǔndaʔsakkaptǎʔ dǎj pan sǎɔŋ lǎɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa pǎi kat sǎj khǎi khǎan  
 tǎem haa/

- \* The use of the tone marker 2 in the manuscript (transliterated as [nǎɔ]) is obviously used to indicate the tonal quality "high-falling" on a particle normally associated with /ʔ/ ("low-falling"). This tonal change is not a matter of "word tone", but rather a manifestation of expressive intonation carried by a special class of sentence particles like /nǎɔ/, /nǎə/, /naa/ etc. As for the tonal notation of expressive sentence particles such as /nǎɔ/ in the above text, see HUNDIUS 1990:113.

### Translation.

I have written this in support of my Elder Monk-Brother Dhammajaiy of Waɖ "Paan 'Daa Mahiṃsaa. I did the writing while spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of "Paan Hnaaɖ. My writing does not look beautiful at all. Senior people are worried that it will be very difficult to read; oh yes, there is no doubt about that. CS 1231 - Year of the Snake; I was not keen on writing at all!

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

[dibbawoŋ saamaṇeer]  
 /tǐppǎwoŋ sǎamaneen/

### Translation.

[Written by] Dibbawoŋ Saamaṇeer (Novice D°)\*

\*dibbawoŋ: < P *dibbavaṃsa*

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

[cu]asakkaraaja "ɖai 1231 tuua plii kaɖ "sai ɖüüa,n 11 ɔɔk, 10 'gaam  
 'braam° 'waa° "ɖai meen wan 4 daiy" pǎɔk, san 'kǎa "khaa lǎa 'jüü "khaa

'waa° ariya bhikkhu paan 'müüa, 'yu [48.1] meettaa saddhaa waɖ "paan  
 khɔɔɔ, müüa, buua wan "nan lǎa]

/cǔnlǎsakkalaacǎʔ dǎj pan sǎɔŋ lǎɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa pǎi kat sǎj ɖuan sip  
 ʔet ʔɔɔk sip khǎm phǎm wǎa dǎj meŋ wan sǎi taj pǎɔk sǎn kǎe khǎa lee  
 cǎu wǎa ʔalǎiñǎʔ phǎkkhuʔ pǎaŋ müa jüü meettaa satthaa wǎt bǎan  
 khǎɔɔn mǎaŋ pua wan nǎn lee/

### Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake ([pii kaɖ "sai]); [accomplished] on the 10th day of the waxing moon, in the 11th [lunar] month, corresponding to the 4th day [in the] Mon [tradition called] [pǎɔk san] [in the] Dai [tradition]. My name is Ariya-Bhikkhu. [Written] while I was spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of Waɖ "Paan Khɔɔɔ, Müüa Buua, on that very day.

(7) phuuk 9, p 49.4 - 50.3

[cu]asakkaraaja "ɖai 1231 tuua maroon snaam kambooja khroɔm, bhisai  
 waa[50.1]]a thnai dai bhaasaa 'waa plii kat "sai(...) sudhamma bhikkhu  
 likkhitta jootaka mahaaraaja müüa,n 'naan wan "nan lǎa "lǎa'w° [2] ɖüüa,  
 10 "khün" 14 'gaam 'braam 'waa° ɖai wan 7 dai 'klaa meɛt yaam kɔɔn,  
 naay sraɖe,jh yaam "nan lǎa haañ müüa, buua huua müüa, nǎa, 'don°  
 "hañ 'dii° 'plaa ma"hyaa 'kɔɔɔ, tuua 'pɔ naam (...) ee 'pɔ naam ee ee 'gɔ°  
 'pɔ naam [3] hlaay huua faay "naam "lɔɔm, "naam wǎaɖ "ɔɔm, teem dhii  
 lǎa naay hǎöy'|

/cǔnlǎsakkalaacǎʔ dǎj pan sǎɔŋ lǎɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa maloŋ sanǎm  
 kǎmpoocǎʔ khǎɔm phǎsǎj waalǎʔ thaŋaj taj phaasǎa wǎa pǎi kat sǎj(...)  
 suthammaʔ phǎkkhuʔ likkhittaʔ cootakaʔ mahǎalaacǎʔ mǎaŋ nǎan wan  
 nǎn lee lee w ɖuan sip khǎn sip sǎi khǎm phǎm wǎa dǎj wan cet taj kǎa  
 mǎt nǎam nǎn lee hǎaŋ mǎaŋ pua hǎa mǎaŋ geɛŋ tǔŋ hǎj tǎi pǎa mañña  
 kǎn tǔa bǎ ɲaam (...) ʔee bǎ ɲaam ʔee ʔee kǎ bǎ ɲaam lǎaj hǎa fǎaj nǎm  
 lǎɔm nǎm wǎet ʔɔɔm tǎm thii lee naaj hǎeɔj/

**Translation.**

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

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

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

|sakraaj 1231 đüüa,n 9 duṭiya "lääw" lää bhikkhu leekkhāmatti lää  
"cau hōöy' swaadž swaadž "hnaa dhap plaay c°|

/sakhàat pan sōṅ lōṅ sām sip ?et tũa duan kãw tũtiññ? léew lee  
phĩkkhu? léekkhāmātti? lee cãw hœj swâat swâat nãa thãp pãaj  
cakkawaalãtĩpanii/

**Translation.**

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

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

|paripunnā srlaḍe<sub>3</sub>jh "lääw" yaam kōṅñ, [2] ñaay 'kää "khaa lää tuua 'pō'  
ñaam hlaay|

/palīpunnã? saladet léew ñaam kōṅ ṅaaj kèe khãa lee tũa bō ṅaam lãaj/

**Translation.**

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

17. CĀMADEVIVAÑSA [4.2] Author: Bodhirāṃsi  
(probably 15th c.)

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

**Begins:**

namatthu. ādiccavaṃso pavaro jino yo manussajāto dipadānam indo  
byāmapabhāso asipamāro [read: abhipamāro] maṇipajoto jina[ṃ] taṃ  
namāmi gambhiram atthaṃ punaṃ sududdasaṃ sã sappabi  
ji[2]vajasinero (?) (h)eṭṭhaṃ nānāyānaṃ munisevitan taṃ sukhumaṃ  
dhammaṃ pavaraṃ namāmi

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

evaṃ dhātupāṭihāriyaniddeso[4] ca puna pathaṃ vaṃyaṃ nimuttā (!)  
ca Bodhirāṃsinā nāma mahātherena laṅkato pañcadasamo vatto[5]  
niṭṭhito Cāmadevivañssā(!) niṭṭhitā

**Colophons.**

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paaṭii deewantasuṭ mii saam phuuk, lää tuua paaṭii  
caamaḍeewiwañsa mii "haa phuuk, lää gruu paa kañcaṅa araññāwaasii  
müüa,n 'brää peen "glau" saddhaa "brōṃ, kap sissā "cau" dañ muuar,  
"sañ yañ dhāmm kambii "nii lää "sañ nai müüa,n 'naan|

/t̄ũ baalii teewantasūt mii s̄āam ph̀uk lee t̄ũ baalii  
c̄āmāteewiwaṅsa? mii h̄ā ph̀uk lee khuu baa k̄āncanā? ?alanñāwaas̄i  
muṅ ph̄ē p̄ñ k̄aw sattha ph̄ōm kap sitsa? c̄aw taṅ muan s̄āṅ ñaṅ  
tham k̄āmp̄ii n̄i lee s̄āṅ naj muṅ n̄ān/

### Translation.

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

### (2) Front Cover Folio:

|phuuk₄ "ton caamādeewiwaṅsa paḷii c° l̄āā phuuk₄ "ton° 'd̄oṇñ, dhaan  
"l̄āāw° taam capap 'klau"|

/ph̀uk t̄ōn c̄āmāteewiwaṅsa? baalii c̄āmāteewiwaṅsa? lee ph̀uk  
t̄ōn t̄ōṅ thaan l̄ēw t̄āam cabap k̄aw/

### Translation.

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

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

|"sañ 'mūüāñ, sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai l̄āā|  
/s̄āṅ m̄ūā sakh̄aat ḍāṅ pan n̄ṅ l̄ōṅ k̄aw sip h̄ā t̄ũ p̄ñ k̄ā s̄āṅ lee/

### Translation, see (4)

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

|cuḍassak̄ab̄da 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai° ḍūüāñ 10 huuraa r̄āam 1 {hok}  
'gaṃ wan aṅgaan daiy koḍ yii yaam tr̄āā 'suu [?] paripuṅṅa l̄āā  
nibbānapaccayo hotu metteyya santike anāgate nicaṃ dhuvaṃ l̄āā|

/cudā?sakaptā? pan n̄ṅ l̄ōṅ k̄aw sip h̄ā t̄ũ p̄ñ k̄ā s̄āṅ ḍuan sip  
h̄ūlāa n̄ṅ kh̄ām wan ?aṅkaan taj kot ñii ñāam th̄ē s̄ū [?] pal̄ip̄unnā? lee  
n̄ip̄aanā? patcañoo h̄ōotu? m̄ēttāṅñā? s̄āntik̄ē ?anaak̄āṭē n̄ītcāṅ th̄ūwaṅ  
lee/

### Translation.

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

### (5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio:

|paḷii c° phuuk₄ 2 'd̄oṇñ, dhaan "l̄āāw° taam capap 'klau°|

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

### (6) phuuk 2, p 50 = ghu v

|cuḷasakk̄ab̄da "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° ḍūüāñ 11 daiy ḍap pol (!?)  
meeñ wan can paripuṅṅa "l̄āāw° yaam koṇñ, h̄āay (sic!) ['k̄āā] "khaa l̄āā  
arahantāmaggayānaṃ nibbānapaccayo hontu me l̄āā|

/c̄ūnl̄ā?sakkaptā? ḍāṅ pan n̄ṅ l̄ōṅ k̄aw sip h̄ā t̄ũ p̄ñ k̄ā s̄āṅ ḍuan  
sip ?et taj ḍap bon (?) meṅ wan c̄ān pal̄ip̄unnā? l̄ēw ñāam k̄ōṅ ṅaaj  
[k̄ē] kh̄ā lee.../

### Translation.

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

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

|Sih̄iṅganidānaṃ niṭṭhitāṃ atthaparicchedavaṅṅanā niṭṭhitā sak̄karaaja  
1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° ḍūüāñ 11 oḍk₄ (..) 'gaṃ daiy r̄waay s"ñāa

meeñ wan 5 likhita paripuñña pōḡḡamuuar, "phuu "khaa 'puu° hnaan deebi,ñ likhita "gaam̄ juu saasanaa nibbānapaccaya [3] hontu metteyyasantike (...) |

/sakkalaacã? dāj pan nñḡ lóḡ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj duan sip ?et ?òḡk (..) khām taj lwaaj saḡáa meḡ wan hāa līkhita? palīpūnnā? boḡlāmuan phūu khāa pūu nāan teepin līkhita? kām cuu sāasanaa .../

### Translation.

... completed on the (..) day of the 11th [lunar] month, [called] |rwaay s"naa| [in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition]. Written by Old Hnaan Deebin, in support of [Buddha's] Teachings ...

(8) phuuk 4, no no., preceded by p 45

|(...) dūüa,ñ 11 ḡḡk, 12 'gaam̄ 'braam̄ 'waa wan 5 daiy koḡ se,ḡ sraḡe,cc₂ "lāaw° yaam koḡñ, hnaay" (!) 'kää" "khaa lāa khḡḡ suumaa dö, "cau° 'dii" "hwai h₂ööy |

/(...) duan sip ?et ?òḡk sip sḡḡḡ khām phām wāa wan hāa taj kot set saladet léew nāam kḡḡḡ ḡaaj kēe khāa lee khḡḡ sūumaa tē? cāw tīi wāj hēaj/

### Translation.

(CS 1195 - Year of the Snake), in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 5th day [in the Mon tradition, called] |koḡ seḡ| [in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. To you, respected [reader of this phuuk], I should like to apologize [for the bad handwriting].

(9) phuuk 5, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.  
(microfilmed upside-down)

|cuḡassaraaja 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai dūüa,ñ 11 ḡḡk, 4 'gaam̄ meeñ [wan] aadiḡ daiy" 'tau" s"naa' paripuñña "lāaw° yaam 'diiñ, ['kää] "khaa

lāa sudiñḡam̄ vatta me dānaḡ nibbānapaccayo hotu me nicaḡ dhuvaḡ dhuvaḡ |

/cudatsalaacã? pan nñḡ lóḡ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj duan sip ?et ?òḡk sīi khām meḡ [wan] ?aatīt taj taw saḡáa palīpūnnā? léew nāam tīaḡ wan [kēe] khāa lee .../

### Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 4th day of the waxing moon, a [day called |wan|] |aadiḡ| ("Sunday") [in the] Mon [tradition, and] |'tau sa"naa| [in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at noon-time ... (For Remarks see 18).

18. CĀMADEVIVAṄSA [4.2] Author: Bodhiram̄si  
(probably: 15th c.)

Roll 10, 127. Dc no 0314, ms no 722. 5 phuuk, 4 lines. Complete. CS 1204 = AD 1842. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

### Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namatthu ādiccavaḡso pavaro jino yo manussajāto dipadānam indo byāmapabhāso abhipamāro mañipajoto jina[m] taḡ namāmi. gambhiram̄ atthaḡ puḡaḡ (!) sududdasaḡ sā sappabi jīvajasinero heḡḡḡam̄ nānāna(y)ānaḡ [2] munisevitan taḡ sukhumam̄ dhammaḡ pavaraḡ namāmi

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = nū v, line 1c

evaḡ dhātupāḡi[2]hāriyaniddeso ca puna pathaḡ vaḡyaḡ nimuttā ca Bodhiram̄sinā nāma mahātherena lañkato pañcadasamo vatto nīthito(!). Cāmadevivaḡssā nitthitā.

### Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1, p 46 = 23 v, line 3b

|... *phuttakaṃ tasmā so sṛaḍe*<sub>2s</sub> "lääw" yaam lään rääm 14 'gaam' 'braam' 'waa' "ḍai wan 6 'kää" "khaa lää [4] *nibbānapa[cca]yo hotu me niccam dhuvam dhuvam* ḍii-hlii 'kää" "khaa 'ḍää" dō<sub>2</sub>|

/... saladet léew ñaam leej leem sip sù khâm phâm wâa ḍāj wan hok kèe khâa lee ... dii lîi kèe khâa dèe tō?/

### Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset [drum], on the 14th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 6th day [in the Mon tradition] (...)

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

|*Sihinga[2]nidānaṃ nitthitaṃ(!) aṭṭhaṃ paricchedavaṇṇanā nitthitā* sṛaḍe<sub>3jh</sub> "lääw" [yaam] kḡḡḡ<sub>3</sub> (written: kḡḡḡ<sub>3</sub>) ṇaay wan buḍ<sub>3</sub> 'kää' "khaa lää ḡḡk<sub>4</sub> 4 'gaam' 'kää' "khaa lää|

/... saladet léew [ñaam] kḡḡḡ ḡaaj wan pūt kèe khâa lee ḡḡḡk sù khâm kèe khâa lee/

### Translation.

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

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

|cuḷasaḡkraaj "ḍai 1204 tuua plii 'ṭlau"(!) yii sṛaḍe<sub>2cc</sub> "khaa maa nai ḍiüar<sub>3</sub> 11 ḡḡk<sub>4</sub> 9 'gaam' 'braam' 'waa' "ḍai wan 2 daiy" [?] sṛaḍe<sub>2jh</sub> "lääw" yaam kḡḡḡ<sub>3</sub> lään 'kää" "khaa lää *nibbānapaccayo hotu me niccam dhuvam dhuvam* [2] 'kää' "khaa ḍii-hlii dō "khaa khiiar, paañ 'müüa, "khaa yuu' paṭipadaḡ waḡ buu "kääw srii pur<sub>3</sub> rüüa<sub>4</sub>ñ müüa<sub>4</sub>ñ 'bää' 'ḍaan' "ṭai wan "nan lää tuua 'pḡ' ṇaam sak "hnḡḡḡ' 'ḡḡḡḡ' bi<sub>4</sub>ccaraṇaa 'ci<sub>4</sub>m' dō<sub>3</sub> 'dii' "hwai ḡḡöy|

/cũnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan sḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ sù túa pîi tàw ñii saladet khâw maa naj đuan sip ?et ḡḡḡk kâw khâm phâm wâa ḍāj wan sḡḡḡ taj [?] saladet léew ñaam kḡḡḡ leej kèe khâa lee ... kèe khâa dii lîi tō? khâa khiian pāḡḡ mûa khâa jùu patibat wât puu kèew salii bun luaḡ muḡḡ pèe daan tāj wan nán lee túa bō ḡaam sak nḡḡḡ kḡḡ pītcalanaa cìm tō? tîi wāj ḡḡöy/

### Translation.

CS 1204 - Year of the Tiger, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 9th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [in the Mon tradition, called ...??... in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum ... I wrote this phuuk while I was staying at Waḍ Buu "Kääw Srii Puñ Rüüañ, Müüañ 'Bää, [situated to the] South [of the city of Müüañ 'Bää], on that very day. My writing does not look beautiful at all. Please, respected [reader], use careful consideration!

(4) phuuk 5, p 38 = *nū* v, line 3

|paaḷii caamaḍeewiiwaṃsa "siaan' "hni' lää phuuk<sub>4</sub> plaay 'ḡḡ' 'waa' lää caamaḍeewii phuuk<sub>4</sub> 5 lää|

/baalii cāamāteewiiwaṃsa? sīaḡ ñii lee phūuk pāaj kō wāa lee cāamāteewii phūuk hāa lee/

### Translation.

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

### Remarks.

The *Cāmadevivamsa* ("Chronicle of [Naañ] Caamadeewii") written in prose with interspersed verses, relates the history of Haripuñjaya, presently Lamphun, the ancient Mon kingdom founded according to the local tradition by Naañ Caamadeewii (in Northern Thai mostly written|cammadeewii| and pronounced /cāmmāteewii/), the legendary Princess of Lavo (presently Lopburi), in the 7th century. The narration ends with the reign of King Ādittarāja (Pāli name: Ādiccarāja), in the middle of the 12th century.



This chronicle was written by Bodhirāṃsi, at the beginning of the 15th century (cf. CÆDÈS 1925:13). The author, perhaps a native of either Chiang Mai or Lamphun, states that he used indigenous sources, i.e. accounts written in NT, for his work. The incorrectness of the Pāli in which this text has come down to us, has stunned Pāli scholars like G. Cœdès, who, in 1925, edited Chapters XII to XIV (of altogether 15) in Roman characters, together with a translation into French, by reprinting the text of a bilingual (Pāli-Thai) edition in Siamese script published under the auspices of the National Vajirañāṇa Library, Bangkok, in 1920, which was however thoroughly collated with a manuscript kept at the same place; see *ibid.*, p. 14–15; as for the Pāli text, see pp. 141–155, for the Translation, pp. 156–171. According to Cœdès (*ibid.*, p. 14) there is a lacuna in all known manuscripts of the C° comprising the text from the end of the IVth to the beginning of the VIIth pariccheda (chapter), corresponding to one phuuk. In manuscript 18, (and, likewise, in another manuscript of the C°, 17, presented above), this part is occupied by the *Buddhasiṅga-Nidāna*, written by the same author. Since later reprints of the C° in Thailand do not include the Pāli text, a new edition making use also of Lan Na manuscripts like the ones included in the present microfilm collection, would be desirable.

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

**19. JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī 2.5.10.[16?]** Author:  
**Sirimaṅgala (AD 1517)**

Roll 8, 105". Dc no 0237, ms no 840. 11 phuuk, 5 lines. First bundle; comprising the first 6 [of 13] kaṇḍas. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text (not colophons) written in Laotian Dhamma script. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

**Begins:**

anekajati(!) jano yo patto sambodhim uttamaṃ atikkamesajātaka dakkhaṃ natvāna nāyakaṃ. nekajāti atikkamma na yo sutonavā adhigato taṃ pa{ṃ}varaṃ dhammaṃ natvā lokahita[2]kkaraṃ. nekajātiṃ ...

**Ends:** phuuk 11, p 51, line 2a

iti cuḷavanapabbe pañcapaṇṇāsa gāthāyo honti 'ti sujanapāmojjatthāya katāya Vessantaradīpa[3]nīyaṃ cuḷavanapabbaparichedo saṭṭho 'ha, corresponds to *Ja* VI 532,10

**Colophons.**

(1) "mai hlaap.

|paali<sub>3</sub> dipaṇi<sub>3</sub> māhaaweessantara<sub>3</sub> maḍ "ton mii sip e<sub>3</sub>d phuuk<sub>4</sub> bra māhaatheera<sub>3</sub> "cau<sup>o</sup> ton 'jūu<sup>o</sup> kañcana<sub>3</sub> araññawaasii müüa<sub>3</sub>n 'brää<sup>o</sup> [2] peen mullasaddhaa<sub>3</sub> lā<sub>3</sub>ā sissā<sub>3</sub> daṇ muuar<sub>3</sub> saddhaa<sub>3</sub> baay<sub>3</sub> nōk<sub>3</sub> mii "cau<sup>o</sup> müüa<sub>3</sub>n<sub>3</sub> [3] 'brää<sup>o</sup> lā<sub>3</sub>ā "cau<sup>o</sup> raajawoṇ<sub>3</sub> müüa<sub>3</sub>n<sub>3</sub> hluuaṇ<sub>3</sub> bra<sub>3</sub> paaṇ<sub>3</sub> peen "glau<sup>o</sup> lā<sub>3</sub>ā "saaṇ<sub>3</sub> nai müüa<sub>3</sub>n<sub>3</sub> hluuaṇ<sub>3</sub> bra<sub>3</sub> paaṇ<sub>3</sub>]

/baalii tīpanii mahāwēetsāntalā? māt tōn mii sip ?et phūuk phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi muaṅ phēe [2] pēn munlāsathaa lē? sitsa? taṅ muan satthaa paaj nōk mii cāw muaṅ [3] phēe lē? cāw lāatcāwoṅ muaṅ lūaṅ phā baaj pēn káw lē? satthaa nāk sīn nāk bun taṅ muan phōm kán sāaṅ lēe sāaṅ naj muaṅ lūaṅ phā baaj/

**Translation.**

The] Pāli [text of] *Dīpanī Mahāvessantara* - First Bundle; comprising 11 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera named Kañcana from Müüaṇ 'Brää as leading monastic supporter, and his followers, the Ruler of Müüaṇ 'Brää and the "Cau Raajawoṇ\* of Müüaṇ Hluuaṇ Bra Paaṇ as leading lay supporters, together with all the pious lay-men and lay-women [of both states] joined in the making [of this manuscript]. Made in Müüaṇ Hluuaṇ Bra Paaṇ.

\* |raajawoṇ| is an official title for one of the three highest administrative functions under the King or Ruler (|"cau müüaṇ|) of a Siamese vassal state or principality. According to Laotian and Northern Thai custom, only members of the Royal family (|"cau| or |"daaw|), are eligible for these positions. Cf. JONES 1971: 122.

(See Remarks for further details).

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 49

|brā mahaatheerā "caū ʔon 'jüǖ kañcanā araññawaasii müüa,ñ 'bräǟ  
peen "glaū lǟǟ sissā dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nõqk, mii raajjawañ  
müüa,ñ, hluuañ brā paañ peen "glaū "brõqm, kan "saañ lǟǟ|

/phã? mahãathëelã? cãw tõn cãu kãncanã? ʔalanñwaasii mwañ phêe pẽn  
kãw lë? sitsa? tañ muan satthaa paaj nõok mii lâatcãwoñ mwañ lãñ phã  
baañ pẽn kãw phõcm kãñ sãñ læ/

### Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera Kañcana from Müüañ 'Bräǟ as initiator (i.e. leading monastic supporter) together with his followers, and the Raajjawañ of Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ as leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

(3) phuuk 2, no no., preceding p 1

|sakraaj "ðai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san paalii mahaaweessantarā lǟǟ  
phuuk, 2 24 paü 48 "hnaa [2] dhamm hluuañ lǟǟ põrammapubbitt  
brā pe,ñ "caū "laan̄ "jaañ 'rom̄ khaaw lǟǟ [3] paalii dipanii  
mahaaweessantarā phuuk, 2|

/sakhãat ðãj pan nõñ lõj kãw sip pèet tãa pñi lwaaj sãñ baalii  
mahãawëetsãntalã? læ phũuk sõõñ saaw sii baj sii sip pèet nãa[2] tham  
lãñ læ bõlammãbuppiti phã? pẽn cãw lãan cáañ lõm khãaw læ[3] baalii  
tipanii mahãawëetsãntalã? phũuk sõõñ/

### Translation.

CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey. [The] Pãli [text called] *Dipani Mahãvessantara*, phuuk 2, [comprising] 24 folios, 48 pages.- Royal manuscript - [the making having been sponsored by] His Majesty the Ruler of "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw\*. Pãli [text of] *Dipani M<sup>o</sup>* - phuuk 2.

\* "Millions of Elephants and the White Parasol" (mostly written Lan Chang, Lan Sang or Lanxang Homkhaow resp.) is the traditional

name of the Lao kingdom of Luang Prabang/Vientiane. The mention refers to King Mangthathurat who ruled over Luang Prabang from 1817 to 1836. For further details, see Remarks.

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

|pa subham as{a}tu brā mahaa sa(ñkyu!?) "ðai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay  
san ðüüa,ñ (...) wan (...) yaam (..) luu,k, somðe,cc põrammapubbitt brā  
pe,ñ "cau, 2 "laan̄ "jaañ 'rom̄ khaaw põrommaseettakhattiya suriya brā  
raajjawañsaa brā mahaa uttamā oorassaa raajaadhiraas "cau, 2 mii brā  
raajasaddhaa põromma(.i)(.)aa saü naü brā raaja[2]hõradai "hlüüam̄ saü  
wõrā ba buddhassa[a]ssnaa 'hãñ̄ brā mahaakrunnaadhigur, "cau, 2 an 'yi,ñ  
'ci,ñ̄ "ðaī nimantanā brā wõraji,ñnaputtā sañghasamaggā "haū  
"bõqm, 3 kap kan "lääw̄ 'ciñ̄ "ðai (...) "haū (...) rikkhittā "saañ  
yañ brā saddhammaa gambhiruttamaa nanthaadigur, "cau, 2 ðuuañ  
yuuað, 3 [3] 'yi,(ñ)̄ kõõṭ thaawarā jootanaa "waī pe,ñ mullasaassnaa süüp  
süüp pai baay "hnaā lǟǟ (jüün) *dãnavatthu* daan ðuuañ "niī brā on̄  
jaambõ, 4 "ðuuaý̄ puttasañeehaa khõ[õ] uddhisā naa pur, 3 pai thõön  
yañ wõraraajaputtii mii brā naamapaññatti 'jüǖ-'waa' naañ gaam̄ tan  
suwanñaraajakalyāa (...) [4] (...) cutti pai 'suū põralook baay "hnaā  
khõ[õ] teeja puñaa(,)sandarā (...) 'yüüa,ñ̄ "niī con̄ "haū pe,ñ yaan  
"kääw̄ yaa[n] gaam̄ naam̄ pai rõõð, 3 "khauī bai(!) cõõð, 3 (...) con̄ "haū  
pe,ñ watthaa balanaa aahaan dibb an bi,seed̄" con̄ "haū pai thõön  
'käǟ brā kasattii on̄ "nan con̄ "haū "ðaī "bon̄ caak, 4 heed̄"  
gaam̄ "yaan̄ con̄ "haū pe,ñ srã[5]baan gaam̄ 'son̄ "khün̄ thõön 'hãñ̄  
"hõõñ̄ "täü (...) ðäǟ "dau, 2 wan prakaan 1 khõõ teeja brā raaja(k)õõson  
(written: °som) phallā naa pur, 3 gunñ wi,seed̄" an "niī (... ..) [5b] an "niī  
khõ[õ] con̄ "haū (...) naam̄ on̄ brā pe,ñ "cau, 2 "haū "ðaī "hwaī 'yaan̄  
"naam̄ "kwaan̄ güü-'waa' ooghasonsaan khõ[õ] "haū "ðai swõõy yañ  
sampatti suk, 3 'siñ̄ güü-'waa' "hõõñ̄ 'jan̄ "faā (yiñ̄) pe,ñ brā int̄ suk,  
ðai manussalookaa|

**NB:** This colophon is given only in transliteration and translation.

**Translation.**

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

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

**Remarks.**

This work, written by Sirimaṅgala of Chiang Mai in 1517 (see CÆDÈS 1915:41), has not yet been edited.

As for the making of this manuscript, two supporters from the ruling Royalty of Luang Prabang appear to have joined in the meritorious action. The first is called |"Cau Raajjawaṇ| in colophon (1), and |Raajjawaṇ| in colophon (2). In (4), although part of the text is difficult to read, reference is doubtless made to a son of the King of Luang Prabang as being the leader of the huge manuscript copying campaign on the side of the host country. Since it is known from the inscription of Waḍ Wijuur

mentioned above (see Part A, footnote 41) that the better part of the manuscripts copied for Gruu Paa Kañcana in Luang Prabang in AD 1836 (177 out of a total of 242 bundles) were made through financial support from the "Cau Raajjawaṇ, it seems safe to assume that the >Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw< mentioned in (4) and the ("Cau) Raajjawaṇ mentioned in (1) and (2) as well as in the inscription of Waḍ Wijuur are in fact one and the same person. Since the wording of colophon (3) obviously refers to the King of Luang Prabang as (another) supporter, it has to be concluded that on the Laotian side both the King and his son, the "Cau Raajjawaṇ of Luang Prabang, sponsored the making of this manuscript. The same holds true for another manuscript presented here, no. 22. What remains to be explained is how the neatly separated contributions recorded in the Waḍ Wijuur Inscription (34 bundles sponsored by the King against 177 bundles sponsored by the "Cau Raajjawaṇ) can fit with the fact of joint sponsoring of certain manuscripts. -

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

**20. LOKADĪPA 2.9.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara**

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

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

**Begins:**

namo tassa bhaga[va]to arahato sammāsambuddhassa seṭṭham  
seṭṭhadadaṃ buddham loke lokaggaṇāyakaṃ lokabandhuṃ mahāviraṃ  
lokanāthaṃ namāmy āhaṃ lokanāthena tenā 'pi lokākāriyena yo pūjito  
tañ ca saddhammaṃ vande gambhiraṃ uttamaṃ ...

**Ends:** phuuk 12, p 55, line 5b - p 56, line 1

... tena sihadipe (!) araññavāsinaṃ pasatṭhamahātherāṇaṃ  
vaṃsālaṃkārabhūtena medhaṃka[1]ra mahātherakhyappati tena  
sa[ñ]gharañ[ñ]ā kato yaṃ loka[ṃ]ppadipakasāro 'ti rattanā nāmena  
lokadipakaro sāro ca.

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

### Colophons.

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

|pii<sub>3</sub> "ruuañ<sup>o</sup> "sai<sup>o</sup> dūüa<sub>3n</sub> ciiañ oḥk<sub>4</sub> 5 'gaaṃ<sup>o</sup> wan 5 cuḷasakraaj "ḍai<sup>o</sup>  
943 tuua 'daan<sup>o</sup> naay puñ<sub>3</sub> waḍhana<sub>ṇa</sub> naañ "kääw<sup>o</sup> miia<sub>4</sub> gaa(ṃ) "lääw<sup>o</sup>  
"saan<sup>o</sup> "wai<sup>o</sup> peen muulāsāasnaa brā "cau<sup>o</sup> 'ṭṭṭ<sub>3</sub> "dau<sub>10</sub> 5 ban wassaa gaam  
(written: gaam) praṭhnaa 'cuñ<sup>o</sup> somriddhi<sub>4</sub>[2] ka kha phuuk<sub>4</sub> 'nüñ<sup>o</sup>)\*

/pʰi lúʌŋ sǎj dʌn cǎŋ ʔḍok hǎa khâm wan hǎa cǔnlāsakhàat dǎj kǎw  
lɔɔj sʰi sip sǎam tǔa tâan naaj bun wǎtthanǎ? naaŋ kǎew mia kham  
léew sǎaŋ wáj pǎn muulāsāasanaa phǎ cǎw tɔɔ táw hǎa pan wǎtsǎa kam  
phǎathanaa cǔŋ sǔmlǐtthii ka? kha? phùuk nŋ/

\* The vowel is written as |i|, the velar final as a subscribed |ñ| plus a Niggahita placed besides the superscribed |i|.

**NB:** Throughout the colophons of this manuscript only one graph, viz. |i| is used to represent the vowels /i/, /u/, /æ/, and mostly also /ii/ (transliterated as |ii<sub>4</sub>|). Since the homography between the vowels /i/ and /u/ (and their long variants, respectively) only occurs in rare cases, it is not provided for in the allograph inventory to be found in HUNDIJS 1990.

### Translation.

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

(2) phuuk 2 (not 5), no no., preceded by p 48 = *ghaḥ* v

|pii "ruuañ<sup>o</sup> "sai<sup>o</sup> dūüa<sub>3n</sub> ciiañ oḥk<sub>4</sub> 5 gaam wan 5 cuḷasakraaj "ḍai<sup>o</sup> 943  
tuua 'daan<sup>o</sup> naay puñ<sub>3</sub> waḍhana<sub>ṇa</sub> jaayaa naañ "kääw<sup>o</sup> miia<sub>4</sub> gaam (written:  
gaam) "lääw<sup>o</sup> 'kau<sup>o</sup> (!) "saan<sup>o</sup> "wai peen muulāsāasnaa (written: 'lāsnaa)  
brā "cau<sup>o</sup> 'ṭṭṭ<sub>3</sub> "dau<sub>2</sub> 5 ban wassaa gaam praathnaa "cuñ<sup>o</sup> somriddhi<sub>4</sub>  
duk<sub>4</sub> an|

/pʰi lúʌŋ sǎj dʌn cǎŋ ʔḍok hǎa khâm wan hǎa cǔnlāsakhàat dǎj kǎw  
lɔɔj sʰi sip sǎam tǔa tâan naaj bun wǎtthanǎ? caañaa naaŋ kǎew mia  
kham léew kǎw (= kḍḍ?) sǎaŋ wáj pǎn muulāsāasanaa phǎ cǎw tɔɔ táw  
hǎa pan wǎtsǎa kam phǎathanaa cǔŋ sǔmlǐtthii tǔk ʔan/

(For translation, see [1]).

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

|pii<sub>4</sub> "ruuañ<sub>3</sub> "sai<sup>o</sup> sakraaj "ḍai<sup>o</sup> [9]44 tuua hnañ<sub>3</sub>süü (written: °si)  
'daan<sup>o</sup> puñ<sub>3</sub> waḍhana<sub>ṇa</sub> jaayaa 'jüü<sup>o</sup>-'waa<sup>o</sup> (written: ji-waa) "kääw<sup>o</sup> miia<sub>4</sub>  
(written, only this time, as what could be interpreted as 'mäa") gaam  
"lääw<sup>o</sup> "saan<sup>o</sup> "wai<sup>o</sup> kap [waḍ] srii<sub>4</sub> 'un<sub>3</sub> müüa<sub>3n</sub> 'daa<sup>o</sup> "sḥḥy<sup>o</sup> peen praçai  
"gaam<sup>o</sup> (written: gaam) 'ṭṭṭ<sub>3</sub> "dau<sub>10</sub> 5 ban wassaa|

/pʰi lúʌŋ sǎj sakhàat dǎj [kǎw lɔɔj] sʰi sip sʰi tǔa nǎŋsǔu tâan bun  
wǎtthanǎ? caañaa cǔu wǎa kǎew mia kham léew sǎaŋ wáj kap [wǎt]  
salii ʔùn mʌŋ tǎa sɔɔj pǎn phatcǎj kám tɔɔ táw hǎa pan wǎtsǎa/

### Translation.

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

(4) phuuk 12, p 56, line 1c

[a[n] "nii° daan° saddhaa° 'jüü° 'waa° [2] puñ<sub>3</sub> waḍḍhaṇa jaayaa° 'jüü° 'waa°  
kammaraanan<sub>3</sub>, "cau° 'hmüün<sub>3</sub> liiap° 'jüü° 'waa° {'jüü°-'waa°} sään gaam daa  
"saan° "wai° peen muulāsāasnaa (written °lāsnaa) bra buddha "cau° [3]  
"hüü° ḍap duk<sub>4</sub> dañ muuan<sub>3</sub> siia<sub>4</sub> 'pø° seeḍ sāla düün lää]

/ʔan ní tãan satthaa cūw wâa bun wãttãñã? caañaa cūw wâa  
kãmmalaanan cãw mûun liiap cūw wâa {cūw wâa} sēen kham taa sãaṇ  
wáj pēn muulāsāasanaa phã? pūtthã cãw hūw ḍap tūk taḡ muan sã  
bò sèt sala? tuun lee/

### Translation.

This manuscript was made at the behest of the lay supporter Puñ Waḍhana and his spouse, named Kammalaanan, as well as "Cau° Hmüün Liiap, named Sään {Gaam} Daa, in order to build a foundation for the Teachings of Lord Buddha so that all suffering be extinguished completely.

### Remarks.

The text of colophons (1) and (2) is repeated at the end of every other phuuk except the last (phuuk 12). This leads to the assumption that these colophons were written on the same day. As for the date given in (3), this is marked by a double inconsistency: not only is the number 9 omitted, but the last number is also changed from 3 to 4, which would not fit in with the Cyclical Year |"ruuañ "sai|. For a description of another very old manuscript of the L° in Northern Thai script, see v. HINÜBER 1987:25-27. The Pāli text of the L° which is also known as *Lokadīpakasāra* or *Lokappadīpakasārapakaraṇa*, has been transcribed from Khmer manuscripts in a number of (unpublished) M.A. theses written by students of the Chulalongkorn University between 1979-1983. Separately, in 1986, an edition of the whole Pāli text based on 12 manuscripts written in Khmer and one written in Mon script, the oldest of which dates from AD 1771, has been published together with a translation into Central Thai by the National Library, Bangkok (Fine Arts Department). For more details, see v. HINÜBER (op. cit.).

## 21. LOKADĪPA 2.5.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara

Roll 8, 061". Dc no 0234, ms no 720. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae. Written in Laotian Dhamma script. Colophons in Northern Thai.

### Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arhato samm[ā]sambuddhassa seṭṭham  
seṭṭhandadaṃ buddhaṃ loke lokattanāyakaṃ lokabandhaṃ mahāviraṃ  
lokanāthaṃ namāmy ahaṃ. lokanāthena tenāpi lokekācariyena [2] yo  
pūjito tatthā (!) saddhammaṃ vande gambhiram uttamaṃ ...

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

[a]ntarāyaṃ vināsāro yathā niṭṭha upāgato tathā niṭṭha susaṃkappā  
sattānaṃ dhammanissitā sabba[5]ñ[ñ]utaññasa(!)paccayo hotu  
sivavattuṃ lokappadīpakasāraṃ pakaraṇaṃ mahāsāṅgharājena  
lida[54.1]yarājassa taruṇā (read: karuṇā) vi[ra]citaṃ samattaṃ  
nibbānaṃ paramaṃ su{k}khaṃ lokadīpaka paripuṇṇā nitthitā(!).

### Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap: .

[paalīi lookādii,pa mii sip phuuk<sub>3</sub> bra māhaatheera "cau° ton° 'jüü°  
kañcaṇa araññawaasii müüañ, 'brää° peen mullāsaddhaa lää sissā dañ[2]  
muuar<sub>3</sub> saddhaa baay nōḷk<sub>3</sub> mii "cau° müüañ, 'brää° lää "cau°  
raajjawaonmüüañ, hluuañ bra paañ peen "glau° [3] lää saddhaa nak sil nak  
puñ<sub>2</sub> dañ muuar<sub>3</sub> "brōḷm<sub>3</sub> kan "saan° lää "saan° nai müüañ, hluuañ bra  
paañ]

/lookadiipa? mii sip phūuk .../

### Translation.

*Lokadīpa* - comprising 10 phuuk ...

(the text which follows is identical with 19 [1]).

## (2) phuuk 1, Title Folio

|paaḷii lookḁdii,pa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ton sakraaj "ḁai 1198 tuua plii  
rwaay san paaḷii lookḁdii,pa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ton|

/baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn sakhāat dāḷ pan nūḷ lōḷj kāw sip pèet tūa  
pīi lwaaj sǎn baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn/

**Translation.**

[The] Pāli [text of] *Lokadīpa* - First phuuk. CS 1198 - Year of the  
Monkey.

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

|saddhaa baay nai mii bra mahaaṭheera "cau ton 'jūū' kañcana  
araññawaasii müüa,ṇ 'brāā' peen "glau ḷāā sissā "cau" ḁañ muuar,  
saddhaa baay nḡḡk, mii raajjawaṇ müüa,ṇ hluuaṇ bra paaṇ peen "glau  
"brḡḡm, kan "saaṇ"|

/satṭhaa paaj naj mii phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā?  
?alanñāwaasīi mḡḡ phēe pēn kāv lē? sitsa? cāw taḡ muan satṭhaa paaj  
nōḡk mii lāatcāwoḡ mḡḡ ḷūḡ phā baḡ pēn kāv phōḡm kǎn sāḡ/

**Translation.**

The Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüaṇ 'Brāā,  
as the leading monastic supporter, and his followers, together with the  
Raajjawaṇ of Müüaṇ Hluuaṇ Bra Paaṇ as the leading lay supporter,  
joined in having made [this manuscript].

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

## 22. LOKASAṆṬHĀNA (-JOTARATANAGAṆṬHĪ)

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

**Begins:** phuuk 1, p 4 = ka v (in the middle of the page)

yo tilokantapajoto nātho lokapadipo dhammo lokavaḁhano  
ariya[2]saṅgho aṭṭha taṇ ca lokapakāsakaṃ gammaṇ ca loka[3]niyātaṃ  
saṅghaṃ lokapāraguṃ vanditvā sirasā lo[4]kajotikaṃ bhāsisaṃ tatrāyaṃ  
mātikāsaṃkheyya[5]kathā kappakathā kappavināso  
saṃvaṭṭavivaḁhakathā sattsuriyācakkavāḷakathā[1.5.1a] sinerukathā  
catumahādipakathā himavantakathā candimasuriyagatikathā  
saggakathā niri[2]yakathāpetavisayaṇ ca tiracchānakathā  
pakiṇṇakakathā 'ti[3] tattha asaṃkheyyā 'ti na saṃkheyyāna gaṇetabbo  
'ti asaṃ[4]kheyyo. ekadivaseṇa anekavidhā yāvapamā[5]ṇā tato tāva  
asaṃkheyyo nāma. tato paraṃ lakkhaṇaṃ vā pamāṇaṃ vā akatvā ...

**Ends:** phuuk 5, p 71, line 3a

buddhasāsane] sattānaṃ ruññaṃ dānaṃ yathāsati yathābalaṃ evaṃ  
bhāve mettā ca patthayanta apattakaṃ tassa vādigamo payo katabbo[4]  
viññunā sadā. (!?) iti Jotaratanasatthavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

**Colophons.**

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paaḷii lookasaṇṭhaana jootaratanagaṇṭhīi mii 5 phuuk, bra mahaaṭheera  
"cau" ton 'jūū kañcana[2] araññawaasii müüa,ṇ 'brāā' peen  
muulā[3]saddhaa ḷāā sissā ḁañ muuar, "cau" müüa,ṇ hluuaṇ bra paaṇ peen  
saddhaa baay nḡḡk, "saaṇ" nai müüa,ṇ hluuaṇ bra paaṇ|

/baalii looka?saṅṭhānā? coota?lāttanā?kanthīi mii hāa phūuk phā?  
mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi mḡḡ phēe pēn  
muulāsattṭhaa lē? sitsa? taḡ muan cāw mḡḡ ḷūḡ phā baḡ pēn satṭhaa  
paaj nōḡk sāḡ naj mḡḡ ḷūḡ phā baḡ/

**Translation.**

[The] Pāli [text of] *Lokasaṅṭhāna Jōṭaratanagaṅṭhī* consisting of five phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüaṅ 'Brää, was the leading [monastic] supporter together with his followers. The Ruler of Müüaṅ Hluuaṅ Bra Paaṅ was the lay supporter. - Made in Müüaṅ Hluuaṅ Bra Paaṅ.

**(2) Front Cover Folio, recto side**

|paaṅii 1° j° phuuk, "ton[2] cuḷasaḅkraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san  
lää|[3] (s. line 1)

/baalii ... phùuk tōn cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan nūḅ lóḅ kǎw sip pèet túa pīi  
lwaaj sǎn lee/

**Translation.**

(First line: s. above). CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey.

**(3) phuuk 1, p 1.**

(identical\* with 19, colophon (4), supra)

\* Sole difference: instead of the enigmatic |\*saṅkyu| here the word  
buddhaḅakkaraja| is used.

**(4) phuuk 1, Back Cover Folio, no no., preceded by p 50**

|bra māhaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcana araññawaasii 'yuu müüa,ṅ  
'brää° peen "glau lää sissā ḍaṅ muuar, saddhaa baay nḷok, mii raajjawaṅ  
müüa,ṅ hluuaṅ bra paaṅ peen "glau° "brḷom, kan "saah|

/phǎ? mahāathēelā? cǎw tōn cūa kǎncanā? ?alanñāwaasī jūu muḅ phēe  
pēn kǎw lē? sitsa? taḅ muan satthaa paaj nōok mii lâatcǎwoḅ muḅ lūḅ  
phǎ baḅ pēn kǎw phōom kǎn sāḅ/

**Translation.**

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, living in Müüaṅ 'Brää, as initiator, together with his followers, the Raajjawaṅ of Müüaṅ Hluuaṅ Bra Paaṅ being the leading lay supporter, joined in the making [of this manuscript].

**NB:** On the front cover folios of phuuk 2–5 colophons are engraved which are identical with (2). In another colophon written in Laotian language and (Dhamma) script, identical with the one transcribed and translated above (19 [4]), this time an exact date is given:

|bra buddhaḅakkaraja 1198 tuua pii rwaay san ḍüüa,ṅ 10 6 (hok)  
'ggaṅ wan (6?) "müü° möön "gaü° yaam kḷḷṅ, ṅaay ...|

**Translation.**

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

**Remarks.**

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

For details on the supporters, see Remarks to 19, supra.

**23. MAṆIPADĪPA 3.1.13 Author: Ariyavaṅsa**

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

**Begins:**

keci pana idaṅ pubbavacanena ekasambandhaṅ katvā. neva nāpajjati 'ti  
iti evaṅ (a)tttha ca saddonaṅ yaṅ anatto hoti 'ti yojanaṅ karoti. sā na  
yuttā iti saddassa vamaṅtha yojanā kātabbati [2] īminā sampajjato. ayaṅ

(ca a)ttthayojanākāranidassanatto 'ti. yadi pana kassa iti saddassa lopesati purimo. iti saddo yojanākāranidassanatto [3] ...

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

idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti sotāpattimagge sotāpattimaggaṭṭhass' ev' ass' eva sekkhassa dhāraako nānassa sotāpattitthalaṭṭhassa sekkha[2]ssa sotāpattitthalaṃ sotāpattaṭṭhalaṭṭhass' eva sekkhassa sādharmaṇānānesaṃ sakadāg[*g*]amiṭṭalaṭṭhaṃ anāgāmittha[3]lathānaṃ sekkhānaṃ paggeva arahattatthalaṭṭhassa asekkhassa.

### Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paa|ii maṇii, padip (*Maṇipadīpa*) mii, sip hok phuuk, *lāā* gruu paa "cau° kañcaṇa arañña[2]waasii müüa,ñ 'bräa peen "glau° saddhaa *lāā* sissa "cau° dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nōḷk, mii mahāraaj "cau° müüa,ñ 'bräa *lāā* mahāraaj "cau° müüa,ñ 'naan° peen[3] "glau° *lāā* pajaanaaraṭṭha dañ muuar, "brōḷm, kan "saan yañ akkharadhāmm kambii, an 'nii, "waiy jootaka buddhaśaasnaa 5 ban wassaa *lāā* "saan nai müüa,ñ 'naan° *lāā*|

/tūa baalii manīpatīp mii sip hok phūuk lee .../

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

### Translation.

Pāli text of *Maṇipadīpa* - consisting of 16 phuuk ...

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

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

|{b}bhikkhu ri[khi]t[a] attano 'dōḷn, dhaan (...) taam capap 'klaui *lāā* maḍ klaan phuuk, "ton *lāā* uppanaamoo rikkhita "gaam juu 'bōḷ, ḷḷ, k, mahāraaś {*lāā*} hluaan *lāā*|

/phīkkhu? līkhita? ?attano tōḷ than (...) tām cabap kām lee māt kāṅ phūuk tōn lee ?uppanaamoo līkkhita? kām cuu pōḷ ?ḷḷ mahāalāt lūṅ lee/

### Translation.

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

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

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side

|"saan 'müüa, sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaui "sai° *lāā* | /sāṅ mūa sakhāt dāj pan nūḷ lōj kām sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj lee/

### Translation.

Made in CS 1195 - Year of the Snake.

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

|pathamamuu, lasaddhaa naamapaññatti 'jūu°-'waa° mahāa kañcaṇa theera arañña waasii aaraam 'suun "hmeer' müüa,ñ 'bräa 'ḍaan "tai "saan "waiy "gaam juu buddhaśaasnaa traap 'ṭṭṭ "dau° 5 ban bra wassaa *lāā* [2] cuḷasakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii, 'klaui "sai mahāraaj hluaan müüa,ñ 'naan "saan° "gaam juu mahāa kañcaṇa theera|

/pathamā? muulāsathāa naamā?paññatti? cūu wāa mahāa kāncanā? thēelā? ?alanñāwaasii ?aalam suṅ mēn muṅ phēe dāan tāj sāṅ wāj kām cuu pūthā?śāasanaa thalaap tō taw hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee cūlāsakhāt dāj pan nūḷ lōj kām sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāj mahāalāt lūṅ muṅ nāan sāṅ kām cuu mahāa kāncanā? thēelā?/



**Translation.**

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

**(5) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio**

[1] s. colophon (1), supra

[2] saṅk<sub>1</sub>raaṣ 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy lää arahantāmaggañānaṃ dinnam nibbānapaccayo hotu [3] me nicaṃ dhuvam dhuvam 'dōṇ<sub>3</sub> dhaan "lääw° taam capap 'klau°]

/... sāṅkhāt pan nḥṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa túa pīi kàa sāṅ lee ... tḥṅ than lēw tām cabap kàw/

**Translation.**

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

**(6) phuuk 5, p 38**

|bhikkhu jeeyyanaam khiiar<sub>3</sub> paañ 'müüa<sub>3</sub> 'yuu° meettaa waṣ "paar° dūṅ<sub>2</sub>y (!) müüañ<sub>3</sub> jlääñ<sub>3</sub> "bol lää "yōṛ<sub>3</sub> tuua 'pō° 'naay° sak yaad° lää[2] "ḍai khiiar<sub>3</sub> "dää dhamm 4 phuuk<sub>3</sub> 'pō° ḍaay 'gōṇ° biccarāṇaa ḍuu dō saadhu "cau° ton "ḍai riiar<sub>3</sub> "ḍai 'aan" 'gō°-ḍii biccarāṇaa "hüü° 'thii° "yōṛ<sub>3</sub> 'pō° smö<sub>4</sub> kan hnai lää|

/phīkkhu? cajñānaam khīan pāaṅ mūa jūu mēettāa wāt bāan tūn maaṅ calēṅ pón lee ṅōṅ túa bō ṅāaj sak jāat lee[2] ḍāṅ khīan tēe tham sīi phūuk bō daaj kōṅ pīcalanaa duu tē? sāathū? cāw tōn ḍāṅ lian ḍāṅ ?āan kō dii pīcalanaa hūu thīi ṅōṅ bō samō kān nāj lee/

**Translation.**

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

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

|paripuṇṇa "lääw° yaam kōṇ<sub>3</sub> 'naay 'kää "khaa lää sakkabd{d}a "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy dūūa<sub>3</sub>n sip 2 ṇōk<sub>4</sub> 3 gaam 'braam 'waa "ḍai wan 2 daiy "ruuañ<sub>3</sub> "pau° lää [2] iminā dhammarikkhittadānena yathā yathā bhavē jāto m[ā] rogā mā dalado bhavāmi 'haṃ sañsāre sañsāran ta ... .. metteyyasanti[38.1]ke anāgate nic[c]am dhuvam ha|

/palīpūnnā? lēw ṅāam kōṅ ṅaaj kēe khāa lee sakkaptā? ḍāṅ pan nḥṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa túa pīi kàa sāṅ duan sip sōṅ ?ōk sāam khām phām wāa ḍāṅ wan sōṅ taj lúṅ pāw lee[2] ?i?mī?naa .../

**Translation.**

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

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

|cu|assakabadd "ḍai 1195 tuua plii māseñ snaam (written: smaam)

kamboojjha khəom, bhisaiy daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa plii 'klaa "saiy "khau  
 maa nai wasaana utu "khau maa nai sraawann güü-'waa' düüa,n[4] 11  
 huulwaa ɔɔk, 13 'gaam meen [wan] 1 daiy "ruuan, "saiy yaam kəon,  
 naay lää 'gəoy' bidcaranaa "hüü 'thii' dö 'pə' "ruu' cak, tuua "ton 'thii' |

/cūnlāsakkapāt dāj pan nṅ lɔɔj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēŋ sanām  
 kām̄poočā? khɔm phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa pīi kaa sāj khāw maa naj  
 wātsāanā? ʔutu? khāw maa naj salaawan kuu wāa duan sip ʔet  
 hūulwaa ʔəɔk sip sām khām meŋ [wan] nṅ taj luāŋ sāj nāam kɔɔŋ ɲaaj  
 lee kɔj pītcalaanaa hūu thii tō? bə lūu cak tūa tōn thii/

### Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the Khmer tradition called |pii maseen|,  
 in the Dai tradition called |pii 'kaa "sai|, at the beginning of the Rainy  
 Season, at the beginning of [the month called] |sraawana| [in the Khmer  
 tradition], i.e. the 11th lunar month [according to the Dai tradition], on  
 the 13th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 1st [day of the]  
 Mon [tradition, called] |"ruuan "sai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time  
 of the morning drum [accomplished]! Use thorough consideration: I have  
 not been very familiar with [the style of] the script in the original!

(9) phuuk 8, p 44

|cu|assakkabadd 1195 tuua plii, maseen snaam (written: smaam)  
 kaamboojjha khəom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa' 'klaa "sai sraawann  
 daiy rau 'waa" düüa,n (11) huulwaa ɔɔk, (.) [2] 'gaam meen wan 5 daiy  
 rwaay "cai yaam kəon, lään lää likkhitta paañ 'müüa, 'yu mees̄taa  
 müüa,n jāän nai cakkhawaar müüa,n nandapurii, srii, müüa,n 'naan"  
 "buur' lää ... (Pāli)|

/cūnlāsakkapāt pan nṅ lɔɔj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēŋ sanām  
 kām̄poočā? khɔm phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa kaa sāj salaawan taj law  
 wāa duan sip ʔet(?) hūulwaa ʔəɔk [.] khām meŋ wan hāa taj lwaaj cāj  
 nāam kɔɔŋ leeŋ lee likkhitta pāaŋ m̄a jūu mēettāa muəŋ ceeŋ naj  
 cakkhawaan muəŋ nantāpulii salīi muəŋ nāan pūun lee/

### Translation.

[As for the first part, see (8)] ... called 11th (?) lunar month [according to]  
 our Dai [tradition], on the (.) day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to]  
 the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |rwaay "cai| [in the] Dai  
 [tradition], at the time of the sunset drum. Written while I was staying,  
 spreading Loving-Kindness at Müüañ Jääñ, far away in the prosperous  
 realm of Nandapurii\* Müüañ 'Naan.

\* Nandapurii (P): "City of Joy".

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

|sañkraaŋ 1195 plii 'klaa "saiy meen wan 6 daiy" pöök (written: pöök)  
 sii düüa,n rāam 13 'gaam' paañii mañii,paḍip (Mañipadīpa) phuuk 12  
 'dɔon, dhaan "läaw' taam capap 'klaui

/səŋkhāt pan nṅ lɔɔj kāw sip hāa pīi kaa sāj meŋ wan hok taj pəək sīi  
 duan leem sip sām khām baalii maniipaḍip phūuk sip sɔɔŋ tṅ than  
 léew tām cabap kàw/

### Translation.

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

### Remarks.

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

**24. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA [4.2.] Author:**  
**Bodhiramsi (15th c.)**

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

**Begins:** p 1 = *ghī* r, line 1a-2b

namo tass' atthu. namassitvāna sambuddhaṃ dhammaṃ saṅghañ ca  
uttamaṃ ariyavaso nāmāhaṃ suvaṇṇasuvibuddhassa vatthunidānaṃ  
ravissaṃ yathā balaṃ samāsato taṃ sunātha s[2]dhukan 'ti.  
ambhāka[m] pana bhagavato parinibbānato sattasatasāsanasaṅkarājakāle  
...

**Ends:** p 30 = *jhū* v, line 3b-4

iti sisatanāganahuttamahānagare paṭiṭṭhitassa agatassa  
su[4]vaṇṇa suvibuddharupassa tatiyavatthu nidāna[m] ssamattaṃ. (!) [in  
Northern Thai:] tuua paaḷii *Nidānaṃ Buddhassa* lāā haa

**Colophons.**

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

[tuua paaḷii nidaanaṃ buddhassa phuuk<sub>4</sub> ḍiiaw<sub>3</sub> haa[2] cuḷasakraaj "ḍai  
1199 tuua plii mōōn "rau ḍūūar<sub>3</sub> ciiān<sub>3</sub> rāām 'gaam 1 meen wan aadiṭ  
daiy "ruuañ<sub>3</sub> "hmau yaam kōōn<sub>3</sub> rāān pariipuṇṇa lāā "lāāw' haa |[3]  
(s. line 1)

/tūa baalii nītaanā? pūthātsa? phūuk diaw cūnlāsakhàat dāj pan nḥj  
lōj kāw sip kāw tūa pīi mēəj lāw ḍuan cīaṅ lēem khām nḥj meṅ wan  
?aatit taj lūaṅ māw ṇāam kōj lēj palīpūnnā? lēe léew hāa/

**Translation.**

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

accomplished!

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

[braṃ mahaatheera "cau ton 'jūū' kañcanaṃ araṇṇāwaasii 'suañ, "hmeer,  
peen "glau lāā sissā "cau dañ muuar, "brōom, kan "saañ nai müüañ, 'brāā  
lāā aḍḍharassabhikkhu khiiar<sub>3</sub>[2] plaañ 'müüa saṭṭhitt 'saamraan waṭ  
hluuañ srii jum, wan "nan lāā arahattamaggañāṇaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ  
sukkhamaṃ |

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā? ?alanāwaasii sūuṅ mēn pēn  
kāv lē? sitsa? cāw taṅ muan phōom kān sāaṅ naj mēəj phēe lēe  
?atthālātsa?phīkkhu? khīan pāaṅ māa satthit sāmraan wāt lūaṅ salīi cum  
wan nān lēe ?alāhatta?mākkānaanaṅ nīppaanaṅ palāmaṅ sukkhāṅ/

**Translation.**

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, 'Suañ "Hmeer, as  
leading [monastic] supporter, and his followers, joined in the making of  
[this manuscript] in Müüañ 'Brāā. Written by Aḍḍha-Rassabhikkhu,  
while staying happily in Waḍ Hluuañ Srii Jum, on that very day ...

**Remarks.**

Judging from the Pāli colophon (cf. the end of the text), this manuscript  
does not seem to be complete. The "Legend of the Buddha Image called  
[Bra Buddhasihiñ]" is another work by the Monk Bodhiramsi, the author  
of the *Cāmadevivaṇsa* (cf. supra, 17, 18), and was probably written  
about the same time, i.e. at the beginning of the 15th c. (Cf. CÆDÈS  
1925:13). A copy of the S° is included in the list of manuscripts which  
were sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th c. (Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988c:176).  
There are another two copies of this text included in the present microfilm  
collection of manuscripts from Northern Thailand: see Remarks to 17, 18.  
This text has not yet been edited.

## 25. VAṆSAMĀLINĪ

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

**Begins:**

vase pi tajje pi avadinātho ñatvā hi te te pavisesato yo desesi moghavatarāya tesaṃ vandāmi nāthaṃ tam anantañānaṃ dhammañ ca saṅghaṃ sirasā 'bhivande vaṃse 'pi ñāte n[ā]ta[2]re ca ñātā (read: ñātāro ca ñātā ?) tasmā hi vaṃsāvāriyānuñātāṃ (read: vaṃsācariy<sup>o</sup>) saṅkhepaṃ vakkhāmi ... [4] ... imamhi kappe paṭhamo 'va rājā mahādināmo ahu tassa vaṃsāparamparā-m-āga tato asinnā tato sisabye vararājavaṃso ...

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

so hi tava pañcakaṃ va kammaṭṭhānaṃ va bhaveyaṃ tilakkaṇupaṭṭhapetvā buddhassa sāmāne tathā pasādenācalen' eva sampanno yeva ce siyā laddhupasampado hutvā. [4] Buddhaghoso catusu pi paṭisambhidāsv' apaṭihatañāno va ce siyā gotamabuddhasāvako Buddhaghoso tadā siyā idaṃ 'pi vacanaṃ yeva vicāretvāna kavinā sakarucikhantiyā va gahetabbaṃ [5] yathiritāṃ (?). niddāne Buddhaghosassa pāṭhitatthaṃ yathārahaṃ sādhippāyaṃ pi nissāya Buddhaghosa-Niddānaṃ vilāsakaraṇaṃ yeva navaniddān' idaṃ mayā racitaṃ ādaren' eva paripuṇṇaṃ va niṭṭhanti.

**Colophons.**

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paalīi waṅsamaalīnīi sip phuuk, bra māhaatheera "cau" ton 'jūū kañcānā araññāwaasīi müüāñ, 'brāā peen mulla[2]saddhaa lāā sissā dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nōok, mii "cau" müüāñ, 'brāā lāā "cau raajja[3]woñ müüāñ, hluuañ bra paañ lāā saddhaa nak puñ, dañ muuar, "brōom, kan "sañ "sañ nai müüāñ hluuañ bra paañ|

/baalīi waṅsa?maalīnīi sip phūuk .../

**Translation.**

[The] Pāli [text of the] *Vaṅsamālinī* - 10 phuuk ...

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

**(2) Front Cover Folio**

|cu|asakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii rwaay san lāā tuua paalīi waṅsamaalīnīi, phuuk, "ton lāā|

/cūnlāsakhàat dāj pan nēj lōj kǎw sip hǎa túa pīi lwaaj sǎn lee túa baalīi waṅsa?maalīnīi phūuk tōn lee/

**Translation.**

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

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

**Remarks.**

This text, allegedly composed by Buddhaghosa, was previously unknown; its existence, however, had already been indicated by L. FINOT (1917:151). It still awaits scholarly attention and edition. However, a Nissaya (Pāli-Northern Thai) version of the second, and concluding part of this legendary chronicle called "*Dutiyavaṅsamālinī*" or |Taaṃnaan Bryaa Cūūāñ| relating events which are said to have taken place in the Lan Na region during the first half of the 12th century AD, has been published, meanwhile, in Central Thai transliteration, from a manuscript also micro-filmed in this collection: see GANJANAPAN; WICHENKEE [ed.] 1981.

26. **VUTTODAYA** (with a commentary) 5.7.1 Author:  
**Saṅgharakkhita** (13th c.)

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

**Begins:**

namo tass' atthu. namatthujanasanānatamamassantānābhedino ...  
(*Vutt* 1,3\*)

**Ends:** p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-3

dviguṇatā ekenāta ekena akkharenaṅ unabhūtā vitthārāyāmasambhavo 'ti  
pujulenā ca dighena ca sambhū[3]to vuttayassa bhaṭṭhapavesanto  
anantonañ ca garulaṃhunamṃ agu bhavati. iti vuttodaye  
chaṭṭhamaparichedavannaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

**Colophon:** p 32, line 4-5

|saḍe,ḍ "lāāw° 'dau" "nii° kḥḥr° lāā cu|saḥkka|laaj (written: °sakkaj|laa)  
"ḍai ban 2°3° 6 wan deey, möön sii, meeñ [wan] 3 yaam ṭajaa (?)  
sra{a}ḍe,ḍ (!) "khaui maa 'suu° utugimhaa [kaṃ]bhoojja khḥḥm, "khaa  
"ḍai khiiar, dhammaḍeesnaa phuuk, [5] "nii° "waiy "gaam° juu jootṭakā  
walābuddhaḥsaasnaa (ee yaṃ !?) brā goodom "cau° taap 'ḥḥḥ° "ḍai 5 ban  
brā waḥsaa khḥḥ suk, 3 prākaan mii nibbaan peen 'dii° "lāāw° dan pittāa  
maaḍaa yaatīkaa 'bii° "ḥḥḥ, 'hāān rau" ['juu] gon dö *sudinnaṃ vadā me  
tanaṃ āhā hanta makaññā (!)*

/sadet léew tâw nîi kôn lee cūnlāsakkalāat dāḥ pan sḥḥḥ lōj sāam sip hok  
wan taj mḥḥḥ sîi meḥ wan sāam ñāam (...) saladet khāw maa sūu  
?utu?kimhāā kāmphoocā? khḥḥḥ khāā dāḥ khīan thammāteesanaa phūuk  
nîi wāj kām cuu cootaka? walā?pūthā?sāasanaa hēḥ phā? koodom cāw  
tāap tḥḥḥ dāḥ hāa pan phā? wātsāa khḥḥ suk sāam phakāan mii nīppaan  
pēñ tîi léew taḥ pittāa maadaa ñāatikāa pîi nḥḥḥ hēḥ law [cūu] khon  
tā? .../

**Translation.**

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

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

**Remarks.**

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

27. **SIVIJAYAPAÑHA** (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

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

**Begins:**

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty  
atthu 'ti. idaṃ sathā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabba kathesi.  
ath' [2] ekadivassam bhikkhudhammasabhāyam katham  
samuṭṭhapesum ...

**Ends:** phuuk 7, p 53 = *ṇi* r, line 5b – p 54 = *ṇi* v, line 1

yo rājasetṭho siviṇṇānāmo so dānīnāñño varalokanātho tumhe bhavantā[54.1] amatam paṭhentā dhāretha varavarajātakan tīti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakaṃ paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

### Colophons.

#### (1) Cover Folio, recto side

[sii<sub>1</sub>wijayyapañhaa 1 "cau° aananda peen "gau° saddhaa rañ "saani° "wai° peen muu[la]saasnaa 'būia° peen praçai 'kää saḅbaññiṇṇa- ñānaṃ traap<sub>3</sub> dai lāā 'pai° "ḍai° 'yaa° (!) peen gon hruu hnuuak taa pōḍḍ<sub>3</sub> [rear side] lāā gon byaadhi sak jaad "hūu° peen "phuu° droṇ<sub>3</sub> traipitaka 'juu° jaati "hūu° "ḍai° triheetukapaṭisaṇḍhipañña yavanto bbhabbapuggala 'yaa° peen gon duk<sub>4</sub> "rai° kheen cai sak jaad 'yaa° "hai° "ḍai° praḥmaad bra buddh bra dhamm bra saṅgha "cau°<sub>10</sub> sak jaati 'ḍāā°]

/sīiwīcajñā?pānhāa [phùuk] nēṅ cāw ?aanantā? pēn kāv satthaa laṅ sāṅ wāj pēn muulā?sāasanaa pūa pēn phatcāj kēe sappanñūtaññaṇṇa thalāap daj lēe pāj dāj jāa pēn khon hūu nūak tāa bōḍ lē? khon phañāat sak cāat hūu pēn phūu thaloṅ thalājpitaka? cūu caati? hūu dāj thali? hēettukka?pati?sānthi?pāñña ñāwantō phāppā?pukkālā? jāa pēn khon tūk lāj khēn cāj sak cāat jāa hāj dāj phamāat phā? pūt phā? tham phā? sājkhā cāw sak caati? dēe/

### Translation.

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

#### (2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 47

[kap "cau°<sub>10</sub> guu dañ hlaay peen "ton° 'waa° bra māhaa swaamii "cau° ḍḍḍ<sub>4</sub> jai lāā bra māhaa swaa[mii] "cau° raajamo<sub>2</sub>ndiian lāā hlaan māhaath[ee]n "cau° 'mäā° ki 'mäā° kii paansok "paan° ('hmai) 'juuay° kan "saani° "wai peen muulāsaasnaa peen praçai 'kää maggaphala]

/kap cāw kuu taṅ lāaj pēn tōn wāa phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw ḍḍḍon caj lē? phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw laacāmontian lē? lāan mahāathēen cāw mēe ki? mēe kii baansok bāan māj (?) cōj kñ sāj wāj pēn muulā?sāasanaa pēn phatcāj kēe mākkāphala?/

### Translation.

To all the Venerables, like Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] ḍḍḍon Jai, and Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] Raajamondiian.- The nieces of the Venerable Mahaatheera(s), 'Māa Ki and 'Māa Kii, and the villagers of "Paan 'Hmai helped each other in having made [this manuscript] wishing thereby to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, and [hoping that this meritorious act may] contribute to the attainment of Path-Result.\*

\* For an explanation of the Pāli term magga-phala, s. NYANATILOKA 1972:141 (s.v. *phala*).

#### (3) phuuk 2, Cover Folio

[sii<sub>2</sub>wijayyapañhaa phuuk<sub>4</sub> 2 sakraaj 942 nai plii<sub>3</sub> ḍap "rau°<sub>10</sub> lāā]

/sīiwīcajñā?pānhāa phūuk sōṅ sakhāat kāv lōj sii sip sōṅ naj pii ḍap lāv lēe/

### Translation.

Siiwījayīyapañhaa - phuuk two. [C] S 942 (= AD 1580), in the Year of the Cock.

#### (4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 48

|sii,wijayapañhaa phuuk, 1 pii, dap "rau<sub>10</sub> ðüüan, 7 qok, 11 'gaam wan 3 dai "ruuañ, "sai" sakraaj "ðai 942 rüük 9 tuua "cau' aananda peen "gau<sub>10</sub> saddhaa nak jöo, n, paanso, k paansikaa ðañ hlaay peen "ton 'waa ratana "paan° yaam "nii<sub>3</sub>!

/süiwicajñã?pañhã phùuk nêṅ pīi dap lāv ðuan cet ?ðok sip ?et khâm wan sãam taj lúan sāj sakhàt ðāj kãw lóçj sīi sip sōṅ lēuk kãw túa cãw ?aanantã? pěn káw satthaa nãk cœn baansok baansikãa taṅ lãaj pěn tön wãa lãttanã? bãan ñaam ní/

### Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk 1; Year of the Cock, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the third day [of the Mon tradition, called] ["ruuañ "sai] [in the Dai tradition], in [C] S 942, at *fkṣa* 9. - "Cau Aananda was the leading lay supporter and the initiator who invited all the lay-men and lay-women, including the people of this splendid village named "Paan Yaam (?) [to join in the meritorious act of having made this manuscript].

**NB:** Another short colophon, found at the end of phuuk 2 (no no., preceded by p 46 = *ghah* v) which is almost identical with (3), above, confirms the date as given in (4).

(For Remarks, see 28, below)

## 28. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

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

### Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty atthu. idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabba kathesi. ath' ekadivassaṃ bhikkhudhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuṭṭha[2]pesuṃ ...

**Ends:** phuuk 7, p 52 = *bhā* v, line 4c – p 53, line 1 (upside down; preceded by p 51)

so nāma nāgo varapāli[5]leyyo sabbe sivrājanā ca sebhāparissabhūtā tathāgatassa yo rājasetṭho sivrājanāmo so dānīnāñño varavarajātakaṃ tī[53.1]ti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakaṃ paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

### Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|"hnaa rap "glau sii,wijeeyapañhaa phuuk, "ton lãä|  
/nãa lãp káw süiwicajñã?pañhã phùuk tön lee/

### Translation.

Front Cover Folio - Siiwijeeyapañhaa (*Sivijayapañha*), first phuuk.

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

|paali sii,wijeeyapañhaa phuuk, "ton lãä "khaa "tãam plii kaḍ "gai ðüüar, 10 duṭiya rãam 11 'gaam 'braam 'waa "ðai wan 2 sraḍe, jh "lãäw° yaam trãä 'gaam sakraaj "ðai 1201 (?) tuua lãä iminã sabbavattudānena sabbaparivāre dānekatapuññe a[4]nāgatakāre arahantā rabheyyaṃ ariyaḥ metteyyasantike ehi bhikkhupaccayabhavāyaṃ paccayo hotu saṃsāle saṃsārato 'pi tikhaññā visāradā surūpattā bhyāgyaḥ vaṇṇā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahābbalā mahāsattaratana samlanān bha[38.1]vā majātiloratti sattasahasu mā daridā bhavāmi 'haṃ 'ðañ° "nii "duuay° teejā kusla naa pun, an "khaa "ðai "tãam "ðai khiar, yañ paali sii,wijeeyapañhaa "nii, khōḍ 'cu,ñ° "hüü uḍom somriddhi ðañ° gaam praathnaa 'hãñ° tuua "khaa ju yüüa,ñ ju praakaan 'ðää° dö|

/baalii süiwicajñã?pañhã phùuk tön lee khãa tēem pīi kat káj ðuan sip tūtiñã? leem sip ?et khâm phâm wãa ðāj wan sōṅ saladet léew ñaam thalēe khâm sakhàt ðāj pan sōṅ lóçj ?et túa lee ?imī?naa ... .. phãwaamī? hãṅ ðaṅ ní ðōj tēecã? kutsala? naa bun ?an khãa ðāj tēem ðāj khīan ñaṅ baalii süiwicajñã?pañhã ní khōḍ cùṅ hūu ?uḍom sōmlitthii ðaṅ kam phãathanaa hēṅ túa khãa cū? ñūaṅ cū? phakãan ðēe tã?/

**Translation.**

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

(3) phuuk 2, p 37 = *ghe r*, line 3b-4

[s° phuuk<sub>4</sub> 2 "khaa "tääm plii kaḍ "gai" dūüar<sub>3</sub> 11 ɔɔk<sub>4</sub> 2 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° 'ḍai wan 2 yaam trää baad (?) sakraaj 'ḍai 1201 (?) tuua sraḍe<sub>2jh</sub> "läaw° läa 'gɔɔy° biccaranaa (!) duu dö [4] "duuay teeja kusla 'suuar<sub>2</sub> puṇ<sub>2</sub> an "khaa "ḍai "tääm° yañ paajii s° "nii° khɔɔ "hüü "khaa mii pryaa pāñña an sliiaw<sub>3</sub> slaad wiseet sak swaad aad "ruu yañ 8 'hmüür<sub>3</sub> 4 ban khan "cau° ju duuan<sub>4</sub> dhamm 'guu° bhawa jaaḍ traap 'tɔɔ° "dau<sub>2</sub> "khaü° 'suu neerabbaan "duuay "miiar<sub>3</sub> soṇsaan siia "hüü khaad 'diiāñ;" "dää° ḍii hlii dö]

/s... phùuk sɔɔŋ khãa tẽem pii kat káj ðuan sip ?et ?ðok sɔɔŋ khâm phâm wãa dāj wan sɔɔŋ ñaam thalẽe pãat sakhaat dāj pan sɔɔŋ lɔɔj ?et tãa saladet léew lee kɔj pitcalanaa duu tã? dɔj tẽecã? kutsala? sùan bun?an khãa dāj tẽem ñaŋ baalii s... ní khɔɔ hũu khãa mii phãñña ?an salãaw salãat wísèet sak swàat ?àat lúu ñaŋ pèet mùun sù pan khãñ cãw cũ? duaŋ tham kũu phãwã? cãat thalãap tòc táw khãw sùu neelãppaan dɔj mían sɔŋsãan sã hũu khãat tãŋ tée dii lã tã?/

**Translation.**

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

disruption of Saṃsāra, I may enter Nibbāna. Oh, may this wish come true!

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

(4) phuuk 3, p 48 = *ce v*, line 4

[sraḍe<sub>2c</sub> "läaw° dūüa<sub>n</sub> 10 rääm 15 'gaam° dūüa<sub>3n</sub> ḍap wan 7 lää "khaa khɔɔ an suk<sub>4</sub> 3 prakaaan mii neerabbaan peen yɔɔḍ<sub>3</sub> "ḍää° dö dhã "nii; hööy lää]

/sadet léew ðuan sip leem sip hãa khâm ðuan dap wan cet lee khãa khɔɔ ?an suk sãam phakãan mii neelãppaan pẽn ñɔɔt dèe tã? thã? ní hœj læ/

**Translation.**

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

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

[paajii s° phuuk<sub>4</sub> "thuar<sub>3</sub> 'thii° 4 lää 'nöö° naay hööy "hnaa rap "glau° paarii sii<sub>4</sub>wijaiyyapañhaa phuuk<sub>4</sub> "thuar<sub>3</sub> 4 "khaa "ḍai khiiar<sub>3</sub> dhamm phuuk<sub>4</sub> "nii "khaa khɔɔ an suk 3 prakaaan mii nibbaan peen yɔɔḍ<sub>3</sub> "ḍää° dö 'nöö° naay[2] naay "hwai° ðañ hlaay hööy/

/baalii sãwãcãjñã?pãnhãa phùuk thũan thii sù lee naaj hœj nã læp kãw baalii sãwãcãjñã?pãnhãa phùuk thũan sù khãa dāj khãñ tham phùuk ní khãa khɔɔ ?an suk sãam phakãan mii nãppaan pẽn ñɔɔt dèe tã? nêe naaj naaj wãj taŋ læj hœj/



**Translation.**

[The] Pāli [text of] S° - 4th phuuk. Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S° - phuuk no. 4. Having written this phuuk, I should like to ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal, dear respected readers!

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

|paalii sii<sub>4</sub>wijeeyyapaṇhaa phuuk<sub>4</sub> 4 lāā 'nōö° naay hōöy "hnaa' rap plaay  
paalii s° lāā 'nōö° naay 'dii "hwai ton dai liiap leñ 'gō° 'gōöy" biccaraṇaa  
"hüü° 'thii° dö "khaa 'pō° 'kwäär<sub>3</sub> hlaay lāā|

/baalii sīwīcajñāṇāpānhāa phūuk sī lē nēə naaj hōəj nāa lāp pāaj baalii  
s... lē nēə naaj tī wāj tōn daj dāj līap leṅ kō kōj pītcalanaa hūu thī tō?  
khāa bō kwèn lāaj lē/

**Translation.**

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

(7) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

|s° phuuk<sub>4</sub> 5

paalii lö <sub>3</sub> k räap "luuar <sub>3</sub>	'yaa° luuar <sub>3</sub> dan 'bōö°
peen 'klaa° kōö <sub>3</sub> gaam guuar <sub>3</sub>	waaḍ "waiy
tuaa aḍ oö <sub>4</sub> bōö "huuar <sub>3</sub> "huuar <sub>3</sub>	haa yaak nak lāā
tok 'dii° dai" 'pō° "cāān "waiy	'cim° "cau ton traḍ
yaiyadhamm lāā naay h <sub>2</sub> öy	

/baalii lök lēep lúan  
pēñ kaa kōon kam kuan  
tūa ?at ?ōök pōō hūan hūan  
tok tī daj bō cēeṅ wāj  
ñajñātham lē naaj hōəj/

jāa luan tan pōō  
wāat wāj  
hāa nāak nāk lē  
cim cāw tōn thalat

**Translation.**

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

Dhammas they present which should be known.

(8) phuuk 5, p 43

|naarada cak<sub>4</sub> ri rañ "thōöy°  
'yuu° waty<sub>2</sub> waaḍ srii paan pai  
naa "iiañ° "kāāw° raaḍ lüü jaiy  
khiiar<sub>3</sub> lāā 'nōö° naay 'dii "hwai

snuk<sub>3</sub> cai kōö<sub>3</sub> lāā  
kōöt "han°  
lüü raaḍ mii<sub>4</sub> lāā  
bra 'mōö<sub>3</sub> 'yaa° grniñ|

/naalātā? cak lī? laṅ thōōj  
jūu wāt wāt salīi baan baj  
naa ?īaṅ kēew lāat lūu caj  
khīan lē nēə naaj tī wāj

sanuk cāj kōon lē  
kēət hān  
lūu lāat mii lē  
phā? mōn jāa khanig/

**Translation.**

Naarada [-Bhikkhu] will tell you some heart-warming words, while staying at Waḍ Srii Paan Pai, in the village of his birth, in a splendid place well-known by all, called Naa "Iiañ; it's there that these words were written, respected reader — do not doubt!

## (9) phuuk 5, p 44

|S° phuuk<sub>4</sub> 5 [2] cu|asakkaraj "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai sraḍe<sub>3</sub>jh  
 "lāw° yaam tuuḍ<sub>3</sub>, "jaay meen wan 2 daiy mōön "rau° "khaw nai  
 wassa[a]na güü 'waa' ḍüüa<sub>4</sub>n 11 oḍk<sub>4</sub> 2 'gaam "lāw° 'kää° "khaa' lāā  
 nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ 'cuñ" cak<sub>4</sub> mii 'diian" "dāā° ḍii-hlii dö<sub>5</sub>|

/s... phùuk hāa cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan lóḍj saaw ?et tūa pīi kat káj  
 saladet léew ñaam tūt cáaj meṅ wan sōḅ taj mæṅ lāv khāw naj  
 wātsāanā? kuu wāa ḍuan sip ?et ?ḍok sōḅ khām léew kēe khāa lee  
 nīppaanaj palāmaj sukkhāṅ cūṅ cak mii tīaj tēe dii līi tē?/

**Translation.**

S°, phuuk 5. CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant. Accomplished at the time of  
 the afternoon horn, on the 2nd day [according to the] Mon [tradition,  
 called] |mōön "rau| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the beginning of the Rainy  
 Season, that is in the eleventh [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the  
 waxing moon. Nibbāna is the utmost happiness — may this definitely  
 come true [for me]!

(10) phuuk 6, p 50 = *paḥ* v, line 5

|vanakaṇḍaṃ nitthitaṃ [5] cu|asakkaraja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ  
 "glai° ḍüüar<sub>3</sub> 10 duṭiya daiy kaap se<sub>3</sub>tṭh meen wan 2 "khaa khiiar<sub>3</sub>  
 "lāw° ḍüüar<sub>3</sub> 10 duṭiya oḍk<sub>4</sub> 9 'gaam 'braam° "ḍai wan soḅñ risnaa  
 khiiar<sub>3</sub>, "lāw° yaam wan 'diian°, *sudinnaṃ vata me dānaṃ dhammajināti*|

/... cūnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan lóḍj saaw ?et tūa pīi kat káj ḍuan sip  
 tūtiñā? taj kàap set meṅ wan sōḅ khāa khīan léew ḍuan sip tūtiñā?  
 ?ḍok kāw khām phām wāa wan sōḅ līsanāa khīan léew ñaam wan  
 tīaj.../

**Translation.**

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the second  
 day [according to the Mon tradition, called] |kaap seḍ| [in the] Dai  
 [tradition].- I completed my writing in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 9th

day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon  
 tradition]. The writing was completed at noon-time.

## (11) phuuk 7, p 54 (upside down)

|cu|asakkaraja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai° ḍüüar<sub>3</sub> sraawaṇa daiy"[3]  
 'tau sii<sub>3</sub> meen wan 6 "khaa risnaa khiiar<sub>3</sub>, "lāw°[4] khiiar<sub>3</sub>, "waiy  
 "gaam' juu buddha<sub>3</sub>saassnaa (written °buddha<sub>3</sub>ssnaa) traap 'tḍo° an aayu  
 laan peen praḍhaar 'ciñṃ(!) 'ḍāā|

/... (s. above) ... ḍuan salaawan taj tāv sīi meṅ wan hok khāa khīan  
 léew ñaam wan tīaj khāa līsanāa khīan léew khīan wáj kām cuu  
 pūthā?sāasanaa thalāap tōḅ ?an ?aañ? laan pēn phathan cūṅ dēe/

**Translation.**

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the month |sraawaṇa|\*, [on a day  
 called] |'tau sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], [corresponding to] the sixth day  
 [in the] Mon [tradition]. I completed my writing at noon time. I have now  
 completed my writing. I wrote this in order to support Buddha's Teachings  
 for as long as the palm-leaves may endure.

\* < Skt *śrāvaṇa*

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

## (12) ibid., on left margin

|"khaa "ḍai khiiar<sub>4</sub> dhamm<sub>2</sub> "nii° khḍo "hüü peen uppanisai praḍaiy  
 "gaam juu' ton[4] tuua 'hāān "khaa' traap 'tḍo° "dau' thōön nibbaan dö|

/khāa ḍāj khīan tham níi khōḍ hūu pēn ?uppanīsāj phatcāj kām cuu tōn  
 tūa hēṅ khāa thalāap tōḅ tāv thēṅ nīppaan tē?/

**Translation.**

May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to  
 myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna.

**Remarks.**

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

**29. PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ**

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

**Begins:**

namo tassa. karuṇā vissasatte sapaññāyassa mahesino ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavittittha yathā ruci|la|tassa pāde namassitvā sammaddhassa (read: sambuddhassa) sirimatto saddhamma[2]ñc' assapuretvā katvā ssaṅghassa sañcalinti. iti h' idaṃ vihitam kiṃ atthaṃ vihitanti ...

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

**Colophons.**

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

|paa|ii paramatṭhawibhuusanii (*Paramatṭhavibhūsanī*) phuuk<sub>4</sub> "ton dañ muuar<sub>3</sub> mii 12 phuuk<sub>2</sub> |lää "hnaa dhap "glau tuua paa|ii p° phuuk<sub>2</sub> "ton |lää phuuk<sub>3</sub> "ton waḍ huua faay" rikkhitta "gaṃ juu māhaajiiwiḍ |lää-naa|

(on left margin:)|p° phuuk<sub>4</sub> "ton akkhara "tañ [k]a rōḍḍ, khā |

/baalii p ... phūuk tōn taṅ muan mii sip sōṅ phūuk lee nāa thāp kāv tūa baalii p ... phūuk tōn lee phūuk tōn wāt hūa fāaj līkkhitta? kām cuu māhāaciiwīt lee naa/

(on left margin:)/p... phūuk tōn ?akkhala? tāṅ ka? lōṭ khāa/

**Translation.**

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

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

(On left margin:)|P°, first phuuk; from akṣara ka to akṣara khā

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

|paripuṇṇa "lääw" yaam koṇṇ<sub>3</sub> lääñ (?) |lää tuua "khaa 'jūū" (written: ji) hnaa" abhijaiy" hnii ruk<sub>2</sub> müüa<sub>3</sub>ñ 'bää maa 'yuu kap gruu p{r}aa "cau waṣ "paan "kääm" waṣ "paan noḍk<sub>4</sub> "gaṃ juu gruu p{r}aa "cau "waiy "gaṃ juu" saasnaa (written: snaa) 5 ban bhā waṣ[s]aa 'klää "khaa |lää dhamm somḍe<sub>3</sub>jh brā "cau jii<sub>4</sub>wiṣ |lää[3] ḍii-hlii ḍō|

/palīpunnā? léew ñaam kṓṅ leṅ(?) leṅ tũ khãa cẽu ñaan ?apphīcaj nĩ  
lũk m̄aṅ p̄e maa jũ kap khuu baa cãw wãt bãan k̄em wãt bãan nõk  
kám cuu khuu baa cãw wáj kám cuu sãasanaa hãa pan phã? wãtsãa k̄e  
khãa leṅ tham s̄omdet phã cãw ciwĩt leṅ dii lĩ t̄õ?/

### Translation.

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

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

|cu|abaddasakkaraaja(!) "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruuaṅ" "rau<sub>10</sub>ṅ ḍiüar<sub>3</sub> 4  
huulaa ṛṛk<sub>4</sub> 12 'gaam̄ meen [wan] 4 daiy kaṣ "gaiy yaam lään r̄üü<sub>2</sub>kt<sub>2</sub> (?)  
paripuṅṅa "lääw" yaam "nan lää [2] |pa| dhammajjñāsuttinaṃ vatta me  
dinaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ paan(!)  
'müüa<sub>3</sub> 'yuu saṭṭhi[t] saamlaan waḍ lṛṛṅ müüa<sub>3</sub>ṅ buua wan "nan lää  
saadhu "cau jeeyyaseen lää|

/cũnlāpāttā?sakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sṓṅ lṓṅ saaw sãam tũ pĩ lúṅ lãw  
ḍuan s̄i hũulaa ḍok sip sṓṅ khãm meṅ [wan] s̄i taj kat káj ñaam  
leṅ l̄uḁk (?) palīpunnā? léew ñaam ñan leṅ ... p̄aṅ m̄a jũ satthit  
sãmlaan wãt lṓṅ m̄aṅ pua wan nán leṅ sãathũ? cãw cajñās̄een leṅ/

### Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 4th lunar month, on the 12th day of  
the waxing moon, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition,  
called] |kaḍ "gai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset  
[drum], at ḥkṣa (?), accomplished in this very moment. [Written] while I  
stayed happily at Waḍ Lṛṛṅ, Müüaṅ Buua, on that very day. [Written by]

the Venerable Jeeyyaseen.\*

\* (Pāli Name: Jayasena).

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

|paripuṅṅa "lääw" {yaam} yaam thãä [?] 'kää" "khaa lää cu|asakkaraaja  
"ḍai 1223 tuua plii kaḍ "rau 'kää" "khaa lää kattiyos(!) bhikkhu "ḍai  
khiar<sub>3</sub> dhamm phuuk<sub>4</sub> "nii" "waiy "hüü" peen praḥai bai "hnaa[3] güü  
müüa "faa" lää nibbaan 'kää" "khaa "ḍää ḍii-hlii lää "khaa khiar<sub>3</sub>  
"gaam̄ juu yaṅ "cau mahaajiiwiḍ lää "khaa khiar<sub>3</sub> "saan' müüa<sub>3</sub> 'yuu  
meetṭaa sa[d]dhaa "paan "kääm wiiaṅ<sub>4</sub> buua waḍ peensakaḍ wan "nan  
lää na sobhati 'gṛ'-pṛ' ḍuu ñaam hnai lää du "cau braṅ naay ton ḍai  
'aan" 'gṛ'gṛṇ' biccā[4]raṅaa ḍuu 'thii' ḍö, bṛṇ 'yaa' ti<sub>2</sub> tuua "khaa 'ḍää"  
ḍö, "khaa 'pṛ' 'jaan' "tääm" 'pṛ' peen "mai peen tuua hnai lää du "paan  
nṛṛk<sub>4</sub> man 'pṛ' 'jaan' lää arahantāmagaññāṇaṃ nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ  
"ḍää ḍii-hlii lää dhamm "cau mahaajiiwiḍ lää 'nöö<sub>3</sub> naay 'dii" "hwai|

/palīpunnā? léew ñaam th̄e [?] k̄e khãa leṅ cũnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan  
sṓṅ lṓṅ saaw sãam tũ pĩ kat lãw k̄e khãa leṅ kattiyōñōt phīkkhu? ḍāj  
khĩan tham phũuk nĩ wáj hũu p̄en phatcāj paj nãa[3] k̄u m̄a fãa l̄e?  
ñippaan k̄e khãa t̄e dii lĩ khãa khĩan kám juu ñaṅ cãw mahãaciiwĩt  
leṅ khãa khĩan sãṅ m̄a jũ m̄eettãa satthaa bãan k̄em wiaṅ pua wãt  
beṅsakat wan nán leṅ nã? s̄ōphãti? k̄õ b̄õ duu ṅaam nãj leṅ tũ? cãw  
phã? naaj t̄õn ḍaj ?aan k̄õ k̄õj p̄itcalanaa duu th̄i t̄õ? p̄õḍ jãa ti? tũ khãa  
ḍ̄e t̄õ? khãa b̄õ cãṅ t̄em b̄õ p̄en m̄áj p̄en tũ nãj leṅ tũ? bãan nõk man  
b̄õ cãṅ leṅ ?alãhãntãa m̄akkãñaanaṅ n̄itcãṅ thũwaṅ thũwaṅ t̄e dii lĩ leṅ  
tham cãw mahãaciiwĩt leṅ n̄õ naaj t̄i wãj/

### Translation.

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

called] "Paan "Kääm, in Wiiañ Buua, at Waḍ Peensakaḍ, on that very day.- [My writing] does not look beautiful at all. Whoever will read this, may he be a monk or a novice, should use thorough consideration; do not put blame on me, for I cannot write well, my characters do not take the shape of vowels and consonants. Village monks just don't have the skill. - May I [by virtue of the merit gained through writing this manuscript] attain the knowledge of the way leading to Arahantship; oh, may this wish come true, indeed! - A Dhamma manuscript [written at the behest] of His Majesty the Lord of Life, dear respected readers!

\* < P Kittiyasa?

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

|srəḍe<sub>3</sub>jh "läaw° yaam 7 'kää "khaa güü 'waa° yaam 'diiañ<sub>4</sub> wan jriñ  
ciñ (!) "ḍuuy teeja naa pur<sub>3</sub> an "khaa "ḍai[4] khiiar<sub>3</sub> dhamm phuuk<sub>4</sub> "nii<sub>4</sub>  
khəḍ "hüü° "ḍai thöön wiiañ<sub>4</sub> "käaw yəḍḍ<sub>3</sub> neerabbaan an 'pə°  
"ruu° "thau 'pə° "ruu° taay sak 'diüa<sub>3</sub>, "ḍää ḍii-hlii prakaan 1 khəḍ "hüü°  
mii pryaa pāñña "ruu° hlwak<sub>3</sub> swak swaaḍ aad "ruu° "kää peessnaa  
paṇhaa an" yaak lää aad[45.1] "hüü° "ruu° dhamm brā buddha "cau 8  
'hmüür, 4 ban khan "nan° 'cuñ<sub>3</sub> cak<sub>4</sub> mii 'diiañ° "ḍää ḍii-hlii 'ḍää dö<sub>5</sub>[2]  
cuḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruuañ<sub>3</sub> "rau peen pii<sub>3</sub>  
yaacaadhi[ka]maad meen wan 4 dai pöök "caiy ḍüüa<sub>3</sub>n 9 dutiya {'pə°?}  
hon ḡḡk<sub>4</sub> 'gaam 1 boodhisammaṇeen likkhitta lää 'müüa<sub>3</sub>; 'yuu meettaa  
saddhaa[3] guu paa rii(ñ) müüa<sub>3</sub>n gwaañ wan "nan "kii(!) lää khiiar<sub>3</sub>  
"gaam juu "cau mahaajiiwiḍ ton sa-hwööy müüa<sub>3</sub>n nandapurii, nagḡḡḡ<sub>3</sub>  
ton "thuar<sub>3</sub> 5 lää "cau hööy|

/saladet léew ñaam cet kèe khāa kuu wāa ñaam tīaṅ wan caliṅ cīṅ dōḅ  
tēecā? naa bun ?an khāa dāḅ khīan tham phūuk nīi khōḅ hēu dāḅ thōḅ  
wiaṅ kēew ñōḅ neelāppaan ?an bō lūu thāw bō lūu tāj sak tūa tēe dii līi  
phakāan nūḅ khōḅ hēu mii phāñña pāñña lūu lwak swak swāat ?aat  
lūu kēe petsanāa pānhāa ?an ñāak lē? ?aat[45.1] hēu lūu tham phā?  
pūthā cāw pēt mēun sīi pan khān nān cūḅ cak mii tīaṅ tēe dii līi dēe  
tō?[2] cūñlāsakkalaacā? dāḅ pan sōḅ lōḅ saaw sām tūa pii lūaṅ lāw pēn  
pii ñaacāathi[ka]māat meḅ wan sīi taj pəək cāḅ ḍuan kāw tūtiñā? {bō?}

hōon ?ōḅ khām nūḅ poothi?sāmmāneen likkhitta? lēe mūa jūu mēettāa  
satthaa[3] khuu baa liaḅ (?) mēaḅ khwaḅ wan nān kīi (?) lēe khīan  
kām cuu cāw mahāaciiwīt tōñ sawəḅj mēaḅ nantā?pulii nāḅḅon tōñ thūan  
hāa lēe cāw hōḅj/

### Translation.

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

\* Counting from 6 a.m. (as is done also in Laos), one would have  
expected the 4th, not the 7th 'watch' (|yaam|) to be mentioned as  
equivalent with noon time. Cf. PHETSARAT 1959:99.

\*\* P *adhikamāsa* ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 102.

\*\*\* See Remarks to 30, below.

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

|sakkabḍa "ḍai 1223 tuua plii, "ruuañ, "rau ḍüüa<sub>3</sub>n 11 hooraa ḡḡk<sub>4</sub> 4 (?)  
'gaam meen wan 1 daiy koḅ san yaam wan 'diiañ, paripuṇṇa lää|

/sakkaptā? dāj pan sōṅ lōṅ saaw sām tūa pīi lūaṅ lāw dhan sip ?et  
hōolaa ?ḍok sīi (?) khām meṅ wan nṅṅ taj kot sǎn ñaam wan tīaṅ  
palīpūnnā? lee/

### Translation.

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

(For Remarks, see no. 30)

### 30. PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ

Roll 8, 155". Dc no 0240, ms no. 1306. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?).  
CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cáṅ kám/). Amphoe  
Muang, Nan.

### Begins:

namo tass' atthu. karuṇā vissasatte supaññāyassa mahesino  
ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattittha yathā rucitassa pāde namasitvā  
sambuddhassa sirimato sadhammañc' a[2][s]sapuretvā katvā saṅghassa  
cañ(c)alinti. iti h' idaṃ vihitam kim attham vihitanti ...

**Ends:** phuuk 12, p 23, line 2b-3c

ime dhammā nivarāṇavippayuttā nideso dissati 'ti [3] katvā  
orambhāgiyuddhamhāgiyabhāvena (!) samagahitā ricchanā  
orambhā(giyuddhā)nivarāṇā gocchakaṃ (!)

### Colophons.

(1) phuuk 2, p 34 = 17 v, line 4b-5

|srāḍeḍḍ "lāaw" wan 7 yaam {t}thāā cak "klai 'diian" na sobhati 'gō'-pō'  
ñaam lāā 'gōḡy" yāān" bai taam 'yūūa,ñ" dhāmm, dö tuua 'gō'-pō' smōö  
kan [5] kusla "khaa "ḍai "tāām dhāmm phuuk, "ni" khōḡ "hūū" mii phla  
ḡnison(!) maak, hlaay "dāā dö "tāām 'mūūa,ḡ gūūn {'mūūa,ḡ wan}

'phōḡ' 'pō' [han] sak gaay heetu 'waa con "ḍuuyay dhamm, (!) naa lāā  
"tāām 'mūūa, wan 'pō' "ḍai lāā 'dii" "hwai hōöy"

/saladet léew wan cet ñaam thēe cak kāj tīaṅ nā? sōphāti? kō bō ḡaam  
lee kōj ñeṅ paj tāam ñūaṅ tham tē? tūa kō bō samōā kǎn [5] kutsala?  
khāa dāj tēem tham phūuk nī khōḡ hūū mii phala? ?aanīsōṅ māk lāaj  
tēe tē? tēem mūa khūūn phōḡ bō [hǎn] sak kaaj hēt wāa cōn dōj tham  
naa lee tēem mūa wan bō dāj lee tīi wāj hōāj/

### Translation.

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

(2) phuuk 5, p 35, line 5c - p 36, line 2

|paripuṇṇa "lāaw" yaam kōḡñ, ñaay[36.1] (not readable on the  
microfilm)[2] lāā bhari,yaa raajapuṭṭaaputtii "cau<sub>io</sub> ju ton 'yu paḡanta  
'pō'  
'jaañ "tāām tuua paalīi (...)|

/palīpūnnā? léew ñaam kōṅ ḡaaj (...) lē? phālīñāa laacāputtāaputtīi cāw  
cū? tōn jūu paḡanta? bō cáṅ tēem tūa baalīi (...)/

### Translation.

Completed at the time of the morning drum (...) [2] and [by his] spouse,  
as well as his Royal sons and daughters. - Living out in the countryside, I  
lack the skill of writing.- The Pāli text [of the Pō?] ...

(3) phuuk 7, p 38, line 5b

[cu]ḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "ḍai (...) 'jüü°-'waa°  
paramatthawi<sub>2</sub>bhuu<sub>4</sub>sanii<sub>2</sub> jootaka kap somḍe<sub>3</sub>jh {kap} "cau  
mahaajiiwiḍ blḡḡ 'cuñ° peen phla ḍii-hlii *nicam̄ dhuvam̄ dhuvam̄*

/cũnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sḳḳḳ lḳḳj sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj ḍāj (...)  
cūu wāa palāmāttha?wīphuusanii cootaka? kap sḳḳdet mahāaciiwīt pḳḳ  
cūḡ pēn phala? ḍii līi nītcaḡ thūwaj thūwaj/

### Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (...) named P°, in support of [the meritorious  
efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. May [this pious deed of  
mine] bear excellent fruit for ever and ever!

(4) phuuk 9, p 44, line 1b-2c

[sr]ḍe<sub>3</sub>jh "lāāw° yaam thāā cak<sub>4</sub> "klai° 'ḍiiāñ° pīiāñ<sub>4</sub> (?) kin 'ḍḳḳñ<sub>3</sub>-'ḍiiāñ<sub>3</sub>  
'kāā "khaa "nḳḳy "tāām mā ḡiūn bai nak lāā biccarāḇaa au ḍḳḳ tuua  
"hyḳḳ teem dhii sakhaaḍ "ḍai [2] 1230(!) tuua plii (kaḍ) "sai° ḍiūtar<sub>3</sub>  
10 ḳḳk<sub>4</sub> 12 'ḡaam̄ 'braam̄° 'waa "ḍai wan 2 'kāā "khaa hnaar indasḳḳr<sub>3</sub>  
"tāām° tuua 'pḳḳ° smḳḳ kan siia "lāāw° "tāām "ḡaam̄ juu som(baan) "cau<sub>6</sub>  
mahaajiiwiḍ 'daan° "hūū° "kāā' 'ḡaa müü "tāām "pi<sub>3</sub> 1 jalāā]

/saladet léew ñaam thēe cak kāj tīaḡ piaḡ (?) kīn tḳḳ tīaḡ kēe khāa nḳḳj  
tēem mā khūun paj nāk lee pītcalanaa ?aw tḳḳ tūa nḳḳ tēem thii sakhaat  
ḍāj [2] pan sḳḳḳ lḳḳj sāam sip tūa pīi kat sāj ḍuan sip ?ḳḳk sip  
sḳḳḳ khām phām wāa ḍāj wan sḳḳḳ kēe khāa lee nāan ?intā?sḳḳn tēem  
tūa bḳḳ samḳḳ kān sīa léew tēem kām cuu sḳḳmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt  
tāan hūu kēe kaa muu tēem bīi nūḡ calee/

### Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the forenoon horn, right in time for lunch. A  
lot was written at night-time; so make use of your own consideration! The  
characters are badly contracted.- CS 1230 (!) Year of the Snake, in the  
10th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding  
to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition]. Written by Hnaan Indasḳḳr. The  
characters have become increasingly uneven. Written in support of the

merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. He provided the  
remuneration of one |"pii|\* for the writing.

\* |"pii| (/bīi/): an ancient money unit equivalent to 12 satang (100  
satang = 1 Baht), according to information provided by Acharn Indr  
Suchai (/ʔin suʔcǎj/), Chiang Rai, for the forthcoming Northern  
Thai–Central Thai Dictionary presently being compiled by Professor  
Dr. Udom Roongruangsri.

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

[p]aripuḇ[ḇ]a "lāāw° yaam kḳḳñ<sub>3</sub> ḇaaay "khaa "nḳḳy° lāā naama  
'jüü°-'waa° bhyaa maḇḅḅasilaa "hnḳḳḳ° "ḍai "tāām "ḡaam̄ juu sombaan  
somḍe<sub>3</sub>jh "cau° mahaajiiwiḍ 'daan° "ḍai "kāā' 'ḡaa° müü "tāām "pi<sub>3</sub> 1  
[34.1] *iminā dhammarikkhattadānaḇ attano yatthā bhve jāto ca  
mātāpitā sambandha sahayati kuru uppaḳāyā ca ti ehi bhikkhu vasaḇ  
padaḇ antamano ca(..)tta sassane ariyametteyyasantike ānāgate k[ā]le  
attabhve[2] kāyajivhā sotāgandhanā saddhā rammā piyāmanusassadda  
manoramā vatthā jāta rū[pa] suvaḇḇaherañña bahu honti pacupanā  
anāgate pacupanne attāyanaḇ mayaḇ evaḇ nicaḇ dhuvam̄ dhuvam̄  
'kāā[3] me 'hāāñ "khaa ḍḳḳ*

/palipūnnā? léew ñaam kḳḳḳ ḡaaj khāa nḳḳj lee naamā? cūu wāa phaḇaa  
maḇḅḅāilā?silaa nḳḳḳ ḍāj tēem kām cuu sḳḳmpaan sḳḳdet cāw mahāaciiwīt  
tāan ḍāj kēe kaa muu tēem bīi nūḡ ... ... kēe mee hēḡ khāa lee/

### Translation.

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

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

|"hnaa dapp<sub>2</sub> "ḡlau paalīi paramatthawibhuusanii phuuk<sub>4</sub> 11 lāā sāan

raajjasompaṣ müüañ, hrin 'haañ' 'ḍaar "tai"(!) khiiar<sub>3</sub>[2] braṅ nagḡoṛ<sub>3</sub>, müüañ, 'naan lāā "cau hōöy|

/nāa tāp káw baalii palāmāttha?wīphuusanii phūuk sip ?et sēen lāatcāsōmbat m̄uaṅ h̄n h̄aṅ ḍaan tāj khīan phā? nāk̄oon m̄uaṅ nāan lēe cāw h̄ōṅj/

### Translation.

Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of the P<sup>o</sup>, phuuk 11. Written by Sään Raajjasompat, [living in] Müüañ Hin 'Haañ, to the South of Müüañ 'Naan, my dear!

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

|cuḷasakka "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍūuar, 12 "khūn 14 'gaam 'braam° 'waa° "ḍai wan 1 "khaa "ḍai "tāām[5] dhamm phuuk, "nii° "gaam hnur, sombaar "cau<sub>2</sub> mahaajiiwiṣ nagḡoṛ<sub>3</sub> müüañ, 'naan° wan "nan lāā 'daan° "ḍai "klāā 'gaa klaamḍe<sub>3</sub>ṣ müü "pii<sub>3</sub> 1 lāā sään raajjasompat khiiar, lāā|

/cūnlāsakka? ḍāj pan sōṅ lōj sāam sip ?et tūa p̄i kat sāj ḍuan sip sōṅ khūn sip s̄i khām phām wāa ḍāj wan n̄ṅ khāa ḍāj tēem[5] tham phūuk n̄i kām n̄n sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt nāk̄oon m̄uaṅ nāan wan nán lēe tāan ḍāj kēe kaa kāmdet m̄ua b̄i n̄ṅ lēe sēen lāatcāsōmbat khīan lēe/

### Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the first day [of the Mon tradition]. I wrote this phuuk in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüañ 'Naan, on that very day. His Majesty provided a remuneration of one |"pii| for writing.- Written by Sään Raajjasompat.

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

|sään rattana "tāām "gaam juu sombaar[4] "cau mahaajiiwiṣ müüañ, nandapulii braṅ nagḡoṛ<sub>3</sub> müüañ, "hnaan(!) lāā "cau° naay hōöy "khaa "nḡoṅy 'yuu° "paan (...)| [not readable on the microfilm].

/sēen lāttanā? tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt m̄uaṅ nantāpulii phā? nāk̄oon m̄uaṅ nāan lēe cāw naaj h̄ōṅj khāa nōj jūu bāan (...)

### Translation.

Written by Sään Rattana in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüañ Nandapurii Bra Nagḡoṛ Müüañ 'Naan.- I am living in the village of (...).

### Remarks.

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



text which had been previously unheard of; there is no mention of such a work in Pāli and Buddhist studies up to the present.

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Raajjawoṅ **22** (AD 1836) **(3)** phuuk 1, p 1 = **19** **(4)** **(4)** phuuk  
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1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap and colophon at the end of phuuk 10:

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Ciiam, Upaasikaa, 'Mää [spp,don] **09** (AD 1550) **(2)** back cover, v

Deebin, Hnaan [scr] **17** (AD 1833) **(7)** phuuk 3

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Ḍḡḡr Jai, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wḍ] Ḍḡḡr Jai

{Gaṃ} Baa, Naaṅ (wife of 'Hmüün "Nḡḡy Traa) [don] **08** (AD 1549)

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{Gaṃ} Daa, Säan, "Cau 'Hmüün Liap [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582)

**(4)** phuuk 12

Gaṃ Tan Suwaṅṅaraajakalyaa, Naaṅ, late Princess of Luang Prabang

**19** (AD 1836) **(4)** phuuk 11; **22** (AD 1836) **(3)** phuuk 1, p 1

Gruu Paa ("Cau) Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana Araññawaasii

'Hmüün Liap, "Cau, s. {Gaṃ} Daa, Säan [spp, don]

'Hmüün Nḡḡy Traa, s. {Gaṃ} Baa, Naaṅ [don]

Hnaan ... s. under the following word

Indasḡḡr, Hnaan [scr] **30** (AD 1869) **(4)** phuuk 9

[Jayanāma-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu

[Jayasena-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu

Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayanāma) [scr] **23** (AD 1833)

**(6)** phuuk 5

Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayasena) [scr] **29** (AD 1861) **(3)** phuuk 7

Juaṅja (?), Nak Puñ [scr] **10** (n.d.; 16th c.?), front cover folio, r

Kääw, Naaṅ (wife of Naay Puñ Waḍhana) [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582) **(1)**

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ib., p 56: Kammaraanan (= Kamalaananda?)

[Kamalaananda?], s. "Kääw, Naaṅ [spp, don]

Kammaraanan, s. "Kääw, Naaṅ [spp, don]

Kañcana Araññawaasii, Gruu Paa "Cau [spp] **15** (AD 1833) **(1)** "mai

hlaap **(4)** front cover folio, v; **17** (AD 1833) **(1)** "mai hlaap

**19** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap **(2)** phuuk 1, preceded by p 49

**21** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap **(3)** phuuk 1, preceded by p 46;

**22** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap **(4)** phuuk 1, back cover folio;

**23** (AD 1833) **(1)** "mai hlaap **(4)** phuuk 1, front cover folio;

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(AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap and end of phuuk 10

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

Khaaw Sree, Naan (son[s]/ daughter[s] of) [spp] 12 (AD 1591) (1) phuuk  
8, front cover folio, r (2) phuuk 24 (4) phuuk 22 (5) phuuk 8,  
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Khamtan Suvannarajakalya, Nang (Princess of Luang Prabang),  
s. Gaṃ Tan Suvaṇṇaraajjakalyaa

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

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

Luang Prabang, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang  
'Mää ... , s. under the following word

Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau Waḍ Candamooḷii Sree Saddhammakitti  
[spp] 12 (AD 1591) (6) phuuk 21 (7) phuuk 32: °muulii; also  
on phuuk 23, front cover folio

Mahaajiiwiḍ, see "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej

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

Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüān 'Brää, s. "Cau Müüān 'Brää

Mahaaraaj ("Cau) Müüān 'Naan, s. "Cau , s. "Cau  
Mahaayassaraajaa

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

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

Mahaatheen Suar Prahyaā [spp, don], s. Suar Prahyaā

Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana ...

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

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

Maṅglaasiilaa, Bhyaa [scr] 30 (AD 1869) (5) phuuk 10

Mangthathurat, s. King of Luang Prabang

Müüān 'Brää, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müüān 'Brää

Müüān Hluuañ Bra Paañ, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang

Müüān 'Naan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej, s. "Cau  
Mahaayassaraajaa

Naañ ... , s. under the following word

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

Naay ... , s. under the following word

Nak Puñ Juuañja (?), s. Juuañja

Nan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa  
Ñaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Ñaṇa...

Phrae, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müüān 'Brää

Prince of Luang Prabang, s. "Cau Raajjawañ Müüān Hluuañ...

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

Raajamondian, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Waḍ] Raaja...

Raajjasompaṣ, Sään [scr] 30 (1869) (6) phuuk 11

Raajjawañ Müüān Hluuañ Bra Paañ, s. "Cau Raajjawañ ...

Rattana, Sään [scr] 30 (1869) (8) phuuk 12

Riiañ(?) Suuñ, s. Mahaatheen Paa ...

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

Saṅgharāja, s. Mahaasaṅgharaajaa "Cau

Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau, Somḍecc (Paramapobbitt), s.  
"Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

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

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

[Sivijaya-Bhikkhu], s. Siiwijeey-Bhikkhu

Somḍejh Bra "Cau Jiiwiṣ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej

Somḍejh "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej

Somḍecc "Cau Waḍ Candamooḷii (Candamuḷii),  
s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii ...

Somḍecc Paramapobbitt Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau,  
s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa

Sudhamma-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (7) phuuk 9

Sundarapañño [don] **02** (n.d.; 16th c.?) (1) p 3 (3) p 9 (Sundara)  
 Suar Prahya, Mahaatheen [spp, don] **01** (AD 1495), front cover folio  
 Traa, 'Hmüün "Nq̄q̄y, s. {Gaam̄} Baa, Naan̄ [don]  
 Uppanaama-Bhikkhu [scr] **23** (AD 1833) (2) phuuk 1, front cover folio  
 Wajirapañño "Cau, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Wajirapañño ...

### E. Names of Places

Bra Nagq̄qr Müüān 'Naan, s. Müüān 'Naan  
 Buua, Müüān, s. Müüān Buua  
 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y\*, s. Müüān 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y  
 Hin (or Hrin) 'Haan̄\*, Müüān s. Müüān Hrin 'Haan̄\*  
 Jäǟn, Müüān\*, s. Müüān Jäǟn\*, Müüān Jlään\*  
 Jlään, Müüān\*, s. Müüān Jlään\* Müüān Jäǟn\*  
 "Laan "Jaan̄ 'Rom Khaaw **19** (3) phuuk 2, (4) phuuk 11  
 Lambaan̄, s. Index F: [Waq̄] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan̄  
 Lampang, s. Index F: [Waq̄] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan̄  
 Lan Chang (Lanchang, Lanxang, Lanxang Homkhao, Lan Sang), s.  
 "Laan "Jaan̄ 'Rom Khaaw  
 Lan Sang, s. "Laan "Jaan̄ 'Rom Khaaw  
 Luang Prabang, s. Müüān Hluuān Bra Paān  
 Müüān 'Bää **18** (3) **29** (2); s. also Müüān 'Brää  
 Müüān 'Brää **17** (1); **19** (1), (2) **21** (1), (3) **22** (1), (4) **23** (1), (4)  
**24** (2) **25** (1), also at the end of phuuk 10  
 Müüān Buua (Pua) **16** (6), (7) **29** (3)  
 Müüān 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y **04** (1), (2); **05** (1); **07** (2), (4); **08** (1), (3), (4), (7)  
 (probably also nos. **01**, **02**, **03**, **06**, **09**, **10**, and **11**)  
 Müüān Gwaān\* (Nan) **29** (5)  
 Müüān Hluuān Bra Paān **19** (1), (2) **21** (1), (3) **22** (1), (3) **25** (1)  
 Müüān Hrin 'Haan̄\* (Nan) **30** (6)  
 Müüān Jäǟn\* **23** (9); s. also Müüān Jlään\*  
 Müüān Jlään\* **23** (6); s. also Müüān Jäǟn\*  
 Müüān 'Naan **17** (1) **23** (1) **16** (7); **30** (6): Bra Nagq̄qr Müüān 'Naan  
 (7): Nagq̄qr Müüān 'Naan (8): Müüān Nandapulii Bra Nagq̄qr  
 Müüān "Hnaan̄ **23** (9): Müüān Nandapurii Sree Müüān 'Naan  
**29** (5): Müüān Nandapurii Nagq̄qr

Müüān Nandapulii Bra Nagq̄qr Müüān "Hnaan, s. Müüān 'Naan  
 Müüān Näǟn **16** (7)  
 Nan, s. Müüān 'Naan  
 Nandapurii Nagq̄qr, s. Müüān 'Naan  
 Nandapurii Sree Müüān 'Naan, s. Müüān 'Naan  
 Näǟn, Müüān, s. Müüān Näǟn  
 "Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban\* (Nan) **12**, passim  
 "Paan 'Hmai\* (Lampang?) **27** (2)  
 "Paan Hnaad (Nan) **16** (4)  
 "Paan "Käǟm\* (Nan) **29** (4)  
 "Paan Yaam (?)\* (Lampang) **27** (4)  
 Phrae, s. Müüān 'Bää, s. Müüān 'Brää  
 Pua, s. Müüān Buua  
 Sungmen, Sung Men, s. following entry  
 'Suūn Hmeer (Phrae) **24** (2)  
 Ta Soi (or Tha Soi), s. Müüān 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y  
 Wiang Pua, s. Müüān Buua  
 Wiang Soi, s. Müüān 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y  
 Wiān Buua (Pua), s. Müüān Buua  
 Wiān ('Daa) "Sq̄q̄y, s. Müüān 'Daa "Sq̄q̄y

### F. Names of Monasteries

Aaraam 'Suūn "Hmeer (Phrae) **23** (4)  
 [Waq̄] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan̄ (Lampang) **02** (2), (3)  
 Waq̄ {Buu "Käǟw} Sree Pur Rüüan̄ (Phrae) **18** (3)  
 Waq̄ 'Daa Mahimsaa\* (Nan) **16** (2), (4)  
 [Waq̄] ḍq̄qr Jai\* (Lampang?) **27** (2)  
 Waq̄ Hluuān Sree Jum (Phrae) **24** (2)  
 Waq̄ Huua Faay\* (Nan) **29** (1)  
 Waq̄ Lq̄q̄n\* (Nan) **29** (3)  
 Waq̄ {Mahaasrohmana} Sree 'Un Müüān\* ('Daa "Sq̄q̄y) **07** (4); s. also  
 Waq̄ Sree 'Un Müüān\*  
 Waq̄ Naa "Iiān\* (Lampang) **28** (8)  
 Waq̄ Nuaa ḍäǟn (Nan) **15** (9)  
 Waq̄ Paak Nuaa\* (Lampang) **13** (1) **14** (2); also *ibid.*, on p 3

- Waḍ "Paan Düün\* (Phrae) 23 (6)  
 Waḍ "Paan "Kääm\* (Nan) 29 (2)  
 Waḍ "Paan Khøḡr\* (Nan) 16 (6)  
 Waḍ Peeṅsakaḍ (Nan) 29 (4)  
 [Waḍ] Raajamondiian\* (Lampang?) 27 (2)  
 Waḍ Sree 'Un (or 'Ur) Müüaṅ\* {Yossa "Dau "Faa} ('Daa "Søḡy) 05 (1)  
 07 (2), (4) 08, (1), (3), (4), (7) 20 (3); probably also colophon  
 in 03  
 Waḍ 'Suuṅ "Hmeer, s. Aaraam 'Suuṅ "Hmeer  
 Waḍ Suuar Khuua\* ('Daa "Søḡy [?]) 06  
 Waḍ "Ton Hnur {"Naam Saa} (Nan) 15 (7)  
 Waḍ 'Un (?) Müüaṅ\* 03, s. Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüaṅ\*

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

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 BEFEO Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient  
 BIHP Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology,  
 Academia Sinica, Taipei  
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society  
 JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society  
 JSS Journal of the Siam Society  
 VOHD Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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# STUDIES IN THE PĀLI GRAMMARIANS

## II.1

- [A] Buddhaghosa on *itthambhūtakkyāna*, *itthambhūtalakkhaṇa*, *accanta-samyoga*, *adhikaraṇa*, *bhāvalakkhaṇa*, *kaṇa*, *nimitta*, and *samīpa*.  
[B] Grammatical References in Paramatthajotikā I–II.  
[C] Mahānāma and Buddhadatta on Grammar.

### Introduction

In Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I<sup>1</sup> I have shown that whenever Buddhaghosa refers to grammar or grammarians in support of his analysis of a grammatical or semantical problem in the Pāli, he is referring to Pāṇinian grammar. This apparently is also the case in those instances where he deals with a number of syntactical problems, without mentioning the source upon which his analysis is based. These analyses constitute a valuable complement to those I have dealt with in the previous article, and I have therefore found it worthwhile to focus on them in this paper, so as to present a more complete picture of Buddhaghosa as a grammarian. Since almost all of the examples occur in identical form in his Aṭṭhakathās, I have taken Samantapāsādikā as the primary source, being historically the first among the commentaries allegedly written by Buddhaghosa. In addition, I have dealt with a number of interesting grammatical comments found in Paramatthajotikā I–II, which are both traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, although his authorship has been disputed.<sup>2</sup> In each case it has been possible to identify the source as Pāṇinian grammar.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, *JPTS* 1989 pp. 33–81.

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

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

Mahānāma [first half of the 6th century A.D.]<sup>3</sup> and Buddhadatta [8th century A.D. ?]<sup>4</sup> apparently follow Buddhaghosa's example by taking Pāṇinian grammar as their main reference grammar, but in a few interesting cases they deviate from the strict Pāṇinian tradition.

Mahānāma rarely discusses questions of grammar. There are, in fact, only four grammatical references in Paṭis-a, but all of them are interesting.<sup>5</sup> One of them is found in his commentary on the Suññakathā [= Paṭis II 177–84]. Commenting upon the meaning of the word “empty” (*suñña*), Mahānāma not only refers to grammar (*Saddagantha*), but also to *pramāṇavāda* (*Ñāyagantha*). Since this text raises a number of questions that are only remotely connected with the rise of the Pāli grammatical tradition, I have found it appropriate to deal with this text in a separate paper.<sup>6</sup> Another reference seems to indicate that Mahānāma may well have been acquainted with another grammatical source in addition to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. If so, his source is no doubt identical with Candravyākaraṇa.

In contrast to Mahānāma, Buddhadatta refers more often to the rules of grammar (*lakkhaṇa*). Although his grammatical statements ultimately would seem to derive from Pāṇinian grammar, it is nonetheless clear that in a few cases they reflect a distinctively Buddhist grammatical tradition. This, for instance, is evident in the case where Buddhadatta lays out alternative ways of analysing the word “*Buddha*”. There are indications that his source may

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Norman, *Pāli Lit.*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> The date of Buddhadatta has not yet been fixed definitively. He may belong to the period after Dhammapāla, to whose Vv-a he appears to refer. Cf. Norman, *Pāli Lit.*, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> The reference to *saddavidū* at Paṭis-a 645,3 [qu. Nidd-a 293,22] is not a genuine grammatical reference like some of those found in Buddhaghosa's writings [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I], being a mere gloss on the term *mahaddhano*. It has not been possible to identify Mahānāma's source, but it is probably not wrong to assume that he draws his information from a Pāli *kośa*. The passage reads: *dhanavā ti paṇṇasitabbapaṇṇādhanavattā niccayutapaṇṇādhanavattā atisayabhūtapāṇṇādhanavattā dhanavā. etesu tisu atthesu idaṃ vacanaṃ saddavidū icchanti*. In one place [v. Paṭis-a 569,19] he deals with a grammatical problem: the interpretation of the compound *vimokkhamukha*, which he interprets as a *karmadhāraya*, without referring to any grammatical source.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mahānāma on the Interpretation of Emptiness (forthcoming).

have been identical with Kaccāyana's grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The nature of the grammatical references that occur in the post-Buddhaghosa Pāli. Aṭṭhakathās would thus seem to reflect a wider variety of sources and influences than in the case of Buddhaghosa's grammatical comments.

## [ A ]

### 1.1 *itthambhūtakkyāna* [Sp 111,30–112,3 ad Vin III 1,12–13]

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

*taṃ kho pana bhagavantam Gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato: ...*

However, as regards him, the Lord Gotama, the highest praise (*kalyāṇo kittisaddo*) was spread (*abbhuggato*) in the following words (*evaṃ*): ...

On this clause Buddhaghosa writes the following comment:

*taṃ kho panā ti itthambhūtakkyānatthe upayogavacanam: tassa kho pana bhoṭo Gotamassā ti attho.<sup>7</sup>*

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

The question with which Buddhaghosa deals here is the function of the preposition *abhi* [in *abbhuggata*] when it is used as a *karmapravacanīya* [= Pāli *kammapavacanīya*],<sup>8</sup> i.e., a preposition used independently of an

<sup>7</sup> For identical analyses, cf. Ps II 327,34 (ad M I 285,8); Mp II 286,22 (ad A I 180,20); Pj II 441,2 (ad Sn 103,6).

<sup>8</sup> For this technical term, cf. Renou, *Terminologie*, s.v.

explicit verb form, which is to be complemented from the context. Pāṇini deals with these particles in Pāṇ I 4 83 foll. In Pāṇ I 4 [90+] 91, which is the sūtra Buddhaghosa has in mind, he describes the function of *abhi* as a *karmapravacanīya*: *abhir abhāge*: “*abhi*” [is a *karmapravacanīya* used in the sense of a sign (i.e., “in the direction of”), a statement of circumstance (i.e., “as regards; with respect to”), and of distribution (i.e., “separately; one after another”)] but not in the sense of division.

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

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

<sup>9</sup> Buddhaghosa apparently never comments upon those instances where *abhuggacchati* is constructed with the genitive. This situation is typical of the way in which he applies his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar to clarify grammatical features of the Pāli: he seems to consciously avoid dealing with those instances which contradict Sanskrit usage as defined by Pāṇini.

<sup>10</sup> For an analogous example of the usage of the category of *karmapravacanīya* for exegetical purposes, cf. Buddhadatta’s analysis of *anupabjati* ad Bv XX 5, q.v. infra.

Both Vjb [Be 1960 38,4–7] and Sp-ṭ [Be 1960 I 214,19–215,11] comment upon Buddhaghosa’s explanation. Sāriputta’s lengthy exegesis in Sp-ṭ, which he illustrates with examples quoted from either Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 54 or the Kāśikā ad Pāṇ I 4 91, displays his usual mastery of grammatical issues and thus confirms the Pāṇinian background of Buddhaghosa’s analysis.<sup>11</sup> Kacc-v ad Kacc 301 [= Sadd 586] quotes the example upon which Buddhaghosa comments, and adds another example taken from D II 30,11: *pabbajitaṃ anu pabbajimsu*, that is analogous to the clauses at Bv II 47 and Bv XX 5, with which Buddhadatta deals in his commentary ad loc. [v. infra].

[Sp 622,11-12 ad Vin III 181,3-4]

Buddhaghosa’s reference to *ithambhūtakkhyāna* in this case is clearly a slip of the pen for *ithambhūtalakkaṇa* [on which v. infra], which the context shows that he must have had in mind. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in Sp he defines a similar usage, with reference to *ithambhūtalakkaṇa*.<sup>12</sup> The syntactical problem with which he deals in his comment is a series of instrumental forms that occur in the following sentence: *atha kho so bhikkhu ... Kiṭṭagiriṃ piṇḍāya pāvīsi pāsādikena abhikkantena paṭikantena ālokitena vilokitena sammīñjitena pasāritena okkhittacakkhu iriyāpathasampanno*. After having commented on the meaning of each instrumental form, he concludes: *sabbattha ithambhūtakkhyānathe karaṇavacanāṃ*: in all [the above-mentioned cases] the instrumental is used in the sense of a statement of circumstances [correct

<sup>11</sup> Because of its intrinsic interest I quote the relevant part of Sāriputta’s ṭīkā: “*ithambhūtakkhyānathe upayogavacanan*” *ti ithaṃ imaṃ pakāraṃ bhūto āpanno to ithambhūto. tassākhyānaṃ ithambhūtakkhyānaṃ so yeva attho ithambhūtakkhyānattho. athavā ithaṃ evaṃ pakāro bhūto jāto ti evaṃ kathanattho ithambhūtakkhyānattho. tasmīṃ upayogavacanan* *ti attho. ettha ca “abhuggato” ti ettha abhisaddo ithambhūtakkhyānatthajotako abhihavitvā uggamanappakāraṃ dipanato. tena yogato “taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ” ti idaṃ upayogavacanaṃ sāmīatthe viśamānaṃ ithambhūtakkhyānadīpanato ithambhūtakkhyānathe ti vuttaṃ. ten’ evāha: “tassa kho pana bhoto Gotamassā” ti attho ti. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti: yathā sādhu Devadatto mātaram abhī [= sādhu Devadatto mātaram abhi, Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 54 and Kās ad Pāṇ I 4 91] *ti attho abhisaddayogato ithambhūtakkhyāne upayogavacanaṃ kataṃ. evaṃ idhāpi taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ gotamaṃ abhi evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo uggato ti abhisaddayogato ithambhūtakkhyāne upayogavacanan* *ti, Sp-ṭ I 214,19 foll.**

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sp 974,31.

to read *itthambhūtalakkhaṇe*: in the sense of an indication of a particular state or condition].

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

### 1.2 *itthambhūtalakkhaṇa* [Sp 891,8–9 ad Vin IV 187,4]

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

*ukkhittakāyā ti ukkhepena, itthambhūtalakkhaṇe karaṇavacanam.*

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

This exegesis presupposes Pāṇ II 3 [18+] 21 which gives a concise definition of the modal usage of the instrumental: *itthambhūtalakṣaṇe*: [The third case, i.e., the instrumental case] is used in the sense of an indication of [someone or something being in] this or that state or condition. Buddhaghosa's identification of this particular usage of the instrumental is precise and to the point because, from a syntactical point of view, there is complete agreement between Sanskrit and Pāli usage in this case.

### 1.3 *accantasam̐yoga* [Sp 107, 27-31 ad Vin III 1,6]

The technical term *accantasam̐yoga* is rarely found in Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathās. It is, however, an inseparable part of his elaborate discussion — reproduced, with minor changes according to the context, in his commentaries on the nikāyas — of the case syntax and meaning of the word *samaya*, which throughout the canonical literature is used either in the accusative, the instrumental or the locative. In this context Buddhaghosa addresses the usage of *samaya* in the accusative. The relevant passage reads:

*kathaṃ suttante tāva accantasam̐yogatto sambhavati ? yaṃ hi samayaṃ bhagavā Brahmajālādīni suttantāni desesi accantam eva taṃ samayaṃ karuṇāvihārena vihāsi, tasmā tadatthajotanathaṃ tattha upayoganiddeso kato.*<sup>13</sup>

How can it be that it is first of all (*tāva*) in the sutta(s) that the meaning of uninterrupted connection (*accantasam̐yoga*) [in time] occurs ? Because (*hi*) Bhagavan, during the time (*samayaṃ*) when he taught suttas such as Brahmajāla, uninterruptedly (*accantam*)<sup>14</sup> remained in a state of compassion, (*tasmā*) the specification [of circumstances] in them (*tattha*) is put (*kato*) in the accusative (*upayoganiddesa*) in order to make this meaning clear.

According to a quotation from the *porāṇas* [= *aṭṭhakathācariyās*] which Buddhaghosa invariably quotes in this context, it makes no difference if *samaya* is put in the acc., instr. or loc.<sup>15</sup> since the meaning is locatival in any case. There is therefore good cause to believe that Buddhaghosa's elaborate exegesis represents a later attempt to relate the usage of the word *samaya*, in acc., instr., and loc., to distinct syntactical categories as defined by Pāṇinian grammar, while at the same time attempting to interpret a purely grammatical problem in the context of Buddhist hermeneutics.

<sup>13</sup> The same text occurs also, with minor changes, at Sv I 33,23–25; Ps I 9,26–29; Spk I 11,28–31; Mp I 13,20–23.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I 188,5–7: *accantam evā ti ārambhato paṭṭhāya yāva desanāñiṭṭhānam tāva accantam eva: niranṭaram evā ti*; Vjb Be 1960 34,26–27.

<sup>15</sup> For a translation of this quotation, v. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, p. 36.

It is, of course, not possible to decide whether Buddhaghosa himself is responsible for this attempt, or whether his analysis merely reflects contemporary Theravāda exegesis. In any case, the context in which the above passage occurs — it represents one of the most complex sections of Buddhaghosa's *Aṭṭhakathās* — displays considerable knowledge of Pāṇinian grammar.<sup>16</sup> For instance, his usage of the term *accantasamyoga* [= Sanskrit *atyantasamyoga*] for explaining the usage of *taṃ samayaṃ* is dependent on Pāṇ II 3 [2+] 5, which defines this particular usage of the acc. as follows: *kālādhvanor ayanatasamyoge*: [The second case, i.e., the acc. is used] after [words expressing] temporal or spatial extension, when [the sense is] uninterrupted connection [in time or space].

#### 1.4 *adhikaraṇa* and *bhāvalakkhaṇa* [Sp 107,31–108,5 ad Vin III 1,6]

This text is, like the one analysed above [v. supra 1.3], part of Buddhaghosa's exegesis of the syntax of the word *samaya*. This time he deals with the locative:

*Abhidhamme ca adhikaraṇattho bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho ca sambhavati. [so punctuate] adhikaraṇaṃ hi kālattho samūhattho ca samayo tattha vuttānaṃ phassādidhammānaṃ khaṇasamavāyāhetusaṅkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena tesāṃ bhāvo lakkhīyati, tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ tattha bhumma-vacanena niddeso kato.*<sup>17</sup>

In the *Abhidhamma* [the word “*samaya*”] occurs with the meaning of locus (*adhikaraṇattho*) and with the meaning of qualification of [one] action through [another] action (*bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho*). Because (*hi*) the locus (*adhikaraṇaṃ*) is

<sup>16</sup> For another part of the same section, cf. the analysis of the text on *adhikaraṇa* and *bhāvalakkhaṇa*, q.v. infra.

<sup>17</sup> The same text occurs with minor changes at Sv I 33,10–15; Ps I 9,14–19; Spk I 11,15–21; Mp I 13,7–13; cf. As 61,27–32 [one does not usually find statements with grammatical implications in As]: *adhikaraṇaṃ hi kālasaṅkhāto samūhasaṅkhāto samayo tattha vuttadhammānaṃ ti adhikaraṇavasen' ettha bhummaṃ. khaṇasamavāyāhetusaṅkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena tesāṃ bhāvo lakkhīyati ti bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇavasen' ettha bhummaṃ.* The whole passage looks very much like a grammatical afterthought added as a note to the otherwise detailed exegesis of Dhs § 1, to which also Buddhaghosa's exegesis relates. The passage is perhaps a slightly edited quotation from Buddhaghosa.

the occasion in the sense of the time and collection of the dhammas as explained therein [i.e. in the *Abhidhamma*] like, e.g. touch (*phassādidhammānaṃ*), and because their action is qualified through the action of the occasion which is denoted moment, combination, and cause (*khaṇasamavāyāhetusaṅkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena*),<sup>18</sup> (*tasmā*) the specification [of circumstances] is made therein [i.e. in the *Abhidhamma*] in the locative.<sup>19</sup>

In order to understand the scope of Buddhaghosa's rather complex exegesis, it is necessary to know the grammatical background of his argument. Buddhaghosa takes his point of departure in two well-known functions of the locative as defined by Pāṇini. The basic usage of the loc. is to denote any given locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of an action. Pāṇini defines this locus in Pāṇ I 4 45 in terms of being the support or substratum (*ādhāra*) of an action: *ādhāro 'dhikaraṇaṃ*.<sup>20</sup> Another syntactical function of the locative is the so-called absolute locative. Pāṇini describes this usage in Pāṇ II 3 [+36] 37: *yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*: moreover, the thing, due to whose action some other action is qualified, stands in [the seventh case, i.e. the locative]. Buddhaghosa's technical vocabulary, as it appears from his exegesis, is completely identical with Pāṇini's. He even seems to quote Pāṇ II 3 37 in a slightly edited Pāli version.<sup>21</sup>

The canonical *Abhidhamma* passage, which Buddhaghosa interprets in the light of Pāṇinian grammar, is Dhs § 1, defining the particular occasion (*samaya*) on which certain dhammas are to be considered good (*kusala*). I quote only the part that is necessary for understanding Buddhaghosa's interpretation:

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the verse — probably stemming from an unknown Pāli *kośa* — which Buddhaghosa quotes in Sp 107,1–2:

*samavāye khaṇe kāle samūhe hetuḍḍhisu  
paṭilābhe pahāne ca paṭivedhe ca dissati.*

<sup>19</sup> In his translation of the same passage, as quoted in Pj I, Bhikkhu Ñānamoli takes *bhāva* to mean substantive, and thus misinterprets the issue under discussion; cf. Pj I-trsl. (*Illustrator*) p. 114.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Dhammapāla's Ud-a 22,5–8 which quotes Buddhaghosa's explanation interspersed with glosses: *Abhidhamme ... ādhārabhāvasaṅkhāto* [so read; Ee *ādhārassa visayasāṅkhāto*] *adhikaraṇattho. kiriyāya kiriyantaralakkhaṇasaṅkhātena bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho ca sambhavati*; cf. also Dhammapāla's Sv-pt qu. n. 23 infra, which alludes to this Pāṇini sūtra.

<sup>21</sup> The *yasya ca* of II 3 37 only makes sense in connection with the preceding sūtra and was therefore omitted by Buddhaghosa.

*yasmim̐ samaye kāmāvacaram̐ kusalam̐ cittam̐ uppannam̐ hoti ... tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti, vedanā hoti, saññā hoti, cetanā hoti ... : ime dhammā kusalā.*

On which occasion (*yasmim̐ samaye*) a good thought that is active within the sphere of the sensuous universe, has originated ... on this occasion (*tasmim̐ samaye*) there is contact, feeling, perception, volition ... : these dhammas are good.

According to Buddhaghosa there are two ideas underlying the usage of the locatives *yasmim̐ samaye ... tasmim̐ samaye*. One is that the word *samaya* denotes the locus (*adhikarāna*) of action, in terms of a particular time (*kālattha*) and a particular collection (*samūhattha*) being the basis of the action, of certain dhammas [= *phassa, vedanā, saññā, cetanā*, etc.]. The implied action is in this particular case expressed through the two verbs *uppannam̐ (hoti)* and *hoti*. This is the strict locatival interpretation of *samaya*. It is understandable that time, as such, should be interpreted as the locus of an action. It is less obvious how a collection of certain dhammas [i.e. conditions] could be taken, in a strict locatival sense, as the locus of an action. It would seem more straightforward to interpret this usage of the loc. in the sense of the aggregate being the cause [= *nimittasaptamī*] of the existence of other dhammas. The strict locatival interpretation would thus seem to be somewhat forced. However, when Buddhaghosa takes *samaya* in the sense of time (*kāla*) and a collection (*samūha*) [of dhammas], he draws on a tradition which is reflected in the verse defining the various meanings of *samaya*, which he quotes whenever he deals with the word *samaya*.<sup>22</sup>

The other function which Buddhaghosa attributes to the locative is more difficult to understand, because it is far from obvious how one could possibly interpret the grammatical structure of *yasmim̐ samaye ... uppannam̐ hoti ... tasmim̐ samaye ... hoti* according to the Pāṇinian definition of the locativus absolutus.

The phrase *samayassa bhāvena* [cf. Sp 108,4 qu. above], however, gives a clue to what Buddhaghosa had in mind. The underlying idea is — as Dhammapāla explains in a similar context in Sv-ṭṭī, illustrating the syntactical properties of the absolute locative with a citation, in Pāli transla-

tion, from Candravṛtti [ad Candra II 1 90] or the Kāśikā [ad Pāṇ II 3 37]<sup>23</sup> — that one should complement the locative phrases *yasmim̐ samaye ... tasmim̐ samaye* with the appropriate form of the pr. part. *sat* so as to read *yasmim̐ samaye sati ... tasmim̐ samaye sati*. The reason is that the verb *hoti* in the phrase *uppannam̐ hoti* [q.v. supra] necessitates the complementation of existence (*sattā*) to *samaya* (*hotipadatthassa sattāviraḥābhāvato*) so as to form a regular absolute locative. In other words, the action of the origination of the mind (*cittassa uppādakiriya*) and the action of the coming into existence of contact, etc. (*phassādīnaṃ bhavanakiriya*) are both qualified by the existence of the occasion (*samayassa sattākiriya* ... *lakkhiyati*). Dhammapāla's explanation thus gives a clear exposition of the idea underlying Buddhaghosa's application of the Pāṇinian definition of the locativus absolutus to the phrases *yasmim̐ samaye ... tasmim̐ samaye*. The three meanings of moment, combination, and cause (*khaṇa, samavāya, and hetu*) which he ascribes to *samaya* are, in this case as well, related to the verse mentioned above, in which the various meanings of the word *samaya* are defined.

### 1.5 *karāṇa* and *hetu*

[Sp 108,5–11 ad Vin III 1,6]

This text continues the exegesis of the phrase *tena samayena*, as it occurs in Vin III 1,6. Buddhaghosa writes:

<sup>23</sup> Cf. his elaborate commentary at Sv-ṭṭī I 58,30 foll.: *adhikarānattho = ādhārattho. bhāva nāmo kiriya, kiriyaṃ kiriyantarakkhaṇam = bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇam. yathā kālo sabhāvadhammaparichinno sayam paramatthato avijjamāno pi ādhārabhāvena paññāto tanhānappavattānaṃ tato pubbe parato ca abhāvato: pubbaṅhe jāto, sāyaṅhe gacchati ti ca ādisu. samūho ca avayavavinimutto avijjamāno pi kappanāmatasiddho avayavānaṃ ādhārabhāvena paññāpiyati: rukkhe sākhā, yavarāsiyaṃ sambhūto ti ādisu; evaṃ idhāpi ti dassento āha "adhikarānaṃ hi ... dhammānaṃ" ti. yasmim̐ kāle dhammapuṅhe vā kāmāvacaram̐ kusalam̐ cittam̐ uppannam̐ hoti, tasmim̐ yeva kāle dhammapuṅhe vā [so read; Ee va] phassādayo pi honti ti ayam̐ hi tatha attho. yathā ca "gāvisu dūyamānāsu gato, duddhāsu āgato" [= Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 90 and Kās ad Pāṇ II 2 37] ti dohanakiriyaṃ gamanakiriyaṃ lakkhiyati, evaṃ idhāpi: yasmim̐ samaye, tasmim̐ samaye ti ca vutte satī ti ayam̐ attho viññāyamāno eva hotipadatthassa [so read; Ee hoti padatthassa] sattāviraḥābhāvato ti samayassa sattākiriyaṃ [so read; Ee sattā kiriyaṃ] cittassa uppādakiriyaṃ phassādīnaṃ bhavanakiriyaṃ ca lakkhiyati. yasmim̐ samaye ti yasmim̐ navame khane, yasmim̐ yonisomanasikārādīhetumhi paccayasamavāye vā sati kāmāvacaram̐ kusalam̐ cittam̐ uppannam̐ hoti, tasmim̐ yeva khane, hetumhi, paccayasamavāye ca phassādayo pi honti ti ubhayattha samayasaddena [so read with v.l.; Ee -sadda] bhūmaniddeso kato lakkhaṇabhūtabhāvayutto ti dassento āha: khaṇa- ... lakkhiyati ti.*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the verse quoted above and v. the detailed exegesis at As 61,27–32 which clarifies the intention underlying Buddhaghosa's concise explanation.

*idha pana hetuattho karanattho ca sambhavati. yo hi so sikkhāpadapaññattisamayo Sāriputtādīhi pi dubbhiññeyyo, tena samayena hetubhūtena karanabhūtena ca sikkhāpadāni paññāpayanto sikkhāpadapaññattihetuñ ca avekkhamāno bhagavā tattha tattha vihāsi, tasmā tadatthajotanattham idha karanavacanena niddeso kato ti vedītabbo.*<sup>24</sup>

In this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya], however, [the word “*samaya*”] occurs with the meaning of cause and with the meaning of instrument. Because (*hi*) the occasion for [Bhagavan’s] discoursing on the precepts was difficult to understand even for Sāriputta, etc., [and because] Bhagavan, while setting forth, through that [specific] occasion as a cause and an instrument (*hetubhūtena karanabhūtena*), the precepts and paying attention to the cause for discoursing on the precepts, lived in this or that [place], (*tasmā*) one should know that the indication [of circumstances] in this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya] is made by [using] the instrumental case (*karanavacanena*).

There is no grammatical subtlety involved in this comment. Buddhaghosa’s terminology shows that he has in mind Pāṇini’s definitions of the usage of the instrument *kāraka*, in Pāṇ II 3 18: *karṭṭkaraṇayoḥ trītyā*, and II 3 23: *hetau*. In these sūtras Pāṇini explains that the instrument *kāraka* is used in the sense of an instrument or a cause of something. The identification of the relevant Pāṇini sūtras is corroborated by Buddhaghosa’s usage of the terms *hetubhūta* and *karanabhūta*.

It is noteworthy that some of the examples which Sāriputta and Dhammapāla quote in their respective commentaries on Buddhaghosa’s text appear to be quoted from Candragomin’s commentary on his grammar. This commentary was evidently used by the authors of the *Kāśikā*, which in many cases is indistinguishable from Candravṛtti.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> An expanded version of the same text is found at Ud-a 23,3–11.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *annena vasati vijjāya vasati ti ādisu viya hetuattho. pharasunā chindati. kuddālena khaṇati ti ādisu viya karanattho ca sambhavati* [Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I p. 186,27–28] ≠ Dhammapāla Sv-ṭ I 559,23–24 [cf. Ud-a 22,32–23,3]. These examples are partly identical with Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 68: *hetau: ... annena vasati. vidyayā yaśaḥ* [cf. Kāś ad Pāṇ II 3 23: *dhanena kulam. kanyayā śokaḥ. vidyayā yaśaḥ*; for Sv-ṭ *ajjhena vasati*, read *vijjāya vasati*] and 63: *karaṇe: ... dātrena lunāti, paraśunā chinatti* [= Kāś ad Pāṇ II 3 18]. Note that the examples

## 1.6 nimitta

[Sp 189,7–28 ad Vin III 8,30–33]

The Vinaya passage which Buddhaghosa attempts to interpret is syntactically ambiguous and difficult to construe. This fact leads him to suggest two alternative solutions to the problem, neither of which, however, is satisfactory. The passage reads:

*tatra sudam Sāriputta bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim hoti yo koci avītarāgo tam vanasaṇḍam pavisati yebhuyyena lomāni haṃsanti.*

The syntax of this sentence raises several problems of interpretation. It is, in the first place, not clear how we are to construe *tatra*. Buddhaghosa suggests that it be taken as an anaphora, referring back to what has been said in the previous sentence (*tatrā ti purimavacanāpekkham*). He interprets *sudam* as an expletive particle (*sudan ti padapūraṇamatte nipāto*), and construes the sentence as follows (*ayam pan’ ettha atthayojanā*):

*tatrā ti yaṃ vuttam aññatarasmim bhimsanake vanasaṇḍe ti. tatra yo so bhimsanako ti vanasaṇḍo vutto tassa bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim hoti, bhimsanakiriyāya hoti ti attho. kim hoti? idam hoti: yo koci ... lomāni haṃsanti ti.*

The expression “therein (*tatra*)” [refers back to the clause] “in a horrifying jungle-thicket [= Vin III 8,23].” In this case the jungle-thicket is explained (*vutto*) by the word “horrifying (*bhimsako*).” It happens (*hoti*), on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket’s creating horror (*bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim*), that ... , i.e. (*iti attho*), it happens, because of its action of [creating] horror (*bhimsanakiriyāya*), that ... What happens? It happens that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end (*haṃsanti*).

*pharasunā chindati* and *kuddālena khaṇati* have a parallel in Kacc-v ad Kacc 281: *yena vā kariyate tam karaṇaṃ: ... pharasunā rukkham chindati. kuddālena rukkham khaṇati.*



From this exegetical tour de force it becomes clear that Buddhaghosa interprets *bhimsanakatasmim* as a compound, which he apparently derives from *bhimsana* + *kata*. According to Sāriputta, *kata* (n.) is to be interpreted as an action noun (*bhāvasādhana*),<sup>26</sup> but apart from that he makes no suggestion for the derivation of *kata*, about which Buddhaghosa also leaves us in the dark. The gloss *bhimsanakiriyāya*, however, would seem to indicate that he took *kata* as a pp. [*<√kr*], and that he interpreted it as a neuter noun, equivalent to *kiriya* in the compound *bhimsanakiriyā*. As indicated by Buddhaghosa's gloss, he interpreted the locative in a causal sense (*nimitta* = *nimittasaptamī*).<sup>27</sup>

In the second alternative he returns more explicitly to this interpretation of the locative. First he suggests taking the locative *tatra* in the sense of the genitive (*tatrā ti sāmīatthe bhummaṃ*). He interprets *sudam* as a sandhi form of the particle (*nipāta*) *su* and the pronoun *idam*, with elision of the *-i-* (*sandhivasena ikāralopo vedītabbo*), and he finally construes the sentence as follows (*ayaṃ paṇ' ettha atthayojanā*):

*tassa Sāriputta bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim idam su hoti. bhimsanakatasmim ti bhimsanakabhāve ti attho. ekassa takārassa lopo datthabbo. bhimsanakakattasmim yeva vā pāṭho, bhimsanakatāya iti vā vaitabbo, līṅgavipallāso kato. nimittatthe c' etaṃ bhumavacanam, tasmā evaṃ sambandho vedītabbo: bhimsanakabhāve idam su hoti; bhimsanakabhāvanimittam, bhimsanakabhāvahetu, bhimsanakabhāvapaccayā idam su hoti: yo koci ... lomāni haṃsantī ti.*

This, Sāriputta, surely happens on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket's causing horror. [The word] *bhimsanakatasmim* means "on account of being horrifying." One should observe that a *-t-* [in *bhimsanakatasmim*] has been elided [from *bhimsanakat(t)asmim*]. Either the [correct] reading is

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I 406,10–12: *katan ti bhāvasādhanavāci idam padan ti āha bhimsanakatasmim bhimsanakakiriyāya ti. bhimsanassa karaṇam kriyā bhimsanakataṃ. tasmim bhimsanakatasmim.*

<sup>27</sup> The interpretation of the locative (*bhummaṃ*) in a causal sense (*nimittatthe*) is rarely met with in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās. Apart from this example, I can only refer to Pj II 321,9 and 433,23 for similar interpretations of the locative in Pāli.

*bhimsanakakattasmim*, or one should read [as if it were] *bhimsanakatāya*, a change of gender (*līṅgavipallāso*) being made [of the abs. suffix *-tā* (f.) to *-ta* (m. or n.)]. Also (*ca*) this locative is used in the sense of a cause (*nimittatthe*). Therefore one should know that the connection (*sambandho*) [between the terms in the sentence, i.e., the syntax] is as follows: on account of being terrifying this surely happens, i.e., because of being terrifying, due to being terrifying, by reason of being terrifying this happens viz. that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.

This interpretation would seem to create as many problems as it tries to solve. Buddhaghosa is no doubt correct in suggesting the emendation *bhimsanakattasmim*, which makes better sense than the unusual compound *bhimsana* + *kata*. His gloss *bhimsanakabhāve* shows that he interprets, as one would assume, the abstract suffix *-tta* (n.) [*<\*tva*] according to Pāṇ V 1 119: *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*.<sup>28</sup> There is no reason to believe, however, that he is right in claiming that the locative *tatra* = *tassa*. Nor is Buddhaghosa's derivation of the particle *sudam* from the particle *su* [*<\*sma*] + *idam* correct. It is rather to be derived from *su* + *taṃ* > *sudam* [= Sanskrit *sma tad*].<sup>29</sup> The reason is no doubt that he felt the need for a pronoun in construction with the relative pronoun *ya*, introducing the subordinate clause. In the case of *sudam*, however, canonical usage shows that it is exclusively used adverbially, i.e. as a particle (*nipāta*), which Buddhaghosa correctly suggests in the first alternative. The phrase *tatra sudam* or *tatra pi sudam* is often found in canonical narrative prose.<sup>30</sup> In every single case *tatra* has a locative sense and *sudam* is merely used as an emphatic, often untranslatable, particle. It is clear that Buddhaghosa's interpretation is a result of a desperate attempt to construe an otherwise syntactically ambiguous sentence. First of all, he is forced to find a solution to the locative *bhimsanakatasmim*. Although he is probably correct in assuming that this form has to be

<sup>28</sup> There are many allusions to this Pāṇinian sūtra in the Aṭṭhakathās, e.g. Spk II 12,33 (ad S II 3,1): *cavanatā ti bhāvavacanena lakṣhaṇanidassanaṃ* = Vibh-a 100,20; *māyāvino bhāvo māyāvītā*, Vibh-a 493,16.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 134.

<sup>30</sup> For *tatra sudam*, cf. D I 1,10; M I 473,19; M II 164,5; for *tatra pi sudam*, cf. D I 119,1; II 91,6; II 126,6.

amended to read *bhimsanakattasmim*, it is nonetheless questionable whether his interpretation of the locative in a causal sense is correct. It is understandable, however, that Buddhaghosa, whose knowledge of grammar was largely, or perhaps exclusively, dependent upon Pāṇinian grammar, would try to find a solution to the problem of the locative *bhimsanakatasmim* in Pāṇinian grammar. He probably found it in Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ II 3 36 [+vārttika 6 ad loc.].<sup>31</sup> Vajirabuddhiṭikā confirms this assumption by quoting a slightly edited Pāli version of a Sanskrit verse which Patañjali quotes ad loc. as an illustration of *nimittasaptamī*.<sup>32</sup>

It is not possible to find an absolutely satisfactory solution to the syntactical problem of the sentence causing Buddhaghosa to write such an elaborate grammatical analysis. The locative *tatra* is probably to be construed with the *yo* of the relative clause, and can, in fact, be interpreted in the sense of a *nimittasaptamī*. As for the locative *bhimsanakattasmim* (adopting Buddhaghosa's emendation), I would suggest interpreting it in a predicative sense<sup>33</sup> — for which there are a few interesting canonical examples [v. infra] — and translating the sentence in the following way:

This indeed, Sāriputta, is the reason why the horrifying jungle-thicket is called horrifying, namely, that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.<sup>34</sup>

The whole purpose of the sentence is obviously to give an “etymology” of the word *bhimsanaka*, which is here explained with reference

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Mahā-bh and vārt. 6 ad loc.: *nimittāt karmasamyoge* [= vārt 6]. *nimittāt karmasamyoge saptamī vaktavyā.*

*carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram  
keṣeṣu cāmarīṃ hanti sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf.: *nimittatthe ti ettha*

*cammaṇi dīpinaṃ hanti, dantesu hanti kuñjaraṃ  
vālesu cāmarīṃ hanti, siṅgesu saraso hato.*

*ti adhikaraṇaṃ* [Vjb Be 1960 57,26–27]; cf. Ja VI 61,3 foll. ≠ 78,17.

<sup>33</sup> This particular usage of the loc. in Pāli is normally found with verba sentiendi et dicendi [cf. O. von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli*, § 294]. The present usage differs syntactically from the few examples quoted in op. cit. § 294, in that it is not constructed with a verbum sentiendi et dicendi.

<sup>34</sup> In I. B. Horner's translation the sentence reads: Moreover, Sāriputta, whoever not devoid of passion, is in a terror of the awe-inspiring jungle-thicket, and enters the jungle-thicket, as a rule his hair stands on end [*Book of the Discipline*, I, p. 16].

to the root  $\sqrt{ham}$ s [ $< * \sqrt{hr}$ s] ≠ the stem  $\sqrt{bhims}$ - [ $< bhī$ śma deriv.  $< * \sqrt{bhi}$ ].<sup>35</sup> Fanciful etymologies of this type, being based upon a superficial phonetic similarity, are a well-known feature in Indian literature.<sup>36</sup> They are, for instance, to be found in great number in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the early Upaniṣads, not to mention Yāska's Nirukta. The way in which they are formulated, e.g. in the early Upaniṣads, would seem to lend support to Buddhaghosa's correction *bhimsanakatta*. In the majority of cases the reason for the nature or particular form of any given word *x* is explained there in terms of its *x*-ness.<sup>37</sup> This fits very well into the present context, where the word *bhimsanaka* is explained in terms of its *bhimsanaka*-ness, which is due to the fact that it makes people's hair stand on end (*haṃsanti*).

The predicative usage of the loc. is rarely met with in the canon. As a matter of fact, I have only been able to identify two canonical examples, both from the Dīghanikāya. One example is D I 63,22: *idam pi 'ssa hoti silasmim*: this is what he has as virtue. The other example is D II 221,7: *idam tesam hoti āsanasmim*: this is what they have as seat.<sup>38</sup> It is clear that Buddhaghosa was ignorant of this function of the loc. because in Sv 182,14–18 ad D I 63,22 he quotes the view of the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā as an alternative to his own explanation according to which the loc. has a partitive sense [cf. Pāṇ II 3 41]. The Aṭṭhakathā, however, is correct in interpreting the loc. as equivalent to the nominative (= *pacattavacanatthe*) as shown by the quote *idam pi tassa samanassa silam*, which simply is one way of saying that the loc. has a predicative function.<sup>39</sup>

Buddhaghosa's alternative suggestions for interpreting the above Vinaya passage are ingenious, but certainly wrong. The main reason is that in general his grammatical analyses are dependent on whether he can find a paragraph in Pāṇinian grammar that is applicable to the problem in question. This obviously is not the case in this context, and his failure to interpret the

<sup>35</sup> The association of  $\sqrt{ham}$ s- and  $\sqrt{bhims}$ - is common in the canon. Cf., for example, the canonical juxtaposition of *lomahaṃsa* and *bhimsanaka* in D II 106,23.

<sup>36</sup> For examples from Pāli canonical lit., cf. Norman, “Four Etymologies from the Sabhiyasutta”, *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980, pp. 173–84.

<sup>37</sup> Cf., for example, Brhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad I 2.1: *so 'rcann acarat. tasyārcata āpo 'jāyanta. arcate vai me kam abhūd iti. tad evārkasyārcatvam*; v. ibid. I 2.5.

<sup>38</sup> Buddhaghosa does not comment on this clause. Perhaps the reason is that he did not find any suggestions in the old Aṭṭhakathā as to its interpretation.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Sv loc. cit.: *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathāyam hi idam pi tassa samanassa silan ti ayam eva attho vutto*, which indicates that, in the commentarial tradition, there was a clear understanding of the predicative function of the locative.

sentence correctly can be ascribed to the fact that Pāṇinian grammar does not recognize a similar function of the locative.

1.6 *samīpa*  
[Sp 108,21–22 ad Vin III 1,6]

As appears from his reference to the usage of the loc. in the sense of cause (*nimitta*), Buddhaghosa must have been conversant with the Pāṇinian tradition as a whole. This is also the case in the context where he claims that the loc. is used in the sense of being close to or nearby something (*samīpattha*), although in this particular case he may rely on grammatical sources that are no longer accessible. In Sp 108,21–22,<sup>40</sup> commenting upon the loc. *Verañjāyaṃ* in the clause *Verañjāyaṃ ... viharati*, he writes: *Verañjāyaṃ samīpatthe bhummavacanāṃ*: “by Verañjā” is a locative in the sense of vicinity (*samīpa*). Buddhaghosa illustrates the meaning of this particular usage with the following example: *yathā Gaṅgayamunādīnaṃ samīpe goyūthāni carantāni Gaṅgāya caranti Yamunāya carantī ti vuccanti evam idhāpi* [= Sp 109,18–19]: just as the cowherds that graze in the vicinity of [the rivers] Ganges and Yamuna are said to graze by the Ganges and the Yamuna, so also in this context.

Although there is no mention of this usage of the loc. in Pāṇini, it can be traced to Mahā-bh II 218,14–19 where it is used in a context analogous to the one with which Buddhaghosa is dealing: *tatsamīpyāt: Gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* [= Mahā-bh loc. cit.]. Elsewhere Patañjali mentions three types of locatival *kāraka* relations: *adhikaraṇaṃ nāma triprakāraṃ vyāpakaṃ aupasleṣikaṃ vaiśayikam iti* [= Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ VI 1 72]. To these the Pāli grammarians add *sāmīpika*.<sup>41</sup> Although there can be no doubt that the use of *sāmīpika* has its origin in Mahā-bh — Aggavaṃsa’s citation of Mahā-bh loc. cit. in connection with his discussion of *sāmīpika* proves this beyond doubt — it has not been possible to find a justification, in contemporary Sanskrit grammatical sources, for the inclusion of *samīpa* in the locatival *kāraka* relations; therefore its historical background remains unclear.<sup>42</sup> Buddhaghosa’s

<sup>40</sup> For other references to *samīpattha*, cf. Sv I 132,23; Spk I 12,31 = Mp I 15,1 = Pj I 111,5.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the *kārikā* qu. in Rūp Ce 1897 113,29–30:

*vyāpiko : tilakhirādi; kaṭo : opasilesiko*  
*sāmīpiko : gaṅgādi; ākāso : visayo mato.*

<sup>42</sup> It is noteworthy that the examples of the usage of the locative that are quoted in Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 88 (*kaṭe āste. ākāṣe kunayaḥ. tileṣu tailam. Gaṅgāyāṃ gāvah*) are used as illustrations of the various types of locative relations that are mentioned in the verse

example illustrating the *samīpattha* is analogous to the one used by Candragomin in Candravṛtti [ad II 1 88]: *gaṅgāyāṃ gāvah*, but Candragomin does not use the corresponding technical term for defining the nature of the locative. One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that Buddhaghosa has taken his example from a common stock of examples illustrating *sāmīpya* and that he applied it ad hoc. For instance, one finds the following illustration of *sāmīpya* in Vātsyāyana’s Bhāṣya ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 62: *sāmīpyād — gaṅgāyāṃ gāvāś caranti*.

[ B ]

Grammatical references in Paramatthajotikā I–II

Almost all the references to the views of the grammarians, or occasional allusions to Pāṇini, that are found in Pj I and II have already been identified by Helmer Smith in his careful editions of these important commentaries, but he never attempted a study of them. They are interesting and should be included in a study of the Pāli grammatical tradition as it is reflected in the Aṭṭhakathās. Since Pj II was written before Pj I, it is here treated before Pj I.

[Pj II 23,12–26 ad Sn 14]

In the first example the author deals with two problems. The first is an apparent morphological anomaly: the pp. *samūhatāse* [< \**samud* + √*han*] that occurs in the clause: *yassa ... mūlā akusalā samūhatāse* “who has destroyed all the evil roots.” On this form he writes:

*samūhatā icc’ eva attho, paccattabahuvacanassa hi (a)sakā-rāgamāṃ<sup>43</sup> [so read ? Ee sa-; Be se-] icchanti saddalakkhaṇa-kovidā. aṭṭhakathācariyā pana se ti nipāto ti vaṇṇayanti. yaṃ ruccati, taṃ gahetabbaṃ.*

quoted by Buddhapiya in Rūp Ce 1897 113,29–30 [q.v. supra]. Comparatively late Sanskrit grammatical sources mention *sāmīpyaka* (scil. *adhikaraṇa*) as a subset of the locative *kāraka*; v. Renou, *Terminologie*, s.v. *adhikaraṇa*.

<sup>43</sup> For this emendation, cf. the discussion infra.

The meaning is the same as (*eva*) [of the form] “*samūhatā*,” because (*hi*) the grammarians claim that the nominative plural (*paccattabahuvacanassa*) gets the augment *as*. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathās, however, comment that *se* is a particle. One may adopt whichever [view] one prefers.

One finds here the same scholarly attitude towards grammatical problems as is normal practice in Buddhagosa [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I]: first the view of the grammarians is presented and then the view of the aṭṭhakathācariyas.

The reading *sakārāgama*, however, is problematic. One would expect the reading *sekāra*- in accordance with the canonical reading, but the manuscript tradition seems to consistently read *sa* for the expected *se*.<sup>44</sup> Assuming that the reading *sa* is not an old corruption and that the author is trying to explain the ending *-āse* with reference to the grammarians’ view, one might suggest reading *asakārāgama*, from which the *a* was probably elided in conjunction with the immediately preceding *hi*. If this assumption is correct, then the reference to grammarians (*saddalakkhanakovidā*) becomes understandable. As a rule such references are to Sanskrit grammarians. This implies that the author is referring to Sanskrit,<sup>45</sup> and in this particular case he is probably thinking of those Vedic plural forms ending in *-āsas*, which Pāṇini addresses in Pāṇ VII 1 [38+] 50: *ājjaser asuk*: after stems in *a* or *ā* [the nom. pl. augment *as*] gets [in the Veda the augment denoted] *asuk* [= *as*].<sup>46</sup> However, the author of Pj was probably not aware of the fact that Sanskrit *-āsas* > Pāli *-āse*.<sup>47</sup> His primary intention seems to have been to contrast Sanskrit nom. pl. forms in *-āsas* with analogous Pāli nom. pl. forms in *-āse*.<sup>48</sup> It is therefore surprising that an authority like Aggavaṃsa regards the *se* as not constituting a part of the pl. form itself (*apadāyava*), and that he thus

<sup>44</sup> The reading of Be is probably a modern attempt at being consistent.

<sup>45</sup> He refers explicitly to Vedic Sanskrit (*sakkata*) at Pj II 43,21, q.v. infra.

<sup>46</sup> One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that the author refers to the normal Sanskrit plural ending *-ās*, and that the *sakārāgama* is to be interpreted with reference to the Pāli plural ending *-ā + s*, which represents the normal Sanskrit nom. pl. ending. If so, it leaves the *-e* in *-āse* unexplained.

<sup>47</sup> The ending *-āse* is probably a reflex of an eastern Prakrit; cf. O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 312. Analogous nom. pl. forms that occur in Sn are passed over in silence in Pj II, but they are correctly identified as such; cf. Pj II 368,5: *upāsakāse ti upāsakā icc eva vuttaṃ hoti* (ad Sn 376); II 553,28: *paṇḍitāse = paṇḍitā* (ad Sn 875).

<sup>48</sup> This appears clearly from the way in which he correctly contrasts the form *carāmase* in Sn 32 with Sanskrit *carāmasi* at Pj II 43,21–22; v. infra.

would seem to agree with the aṭṭhakathācariyās that *se* is a particle (*nipāta*).<sup>49</sup>

The next problem the author addresses is the present form *jahāti* occurring in the first line of the refrain of the Uragasutta: *so bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ*: this monk abandons this shore and the far shore, on which he writes the following concise comment:

*n’ eva ādiyati na pajahati, pajahitvā ṭhito ti vutto. tathā pi vattamānasamīpe vattamānavacanalakkhaṇena* [≠ Pāṇ III 3 131] *jahāti orapāraṃ ti vuccati*.

What is meant is that he neither appropriates nor abandons, being in a state where he already has abandoned (*pajahitvā ṭhito*). In the same way also [the present form *jahāti* in the clause] “he abandons (*jahāti*) this and the far shore” is used, according to the rule about the present [being used to express the past or the future time], when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present time (*vattamānasamīpe*).

This interpretation alludes to Pāṇ III 3 131, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that affixes that are employed for denoting the present time may also be used to express the past or future time, provided that they express the immediate past or future: *vartamānasamīpye vartamānavad vā*: optionally, [the affixes that are used to express the present time] may in the same way as when the meaning is that of present time, be used [in the sense of past or future time] when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present.

The reason why Buddhaghosa alludes to this sūtra is, of course, that the present form *jahāti* of the refrain follows immediately after the pp. *samūhatāse*. This would seem to create a logical problem, because having given up *mūlā akusalā* is, according to Buddhaghosa, equivalent to having given up “this and the far shore.” He therefore solves the problem with reference to this particular Pāṇini sūtra. In the present context this means that the tense value of the pp. *samūhatāse* takes precedence over the tense value of *jahāti* which thus assumes a past tense value, referring to the

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Sadd 513,14–15: *apadāyavo pana ... “mūlā akusalā samūhatā se [= Sn 14].”*

immediate past. Thus, following Buddhaghosa's analysis, one might translate the refrain: he has given up this and the far shore.

In the following example Buddhaghosa addresses the problem of the form *carāmase* that occurs in the verse: *Gopī ca ahañ ca ... brahmacariyaṃ Sugate carāmase* [= Sn 31]. He writes:

*carāmase iti carāma yaṃ hi taṃ sakkatena carāmasī ti vuccati, taṃ idha carāmase iti. aṭṭhakathâcariyā pana se iti nipāto ti bhañanti, ten' eva c' ettha āyācanattham sandhāya carema [v.l. carā-] se iti pi pāṭham vikappenti. yaṃ ruccati, taṃ gahetabbam.*

[The form] *carāmase* = *carāma*, because [the form] which in Sanskrit reads *carāmasī*, in this [verse reads] *carāmase*. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathā, however, say that *se* is a particle (*nipāto*), and therefore they optionally propose (*vikappenti*) the reading *carema se*, with regard to the meaning of the vow [expressed] therein [i.e. in the verb *carāma se* (*ettha āyācanattham sandhāya*)]. One may adopt which [view] one prefers.

It appears from Buddhaghosa's commentary that he interprets *carāmase* = *carāmasī* [Vedic ind. pr. 1 pl.]. We may therefore deduce that he also knew Sanskrit (*sakkata*) in its Vedic form, at least to the extent that it is covered by Pāṇini's rules for *chandās*. This fact also lends support to the suggestion [v. supra] that he contrasted Pāli nom. pl. *-āse* with Vedic nom. pl. *-āsas*, and that the proposed emendation therefore may be correct.

It is, of course, another question whether Buddhaghosa is correct in suggesting that *carāmase* = *carāmasī* = *carāma*. The form *carāmase* itself is ambiguous and admits of two interpretations: it may either be interpreted as indicative mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 122, which cites analogous forms that cannot be interpreted as subjunctive forms], the ending *-mase* being the middle counterpart of Vedic *-masī*, or as subjunctive mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 126 according to which *carāmase* belongs to this category].<sup>50</sup> In this case there is no reason to doubt that it is a subj. mid. form, and we may therefore translate Sn 31: *Gopī* and I ... shall practice *brahmacariya* for the sake of

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, n. ad Th 370–71; O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 433.

*Sugata* (*sugate* = *nimittasaptamī*). The *aṭṭhakathâcariyas* apparently had preserved the tradition that it was a subjunctive<sup>51</sup> [cf. the phrase *āyācanattham sandhāya*], but they clearly were unable to analyse correctly the form itself, which is a Middle Indian innovation. Since Buddhaghosa had no other possibility of identifying the form than to try to find as close a parallel in Sanskrit as possible, he could only suggest that *carāmase* = *carāmasī*.<sup>52</sup> In those cases where analogous forms occur, he might have been correct [for the present ind. forms, cf. the forms listed in Geiger § 122], but in this context it would seem necessary to interpret *carāmase* as a subjunctive.<sup>53</sup>

In this example the presence of the ind. mid. 3 sg. *kurute*, in the verse *sante na kurute piyaṃ*:<sup>54</sup> he does not make good men his friends, gives Buddhaghosa another opportunity to display his knowledge of Pāṇinian grammar. He offers two alternative explanations of this clause, only the first of which can be considered correct: *sante na kurute piyaṃ, attano piye iṭṭhe kante manāpe na kurute iti attho* [= Pj II 169,11–13]. From this paraphrase it appears that he correctly interprets *piyaṃ* [= eastern acc. pl. *piye*], in apposition to *sante* [eastern acc. pl.].<sup>55</sup> This interpretation probably represents the view of the *aṭṭhakathâcariyas*. In the second alternative, however, he suggests interpreting *kurute* according to Pāṇ I 3 32, which lays down the rule that when the verb  $\sqrt{kr}$  inter alia means “to revile” or “to serve,” the middle (*ātmanepada*) is used, even though the fruit of the action does not fall to the agent (*gandhanāvakṣepanasevanasāhasikyapratīyatnaprakathanôpayogeṣu kṛñah*). He therefore suggests the following paraphrase: *sante na sevati ti attho yathā rājānaṃ sevati*: they do not serve the good men, on the grounds that the grammarians take, e.g. the expression “*rājānaṃ pakurute*” in the same meaning (*etasmim atthe “rājānaṃ pakurute” ti saddavidū mantenti*).<sup>56</sup> The suggestion is ingenious, and it is therefore

<sup>51</sup> This speaks for the historical validity of the Aṭṭhakathā tradition, which in many cases has preserved the correct interpretation; cf. n. 39 supra.

<sup>52</sup> He evidently took *carāmase* = *carāmasī* = *carāma*, because he quotes Ja IV 53,20: *brahmacariyaṃ carāma* as a parallel.

<sup>53</sup> This applies mutatis mutandis to the interpretation of *bhavāmase* in the following line of Sn 31; cf. Pj II 44,2–4.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Dh 217: *taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ*: such a man the world makes its friend.

<sup>55</sup> For *piyaṃ* = eastern acc. pl., v. Lüders, *Beobachtungen*, § 205.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Fausbøll's translation which tries to do justice to the “Pāṇinian” interpretation: he does not do anything that is dear to the good, which Lüders [op. cit., § 205] incorrectly claims does not do justice to the medium.

surprising that Buddhaghosa did not simply take *piyaṃ* as acc. pl. in apposition to *sante*, but proposed to interpret *piyaṃ* as a part.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, it cannot be entirely excluded that we have to translate: the good men he does not treat as his friends. Nor is it impossible that the parallel in Dh 217: *taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ*, is to be translated as: such a man the world treats as a friend.

[Pj II 321,10–12 ad Sn 302]

Commenting on the phrase “*pahūtadhanadhañño ’si, yajassu, bahu te vittaṃ, yajassu, bahu te dhanam,*” Buddhaghosa writes:

*pahūtadhanadhañño ’sī ti, pahūtadhanadhañño bhavissasi abhisamparāyan ti adhippāyo, āsaṃsāyaṃ hi anāgate pi vataṃ mānavacanaṃ icchanti saddakovidā.*

The intention (*adhippāyo*) of [the clause] “you become<sup>58</sup> abundantly rich” is “you shall become abundantly rich in the future,” because (*hi*) those who are well versed in grammar (*saddakovidā*) claim that, in the case of a wish (*āsaṃsā*), the present is also used in the sense of the future.

The grammarians to whom the author refers here are, as one would expect, Pāṇinians. In this case the Pāṇinian rule that justifies his exegesis is found in Pāṇ III 3 [131+] 132: *āsaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca*: in the case of a wish [the affixes that are used to express the present time or the past time] may [optionally, i.e., instead of the affixes expressing the future time] be used in the same way as when [the meanings are that of present time] and that of past time.

The intention of the reference to the grammarians becomes clear when one takes a look at Buddhaghosa’s paraphrase: *mahārāja, bahu te vittaṃ dhanam ca, yajassu, āyatiṃ pi pahūtadhanadhañño bhavissasī ti*. He simply wants to show that the Sn clause has the following underlying structure: May you offer [= if you offer] ... then you shall become abundantly rich. It is therefore clear that he is forced to give a reason for why the present form *asi*, which he tacitly interprets as equivalent to *bhavati*, is used instead of the expected future. He consequently turned to the relevant Pāṇini sūtra which would seem to justify his exegesis. However, there is

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Pj II 169,16–17: *piyaṃ ti piyaṃāno tussamāno modamāno ti attho.*

<sup>58</sup> I translate *asi* = *bhavati* in accordance with Buddhaghosa’s intention; v. infra.

nothing in the verse that would support this learned display of Sanskrit grammar. The clause *pahūtadhanadhañño ’si* is clearly syntactically co-ordinated with the clauses *bahu te vittaṃ* and *bahu te dhanam*, and thus one cannot, without distorting the syntax of the verse, attribute the value of *āsaṃsā* to the usage of *asi*.

[Pj I 17,28–19,22 on “*buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*”]

Nearly all the exegeses of grammatical interest that occur in Paramatthajotikā I are found in identical or slightly edited forms in other commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa. However, in one case where he deals with the controversy over the correct interpretation of the canonical stereotype *buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*, the scope of the discussion goes far beyond the corresponding treatment of the same sentence in his other commentaries.<sup>59</sup> Buddhaghosa deals briefly with the analogous phrase, *Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi*, in Sv 229,18–23,<sup>60</sup> but without even touching upon the grammatical question of co-referentiality [= apposition (*samānādhikaraṇatta*)], which is the focal topic of the controversy recorded in Pj I. The following section is the most interesting part of it from a grammatical point of view:<sup>61</sup>

*codako āha: buddham saraṇam gacchāmi ti ettha, yo buddham saraṇam gacchati, esa buddham vā gaccheyya saraṇam vā. ubhayathā pi ca ekassa vacanaṃ niratthakam. kasmā ? gamanakiriyāya kammadvayābhāvato, na h’ ettha “ajam gāmaṃ netī” ti ādisu viya dikammakattaṃ akkharacintakā icchanti, — “gacchat’ eva pubbaṃ disaṃ gacchati pacchimaṃ disaṃ” [= S I 122,2] ti ādisu sātthakam evā ti ce, — na: buddhasaraṇānaṃ samānādhikaraṇabhāvassānadhipeṭato, etesaṃ hi samānādhikaraṇabhāve adhippete paṭihatacitto pi buddham upasaṃkamanto buddham saraṇam gato siyā, yaṃ*

<sup>59</sup> This is one of several indications that Pj I may not be by Buddhaghosa.

<sup>60</sup> Cf.: *bhagavā me saraṇam parāyanaṃ, aghassa tāṭ hitassa ca vidhātā ti iminā adhippāyena etaṃ gacchāmi bhajāmi sevāmi payirupāsāmi ti evaṃ vā jānāmi, bujjhāmi ti, yesaṃ hi dhātūnaṃ gati attho, buddhi pi tesam attho*, Sv 229,20–22 ≠ Pj I 19,1–3.

<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately the purport of the entire passage was misunderstood by Nāṇamoli who translated *samānādhikaraṇabhāva* as “identical causativity” [v. *Illustrator*, p. 10 foll.].

*hi tam "buddho" ti visesitam saraṇam, tam ev' esa gato ti [= Pj I 17,29–18,6].*

The objector (*codako*) says: In the [proposition] "I go to the Buddha, [to] protection," the one who goes to Buddha, [to] protection, may either go to the Buddha or to the protection. In either case (*ubhayathā pi*), however, the word [that denotes] one [of them, i.e. *Buddham* or *saraṇam*] is meaningless. — How can that be? — Because the verbal action of going does not take two object [*kāraḥas* (*kammadvaya*)]; for in this case the grammarians do not claim that there are two object [*kāraḥas*], in the same way as in [the proposition] "he takes the goat to the village." Suppose you object that [the word that denotes one of them] is meaningful, in the same way as, for instance, [the word *pubbam* or *disam* in the phrase from S I 122,2]: "he goes to the eastern region, he goes to the western region." This [assumption] is wrong (*na*), because it is not intended that [the word] Buddha and [the word] protection be co-referential [i.e., in apposition (*buddhasaraṇānam samānādhikaraṇabhāvassānādhipeṭato*)]; for (*hi*) if it were intended that they be co-referential, even a depraved person who approached the Buddha would come to the Buddha as protection, because he has come to precisely that protection which is qualified as "Buddha" (*buddho ti visesitam*).

The first objection is based upon the grammarians' assumption that  $\sqrt{gam}$  cannot be constructed with two accusatives — except in its causative form — in the same way as  $\sqrt{ni}$ .<sup>62</sup> The example used for illustrating the opposition between  $\sqrt{ni}$  and  $\sqrt{gam}$ : *ajam gāmaṃ neti*, is quoted from a related discussion in Mahā-bh [= *ajam nayati grāmaṃ*, Mahā-bh I 335,13 ad Pāṇ I 4 51].

The next objection starts from the assumption that *Buddham* and *saraṇam* are in apposition (*samānādhikaraṇabhāva*). The idea is that *saraṇam* qualifies *Buddham* in the same way as the two adjectives *pubbam* or *pacchimaṃ* qualify *disam*. In his  $\text{ṭīkā}$  [ad Sv 229,18–23] Dhammapāla claims

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the corresponding discussion at Sv-pṭ I 357,19–20 [ad Sv 229,18–23]: *ettha ca nāyaṃ gamusaddo nisaddādayo viya dvikanmakko*.

that it is necessary to complement the sentence according to its underlying syntax. In his view an *iti*, showing the apposition, has been elided after *saraṇam*. The correct reading, according to Dhammapāla, should therefore be: *bhagavantam saraṇam iti gacchāmi*.<sup>63</sup> The author of Pj I objects to a similar view by pointing to the fact that, for instance, at S III 57,7: *aniccam rūpaṃ aniccam rūpaṃ ti yathābhūtam pajānāti*, there is no *iti* found after *aniccam*, as one would expect.<sup>64</sup> Consequently there is no need for complementing the sentence, which simply has to be interpreted as if an *iti* had been applied (*payutto viya*).<sup>65</sup> The claim that *saraṇam* stands in apposition to *Buddham* or *Bhagavantam* would seem to be grammatically sound. Accordingly we should translate the canonical stereotype: I go to the Buddha as [my] protection.

[ B ]

1 [Paṭis-a 538,6–8 ad Paṭis II 4,4–6]

In this grammatical note Mahānāma deals with the semantical and syntactical conditions under which the past participle in *-ta* is constructed with the genitive. The passage commented upon reads:

*na m' ete bhikkhave samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā samaṇesu c' eva samaṇasammatā brāhmaṇesu ca brāhmaṇasammatā.*

I do not, monks, consider these recluses or brāhmaṇas to be recluses among recluses and brāhmaṇas among brāhmaṇas.

In this clause *samaṇasammatā* is to be construed with *me*, and Mahānāma therefore comments:

*samaṇasammatā ti na mayā samaṇā ti sammatā. sammatā ti vattamānakālavasena vuccamāne saddalakkhaṇavasena me ti ettha sāmivacanam eva hoti.*

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Sv-pṭ I 357,21–23: *bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi ti vattum na sakkā; saraṇam ti gacchāmi ti pa vattabbam. itisaddo c' ettha luttaniddiṭṭho*.

<sup>64</sup> The author evidently interprets the syntactical function of *niccam* as equivalent with, e.g., the predicative usage of ablatives in *-to* [*< \*-tas*] used at S III 57,5 (*attato*).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Pj I 19,4 foll.

*samaṇasammata*, i.e. I do not consider them as recluses. When [the past participle] *sammata* is used in terms of the present tense, then (*ettha*) according to the grammatical rule, [the personal pronoun] *me* stands exclusively (*eva*) in the genitive.

Although Mahānāma refers to a specific Pāṇinian rule codified in Pāṇ II 3 67, his explanation also presupposes Pāṇ III 2 188. In this sūtra Pāṇini defines the semantical conditions under which the past participle in *-ta* is present in meaning: *matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca*: And after [the roots] that denote thought, understanding or respect [the past participle affix denoted *ka* is used in the sense of the present tense].<sup>66</sup> This rule applies to the past participle *sammata* [*< sam + √man*] which is subsumed under the Pāṇinian *mati* [*< √man*].

The rule that applies to the construction with *me* is found in Pāṇ II 3 67 where Pāṇini lays out the conditions under which a past participle in *-ta* is constructed with the genitive: *ktasya ca vartamāne*: And [the past participle affix denoted] *ka* (= *-ta*), when it is used in the sense of the present tense, takes [the genitive of the agent in construction].<sup>67</sup> Since the enclitic form *me*, from a purely morphological point of view, is equivalent to the three case forms *mayā* [= instr.], *mayhaṃ* [= dat.], and *mama* [= gen.], Mahānāma uses the delimitative particle *eva* in order to emphasise that in this particular syntactical construction it is only possible to interpret *me* as genitive.<sup>68</sup>

## 2 [Paṭis-a 481,26–32 ad Paṭis I 172,34]

This reference takes its point of departure in a pun based upon the phonological affinity of *√ci* with *√ji*. Commenting upon the word *paricitā* at Paṭis I 172,5: *ānāpānasati yassa ... anupubbam paricitā yathā Buddhena desitā*, Paṭis explains that *sati* is called *paricitā* [*< √ci*] because it conquers [*jināti < √ji*] bad and evil dhammas (*satiyā pariggaṇhanto jināti pāpake akusale dhamme, tena vuccati paricitā*). On this text Mahānāma writes inter alia the following commentary:

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Kās ad loc.: *etadarthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo vartamānārthe ktapratyayo bhavati: rājñāṃ matah, rājñāṃ iṣṭah, rājñāṃ buddhah, rājñāṃ jñātaḥ, rājñāṃ pūjitaḥ, rājñāṃ arcitaḥ.*

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Kās ad loc.: *ktasya vartamānakālavihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati: rājñāṃ matah, rājñāṃ buddhah.*

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Buddhaghosa's grammatical observations in Sv 28,8 foll. about the three meanings of *me*.

*te ca dhammā satim avihāya attano pavattikkhane jinitum āradhā 'jitā' ti vuccanti, yathā bhuñjitum āradhā 'bhutto' ti vuccati. lakkhaṇam paṇ' ettha saddasatthato veditabbaṃ. evaṃ sante 'pi parijitā ti vattabbe ja-kārassa ca-kāraṃ katvā paricitā ti vuttaṃ ... imasmim athavikappe paricitā ti padaṃ kattusādhanam.*

And these [evil] dhammas that have started being conquered (*jinitum āradhā*) at the moment, when he, without forsaking being mindful, applies himself [to the destruction of them], are said to have been conquered, in the same way as [someone who] has started eating (*bhuñjitum āradhā*) is said to have eaten. The rule, moreover, [that applies] in this case (*ettha*) should be known according to grammar (*saddasatthato*). Even though [the word *paricitā*] in those circumstances ought to read *parijitā*, [the reading] *paricitā* is used by substituting the letter *c* for the letter *j* ... In this alternative meaning the word *paricitā* [in its identity with *parijitā*] is active (*kattusādhanam*).<sup>69</sup>

There is no need to go into all the details of this exegetical tour de force: the basic intention is to show that *paricitā* = *parijitā* as a qualifier of *sati* [mindfulness] points to the fact that *sati* when practised properly (= *paricita*) annihilates the evil dhammas. The reading *paricitā* is well attested in canonical Pāli where it occurs in similar contexts.<sup>70</sup> Mahānāma obviously took the pun of Paṭis as an occasion for displaying his knowledge of grammar.

The reference itself is rather obscure, but from the context it seems clear that he must have thought of those cases — as shown by his remark that the word *paricitā* is active (*kattusādhanam*) — where a *-ta* participle [= *ka*] is used in an active sense, while at the same time having an inchoative sense, as indicated by the paraphrase *jinitum āradhā* or *bhuñjitum āradhā*. A past participle in *-ta* is normally not used in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, i.e. in an active sense. In Pāṇ III 4 71, however, Pāṇini defines the semantical and syntactical conditions under which this is possible: *ādikarmani ktaḥ*

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the corresponding technical term of Sanskrit grammar *karṣṣādhanam*, on which see Renou, *Vocabulaire*, s.v.

<sup>70</sup> Cf., for example, S I 116,30; II 264,15.



*kartari ca*: the suffix “*ka*” is also used in the sense of the agent [*kāra*ka], in the case of an inchoative action (*ādikarmaṇi*). The Kāśikā [q.v. ad loc.] illustrates this rule by the following examples: *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ*: D. has started making a mat, and *prabhukta odanaṃ devadattaḥ*: D. has started eating. In this example the word *prakṛtaḥ* or *prabhuktaḥ* is in agreement with the agent [*kāra*ka] Devadatta, and it is therefore, according to Pāṇinian syntactical theory, used in the sense of the agent [*kāra*ka]. As shown by the example, the *ka* participle is constructed with the object *kāra*ka [= *kaṭaṃ* or *odanaṃ*].

Although one would have expected Mahānāma to illustrate his analysis with a more appropriate example (the context requires *pabhutto*, with the preposition *pa* [*< \*pra*] indicating the inchoative aspect of the action,<sup>71</sup> instead of *bhutto*), there is no reason to doubt that he refers to a grammatical rule similar to Pāṇ III 4 71. It is therefore surprising that his grammatical analysis does not reflect the Pāṇinian technical vocabulary. For instance, he uses *ārambh-* for the Pāṇinian *ādi*. This would indicate that he may well be referring to Candravyākaraṇa which substitutes *kriyārambha* [cf. Candra I 3 28]<sup>72</sup> for the Pāṇinian *ādikarma(n)*, because the strict Pāṇinian tradition, from the Kāśikā and onwards, does not use a similar technical term.

Although Candragomin’s grammar is written in the Pāṇinian tradition and does not deviate substantially from Pāṇini, it exhibits nonetheless noticeable innovations in its technical vocabulary. It is difficult to explain Mahānāma’s usage of *ārambh-* in this particular context unless we assume that he is dependent on a Sanskrit model, which in the present case is probably identical with Candravyākaraṇa: it would only be natural for a Buddhist scholar to avail himself of the grammar of a fellow Buddhist scholar.

### 3 [Paṭis-a 567,12–16 ad Paṭis II 63,34–35]

This discussion shows that Mahānāma knew of the controversy over the semantical properties of the absolutive suffix. I have dealt with Buddhaghosa’s treatment of this question in Studies in the Pāli Grammarians

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Jinendrabuddhi’s Nyāsa ad Kāśikā ad Pāṇ III 4 71: *sarvatra praśabda ādikarma dyotayati*.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Mogg-v ad V 58: *kattari cārambhe. kriyārambhe kattari kto hoti ... pakato bhavaṃ kaṭaṃ*. Moggalāna, as is well-known, has to a large extent based his grammar upon Candravyākaraṇa.

I, and I therefore refer the reader to the previous article in this series.<sup>73</sup> I should add, however, that Buddhaghosa actually does seem to be aware of the problems involved in putting a strict Pāṇinian interpretation on certain constructions with the absolutive, although it is difficult to decide from what he says whether or not he draws upon the grammarians’ discussion of the problem.

The text in question occurs in Vism 653,21–28 where Buddhaghosa comments upon the same Paṭis passage as Mahānāma. Mahānāma copied verbatim most of Buddhaghosa’s commentary. He deleted the introductory clause and inserted a reference to the grammarians’ view before the concluding passage, where Buddhaghosa explains that the origination process of knowledge has to be taken as a unity. Mahānāma’s intention was probably to complement Buddhaghosa’s explanation by showing that it was also supported by the authority of the grammarians.

“*nimittaṃ paṭisaṅkhā ñānaṃ uppajjati* [= Paṭis loc. cit.]”<sup>74</sup>  
*kāmaṃ ca na paṭhamaṃ jānitvā pacchā ñānaṃ uppajjati. vo-*  
*hārasena pana “maṇaṃ [Ee w.r. mā-] ca paṭicca dhamme ca*  
*uppajjati manoviññānaṃ [= S IV 33,32]” ti ādīni viya evaṃ*  
*vuccati* [= Vism loc. cit.]<sup>75</sup> *Saddasatthavidū ’pi ca “ādiccaṃ*  
*pāpūnitvā tamo vigacchati” ti ādisu viya samānakāle ’pi imaṃ*  
*padaṃ icchanti. ekattanayena vā purimaṃ ca pacchimaṃ ca*  
*ekaṃ katvā evaṃ vuttan ti veditabbaṃ* [= Vism loc. cit.]

“Knowledge arises by reflecting (*paṭisaṅkhā*) upon the object (*nimittaṃ*).” And it is by no means the case (*kāmaṃ ca na*) that, after having previously become known, knowledge subsequently arises. The [above passage] is propounded in accordance with common usage (*voḥārasena*), in the same way as the [canonical proposition] “In dependence on the mind and the mental objects (*dhamme*) mental cognition arises,” and the like. The grammarians, moreover, acknowledge (*icchanti*)

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, p. 51 foll.

<sup>74</sup> Mahānāma has deleted the following passage from Vism 653,21: *saṅkhāranimittaṃ adhuvaṃ tāvakālikan ti aniccalakkhaṇavasena jānitvā*.

<sup>75</sup> Here ends the first part of the quotation from Vism. The second part begins with the concluding clause *ekattanayena ... veditabbaṃ*.

this [type of] inflected word (*padam*)<sup>76</sup> [= *paṭisaṅkhā*] even when [the absolutive affix attached to the verb *paṭisaṅkhāti* expressing one action] is used in the sense of being simultaneous in time (*samānakāle 'pi*) [with the other action expressed by the verb *uppajjati*] as, for instance, in the [proposition] “Darkness disappears in contact with the sun.”<sup>77</sup> Optionally (*vā*), one should know, according to the unity method (*ekattanayena*),<sup>78</sup> that it is expressed in this way by taking the preceding [action] and the subsequent [action] as one (*ekam katvā*).

There is no way of explaining why Buddhaghosa, who obviously knew that the absolutive in certain cases admits of being interpreted in the sense of *samānakāla*, did not refer to the grammarians in this case. The definition laid out in Pāṇ III 4 21: *samānakarṭṭkayoḥ pūrvakāle*, clearly does not apply, and one would have expected him to point that out. Mahānāma, however, interprets Buddhaghosa’s explanation in the light of Kātyāyana’s supplement to Pāṇ III 4 21.<sup>79</sup>

Although the discussion of the semantics of the absolutive suffix can be traced back to Kātyāyana and Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ III 4 21, Kacc<sup>80</sup> and its main source, the Kātantra, take no notice of it. Nor do Vajirabuddhi [in Mmd ad Kacc 566] or Buddhapiya [ad Rūp 624 = Kacc 566], who copied almost verbatim the relevant passage from Mmd, go into a discussion of the problem. The same is the case with Moggallāna ad Mogg V 64. Aggavaṃsa, however, deals with it, and he may well be one of the first Pāli grammarians to have done so.<sup>81</sup>

## II

### 1 [Bv-a 25,26–30 ad Bv I 4b]

In this example, the most discursive of his grammatical analyses, Buddhadatta exhibits three ways of analysing the word “*buddha*” [formally a

past participle in *-ta*], as it occurs in Bv I 4b (*buddho ayam idisako naruttamo*):

*Buddho ti catusaccadhamme buddho anubuddho ti buddho, yathāha:*

*abhiññeyyaṃ abhiññātaṃ*

*bhāvetabbaṃ ca bhāvitaṃ*

*pahātabbaṃ pahānaṃ me*

*tasmā buddho 'smi brāhmaṇa* [= Sn 558]

*Idha pana kattukārake buddhasaddasiddhi daṭṭhabbā. (so punctuate) adhigatavisesehi devamanussehi sammāsam-buddho vata so bhagavā ti evaṃ buddhattā ñātattā buddho. idha kammakārake buddhasaddasiddhi daṭṭhabbā. buddham assa atthi ti vā buddho buddhavanto ti attho. taṃ sabbaṃ saddasatthānūsāreṇa veditaṃ.*

Buddha means [one who has] undertaken to know, [one who has] undertaken to recollect,<sup>82</sup> the norms of the four truths. As he says [in Sn 558]:

I have obtained insight into that into which one should obtain insight, and realised what has to be realised, and rejected what has to be rejected, therefore, brāhmaṇa, I am a Buddha.

In this [verse] the formation (*siddhi*) of the word “*buddha*” should be taken in the sense of the agent *kāraka* (*kattukāraka*), [i.e. in a transitive/active sense]. [Or, alternatively,] he is [called] Buddha because he is recognised and acknowledged by gods and men who have obtained eminence, in the following words: “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened.” In this case the formation of the word “*buddha*” should be taken in the sense of the object *kāraka*. Or (*vā*), he is Buddha because (*iti*) he has (*assa atthi*) awakening (*buddha* [n.]),<sup>83</sup> that is, he is “one who possesses awakening

<sup>76</sup> Cf. the Pāṇinian definition of *pada* (n.) in Pāṇ. I 4 14: *suptinantaṃ padam*.

<sup>77</sup> For analogous examples, cf. AkBhāṣ 455,7-8: *sahabhāve 'pi ca kīvāsti dipaṃ prāpya tamo gataṃ*; Vism-sn p. 1254,12: *dipaṃ prāpya tamo vigacchati*.

<sup>78</sup> For this term, cf. CPD s.v. *ekattanaya*.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. vārttika 5 and Mahā-bh ad loc.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Kacc 566: *pubbakālekakattukānaṃ tun-tvāna-tvā vā*.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. the discussion at Sadd 312,22–313,30.

<sup>82</sup> The reason for this translation will appear from the analysis below.

<sup>83</sup> Formally *buddha* (n.) is a neuter pp. used as a noun by analogy with neuter pp. forms in Sanskrit. Cf. Nidd 458,7 and 459,7 [ad Sn 957] and Pj I 16,2: *buddhi, buddham, bodho ti pariyyavacanaṃ*.

(*buddhavanta*).<sup>84</sup> All this should be known according to grammar.

Each of the three explanations which Buddhadatta suggests here would seem to depend on Pāṇinian grammar, although it is obvious that he has to some extent reinterpreted the scope of the relevant Pāṇinian rules so as to justify his grammatical analysis.

[ i ]

In the first alternative Buddhadatta ascribes a transitive value to *buddha*. It is clear, that this explanation — illustrated with the quotation of Sn 558 — has canonical support, because the Niddesa, in its comment upon the meaning of the word *buddha* in Sn 957, uses two nominal derivatives from  $\sqrt{budh}$ , with a transitive [+ causative] value, to explain its meaning:

*buddho ti ken' atthena buddho ? bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho,  
bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho.*<sup>85</sup>

In what sense is he a Buddha ? He is a Buddha because (*iti*) he [himself] knows the [four] truths, and he is a Buddha because he makes [them] known to mankind.<sup>86</sup>

In this gloss *bujjhitā* is a derivative in *-tr* from  $\sqrt{bujjh}$  [< passive stem \* $\sqrt{budhya}$ -] to be construed with *saccāni* [= acc.], whereas *bodhetā* is an analogous causative derivative [< causative stem  $\sqrt{bodhe}$ -] in *-tr*, to be construed with *saccāni* [= acc.] and *pajāyā* [= dat./gen.].<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> I.B. Horner's translation is based upon a wrong punctuation of the text and thus confuses the point at issue.

<sup>85</sup> Qu. Paṭis I 174,7; Vism 209,21; Sadd 481,28; cf. Paṭis-a 485,5: *tattha yathā loke avagantā avagato ti vuccati, evaṃ bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho; yathā paṇṇasosā vātā paṇṇasusā ti vuccanti evaṃ bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho.*

<sup>86</sup> Cf.: *yasmā vā cattāri saccāni attanā pi bujjhi, añhe pi satte bodhesi, tasmā evaṃ ādīhi kāraṇehi buddho* [Vism 209,18–20]; *yathā loke avagantā "avagato" ti vuccati, evaṃ bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho; yathā paṇṇasosā vātā "paṇṇasusā"* [cf. Ujval. ad Uṇādis II 22] *ti vuccanti, evaṃ bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho* [Pj I 15,10–13].

<sup>87</sup> It is noteworthy that Nidd is the only canonical text in which the two terms are recorded. Their formation clearly presupposes more than just basic knowledge of Pāli nominal derivation. Thus, for instance, we cannot exclude the possibility that, for example, the term *bodhetar* is coined by analogy with Sanskrit *bodhayitr*.

A past participle in *-ta* [= *cta*] is normally not used in the sense of agent *kāraka*. In Pāṇ III 4 71, however, Pāṇini lays down the semantical and syntactical conditions under which this is possible: *ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ kartari ca*: the suffix "*cta*" is also used in the sense of the agent, when it is used in the sense of an inchoative action. The Kāśikā illustrates this rule by the following example: *prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattah*: Devadatta has undertaken to make a mat. In this example the word *prakṛtaḥ* is in agreement with the agent Devadatta and is therefore, according to Pāṇinian syntactical theory, used in the sense of the agent. As shown by the example the *-ta* participle is constructed with the object *kāraka* [= *kaṭam*]. We find an exact parallel to this syntactical structure in Buddhadatta's initial remarks about the meaning of "*buddha*": *catusaccadhamme* [= acc.] *buddho ... ti buddho*. There is thus no reason to doubt that his analysis presupposes Pāṇinian grammar.

In the Pāli grammatical literature we find a reflex of this analysis in Kacc [558+] 559 and Kacc-v ad loc.:

*budhagamādyatthe kattari. budha gama icc evaṃ ādīnaṃ atthe  
tapaccayo hoti kattari sabbakāle. yathā saṅkhatāsāṅkhate  
dhamme bujjhati, abujjhi, bujjhissatī ti, buddho. saraṇaṃ  
gato, samathaṃ gato iccevamādi.*

[The suffix denoted *cta* is used] in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, when [the verbal root to which it is joined] has the meanings of the roots  $\sqrt{budh}$ , and  $\sqrt{gam}$ , etc.

The suffix denoted *cta* is used in all times in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, when it is joined to verbal roots that have the meaning of such roots as  $\sqrt{budh}$ , and  $\sqrt{gam}$ . For instance, [the word] *buddha*: who knows, has known and will know the dhammas that are conditioned and not conditioned. *saraṇaṃ gata*: who has found refuge, *samathaṃ gata*: who has found peace.

This analysis obviously presupposes that in Pāli — as in Sanskrit literature — one finds instances where a *-ta* participle is constructed with the accusative of goal, as in the above examples from Kacc-v. It clearly must rely on a distinctly Buddhist tradition because there is nothing in Pāṇinian grammar that justifies the interpretation of *buddha* and *gata* in this sense. Buddhapiya may have realised that Kacc departed from the tradition of

Sanskrit grammar, because he quotes the illustration of the meaning of *buddha* in Kacc-v with the remark that the *tapaccaya* is here used in the sense of the present (*ta iti vattamāne*), which, of course, reflects Pāṇinian theory (cf. Pāṇ III 2 188). In the following [Rūp 592 = Kacc 559], however, he quotes a slightly edited version of Kacc-v ad Kacc 559, with the remark that the *ta* suffix also occurs in the sense of *sabbakāla*. This clearly has no support in Pāṇinian grammar. Kaccāyana's rule may ultimately derive from a commentarial tradition connecting  $\sqrt{budh}$  and  $\sqrt{gam}$ , which can be traced back to Buddhaghosa.

In connection with the interpretation of the Buddhist stereotype *Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi*, Buddhaghosa suggests taking  $\sqrt{gam}$  in the sense of  $\sqrt{budh}$ :

*yesam hi dhātūnaṃ gati attho buddhi pi tesam attho, tasmā gacchāmi ti imassa jānāmi, bujjhāmi ti ayam attho vutto* [Sv 229,22–24 = Ps I 131,4; qu. Nidd-a 442,6].<sup>88</sup>

Because (*hi*) the verbal roots that have the meaning of movement also have the meaning of understanding, (*tasmā*)<sup>89</sup> the [word] *gacchāmi* is said to have the meaning “I know”, “I recognize”.

A Sanskrit verse ascribed to a certain Rāhulapāda by Prakramabāhu II in *Vism-sn* 479,19–20 evidently reflects the same tradition, although it has not been possible to trace the discussion to any known Sanskrit source:

*budha ity avagamane yo dhātuḥ paripāṭhyate yatas tajjñaiḥ, gatyartha ity ato 'smāt kartary api yujyate 'yam ktaḥ.*

Since (*yatas*) the verbal root  $\sqrt{budh}$  is enumerated [in the *dhātupāṭha*] by those who know it, in the sense of understanding (*avagamane*),<sup>90</sup> (*atas*) the *cta* suffix [= *-ta*] is also correctly used (*yujyate*), in the sense of the agent

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Paṭi-a 485,25–26: *gamanatthānaṃ dhātūnaṃ bujjhanatthattā, bujjhanatthāpi dhātuyo gamanathā honti tasmā ...*

<sup>89</sup> *tasmā* is to be construed with *hi* [= *yasmā*].

<sup>90</sup> This is a reference to sa-Dhātup I 911: *budhā avagamane*.

[*kāraka*, i.e., in an active sense] after [the verbal root  $\sqrt{budh}$ ] when it has the meaning of movement.

It is no doubt the affinity between  $\sqrt{budh}$  as defined by *ava* +  $\sqrt{gam}$  and the fact that Pāṇini in III 4 72 ascribes an active meaning to *cta* when attached to verbs expressing movement. This may very well have suggested the particular treatment of *buddha* in the grammatical literature.

Rāhulapāda is not known from other source. His date and the nature of his work therefore remain uncertain. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhadatta has based his analysis on a similar tradition. Since there is a striking similarity between Buddhadatta's text and a text dealing with the same topic, which Aggavaṃsa quotes in *Saddanīti* [see below], there is reason to believe that Buddhadatta has utilised material from a Pāli source which may well be a post-Kaccāyana source.

[ ii ]

Buddhadatta's second alternative, according to which “*buddha*” has an passive value (*kamma*), would also seem to be supported by Pāṇinian grammar. In Pāṇini III 4 [69 +] 70: *tayor eva kṛtya-cta-khalarthāḥ*: [the suffixes whose meaning is denoted by] “*kṛtya* [= *-tavya*, *-aniya* and *-ya*,” [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] “*cta* [= *-ta*” and [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] “*khā*” are only used in the sense of these two [i.e. action (= *bhāva*) and object *kāraka* (= *karma*)].

According to Pāṇinian grammatical theory, a *-ta* participle is used in the sense of the object *kāraka* when it occurs in a passive construction, in agreement with the [theoretical] object, which itself is identical with the grammatical subject of the sentence. The example used by the Kāśikā for illustrating this particular syntactical function of “*cta*” [ad loc.]: *ctaḥ karmani: kṛtaḥ kato bhavatā* “a mat [= *karma*] is made by you,” shows clearly the theoretical presupposition that underlies Buddhadatta's explanation: in the same way as the word *kṛtaḥ* qualifies the object *kataḥ* as made by someone, the word *buddha* qualifies the object Buddha as recognised by gods and men (*devamanussehi*), and therefore it can be interpreted as the object *kāraka*.

There is reason to believe that Buddhadatta's explanation is based upon a source which was also known to Aggavaṃsa. In *Saddanīti* he refers to the view of certain [grammarians ?] according to whom the formation of “*buddha*” can be interpreted in terms of the object *kāraka*. In support of this

theory, he quotes a text which is almost identical with Buddhadatta's explanation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Buddhadatta and Aggavaṃsa utilised the same source:

*keci pana kammena*<sup>91</sup> *pi buddhasaddassa siddhiṃ icchantā evaṃ nibbacanaṃ karonti: sammāsambuddho vata so Bhagavā ti adhigatagunaṃvisesehi khīṇāsavehi bujjhitabbo ti buddho ti* [Sadd 482,1-4]

Some [grammarians?], however, taking the formation of the word “*buddha*” in the sense of the object [*kāraka*, i.e. in a passive sense], analyse it as follows: *buddha* means that he should be recognised (*bujjhitabbo*)<sup>92</sup> by those persons whose defilements have been annihilated and who have obtained distinctive qualities, in the words “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened”!

Unfortunately it has not been possible to trace the quotation to the work from which it was taken. It therefore remains unclear whether it is a purely grammatical source — which Aggavaṃsa's way of quoting it would indicate — or whether it is an unknown piece of canonical exegesis. If it should be the latter, it must be fairly late because Buddhadatta is the only Pāli commentator to mention it. In similar contexts in *Vism*, *Paṭi-a*, etc. we find nothing of the same nature. It probably stems from a Pāli source. If this were not the case, Aggavaṃsa surely would not have failed to identify it. It is remarkable that he does not refer to *Bv-a* [quoted in several places in *Sadd*], since he is conscientious in supporting his grammatical statements with quotations from the cts and *ṭīkā*s.

The last alternative would seem to be based upon an extension of the scope of *Pāṇ V 2* [94+] 127: *arśa-ādibhyo 'c*: the [*taddhita*] affix *ac* [= *-a*] is [used in the sense of the suffix denoted *matup*, i.e. in the sense of “whose it is” or “in which or in whom it is”] after [the class of words = *ākṛtigāṇa*] beginning with *arśaḥ*. We can safely assume that Buddhadatta had this particular *sūtra* in mind because Mahānāma, in a context where he addresses

<sup>91</sup> The reading *kammena* is problematic. It might be suggested that *kamme* [loc.] is read for *kammena* which is difficult to construe.

<sup>92</sup> The presence of the *kṛtya* form [= ger.] of *√budh* would seem to be an allusion to the Pāṇinian rule in *Pāṇ II 4* 70 quoted above.

the meaning and derivation of the word *buddha*, supplies us with the information necessary for identifying it. We find the text in *Paṭi-a* 486,20-22, which was quoted verbatim by Upasena in *Nidd-a* 442,33-443,2. The text reads:

*buddhi, buddhaṃ, bodho ti paryāyavacanam etaṃ. tattha yathā nilarattagunayogā “nilo paṭo,” “ratto paṭo,” ti vuccati, evaṃ buddhigunayogā “buddho” ti ñāpetuṃ vuttam hoti [= Pj I 16,2-5].*

“*buddhi, buddhaṃ, bodho*” are synonyms. In that case, just as one says that a piece of cloth is blue or red on account of the blue or red quality inherent<sup>93</sup> [in it], so on account of the quality of illumination inherent [in him], the word “*buddha*” is used to denote [him as “Buddha”].

The idea is basically the same. The only difference is that this text is sufficiently explicit to identify the relevant grammatical context. Among the words included in the *ākṛtigāṇa* to which Pāṇini refers, are words denoting colour (*varṇa*),<sup>94</sup> which is reflected in the two examples used by Mahānāma. The idea that the possessive suffix *matup* is deleted from words denoting colour goes back to Kātyāyana's *vārttika* 3 (*guṇavacanebhyo matupo luk*) on *Pāṇ V 2* 94.

## 2 [Bv-a 67,33-68,2]

This etymology of the word *brāhmaṇa* [*< brahma + √an*] is basically the same as the one that occurs in Buddhaghosa's cts. Buddhadatta has only inserted the reference to the grammarians' view to complement Buddhaghosa's explanation:<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> The term *yoga*, evidently, belongs to the philosophical context of Nyāyavaiśeṣika ontology; cf., for example, Vātsyāyana ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 61: *yogāt — kṛṣṇena rāgena yuktaḥ śātakāḥ kṛṣṇa ity abhidhīyate.*

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Kāśikā* ad *Pāṇ V 2* 127.

<sup>95</sup> Cf., for example, *Sp* 111,12-15 = *Sv* 244,10 = *Ps* I 109,23: *brahmaṇaṃ anātī ti brāhmaṇo, mante sajjhāyatī ti attho, idam eva hi jātibrahmaṇānaṃ niruttivacanaṃ, ariyā pana bāhitapāpatā brāhmaṇā ti vuccanti.*

*brāhmaṇo ti brahmaṇaṃ aṇatī ti brāhmaṇo, mante sajjhāyati ti attho. akkharacintakā pana brahmaṇo apaccamaṃ brāhmaṇo ti vadanti. ariyā pana bāhitapāpattā brāhmaṇo ti vadanti.*

*brāhmaṇa* means one who recites (*aṇatī*) *brahma* [= *brāhmaṇ* = the sacred scriptures, i.e., the Veda], that is, he studies the scriptures (*mante*). The grammarians, however, explain that *brāhmaṇa* means a descendant (*apaccamaṃ*) of a brahmin [= *brahmān*]. The Buddhists (*āryā*) on their side claim that he is a *brāhmaṇa* because he keeps away from sin (*bāhitapāpattā*).

It is not possible to decide which tradition the first etymology belongs to. It probably stems from the commentarial tradition of the *Aṭṭhakathācariyas*. The last one, however, has canonical precedents.<sup>96</sup> It only makes sense in a context where the actual pronunciation of the Pāli consonant cluster *br-* in *brāhmaṇa* was *b-* as recorded in the reading *baṃhaṇa* of the Aśokan inscriptions. There is no problem in identifying the grammatical reference, which is to Pāṇ IV 1 [83+] 92 defining the formation of patronyms: *tasyāpatyam*: [the suffix denoted *aṇ*, etc. denotes] someone's descendant. In the present case the *vṛddhi* formation *brāhmaṇa* is covered by the scope of the suffix *aṇ*.

### 3 [Bv-a 89,16–18 ad Bv II 47]

This remark about the case syntax of the preposition *anu* can only be understood in the light of the similar analysis in Bv-a 238,32–35 [see § 6 below].

*anuyanti tathāgatan ti tathāgatassa pacchato yanti. [so punctuate] anuyoge sati sāmī-atthe [so read; Ee -attho] upayogavacanamaṃ hoti ti lakkhaṇamaṃ.*

[The sentence] “They follow after the tathāgata” means they follow behind the tathāgata. When *anu* is used in composition the acc. is used in the sense of the genitive. This is the rule.

There is no rule that justifies Buddhadatta's claim that *anu* governs the acc. in the sense of the genitive. Such a remark is absent from the analogous analysis in Bv-a 238,32–35, and one cannot therefore exclude the possibility that it stems from Buddhadatta himself. He may have based it upon the fact that *pacchato*, in the paraphrase *tathāgatassa pacchato yanti*, is to be constructed with the genitive. As it appears from the way in which the problem is formulated, Buddhadatta deals with the syntactical and semantical properties of the so-called *karmapravacanīyas* [cf. Buddhaghosa on *itthambhūtakkyāna*, q.v. supra; cf. Bv-a 238,32–35 ad Bv XX 5, q.v. infra].

### 4 [Bv-a 114,12–13]

In this case Buddhadatta deals with the well-known fact that the word *aññatra* [= Sanskrit *anyatra*] is constructed with the ablative.

*n' atthi aññatrā ti aññatralakkhaṇamaṃ saddasatthato gahetabbaṃ. tato dasa pāramito añño buddhakāradhammo n' atthi ti attho.*

[As regards the clause] “there is no [other] except ...,” the rule concerning the word except (*aññatra*) should be sought in grammar. The meaning is that there is no other norm that creates a buddha, than the ten pāramitās.

It is not clear what rule of grammar Buddhadatta has in mind. In the Pāṇinian tradition there appears to be no explicit rule about the case with which Sanskrit *anyatra* is to be constructed. There is reason to believe, however, that Buddhadatta is thinking of Pāṇ II 3 [28+] 29: *anya- ... -yukte*, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that a noun, when constructed with *anya*, is put in the ablative. Buddhadatta's own paraphrase [with *añña* + abl.] supports the assumption. He presumably extended the scope of the Pāṇini sūtra so as to cover the usage of *aññatra*, which is treated as a substitute form for the locative. Aggavaṃsa is apparently the only Pāli grammarian to formulate a rule for the case syntax of *aññatra*: *aññatrayoge pañcamī tatiyā ca*: the ablative and the instrumental are used in construction with *aññatra* [Sadd 703,22].

<sup>96</sup> For references, v. PED s.v. <sup>1</sup>*bāheti*.

## 5 [Bv-a 173,21–24 ad Bv]

In this short remark Buddhadatta focuses on a peculiar grammatical construction where an action noun (*dassana*) is to be constructed with a nominal in the accusative:

*dassanenā pi taṃ buddhan ti tassa buddhassa dassanenā pi ti attho. idisesu pi sāmivacanam payojenti* (Be *payujj-*)  
*saddaviduno* (Be *saddasatthavidū*).

By seeing the Buddha: The meaning is “by the sight of the Buddha”. In such cases, however, the grammarians use the genitive.

It is not normal practice in Pāli or Sanskrit to construct an action noun with the accusative. In such a case one would normally expect the genitive (genitivus objectivus) of the nominal that is syntactically dependent on the action noun. The grammarians to whose usage Buddhadatta refers are no doubt, in this as in other cases, identical with the Pāṇinians, because Pāṇini addresses this usage in Pāṇ II 3 65: *karṭṛkarmanoh kṛti*: when used with a word ending with the suffixes denoted *kṛt* [i.e. primary derivatives], [the genitive] is used in the sense of the agent [*kāraka*] or the object [*kāraka*].

## 6 [Bv-a 238,32–35 ad Bv XX 5]

In this text Buddhadatta deals with the syntactical peculiarity of the *karmapravacanīya anu*.

*tattha caturāsītisahassāni sambuddham anu pabbajjun ti tattha anunā yogato sambuddhan ti upayogavacanam katan ti vedītabbam. sambuddhassa pacchā pabbajjimsū ti attho. lakkhaṇam saddasatthato gahetabbam.*

In this case one should know that in the verse “eighty-four thousand who had gone forth after The fully Awakened One,” the [word] “*sambuddham*” is put in the accusative because it is constructed with “*anu*”. The meaning is “they went forth

after the Fully Awakened [had gone forth]”. The rule is to be sought in grammar.

Buddhadatta deals here — like Buddhaghosa in connection with his analysis of the verb *abhuggacchati* [v. supra] — with the linguistic category *karmapravacanīya*. Pāṇini deals specifically, in Pāṇ I 4 84: *anu lakṣaṇe*, with the usage of *anu* when used in the the sense of a sign (*lakṣaṇe*). The idea is that the thing denoted by the word governed by *anu*, assumes the function of the cause of the verbal action. Consequently *anu* means “after” in a logical sense, i.e. in the sense of “as a consequence of”, or “because of.” It is, of course, debatable whether Buddhadatta is correct in assuming that *anu* has this specific force in the verse upon which he comments. However, the relatively few occurrences of the verb *anupabbajati* in Pāli would seem to suggest — in contrast to the usage of *abhuggacchati* — that we interpret *anu* in the sense of a *karmapravacanīya*, although its usage in the Pāli is not absolutely parallel to the usage defined by Pāṇini. In the Pāli it is questionable if *anu* can be treated as syntactically disjoint from the finite verb. For instance, in Vin II 180,6: *Sakyakumārā bhagavantam pabbajitam anu pabbajjanti*, it would seem to be treated as an ordinary preposition constructed with a noun in the accusative (*bhagavantam*), in agreement with an explicit not finite verb-form (*pabbajitam*). On the other hand, the Pāli grammatical literature would seem to be correct in ascribing a causal function to *anu* in this particular context: Sakyakumārā went forth after [= because] bhagavan had gone forth. Kacc-v ad Kacc 301: *kammappavacanīyayutte* uses an analogous canonical example for illustrating the rule about *kammappavacanīya*: *pabbajitam anu pabbajjimsu* [= D II 30,11] = Sadd 716,13 (§ 586).

Buddhadatta noticed that the pp. *pabbajitam* was absent in Bv, and he found a justification for its absence in the grammatical literature. It is not possible to decide whether Buddhadatta relied upon a distinct Pāli grammar, but the nature of his analysis and the context in which it occurs makes it reasonable to assume that he knew Kaccāyana’s grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The example chosen by the authors of the *vutti* in this particular instance is not merely a Pāli reproduction of an example taken from a Sanskrit grammar but is distinctly canonical, and its presence in Kacc-v would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a tradition which aimed at illustrating the rules of Pāli, not merely by means of Pāli translations of examples taken over directly from Sanskrit grammar, but

through genuine canonical quotations. This tendency reached its peak with Aggavaṃsa, who is claimed, by the author of the Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā, to have based his grammar on the Pāli.<sup>97</sup>

(to be continued)

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## PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES VII<sup>1</sup>

### FIVE PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED,<sup>2</sup> or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *gandhana* “harming”
2. *pāreti* “to be successful”
3. *marissa* “going to die”
4. *vivicca-sayana* “a secluded lodging”
5. *sosinna* “very wet”/ *sosīna* “very cold”

1. *gandhana* “harming”

In his investigation of the phrase *vāntam āpātum* “to drink one’s vomit”,<sup>3</sup> Alsdorf mentioned the Pāli word *gandhana* found in the compound *kula-gandhana* at It 64,9:

*atijātam anujātam puttam icchanti paṇḍitā,  
avajātam na icchanti yo hoti kula-gandhano.*

“Wise men desire a son of higher birth or equal birth; they do not desire a son of lower birth, who harms the family”.

<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies VI”, in *JPTS*, XIII, pp. 219–27.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: CDIAL = R.L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*; EWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*; Geiger = W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*; MW = Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*; PTS = Pāli Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pāli-English Dictionary*; Pischel = R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*; PSM = Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; Pkt = Prakrit; Skt = Sanskrit; GDhp = *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*; Be = Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition; Ce = Sinhalese edition; Ee = European (PTS) edition; Se = Siamese edition; cty = commentary.

<sup>3</sup> L. Alsdorf, “Vāntam āpātum”, *Indian Linguistics*, 16, 1955, 21–28.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Kacc-vaṇṇ p. 301,28–30: *Rūpasiddhikārako Candabyākaraṇanissito. Nyāsakārako Kalāpabyākaraṇanissito. Saddanūtikārako Pālinissito.*



This is glossed: *yo hoti kulagandhano ti kulacchedako kulavināsako. chedanattho hi idha gandha-saddo, “uppala-gandha-paccatthikā”<sup>4</sup> ti ādisu viya. keci pana kuladhamsano ti paṭhanti. so ev’ attho* (It-a II 57,13–16). For this meaning of *gandhana* the editor of the PTS edition of It-a, M.M. Bose, drew attention to *amhākaṃ gandhana-kilesa palibuddhana-kilesa n’ atthi, kilesa-gaṇṭhi-rahitā mayan ti evaṃ vāditāya laddhanāmasena Nigaṇṭho* (Sv [Ee] 144,24–26), but Be here reads *gaṇṭhana-* and this is probably correct, in view of the fact that it is intended to explain *nigaṇṭha*.

Alsdorf points out that the v.l. *kusajantuno* for *kulagandhano* and the variety of explanations: *kulagandhano ti kulacchedako kulavināsako kuladhamsano* in the cty showed that the word was unfamiliar and obsolete. He rejected the suggestion in PED that it should be “corrected” to *kulaṅgāraka*, basing his rejection on the occurrence of *antima-gandhina* at Ja IV 34,17\* (*māham kule antima-gandhino ahuṃ*, explained: *attano kule sabba-pacchimako c’ eva kulapalāpo ca mā assaṃ*, 34,24’), and *māham kule antimagandhinī ahuṃ*, 35,19\* (explained: *attano kule pacchimikā palāpabhūtā mā assaṃ*, 35,27’–28’). CPD explains *gandhina* as a new stem from *gandhinī*, feminine of *gandhi(n)*, and sees *kule antimagandhina* as a blending of *kulagandhana* and *kul’antima*.

Alsdorf rightly saw that the word *gandhana* must mean something like “destroying, spoiling, disgracing”, as does PTC,<sup>5</sup> but he thought that there must be some connection with *gandha* “smell”, and he suggested that some such meaning for *kula-gandhana* as “one who brings the family into bad odour, who makes the family stink” might not be altogether unacceptable.

I do not know why Alsdorf did not refer to the root *gandh* “to injure, hurt” (Skt Dhātup xxxiii, 11) or the noun *gandhana* “hurting, injury” (Skt lex.). These meanings are attested not only in the Skt grammarians, but also by the Pāli authorities. It is quite clear that this is the meaning we have here. Although it is not wise to accept the existence of all words quoted in the Skt

<sup>4</sup> See Vin III 33,19 (*gandhan ti hadayaṃ vuccati, taṃ uppātenī ti uppalagandhā, uppalagandhā eva paccatthikā uppalagandhapaccatthikā*, Sp 268,8–10). Cf. Sadd 548,2–3: *gandhasaddo ca uppalagandhatheno ti ettha chedane vattaṭṭi ti daṭṭhabbo*; 585,12: *ettha pana gandhasaddassa chedanavācakatte “...”* (quoting It 64,9) *ti ayaṃ pāli nidassanaṃ*.

<sup>5</sup> s.v. *gandhana*.

Dhātupāṭha or the lexicons, Mayrhofer quotes the possibility of connecting the root with Latin *offendo*.<sup>6</sup> He does not list the Pāli or Pkt usages. Turner<sup>7</sup> accepts the connection between Skt *gandhayate* and Pāli *gandhana*.

Alsdorf also wished to see a connection between Pkt *gandhana* and *gandha* in the use of the former as an epithet of families of snakes, and suggested that *gandhana* might represent the snake as sniffing when it sucks back its poison.<sup>8</sup> I would suggest that there is a more obvious differentiation between snakes which are *gandhana* “harmful” and those which are *aḡandhana* “harmless”.

PTC also lists *kula-gatthinī* (Ja V 306,14\*,21\*), but this compound is not included in PED, s.v. *kula*, nor is any word *gatthi(n)* listed. It is glossed: *kulagatthinī ti udāhu tvaṃ kula-dūsikā* (306,16’). Ee gives the v.l. *viddhini* for all places, but the other editions read *kula-gandhinī*.

## 2. *pāreti* “to be successful”

PED gives only one reference for this word, Ja III 185,2\*, and notes that the reading is uncertain. It suggests “to make go through, to bore through, pierce, break (?)” as the meanings, and states that the word is a denominative from *pāra*. PTC notes the v.l. *pādemī* at Ja III 185,2\*, and gives another reference<sup>9</sup> from Ja I 498,22\*. It gives the meaning as “break (through)”. It too makes a comparison with *pāra*.

The references are: *oramāma na pārema*, Ja I 498,22\*, with the cty: *tucchaṃ pana naṃ kātuṃ na sakkoma* (498,25’); *vikkamāmi na pāremī* (v.l. *pādemī*), Ja III 185,2\*, with the cty: *na pāremī ti pāraṃ pana chindituṃ na sakkomi* (185,4’). It is probably the inclusion of *chindituṃ* in the cty which has led to the idea that the word means “break, pierce”.

Both sources are correct to see a connection with *pāra*, but *pāreti* is to be regarded as the equivalent of Skt *pārayati*, which is the causative of the

<sup>6</sup> EWA, Vol. I, p. 321, s.v. *gandhayate*.

<sup>7</sup> CDIAL 4016.

<sup>8</sup> Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> PTC III 268b.

root *pṛ* “to fill”, rather than the denominative of *pāra*.<sup>10</sup> It therefore means “to fulfil, to make full, complete”, i.e. “to be capable of completing, finishing something”, “to do something successfully”. The same meaning is found in Pkt, where Hemacandra (IV.86) teaches *pārei* as the equivalent of *śaknoti*. The same equivalence is given in Pāliacchī-nāmamālā (202), where, however, the editor Bühler was able to see that the word is not of *deśī* origin, but is a development from Skt *pārayati*. PSM, doubtless misled by the fact that Hemacandra teaches it as a *deśī* word, separates it from *pārei* < Skt *pārayati*, although giving the same references there as for the *deśī* word *pārei*.

The meaning of the two references is therefore: (1) Let us give up; we are not successful”, and (2) “I strive, (but) I am not successful”.

The v.l. *pāдеми* is doubtless an example of the not uncommon alternation of *r* and *d*.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. *marissa* “going to die”

PED lists this word with the form *marissam*, but strangely states that this is a present participle = future. It occurs at Ja III 214,11\*: *matam marissam rodanti ye rudanti lapanti ca*. It is glossed: *ye va loke matañ ca marissantañ ca rodanti*, 214,16'. It is included by Geiger in his section dealing with future participles in *-nt-* from the future stem (§ 193). Geiger gives a cross-reference to § 97.2, from which we can deduce that he is calling attention to the fact that this is a participle which has gone over to the *-a* declension by dropping *-nt-*, i.e. it is accusative and the equivalent of Skt *marīṣyantam*. Geiger refers to Pischel § 560, where *āgamissam* is quoted from Āyāraṅga-sutta I.3.3.3 as being both nominative and accusative. This, then, is another example of a future participle with a short *-a* stem, i.e. in *-issa* rather than *-issanta*.

The other example Geiger gives in § 193 is *paccessam*. PED does not list the form *paccessam* s.v. *pacceti*. It occurs several times in a set of passages in Vin I 255,24–265,20, where a bhikkhu goes away after *kathina*-cloth has been made, saying to himself: *paccessan ti*, or *idh' eva imam cīvaram kāressam na paccessan ti*. The word is glossed: *na paccessan ti na*

<sup>10</sup> See MW, s.vv. *pārayati* and *pṛ*.

<sup>11</sup> See Brough, GDhp, p. 255 (ad GDhp 259).

*puna āgamissam* (Sp 1112,15), i.e. it is a first person single future form, with the secondary ending *-am* instead of the primary ending *-āmi*. This is not uncommon in Pāli.<sup>12</sup>

It is therefore surprising that Geiger lists *paccessam* (§ 193) as an example of the future participle in *-nt* from the future stem. What is even more surprising is that he rejects Müller's suggestion that *karissam* (Dāṭh III 80) is such a participle, on the grounds that it is clearly the first person single = *karīṣyāmi*. This would appear to be precisely the mistake which Geiger is making with *paccessam*.

### 4. *vivicca-sayana* “a secluded lodging”

In his cty on the reading *vevita-śayaṇeṇa* at GDhp 65, Brough discussed the compound *vivicca-sayana* at Dhp 271. He stated<sup>13</sup>: “The reading *vivicca-* which has become current in the Pali text was doubtless adopted by Fausbøll as a lectio difficilior, but it really has little to commend it. It is apparently unknown to the manuscripts used for the edition of the Pali cty, which have the more natural reading *vivitta-*. The antiquity of the latter is guaranteed by the Pkt, and it therefore seems reasonable to reject *vivicca-*”. PED does not list either *vivicca-sayana* or *vivitta-sayana*, nor does it refer to Dhp 271 under either *vivicca* or *vivitta*.

In their translation of the Dhammapada and the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, Carter and Palihawadana nevertheless read *vivicca* (although not as a compound with *sayanena*)<sup>14</sup>, and note<sup>15</sup> that although PDhp 272 has *vivitta*, Udāna-v XXXII.31 has *vivikta*, GDhp has *vevita* and Dhp-a (PTS ed.)<sup>16</sup> has *vivitta*, the Dhammapada pūrāna sannaya (granthipada vivaraṇa sahita) does read *vivicca*.

It would seem, then, that there is rather more support for the reading than Brough thought, and there is no very compelling reason for opposing

<sup>12</sup> See Geiger § 150.

<sup>13</sup> Brough, GDhp, p. 191.

<sup>14</sup> They are, in general, opposed to Brough's suggestions, and it is possible that their acceptance of this reading is not unconnected with Brough's rejection of it.

<sup>15</sup> Carter and Palihawadana, *The Dhammapada*, p. 482 (n. 20).

<sup>16</sup> Dhp-a III 399,12.

Fausbøll's adoption of the reading. From Brough's reference to "the more natural reading *vivitta*", I assume that he found it difficult to construe the absolute *vivicca*. This need cause us no difficulty. It is, despite Carter and Palihawadana, to be taken as a compound with *sayana*, and the whole is to be regarded as a syntactical compound. Such compounds, composed of an absolute and a noun, were discussed by Hendriksen.<sup>17</sup> He pointed out that they were to be interpreted as having developed from combinations of a verb-form and an absolute belonging to it. He suggested that the syntax of a compound such as *viceyya-dāna* "giving with forethought" is derived from *viceyya dadāti* "he gives with forethought". The syntax of this phrase is taken over, giving the syntactical compound *viceyya-dāna*. In the case of *vivicca-sayana*, we may suppose that the underlying structure is *vivicca sayanaṃ kappeti* "going apart he makes his bed", from which *vivicca-sayana* was extracted.

#### 5. *sosinna* "very wet"/*śosīna* "very cold"

PED suggests<sup>18</sup> these readings at Ja I 390,31\* where Ee reads: *sotatto śosīto*, without v.l. The pāda is two syllables short, and Fausbøll suggests adding *ahaṃ* after *sotatto*. The pāda is glossed: *sotatto ti suriyasantāpena sutatto, śosīto ti himodakena susīto suṭṭhu tinto*, 391,1'-2'. Be reads *sotatto sosinno c' eva*, and glosses: *sūriyasantāpena suṭṭhu tatto, sosinno ti himodakena susinno suṭṭhu tinto*. The cty does not explain whether the difference is between day and night or summer and winter.

Although PED does not note it, the verse recurs at M I 79,29-30. There the pāda reads: *so tatto so śino* (Ee Ce so; Se *sosino*; Be *sosinno c' eva*).<sup>19</sup> The gloss is more detailed than in Ja: *sotatto ti divā ātapena rattim vana-usmāya sutatto. sosino* (Ee so; Be *sosinno*) *ti rattim himena divā himodakena sutinto* (Be *suṭṭhu tinto*), Ps II 48,27. The difference is, therefore, between summer, when it is hot by both day and night, and winter, when the night is cold and the day is both wet and cold.

<sup>17</sup> H. Hendriksen, *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pāli*, Copenhagen 1944, pp. 157-58.

<sup>18</sup> s.v. *sosīta*.

<sup>19</sup> The cadence - - - in a prior śloka pāda is unusual, and we might rather think that the original form of the verse was *so sutatto so susinno*, with *so* and *su-* coalescing.

The inclusion of the word *tinto* in the gloss on both passages shows clearly that the commentators understood a word meaning "wet" rather than one meaning "cold". If this is so, then we can accept that the correct reading is *-sinno*. We may assume that *-sīna* replaced *-sinna* via a script where long vowels and double consonants were not written, producing *\*-sina*,<sup>20</sup> the scribal change being helped by the presence of *himena* and *hima-* in *himodakena* in the gloss. The alternation between *-sīto* and *-sīno* was probably helped by the similarity between *ta* and *na* in some forms of the Brāhmī script, including the Sinhalese variety, and the near identity of the meanings of the two words.

On the other hand, were it not for the gloss *-tinto*, we might well feel that there was an intended antithesis between being too hot by day and too cold at night because of frost. In that case, the correct reading might be *-sīno* "congealed, frozen" (< Skt *śīna*). We could then assume that the scribal tradition underlying Be had interpreted the received *\*-sino* in the light of *udaka* in the gloss *himodakena* "sleet (?)" and produced *-sinno*.

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<sup>20</sup> Despite the identity of form, I believe that Se *sino* is an error, not a reminiscence of this ancient reading.

## AN INDEX TO JPTS VOLUMES IX–XIV

An Index to The Journals of the Pali Text Society (1882-1927 = Volumes I–VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journal since it was revived in 1981.

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